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# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register



25576

VOLUME IV: 1918-1919.



EDITED BY

J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), & JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

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## ERRATA

Page	24.	Line	1.	For "Sena II" read "Kasyapa V"
"	28.	"	27.	Bracket should follow "earlier" not "year"
"	23.	"	27.	After "Tondiyana" insert "Guards"
"	103.	"	10.	Read "Grandnephew"
"	103.	"	20.	Insert "birada and" after "with the"
"	104.	"	24.	For "in" read "on"
"	102.	footnote 2,		Read "Bühler"

# The Ceylon Antiquary

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Part I.

### CEYLON ACCORDING TO FRIAR ODERICO.

By S. G. P.

FRIAR ODERICO of Pordenone (Portus Naonis) was a native of Friuli (Foro Julii), Italy. Born at Villanova in 1286, he entered the Franciscan convent of Udine about the year 1300, and took the vows of the Order, and acquired a reputation for holiness of life. When he was about thirty years of age he set out, with the permission of his Superiors, to preach the Gospel in the East. His tour was very extensive, and included Ceylon; and for a part at least of his journey he was accompanied by an Irishman, Friar James.

Returning after about fourteen years of wanderings, he betook himself to the House of his Order attached to St. Anthony's at Padua, where, whilst lying ill, he related the story of his travels at the request of Friar Guidotto. It was taken down and turned into 'homely' Latin by Friar William of Solagna (de Saxonia). He recovered from his illness and tried to make his way to the Papal court at Avignon, but fell ill once more, and was taken to Udine, where he died on the 14th of January, 1331.

1. *Relatiōis de Jōh. Zaccaria*, c. 1, pp. 265-274. Vile—Cathay and the way thither, Medleycott—India and the Apostle Thomas 98-99. *Civitate—Storia Episcopale della Missioni Franciscana*, III (Rome 1880). Tournier—*Ceylon* I, 494-25.

2. *Itin. nulla et rerū de ritibus hominum et constitutionibus legum moribus a pluribus narratur; sedulitate invenit quid, quod frater Odericus de Foro Julii Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, solus invenit, ad partes Indiarum, ut aliquot sacras litteras quatuordecim hoc de Sumatra, presulatore moribus, qui hoc amodoque pascunt secundum regulam nostram instituta, mille et longior et mirabilis munda in die de pascis, et quodam proprio oculis conspiciat. Prologus.*

3. His route lay by Constantinople to Trebizond; thence to Erzerum, Tabriz, and Soltania. From Soltania he passed to Kashan and Yazd, and thence, joining by Persepolis, he followed a somewhat devious route, probably by Shiraz and perhaps a part of Kurdistan, to Baghdad. From Baghdad he sailed to the Persian Gulf, and at Hormuz embarked for Java to Solatte. He went on to Malabar, touching at Pandarum, Ceylanpur, and Kulam; and proceeded thence to Ceylon and the shrine of St. Thomas at Mullaper, the modern Madras. From this he sailed sedulously to Sumatra, visiting various parts of the coast of that island, Java, probably Southern or Eastern Borneo, Chusan, and Canton. Thence he travelled to the great port of Fakien, and from Fakien across the mountains to Hangchenfu and Nankin. Embarking on the Great Canal at Yungchenfu, he proceeded by it to Canton or Peking; and there remained for three years. Turning westward at length through Tundun and Schemu, to Tibet and its capital Lhasa, we there lose all indication of his further route, and can only conjecture on very slight hints, added to general probabilities, that his homeward journey led him by Kabul, Khoreasm, and the south of the Caspian, to Tabriz, and thence to Venice by the way he had followed thirteen or fourteen years before, when outward bound. (Cathay, 57.)

4. *Ita spoliare et modis multis ad faciem suam, et a sole designavit, ut propius cum lumine poterat cognoscere.* *Relatiōis*, p. 266.



Of the description of his Journeys which Oderic dictated, there are several MSS copies extant, no two of which are exactly alike. There are also many versions in different languages. Three different versions of the passage referring to Ceylon are given below. The first is from a MS transcribed by Henry of Glats in 1340, which is now edited by F. Marcellino da Civezza.<sup>1</sup> "*B. Fratris Oderici de Foro Julii | Ordinis Minorum | Iter ad Partes Infidelium | a Fratre Henrico De Glars ejusdem ordinis | descriptum | nunc vero primo in lucem editum | Ad fidem MSS Codicis Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis (cod. lat. 903) | cura P. Marcellini A Civezza.*" The second is from the Latin text published by Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither*), which differs slightly from the preceding. The Italian version, which is also from Yule, is given as a sample of the "improvements" which Oderic's tale received at the hands of translators.

The marvellous stories of the East which Oderic related tried the faith of his hearers very severely, and a biographer naively remarks: "*plura judicabit lector incredulitas, nisi fidem adstruat vel extorqueat sanctitas auctoris.*"<sup>2</sup> The Friar's errors are, however, the errors of a bona fide traveller.

#### Caput XXXIX. Silan.

Alia est insula, nomine Silan, circumiens plusquam duo milia miliaria, in qua sunt serpentes innumeri, et alia animalia silvestria maxime quantitatis, et praecipue elephantes. In hac terra est quidam mons magnus, de quo dicunt gentes illae, quod super eum luserit Adam filium suum centum annis. In supremo hujus montis est quaedam planities pulchra, in qua est unus lacus non multum magnus, sed profundus. Hujus lacus aquas gentes errore delusae, dicunt esse lacrimas, quas fudit Adam et Eva pro filio suo Abel: cum tamen ipsa aqua de terrae visceribus scaturire (videatur), haec aqua sanguisuga plena est, cuius etiam fundus abundat diversis lapidibus praeciosis. Istos lapides non tollit ipse Rex, sed pro salute sua semel et quinque bis in anno pauperibus terrae dimittit, ut ex his lapidibus eorum inopia sublevetur. Et quoniam propter sanguisugas malum est aquas subintrare, accipiunt ipsi pauperes limonem, idest quemdam fructum, quem bene pistant, et illo se perungunt, et sic immersi in aquis illis per erugies, idest sanguisugas non laeduntur. In descensu autem huius aquae de isto monte fodiuntur rubini optimi, et boni adamantes, et alii lapides valde boni. Unde dicitur quod ibi Rex iste plures habeat praeciosas gemmas et perlas, quam aliquis in hoc mundo. In hac insula sunt multa genera animalium, et avium diversarum. Et affirmant homines illi, quod haec animalia nullum forensem laedant, nisi tamen ea eos infestant qui sunt ibi nati. Haec insula cunctis victualibus abundat, et sunt ibi aves multum magnae, et anseres duo capiti habentes.

#### Silan.

There is another island, called Silan, which hath a compass of more than two thousand miles, wherein are serpents innumerable, and other wild animals in great numbers, and especially elephants. In this country there is a great mountain, of which the folk relate that upon it Adam mourned for his son one hundred years. On the top of this mountain is a certain beautiful level place, in which there is a lake of no great size, but deep. The waters of this lake, the deluded people say, are the tears which Adam and Eve shed for their son Abel: but as the water seems to spring naturally from the soil, it is full of leeches, and its bottom abounds with numerous precious stones. The king taketh not these gems, but for his salvation twelve times (seven or eleven) a year<sup>3</sup> he suffereth the poor of the country to relieve their want with those stones. And as it is unsafe to enter the water on account of the leeches, the poor people take lemons, that is, a kind of fruit, which they bruise well, and then anoint themselves therewith, and thus, when they dive into the water, they are not attacked by the leeches. Where the water comes down from the mountain, are dug the finest rubies, good diamonds, and other very good stones. Wherefore it is said that this king hath there more precious gems and pearls than any other in the world. In this island there are many kinds of animals and diverse birds. And the people say that these animals hurt no foreigner, but only those who are born there. This island hath also great store of victuals, and there are there birds of great size, and geese which have two heads.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Which Yule wished to print but did not get. <sup>2</sup> Roll. <sup>3</sup> See note below. <sup>4</sup> Perhaps this only means "not all sometimes laid" a year. <sup>5</sup> "Which possibly means that he saw the heron!" (Ten. i. 357.) "How easy here to call Oderic a liar, but how unjust, when the matter has been explained." (Cathay, p. 106, n. 2.)



## 25 De Insula Sillan et ejus Mirabilibus.

Alia est insula Sillan, <sup>9</sup> circueus bene plura quam duo milia miliarium in qua sunt serpentes infiniti, multaque alia animalia silvestria in magna quantitate <sup>10</sup> ut potissime elephantis. In hac contrata est unus maximus mons de quo dicunt gentes quod super illo Adam planxit filium suum centum <sup>11</sup> annis. In medio montis hujus <sup>12</sup> est quedam pulcherrima planities in qua est unus lacus non multum magnus. <sup>13</sup> Sed tamen est bene in eo aqua magna quam dicunt gentes esse lacrimas quas Adam et Eva effuderunt, quod tamen non creditur esse verum, <sup>14</sup> cum tamen intus nascatur aqua illa.

Profunditas <sup>15</sup> hujus aquae plena est lapidibus preciosis. Quae aqua multum est yrandibus <sup>16</sup> et sanguisugis plena. Hos lapides non accipit ille rex, sed pro anima sua semel vel bis in anno sub aquas ipsos pauperes ire permittit, et quotquot ex lapidibus istis capere possunt omnes dimittit eis. <sup>17</sup> Et ut ipsi pauperes ire sub aquam possint accipiunt limonem et quemdam fructum quem bene pistant, <sup>18</sup> et illo bene se ungunt, et tunc in aquam se mergunt. Et cum sic sint uncti yrandines et sanguisugae illos offendere non valent. Sic isto modo pauperes sub intrant aquam, et exeunt accipientes si possunt de lapidibus istis preciosis.

Aqua quae descendit per montem exit ab isto lacu. Et ibi <sup>19</sup> fodiuntur boni robini et boni dyamantes reperiuntur et multi, sic et multi lapides alii boni; ibi etiam reperiuntur bonae perlae, quo aqua ista descendit ad mare. Unde dicitur quod rex iste habet plures lapides preciosos quam aliquis alius rex qui hodie sit in mundo.

In hac insula sunt diversa genera animalium sicut avium et multorum animalium quae morantur ibi. Unde dicunt illi de contrata quod haec animalia multum forensium laedunt non illos qui ibi sunt nati. <sup>20</sup> In hac insula etiam sunt aves multum magnae sicut sunt anseres, qui duo capita in se habent. <sup>21</sup> Haec etiam insula maximam copiam habet victualium et multorum aliorum bonorum quae non scribo. *Cathay. II. App. I. pp. XXI-XXII.*

## 23 Dell Isola di Silan.

(Silan) è una grande isola nel la quale sono diverse bestie e massimamente serpenti i maggiori del mondo. Ed è incredibile ed è ancora mirabile cosa, che ne bestia ne serpenti

## Concerning the Island of Sillan, and the Marvels Thereof.

There is also another island called Sillan, which hath a compass of good 2,000 miles. There be found therein an infinite number of serpents, and many other wild animals in great numbers, especially elephants. In this country also there is an exceeding great mountain, of which the folk relate that it was upon it that Adam mourned for his son one hundred years. In the midst of this mountain is a certain beautiful level place, in which there is a lake of no great size, but having a great depth of water. This they say, was derived from the tears shed by Adam and Eve; but I do not believe that to be the truth, seeing that the water springs naturally from the soil.

The bottom of this pool is full of precious stones, and the water greatly aboundeth in leeches. The king taketh not those gems for himself, but for the good of his soul once or twice a-year he suffereth the poor to search the water, and take away whatever stones they can find. But that they may be able to enter the water in safety, they take lemons and bruise them well, and then copiously anoint the whole body therewith and after that when they dive into the water the leeches do not meddle with them. And so it is that the poor folk go down into the pool and carry off precious stones if they can find them.

The water, which comes down from the mountain, issues forth by this lake. And the finest rubies are dug there: good diamonds too are found and many other good stones. And where that water descends into the sea there be found fine pearls. Wherefore the saying goes that this king hath more precious stones than any other king in the world.

In this island there be sundry kinds of animals, both of birds and other creatures: and the country folk say that the wild beasts never hurt a foreigner, but only those who are natives of the island. There be also certain birds as big as geese, which have two heads. And this island hath also great store of victuals, and of many other good things whereof I do not write. *Cathay. I. pp. 98-100.*

## Of the Island of Silan.

(Silan) is a large island in which there are various animals (and) especially serpents the largest in the world. And it is an incredible and even a wonderful fact that neither the beasts nor the

9. This name is variously given: Sillan, Silan, Cillan, Syllan, Sulam, S'Yule. 10. El mar, vultu, lacrimis quorundam et omnium animalium ropocum (in other codices, Yule). 11. 500 annis, et Ten. L. 12. In montis ejus maxime. Yule. 13. Perlae. 14. For Adam's tears. Yule. 15. Sed proinde hoc formam suam gulo sicut aquam in terra sustinere. Cf. Tennent. 16. Perlae. 17. For Adam's tears. Yule. 18. Ut erant pro anima sua. 19. Lapidibus istis fructus quorundam corporum, totum illorum accipit princeps, ut ait quendam victum quem bene pistant, etc. 20. Quia fructus quorundam corporum, ut ait quendam victum quem bene pistant, etc. 21. Mille capita.



noe impediscono nessuno uomo forestiere, e (offendono?) massimamente que' dell'isola. E sono quivi molti leofanti salvatici. Ed avi una generazione di serpenti ch'anno collo di cavallo e capo di serpente e corpo di cane e coda di serpente ed anno quatro piedi e sono grandi come buoi e piccoli com'asini. Il re di questa isola è molto ricco in oro e n pietre preziose. Quivi si truovano i buoni diamanti e rubini e perle in grande copia. Quivi è 'l monte grande come dicono quelli della contrada ch'Adamo e Adeba piansono Abello per Caino. In sulla cima del monte à alcuna pianura bella ed avi un lago, e dicono che l'acqua di quello lago sono le lagrime d'Adamo ed Adeba. Nel fondo di questo lago sono pietre preziose. Il Re di quindi no vi lascia pescare se no se gente povera e bisognosa. Quando alcuno a licenza di pescare si va ed agnesi tutto quanto del sago *limbors* e poi vae al fondo e quante puo prendere di queste pietre vae e recale snso. E sonvi tante di queste mignatte che se non fosse il sago di questo albore uciderebbe gli uomini. E ciascuno vi puote entrare una volta e quello che prende è suo. Questo fa il Re per cagione umile.

Di questo lago esce un rivo e n questo rivo si truovano i buoni cherubini in grande quantita, e quando questo rivo entra in mare quivi si truovano le buone perle. E questa isola è delle maggiori ch'abbia l'India ed a grande abbondanza di formento e d'olio e d'ogni bene. Molti mercatanti vanno a questa isola per la grande abbondanza delle pietre che vi sono. Avi assai altre cose delle quali narrare non curo. *Cathay*, II, Appendix II, pp. XLIX—l.

serpents harm any stranger, and (attack) especially those of the island. And there are there many wild elephants. And there is a kind of serpents which have the neck of a horse (and) the head of a serpent (and) the body of a dog (and) the tail of a serpent, and they have four legs, and are as big as bulls and as small as asses. The king of this island is very rich in gold and precious stones. There are found good diamonds, and rubies and pearls in abundance. There is there the high mountain, on which, as those of the country say, Adam and Eve mourned for Abel on account of Cain. On the top of this mountain is a beautiful plain, and a lake, and they say that the waters of this lake are the tears of Adam and Eve. In the bottom of this lake there are precious stones. The king does not allow anyone to fish therein except the poor and the needy. When one has permission to fish, he goes and anoints himself all over with the juice of *limbors*, and then he dives, and goes and brings up as many of these precious stones as he can. And there are so many leeches in it that, were it not for the juice of that tree, the men would be killed. And each one may enter therein once, and what he takes is for himself. The king does it out of humility.

From this lake flows a river, and in this river are found good rubies in great quantity; and where the river enters the sea there are found good pearls. And this island is one of the largest in India, and it has a great abundance of wheat, oil, and every good thing. Many merchants go to this island on account of the great abundance of stones found there. There are many other things which I do not care to relate.

Sir John Mandeville, "the author of the most unblushing volume of lies ever offered to the world," borrowed his pretended description of Ceylon from Oderic. (Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii, 63). Cordier (*Description of Ceylon* i, 3) gives the following extract from Mandeville "as a curiosity which may gratify some readers":—

*Chap. XVIII.* — Fro this Lond men gon to another yle, that is clept Silha: and it is welles a 800 Myles aboute. In that Lond is full mocheille waste: for it is full of serpentes, of Dragons, and of Cockadrilles: that no man dar doelle there. These Cocodrilles ben Serpentes, zalowe and rayed aboven, and han 4 feet and schurte Thyes and grete Naytes, as Clees or Talouns: and there been some that han 5 Fadme in lengthe, and some of 6 and of 8, and of 10: and when thei gon to places, that ben gravelly, it semethe as though men hadde drawn a grete Tree thorghe the gravelly place. And there ben also many wyde Bestes, and namelyche of Olifauntes. In that yle is a gret Mountayne: and in mydd place of the Mount, is a gret lake in a fulle fair Pleyne, and there is gret plentee of Watre. And thei of the Contree seyn, that Adam and Eve wepten upon that Mount an 100 Zeer, whan thei weren dryven out of Paradys. And that Watre, thei seyn, is of here Teres: for so much Watre thei wepten, that made the forseide Lake. An in the botme of that Lake, men fynden many precious Stones and grete Perles. In that Lake growen many Reedes and grete Cannes: and there with inne ben many Cocodrilles and Serpentes and grete watre Leeches. *The Voyage and Travaille of Sir John Maundeville, Kt., which treateth of the Way to Hierusalem; and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Llands and Countryes*—p. 238.

## CEYLON ACCORDING TO DU JARRIC.

Translated from the Original French.

By REV. E. GASPARD, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. III, Pt. III, Page 173).

### Vol. I. Livre II. Chapitre II.

*Des moyens qu'on a vus pour ayder les Infideles à se convertir à Jesus-Christ; & ce qui a esté fait en cela de plus remarquable en l'Isle de Goa.*

.... Jean Roy, à leà de Castre Gouverneur de l'Inde, son amy, Salut .... De l'Isle de Ceilan l'on dit, qu'un jeune enfant de la race des Rois, fuyant la cruauté, ie ne sçay si de son oncle, ou de son pere, s'en est venu rendre à Goa, pour recevoir le baptesme. Quant à sa personne (attendu qu'il n'importe pas peu pour la conversion des autres) vous donnerez ordre, qu'il soit instruit en doctrine, & & bonnes moeurs dans le College de S. Paul avec les autres pensionnaires : mais quant à son viure, & entretien ie veux qu'il soit traité honnestement, & magnifiquement en un logis à part. Il m'a escrit luy mesme, qu'il a droit & action au Royaume de Ceilan. Vous adviserez que c'est, & m'ecrirez ce qu'il y a en cela, apres vous en estre bien enquis & acertaine. Mais en ce que ce Roy là a vû d'une telle cruauté à l'endroit de ceux de son Royaume, qui ont embrassé la foy Chrestienne : ie desire bien qu'au plustost vous en fassiez une punition tardive voirement, mais neantmoins telle qu'il a meritée; & que vous punissiez rigoureusement une si grande audace, & impieté : A celle fin qu'un chacun entende, que ie n'ay rien plus à coeur, que de garantir de tout tort, & dommage ceux, qui abandonnans le party du Diable, se viendront ranger sous la bannière de Jesus-Christ ....

### Vol. I. Bk. II. Chap. II.

*Of the means employed to aid the infidels to convert themselves to the faith of Jesus-Christ, and of what has been done most worthy of remark in that connection in the isle of Goa.*

.... King John, to his friend, John de Castre, Governor of India, greeting ....

About the Island of Ceilan, I hear that a young boy of royal blood, eluding the cruelty of either his uncle or father, came over to Goa in order to receive baptism. With respect to him (since this is of no small importance for the conversion of others) you shall give orders for his instruction in doctrine and morals at the College of St. Paul, together with the other boarders; but as to his board and lodging, I wish him to be treated honourably and sumptuously in separate lodgings. He wrote to me himself that he has a rightful claim to the kingdom of Ceilan. You shall make sure that such is the case and write to me the precise fact after careful inquiry and investigation. But, as regards the great cruelty with which the king treated those of his kingdom who have embraced the Christian faith, I sincerely desire that you should, without delay, inflict upon him a punishment, though tardy, yet such as he deserves; and that you should severely chastise so great an audacity and impiety to the end that all should understand that I have nothing more at heart than to protect against all wrong and damage those who, abandoning the forces of the devil, shall come and range themselves beneath the banner of Jesus Christ ....



## Vol. I, Livre II, Chapitre VII.

*De L'Isle de Ceilan, et comme le Roy de Jafanapatan fut chastié des cruautés, qu'il avoit exercées contre les Chrestiens.*

Puis qu'il nous faut parler du Roy de Jafanapatan, tant à cause des Chrestiens de la Pescherie, que pour les choses qui sont advenues en son Royaume, qui est l'un des principaux de l'Isle de Ceilan, & que plusieurs choses, qu'on raconte de ceste Isle sont dignes d'estre sceuës, & donneront beaucoup de lumiere à toute ceste histoire, nous traiterons sommairement de ce qu'il y a de plus rare : à fin d'avoir une plus claire connoissance de l'injustice & meschanceté de ce Roy, & par consequent des autres punitions, que Dieu luy envoya pour ses pechez, comme nous verrons en ce qui s'ensuit. L'Isle doncques de Ceilan est distinguée & séparée du cap de Commori par un petit bras de mer, comme est la Sicile de l'Italie. Elle a septante huit lieues de long, quarante quatre de large, & de circuit deux cens quarante. Au reste c'est la meilleure piece de terre en proportion qui se trouve en toute l'Inde, soit qu'on jette les yeux sur la mer, qui l'environne, ou sur la terre qu'elle cõtient, ou sur l'air qui la couvre. Car pour le regard de la mer, outre la grande quantité de poisson qu'il y a ; desia nous avons dit, que l'une des trois minieres, d'où l'on tire les perles de l'Orient, est entre la coste de la pescherie, & l'Isle de Ceilan. Quant au terroir, les bois de ceste Isle portent la meilleure canelle du monde, & en tres-grande quantité. Les palmiers fruitiers, desquels nous parlerons cy apres, y croissent merueilleusement bien : les champs foisonnent en ris, que les habitants appellent Bate. Et à ceste occasion un Royaume de l'Isle a esté appellé Batecalou, pour cause de la grande abondance de ris, qu'il porte. D'icy l'on

## Vol. I, Bk. II, Chap. VII.

*Of the island of Ceilan, and of how the King of Jafanapatan was punished for his cruel treatment of the Christians.*

As we have to speak of the King of Jafanapatan, both in connection with the Christians of the Fishery coast, and on account of the events that took place in his Kingdom, which is one of the principal (Kingdoms) of the island of Ceilan, and because many things related about this island are worth knowing and will throw much light on (the facts we are narrating in) this History, we shall speak briefly of what is most remarkable, so as to give a clear idea of the injustice and wickedness of this King, and of the punishments which, as we shall see presently, God inflicted on him for his misdeeds. The island of Ceilan is separated from Cape Commori by a narrow strait, just as Sicily is from Italy. It is seventy eight leagues long, forty four broad, and two hundred and fifty all round.\* Whether we consider the sea that surrounds it, its soil, or its climate, Ceilan is, proportionately speaking, the best country in all India. As regards the sea, besides that it abounds in fish, one of the three pearl fisheries which yield the best pearls in the East is, as we have already said, situated between the Fishery coast and the island of Ceilan. The soil produces the best cinnamon in the world, and in great quantity. Fruit bearing palm trees, of which we shall speak further on, thrive here beautifully. The fields yield rich crops of rice, which the inhabitants call Bate, and hence one of the Kingdoms of the island has been called Batecalou,† because it produces rice in great abundance. It is here that they dig the best rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other precious stones, with the exception of the diamond, which is found in the Kingdom of Bisnaga.‡

11. These are the figures of Barros: "the length of it will be seventy eight and the extreme breadth forty four. 20. (The numbers thus indicated refer to the pages of the Journal H.A.S. (C.B.) No. 60, which contains the scholarly translation of Barros and de Couto by Mr. Ferguson). McCrindle (*Ancient India*, xxi, 29, n.1) and Yerrant (*Ceylon*, i, 2-10) have pointed out that the classical accounts of the island persistently exaggerate to an enormous extent the dimensions of Ceylon. Onasikriton—magnitude 5000 stadia. (*Idem*, Ind. 20). Eratosthenes—7000 stadia in length, and 3000 in breadth (ib. 103). Strabo—5000 stadia in length in the direction of Ethiopia (ib. 66). Pliny—10000 stadia in length (ib. 363). Ptolemy makes it about fourteen times its actual size (*Ann. Ind.*, as described by Ptolemy 247-259). Arrian—length 8500, breadth 7000. (ib. 2, 9). Artemidorus—length 7000, breadth 500. (ib. 8). These figures, among other things, made some hesitate to accept the oft repeated statement that Ceylon was the Taprobane of the ancients. But even those who certainly identified Ceylon with Taprobane have fallen into the same error. Coenias Indico-plenotes gives *Helicthia* (Taprobane) a length of 300 gaudia, who held Taprobane to be Sumatra, says that the island, called *Zeilanda*, *quam multi suspicantur esse Taprobaneam*, *in latitudine a septentrione ad Meridiem circiter ducentis & quinquaginta passuum milia; latitudo autem ubi eis habet observat (Pres. in Comm. India)*. "perum ut plerique in locis observantibus, et a dictis variis antea notatum, *humeris*

12. This is "one of the most amusing of Barros's etymological straggles." 20. De Queyros was better informed: *Des propriës noms de Malakalapa, q' se disent, Aliques de Java: se ter Aza de este legua de comprimento, e em pte. mays de largo: e o fundo de tal terra, pte de de Norde, q' se sole atalhe he impoissavel saber se, se o mar Heia.* (Comp. 43)

20. Cf. Tem. i, 32-33



tire les plus fins rubis, saphirs, topases, & autre sorte de pierres précieuses, excepté le diamant, qui se trouve au Royaume de Bisnaga. Pour le regard de l'air, il y est le plus pur & delié, qu'en toute autre contrée de l'Inde. Car jaoit que ceste Isle soit située sous la Zone Torride, n'estant la plus Septentrionale pointe d'icelle, qu'à huit ou neuf degrez de hauteur du Nort: toutesfois la diuine prouidence a tellement disposé les causes naturelles, qu'il n'y a presque mois de l'année auquel il ny ait des pluyes, qui seruēt, & pour rafraichir l'air & arrouser la terre, laquelle avec ce & les eaux des riuieres, qui descendent des mōtagnes, & apres plusieurs tours & retours s'en vont en fin rendre dans la mer, est semblable à vn beau lardin ou vergier: si remplie elle est d'arbres fructiers, & aromatiques, lesquels elle produit plustost de sa nature, que par l'industrie de ceux qui la cultiuent. Car comme en ce país les Roys sont heritiers de leurs vassaux, & prennent toute leur cheance lors qu'il viennent à mourir, sans en dōner aux enfans du defunct, sinon autant qu'il leur plaist, les peres ne se trauaillent pas aussi beaucoup de cultiuer la terre, ny de planter pour leurs successeurs.

Si est-ce que telles façons de faire, ny plusieurs autres actes de tyrannie, que les Roys de ceste Isle pratiquent sur leurs vassaux, ne leur ont peu faire perdre la bonne opinion, qu'ils ont en tousiours de leurs Princes, & nommément de celuy qu'ils tenoient iusques à nostre siecle, pour legitime Seigneur de l'Isle de Ceilan, & comme Souuerain Prince, ou Empereur de tous les autres Roys qu'il y a. Car ils estiment tous ceux qui descendent de ceste race, Princes diuins & celestes, ou, comme ils disent, vrais enfans du Soleil. Or à fin qu'on entende mieux ceste celeste generation, ie coucheray icy ce qu'ils en ont acoustumé de dire, & de chanter en leur festes, & celebritez: car ils ont toute ceste genealogie descrite en leurs vieux Romans. Ils disent donc, que du temps que les premiers hommes, qui peuplerent l'Inde par dela le Gange, viuoient à la façon des bestes sauages parmi les bois, sans aucune cognoissance de l'agriculture, sans ordre de police, sans loix, sans trafic: brief sans façon quelconque de Religion, ou de Republique, se nourrisans tant seulemēt de

As for the air, it is purer and keener here than anywhere else in India. For, though this island lies within the torrid Zone—in fact the extreme point on the North is but 8 or 9 degrees above the Equator—yet, divine Providence has so disposed natural causes that there is hardly any month in the year which does not bring rain.<sup>21</sup> The air is thereby refreshed and the soil well watered. These rains and the water of the rivers that come down from the hills, and after endless windings empty themselves into the sea, make of Ceilan a beautiful garden or orchard. There is an abundance of fruit-bearing and aromatic trees, due rather to the natural fertility of the soil than to the industry of the inhabitants, for as in this country the Kings are the heirs of their subjects, and seize their property when these die, leaving to the children of the deceased just what they choose to, the parents care very little to cultivate the lands or plant them for their descendants.<sup>22</sup>

Yet, this proceeding of the Kings of this island, no more than their other tyrannical dealings with their subjects, has in no way affected the good opinion these have always had of their Princes, and in particular of the one they considered up to our time, the legitimate Lord of the island of Ceilan, and, as it were, the Sovereign Prince or Emperor of all Kings. Indeed, they look upon all the scions of this race as divine and celestial Princes, the true children of the Sun, as they call them. As to this divine race, I shall here relate what they are wont to sing and celebrate on their feasts and festivals: for they have the complete genealogy described in their old writings. The first men that peopled India beyond the Ganges were living, they say, in the forests like wild beasts, without any knowledge of agriculture, without government, without laws, without commerce, in one word without any manner of religion or established authority. Their food consisted in roots of herbs, the fruits that grow in the forests, and the raw flesh of animals. One fine morning, a great multitude of these people had assembled

21. Barros again "there is not a month of the year that is does not rain there" 35.

22. Barros: "And if the kings did not constitute themselves the heirs of their vassals, taking from them all the property that they possess at the hour of death, of which, if they choose, they give some things to the children, it would be much more fruitful and well supplied; but, through fear of this, they do not care to cultivate anything" 26-28. Cf. De Quoy: 70-71, 74.







Ganges, & se conserva tant seulement en l'Isle de Ceilan, en la maniere qui s'ensuit. Cinq cens ans ou environ auant la venue de Nostre Seigneur, selon que l'on peut colliger de leurs annales, lors que ceste race florissoit le plus, il y eut vn fils du Roy de Tanassarij, nommé Vigia Raya; lequel descendoit bien en droite ligne de ceste race: mais parce qu'il estoit mal-voulu de tout le peuple, son pere fut contraint de l'enuoyer avec plusieurs autres jeunes hommes, qui auoyent esté nourris avec luy, pour descouurir quelque nouueau pais, ou il peut viure en pareil honneur, que celui qu'il attendoit, se faisant Roy de ceste contrée, qu'il descouuriroit. La premiere terre, ou ils prindrent port fut l'Isle de Ceilan, qui estoit lors toute deserte. Vigia Raya estant sauté à terre, avec ses compagnons en vn port qu'on nomme Pereature, qui est entre le Royaume de Triquinamale, & la poincte de Jafanapatan, fonda illec la premiere ville, qui fut oncques en Ceilan, vis à vis de l'Isle de Manar. Bien tost apres il s'allia par mariage avec le Roy de la terre ferme, qui est tout à l'opposite de ceste isle, vers le cap de Commori, ou est à present la coste de la pescherie. Et c'est ainsi, à ce qu'ils disent, que l'Isle de Ceilan commença de se peupler: & fut tellement annoblie par la race de ces Rois, qu'on estimoit celeste & diuine, que tous les autres Princes de l'Inde se tencient pour heureux, de se pouoir allier avec icelle: & pource bailloient volontiers leurs filles en mariage ausdicts Rois. Mais à tant de ceci: voyons maintenant pourquoy l'on appelle les habitans de ceste Isle Chingalas: car c'est ainsi qu'on les nomme par tout l'Orient.

Il faut donc scauoir que les premiers, qui peuplerent ceste Isle, commenceans à trafiquer avec ceux de la coste de Coromandel, qui scauoient d'où ils estoient venus, furent appelez *Galas*, qui signifie en leur langue gens dégradés: parce qu'ils auoient entendu qu'ils estoient allez la comme bannis de leur pais. Et dit on encore que pour la mesme cause, ceste Isle a esté appelée iadis *Illelare*, qui veut dire Royaume de l'Isle, cōbien que l'on tient que le nom qui luy fut imposé par Vigia Raya fut *Lamcab*, qui signifie, Terre Sainte, à cause de la grande fertilité & bonté du terroir: car elle estoit deslors toute pleine de bois de canelle, & autres sortes d'arbres aromatiques. Or comme avec le temps les Chinois (au pouoir desquels tout le trafic & commerce de l'Inde a demeuré l'espace de

About 500 years before Our Lord,<sup>24</sup> as far as can be deduced from their annals, at the time when this heavenly race was flourishing most, there lived a son of the King of Tanassarij, called Vigia Raja. He was a descendant in direct line of this kingly race, but, as he was disliked by the people, his father was obliged to send him in company with several other youths who had been brought up with him, to find out some other land where he could make himself King and live in a position similar to that which he expected at home. The first land they touched was the island of Ceilan, which was not yet inhabited. Vigia Raja disembarked with his companions at a port called Pereature,<sup>25</sup> which lies between the Kingdom of Triquinamale and the point of Jafanapatan. There he founded the very first town of Ceilan, opposite the isle of Manar. Shortly afterwards, he contracted a marriage alliance with the King of the continent opposite this isle, not far from cape Commori, the present Fishery coast. In this way—so they believe—the island of Ceilan began to be peopled. So noble was it made by this race of Kings, who were held as heavenly and divine, that all the other Princes of India considered it a great honour to contract an alliance with it. To that end, they eagerly gave their daughters in marriage to the said Kings. But enough of this for the present. Let us now see why the people of this island are called Chingalas, for that is the name they go by all over the East.

It must be remembered that the first inhabitants of Ceilan started commercial relations with those of the Coromandel coast, who knew their origin, and called them *Galas*,<sup>26</sup> which in the language of these people signifies degraded people. They had heard, in fact, that they had betaken themselves there because they had been banished from their own country. It is also said that for the same reason the island was formerly called *Illelare*, which means the Kingdom of the island, though it is commonly held that Vigia Raja called it *Lamcab*, that is, Holy Land,<sup>27</sup> on account of the marvellous fertility and richness of the soil, for, at the time, it produced cinnamon and other aromatic plants in great abundance. By and by, the Chinese, in whose hands all the trade and commerce of India remained for several years, heard of that

24. De Couto, 22-23.

25. De Couto Pereature. G. gives three traditions: Mantota, Feriature, and Valera (ibid. 4).

26. Another etymological story, Barros 25. De Couto 65. De Queyroz rejects all this (Congo, 4-6).

27. *Lamcab* = Earthly Paradise. De Queyroz: *Lamcab* = terra longinquæ & diuina (Congo, 6).



plusieurs années) eussent connoissance de ce bois de canelle, qui abondoit en ceste Isle, & y nauigeassent à ceste occasion fort souuent, plusieurs marchands Chinois trouuans le lieu beau, commode, & fertile, s'y arreserent, s'estans la mariez & habitez, tellement qu'ils appellerent leurs enfans Chingalas, faisans vn assemblage du nom Chin, qui est le mesme que Chinois & Galas, qui est l'appellation ancienne des habitans de ceste Isle, selon qu'a esté dit. Et bien qu'au commencement on nommoit tant seulement Chingalas, ceux qui estoient nais d'un Chinois & d'une femme du pais; toutes-foi comme avec le temps, les peres de ces enfans assistez de la puissance des Chinois, qui commandoient à la marine cōme font maintenant les Portugais, eussent eu le dessus de tout le reste des habitans de l'Isle, ils se nommerent tous Chingalas. Quant au nom de Ceilan, qu'on donne à present à toute l'Isle, quelques vns pensent qu'il a esté prins d'un naufrage des Chinois fort notable, qui arriua es bancs ou escuils proches de ladicte Isle, ou se perdit vne grande flotte de Chinois: car Nilao en leur langue veut dire bancs; & Chin, Chinois; dont a esté composé le nom Chinilao, duquel on a jadis nommé ceste Isle par tout l'Orient, mais comme le temps selon la coutume a mangé peu à peu quelques lettres, & adouci les autres on l'appelle maintenant avec vn peu de variation Ceilan.

Mais il y a vne grāde dispute entre les Geographes de ce temps, scauoir mon, si ceste Isle de Ceilā, est celle que Plin & les anciens Romains & autres ont appellé *Taprobane*. Car il en y a aucuns qui estiment que c'est l'Isle que maintenant on nomme Sumatra, située vis à vis de Malaca; toutesfoi considerant ce que Ptolomée en dit, & d'autres raisons, que nous deduirons tout maintenant, il me semble assuré, que ceste Isle de Ceilan est la *Taprobane* des anciens; & non celle de Sumatra. Car Ptolomée a situé la *Taprobane* par deça le Gange, & vis à vis du cap de Cori, que maintenant on nomme Commori, qui est la situation propre de Ceilan, & ne conuient aucunement à l'Isle de Sumatra. D'ailleurs ce que Plin raconte, qu'au temps de l'Empereur Claude, il y eut vn serf affranchi de Annus Plocamus citoyen de Rome, lequel nauigeant aupres de l'Arabie, fut emporté par l'impetuosité d'un vent de Nort, dans quinze jours, en l'Isle *Taprobane*, est fort vray semblable: si par la *Taprobane* nous prenons l'Isle

cinnamon which was thriving so well in that island, and sailed thither frequently for it. Several of these Chinese merchants, finding the place attractive, convenient and fertile settled there, married, and became accustomed to the place. They called their children Chingalas, uniting the word Chin, which means Chinese, and Galas which is the ancient name, as we have said, of the inhabitants of that island. At first only the offspring of a Chinese man and a native woman were called Chingalas, but after some time, as the fathers of these children, supported by the influence of the Chinese, who then ruled the sea as the Portuguese do now, gained the ascendancy over the rest of the inhabitants, they were all called Chingalas. As for the name Ceilan, at present given to the whole island, some are of opinion that it got its origin from a great wreck, in which a powerful Chinese fleet was lost on some banks or reefs close to the said island. For Nilao in their language means banks, and Chin, Chinese; hence the compound Chinilao<sup>28</sup> by which name the island was formerly known everywhere in the East. But, as happens, time has by and by worn away a few of the letters and softened the others, and it is now commonly known by the slightly altered name of Ceilan.

There is a great discussion among the Geographers of our days as to whether this island of Ceilan is the one called *Taprobane* by Pliny,<sup>29</sup> the ancient Romans and others.<sup>30</sup> There are some who maintain that it (*Taprobane*) is the island now called Sumatra, which is situated opposite Malaca. However, in the light of what Ptolemy<sup>31</sup> says of it and for other reasons we shall adduce presently, it seems to me certain that this island of Ceilan and not Sumatra, is the *Taprobane* of the ancients. In fact, according to Ptolemy, *Taprobane* lies on this side of the Ganges and opposite cape Cori, now called cape Commori, which is the very position of Ceilan, and does not in any way correspond to that of Sumatra. Besides, what Pliny relates that, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, a freedman of the Roman citizen Annus Plocamus, sailing off Arabia, was driven in the space of fifteen days to the island of *Taprobane* by a strong wind is likely enough, if by *Taprobane* we understand Ceilan, which

28. One more atrocity. De Couto, 26.

29. Cf. *Ancient India*, McCrindle, 103-106: De Couto, 25.

30. De Couto, 26-28.

31. Cf. "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," McCrindle (217-1, 219).



de Ceilan, qui n'est qu'à cinq cens lieues de l'Arabie : mais non pas prenant la Taprobane pour l'Isle de Sumatra, qui en est plus de mille lieues loing. Et de fait comme par ce moyen le commerce entre les Romains, & ceux de ceste Isle commença, il est croyable que les Romains y bastirent tout plein de maisons. Car au Royaume de Jafanapatan on y trouue encore force ruines de bastiments anciens faicts à la Romaine. Et en l'un d'iceux l'an 1575. Jean Mello de S. Payo Capitaine pour lors de l'Isle de Manar, voulant fair bastir quelque edifice en ladite Isle, & faisant tirer de la pierre des fondemens de ces vieux edifices, les esclaves qui cauoient, trouuerent quelques pieces de monnoye de cuivre & d'or, qui auoient au tour des lettres latines : lesquelles en partie estoient desia gastées, & a demy effacées. Toutesfois on y remarquoit encore ces quatre, C.R.M.N. d'où il estoit aisé a cognoistre qu'il y a eu trafic entre les habitans de ceste Isle, & les Romains. Or ces esclaves qui auoient trouué ces pieces, en porterent quelques vnes à Jean Mello, lequel s'en retournant des Indes en Portugal l'an 1590. les portoit quât & foy : mais parce que le nauire, où il s'estoit embarqué avec Emanuel de Sousa Contingo, qui sortoit d'estre Viceroy des Indes, fit naufrage, & luy avec lesdites pieces se perdirent, on ne les a pas enés de par deça : combien qu'il y a gens dignes de foy, qui les ont veués en l'Inde, & ont tesmoigné ce que dessus.

Quant à ce que Pline dit que la Taprobane est vis à vis du cap Colaico, confirme nostre dire. Car le cap de Commori estoit lors appelé ainsi, parce que qu'il appartenoit (comme il est probable) au Royaume de Colan, qui n'est guere loing de là, & iadis estoit l'un des plus renommés, & puissans de l'Inde, & arriuoit iusques audit cap. Plusieurs autres choses, que Pline rapporte là de ceste Isle seroient plus malaisées à verifïer : toutesfois il n'en y a pas vne, qui preuue que la Taprobane des anciens soit l'Isle, que maintenant on nomme Sumatra, & qui est sise vis à vis du cap de Sincapura, proche de la ville de Malaca. Au reste il est certain que Ceilan est l'une des plus belles Isles du Leuant : car outre sa fertilité & richesse si grande qu'auons dit, il y a au milieu d'icelle des montagnes toutes couronnées d'arbres, qui encernent vne belle & longue plaine, faicte en forme de fond & bas d'un amphitheatre, qu'on diroit que la nature a voulu bastir là. Or entre ces montagnes, il en y a vne sur toutes, qui est fort haute & droicte ; tellement qu'on estime, qu'elle

is only 500 leagues from Arabia, whereas it is not (likely), if by Taprobane we understand Sumatra, which is more than 1,000 leagues away. And, in fact, as commercial relations were opened in this way between the Romans and the people of this island, it is probable that the Romans built houses there in great number. As a matter of fact, there are still to be seen, in the Kingdom of Jafanapatan, a great many ruins of old buildings in Roman style. In 1575, John Mello de S. Payo, the then Captain of the isle of Manar, had stones dug up from the foundations of these old edifices to be used in some building he was putting up in that isle. The slaves who were engaged in the work found some coins in copper and gold with Latin characters on them, which were already partly worn out and half obliterated. Yet the four letters C. R. M. N. <sup>22</sup> could still be made out. This was a proof that the Romans had traded with the inhabitants of this island. The slaves who had found these coins brought some of them to John Mello who took them with him on his way home to Portugal from India in 1590 ; but the ship on which he had embarked with Emanuel de Sousa Contingo, the late Viceroy of India, was wrecked : Mello perished, and the coins were lost with him for ever. However, many trustworthy people had seen them in India, and have testified to the fact just narrated.

Pliny says that Taprobane is facing cape Colaico, and this bears out our contention. In fact, cape Commori was formerly so called, because it belonged (as seems probable) to the Kingdom of Colan, which is not far off, and was formerly one of the greatest and most powerful in India, and extended to the said cape. Several other things which Pliny there relates concerning this island cannot be so easily accounted for, yet, not one detail goes to show that the Taprobane of the ancients is the island now called Sumatra, which lies opposite cape Sincapura, not far from the town of Malaca. Be it as it may, there is no doubt that Ceilan is one of the finest islands of the East. Besides its great fertility and natural resources which we have mentioned, there rise in the centre of it mountains covered with trees, encircling a magnificent long plain, similar to the arena of an amphitheatre built there, so to speak, by nature. Among these mountains, there is one in particular so high and straight that it is estimated to be well-nigh seven leagues

32. Du Quoyers (Cinq. II), gives C.R.M.N. "que mairôn signifie : l'ancien Sumatran ou surmontant abominable" (sic). See Conto's explanation and Mr. Ferguson's remarks, ib.



a bien pres de sept lieues de hauteur. Au sommet d'icelle, l'on trouve vne petite plaine, au milieu de laquelle se void encore vne pierre faicte en forme de table esleuee sur terre de deux coudées en haut, la ou se monstre empraint le vestige, ou la marque des pieds d'un homme, qu'on tient auoir esté vn grand saint, & jadis estre venu là d'un Royaume de l'Inde nommé Deli, pour retirer ces peuples des superstitions fabuleuses, qu'ils croyoient, & les amener à la cognoissance du vray Dieu. A ceste cause l'on vient à ce lieu icy par deuotion de fort loing, si que bien souuent on y trouue vn grand nombre de pelerins, de toute sorte & qualité de personnes, mais principalement de loques, bien que ce soit vn pelerinage fort labourieux. Car outre les autres incommoditez & dangers du chemin, pour monter à la cime de ceste montagne, il faut en certains endroits grauer par ces rochers sur des gros clous, & par des chaisnes de fer, qu'on y attache, pour se tenir ferme. Quelques vns estiment que ceste marque ou vestige est de l'Eunuque de la Roynie de Candace, baptisé par S. Philippe Diacre, comme il est escrit aux Actes des Apostres. Et de faict il y a quelque vray-semblance en cela. Car entre autres escriuains, S. Dorothee Euesque de Tyr, qui vivoit du temps de Constantin le grand, tesmoigne que cest Eunuque prescha l'Euangile de nostre Seigneur en l'Arabie heureuse, & par toute la coste de la mer rouge, & pareillement en la Taprobane.

Au demeurant, bien que cest Isle a esté tout vn long temps regie & gouvernée par vn seul, toutesfois lors que les Portugais arriuerent es Indes, elle estoit diuisée en neuf Royaumes. Le premier, du costé du Ponant estoit celui de Columbo, qui prend vne grande bande de la coste Occidentale de l'Isle, là ou les Portugais ont vne tres-forte place sur le port de la cité principale, appelée aussi Colubo : & c'est là ou

high.<sup>22</sup> At the top there is a small level place, in the centre of which is still to be seen a kind of stone table about two arms' length above the ground. Impressed on it they show the vestige or footprints of a man, who is held to have been a great saint, and to have come there formerly from a Kingdom in India named Deli, to withdraw these people from the false superstitions they believed, and to bring them to the knowledge of the true God. For this reason, people come in pilgrimage to this spot from great distances. Very often, crowds of pilgrims are to be met there : all manner and quality of persons, but principally loques, and that in spite of the hardships of the journey. Indeed, apart from the difficulties and dangers of the way, they must, at certain places, in order to reach the summit, scale the rock on strong nails, and by means of iron chains hooked on these in order not to lose their balance. Some think that this mark or footprint is that of the Eunuch of the Queen of Candace,<sup>23</sup> whom the Deacon Philip baptised, as is related in the Acts of the Apostles. This is not altogether improbable : for among other writers, St Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyr,<sup>24</sup> a contemporary of Constantine the Great, relates that this Eunuch preached the Gospel of the Lord in Happy Arabia, and all along the Red Sea, and also in Taprobane.

Whatever it may be, this island which had been for a very long time ruled and governed by a single King, was, when the Portuguese arrived, divided into nine Kingdoms.<sup>25</sup> The first, on the West, was that of Columbo, which occupied a long strip of land along the West coast of the island. There the Portuguese have an important stronghold, close to the harbour of the principal town, also called Columbo. Here

22. De Couto, 168 and seq.

23. This is a reckless conjecture of Maffeo. He gave it as a conjecture. "*Haec ubi nunc vero videtur, quod ante quadam, in eo, quod dicit, vestigia, quorundam ecclesiarum jam nomine antiqua & peregrina memoria, colit Eunuchum Candace Aethiopum Reginae, quae cum aliis scripserit, tum vero Dorotheus Tyr Episcopus (qui, Constantino Magno imperante, a sanctitate & doctrina laude praecoluit) in Arabia Felice, totius Erythrae, & in Taprobana, Christi Evangelium promulgasse testatur.*" *Hic Ind. Lib. vi. p. 79.* From Maffeo it passed to De Couto, Baldens (Dutch edition, p. 191), and many others.

24. Dorotheus is no saint. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia (*sub* *sec.* Tyr) no such person ever existed. Some fragments of the writings attributed to him are given by Migne in his voluminous edition of patrology. (*Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 85), but this passage is not found there. The writings circulated under his name are Byzantine fabrications of the eighth century (*Eney. cit.*). The Byzantine cleric probably "lifted" the passage from Sophronius of Jerusalem (A. D. 540-588), who wrote: "*Eunuchus Candace Aethiopum Reginae in Arabia cognomento Jellat, et in Taprobana insula sancti Eubri praedicavit Evangelium Domini. Atque inter eos et ibidem martyrium pertulit, et honorifice fuit sepultus.*" (*Migne, Patrol. Graeca*, Vol. 23, col. 723). This is the only writer who says that the Eunuch preached the gospel in Taprobane. This Taprobane, "*insula sancti Eubri*" is not Ceylon. It is perhaps the same as "the yls gods and gret, that men clepen Taprobane" of Mandeville, if such an isle ever existed in the wide world. Cave in his *Life of Philip the Deacon* (quoted by Hough, *Christianity in India*, p. 43) says that the legend is confirmed by "the current traditions of the country." It is not clear what country is meant. It is not Ceylon, unless it refers to the footprints on Adam's Peak, and then we know what to think of it. De Couto opined that the footprints must be the work of St. Thomas, for "at that time there went to India, no one who could do such miracles but this holy apostle!" (126) Ribeiro came to about the same conclusion by calculation. (*Ribeiro's Ceilão*, p. 125). Both legends are crude fiction.

25. De Couto. De Queyroz.



se trouve la meilleure canelle, & en plus grande abondance, qu'en tout le reste de l'Isle : Le second est situé vers la plus Australe pointe de l'Isle, & s'appelle le Royaume de Gale, qui confine du costé du Levant au Royaume de Iaula, & du Nord à celui de Tanauaca. Le Royaume de Candé est au cœur de l'Isle tout environné des montagnes, ayant du costé du Levant celui de Vilacen. Mais les plus Orientaux sur la coste de mer, sont les Royaumes de Batecalou, & vn plus haut vers le Nord, celui de Triquinamale, & par dessus encore, celui de Jafanapatan, auquel indistinctement l'Isle de Manar, qui n'est distinguée de Ceilan que par vne riviére qui sort de ceste cy, & arrose de deux costez celle là. Or le Roy de Jafanapatan, qui regnoit du temps que Martin Alfonse de Sousa estoit Gouverneur des Indes, lors que le B. P. Xavier y aborda, fut celui qui tua le dernier des successeurs de Vigia Raja ; lesquels avoient jusqu'à ce temps retenu le nom & la dignité d'Empereurs de toute ceste Isle. Car jadis qu'elle fut divisée en plusieurs Royaumes, comme nous avons dit, si est-ce que celui qui estoit issu de la race du Soleil, comme ils croyoient, estoit nommé Empereur & Supérieur des autres, & a ceste occasion tous les habitants de l'Isle luy deferoient beaucoup plus d'honneur, qu'à tout le reste des Roys. Et l'hommage qu'ils luy faisoient, estoit bien tel, qu'ils ne l'eussent pour rien du monde voulu faire à quelque autre Prince, pour grand & puissant qu'il eut esté, sinon qu'il fut descendu de ceste race. Mais la perfidie & desloyauté du Roy de Jafanapatan, mit fin à ceste lignée, par la mort du dernier Empereur de Ceilan, lequel il tua de ceste sorte. Quelque temps auparavant que les Portugais ne vinssent en l'Inde, les descendants par ligne masculine de Vigia Raja, qui avoient tousiours de pere en fils succédé au tiltre d'Empereur, prindrent fin en vn nommé Prea Bandar, lequel se voyant sans enfans mâles, qui luy pussent succéder en son Royaume de Cota, & au tiltre d'Empereur de Ceilan, maria vne fille unique qu'il avoit, à vn qui estoit aussi sorti du même estoc, nommé par les habitants Ticaua Bandar, bien que les Portugais, ie ne sçay pour quelle occasion, l'appellent communément Tribuli Pandar. Cestuy-cy ayant épousé la fille de Prea Bandar, succéda apres la mort de son beau pere, tant au Royaume de Cota, qu'à son tiltre d'Empereur : d'autant qu'il estoit encore de ceste race tant renommée du Soleil, ores qu'en ligne collatérale. Mais bien tost apres surindrent en son Royaume de grands tumultes, & remuements, pour lesquels il fut contrainct de vuyder le pais ; tellement qu'ayât plié bagage, & fait amas de tous ses thresors, qui estoient fort grâds, & précieux, il se retire au Roy de Jafanapatan, comme

grows cinnamon of a better quality and in greater quantity than anywhere else in the island. The second (Kingdom) lies to the Southernmost point of the island, and is called the Kingdom of Gale. It touches the Kingdom of Iaula on the East, and that of Tanauaca on the North. The Kingdom of Candé lies in the heart of the island, and is altogether surrounded by mountains. It touches the Kingdom of Vilacen on the East. Those farthest to the East along the coast are, the Kingdom of Batecalou, and higher up to the North, that of Triquinamale. Further North still, there is the Kingdom of Jafanapatan. To this last belonged in former days the isle of Manar, which is separated from Ceilan only by a river, which flows from the latter and waters the former on two sides. It was the King reigning in Jafanapatan, at the time when Martin Alfonso de Sousa was Governor of India—when Fr. Xavier landed there—that put to death the last of Vigia Raja's successors, who had up to that time retained the name and dignity of Emperor of the whole island. For, although it had been divided, as we have said, into several Kingdoms, yet the one they believed to be the Sun's offspring, was named Emperor and considered above the rest ; and, for this reason, all the inhabitants of the island used to pay him greater honour than to all the other Kings. And the homage they paid him was such as they would never, on any account, have accorded to any other Prince, however great and powerful, that was not a scion of that race. The perfidy and treachery of the King of Jafanapatan, however, put an end to this line, by putting to death the last Emperor of Ceilan. It was done in this way. Not long before the Portuguese landed in India, the male descendants of Vigia Raja, who had, without a break, inherited the title of Emperor, from father to son, ended in one named Prea Bandar. Having no male issue to succeed him on the throne of Cota and to the title of Emperor of Ceilan, he gave his only daughter in marriage to one belonging to the same stock, called Ticaua Bandar by the natives, though the Portuguese, I do not know why, commonly styled him Tribuli Pandar. This man, having married the daughter of Prea Bandar, succeeded to both the throne of Cota and the title of Emperor, on the death of his father-in-law, since he also belonged to that famous race of the Sun, though collaterally. Soon afterwards, great risings and insurrections occurred in his Kingdom, which forced him to leave the country. In consequence, he packed up, gathered all his treasures which were many and precious, and fled to the King of Jafanapatan, as to a sure refuge



à un asyle, & port assuré, esperant trouver en luy un bon abry. Mais il fut bien trompé, car cestuy-cy l'ayant en son pouvoir, & tous ses thresors avec, se garda bien de lascher prise, & le laisser aller; ains il l'arresta de sorte, qu'il le fit mourir proditoirement, à ce qu'on tient, pour luy avoir ses thresors, rompant par ce moyen tout droit, & d'hospitalité, & de loyauté. Par le decez de cestuy-cy, la race tant renommée du Soleil vint à s'eclipser en ceste Isle là, tout ainsi qu'elle avoit failly au delà du Ganges long temps auparavant. Car il n'en resta qu'un seul fils de cestuy-cy, qui fut tué par le Roy de Jafanapatan, & de la fille de Prea Bandar, lequel pour eschapper la cruauté du meurtrier de son pere s'enfuit à Goa, pour se mettre sous la protection du Gouverneur des Indes, & avoir raison tant de la mort de son pere, que de l'iniure que luy faisoit le Roy de Jafanapatan luy retenant tous ses moyens. Estant donc à Goa, il se rendit Chrestien, & fut nommé en son baptême Don Jean; depuis il s'en alla en Portugal, où il a esté plusieurs années poursuivant son reestablishement. Et jacoit que les Portugais l'appellent Roy de Ceilan, comme selon le droit il l'est, & ayant fait beaucoup de choses pour le remettre en ses estats: toutesfois il n'est point encore entré en la succession de ses ayeulx, ores qu'il se soit mis depuis si long temps sous leurs aisles, & protection; & qu'il se soit ensuielly auprès d'eux, sans avoir laissé des enfans, qui luy pussent succeder.

Pour demander donc cōpte tant de ces iniures faites au legitime Empereur de Ceilan, par le Roy de Jafanapatan, que des cruantez barbares, qu'il executa contre les martyrs de l'Isle de Manar, ainsi qu'a esté dit au premier livre, le Viceroy Don Constantin fils du Duc de Bregance, l'une des plus nobles, & anciennes maisons de Portugal, partit de Goa l'an 1560, menant quant & foy une belle flotte pour aller chastier ce meschant Roy de tant d'inhumanitez, qu'il avoit cōmis, & de plusieurs autres torts, & injures qu'il avoit fait aux Portugais. Or bien que ladite flotte, pour avoir en les vêts contraires, ne prit pas terre si à point qu'il eut esté de besoing; & que la trop grande confiance des Portugais mit en partie les affaires en danger: brief que les maladies qui se glisserent parmi l'armée firent retirer le Viceroy plustost qu'il n'eust désiré; toutesfois le Roy de Jafanapatan fut bien chastié pour ce coup. Car la principale cité de son Royaume, dans laquelle il attendit le camp du Viceroy, fut prise par force & saccagée, le barbare neantmoins se sauva à la fuite, & se retira dans les bois, qu'il y a là fort espais. Cependant on mit au fil de l'espee

and haven, hoping to find in him a protector, but he was sadly mistaken. Having him and all his treasures in his power, the King of Jafanapatan took good care not to miss his chance and let him go. Thus, he detained him by force, and, in order to secure his treasures, foully murdered him, as they say, against all the rights of hospitality and loyalty. By his death this so renowned race of the Sun became extinct in the island, as had happened beyond the Ganges long before. The only son of the King of Jafanapatan's victim and Prea Bandar's daughter fled to Goa to escape the cruelty of his father's murderer. There he sought the protection of the Governor of India, and redress for the cruel death of his father and the injustice the King of Jafanapatan had done him by robbing him of all his property. In Goa, he became a Christian, and received at his baptism the name of Don John. Afterwards, he sailed to Portugal, where for several years he tried to obtain his restoration. The Portuguese call him King of Ceilan, as indeed he is by right, and even tried hard to reinstate him, but, in spite of his having been under their shelter and protection for such a long time, he has not yet succeeded to the throne of his forefathers. He grew old in Portugal, leaving no issue to succeed him.

In order to avenge the great injustice the King of Jafanapatan had done to the lawful Emperor of Ceilan, as well as his barbarous cruelty to the martyrs of the Isle of Manar, which we have related in the first book, the Viceroy, Don Constantine, son of the Duke of Braganca, a most noble and ancient family of Portugal, set out from Goa in 1560 with a powerful fleet to punish the wicked King for all his misdeeds.<sup>27</sup> The Portuguese themselves had grievances of their own to set right. The fleet experienced contrary winds, and could not touch land as soon as was needed; the too great confidence which the Portuguese had in themselves also endangered somewhat the situation; lastly, sickness broke out in the army. Owing to these circumstances, the Viceroy had to withdraw sooner than he liked. The King of Jafanapatan, however, was severely punished. The principal town of his Kingdom, where he was awaiting the Viceroy, was taken and sacked. But the wretch managed to escape into a thick forest near by; many of his subjects, however, were put to the sword, others were made prisoners; among them the Prince



beaucoup de ses gens, d'autres furent faicts prisonniers, & nommément le Prince heritier du Royaume, qui fut pris avec vne bonne partie des thresors dudit Roy : finalement apres qu'il eut demeuré quelques iours caché dans les bois, il fut contrainct d'enuoyer prier le Viceroy de vouloir entendre à quelque appointement, promettant d'accepter toutes les conditions iustes qu'on luy voudroit imposer. Le Viceroy au commencement se môstra vn peu difficile : mais en fin voyât qu'il n'auoit pas loisir de s'arrester là dauantage, & que ses soldats se diminuoient fort, à cause des maladies qui en despechoiēt beaucoup, il fut d'avis de luy octroyer la paix, moyennant quelques conditions : & les trois principales furent celles cy : La premiere : Que le Roy de Jafanapatan, comme vassal & tributaire du Roy de Portugal, luy feroit hommage, & luy payeroit tous les ans certain tribut : La seconde, Qu'il ne molesteroit point aucun de ses vassaux, qui voulsist se rendre Chrestien, ains les lairroit viure conformemēt aux loix de la foy & Religiō Chrestienne, qu'ils auroient receu : Et pour la dernière, qu'il cederait au Roy de Portugal l'Isle de Manar, & tout le droit qu'il y pourroit jamais pretendre. Ces conditions données d'une part, & acceptées de l'autre, le Viceroy se saisit de l'Isle de Manar, y faisant bastir vne forteresse, où il laissa vne bonne garnison, & pour plus d'assurance, dix nauires bien armez & equipez : afin de nettoyer ceste mer de corsaires.

Mais ce que le Roy de Jafanapatan & plusieurs autres Princes de l'Inde regreterent le plus, fut la perte d'une dent d'un Singe blanc, qui estoit adorée comme chose diuine de la plupart des Gentils du Levant. Car ils croyoient que ce Singe auoit esté jadis un grand Dieu, & en contoient des choses si estranges, & si absurdes, qu'elles ne meritoient pas d'estre rapportées en ce lieu. Seulement l'en diray vne de ces fables : afin que par là on cognoisse le reste. Ils disent donc, que ce Singe blanc, appelé jadis Hanimant, auoit esté Dieu autrefois, mais ayant commis certain peché grand & enorme, il fut dégradé, & avec luy plusieurs milliers de semblables Dieux, lesquels furent transformez en Singes. Apres donc qu'ils furent chassés du ciel & enuoyez ça bas en terre, ils choisirent pour leur demeure le pais des Badages, & le lieu, on est maintenant la ville de Perimal, en laquelle ledit Hanimant eut tout un long temps l'Empire sur ceste race celestielle des Singes. Mais quelque mes-adventure luy arriva, pour

who was heir to the Kingdom was taken along with a good part of the treasures of the said King. Finally, the King, after hiding for a few days in the woods, was obliged to ask the Viceroy for an interview, promising to accept any just conditions they would be pleased to impose. The Viceroy was, at first, somewhat reluctant, but as he was unable to delay there any longer, and as sickness was largely thinning the ranks of his army, he at last decided to make peace on certain conditions. Of these the three most important were as follows : first, that the King of Jafanapatan, as vassal and tributary of the King of the Portugal, shall promise him allegiance and pay him a yearly tribute : secondly, that he shall not molest in any way those of his subjects who would become Christians, but shall let them free to live in accordance with the tenets of the Christian faith and religion they shall have embraced :<sup>28</sup> and lastly, that he shall cede to the King of Portugal the isle of Manar with all his rights thereto. These conditions being proposed on one side and accepted on the other, the Viceroy took over the island of Manar, constructed a fortress upon it, left behind a strong garrison, and for greater security ten well fitted and well armed vessels to clear the sea of privateers.

But what the King of Jafanapatan and several other Princes of India deplored most of all was the loss of a White Monkey's tooth<sup>29</sup> which had been held sacred and worshipped by practically all the Pagans of the East. In fact, they believed that that monkey had been a great god formerly, and related such absurd and incredible stories about it as are not worth telling here. I shall, however, give one of them; the others are just of the same kind. This white monkey, they say, Hanimant by name, had been a god, but on account of some great and enormous sin committed by him, had lost that dignity together with many thousands of gods like him, who were changed into monkeys. Driven then from heaven and sent here below to earth, they chose the country of the Badagas for a dwelling, at a spot where the town of Perimal is now situated. There the said Hanimant ruled for a long time over this heavenly race of monkeys. But misfortune befell him, and he was forced to leave

<sup>28</sup> Father Melchior Nunes, writing in 1586, says that "peace was made without any reference to the Christians" (see "Joculta in Ceylon," VI.)

<sup>29</sup> The Portuguese described the tooth relic in this way, intentionally or unintentionally confusing the Buddhist legend with the story of Hanuman. Cf. Ten., II, 39 and De Couto. Du Jarric takes the story from these writers.

Cf. De Couto, III. Note by Mr. Ferguson (ibid.)



laquelle il fut contraint de vider le pais, & se retirer ailleurs. Ne voyant donc aucun lieu assuré en la terre ferme, il delibera de s'en aller à l'Isle de Ceilan : mais estant arrivé au cap de Remanancor, & n'ayant trouvé aucun nauires, ny autre vaisseau, pour passer de là à l'Isle de Ceilan, ils content qu'il traversa tout ce bras de mer, en faisant force sauts : & afin de ne se mouiller les pates qu'à chasque saut il crea vne Isle dessous ses pieds, tellement qu'ils disent que les monceaux de sable, qu'il y a entre ce Cap & ladite Isle, sont les Isles, qu'Hanimant crea, pour se rendre le passage plus seur, & facile. Voilà l'une des fables, qu'ils content de ce singe blanc : lequel venant à mourir en l'Isle de Ceilan, ils ont gardé ceste seule relique d'iceluy, à scauoir la dent, que nous auons dit auoir esté estimée, & tenue de tous les Payens de ces quartiers comme chose sacré-sainte & diuine. Brief leur superstition & folie arriuoit iusqu'à là, que le Roy de Pegu, l'un des plus puyssans & riches de l'Orient, enuoyoit tous les ans des Ambassadeurs à l'Empereur de Ceilan, au pouuoir duquel ceste dent estoit, qui luy apportoit de beaux & riches presens au nō de leur Roy : à celle fin qu'il leur laissât prendre la forme & figure de la dent du singe blanc, en vne masse composée de ciuette, d'ambre gris, de musc, & autres semblables drogues aromatiques, laquelle ils portoient tout expres dans vn coffret d'or, pour seruir en lieu de cire, où s'imprimast ceste dent là. Car non contents d'en auoir la figure telle quelle, ils vouloient, pour satisfaire à leur folle & superstitieuse deuotion, auoir aussi la vraye longueur & grosseur dudit os : & pource ils apportoit ceste masse, afin que la dent y appliquée, laissât en vn costé empreinte la figure d'une des faces, & l'autre de l'autre costé. Tout cecy faisoient-ils pour auoir le vray modele de ceste dēt, & l'adorer au lieu d'elle mesme, puis qu'ils ne pouuoient autrement jōiyr de ceste grande relique du singe blanc. Voilà où le Diable conduit les hommes, lors qu'il leur a pouché les yeux de la raison, par vn juste jugement de Dieu. Car ayant eu le moyen de cognoistre la verité, ils ont mieux aimé adhérer au mensonge, pour suyure plus librement leurs passions desordonnées. Mais retournons à nostre histoire. Ceste dent, qui auoit esté vn fort long tēps entre les mains de l'Empereur de Ceilan, yssu de ceste race fabuleuse du Soleil, estimée de luy & de tous les Gentils de l'Orient pour le plus précieux thresor qu'il enst, apres qu'il se fut retiré au Roy de Jafanapatan, & qu'il eut esté proditoirement occis par iceluy, vint au pouuoir de ce tyran

the place and seek refuge somewhere else. Not finding any place safe on the continent, he decided to cross over to the island of Ceilan. On reaching cape Remanancor, and not finding any ship or vessel to take him over to the island of Ceilan, he crossed this strait, they say, in a number of leaps, and in order to avoid wetting his paws he created an isle under his feet at each bound, so that the sand banks lying between cape Remanancor and the said island are, they say, the islands which Hanimant created in order to make the passage safe and easy. This is a specimen of the stories they tell of this white monkey. He died in the island Ceilan and the people kept this one relic of him, namely the tooth which, as we have said, was held as something sacrosanct and divine by the Pagans of these parts. In short, their folly and superstition went so far that the King of Pegu, one of the richest and most powerful Kings in the East, used to send ambassadors each year to the Emperor of Ceilan, in whose possession the famous tooth was, bearing rich and precious presents in the name of their King. He asked that they should be allowed to take a cast of the white monkey's tooth, not in wax but in a paste made of civet, grey amber, musk, and other aromatic drags they had brought with them for the purpose in a golden casket. To satisfy their foolish and superstitious devotion, they were not content with an approximate idea but would have the exact length and thickness of the said bone. It is for this purpose that they brought the paste. They would imprint the tooth on the preparation, and take a figure of its two faces. All this they did in order to have a perfect cast of the tooth which they could adore in its stead, since they could not in any other way have this great relic of the White Monkey. To such lengths, by a just punishment of God, does the devil lead men after blinding the eyes of their reason : for having the means of knowing the truth, they had preferred to adhere to falsehood in order to follow their wicked passions the more freely. But to go on with our story. This tooth had been for a long time in the keeping of the Emperor of Ceilan, the descendant of the fabulous race of the Sun. It was to him and to all the Pagans of the East, the most precious of treasures. When this Emperor had fled to the King of Jafanapatan, and had been by him treacherously put to death, the relic passed over to that tyrant.<sup>40</sup> But when the Viceroy Don Constantine seized his principal treasures, he found this tooth, set

<sup>40</sup> The names of these Divinities given by De Couto 212.



là. Mais lors que le Viceroy Don Constatin, print ses principaux thresors, il y trouua aussi ceste dent reuestue de beaucoup d'or, & force pierrerie : tellement qu'elle fut avec le reste du butin portée à Goa. Mais le Roy de Pegu aussi tost qu'il sceut, que les Portugais auoient ceste dent en leur pouuoir depescha vne Ambassade au Viceroy pour le supplier de la luy vouloir vendre, & en presenta au premier mot trois cens mil escus, qu'il auoit enuoyé par son Ambassadeur, partie en or, partie en marchandises : & si estoit delibéré de l'achepter a quelque pris que ce fust. Il y eust là dessus grande diuersité d'opinions : car les vns estimoient ceste vente estre non seulement vtile, mais encore licite, & alleguoient d'un costé, que puis que les Barbares adoroient le modele de ceste dent, il n'y auoit nō plus de peché d'adorer le Prototype, & partant qu'on le leur pouuoit vendre : car ils ne feroient pas plus de mal l'ayant, que ne l'ayant pas : & d'autre part que non seulement les affaires de l'estat, mais encore ceux de la Religio s'en porteroient mieux : car l'on auoit moyen de faire quelque belle expedition avec ces deniers, qu'on tireroit de ce Roy barbare, tant pour le bien de l'estat, que pour l'amplificatiō de la Foy Chrestienne, & du culte diuin. C'estoit la plus commune sentence des Gentilshommes, soudars, & autres gens qui n'estoient guere entendus aux poincts de droict. Mais ceux qui auoient vn peu plus de cognoissance des loix diuines & humaines, & qui n'estoient pas esblouis par la splendeur de l'or & de l'argent, opinoient tout au contraire, que cela ne se pouuoit faire licitemēt. Et le Viceroy mesme estoit de cet aduis. Toutesfois pour monstrer à ceux qui en parloient de differente maniere, que ceste vente n'estoit point permise, il ordonna que la question seroit mise sur le tapis, & decidée en plein conseil. Ou il fit appeller, outre ceux qui auoient accoustume d'y entrer, & la pluspart de la Noblesse Portugaise, premierement l'Archeuesque de Goa, qui estoit lors Don Gaspar, puis quelques autres Prelats & Superieurs des Religions, brief les plus graues Theologiens qui fussent à Goa, nommement des Ordres sacrez de S. Dominique, S. François, & de nostre Compagnie. Or jaoit qu'en ceste assemblée il en y eust, qui opinerent que cela estoit loisible, moyennant que l'estat fut ayde de quelque bonne somme de deniers. Voire mais il s'en trouua vn, qui prétendoit aller porter ceste dent au Roy de Pegu (avec permission du Viceroy) afin que passant par le pais, il amassat les offrandes qu'on luy donneroit pour la voir & baiser, dont il pensoit retirer plus de profit, que du gouvernement de la meilleure place, & de plus de lucre qu'il y eust en l'Inde. Si est-ce que les plus doctes & mieux sensez, nommée-

with gold and numerous precious stones, and took it with him to Goa with the rest of the booty. As soon as the King of Pegu heard that the tooth had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, he sent an Embassy to the Viceroy, asking to be allowed to buy the relic. In fact, he offered straight off 300,000 crowns, which he sent by his ambassadors, partly in gold and partly in kind, so ready was he to pay any price for it. There was a great diversity of opinion on the matter. Some were of opinion that the sale would not only be profitable but even lawful. "The Pagans," they alleged, "worship a cast of the relic, it will be no greater sin to adore the Prototype, and therefore it may be sold. The case will be exactly the same, whether they had it or not. On the other hand, not only the affairs of the state but also religion will be the better for it; for with the money taken from this King a large expedition can be set on foot; as well for the benefit of the state as for the spreading of the Christian faith and divine worship." This was the general opinion of the nobles, the soldiery and other people not well versed in law. But those who understood divine and human laws a little better, and were not dazzled by the glitter of gold and silver, took quite a different view of the matter, and held that the sale would not be lawful. This was the opinion of the Viceroy himself. However, in order to convince those who thought otherwise that the sale was unlawful, he had the question brought up for discussion and decided in open council. Besides the ordinary members, and a great many of the Portuguese Nobles, he also invited, first of all Don Gaspar, the then Archbishop of Goa; secondly some other Prelates and Superiors of Religious Orders. In short the best theologians of Goa, namely those of the Orders of S. Dominic, S. Francis, and of our Society. In this assembly there were some who thought the sale lawful, if the state could secure by it a substantial sum of money. One even proposed to go with it in person to the King of Pegu, if the Viceroy would allow him, and collect on his way through the country, the alms the people would give him for looking at, and kissing the relic. He estimated that he would in that way derive greater profit than was obtained by the government of the best of their settlements; in fact, more than was made in the whole of India. However, the learned and the more sensible, especially the Archbishop and the theologians held the contrary, and showed clearly that such a sale could not be made on any account. In the first place, the Pagans held that tooth a sacred and holy object, whence it followed that it was



ment l'Archevesque & les Theologiens furent de contraire opinion : & monstrement clairement qu'on ne pouvoit faire aucunement vne telle vente. En premier lieu, parce que les Barbares estimoiēt ceste dent comme chose sainte, & sacrée ; d'oū s'ensuyuoit qu'il n'estoit honneste, ny à eux de l'achepter, ny aux Portugais de la vendre. En second lieu, d'autant que l'on ne pouvoit faire ceste vente aux Idolatres, sans qu'on fut participant du peché d'Idolatrie qu'ils cōmettoient en l'adoration de cet os infame. Pour ces raisons & plusieurs autres, qui furent deduites plus amplement, le Viceroy commanda qu'on luy apportat ceste dent ; & l'ayant monstrée à tous les assistans, afin qu'on recogneust que c'estoit la mesme qui auoit esté prise en Ceilan, & qu'on ne peut dire par apres que c'estoit quelque autre, il la fit premierement despoüillier de tous ses ornemens trop riches, & pretieux pour vne chose si vile, & si abominable. Car tout autour il y auoit force rubis & saffirs enchassez, qui n'estoient pas toutesfois guere gros, mais fort precieux, & de grande valeur. Puis fit porter vn brasier avec des charbons ardans, & vn mortier de bronze, dans lequel il la mit de sa propre main, & la fit en presence de toute l'assemblée piler & reduire en poudre ; finalement apres auoir esté bien puluerisée, l'on jetta ces poudres dans le brasier à la venue de tous, d'oū sortit vne fumée si puante, & de si mauuaise odeur, que tous, se bouchoient le nez, ne pouuans endurer vne telle puanteur. Voila comment la diuine justice chastia ce meschant Roy de Jafanapatan, qui auoit fait tuer les Martyrs de l'Isle de Manar, ainsi qu'a esté dit ; Premierement en son Estat, le prenant de l'Isle de Manar, & le rendant tributaire aux Portugais ; Secondement en la prise de son fils aîné ; troisiemement au sac de la principale ville de son Royaume : & finalement en la perte des thresors, qu'il auoit amassé à tort & à droit, & nommément de ceste dent du singe, qui estoit, selon l'estime des Gentils de l'Inde, le plus grand thresor qui fut en l'Isle de Ceilan. Mais la diuine vengeance ne s'arresta pas là, comme aussi la meschanceté de ce Roy & de ses successeurs ne print pas fin alors, comme nous verrons cy apres, ayant au préalable raconté quelques choses qui arrinerent en ces entrefaites parmy les Chrestiens de la Pescherie.

neither lawful for them to buy it, nor for the Portuguese to sell it. Secondly, they could not sell it to the idolaters without participating in the sin of idolatry, which they would be guilty of in worshipping that vile bone. For these and many other reasons, which were fully explained, the Viceroy had the tooth brought to him, and, showing it to all those who were present, that they might bear witness that it was the very relic taken in Ceilan, and to prevent people from saying later on that it was some other, he first of all had the jewels, too rich and precious for such a vile and hateful object, taken off. It was, in fact, set all round with a great many rubies and sapphires, not very big, indeed, but very precious and of great value. A brazier with hot coals was then brought, as well as a bronze mortar. The Viceroy with his own hands placed the tooth in the mortar, and had it pounded and reduced to powder in the presence of the whole assembly. At last, the powder was thrown into the brazier in the view of all. The stench that it gave forth was so horrid that, unable to stand it, they all held their nose. Such was the chastisement, with which divine justice visited the wicked King of Jafanapatan, who, as we have related, had put to death the martyrs of the isle of Manar. He was punished, first of all, in his dominions, by the loss of that isle of Manar and by becoming a tributary to the Portuguese ; secondly, by the capture of his eldest son ; thirdly, by the destruction of the first city in his Kingdom, and lastly, by the loss of the treasure lawfully and wrongfully amassed, in particular, by the loss of that monkey's tooth, which was in the estimation of the Pagans of India, the greatest treasure that existed in the island of Ceilan. Divine vengeance, however, did not stop there. The wicked King and his successors, as we shall relate later on, did not desist from wrongdoing. But, first, we must give an account of some of the events that took place, meanwhile, among the Christians of the Fishery coast.

(To be continued.)

## CRITICAL NOTES ON THE "EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA."

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired), and H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

### Foreword.

THE "pioneer editor," however erudite, of a specialised Periodical, such as is the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," who essays to open up new ground worked by his predecessors but in part, and that not quite satisfactorily, must inevitably stumble at times into pitfalls more or less embarrassing, whilst, despite exceptional difficulties, he continues with confidence to "plough a lonely" and peculiarly hard "furrow."

The following "Critical Notes" (and others possibly to follow) hold in view one object sole and simple, namely, an attempt at *constructive criticism*. This, it is hoped, will be as acceptable alike to the learned Professor who has been editing the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" single-handed for the past fourteen years or more in England, as to all those desirous of profiting by the scholarly labour that has earned for Mr. Don M. de Silva Wickremasinghe the gratitude and respect of savants interested in "Ceylon Epigraphy."

### I. SLAB INSCRIPTION OF MAHINDA IV (A.D. 875-891): ANURÁDHAPURA.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1907, Vol. I, Part III, pp. 113-120.)

#### Site.

Owing to hazy recollection of the relative positions of this stone slab and of the Thūpārama Dāgaba, at Anurādhapura, Mr. Wickremasinghe has, through inadvertence, given the site of the former incorrectly:—

This inscription lies near the so-called "stone-canoe," a few yards to the east of the Thūpārama Dāgaba . . . . . the *Dajada Maligāwa*, situated to the south-east of the Thūpārama Dāgaba within its outer enclosure, and only a few yards from the spot where the present inscription is.

In reality, the inscribed slab (which was raised, and set up, by the Archaeological Survey about 1893), and the "stone-canoe" near it, are situated a quarter of a mile or more from the Thūpārama Dāgaba.

It stands within Archaeological Reservation, between one of the long granite troughs, known by the natives as *gal-oru* ("stone-canoes"), and the massive brick-built edifice, locally styled "*Maligāwa*," which was excavated in 1897 (*Archl. Survey, Annual Report, 1897, p. 4*). Both of these are to east of the road—formerly known as the "Green Path,"—leading north from the "Sacred Road" to join the Outer Circular Road near the *Kuttam Pokuna*, or "Twin Ponds," about a mile northwards.



A reference in the Inscription to the "Temple of the Tooth Relic" (*Daḍa-dā-ge*) induced Mr. Wickremasinghe "to identify the Tooth Relic House (*Dhūthā-dhātu-ghāraṇ*), rebuilt by Mahinda IV in the centre of the town, with the ruined site now known as the "*Daḍadā Māligāwa*" and close to Thūparāma Dagaba."

This view the late Mr. E. R. Ayrton combated (*Ceylon Asiatic Society: "Notes and Queries,"* 1911, pp. xli-xlvi), contending that the "Tooth Relic Temple," which stood "in the middle of the City," was actually situated within the Citadel Enclosure, and might have been the completely ruined structure (once "an imposing oblong building"), laid bare by the Archaeological Survey in 1897.

Of this latter ruin,—which proved too fragmentary to be identified with any particular historical structure,—there survive only a few tall pillars, and these wholly plain, in addition to some signs of basement-plinth found to be recessed in outline when excavated (*Archl. Survey, Annual Report, 1897, pp. 3, 4*).

Whether, or not, the existing ruin popularly known as the "*Daḍadā Māligāwa*" (clearly marked out by the handsome pillars of its *sanctum*, finished by unique *vajra*-type capitals, as a fane of very special note) is the structure wherein the Tooth was enshrined uninterruptedly for some centuries, since the time it was brought from India to Anurādhapura in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Meghawarna (A.D. 304-332), it is certain that neither is any other ruined building hinted at by tradition, nor the claim of the existing edifice to be the actual *Daḍadā* Temple questioned by Buddhist monks throughout the Island at this day.

It would seem most probable that the present pillared ruin, termed the "*Daḍadā-Māligāwa*," if not the one and only shrine of the "Tooth Relic," was in truth utilised, for a longer or shorter period, as the repository of that palladium of Buddhism, prior to the abandonment of Anurādhapura as the Capital of Ceylon.

## 2. SLAB INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN LĪLĀVATĪ (A.D. 1208-1212): ANURĀDHAPURA.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1911, Vol. I, Part V, pp. 176-182).

### Site.

Mr. Wickremasinghe writes :—

This inscribed slab is one of a number now lying at the premises of the Archaeological Commissioner's Office at Anurādhapura. Nobody seems to know for certain its original home; but as it is placed together with those from Puliyan-koḷam, a small village about two and a half miles north-east of the present town of Anurādhapura, it also is supposed to have come from the same locality.

The slab was brought to the Kachcheri premises—until a Local Museum was provided, some years later, the most suitable storage place for N. C. Province antiquities—in 1891. As Mr. Wickremasinghe was then Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner at Anurādhapura, he appears to have forgotten the fact.

Prior to removal, it was copied by Mr. Bell where it lay at the site of a presumed "Alms-Hall," since excavated (*Archl. Survey, Annual Report, 1906, p. 12*), which adjoins the present Civil Hospital on the north, and lies immediately to east of the "Sacred Road" extension, the whilom "Green Path," since converted into a driving road.

## 3. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF UDAYA I (A.D. 901-912): NOCHCHI-POTANA.

(Epigraphia Zeylanica, 1912, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 5-8).

## Regnal Year.

An eye-copy of this early Tenth Century inscription of a king, styled in it "*Abha Salamevan*," and most probably identical with Udaya I (A.D. 901-912), was made by the Archaeological Commissioner during the course of a Circuit in Tamankaduwa in 1897 (*Archl. Survey, Annual Report*, p. 11; *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 202, 210).

Mr. Bell wrote in his Diary, (September 24th):—

The characters are unusually clear on the whole, and there was no difficulty in reading the *haruda* of the kingly grantor of this *stamba sannasa* and the regnal date—*Abha Salamevan*, 2nd year, 7th day, dark half of the month Navan. Sides A and B each bear 18 lines of writing; C only 8 lines, but in addition figures of sun and moon in low relief; D is quite plain.

In 1903 A. P. Siriwardhana, a trained Overseer of the Archaeological Survey, took an independent transcript from the pillar.

Both these copies show that the actual regnal year (*second*) and month (*Navan*) of the grant were correctly recorded from the stone itself in 1897.

Mr. Wickremasinghe edited the inscription in 1912 from an estampage supplied by the Archaeological Survey Department.

Relegating to a footnote the true date "second year, according to Mr. Bell (*A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1897, p. 11)," the Professor preferred to adopt an incorrect year and month—"na (*va*) vanne Vepe," 9th year: month of Wap)—interpolating a non-existing *na* to fit his own reading.

The engraver's wording of the lines (2-4) is clear enough even in the "squeeze," and quite unmistakable on the pillar. It is "*devanne Navaye awa satawak dawas*," i.e., second year, month of Navan, waning moon, 7th day. (See Plate I, 2).

In line 6, Mr. Wickremasinghe reads "*Helgama*." This (as recorded in the Archaeological Commissioner's Diary) is doubtless in reality "*Gelgama*," (Sinhalese *h* and *g* being much alike) the archaic form of the modern name of *Galgama*, the neighbouring village.<sup>2</sup>

## 4. SLAB AND PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS: PULIYAN-KULAM, BUDDHANNE-HELA, TIMBIRI-VEWA, ETA-VIRA-GOLLEWA AND POLONNARUWA.

(Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, 1911, Part V, pp. 182-200; Vol. II, 1912,

Parts I, pp. 9-14; II, 1914, pp. 44-57).

## Tundi.

A word, variously read by Mr. Wickremasinghe (See Plate I, 1, 3, 5) as *Tu(sa)ye* (Puliyankulam, 26, 27), *tudise* (Buddhanne-hela C. 18<sup>3</sup>), *Pandi* (Timbiri-vewa, B. 22) and *tundi(ce)* (Eta-vira-gollewa, C. 23; Polonnaruwa, B. 24), in the texts of the above inscriptions, published in the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," is there left untranslated, as among terms which the Professor did not understand.

2. There are other names occurring in this inscription, as printed in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, which are open to modification.

3. The word was incorrectly read as *hula* in 1891 (*Archl. Survey, Second Progress Report*, p. 65), and so translation was then offered.



Immediately following this word occurs, in most cases, under slightly differing forms, the kindred word *Sōti* (correctly *Sōti*); and it is this close connection which affords the ready explanation of the combined terms.

The fuller expansion in the *Puliyankulam* slab (lines 26, 27) is specially enlightening; though, oddly enough, Mr. Wickremasinghe has here gone most astray in his rendering of the principal words.

Mr. Wickremasinghe reads:—*Tu(sa)yye Sōtiye balat-rehēn no-gasanu isā*: which he translates, "The Guardians at Tusaya and Soliya shall not throw or set ropes with nooses to catch cattle."

With the sole amendment of *Tu(sa)yye* into *Tuṇḍiye*—the correct spelling—the true meaning of the sentence becomes at once patent. It is this:—"Tuṇḍiyans (Pallavas) and Chōliyans shall not set (or cast) nooses (i.e., within the lands appertaining to this Buddhist temple).

*Tondai nādu*, or *Tondai mandalan* (in its Sanskritised form *Tundira-mandala*), was the ancient Tamil name of the Pallava country, with Kāñchipuram as its Capital; just as *Chōla-mandalam* was the country of the Chōlas. In some Southern Indian Inscriptions the names *Tuṇḍira*, *Chōla* and *Pāndiya* appear together, and in that order.\*

The Ceylon inscriptions specified above, and others, are very explicit in their persistent prohibition against these foreigners of alien race and religion—the likely forerunners of the present day "Pannikkans"—entering on Buddhist Temple property, in pursuit of their profession as catchers of elephants, &c.

For there is definite proof in the *littera scripta* of lithic Temple-grants issued by Sinhalese rulers that these foreigners hankered after more profitable game than mere cattle.

Thus, in a pillar still extant at Anurādhapura, and also elsewhere, it is clearly laid down:—*etun asun no-bandnā isā*, that is "and (they, i.e. noosers) shall not (be permitted to) tie up elephants and horses."

The instances where the words *Tuṇḍi Sōti* occur in the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" (A) are tabulated below, with proposed corrections in the parallel column to right (B).

**Puliyankulam** (lines 26, 27).

*Transcript.*

A.	B.
<i>Tusaye Sōtiye balat-rehēn no-gasanu isā</i>	<i>Tuṇḍiye Sōtiye balat-rehēn no-gasanu isā.</i>

*Translation.*

"The Guardians at Tusaya and Soliya shall not throw or set ropes with nooses to catch cattle."	"and Tuṇḍi and Chōla guards shall not noose (elephants, &c.) within the Buddhist temple land."
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**Buddhanne-hele** (Side C, lines 18-20).

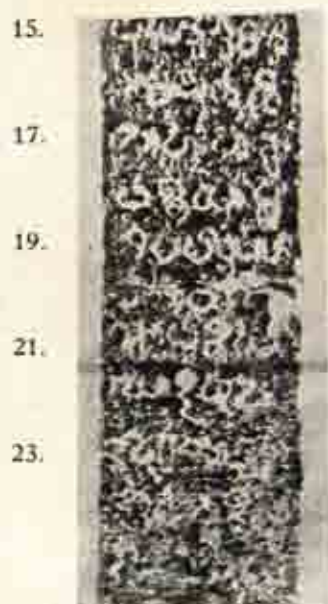
*Transcript.*

<i>tuḍise no-vadnā koṭ isā</i>	<i>Tuṇḍi Sō(t) no-vadnā koṭ isā</i>
--------------------------------	-------------------------------------

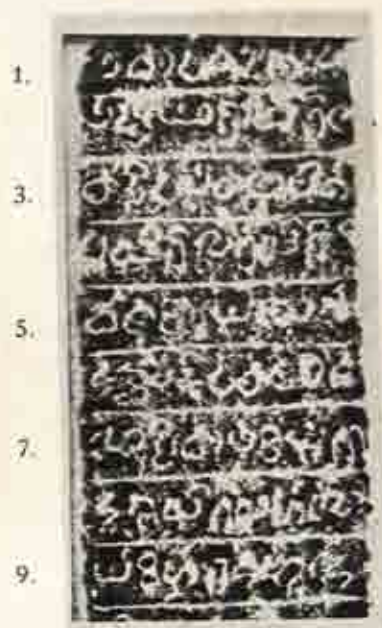
\* Cf. the Alampāra Plate, wherein the Viṅganapara King Virupākṣa claims to have conquered the Kings of Tuṇḍra, Chōla, Pāndiya and the Sinhalese. (*Epigraphia Indica*, III., p. 225.)



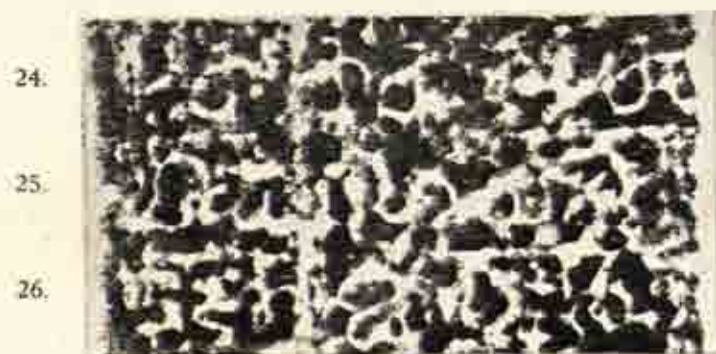
1.



3.



4.



5.



2.

PULIYAN-KULAM (1), NOCHCHI-POTANA (2),  
TIMBIRI-VEWA (3), MEDIRI-GIRIYA (4), POŁONNARUWA (5.)





## Translation.

"and *tudise* shall not enter"

"and Tondiyans and Chōliyans shall not (be allowed to) enter (the Buddhist temple land)."

## Timbiri-vewa (Side B, lines 22-24).

## Transcript.

(Soji Pāṇḍi)	..	-mbur no ko	..	vanu		Soji Tūṇḍi ber no-koḷavann isā.
sā						

## Translation.

"Soji Pāṇḍi .. shall not .."

"and Chōliyans (and) Tondiyans shall not (be permitted to) have tom-toms beaten (within &amp;c., &amp;c.)."

## Eta-vira-gollewa (Side C, lines 23-25).

## Transcript.

tūṇḍi (se)	..	(no) vadnā isā.		Tūṇḍi Soṭṭiye gasan no-wadnā isā.
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## Translation.

"tūṇḍise .. shall not enter"

"and Tōṇḍi and Chōḷa noosers shall not (be allowed to) enter (&amp;c., &amp;c.)."

## Polonnaruwa ("Rāja Māṭigāwa." Side B, lines 24-26).

## Transcript.

tuṇḍisa raḥasin no) vadnā (koṭ) isā.		Tūṇḍi Soṭṭi gasan no-wadnā koṭ isā.
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## Translation.

"tūṇḍise shall not secretly enter."

"and Tōṇḍi and Chōḷa noosers shall not (be allowed to) enter (&amp;c., &amp;c.)."

To the prohibitory references touching these dreaded Pallavas and Chōliyans from the Indian Continent, quoted from the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," may be added the following, which occur in similar Ceylon inscriptions still unpublished:—

*Tūṇḍiye Soṭṭiye no-gasanu isā* (Brahmannaya-gama); *Tūṇḍi Soṭṭi no-gasanu isā* (Sāṅgili Kanadarawa); *Soṭṭi Tūṇḍiye (ba) laṭ reḥen no-vadnā isā*. "and Chōliyan and Tōṇḍiyan (throwers of) nooses shall not (be allowed to) enter (the temple lands)" (Gallewa); *me bīmhi balat reḥen no-gasanu koṭ isā*. "and within this area (alien) guards shall not (be allowed to) noose (elephants, &c.)" (Alut-vewa; Kele Divul-vewa); *Tūṇḍi Soṭṭi ber no-koḷann isā*. "and Tōṇḍiyans and Chōliyans shall not (be permitted to) beat tom-toms (within the temple precincts)" (Gallewa); *Tūṇḍi Soṭṭi hīndva no-koṭ isā*. "and Tōṇḍiyans and Chōliyans shall not (be permitted to) dwell (within temple land)" (Itewa); *Soṭṭiye no-vadnā isā*. (Anuradhapura; Nuwara-vywa.)

All these reiterated bans show how stringent were the regulations called for, doubtless with good reason, against the objectionable presence of these truculent Dravidians within the dedicated lands, and peaceful environs, of Sinhalese Buddhist *Vihāras*.



## 5. PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SENA II (A.D. 866-901): MEDIRI-GIRIYA.

(Epigraphia Zeylanica, 1912, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 25-33).

## Madhura-dunu.

In his Introduction to this Inscription Mr. Wickremasinghe says :—

The contents tell us that King Abha Salamevan was a son of Mayura-dunu Siri Saṅg-boy, by the twice-anointed queen.

Accordingly, his Text and Translation (lines 1-14) run thus :—

Okāvaṣṭa baṭ (jiyora) siri Lak-divat talā-tik-vā siri-baṭ siri-piḍ tumā yasen Damb-div-tala ek-  
heṭi koṭ Mayura-dunu Siri Saṅg-boy mahā-rad-hu de-bisevān dā Abha Salamevan mā-parmukā tunvan  
[he] . . . . . [ava] vīseṇiyye

"On the fifth day of the waning moon [of the month of . . . . .] in the third year [of the reign] of His Majesty Abha Salamevan who is like unto a tilaka mark [of adornment] to the prosperous Island of Lanka an embodiment of good fortune and majesty, a descendant of the Okkāka dynasty, and who was born of the twice-anointed Queen unto the great King Mayura-dunu Siri Saṅg-boy, illuminating the whole of Dambadiya with his glory."

To the Translation this footnote is appended :—

Mayura-dunu, "born of the Mayura [pea-hen]." I have not come across this epithet elsewhere. Could it be in any way connected with the popular legend given in the *Rajaratnakuraya*, which traces the ancestry of a Sinhalese dynasty to a Princess Mayuravatī, born of a pea-hen, and married to one of the Princes who escorted the branch of the Sacred Bodhi-tree to Ceylon in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (247-207 B. C.)?

*Decipit frons prima multos.* The rock on which Mr. Wickremasinghe has split is the somewhat close resemblance between the medieval forms of Sinhalese *ṣ* (ya) and the aspirated or *mahā-prāṇa* *ṣ* (dha). (See Plate I, 4).

Otherwise, with the *Mahāvamsa* (LI. 22-47) before him, the Professor could hardly have failed to connect the epithet—the pride of at least three Chōla rulers of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, who adopted the same title in its Tamil and Sanskrit dress, after similar conquest—with the capture of Madhura, the Pāṇḍiyan Capital, by the Sinhalese expedition despatched in the 9th regnal year of Sena II (A.D. 866-901) or "Siri Saṅg Bo Abaya" as he is styled in this and other Ceylon inscriptions.

The episode is dwelt on with special pride and emphasis in the old Chronicle :—

And when he had put his men in order, so that they looked like the hosts of the gods, this famous King (Sena II) gave the command of his army to his Chief Captain, and charged him that he should take the Prince of Pāṇḍu with him to the country of the Pāṇḍiyans, and put the King thereof to death, and recover all the treasure and other things that had been carried away from the Island; and, having set the young Prince upon the throne, return hither in all haste. And the Chief Captain promised to do all that had been commanded him, and taking leave of the king straightway entered into a ship with his men.

And when he had landed on the other side with his men and all his material of war, he laid waste the coast and encompassed the City of Madhura. And when he had laid siege to the City, he caused the gates thereof to be shut, so that there was no communication whatever either from within or without. And then he set fire to its battlements, towers and storehouses.

And while the army of the Sinhalese was besieging his City and laying waste the country round about, and destroying his hosts, King Pāṇḍu heard thereof, and made haste thither with his army and gave them battle. But the number of his men sufficed him not. And being himself wounded with an arrow, he left the City to its fate and fled from the field of battle on the back of an elephant, and gave up his life in the wrong place. And his Queen also died with him at the same time.

And after that the army of the Sinhalese, fearing nothing, entered the City, and spoiled it of all that was therein, like unto the gods who spoiled the city of the Asurs. And the Chief of the Army reached the King's Palace and found therein the treasures that had been carried away from the Island, and many other things also of great value. And he took possession of all these things, and also of all the riches found in the City and in the country.

And he kept the supreme power in his own hands, and placing the young Prince under his control, he made him King over the country with all the ceremonies that were due, and gave the country into his keeping. And he took many men and horses and elephants as it pleased him, and, fearing no danger from any quarter whatever, halted his army wherever he chose, and reached the sea-board; and rested there according to his good pleasure: and from thence the skillful Captain entered into a ship, as if he were bound on a voyage of pleasure, and reached Mahatitha.

Having saluted the Lord of the Land, and related the story of his enterprise, he showed forth all the treasures that he had brought with him. And the King said, "It is well," and bestowed great honours on him.

And having accompanied the rejoicing army to his own City, the King held a feast of triumph and drank wine in honour of this victory.

Little wonder that, in days when bombast in high places knew few bounds, King Sena II should have assumed the fairly won appellation of "*Madhurā-dana*," or "Conqueror of Madhurā,"<sup>5</sup> just as some fifty years subsequently the Chōla King Parāntaka I, after overrunning the Pāṇḍiyan country, styled himself in his Tamil lithic records, "*Madirai-konda*:" whilst his grandson, Uttama Chōla was known as "*Madhurāntaka*," the Sanskrit equivalent—a title which was also adopted a century or so later by Kulottunga Chōla III.<sup>6</sup>

## 6. CAVE INSCRIPTION OF JAYA BAHU I (A.D. 1120—1158): DUMBULA-GALA.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 1917, Vol. II, Part IV, pp. 184-189).

[See *The Ceylon Antiquary*, 1917, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 1-12.]

## 7. ROCK INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN KALYĀNAVATĪ (A.D. 1202—1208): BŌ-PITIYA.

(*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, 1917, Part IV, pp. 190-192).

In the last issued instalment of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," Professor Wickremasinghe has published some half a dozen lines from an inscription of Queen Kalyānavatī (A.D. 1202-1208), of which the rest has suffered destruction.

Mr. Wickremasinghe says in his Introduction:—

This stone was discovered, between the years 1906 and 1912, at Bō-pitiya in the Hewāvissa Kōrala, Central Province of Ceylon. The first piece is the top portion of a slab about 2½ ft. wide. It contains the first six lines of the inscription. The second piece evidently belongs to the lower end, as we see on it the words *hira sanda*, "sun and moon," which usually occur at the end of a grant.

Of the inscriptions of Nissanka-Malla's Queen, Kalyānavatī, who, like Līlāvatī, bore the title *Abha Salamevan*, only two are so far known. The first is the one on the pavement of Ruwanveli Dagaba at Anurādhapura, dated in her second regnal year, and the second is the present record. Though we have here only a fragment of the latter, yet what little information its contents give throws some light on the final events of her reign.

5. So styled too in a pillar inscription (unpublished) at Pudukkottai, N. C. Province. The same achievement is also recorded on the Kongolewa pillar (now in the Colombo Museum), but is differently expressed, thus:—*Madhava pabala mē sēn boy*. Müller (*Ceylon Inscriptions*, 112 p. 18) reads *madhava pabala sēn sēn boy* and translates "the King Sri Sēn boy was pleased to sit under a madhava tree" [etc.]

6. *Epigraphia Indica* VII. Appendix, Inscriptions of Southern India.



The Bô-pitiya Inscription was not engraved on a slab, as Mr. Wickremasinghe—not unnaturally, perhaps—supposes, but cut into a rock. It was copied, and an estampage taken, by A. P. Siriwardhana of the Archaeological Survey, in 1907.—

He notes (*Diary, September 26th, 1907*).

Went from Pasgama to Hapulyedda, to copy and "squeeze" a rock inscription which we found on the dam of a paddy-field blasted and destroyed leaving only the beginning. There were several small fragments thrown here and there, with parts of words and letters. Two of these pieces were copied.

In asserting that the inscription at Bô-pitiya is "the second" inscription of Queen Kalyānavatī discovered, and that "only two are so far known," Mr. Wickremasinghe is also mistaken.

In point of fact, it is the *fifth* epigraph (No. 5) of that Queen's reign brought to light. The Inscription itself, or rather what is left in the first five lines of it, reads—

*Transcript.*

- |                        |                            |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Sri Abha Salameva   | 3. n-vahanse Demaja vi     |
| 2. n Kalyānavatī svāmi | 4. yavulin kandavara bindi |
| 5. . . . . na kara.    |                            |

This Mr. Wickremasinghe renders:—

*Translation.*

Her Majesty Sri Abha Salamevan Kalyānavatī—her stronghold having been broken-up through the Tamil insurrection—was carried away on the shoulder.

Is it unreasonable to assume, with some confidence, that "the divinity" which "doth hedge a King" would have spared Queen Kalyānavatī this needless and somewhat gross affront—an indignity tantamount to sacrilege in the case of an Oriental sovereign, who bore the semi-divine title of *Dēvi*? A litter, or other mode of conveyance, however crude, would doubtless have been provided even in such an emergency.

Any alternative translation of a passage (necessarily speculative in its bareness) which will save the position for Royalty, without loss of respect, seems called for.

*Kara* (if taken to mean "made") may possibly relate to the construction of some improvised makeshift, in which the Queen was carried away from the captured fortress.

In this view, it would seem justifiable to venture to translate the cryptic passage thus:—

When her fortress (or fortified camp) was stormed (*lit. breached*) in the Tamil irruption (*lit. disturbance*), Her Majesty Sri Abha Salamevan Kalyānavatī (had a . . . ) fashioned, and, having been placed (therein), was borne off (to a place of safety).

### OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF QUEEN KALYĀNAVATĪ.

It may be of interest to students of Epigraphy, and of service for collation, to put together some notice of the other four inscriptions, so far discovered, which belong to the reign of this pious Queen, who, says the Great Chronicle feelingly, "was moved with a great zeal for the religion of the Teacher."

These records, in the order of their appearance in print, are:—

#### No. 1: Anurādhapura.

This, the earliest published inscription of Queen Kalyānavatī (dated in her second regnal year), was discovered many years ago on the *salapatala maḷuwa*, or inner paved platform, in front of the South Chapel of Ruwanveli Dagaba at Anurādhapura.

Photographed (No. 104, Pavement Slab) by Capt. Hogg, R. E., for the Ceylon Government in the Seventies, it was edited (but without a Plate) not long afterwards in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society* (Vol. III, No. 25, 1882, pp. 181-5), by the late Bartholomew Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, Chief Sinhalese Translator to the Government.

The record consists in all of twenty-two long lines, cut on a huge flat slab measuring 14 ft. by 8 ft. 7 in.

The first eight lines (reproduced on Plate III 1), are reprinted below with their translation :—

*Transcript.*

1. **Abhaya Salamewan Kalyanavati** Suwámin-wahanseta dewanu *Ēsa* pura ekoḷoswak lada Visa nakatin **Siri Saṅga Bo Purakkrama Bāhu**

2. Chakkrawarti suwámin-wānse eṭṭuṭuwū rajadaruwange bhaṇḍāra paripālanaya-koṭa ratnatrayehi adhikappasāda eṭi sardha Buddhi guṇe

3. n samawṭi rājappasāda rasin wirāja-mānawū *Bhaṇḍāra-pote Piriwatu-bim Vijaya-nāwan* hā mekuge amadu Sume

4. *dha* *Dēvin* hā mekunge bēn *Lankā Adhikāra Koṭadanawu Dēwal-nāwan* hā ten dena-lada āgamadhara noek

5. paṇḍitawarayangen *Ruwanneṭṭi* suwāminta **Dutugemunu** rajjuruwan ādiwū noek

6. rajadaruwan visin karana-lada pūjā viśeśha asā prasāda parawaśawe anuṇ hā asadharaṇa pū

7. ja-viśeśhayak kaḷa-mēnawēyi nānā-widhawū aṭadās aṭasiyā asūwak pamaṇa wastrayen viṣe

8. shawū kañchukayak bahā chuḍāmaṇi chaitya pratibimbīyak se viśeśha-koṭe sarahā pas-yaḷake

*Translation.*

On the 11th day of the bright half of (the month) *Ēsa* under the asterism Visa in the second, (regnal) year of Her Majesty **Abha Salamewan Kalyanavati**, *Bhaṇḍāra-pote Piriwatu-bim Vijaya-nāwan* who carefully guarded the treasures of the imperial Lord **Siri Saṅga Bo Parakkrama Bāhu** and other Princes—who rejoiced exceedingly in the three gems—endowed with faith and a clear intellect, and illumined with the rays of royal favour—(this personage), together with his mother *Sumedha Dēvi* and his nephew (or son-in-law) who performed the duties of *Adhikāra* of *Lankā* and Principal of the *Koṭadanaw Dēvalaya*, having learned from many Paṇḍits, who were conversant with Buddhist literature and offices, what kind of offerings had been made to the venerable *Ruwanneṭṭi* (Seyo) by **Dutugemunu** and many other Princes, were transported with joy, and, having resolved to make a grand offering superior to the offerings of others, encased (the Dagaba) beautifully with about 8,880 cloths of various sorts, and highly adorned it so as to resemble the reflected image of a crown-jewel monument; and from five yālas

**No. 2: Teliyawa.**

The second inscription of the series (fourth regnal year) occurs on a rough pillar-slab found at Teliyawa in the Kalāgam Kōralē of the N. C. Province. It was copied and photographed by the Archaeological Commissioner in 1894.

The *Annual Reports* of the *Archaeological Survey* have reached Mr. Wickremasinghe in due course, and he has quoted from them freely on occasions. The following paragraph (*Archl. Survey, Annual Report*, 1894, p. 6) regarding the Teliyawa slab must, therefore, have escaped his notice :—



An inscribed pillar-slab, dated the fourth year of "Aha Salamevan Kalyānavati"—only the second record of this queen so far discovered. The other is on the pavement at the South "chapel" of Ruwanvelli Dagaba.

Owing to the writing having been committed to an undressed slab (Sides A. B., 10 lines, each; Side C., 2 lines, cut vertically; Side D., bare) which has weathered considerably, all faces except the first have become virtually illegible: only a few letters can be made out on them here and there. The deciphering of Side A even is open to doubt in part, thanks to the rugged condition of the stone, and to the marked illiterate orthography of the stone-mason who inscribed the record.<sup>1</sup>

A tentative reading, and translation, of the front face (Side A) is given, coupled with photograph (Plate II, 1, 2) of that side of the slab itself and of a "squeeze" taken from it and from Side C.

In addition to the designation and *biruda* of the Queen, with the year of her reign and the month, the first part of the inscription seemingly contains merely names of Ministers, or Chiefs, concerned in the issue of the grant.

#### Transcript.

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Aba Salameva       | 6. ye echa Mudalaṇṇe     |
| 2. n Kyalyānavati su  | 7. Kase Arēttha echa     |
| 3. waminwānsēta       | 8. Kahaba Dēvali Ba      |
| 4. sataravann Eṣa     | 9. mmutra Kaṇa ( . . . ) |
| 5. ja masa Vasa(na)ta | 10. Wataḱemi (Saṅga)     |

#### Translation.

In the fourth year (of the reign) of Her Majesty Abha Salamevan Kalyānavati, (we) Vasa (na) taya and Mudalaṇṇe Kase (? Kasyapa) Arēttha and Bammintra Kaṇa ( . . . ) of Kahambu Dēvalé (and) Wataḱemi (Saṅga) . . .

#### No. 3: Sigiriya.

The third record discovered (also fourth regnal year) but two months earlier was copied in 1896 from the "*keḍepat pavura*," or "mirror-like wall"—so called, from its extreme polish, by more than one visitor of medieval centuries who has scratched his name thereon—in the ancient Gallery at Sigiri-gala.

The first four lines were quoted in the *Annual Report, Archl. Survey, 1905, p. 6*. They are here reprinted:—

#### Transcript.

- |                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Anurādhapuraye Bodhigana | 3. Kalyānavatinta sataravann |
| 2. ye Sābhita pevidde Maha  | 4. Vesegē balā giyemi.       |

#### Translation.

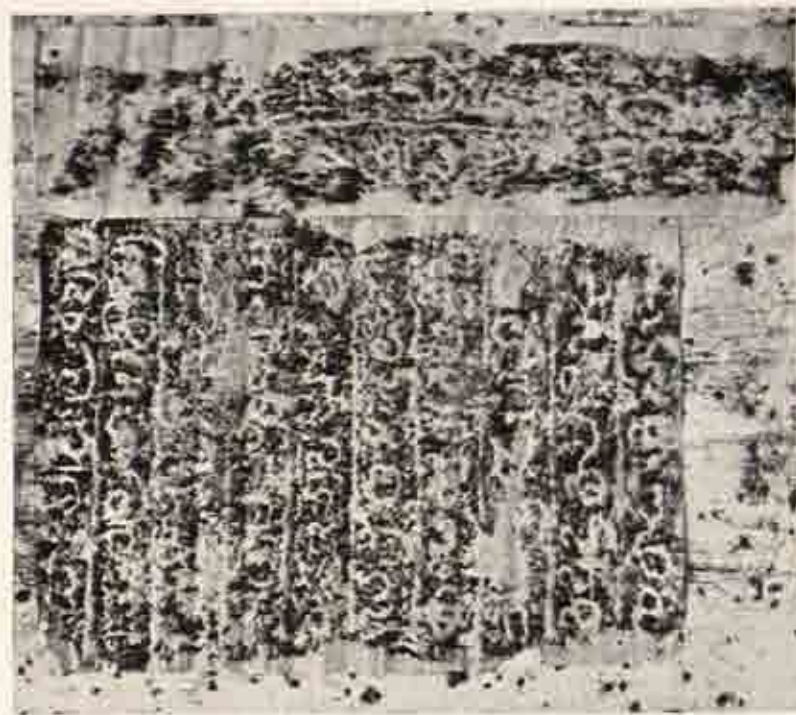
In (the month) Vesak of the fourth (year of the reign) of (Her Majesty) Kalyānavati the Great, I Sābhita (Buddhist monk), residing at Bodhigana (Vihāra) in Anurādhapura, inspected (*lit.* departed after inspecting) (this Gallery).

<sup>1</sup> Note the erratic spelling of such correct forms as *Kalyānavati*; *mmaminwānsēta*; *mmutra* (for *mutra*); &c., &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Wataḱemi*. Cf. *Vasaṅgrīya Inscription* (*Epigraphica Zeylanica* I, p. 34).



1







## No. 4: Batala-goda.

The fourth, and latest noted, inscription of Queen Kalyāṇavati was found in 1890 (but not brought to public notice until the publication of his "*Ancient Ceylon*" in 1909) by Mr. H. Parker, Irrigation Engineer, when the large abandoned tank, known at this day as Batala-goda-vewa, in the N. W. Province, was being freed of jungle, prior to the carrying out of the "Batala-goda Irrigation Scheme," now in working order.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Parker's brief references to the Slab Inscription (which he had built into the masonry wall of the Head Sluice at the tank) serve greatly to tantalise; and it is the more disappointing to miss from the numerous Inscriptions printed in his valuable book a copy of this promising record of a reign of which we know so little.

The information Mr. Parker affords<sup>10</sup> is as follows:—

The last reference to the place ("Parana Nuwara," so called), is contained in an inscription which was left on a large slab on the embankment of the reservoir, by Queen Kalyāṇavati (1202-1208 A.D.), the widow of King Niṣṣanka-Malla, in the third year of her reign, that is 1204 or 1205. In it she recorded her restoration of the tank at "Badalagoda at Mahala-pura," the old town, and her (re-) construction of a Vihara—now termed Kōṭa-weriya, from its "short" *dagaba*, the Kōṭa Wachaera—at an adjoining village, Paṇṇala, as related in the *Mahāvamsa* (ii. p. 268).

There is a worn inscription in characters of the tenth century on a pillar at the embankment, which indicates that it was then restored, or was in working order; and a longer one on a large slab left there by Queen Kalyāṇavati (1202-1208 A.D.), and cut in the third year of her reign, in which she relates that she had examined the sites of "the known sluices," and had rebuilt one of them, besides causing three breaches to be filled up.

A tradition, to which the inscription of Kalyāṇavati appears to contain a reference, states that the reservoir once possessed seven sluices; it seems to have been without any foundation in fact. It is unlikely that there were more than two, one of them being near the southern end.

[Not until after the above had gone to press was the writer able to secure an estampage of the inscribed slab at Batala-goda-vewa. This has been photographed, and appears in Plate III 2.]

Surface measurements show the slab to cover 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. The full record comprised 17 lines of writing, neatly engraved between 2 in. ruling. A not inconsiderable part of the inscription is, considering its age, well preserved, and presents little difficulty in decipherment even from the estampage.

From this ink impression—pending opportunity of collating it with the slab itself—a tentative transcript (omitting words *re-incised* into the new darker-shade cement-facing, added here and there in the Nineties) is offered, with a provisional translation which is necessarily broken and imperfect.

Mr. Parker is wrong in allotting the record to "the third year" of the Queen's reign: It belongs to her fifth year.

The main interest of the Inscription centres in its allusions to historical personages of the period.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Parker worked at Batala-goda between 1887-1890 (Surveys), and 1896-1897 (Construction).

<sup>10</sup> *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 352, 309, 400.



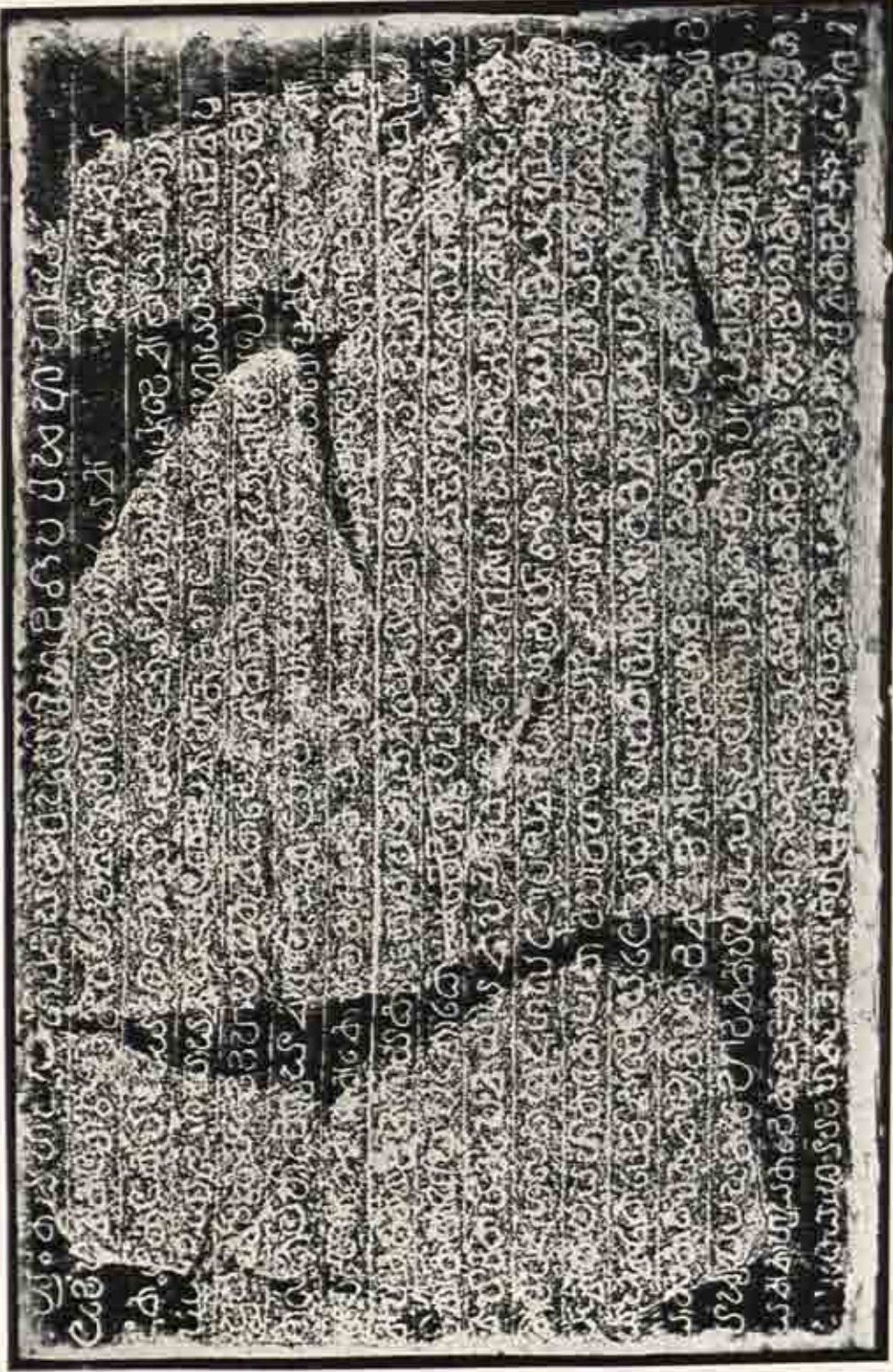






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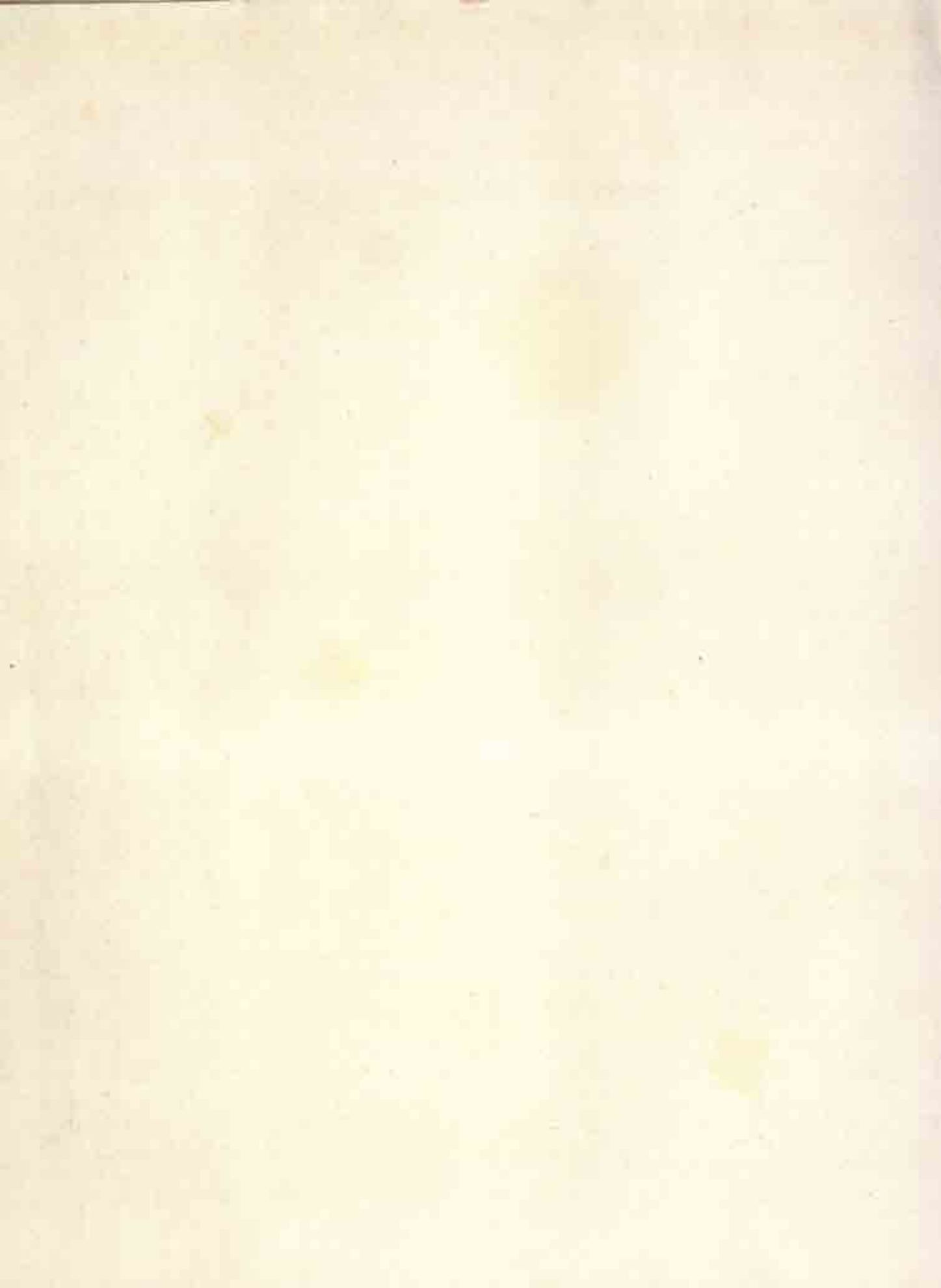
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2.









## 8. CHRONOLOGY.

Mr. Wickremasinghe's views on the Chronology of the Kings of Ceylon usually assigned to the Tenth and early Eleventh Centuries are embodied in his Prefaces to the Tablets of Mahinda IV at Mihintalé, and to the Kiribat Vihara Pillar Inscription at Anurādhapura, in "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, Nos. 7 and 11, pp. 79-80; 155-157.

The following, I think, represents correctly his arguments, to each stage of which (A—F) my Notes are appended.

## A.

The Tanjore inscription of the sixth year of the Chōla king Rājendra Chōla Déva I (A.D. 1018) makes reference to his "invasion of Ceylon and to his capture of the Pāndyan crown, which had been left in the charge of the king of Ceylon."

This incursion must have taken place "before 1018 A.D., and probably after 1015; because there is no reference to the event in his inscription of the fourth year of his reign or in any previous ones."

The Pāndyan regalia had been left with Dappula V.<sup>25</sup> "About twenty-four years later in the reign of Udaya III . . . king Cōla, obviously Rājendra Cōla Déva I, invaded Ceylon and regained the crown" (*Ep. Zey.*, pp. 79-80).

## Note.

The supposed synchronism of Udaya III and Rājendra Chōla I has been discussed by Dr. Hultzsch in his "*Contributions to Singhalese Chronology*."<sup>26</sup>

He has pointed out that Wijesinha has interpolated after "this king" in verse 44 of *Mahāvamsa*, LIII, the words "(of Cōla)," and that "in reality the wording of the Chronicle implies that the army of the Chōla king had to return without accomplishing its object."<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Wickremasinghe seems to have relied on Wijesinha's Translation, and his synchronism when tested by the Pāli text falls to the ground.

## B.

"The Manimangalam Inscription of Dec. 3, A.D. 1046 mentions the names, of four Ceylon kings, Vikrama-Bāhu, Vikrama-Pāndya, Vira-Salāmēgaṇ and Śrī-Vallabha Madanarāja, whom the Cōla king, Rājādhirāja I, had conquered. And these have been identified with Vikrama-Bāhu, Vikrama Pāṇḍu, Jagatipāla and Parākrama Pāṇḍu mentioned in the fifty-sixth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*."

Mr. Wickremasinghe concludes that the eleven kings from Udaya III to Parākrama Pāndya (Nos. 111 to 121 in Wijesinha's Table) "must have reigned between A.D. 1015 and 1046, that is within a period of only thirty-one years and not eighty-five or ninety-five as calculated by Turnour and Wijesinha respectively" (*Ep. Zey.*, p. 80).

## Note.

The identification of the four kings mentioned in the Manimangalam inscription with the Princes Vikrama Bāhu, Vikrama Pāndya, Jagatipāla and Parākrama Pāṇḍya was due to Dr. Hultzsch. This scholar, however, has now withdrawn his proposed identification of the last two with Vira-Salāmēgaṇ and Śrī Vallabha Madanarāja of the Inscription.<sup>28</sup>

25. *Mahāvamsa* LIII, 9.

26. *Journal R. A. S.*, 1912.

27. *Id.*, p. 525.

28. *Id.*, p. 621.

## C

Parākrama Pāṇḍya came to the throne in A.D. 1046, that is, 107 years before Parākrama Bāhu I, whose first coronation took place in A.B. 1696 expired, i.e. in A.D. 1153, these 107 years being "the total of the regnal years of the six kings" who preceded him.

The year 1046 *Anno Christi* equals *Buddha Varaha* 1589 expired, or 1590 current.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* "a period of ninety-three years and eight days intervened between the accession of Udaya III and that of Parākrama Pāṇḍya in 1590 A.B. current. The former, therefore, came to the throne in the year 1497 A.B. (i.e. 1590, minus 93). The date of his accession, according to my calculation, shown above, is in 1015 A.D." (*Ep. Zey.*, pp. 155-156.)

## Note.

Wijesinha's Table requires careful scrutiny, as he has made no distinction between complete and incomplete regnal years.

Thus the text states that Kassapa IV reigned 17 years, and that Kassapa V died in his tenth year; yet Wijesinha assigns to these two kings 17 and 10 years respectively.

A minor instance of inaccuracy is the eight days' reign given to Kittī the general: the text has seven.

In the case of the period between the accession of Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Parākrama Bāhu I, the *Mahāvamsa* text assigns to Parākrama Pāṇḍya 2 years, Lōkēśvara 5, Vijaya Bāhu I 55, Vikrama Bāhu 21, Gaja Bāhu 22, in all 105 years, or, if parts of incomplete years are reckoned as complete, a maximum of 106 years. No regnal period is assigned to Jaya Bāhu at all: though he disappears from history, he reigned at least 38 years, of which 15 were in conjunction with Gaja Bāhu, son of Vikrama Bāhu who was never anointed.<sup>19</sup>

The Devanagala Inscription of Parākrama Bāhu I seems to give 42 years as the period which elapsed between the death of Vijaya Bāhu I and the accession of Parākrama Bāhu I.<sup>20</sup> The latter event having taken place in A.B. 1696 expired, or A.D. 1153, the death of Vijaya Bāhu occurred in A.D. 1111, and his accession in A.D. 1056. Parākrama Pāṇḍya, therefore, must have come to the throne about 1048 or 1049.

The total of the years between this date and the accession of Udaya III, amounts to 98 years and 7 days, or, at a maximum, 105 years and 7 days.

Mr. Wickremasinghe's figure of 93 years odd is derived from Wijesinha's omission of the reign of Kassapa, son of Mahinda V, who died in his twelfth year,<sup>21</sup> i.e. 105 minus 12.

That this reign has to be included is seen from the *Pājāvaliya*, which states that from the sixth of the waxing moon of Durutu in the second year of Salamevan, i.e. Wijesinha's Sena V, up to and including the six years of Lōkēśvara, that is, up to the accession of Vijaya Bāhu I, there had passed about 96 years of Tamil domination. The *Rājāvaliya*, (an abridgment for this period of the *Pājāvaliya*), gives 86, and the regnal years given in the *Pājāvaliya* itself clearly show that this is correct, the total of the reigns amounting to 87.<sup>22</sup>

The second year of Sena V, therefore, would be 86 years before the accession of Vijaya Bāhu I, or about A.D. 970.

19. *Arch. Survey, Annual Report, 1909*, pp. 16, 21.

20. *Arch. Survey, Report on the Kāpalla District*, p. 75.—Parākrama Bāhu: wathuniyanvahanse saman mutun Vijaya Bāhaya svargasthangya tene site desale karuraddak nesi taha jassam etinavami yasa yittu Gaja Bāhu (Manabharana) Godeho yaditha kote Lankāthipayahi akachchatra kote.

21. Parākrama Bāhu, lord of wealth, . . . intending to promote the Buddhist religion and the interests of the people, which had been neglected for 42 years since the death of his grandfather, King Vijaya, made war with the two (Princes) Gaja Bāhu and Manabharana and brought Lanka under one canopy of dominion.

22. See also Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

12. The confusion is between *asā* "eighty" and *asa* "hundred."



## D.

"It is thus clear that 1497 A.B. is nearly the equivalent to 1015 A.D., and that the difference between these two dates, namely 482 is the number of years that must have elapsed between the death of the Buddha and the beginning of the Christian era. In other words the Buddha died in 483 B.C." (*Ep. Zey.*, pp. 156, 157.)

Mr. Wickremasinghe concludes that the compiler of this portion of the *Mahāvamsa* "lived at a period when 544 B.C. was the accepted Buddhist era in Ceylon. And he must have found dated records which placed the accession of Udaya III in 1497 A.B. current, and that of Parākrama Bāhu in 1697 A.B." He (the Compiler) was, further, in a position to "fix accurately the date of the accession of Parākrama Pādya in 1590 A.B.;" but he was ignorant of the fact that "these two dates," A.B. 1497 and A.B. 1590 represented two different Buddhist eras, the former placing the death of the Buddha in 483 B.C., and the latter in 544 B.C.

He must, therefore, have taken it for granted that the intervening period was ninety-three (i.e. 1590-1497 A.B.) instead of thirty-one (i.e. 1045-1015 A.D.); and he accordingly adjusted the duration of the reigns, giving longer periods to those kings as to whose reigns he had no definite information" (*Ep. Zey.* p. 157).

## Note.

Mr. Wickremasinghe's synchronism of Udaya III and Rājendra Chōla I having no foundation, and his other arguments being supported by erroneous calculations, there exists no proof of any trace of an era of B.C. 483 during the period under discussion; and the position taken up by Dr. Fleet in his "*Origin of the Buddha-varsha*"<sup>23</sup> still holds the field.

It may be added that the existence of such an era at the time is incompatible with the undoubted synchronism of Mānavamma and the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I.<sup>24</sup>

## E.

Mr. Wickremasinghe's tentative identification (*Ep. Zey.*, p. 30) of "a Cōla king, named Vallabha" as "probably the great Rāja Rāja," courts comment.

## Note.

The *Mahāvamsa*, after recording the accession of Mahinda IV and his marriage with a princess of Kālinga, states<sup>25</sup>—

"Now Vallabha, the King of Cōla, sent forth an army to Nāgadīpa to subdue this country. And when the king heard thereof, he sent Sena, the Chief Captain of his army, thither, together with a great host, to fight against the hosts of Vallabha. And Sena led the army and fought against the enemy, and destroyed him utterly, and took possession of the field of battle. Whereupon Vallabha and the other princes entered into a treaty with the King of Laṅkā, because they could not prevail against him. Thus did the fame of this King spread abroad throughout Laṅkā, even across the sea unto Jambudīpa."

Reference is apparently made to this war in the Vessagiriya Inscription of the ninth year of Siri Saṅbo Abha Mihindu,<sup>26</sup> "who was brought to his feet all the riches of the whole Dambadīva by means of the valour of his (favourite) Commander-in-Chief, Sena."

Mr. Wickremasinghe again has been betrayed by too much reliance on Wijesinha's Translation into English.

23. *Journal B. A. S.*, 1909.

24. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-9.

25. *Mahāvamsa*, liv, 12-4. Wijesinha's Translation.

26. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I, pp. 36, 35.

As pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch "the words 'the King of Chōla' are non-existent in the Pāli original, and no Chōla king of the name of Vallabha is known to epigraphical records."<sup>27</sup>

Who then was this prince?

Mahinda IV came to the throne at the earliest 119 years and 6 months, or, if we count with Wijesinha the year or month in which each sovereign died as complete years or months, 128 years and 7 months after the accession of Sena I.

If the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* is right in dating this event in A.B. 1362 expired, viz. in A.D. 819-20, Mahinda's reign must have extended, at the earliest, from about A.D. 939 to 954 and, at the latest, from about A.D. 948 to 964. His ninth year, therefore, will be in the first case 947-8 and in the latter 956-7.

Dr. Hultzsch, deducting the sum of the traditional reigns from A.D. 1153, the date of Parākrama Bāhu I's accession, would place the commencement of the reign of Mahinda V in A.D. 978.

Mahinda IV, therefore, would have been upon the throne between 952 and 968 A.D., his ninth year<sup>28</sup> falling in A.D. 960-1. According to Wijesinha's calculations, this King reigned from A.D. 975 to 991; but his date for Parākrama Bāhu I is eleven years too late, and he has omitted the twelve years of Mahinda V's captivity.

The only Indian monarch who bore the title of "*Vallabha*" between A.D. 947 and 968 was the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, *alias* Kappara Dēva Vallabhaṇ, who reigned from circa A.D. 938 to 967. In his Karhad<sup>29</sup> Plates dated Śaka 880 (A.D. 959) we read (v. 35) :—

"Having, with the intention of subduing the Southern Region, uprooted the race of the Chōlas, given their land to his own dependents, and made the lords of great countries, viz. the Chermma, the Pāṇḍya and others, along with the Sinhala, his tributaries, he erected a high column at Rāmeswaram."

Kṛishṇa III had conquered Kāñchi and Tanjāi by his fifth year (A.D. 942-3) and in, or shortly before, A.D. 949-50 slew the Chōla prince Rājāditya at the battle of Takkōlam (Ātakur Inscription, Śaka 872 current). Either immediately after this event or in A.D. 947-8, he entered Tondai-mandalam<sup>30</sup> and his attempted invasion of Ceylon perhaps took place not long afterwards.

The dates calculated on the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava*, therefore, are probably fairly correct.

## F.

On page 123 of Vol. I of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Mr. Wickremasinghe deals with the Ārppākkam Inscription, dated in the fifth year of Rājādhirāja II "who reigned approximately between 1146 and 1178 A.D."

## Note.

Mr. Wickremasinghe has apparently confused Rājādhirāja II, who came to the throne in A.D. 1163, with Rājārāja II, whose accession took place in A.D. 1146.

The Devanagala Inscription records that the invasion of Rāmañña was resolved upon on the tenth of the waxing moon of Poṣon in the twelfth year of Parākrama Bāhu I., that is, in A.D. 1164-5. Chapter LXXVI of the *Mahāvamsa* places the incursion into the Pāṇḍyan country immediately after this invasion.

The Ārppākkam Inscription, which refers specifically to Lankāpura's expedition, dates from A.D. 1167-8. The Pāṇḍyan campaign, therefore, must be placed between A.D. 1164-5 and 1167-8, and not after the events of the sixteenth year given in *Mahāvamsa* LXXVI, 7-9.

27. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

28. *Id.*, p. 525.

29. *Epigraphia Indica* IV, No. 40.

30. *Id.* VII, p. 194; XII, p. 123.



## THE MADRAS ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON.

1795—1798.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

THE administration of Ceylon from Madras falls into two distinct phases, the one a failure and the other a success, associated respectively with the names of Robert Andrews, Superintendent of Revenue, and of Brigadier-General de Meuron, Commander-in-Chief. We shall examine these separately in their order.

The Maritime Provinces having become at least a temporary British possession,<sup>1</sup> the question of their administration became a question of some difficulty. We have seen that the permanent retention of the Maritime Provinces by the British was a matter of considerable doubt, the expectation, in fact, being that they would positively be restored to the Dutch. It would thus have appeared unnecessary that Ceylon should, at that time, be provided with a separate Government of its own, and the obvious expedient of attaching it to the Government of Madras would readily occur to those responsible for the disposal of the Island.

This proposal would have appeared the more suitable in view of the fact that the capture of some of the Dutch forts, and the cession of the rest, had been accomplished by the troops of the East India Company,<sup>2</sup> a fact which would give the Company some right to expect that the Island would be handed over to them for such time as it remained a British possession. Further, there appears to be no record that it was ever proposed to reimburse the East India Company for expenses<sup>3</sup> incurred in the occupation of Ceylon, and it is possible that the original cession, and the later retention, of the revenues to the Company till the end of 1801 were considered to constitute this reimbursement.

Thus, although according to Tennent (ii 71), Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville wished to retain the administration of Ceylon under the direct control of the Crown, it was finally decided that the East India Company was to be left in charge of it, the immediate management being placed in the hands of the Governor and Council of Madras.

The authorities in Madras do not, however, appear to have waited for any sanction from the Home Government before taking steps to commence the collection of revenue on behalf of the East India Company. About two months after the occupation of Jaffna, and about two months before the capitulation of Colombo, we find a Mr. John Jervis, of the Madras Civil Service,

1. See Article on the subject in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, Part IV, April, 1918.

2. There is no direct evidence that the troops in question were paid by the East India Company, but it seems a legitimate inference from the fact that they were serving under the Madras Presidency of the Company. Colonel Stuart served with Lord Cornwallis, presumably in the service of the Company, in the Mysore campaign of 1791, capturing the hill fort of Savandrag (Adams' *Makers of British India* 133.)

3. These expenses appear to have amounted to 26,071 star pagodas (*Ceylon Literary Register*, Weekly, II 229) or about £12,000.

appointed by the Madras Government "Assistant to Mr. Robert Andrews for the purpose of investigating and collecting the revenues of Jaffnapatnam and Manar and their Dependencies," his full official style being "John Jervis, Senior Merchant in the Service of the Hon'ble the United English East India Company under the Presidency of Fort St. George on the Coast of Corromandel, and Senior Assistant to the Resident and Superintendent of Revenue of the Island of Ceylon".<sup>4</sup>

Jervis assumed duties in Jaffna on December 3rd, 1795, and was probably appointed some time before that. Thus the "Resident and Superintendent of Revenue," Mr. Robert Andrews, must have been appointed very soon after the capture of Jaffna, it thus being evident that the Madras Government did not intend to lose any time in reimbursing themselves for the expenses of the expedition. Andrews had been sent on an embassy to the Court of Kandy in August<sup>5</sup>; had arrived at Trincomalee on August 13th, and was delayed there till September 15th; arrived in Kandy towards the end of September; returned to Trincomalee on 23rd October, and thence to India via Jaffna, leaving that place on November 30th, indisposed. He must have been appointed Superintendent of revenue on some date between the occupation of Manar—October 6th—and November 30th.<sup>6</sup> As Andrews had already left for India, Jervis immediately on arrival assumed the position of "Acting Superintendent of Revenue." He seems to have ceased to act by 6th March, 1796, although Andrews, bringing with him Alexander of the Madras Civil Service, did not arrive in Jaffna till 16th. Andrews went on to Colombo, being at Arippeu on April 5th, Kondachchi 19th April, and Colombo in May.<sup>7</sup>

### The New Revenue Department.

The details of the machinery of this new Revenue Department, which, on the capitulation of Colombo, extended its operations throughout the Maritime Provinces, can only be traced with difficulty, and in part, in the absence of any direct account of them in the documents of the time.<sup>8</sup> But the following reconstruction can be compiled from the incidental references therein.

The Resident and Superintendent of Revenue was, of course, the Head of the Department.<sup>9</sup> We know that he had an assistant, Jervis, at Jaffna in the first instance, and later, Assistants seem to have been appointed, Alexander for Colombo and Galle<sup>10</sup> and Garrow for Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Mullaitivu.<sup>11</sup> John Macdowall, of the Madras Civil Service, who was Paymaster to the expedition against Trincomalee in 1795<sup>12</sup> and who accompanied Colonel Stuart to Jaffna<sup>13</sup> may also have been employed as one of Andrews' Assistants before he became Deputy Secretary to Government and Collector of Colombo under Mr. North.<sup>14</sup>

4. *Jaffna Diary*, and Lewis' *Panchikams and Muniments* 226, quoting it.

5. See Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, *Journal* Vol. XXVI, No. 70, Part II, page 35 (Account of Andrews' Embassy of 1795).

6. MSS. of the late Mr. Sueter state that he was appointed on the surrender of Jaffna in September, 1795, but Andrews' *Journal of the Embassy to Kandy in 1795* shows that the first information of his revenue appointment reached him about 30th October. He was engaged on revenue business at Jaffna between 3rd and 30th November. He had apparently intended to hand over to Jervis in person, but he could not wait for him after the 30th, as he had to escort the Kanyas ambassadors to Madras. He seems to have been considerably annoyed at Jervis for apparently unnecessary delay at Trincomalee from 10th till the end of the month. Jervis did not reach Jaffna till 3rd December.

7. *Jaffna Diary* under proximate dates.

8. The chief of these are the *Jaffna Diary*, and the *Wellington MSS.*

9. This title is the one given in the *Jaffna Diary*. The *Wellington MSS.* omit the title "Resident," except in one place (112), while Lord Valentia calls Andrews the "Commercial Resident and Receiver General" (p. 314). The "Resident" or "Commercial Resident" was the equivalent of the Cinnamon Captain or Chief of the *Chaliss* under the Dutch (Governor's Despatch of 20th February, para. 30).

10. MSS. of the late Mr. Sueter.

11. *Wellington MSS. Literary Register*, Weekly, II 240, 241.

12. Mr. Sueter's MSS.

13. See Colonel Stuart's summons to the Jaffna Garrison, *N. A. S. Journal* XX, 466.

14. *Literary Register* II 246.



It would appear that these Assistant Superintendents of Revenue were also called "Collectors," as we read that, in reply to an application by Jervis for the trial by Court Martial of certain members of the "large band of Robbers in this District," he was told that he himself had the necessary authority to deal with them as "every Collector is vested with the power of confining these delinquents."<sup>15</sup> They are also called "Collectors" in Mr. North's correspondence. The first duty of these Collectors was, as their name implies, the supervision of the collection of the revenue, and the *Jaffna Diary*, with its multiplicity of details, shows that this duty was the principal item of Jervis' daily work. But it would seem that the Collector had a considerable judicial jurisdiction in the trial both of criminal and civil cases.

As regards the former, Andrews sends Jervis the following instructions: "In all cases unconnected with the Military, your Public Cutcherry is the place for investigating the subject, and your Authority during my Absence is sufficient for the trial and Punishment of all Misdemeanours which are not of a very heinous nature." For heinous offences such as felony and murder, the Garrison Order of 25th April, 1796, quoted in the *Jaffna Diary*, lays down that Courts Martial are the only courts in existence competent to try them. Capital charges are to be reported to Colonel Stuart, doubtless to enable him to arrange Courts Martial. On Mr. North's arrival these—the Cutcheries of the Collectors and the Courts Martial—were the only criminal courts in Ceylon.<sup>16</sup>

The civil jurisdiction of the Collectors was less clearly defined. A case—*Moyart v. Leona Silva*—is reported in the *Jaffna Diary* of January, 1796, in which Jervis states that he cannot act in his judicial capacity, and that it must go to arbitration, and it seems likely that the Collector confined himself to cases involving Government revenue, such as defaults of renters, &c. But the Collector's discretion was, no doubt, a wide one, and it seems to have been so construed, both as regards jurisdiction and sentence. Thus we find that the punishment for a toddy drawer failing to carry his "receipt to draw," what we now call the tree tapping licence, was two dozen lashes, while another tapper on the same day—18th September, 1800,—got an extra two dozen for "impertinent behaviour." Probably this was also the method of treatment of defaulting renters. It is also unlikely that much attention was paid to regularity of proceedings, and probably justice was of a very "summary" description.

Next below the Collectors came native officials called Aumildars.<sup>17</sup> These officers appear to have been stationed at various places within the jurisdiction of the Collector, and to have been entrusted with the collection of revenue, and possibly with a certain measure of general administrative power under the supervision of the Collector. Thus we read of "my Aumildar at Moelletivoe" in one of Jervis' letters, and of Andrews sending two Aumildars to the Wann "to investigate the revenues." These officers replaced the Mudaliyars, who, under the Dutch, were the native officers in charge of revenue matters, and whose powers were suppressed by proclamation.<sup>18</sup> The Aumildars, and the other officers inferior to them, were brought over from Madras to initiate the system of revenue collection employed there,<sup>19</sup> and the "transfer of authority from the nation to foreign natives was a pregnant source of discontent,"<sup>20</sup> and was largely responsible for the later disturbances.

15. Andrews' Letter of 20th February, 1796, and that from the Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George of March 8th, in *Jaffna Diary*, cf. Lewis, *Tamilstones and Monuments* 456, and *Jaffna Diary* of end of October, 1796.

16. Mr. North's Despatch of May, 1796, to the Court of Directors.

17. Lord Valentia (I. 314) calls them Aumils. They were apparently sometimes appointed to posts held by Europeans under the Dutch (Mr. North's Despatch of 18th February 1801, § 26).

18. *Jaffna Diary* of September 2nd, 1796. 19. 11. June 17th, 1796.

20. Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation in Wellesley MSS.

Under the Amildars came a number of minor officials with strange names, few of which survived the Government which introduced them. It is difficult to place them all, but the following staff list of Jaffna Kachcheri on 9th February, 1799, explains some of them.

Name.	Salary.	Duty.
	(star pagodas per month)	
Peshcar	20	for executing orders respecting revenue
Sumpready	not given	to keep Malabar accounts
Cuttwal	do	for to keep peace in the bazaar
Monigar	4	to execute orders

Besides these, there were conicopies or kanakapulles, gomashtahs—duties not described,—respadoors, who were collectors of revenue under the Dutch. Under the "Monigars" or Manigars came "purpattacarars," a local title now extinct, meaning the people who look after things. There were also Pattengatyns for the fishers and in Manaar District a "Mottocara."<sup>21</sup>

### The Revenue.

Many details of the revenue collected by this new department are given in the *Jaffna Diary*. We read of fish rents, land customs, rents of passes or tolls, chank fishery, arrack and toddy rents, sale of elephants, pearl fishery, head money and body tax, various import duties, land rents, harbour dues, export duties, tax on coconut trees, duties on tobacco, alaphandigo or sea customs. But in the spite of the number of the heads, the monthly revenue of Jaffna District in 1797 was only 2,435 star pagodas odd, about £974 with the star pagoda at 8/-, while the drafts of Paymaster Lieutenant Strickland Kingston to pay the expenses of the troops at Trincomalee were so heavy that there was rarely any balance left in the Jaffna Kachcheri.<sup>22</sup> The revenue was greatly increased by Jervis' successor, Major, later Colonel, Burton Gage Barbut, who was appointed by Secretary Webbe's letter of 10th January, 1798, Jervis having died on 24th December, 1797.<sup>23</sup> But it is difficult to make out any statement of income and expenditure, partly owing to the changing limits of the districts and the insufficient particulars in the Diary.

The *Wellesley MSS.* supplement the information given in the *Jaffna Diary*. In the proceedings of the Committee of Investigation are given the details of the Jaffna farms, the total for 1797-8 being 105,301 rix dollars (at about 2 shillings sterling) as against 113,041 the previous year. The return is signed "John Jervis" and shows that the financial year ran from 1st September to 31st August. The Mullaitivu revenue 1796-7 was Rds. 14,616 with expenditure Rds. 6,030. Imperfect details of rents of the other parts of the Maritime Provinces are given. The first Jaffna arrack and toddy renter under the British was John Podmore, a monthly rent of 104 rix dollars 2 fanams being paid. The Colombo arrack and toddy rent 1797-8 was held by "Barend de Vosz and J. LaBroy." We also read of farms of turtle fishery, gaming rights, gem digging, "beetle."<sup>24</sup>

But the pearl fishery seems to have been the main source of revenue. The anxiety of the Madras Government to raise money in Ceylon is shown by the fact that arrangements for the first fishery under the British Government—that of 1796—were made before the surrender of Colombo on February 16th. This fishery realised £60,000, 12,000 oysters being said to have been landed daily from each boat. The second fishery in 1797 produced £144,000, though the daily

21. Lewis, *Traditions and Monuments*, page 28 footnote.

22. *Jaffna Diary*, May and June, 1797.

23. Barbut signs, in the first instance, as "Major Commanding and Acting in the Revenue," later as "Collector," finally being appointed Commissioner Extraordinary by Mr. Norish, a post which he held till the Kandian Expedition of 1803. On the capture of Kandy, he became its Commandant, but died from fever contracted at Dambadenia in May, 1805.

24. *Wellesley MSS. Literary Register* II 122.



average of oysters was only 8,000. At the 1798 fishery, the rent rose still higher to £192,000, though the daily number of oysters fell to 6,000. These three fisheries exhausted the banks and the rent for 1799 fell to £30,000, after which the main Aripo banks were allowed to rest till 1804.<sup>20</sup>

With these handsome profits from the Pearl Fishery, the Madras Administration must have had a substantial balance to their credit on their Ceylon account. From Mr. Secretary Cleghorn's examination of the Ceylon accounts maintained at Madras<sup>21</sup> we learn that the nett average annual excess of revenue over expenditure for 1796-8 was 117,209 star pagodas, all military and other expenses included, possibly not omitting the cost of the expeditions in 1795-6. Presumably these figures include the receipts from the Pearl Fisheries probably of 1796 and 1797, and possibly for 1798. If so, as the first two produced 255,000 star pagodas per annum and all three 330,000, it is clear that the pearl fisheries alone saved the Madras Government from a loss on their venture.

These figures make necessary a statement of such information as is available on the subject of the currency of the period. About the time of the British occupation of 1795-6, the standard coin of Ceylon appears to have become the Dutch copper stiver or pice. 48 of these stivers went to the rix dollar, at one time a Dutch coin, but at this time a mere money of account. The rix dollar was also divided into 12 fanams, apparently also a money of account, one fanam being thus equal to 4 stivers.<sup>22</sup>

As India had a different currency, rates of exchange between the currencies of the two countries had to be fixed. The chief Indian standards were the Star Pagoda and the Porto Novo Pagoda, the former being a gold coin, and the latter being possibly also in gold. The rate of exchange between these coins and the Ceylon currency, under the Dutch, is given in the *Jaffna Diary* as being: 1 Porto Novo Pagoda equal to 25½ fanams, 1 Star Pagoda, at the rate of 100 Star Pagodas to 120 Porto Novo Pagodas, equal to 30.5 fanams.

Under the British, the Indian currency increased in value relatively to the Ceylon stiver. Thus the exchange of 22nd March, 1796, as given in the *Jaffna Diary*, was 1 Porto Novo Pagoda equal to 38½ fanams; 1 Star Pagoda equal to 45 fanams, and 1 Scott Pagoda, a money not mentioned elsewhere in the records, equal to 38 fanams. In May, 1796, the rate was 1 Star Pagoda equal to 45 fanams, which seems to have remained fixed at this figure for some years.

As the authorities, while quoting the rates of exchange, do not give the sterling value of any of the denominations, it is difficult to ascertain the real values of any in sterling. It seems, however, to be generally taken that the Star Pagoda was worth about 8 shillings sterling,<sup>23</sup> and, if we adopt that figure, we get the Porto Novo Pagoda worth 6s. 8d., the fanam equal 2½d. (at the last quoted rate of exchange), the rix dollar equal to 2s. 1½d., or 9½ rix dollars to the pound sterling, the stiver equal to ½d.

<sup>20</sup> See Cordner II 71-2. The figures given by Bertolacci (191) do not agree with Cordner's. For 1797, he puts the sum realised at £110,000, and for 1798 at £140,000. But he was not including amount collected as "aumance" (aumany) in the case of boats of which the number of divers had been rendered incomplete.

<sup>21</sup> Mr. North's Despatches of 5th October, 1801, para. 60 and of 15th December, 1801, para. 37, show that there was a small fishery at Aripo in 1801, which was, however, unsuccessful.

<sup>22</sup> *Wellesley MSS. Library Register*, II 225. The accounts of the pearl fishery "were carried directly to the account of the Government of Fort St. George" (Mr. North's Despatch of 27th October, 1798).

<sup>23</sup> Bertolacci, 80-81. Mention of the rix dollar coin is frequent in the Dutch records. See *Anthony's Reports*, and *Codrington* in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. I, page 106.

<sup>24</sup> Later examination of Mr. North's Despatches shows that the reservations in the text are unnecessary, and that the sterling exchange of the star pagoda was exactly eight shillings. See Despatch of 27th October 1798, and an annexure to Despatch of 5th October, 1804.

### The Commander-in-Chief.

Coexisting with the Revenue Department was the military establishment, which had been responsible for the capture and cession of the Dutch forts in the first instance, and which later supplied the commandants and garrisons who held them for the British. At the head of this establishment stood the Officer Commanding the British Forces in Ceylon. He was not, however, only the head of the Military, but had also full control of the Civil Departments as well. The letter from the Madras Government to the Commanding Officer, quoted in their letter to Andrews of 1st March, 1796,<sup>20</sup> makes this clear. "As it has been judged expedient to vest in you (*i.e.* Colonel Stuart) the exercise of a Discretionary Authority, as well Civil as Military, in the Island of Ceylon, the Revenue and Commercial Servants are to be considered subject to your Orders and to address themselves to you upon all Points on which a Reference may be requisite."

This "Discretionary Authority" was continued to Colonel, later Major-General, Stuart's successor, Major-General Doyle, as is made clear by a Garrison Order of 1st January, 1797, signed by the Adjutant-General Colonel P. A. Agnew, to the effect that all powers, civil and military, are vested in the General, and all persons in the revenue and commercial departments are to consider Major-General Doyle their immediate superior.<sup>21</sup>

This was also the case with Brigadier-General de Meuron, who succeeded Major-General Doyle. Andrews in September, 1797, disputed with him for the superintendence of "the Moodliars . . . who were appointed with salaries in the Dissavanie of Colombo and Galle and Matara," but the President in Council at Madras decided that "the Moodliars be appointed by the Representative of Government who holds chief civil authority," *i.e.* the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.<sup>22</sup>

Colonel Stuart, then, was the first Military Governor of Ceylon<sup>23</sup> and besides improving the defences by strengthening the fortification of Colombo, protecting the Pettah by new works, constructing batteries for guarding the bay south of Mutwal, and adding to the Fort of Trincomalee, he studied "the statistics of the Island, its advantages, interests and resources" from a general point of view. "Although forensic duties may be supposed foreign to his previous habits, Colonel Stuart employed himself in an impartial administration of justice." While he still continued Governor of Ceylon he was promoted to the rank of Major-General<sup>24</sup> on some date soon after 29th May, 1796, the date of the last Proclamation issued by him under the designation of "Colonel."<sup>25</sup>

His successor was Major-General Welbore Ellis Doyle, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief in November, 1796, arriving in Ceylon with half of the 19th Regiment, and taking over from Major-General Stuart on 1st January, 1797, the latter going as Commander-in-Chief to Bengal. But Major-General Doyle died within six months of his arrival, from what cause we are not told. The date of his death is also uncertain. The War Office records in the Public Record Office give the date as 2nd January, 1798,<sup>26</sup> but this cannot be correct, as Brigadier-

20. *Jaffna Diary*, proximate date.

21. 16. January, 1797.

22. *Welbore MSS.*

23. This term does not appear to have been used as an official title at the time. It seems to have been founded on Percival, 1st Edn. 110.

24. Mr. Soester's MSS. quoting an account in *Oriental Magazine* reproduced in *Government Gazette* of 31st May, 1850.

25. *Jaffna Diary*, proximate date.

26. *Lewis, Tombstones and Monuments*, 390.



General de Meuron, who was General in Ceylon after Doyle, was appointed long before that.<sup>38</sup> Lewis' supposition that the War Office had postdated the death for pay and pension purposes probably explains the discrepancy.

Doyle was succeeded by Colonel Bonnevaux, who, according to Percival,<sup>39</sup> "had only arrived three or four days at Colombo, from his former command at Point de Galle, when he was killed by his curriole upsetting as he drove out through one of the gates; and was buried within a week after his predecessor," who "died on the June following," i.e. 1797. But Lewis<sup>40</sup> has ascertained from the India Office that the date of Bonnevaux's death was 12th July, 1797. There is, apparently, no reason to suppose that there is any postdating in this instance, and it is not at all unlikely that Percival, as in so many other cases,<sup>41</sup> is in error. If so, either his "June following" or "within a week" is wrong; in the former case, the date of Major-General Doyle's death would be *circa* July 6th, in the latter *circa* June 30th. It seems to be indifferent which is selected: as Percival names June, we might take the latter, accepting 12th July as the correct date of the death of Colonel Bonnevaux.

The latter was succeeded by Brigadier-General de Meuron, who appears to have been in Ceylon, engaged in "investigating the state of the Revenue and other important matters in the Island of Ceylon" for which purpose, as we shall see, a Committee with the Brigadier-General at its head had been appointed by the Madras Government on 10th June.<sup>42</sup> It seems likely that de Meuron, on the death of Colonel Bonnevaux, assumed the office of Commander-in-Chief and Representative of Government in addition to his duties as President of the Committee of Investigation. His Governorship would, accordingly, date from 12th July, 1797.

We have seen that the General Officer Commanding held the chief authority, both Military and Civil, but his representatives in the outstations were early deprived of any civil jurisdiction. So long as no civil authority was established, it would appear from the instance of Lieutenant William Bagster, given in *Jaffna Diary* of 8th December, 1795, that Colonel Stuart had empowered the Commandants to hear and settle disputes. When, however, Andrews' Revenue Department was established, it was arranged that every matter in dispute relating to the concerns of the Revenue, was, in future to be referred to Andrews or Jervis, who, in fact, became the only civil authorities.<sup>43</sup> In practice, indeed, the Commandant, though apparently nominally independent of the Superintendent of Revenue or his Assistant, was liable to receive orders from him for escorts of remittances, assistance to renters to collect their moneys, &c. We find Jervis in December, 1795, actually enquiring into charges against Lieutenant Bagster, and acquitting him.

But it is obvious that this dual control must have led to considerable friction, in spite of the fact that the Commander-in-Chief was the head of all the departments. Thus we find Jervis at cross purposes with Captain Ferguson, who was acting for Colonel Major Barbut, as

38. Major-General Doyle, who died at the age of 39, had a distinguished military career before he came to Ceylon. See Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*, 45). His son, later Major-General Sir Everard Hastings Doyle, had even a more unique history, fighting with his father in Flanders at the age of 11, and with Wellington and Nelson later, being invited by the latter to a Council of War before the battle of Copenhagen, while he was still but 18 years of age. A descendant, Sir Everard Hastings Doyle wrote to the *Ceylon Literary Register* in 1886, asking for information where Major-General Walbers Ellis Doyle was buried (*Ceylon Monthly Literary Register* IV, 24). The reply is in the Colombo Pettah Burial Ground (Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*, 12). There is an interesting note on the family in *Weekly Literary Register*, II 174.

39. *Loc. cit.*, page 110. 40. *Tombstones and Monuments*, 320.

41. For example, in stating that Colonel Petrie was one of the Military Governors. He was Commandant of Colombo when he died (Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*).

42. The Committee was appointed by an order of 10th June, 1797 (Souter's MSS).

43. Barbut's Proclamation of 12th December, 1795 in *Jaffna Diary*.

Commandant of Jaffna, in April, 1796, Captain Ferguson had apparently been interfering with the Department of Boats and Vessels, and issuing orders that all strangers coming to Jaffna should wait upon the Commanding Officer. Jervis asks Andrews to communicate with the Officer Commanding the Forces, or with the Government, presumably of Madras, "so as to prevent any interference on the part of the Military Authorities with the Department which Government have immediately intrusted and committed to the charge of their Revenue Servants in this Island."<sup>42</sup> Jervis' contention appears to have been upheld.

### Causes of Failure.

But the new administration and the new Revenue Department were not destined to be successful. The system is so freely criticised by the Committee of Investigation, which was sent from Madras to look into the causes of its failure, that it is not difficult to say what these were.

As will be seen, there were many defects in the Madras Administration, but the one which the Committee of Investigation seem to think was the most fatal was the introduction of the Madras Revenue System and supercession of the native Mudaliyars by foreigners from the Malabar Coast, who were entirely ignorant of the customs, language, and prejudices of the people. This idea, as were several others of Brigadier-General de Meuron and his Committee, was developed by Mr. North, the first Civil Governor of Ceylon. "Your Lordship has undoubtedly been informed of the excesses committed by a set of profligate Malabar Servants of Revenue in the harsh, unjust, and impolitic introduction of a system of finance and judicature confessedly defective even where it has been long established and carried on by the natives of the country, but which became altogether insupportable, when it was introduced in direct contrariety to the usages, laws and habits of the people, and executed by men unconnected with their fortunes, enemies to their religion, and having no interest but in oppressing and despoiling them."<sup>43</sup>

Apart from the general dislike of the foreign officials, one particular detail of the administration stands out as almost the most unpopular phase of it all—the introduction, originally from 1st September, 1796,<sup>44</sup> of a tax on coconut trees of "one silver fanam," about 2d., per tree per annum. As de Meuron points out in his Report on the Dutch Records<sup>45</sup> the tax was both unjust and impolitic as the value of trees varied greatly according to situation, &c., and the tax was sometimes greater than the produce. He also notes that the Chalias were exempt from the tax, while some castes had 50 free trees, and others presumably none. It would appear that the chief objection to the tax was the fact that it had to be paid in money, and Bertolacci (324) states that an offer was made to Government to pay, in place of the tax, one-tenth of the produce in kind, but that this excellent offer was refused. He points out that, when fields with their various tenures are taxed in kind, it was only reasonable that gardens should also pay a tax, and laments the loss of this good opportunity to levy one. If his facts are correct, his conclusion is wholly justified, and one wonders whether the refusal was due merely to shortsightedness on the part of the Madras officials, or whether the raising of money was considered so important that a payment in kind was not thought suitable from the point of view of rapid realisation. Bertolacci does not state to whom the offer was made, or who was responsible for its refusal.

42. *Jaffna Diary*, and *Lewis, Doubtless and Monmouth*, 403, quoted in.

43. *Wellesley MSS., Literary Digest*, Weekly II, 230.

44. *Jaffna Diary*, June, 1796. Marshall (115) is in error in stating that "an annual tax of one fanam (13d.) was imposed upon the produce of coconut and other fruit-bearing trees." The tax was imposed on the tree, not on the produce, and was only applied to coconut trees. Marshall's rate of exchange also does not agree with that in the text.

45. *Literary Digest*, Weekly II, 141.



In spite of the fact that the "body tax" was abolished, certainly in the Northern Districts, and probably all over the Maritime Provinces, the objection to the coconut tax seems to have been almost instantaneous. On September 24th, 1796, Jervis reports "the particular opposition which has been given to my people who were employed to number the coconut trees, as well as the disposition of the Inhabitants in general, manifest to oppose my collection of the tax." On 17th March, 1797, he reports that the inhabitants are very averse from payment. "I should, moreover, apprehend a very alarming opposition were I to exact the tax now," and he adds a request for instructions. From this it would appear that the collection of the tax had not yet commenced, and about 25th March, possibly as a result of Jervis' report, Major-General Doyle suspended the collection of the tax pending orders from the Government at Madras.\*\*

Andrews' letter of 17th May from Colombo probably conveys the orders which the Madras Government made on this reference to them. They were to the effect that the tax was again to be collected, but something was to be done to make it more acceptable to the people. The rent of a garden, says Andrews, might, for example, be estimated, apparently instead of the trees being taxed separately by their number, as this might tend to prevent unequal incidence of the tax. Nothing is said about any offer to pay in kind.

It does not appear from the records whether the tax was actually collected or not. It was, however, considered by the Committee of Investigation to contribute to the later disturbances, so that it seems likely that some attempt was made to collect it in some form, which possibly gave the occasion for the revolt. The tax was abolished by resolution of the Committee of Investigation of 2nd September, 1797. It was not, in any case, a very lucrative one; in Jaffna District the 113,588 trees marked represented only 2,524 star pagodas or about £1,000 per annum.\*

In the notification of the original tax on coconut trees of 1st September, 1796, we find mention of the fact that labour was, in future, to be paid for. This represents another reform of the Madras Administration, namely the abolition of the system of personal services hitherto prevailing in Ceylon. The Minutes of the Committee of Investigation again explain the position. "The Sovereign . . . was absolutely proprietor of the soil. From him proceeded landed property of every denomination. . . the land was divided into certain portions, each of which was appropriated to realisation of one particular object of Government whether of Religion, Finance, Justice or Defence. Personal service variously modified. . . constituted the tenure upon which land was occupied. . . The soldier and civilian in their respective services, the cultivation of land in its produce, the workman in his merchandise and the daily labourer in certain portions of his labour" were thus taxed in view of land held from the King.

"Such is the general outline of the ancient Government of Ceylon. The Portuguese retained much of this fiscal system by taxation, and upon their expulsion by the Dutch, the tenures of personal labour and official service were continued in conformity with the prejudices and customs of the inhabitants. Upon our conquest of the island, we abolished those tenures and endeavoured to introduce the Coast system of revenues."\*\*

It may be noted here that one of the recommendations of the Committee of Investigation which inquired into Andrews' Government was the restoration of service tenures. Several reasons are assigned for this opinion. One is the insignificance of the value of the Government share of crops, and another was the difficulty of obtaining labour under the new system. "The natural indolence of the Cingalese renders the interference of authority necessary to obtain labourers of every description when required for service of public or of individuals, for no temptation of reward within the bounds of reason can induce a Cingalese to labour when he can exist in idleness."\*\*

\* Jaffna Diary, proximate Gates, and Andrews' letter from Arripo of 25th March, 1797, in same.

† J. Jaffna Diary of 17th March, 1797.

‡ Literary Register Weekly II, 115.

§ In 182, Mr. North writes in 1890, with reference to this statement: "I have imbibed that opinion as strongly as any (one and it is only by my long continuance in this country, that I am convinced of its being unfounded." (Despatch of 26th November, 1892, para 179.)



The service tenure system was accordingly reverted to on the recommendation of the Committee of Investigation, but we shall see on another occasion, that Mr. North, in this instance, did not agree with the opinion of the Committee, and again abolished service tenures. Mr. North, in his turn, was severely criticised by his successor, Sir Thomas Maitland, for doing so, and the service tenure system was gradually returned to by studied neglect of Mr. North's regulations on that head. The whole subject is one of some complication and has only been touched upon here; its fuller consideration can be more suitably postponed for another time.

Another item of the Madras Administration to which the Committee take exception is the "union of powers of renter and magistrate," or, as it is elsewhere put, the fact of "the farmers also being judges."<sup>50</sup> It is not particularly clear to what these phrases are intended to refer, but the reference is probably a double one, firstly to the fact that the only "judges," other than military officers sitting on Courts Martial, were the officers of the Revenue Department, and secondly, to what was probably the fact that many of these revenue officers, especially the *Aumildars*, were renters or farmers of the revenue as well as revenue officers. We shall see that Jervis was a renter as well as being Assistant Superintendent of Revenue, and it is very probable that the junior officials had direct or indirect interest in the rents as well. We know that the Assistant Superintendents of Revenue had judicial powers, and the *Aumildars* probably had a delegated authority of the same kind.<sup>51</sup> It will thus be easily understood that any aggrieved party would have little remedy against the acts or orders of the revenue officers, and the objection of the Committee to the system can be seen to be well founded.

#### Robert Andrews and his Assistants.

But, however, impolitic the Madras system was in these and other particulars, its defects would seem to have been greatly emphasised by maladministration. The character of Andrews himself is subjected to severe criticism by Ceylon officials. At the best, "indolence,"<sup>52</sup> "want of vigilance and activity," "ignorance of habits and disposition of islanders"<sup>53</sup> are among his characteristics, although Mr. North, generally charitable, allows him, somewhat inconsistently, "experience, talent, and incomparable temper." At the worst, Andrews, according to Lord Valentia (i 314), cannot be acquitted of having at least connived at the malpractices of his subordinates. Lord Valentia adds that the matter of the pearl fishery, in which double the number of boats were employed for which the Company received payment, would authorise a more unfavourable construction of his conduct. When we note that Mr. North, during his investigation into the misdeeds of the Collectors, finds reason for saying that "the Company seems to have been cheated of 7 lacs of pagodas in the fisheries of 1797 and 1798, which sum he has to increase to 12 lacs later,"<sup>54</sup> and that "no boat could or did fish without passport from Andrews countersigned by the renter," it may be reasonably supposed that Lord Valentia's suspicions were not without some solid foundation.

It is, however, pointed out<sup>55</sup> that Andrews appears to have enjoyed a high reputation in Madras, even after the time of his administration of the Ceylon revenues. He was Collector of the

50. *Ibid.* *Literary Register*.

51. It is clear that they had, from Despatch of 25th February, 1799, para 63, where it is stated that the *Aumildars* had "every judicial magisterial authority."

52. *Cleghorn, Literary Register* 229.

53. Mr. North, *ib.* 345.

54. *ib.* 295, 300.

55. By Mr. Lewis, & A. S. *Journal*, Vol. XXVI, Part II, p. 56. The following minute of 9th June, 1797, by Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, who had visited Ceylon some time between May, 1797, and February, 1798 (Sueter's MSS.), may also be noted in this connection: "Having recently turned a considerable share of my attention to the affairs of Ceylon, I am induced to offer some observations . . . which may possibly be found not undeserving of notice. Although they convey an idea that improvements may be made in the Revenue system on that Island they will not, I trust, be considered to cast the most distant imputation upon the conduct of the superintendant. The precariousness of our possession the short period the Dutch Settlements have been in our hands the difficulty of obtaining information, the distance of the natives, and the indisposition of the Dutch, furnish so many and such serious obstacles to a successful management that it ought not to be a matter of surprise that the mode of administration should only gradually be discovered . . ." (Sueter's MSS.).



Trichinopoly District from 1804 to 1808, going to England in the latter year. On his return to India in 1810, he was appointed Acting Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Southern Division. In 1813, he was Postmaster-General, Madras, and, in 1815, First Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal for the Southern Division. He died at Trichinopoly on 13th November, 1821, aged 58, and his tomb in St. John's Cemetery bears the following: "If suavity ensure esteem, philanthropy respect and charity gratitude, time will record the name of Andrews in the remembrance of the good. . . In him truly did the wretched find a friend, the poor a parent and mankind a man."

But it cannot be deduced from these facts that his administration of the Ceylon revenues was blameless. The posts referred to would be, no doubt, within the easy reach of anyone possessing the influence at Headquarters which Andrews undoubtedly had, and one does not go to epitaphs for critical insight into character. There was, in fact, every reason why the Madras Government should pay but scant attention, and even give little credit, to Ceylon complaints against Andrews. On the one hand, the "precariousness of our possession of the Island," and the possibility of it reverting to the Dutch at almost any moment, would create the tendency among the Madras officials to treat the affairs of Ceylon as of but little importance. On the other hand, the severance of Ceylon from the control of Madras on Mr. North's arrival in October, 1798, caused a considerable amount of annoyance to the Madras officials "as a measure adverse to their patronage and emoluments," and they were not likely to look kindly on Mr. North and his complaints, especially when they were directed against one of their own men.

This spirit of opposition to the new Ceylon Government was noted by Cleghorn, who, after being appointed Secretary to the Ceylon Government, but before assuming duties, was sent by Mr. North to Madras to obtain information about procedure, accounts, and so on. "I must acknowledge with truth and regret," says Cleghorn, "that the erecting of Ceylon into a separate Government was considered by the gentlemen at the head of the different Boards of the Madras Presidency as a measure adverse to their patronage and emoluments, that with every exertion on my part I was able to procure from them hardly any information,"<sup>22</sup>

It is thus evident that the absence of any criticism of Andrews in India can, by no means, be taken as proof that his work in Ceylon was above criticism, and we must give the positive evidence from Ceylon more weight than the negative from India.

Nor is the positive evidence confined to the matter of the Pearl Fishery. Cleghorn, in the letter already quoted, lays a serious indictment against Andrews: "I have not described, because I cannot as yet legally authenticate the particular instances of rapine and cruelty which the Madras Dubashes have inflicted in Ceylon upon every class of the native inhabitants. The very enormities of which I have received accounts will prevent me from stating them without the fullest evidence. But I have heard of these from men of the most undoubted veracity and whose situations must have made it very difficult to impose upon the fictions for facts. And I have no difficulty in saying that the Madras Government, know(ing) as they do either Mr. Andrews' ignorance of business or his connivance with the Dubashes, ought not again to have employed him. And if that gentleman has felt with delicacy what is publicly said of his conduct, he would not have again accepted of his situation until he had obtained a full and fair acquittal of the facts alleged against his management. I have no personal prejudice against him. I hardly even know him. But when the happiness and misery of thousands depend upon his conduct . . . that understanding must be contemptible which can attempt to derive lasting Public Revenue from injustice and extortion . . . Whether oppression upon unfortunate inhabitants has proceeded from his indolence or from worse motives, in his situation indolence and guilt are the same."



Whichever view we may take, it is unlikely that under such superintendence, the Collectors would either do their own work satisfactorily, or supervise their subordinates efficiently. As Andrews so probably did, many of the other Madras officials found in the Pearl Fisheries the best opportunity and the greatest scope for personal profit. "Several servants of the Madras Government engaged deeply in last year's Pearl Fisheries (i.e. of 1797) and have still considerable quantities (of pearls?) to dispose of."<sup>87</sup>

Thus, although Mr. North finds that the Fishery of 1796 shows no irregularities, the circumstances of this first fishery under the British Government were decidedly peculiar. The renter, in the first instance, was the Collector of Jaffna, John Jervis, himself, who bought the rent for 150,000 Porto Novo Pagodas.<sup>88</sup> Jervis apparently thought that he would also be Superintendent of the Fishery, as he would have been in the ordinary course, as well as renter, but Andrews would not allow this, and appointed Robert Alexander of the Madras Civil Service as Superintendent. Jervis thereupon threw up the rent on the ground that there were not enough boats to work the Fishery successfully. Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, allowed him to withdraw, but expressed his "sense of the Impropriety of that Gentleman's conduct both as it respects his engagements as renter of the Fishery and his duty to the Company as Collector of their revenue." Although Jervis insists that "my private interest has not in any Degree stood in Opposition to my Zeal for that of the Hon'ble Company," it remains suspicious that he withdrew, albeit on another pretext, when he found that he was to be Superintendent, and that he was able to engage himself to pay down some £ 50,000.<sup>89</sup> It is interesting to note that the fishery "was then rented by some natives of Jaffnapatam, who paid for it about 60,000l. sterling, and cleared by the adventure three times that sum."<sup>90</sup>

Collector John Macdowall, whom we found to have been present at the capitulation of Jaffna, and who with Secretary Cleghorn, formed two of the three Commissioners for the Fishery of 1799, became involved in some rice defalcations thereat. Mr. North finds that he "has been guilty of an enormous neglect of duty, in not selling Government rice sent for relief of starving population but allowing it to lie rotting in granaries and (on) seashore. I suspect him of having sold rice an enormous price, and now he has gone to Manaar to get rice to pay Government in kind."<sup>91</sup> He was suspended but eventually reinstated. He was dismissed about Sept., 1799,<sup>92</sup> (The *Jaffna Diary* shows that a John Macdowall was Assistant Agent of Revenue at Trincomalee in June 1803. It is hardly likely that there would be two John Macdowalls in Ceylon within 4 years, it would therefore seem that the dismissed Collector had been reinstated later.)

Garrow, Collector of Trincomalee, with Batticaloa and Mullaitivu, who arrived at Trincomalee 1st Oct., 1797, was another of "the infamous faction of Madras civilians" who got into trouble with Mr. North. He was "a pert little black monkey" against whom "complaints of violence scarcely imaginable (had) been brought." "He has even ventured to send a written order to chief of villages to oblige 4 poor devils of natives of Batticaloa whom he had illegally arrested here where he has no authority and sent to his district to return to Batticaloa by another road without setting foot here. I have suspended him. Oh Lord! I am quite sick."<sup>93</sup> Garrow's later history is not related.

87. *ib.*

88. Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*, 426, puts this at £12,000. But if rates of exchange given above are correct, it would be £60,000, with the Porto Novo Pagoda at 6s. 8d.

89. *Jaffna Diary*, and Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*.

90. Lewis, *ib.* 426 states that Jervis' relinquishment of the rent was "an unfortunate move as his part as regards his own interests for the Fishery of 1796 yielded £60,000." This was, according to Cordier, what it yielded to Government Jervis, if he had been renter, would have realised £240,000, less what he paid for it.

91. *Literary Register* 11, 245.

92. *ib.* 232.

93. *ib.* 231.



With men like these at the head of the Revenue Department, it is not surprising that the "swarm of Dubashes . . . claiming the rank of Aumils, seem to have considered land given up to them to be devoured. The object of the Aumils was to accumulate money; they cut down timber" and committed other acts of oppression.<sup>84</sup> Cleghorn's account<sup>85</sup> of the misdeeds of these "Aumils" or "Dubashes" has been already quoted.

Nor was this all. In the train of these Madras officials, who, in themselves, must have been a sufficient plague to the country, followed a swarm of Tamils from the coast who came to get what advantage they could out of the farm of the new and old sources of revenue. "The Malabars, who since our possession have gone over for the purpose of farming must be sent away, for it is no wonder as General Doyle remarked that the 'Revenue can only be collected at the point of the bayonet.'" These renters were a "set of wretches, whose speculations are plunder, whose interests are permanently foreign to those of the country; and whose rapacious disposition(s) are perpetually urged forward by the precariousness of their tenure,"<sup>86</sup> owing again, of course, to the possibility of Ceylon being given back to the Dutch. "No mode," says Mr. North,<sup>87</sup> "for destroying a country could have been devised more likely to accomplish its end with despatch and aggravation and to create among the nation most rooted abhorrence of and disgust to British Government. It must be in vain for the Government to assume character of lenity and moderation if this set of wretches remain."

The natural end to this state of acute misgovernment was what actually happened—violent revolt on the part of the inhabitants. "The Moodliars were not likely to trouble themselves about the dissatisfaction of the natives,"<sup>88</sup> superceded as they had been by the foreigners from the Coast; the Dutch were daily expecting restoration of Ceylon, and held out hopes of assistance from the French; and all the sources of irritation described above combined to produce a formidable outbreak. The first we hear of it in the records is in the Committee's letter to Lord Hobart of 16th August, 1797,<sup>89</sup> where mention is made of "neighbouring districts in open revolt" and of "fear of spreading." Tennent (ii 73 without giving authority) states that the rebels occupied intrenched positions on the line leading from the low-country to the hills, that a force of Sepoys was sent against them, but that it was not till after considerable loss on both sides that the insurgents were subdued. An Aumildar was murdered, but it was significant, says Lord Valentia (i 314), that no enquiry was held. Mr. North on this point says: "No Tribunal there for last 2 years, but Garrow's Cutcherry, and before him one of Andrews' Amildar, who was murdered by (the) populace in Government House (Trincomalee)"<sup>90</sup>

Beyond the two scanty references by Percival to the effect that the Sinhalese erected, near Kaduwela, "a kind of fort or breast work . . . during their rebellion against our government in 1797" and that "during the disturbances in 1797, the 35th battalion of Madras Sepoys occupied this post (a small circular fort near or at Hanwella) for several months, and during that period lost many of their men from the fire of the rebels who concealed themselves in the neighbouring thickets,"<sup>91</sup> no details are available of the operations during this first rebellion against British authority, either as regards their locality, nature, beginning or end. We can only say that the revolt broke out some time before 16th August, 1797, and ended some time before 16th February, 1798,<sup>92</sup> possibly before the end of 1797, and that fighting appears to have taken place to the east of Colombo, and probably elsewhere.

84. Lord Valentia i. 314.

85. *Literary Register* II. 229.

86. *Literary Register* II. 125. It may be noted that, though the renters of the rent in the Northern Province were nearly all "Malabar chetties," we find many Sinhalese and Burgher names in the lists for the Western and Southern Provinces.

87. *ib.* 228.

88. *ib.* p. 125.

89. *ib.* 125.

90. *ib.* 265. 30 Oct 1798.

91. 1st Edition 47-8.

92. *Literary Register* II. 125.



### The Committee of Investigation.

By this time, we have passed from the first of the two phases of the Madras Administration mentioned at the outset to the second which is the one which ended successfully. The Committee of Investigation<sup>73</sup> was appointed on 9th or 10th June, 1797, but it is not at all clear what gave rise to their appointment. Their own letter of 20th October, 1798<sup>74</sup> states that the Committee was "for investigating the state of the Revenue and other important matters in the Island of Ceylon," and would point to dissatisfaction at Madras with the revenue-producing capacity of Ceylon. But possibly Major-General Doyle's correspondence about the opposition to the coconut tax had opened the eyes of the Madras Government to the fact that all was not well in Ceylon, and, with other considerations, gave rise to the appointment. The revolt would appear not to have broken out for some time after the Committee's arrival.

The Committee consisted of Brigadier-General de Meuron, Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, and Mr. Andrews, but the last appears to have done nothing to assist the others in their difficult task. Mr. North writes under date October 27th, 1798. "Mr. Andrews has, in his capacity of member, signed all papers of Committee. Had he stood forward to press the execution of the measures recommended; had he been active in healing the wounds he had inflicted; had he brought to justice and punished those servants who had betrayed his confidence and committed his reputation, I should have been of opinion that no salary could have been too great, no dignity too high, no power too extensive, which may engage him to remain in this island for the completion of a work so beneficial to the people and so creditable to himself. But as he has been for the 6 months in Madras and only came yesterday, and not punished or dismissed one servant, shown no disposition to reform abuses. The officer (sic) you will agree of Superintendent of Revenue, and Ambassador at Kandy are both useless."<sup>75</sup>

But Brigadier-General de Meuron and Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew were both men of marked ability, and must have proved a formidable combination. The latter was, of course, the Major Agnew who played so large a part in the cession of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon to the British, bearing the first despatches of July 22nd, 1795, to Colombo, arranging the transfer of the Régiment de Meuron, deciding the terms of the Capitulation of Colombo, and inducing Governor van Angelbeek to assent to them. In one of his minutes he writes: "I served at the head of the staff of the Army which invaded this colony, and negotiated the capitulation by which it was surrendered to Britain."<sup>76</sup> "He possess abilities civil, military, financial, commercial and diplomatic. Shall regret him." (North 245). In the course of what follows we shall see the vast amount of work done on the Committee by de Meuron, its President.

The five recommendations of the Committee—the restoration of lands for personal services (cf. De Meuron's Proclamation<sup>77</sup> of 3rd July, 1798), the abolition of the coconut tax, the banishment of coast natives, the re-establishment of the authority of the Mudaliyars (effected by De Meuron's Proclamation of 3rd July, 1798, see *Jaffna Diary*, but Annildars, &c., continued to exist for some years), and the institution of a mild and upright administration—which were approved by Lord Hobart in his Minute of March 15th, 1798, had the desired effect of allaying

73. In Mr. Sauters MSS it is sometimes called the Committee of Enquiry. The full title seems to have been "a Committee for investigating the state of the Revenue and other important matters in the Island of Ceylon."

74. Quoted in Mr. Sauters MSS.

75. *Literary Register* II 230.

76. *ib.* 149.

77. The Proclamation is quoted in Sauters MSS. "The Honble the Governor in Council of Fort St. George from strong desire to adopt such measures for the conduct of affairs on the Island of Ceylon, as may be satisfactory to the native inhabitants of the provinces of this Island under his Government, and conducive to their happiness has thought proper to direct the re-establishment in great measure of the customs and usages formerly in force. Notice is hereby given to all whom it may concern that from and after the 1st day of September next the heynde paravettes will be as formerly exempt from all payments to Government excepting the personal services of their proprietors conformably to ancient usage, and that from the same date the requisite number of Moodliers and other Cingalese native officers will be re-established in the country to fulfil the functions they formerly held, and to be rewarded in the same manner with accommodations proportionate to their employment. Colombo, 3rd, July, 1798." ("Heynde" appears to be a form of *hōndē* *maide*, "terms applied to certain labourers who held land in lieu of services rendered to government." Clough, 277, and see *Literary Register Weekly* [V 76, *Monthly* III 276, *Philanthrope* 224].



the discontent, and when Mr. North arrived in October, 1798, he found that the "Island is in most perfect tranquillity. Prudent measures of Committee have quelled everything, every appearance leads me to hope for the security, prosperity and happiness of these settlements."<sup>18</sup> He is "sincerely happy in having such men as De Meuron, Cleghorn and Agnew. The first is Officer Commanding the Troops and acting Lieut.-Governor. Please don't take him away soon."<sup>19</sup> In his Despatch of 13th October, 1798, Mr. North reports that the "masterly labours of Committee . . . have most considerably diminished all the difficulties which I expected to find, and indeed have left me little more to do than to put into execution the very wise and prudent regulations recommended by them."

### Their Minutes.

Some of the Minutes of the meetings of the Committee, and of their reports and correspondence are given in the *Wellesley MSS.*,<sup>20</sup> and a brief summary of these will convey some idea of their painstaking and exhaustive investigations.

In their letter of June 10th Lord Hobart and Secretary Webbe notice the points raised by Doyle or de Meuron in some previous communication. They note proposal to abolish tax of one fanam on each coconut tree, which is considered unjust by de Meuron because value of trees varies, and impolitic because Chalias were entirely free, other castes having only 50 free trees, and because tax was sometimes greater than produce. They note that the Superintendent of Revenue must have been cheated because only in Trincomalee "beetle nut" has been farmed out for 586 pagodas, whereas the Dutch revenue used to be 100,000 rix dollars per annum. Governor Angelbeek getting 200,000 by paying Moors 7½ Rds. for storing and selling it for Government at 18 to 22 Rds. per annum of 25,000 nnts. The question of a salt monopoly is gone into, and cinnamon gardens are to have more attention after being neglected by Govr. Angelbeek. A capitation tax on Moors, who do not number more than 50,000, is suggested in place of their being annually obliged to take certificates for which fee was 12 dollars or 4 months' services to Dutch, called "oulliamé."<sup>21</sup> A tax on slaves is also suggested, and a small tax on cloth. The revenue on Jaffna tobacco under Dutch is noted at 35,000 Rds. per annum. Pearls are noted as casual revenue, and government share of crop, put at  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$ , is mentioned as of great moment as it affects large population. Renting or farming is recognised as the only successful system of revenue collection, in spite of the obvious disadvantages in that "as Adam Smith says, the farmers of the revenue have no bowels for the contributors." It is proposed to minimise these disadvantages by sending away the Malabar farmers as with them in the island, as General Doyle said, "revenue can only be collected at the point of the bayonet."

The Committee also deal with the difficult question of the administration of justice. By the 23rd Article of the Capitulation of February 15th, 1796, it was agreed that "all civil suits depending in the Council of Justice shall be decided by the same Council according to our laws . . . in twelve months" from the date of the capitulation. After the expiry of 12 months, suits still appear to have been pending, but the Dutch officials, who, no doubt, looked forward to an early restoration of Ceylon to Holland, refused to take the oath of allegiance. The Committee recommend that "another effort be made to prevail upon the Dutch to undertake" the administration of justice. "Should they persevere in their irrational and unwarrantable

<sup>18</sup> Ib. II, 129 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Ib. 235.

<sup>20</sup> Ib. v, 235.

<sup>21</sup> Tamil *ஊழியம்* (*Uyiyam*) service due to a superior. In present connexion it refers to the duty by which Moormen and Chetties "have in former times been used to work as coolies and labourers in the public service" (Proclamation of 2nd October, 1802).



determination to withhold their assistance " their removal from the island is suggested if possible, or exclusion from any privileges may be allowed to other nationalities. The Committee are evidently in great doubt as to the final disposal of Ceylon when peace is declared.<sup>82</sup>

During the deliberations of the Committee, we hear of "discontent" generally prevailing and "neighbouring districts in open revolt, fear of spreading" the result of Andrews' ill-advised introduction of Madras methods and officials. In particular, Lt.-Col. Agnew thought that the disturbances were due to union of powers of renter and magistrate, and the vesting of authority in Malabars.

The Committee suggested that native magistrates should be appointed to hear civil cases between renters and inhabitants. Mudaliyars were to have this office and to be assisted by Mohandirams and Arachchis from the Vellala caste only.

On the question of the Government half share of produce which "is now enforced" the Committee remarks that "no temptation of reward within the bounds of reason can induce a Cingalese to labour while he can exist in idleness" and they accordingly propose to give up the half share and to introduce compulsory labour. At the same time, they recognise that "there was not at present force to compel obedience to regulations considered by the natives as oppressive," also that if the island is to be relinquished it will be a measure of policy to leave a favourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants," and consequently the oppressive measures of the Madras officials must be amended.

In the minutes of consultation of 6th September, 1797, we find the details of the revenue and particulars of the farms in various districts already referred to.

At this meeting, the Committee had before them a "rough document" of De Meuron's report on the Dutch departmental papers which he was translating and arranging. On this, they recommend re-establishment of import and export duties on "beetle" nut, tobacco, cloth and "arack," calculated to bring in Rds. 185,000. They also proposed duties on timber, palmyra, coconuts, copra, oil, jaggery, and earnestly recommend monopoly of revenue from salt, coir, and cinnamon. The salt monopoly was especially important as affecting the relation with the Kandyans. "Possessing the power to control their supply of salt, we may speedily bring them to reason with greater certainty than by any military endeavours; and without that enormous expense of blood and treasure which may attend all warlike movements in a country so naturally strong as the interior of Candy." They also point out the pecuniary advantages of giving up the Land Revenue, and propose revival of capitation tax on Moor, Malabars and Chetties "in another form." They also express the "opinion, the result of our late investigation, that the more our system approximates to that heretofore in force (always supposing the abuses of its administrators corrected) the better it will apply to this island where for many causes customs and laws which may appear impolitic and oppressive to a stranger are in reality gratifying to the people and necessary to the welfare and security of the state." This idea seems to be De Meuron's: "Habits and prejudices of a nation can be changed only gradually by mildness... or violently by superior force... Mildness and persuasion it appears were not the distinguishing features of our change of system and our force was inadequate to compel obedience" (Report on Dutch Records CLR 140.) This statesmanlike conclusion is evidently the basis of Mr. North's "first executive minute" (Tennent ii 74, CLR 148., latter giving a mutilated form of it.)

<sup>82</sup> "For the decision of small civil cases," de Meuron established a provisional Court of Equity, "and prevailed on three respectable Dutch Gentlemen to accept of the situation of Judges in it" (Mr. North's Despatch of 30th February, 1799, para 20, and *Polinsky MSS. Library Register II. 238.*)



The meeting of the Committee of 16th February, 1798, is important as the recommendations made on this occasion seem to be those sanctioned by Lord Hobart's minute of March 15th giving effect to the new system. At this meeting, the Committee condemned the Malabar agents of Government, on account of their ignorance of the customs, language and prejudices of the people, and because the transfer of authority from a nation to foreigners was a "pregnant source of discontent." They also find causes of the revolt in the alienation of the Mudaliyars who were not likely to exert themselves in the interests of a Government who had superseded them: in the intrigues with the rebels of the Dutch who expected the assistance of a French force; and in the tax on coconut trees. Major Kenny is named as suppressing the outbreak. They make the five recommendations noted above. The relinquishment of the government share of crops was recommended, and the importance of avoiding neglect of cinnamon gardens, and of the salt monopoly which "must be touched cautiously on account of the Candians" was emphasised.

Lord Hobart's Minute of March 15th, 1798, states that "these measures were carried by Board and Committee of Madras." As to date when the new system is to come into force, Joseph Greenhill, who was acting Superintendent of Revenue, in the absence of Andrews in India, and Alexander, who is to succeed Greenhill, agree that it cannot be put into force from June 2nd as suggested, but time is required till the end of the year in view of the absence of Andrews and several "native servants of Cutcherry," and of the facts that the period of current revenue was unexpired and of loss of revenue. This seems to have been agreed to as many of recommendations were left to Mr. North to carry out.

The Committee then proceeds to make recommendations to give effect to the sanctioned proposals. They submit regulations to establish the salt monopoly—prohibition of import except in certain cases to Government stores, taking over of private pans at a small quit rent and paying salary to producers, attaching heavy penalties to contraband trade in salt. Europeans, they say, must be appointed to superintend the manufacture and sale. The Superintendents at Puttalam, Chilaw and Kalpitiya are to receive 10 pagodas a month, at "Levay" (Hambantota) 50. Europeans are also recommended for executive posts concerned with management of customs at Colombo, Galle and Jaffna. A Government advertisement is drawn up notifying new salt rules—salt to be delivered at Government stores at Rds. 10 per last, &c., fixing export duties on "arack" at Rds. 8 per leaguer of 75 Wett from September 1st, "beetle" nuts Rds. 10 per amnam of 24,000 nuts, tobacco 7 Rds. per Candy, muslins, silk and cotton cloths 7½%. Export of saltpetre, lead, sulphur, gunpowder, ammunition and arms is to be absolutely prohibited. The trade in cinnamon is reserved solely to the Company. A proclamation as to duties and service lands is issued. At this point, July 1798, the Committee receives information of Mr. North's appointment. A note is added re Lient.-Col. Barbut, Collector of Jaffna, who by farming tobacco by "public outcry," and by Committee raising duty by Rds. 2.9 secures surplus revenue of Rds. 74,100, total revenue from sea customs and tobacco being Rds. 116,100. The duty was reduced by Mr. North to Rds. 7½ in view of complaints of Nagore and Porto Novo merchants of sudden rise of duty in spite of notice given in 1796 that for five years the trade of Ceylon would be free of duty except on spices. The merchants and the present farmer were also compensated.

The "results of De Meuron's examination of Dutch records" is given after this, and was possibly laid on the Committee table then.<sup>22</sup> He says that annual balance in favour of Ceylon,

<sup>22</sup> This important and exhaustive "examination" remained the authority on the Dutch administration for many years. Mr. North evidently referred frequently to it, and Bertolacci quotes from it, often extensively, e.g. page 241, without acknowledgment. A précis of it is given in *Weekly Literary Register*, II. 120.

is 11 lacs of rupees, and value to parent state 22 lacs. He bases his research on the General Staat Rekening, and gives notes on the various sources of revenue and other points, accommodessans, &c. He recommends the Dutch system as a basis for future administration, and advises gradual changes, e.g. "gradual abolition of slavery without attempting it by force which would be ruinous to the colonists." "I propose to preserve tranquillity to (by ?) restoring Neynde Parveni lands for personal services and grant (ing) accommodesant (s)."

It is not clear when the last meeting of the Committee was held,<sup>84</sup> but by July, 1798, when they heard of Mr. North's appointment, their work was practically complete, so that on his arrival on 12th October, Mr. North found the "island in perfect tranquillity." The Committee had evidently put its finger on the real sources of the discontent, and the disappearance of the agitation is a testimonial to the ability of its working members in tackling a really difficult problem.

A perusal of the *Wellesley MSS.* shows how important a part in the pacification was played by Brigadier-General de Meuron, and to how great an extent we owe the successful settlement of the Maritime Provinces to the genius of a foreigner.<sup>85</sup> Mr. North had his future course as regards many of the problems which confronted him laid down by no uncertain hand, and he had the wisdom to follow out the recommendations in great part.

84. Lt.-Col. Annew had apparently left Ceylon for India by 20th September, 1799 (*Wellesley MSS.*). Brigadier-General de Meuron seems still to have been in Ceylon at the end of January, 1798. The report of the Committee had not been completed by October 10th, 1798, and by a letter of that date they ask Mr. North's permission to continue their proceedings in order to complete it. (*Hunter's MSS.*)

85. He was a Swiss, brother of Charles Daniel de Meuron, who raised the mercenary *Régiment de Meuron*, of which the Brigadier-General became Colonel Commandant before it transferred its services to the British (*Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. II, Part IV, page 394).





## Notes & Queries.

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### GENTUPITIYA: ITS DERIVATION.

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I SEE that Mr. Paul Pieris, in his *Portuguese Era*, derives Gentupitiya from *Santupitiya*—and gives *Santun* as = "San Thomé;" but *Santon* was good Iberian for a Moorish devotee or *fakir* and was a variant of "*santo*" = "holy," just as "*fetiah*" was something "made with hands," i.e. "an idol."

JAMES RYAN.

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### THE ST. JAMES, KILALI, GOLD HAT.<sup>1</sup>

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THE reason that I made the suggestion which Father Gnana Prakasar rejects as of little account, that the inscription on the gold hat of the image of St. James the Great was a survival of the Portuguese language, was that the hat is of a distinctively Eighteenth Century shape, the three-cornered hat that one associates with Dr. Johnson and other Georgian worthies. It is certainly not a hat of the period when the Portuguese were in Ceylon, not even of the latest date of that period, viz. 1658. Possibly these three-cornered hats came into use in Europe at the end of the Seventeenth Century, but of this I am not certain. It is certainly my impression that they were not "the wear" so early as the period of the struggle between the Portuguese and the Dutch for the possession of Ceylon. The hat then worn was a big broad-brimmed hat, but I do not think that it was three-cornered. If it was, then I withdraw the suggestion; if not, I again propound it. If the hat is Eighteenth Century, the inscription on it is a survival.

I may mention that the paper by me on the subject of the Kilali hat, in *Spolia Zeylanica* of over ten years ago, is illustrated by two sketches which I made of it, of its actual size.

J. P. LEWIS.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 190-192.

## NOTES ON THE "MAHĀVANSA."

**III** "Jala Cakes."—King Dutugemunu (B.C. 101-77), in enumerating just before his death the many meritorious acts he had performed during life, mentions that he commanded *inter alia* the perpetual giving, at forty-four places, of "great *jāla* cakes baked in butter and also there with the ordinary rice." (*Mahāvansa*, Ch. XXXII, v. 40.)

Geiger in a note (p. 224, n. 2) says: "What *jālapūva* is I do not know. Nor does the Tika give any explanation." The silence of the Tika on this head is obviously because the commentator felt that the cake referred to was so commonly known in his day (as in our own, so many centuries later) that it scarcely needed a description.

For the benefit of non-Sinhalese readers, however, of the *Mahāvansa*, it may be as well perhaps to state that the *jālapūva* was, in all probability, the same as that sweetmeat so "popular" among Sinhalese children of today, the modern දළ කුටුම්භ (*dal kuyumba*) or, as it is better known in the Low-country, අස්මි (*asmi*) or අස්මාද (*aswada*) which Clough describes as being "a sweetmeat like a pancake, made of flour, oil and jaggery."

The perforations or "lattices" in the cake give it the appearance of a net or web, which explains its Pali name. *Jalam*, in Pali, means "a net, web, window or lattice, reticulation" and *pāvo* "a cake, sweetmeat."

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

## DR. W. HOFFMEISTER.

**R**EFERRING to Mr. J. P. Lewis' query (*Ceylon Antiquary*, iii, p. 227) as to whether Dr. W. Hoffmeister, author of *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India*, was an amateur artist and can be identified with the "W. H." who depicted a "Sergeant in the Ceylon Rifles," I think it can be shewn from Hoffmeister's book that he was an artist or at least fond of sketching and particularly of sketching the human figure. Almost the first place he touched at on his voyage to the East was Corfu.

We read (page 8): "We met two tall, handsome splendidly attired young Greeks who held our horses for us. I took the opportunity of sketching these fine looking fellows. . . . the drawing caused them great pleasure."

At Patras (page 12): "The Fort with its plane tree was soon selected as the subject of a sketch."

Again (page 12): "Two remarkably handsome lads, of ten or eleven years of age, especially attracted my attention. I drew the portrait of one of them."

On board ship (page 39): "I drew portraits of several of the figures that struck me most."



In the Himalayas (page 433): "Meantime, I thus enjoyed an opportunity of sketching many of the prettier women with their children."

Meantime, as he relates on the next page, the crowd that gathered round him enjoyed the opportunity of picking his pocket of his last silk pocket-handkerchief.

I do not find that he mentions making any sketches in Ceylon, but as soon as he got to Galle he says (page 102): "How I longed to seat myself and to sketch those magnificent groups of breadfruit, mango and palm trees."

He probably sketched many things in Ceylon and possibly among them that not very picturesque subject "A Sergeant in the Ceylon Rifles."

By the way, who translated Hoffmeister's book into English? The translator was well acquainted with Ceylon (through books) and the notes by him in the Ceylon Section of the book are both copious and pertinent.

HERBERT WHITE.

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## MOUNT LAVINIA.<sup>1</sup>

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IN a small pamphlet entitled "Sirit Maldama," *The Garland of Hereditary Observance*, edited and published in A.D. 1901 by a Buddhist Monk called Mahākavi Śrī Kaviraja Siṅha (commonly known as Battaramullé Unnansé of Colombo), it is said, *inter alia*, that in the early part of the British Conquest of Ceylon, there was a Governor who had a country residence on the rising ground at Galkissa. Not far off from it there lived a jaggery caste man (*Hakurek*) named Aponsuwā who had a very beautiful daughter named Liviniyā.

This Aponsuwā had contrived to get into the good graces of this Governor by rendering services which apparently the latter did not desire totally to ignore. And the story goes that he accordingly inquired from Aponsuwā what form His Excellency's recognition of his services should take; Aponsuwā—who was doubtless democratic enough to feel the indignity under which the customs of the country placed the people of his caste by requiring their women to tie a handkerchief round their neck to cover the breast,—immediately solicited the abolition of this primitive and arbitrary custom, and the privilege for the women of his caste (*Hakuriyō*) to wear a jacket, and the Governor readily made order that this should be so henceforth.

A footnote says: "It would thus appear that Galkissa was called *Mount Lavinia* in compliment to the beautiful daughter of Aponsuwā, who had found favour with a Governor who had honoured Galkissa by living there."<sup>2</sup>

I may add that the minute of dress was rendered a subject of restriction under a Regulation enacted by General Maitland, Acting Governor, on the 19th August, 1809.

R. J. PEREIRA.

1. See the first note on the subject by Mr. T. Pritch, *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 142.  
2. [*Et scitibus nomen?* Ed. *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

[*Note on the above by Mr. T. Petch*]: Does the Regulation of August 19, 1809, referred to in the note, make any mention of the dress of the women of the Hakuru caste? The name, "Mount Lavinia," is several years prior to that date. The first printed record of the name which I have seen is in the *Government Gazette* for May 7, 1806, in which are published Military Orders, headed "Headquarters, Mount Lavinia," and dated May 4th, 1806. Sir Thomas Maitland was appointed Governor on July 19th, 1805. When did he arrive in the Island? The house was in existence, under its present name, within a year of his appointment. If the story, as far as it relates to the dress, is true, Aponsuwa's request would appear to have been made after the naming of the house. There is, therefore, no evidence that its sponsor was acquainted with Aponsuwa or his daughter in 1806. And why, if the name is derived from *Liviniya*, should it be written *Lavinia* from the beginning?

T. PETCH.

## A KURUNEGALA RELIC.

IN the cemetery I made an interesting discovery, namely, the stone referred to by Mr. J. P. Lewis on page 279 of his *Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon*. He says:

"There is, or was to be seen some years ago, on a heap of *débris* in the burial-ground, a portion of a stone with the letters **Sion House, 1821**, evidently the latter portion of the word **Mission**. This is all that remains of the chapel and house, which, after the end of 1829, when the resident missionary was withdrawn, were disposed of to the Government to be used as a Court-House."

The heap of *débris* referred to is a dilapidated grave on which an ant heap has arisen. Some one had been grubbing in the ant heap and uncovered the stone which is intact, except for a corner on which should be the letter **N** and looks something like this:

WESLEYA  
MISSION HOUSE  
1821

It is, so far as the English in Kurunegala are concerned, a valuable relic and I am having it taken up to the Kachcheri to preserve it.

3. [No. the Regulation was "for ascertaining the persons holding the Employs or Titles of Native Headmen in the Cingalese Districts, and for preventing the assumption of the Authority or Title of a Headman, by persons not duly Appointed for that purpose," and a Schedule which formed part of this Regulation described "the Dress of Native Headmen—of the Wallah Cast, Fishermen and Chundies Cast, Blacksmiths and Washmen, and Barbers Cast—in the Cingalese District from Cilles to Matara inclusive."—*Ed., Ceylon Antiquary*.]

4. What follows is an extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, North-Western Province, for the month of April, 1911.—*Ed., C.A.*



## VIJITAPURA.

I SEE that Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvansa* (p. 58, n. 5), accepts the *Kala-wewa* site as the situation of ancient *Vijitapura*, but he gives no reason for his decision, though he has read, but rejected, Parker's identification of the site, (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 237 foll.)

Personally I entirely agree with Parker's identification of *Polonnaruwa* as the site of *Vijitapura*.

We have it, in the *Mahāvansa*, (Ch. XXV), that King Dutthagāmani marched northward, from *Rahuna* district, to *Mahiyangana* (*Alut Nuwara*), on the *Mahaweliganga*, where he attacked the Tamil settlers, defeated and drove them down river; also successfully attacking and defeating them at all the other settlements met with, until, finally, the fugitive Tamils threw themselves into their last stronghold (in that part of the country?) namely *Vijitapura*.

If *Vijitapura* was situated near *Kalawewa* the fleeing Tamils—men, women and children doubtless—would have had to travel something like 40 miles across a probably more or less hostile country in order to reach it.

Reason will not admit of such a conclusion. It seems only too probable that the city or stronghold was near enough to the riverine settlements to be in touch with them and afford its protection, so that, when once driven from their scattered dwellings, the Tamils naturally fell back on their main defence, near at hand, in the shape of this fortified city.

There are many name places in that part of the country (*Tamankaduwa*) that have changed very little in the last 2,000 years; so I am emboldened to imagine that I can help the identification by a point that I have noticed.

To quote the *Mahāvansa* we read: "All the Damilas on the bank of the river who had escaped death threw themselves for protection into the city named *Vijitanagara*. In a favourable open country he (Dutthagāmani) pitched a camp, and this became known by the name *Khandāvārapitthi*" (Ch. XXV, vv. 19-20).

Two miles east of *Polonnaruwa* there is a plain (now paddy-fields) known as *Kāndiruwela*, and I venture to suggest that this is the site of the camp alluded to above.

The comparative similarity of the names is one reason; but, to my mind, a still stronger reason lies in the fact that this plain is situated between the city and the river, thus cutting the Tamils off from all their other settlements on the river and making escape by water impossible.

Parker shows very clearly that, after taking *Vijitapura*, Dutthagāmani marched on and took *Giritaka* which he identifies (and, I think, rightly) as *Giritella*, 8 miles W. of *Polonnaruwa*. If this identification is correct it puts the *Kalawewa* site clean out of the field.

Parker further shows that Dutthagāmani then proceeded to *Mahēla* which he identifies, with good reason, as *Maha Aela-gamuwa* on the road between *Dambulla* and *Anuradhapura*.

When I come to consider King Parākrama Bahu's idea in naming a suburb of *Polonnaruwa* as *Vijitapura*, I have very little doubt in concluding that he did so in memory of the ancient city site long ago absorbed in greater *Polonnaruwa*.

At a guess I would place the site of the ancient city as that ground included in the oblong space contained within the great bank of earth, later surmounted by a wall, now enclosing the ancient palace (the *Kotuwa*) and grounds.

The very raised nature of this ground might be due to the levelling of the other two banks said to have encircled *Vijitapura*.

HARRY STOREY.

## THE THREE CHRISTIAN PRINCES OF CEYLON.

**I**N a Note to "Ceylon according to Du Jarric"<sup>1</sup> Father S. G. Perera, S.J., decides the question of "a certain kingdom" of the island of Ceylon from which three princes were converted to Christianity in 1544 in favour of the kingdom of Kotte, observing that "the letters of the two princes Don Juan and Don Louis and of the merchant Andre de Sousa published by Cros (*St. Franc. Xav.* I. 297-298) settle the matter beyond doubt." The present writer also once upon a time<sup>2</sup> studied this question from Cros and other available sources, but was unable to clear his doubt in this respect, for the reasons briefly outlined below.

First, for the contention that the princes were from Kotte.

It does not appear that Bhuvaneka Bahu had two sons, of whom he put the eldest to death in 1544. If he had sons to inherit the Crown, it would be passing strange that he should have, in 1540, sent the effigy of his daughter's son to be crowned in Lisbon. In conjunction with this negative evidence we have the testimony of De Couto<sup>3</sup> who makes Bhuvaneka Bahu say to the King of Portugal that he had no other heir to the Crown than Dharmapala. For the house and lineage of Kotte, Father Perera refers his readers to *The Portuguese Era* Vol. I, pp. 99, 101, 479. But the writer of this pretentious work can hardly be depended upon here, as he gives no references for his assertions.<sup>4</sup>

Bhuvaneka Bahu had himself invited the Franciscans to preach Christianity in his kingdom. The batch of seven Priors, headed by Villa do Conde, sent out by Portugal, arrived in Kotte probably by the end of 1543.<sup>5</sup> Now, is it a psychological possibility that a fawning adulator of the Portuguese authorities should at once, and so openly, oppose the work of the Missionaries as the King "of a certain kingdom" is said to have done? It should be noted also that, since his arrival, Villa do Conde was all the time in charge of the instruction of Dharmapala in Kotte itself.<sup>6</sup> We cannot imagine Bhuvaneka Bahu trying to put to death the Friars "with 40 or 50 Portuguese and many Christians" since we know that the Portuguese in Colombo wielded, by 1544, much more power over him than he did over them.

A "lieutenant" of the King—i.e. the murderer of his son for the Faith—also fled to Goa with about ten other gentlemen.<sup>7</sup> The same "lieutenant" is said to have been the elder brother of the tyrant—the 'Captain' of the martyred prince's father.<sup>8</sup> It is about this man St. Francis Xavier wrote to King João III.<sup>9</sup> We do not know of a brother of Bhuvaneka Bahu whom these details may suit.

1. *Ceylon directory*, Vol. III 188, note 14.

2. *Jl. R. A. S. C. B. No. 60*, p. 119. See also p. 123.

3. I guess he has blindly followed Correa's *Condição da Índia* where the kingdoms of Jaffna, Kandy and Kotte are hopelessly confused. See *Ceylon Literary Register* III 345.

4. *Jl. R. A. S. C. B. No. 60*, p. 124.

5. De Queiroz, p. 146.

6. Magunt. See C. L. A. III 127. Also João de Beira in *Seleção Ind. Espis.* apud Bron & Fr. I. 329.

7. Bartoli *Asas* lib. I, p. 138 (edition of 1832). Beira loc. cit. De Queiroz, p. 141. The last authority calls him Vagru Tacary Pendarão.

8. See Cros I 282.

9. See this letter in Leon Page's *Letras de S. Fr. Xav.* Paris, 1889, Vol. II, p. 92-3.



It was the King who had murdered his son whom João III ordered his Indian representatives to punish by an invasion. This plainly stands out from his letter to the Governor of India dated 8th March, 1546.<sup>11</sup> This is confirmatory evidence for the fact that the King who massacred the Manar Christians was the father of the martyred prince. Andre de Sousa himself seems to corroborate this in the sequel to the passage quoted by Father Perera which reads: "These princes are still in expectation that Your Highness will avenge the murder of their brother whom his father, King of Ceylon, has killed because he had become a Christian. Since these things, the ambassador sent to Ceylon has returned; he says that the King will never become a Christian, he will rather turn Moor. It is proposed to go and attack him in September, 1546."<sup>12</sup>

Should not all this "settle the matter against" Kotte?

Now for the confusion created by the letters of Prince João and de Sousa.

Prince João asks the King for the favour of "conferring on me the title of Prince of Ceylon and King of Jaffna" and of "granting to my brother Louis the territory of my deceased brother."<sup>13</sup> Here is nothing at variance with the Jaffna origin of the princes. The tyrant of Jaffna is to be deposed, and hence João desires to become his successor on the throne. The martyred brother might very well have had some territory assigned to him as Crown Prince. That such quasi-independent jurisdiction existed in the kingdom of Jaffna is gathered from the *Vālpāna-Vaipava-mūlai* unreliable as it is as to details.<sup>14</sup>

De Sousa had taken two Friars with him. This fits Jaffna rather than Kotte where Villa do Conde and the other Franciscans were more or less permanently stationed.

The fact of de Sousa and the prince with 40 or 50 Portuguese taking refuge in a church was not likely in Kotte, but quite conceivable in Jaffna where Portuguese power was very little, if at all, felt. On the other hand, Jaffna had certainly been a scene of missionary labours before 1544. The author of *The Portuguese Era* says, without giving his authority for it, that as early as about 1520 some Franciscans had penetrated into that kingdom.<sup>15</sup> Correa in his confused account of the princes being transported to Goa speaks of "some Friars who had taken up their abode there in a little hut that they had made."<sup>16</sup> Nor should too much stress be laid on the 'church' (*eglise*) mentioned by de Sousa. The 'church' referred to might have been outside Jaffna as well.

In interpreting de Sousa's words we should bear in mind that all early Portuguese writers have used 'Ceylon' in a very vague and misleading way. He certainly confounds Jafanapatam with Ceylon more than once.<sup>17</sup>

The apparent difficulty felt with regard to the King's reference to the several claimants for Jafanapatam will disappear on a careful examination of the passage which I translate from Cros as follows:

"Master Francis writes to me also that this King (i.e. of Jaffna whom he referred to in the previous paragraph) has a brother who will become a Christian with the people if I should give him this land (of Jaffna). It is to Master Francis he said so. It will be an excellent thing thus to procure the salvation of so many souls. But there is another thing to be considered: the prince of Ceylon who is become a Christian and the queen his mother are begging me for the same favour through Andre de Sousa. If I should give the land to her son, she promises to

11. Cros I 288.

12. Cros I 282.

13. Cf. p. 22 Brito's Transit.

14. Cf. p. 155. This may be from the *Quang* whom he copies throughout without acknowledgment.

15. C. L. R. III 245. Surely the Franciscans at Kotte had better accommodation than "a little hut."

16. Cf. Cros I 286.

become a Christian with her relations and servants. This is not all: the King of Ceylon sends me word to say that if I confirm my provisions relating to the gift of this land, he will give me 400 quintals more of cinnamon and will remit to me what I owe him. From here I cannot see which is the best course to follow. Remember well, in your decisions, that my only desire is the service of Our Lord and the propagation of the Faith and that I shall consider that better which will further this design the more."<sup>17</sup>

The first offer was clearly from the King of Jaffna's brother (and we have seen that this King was prince João's father). The second was from the prince of Ceylon (= Jaffna) and his mother who, we are informed by Magini<sup>18</sup> and Bartoli,<sup>19</sup> was a sister of the King of Jaffna. Doubtless, there is some confusion here between Don Louis, son of the queen referred to, and Don João his cousin. But, as a matter of fact, de Sousa had requested the King to bestow reigning power on both the princes.

The third offer, in fine, was from the King of Ceylon (=Kotte) to whom since 1539, according to Cros,<sup>20</sup> the King of Portugal owed a large sum of money and who "in 1543 offered not to claim the sum lent if the Governor of India helped him to establish his sons (Read: grand-son) as King of Jaffna and Kandy after expelling those who were in possession of both these principalities."<sup>21</sup>

S. GNANA PRAXASAR, O.M.I.

17. Cros 1283. The author of *The Portuguese Era* quotes the first part of this passage and, with characteristic unfairness, observes that these "negotiations" "reveal the work of alleged conversion in a political light," adding that "King João's pre-occupation was as to which offer he was to accept" from parties "who were equally prepared to turn Christian for the same consideration" (i. 101). Mr. Peres' only justification would be not to have known the last part of the extract given above; he apparently quotes from *N. L. B.* III 246 without giving the correct reference.

18. *C. L. B.* III. 327. He (the tyrant) would have also done to dash another son of his and a son of his sister—for it is the custom of that country that the nephews or sons of the sister entered to the throne, not the children of the king—because they were fully persuaded to become Christians.

19. *L'Asie* i. c. 151.

20. *Cros* 23-24, p. 320.





## Literary Register.

### THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

Edited by H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired.)

#### PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from Vol. III, page 301.)

#### CHAPTERS XIX—XXII.

**B**EYOND giving a garbled summary of the opening paragraph of Chapter XIX, Symons makes no other allusion to Chapters XIX-XXII inclusive. Harris is wholly silent.

Of these four Chapters, therefore, the Headings alone—Symon's brief paragraph excepted—are here printed, as translated, leaving the curious reader, if he be so desirous, to seek further particulars from Pyrard, *Voyage* (1679, pp. 185-221), or the *Hakluyt Society's Pyrard* (I. 265-309).

The contents of Pyrard's Chapters XIX-XXII are not without a certain interest, in exposing the low state of social morality ruling on the Maldives at the period of his captivity.

They further bring out very forcibly the total want of commercial fair-dealing, as exhibited by the Sultan in his arbitrary, and grossly unjust, treatment of persons stranded on the group and the cargoes of the wrecked vessels.

Three centuries of steadily increasing contact with the outer world have wrought a complete change in this latter respect. At the present day "the Maldivians may lay claim to the proud distinction of being probably the only race similarly situated on the face of the globe who have not required to be taught by special contract, or legal enactment, the duty they owe their fellow men who have fallen into 'troubles by ship-wreck' on their 'tempest-haunted' Atols."

*Homines ad deos nullâ re proprius accedant quam salutem hominibus dando.*

Symons and Harris doubtless had good reasons for excluding from their translations Chapters XIX, XX and XXI, as these relate mostly to ephemeral incidents not relevant to a general account of the Islands. In regard to Chapter XXII, they probably considered the lurid light thrown on Maldivian morals by the matter-of-fact Frenchman too "fierce" to suit English readers of their day, themselves not over-squeamish.

## CHAPTER XIX

*The Maldives when peopled—Of many other memorable events which occurred at these islands and in the neighbourhood, during the sojourn of the author there.—Of a vessel of Tanamor, and the story of a Malabar captain's dealing with the Maldivian King, and his hapless fate; and the adventures of the King's nephew and brother-in-law.*

## Symons.

To return to what concerns the Maldivian Islands.<sup>1</sup>

Having given an account of their present Condition, and a description of them, it may be proper to relate what I have heard touching the first Peopling of them, and the Change of Religion there.

The Natives say, the Maldivian Islands have not been inhabited above 500 years;<sup>2</sup> and that the first who settled on them, were the Cingales, or Natives of the Island of Ceylon,<sup>3</sup> who were then idolaters; but afterwards, that is, about 250 years ago,<sup>4</sup> embrac'd Mahometanism, by means of the Moors and Arabs trading to all parts of India, and spreading their Religion<sup>5</sup> throughout that immense Tract of Land.

## CHAPTER XX

*Accidents and casualties to ships at the Maldives.—Arrival of Hollanders.—A wandering Jew.—A captain of Mogor and his adventures; and of some ships wrecked there.*

## CHAPTER XXI

*Of a captured Portuguese vessel that was wrecked.—An ambassador from the King of the Maldivian Islands. A vessel of Achen.—A Malay native. A Maldivian confession.—The discovery of a strange island; and other events.*

## CHAPTER XXII

*Direct judgments passed for adultery, lewdness, and other crimes.—Amorous humour of the Indian women.—Of the Grand Pandiar and the strange resolution of a Malatto.*

1 This sentence is inverted by Symons.

2 Really "about 400 years ago." Symons professing (dishonestly) to get his information from the mouth of "a French gentleman" whilst at Surin in 1761-2—the said "gentleman" being actually Pyrard, who visited the Maldives between 1605-1611 (see *Ceylon Antiquary* 1, p. 116)—has deliberately added a century to Pyrard's period.—"les Maldives n'ont commencé à être habitées que depuis environ quatre cents ans."

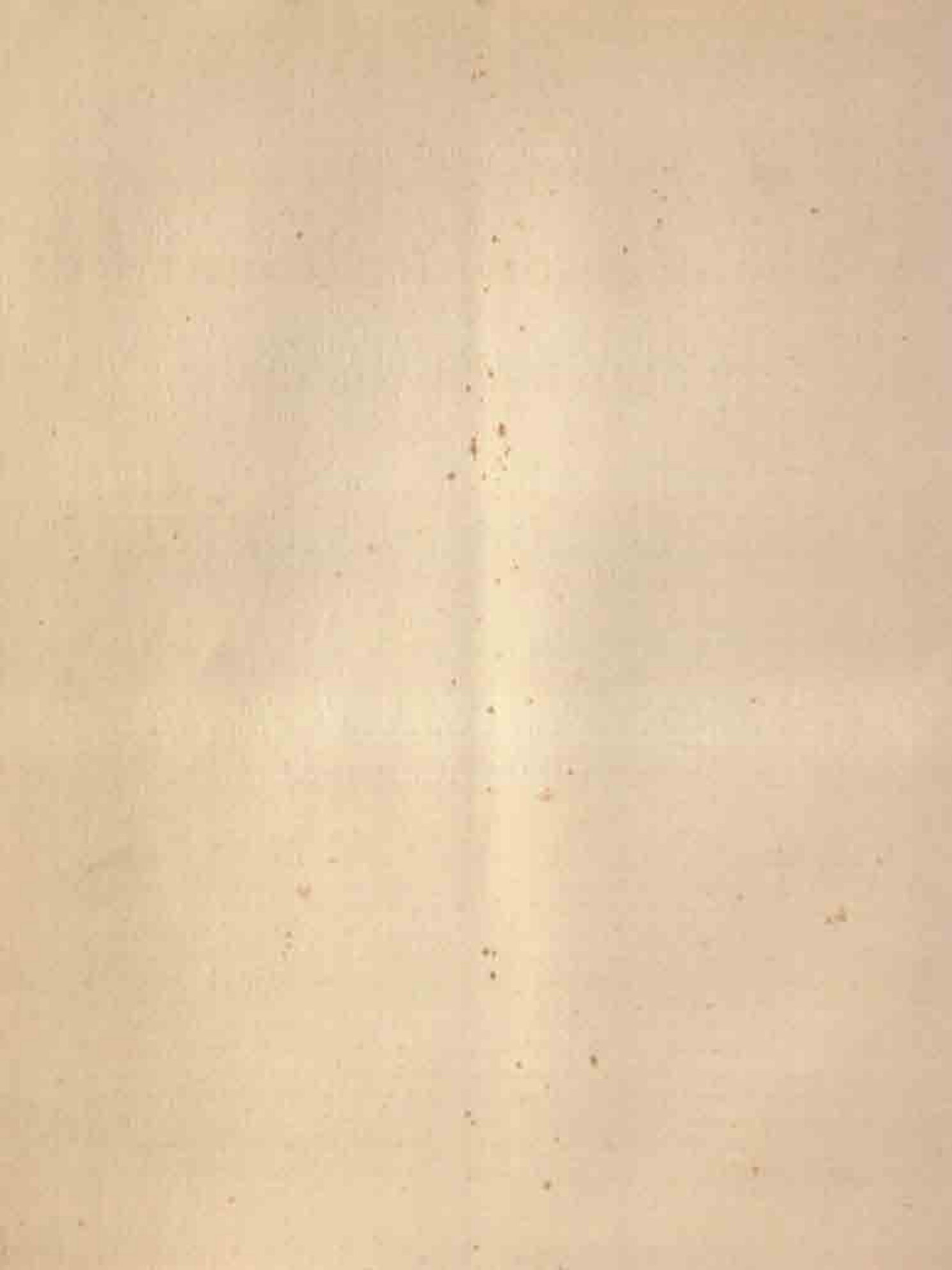
3 Pyrard:—"les Cingales de l'île de Ceylon."

4 Symons takes Pyrard again:—"Il y a environ 150 ans, ou deux cents ans au plus, qu'il recourut la Mahometisme."

5 Law as well as Religion. Pyrard:—"des Mores des Arabes, qui traquent par toutes les terres fermes des îles de l'Inde Orientale, y portent aussi leur loi."







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### LETTERS OF CAPTAIN HERBERT BEAVER. (H. M. 19th REGIMENT).

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MARCH-APRIL, 1803.

By Miss VIOLET M. METHLEY.

**A**MONGST the official schedules and long drawn-out Governmental reports, the lists of quartermaster's stores, and tallies of Customs and Pearl Fisheries bound together in that volume of Colonial Papers at the Public Record Office, which is officially known as C.O. 54.10, is a series of letters which are refreshing reading in that rather desert-like waste.

Their writer constantly apologises for their unofficial form and style, he insists that they treat only of "little inconsiderable operations": yet they are interesting, not alone for their own sake, but for the picture which they give of the vicissitudes of a tiny handful of British troops, during their expedition into an enemy's country,—such an expedition as has been undertaken again and again by our soldiers and succeeded by sheer force of pluck and initiative.

Moreover, Captain Herbert Beaver has the power of vivid narrative style, unformed and unpolished as he would doubtless have thought his own epistles. He gives a clear picture of the dangers and difficulties which beset that minute party. He is as typical, in his bravery and in his care for his men, of the best kind of British officer, past, present and to come, as those same private soldiers of his are characteristically the Tommy of to-day, in the uniform of a century ago.

Captain Beaver was born on the 24th of February, 1764, and was the son of the Rev. J. Beaver of Lewknor, Oxfordshire. He was an Ensign in the 48th Regiment in 1783, but became Lieutenant and later Captain in the 19th Regiment by 1794, in which year he served in Holland as A.D.C. to General Coates.

A few years later, he went to Ceylon and became Commandant at Negombo in November, 1802.



Early in the following year, the friction between the British Government in Ceylon and the Kandyan Court broke into the blaze of real war, and culminated in the disastrous expedition to Kandy of 1803.

Beaver, at his station of Negombo, heard rumours of vast forces of the enemy gathering upon the fringes and over the borders of Kandyan territory, and the series of letters which follow treat of the punitive expeditions, with an almost absurdly inadequate force, in theory, if not in practice, which he undertook and brought to an eminently successful conclusion.

The letters end somewhat abruptly: at least, no more are preserved in the C. O. archives,—yet they conclude on the note which animates them throughout, that note of quiet and unassuming confidence in the capability of "1 Sergeant and 11 privates" of H. M. Army undertaking and performing any task, however seemingly impossible.

Captain Beaver did excellent service during the stormy years which followed, whilst the Kandyans in their fastnesses defied the British forces. In September, 1804, he captured Batugedara and made a most difficult march to Denuwaka, in pursuit of that De Wet of Kandyan history, the 1st Adikar, Pilima Talawuwé.

He died at Colombo on April 19th, 1809, aged 45, and received a public funeral. He left a widow and three children. In Childry Church, Berks, there is a tablet to the memory of this fine soldier and gallant gentleman.<sup>1</sup>

It is in March, 1803, when Captain Beaver was Commandant at Negombo, that the letter-record of his particular expedition begins, with an official note from Robert Arbuthnot, Secretary to Government, in answer to a communication from the Captain, transmitted through Lieutenant-Colonel Maddison.<sup>2</sup> Beaver had warned Governor North that a large armed Kandyan force was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Kotadenia,<sup>3</sup> probably with the intention of seizing the Stores at that place. Arbuthnot, in this letter of March 13th, informed the Commandant that His Excellency had, as a measure of precaution, ordered a detachment of fifty men of the 65th Regiment and fifty Sepoys under Captain Bullock<sup>4</sup> to march immediately to Negombo, where Beaver was to give them such instructions as seemed necessary for the safety of the Stores. The enemy forces were believed to be commanded by the Dissava Lenke, one of the most influential Kandyan chiefs.

The following letters from Beaver give the account of his expedition. They are all subscribed to Arbuthnot.

" March 14th, 1803.

Sir:

I have been honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, apprising me of the marching of a detachment of the 65th Regiment and of Sepoys and conveying His Excellency the Governor's orders thereupon,—to which I shall pay the strictest attention. The detachment is not yet arrived (7 o'clock a.m.)

I have heard nothing from Kotadenia since my second express to Lieut-Col. Maddison, but, upon enquiry, I find the Tappal comes the regular way and without hindrance. This is all the intelligence I get from this description of people. I expect every hour to hear from Kotadenia, and when I do so, I will send off an express to Colombo."

1. See notice of him in *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Ceylon*, pp. 55, 56; also Cordier's *Ceylon*, Vol. II, pp. 194-5. (J. P. L.)

2. Of the 65th Foot. He had become Commandant of Colombo, in succession to Lieut-Colonel David Robertson. See *List of Inscriptions*, p. 21. (J. P. L.)

3. Kotadeniyawa. See *List*, p. 21. (J. P. L.)

4. Captain Edward Bullock died 1 May, 1803, from fever contracted at Kotadeniyawa. See *List*, p. 22. (J. P. L.)

The next letter is undated.

"I have been honoured with your letter of six o'clock yesterday evening, and Captain Bullock is, in consequence, getting his detachment as fast as possible ready to march to Kotadenia. Should His Excellency send any counter-orders in consequence of Lieut. Ollauranshaw's\* report, which I forwarded last night to Lieut.-Col. Maddison, if you will be good enough to despatch an express, I can overtake Captain Bullock in a short time after its arrival."

### A Very Hazardous Undertaking.

Here occurs something of a hiatus. No further instructions from Colombo are preserved, and we hear no more for the time being of the movements of Captain Bullock. Beaver's next letter is dated March 19th, from Pettigodde, on the point of attempting a very hazardous undertaking with what would seem to anyone but a British officer an extremely inadequate force:

"I have the honour to inform you that I am within three hours' march of Moehoroegampelle†—I am this moment joined by 1 Sergeant, 12 Privates of H. M. 65th Regiment, who are come about 7 miles from Fort Frederic to meet me here. I have also 12 Sepoys from that post.

From the best information I can procure, it appears that Leuke has a battery completed, with several guns mounted, at Moehoroegampelle and a great concourse of Ragamuffins.

The Modeliar with me has very few followers as yet, though he assures me many more will overtake us, but my whole reliance is on the party of the 65th Grenadiers.‡ All I ask of the Modeliar is to guide me to the Dissave. My intention is to storm his Fort at daybreak to-morrow morning, so that, before you receive this, it will be, please God, in our possession."

Moehoroegampelle, 20th March, 1803.

"Excuse this hasty line just to inform you that, as the report of the Force at this Post increased as we advanced, I thought it best not to wait for daylight, with my few troops (1 Sergeant and 12 of H. M. 65th Grenadiers and 1 Havildar and 12 Sepoys) but to storm the Battery at once, as well as we could by a Guide. We passed 1 Picquet or rather their Post, as they all ran off on our approach. We then proceeded to the Attack, not a shot was fired at us,—we were merely challenged by the Sentry, who, immediately afterwards, alarmed the Cingalese and they escaped into the Jungle.

We were assured there were not fewer than 6,000 (I never believed the tenth part of it!) but it seems by the most creditable accounts I have obtained from the natives here, they were 600 or thereabouts.

There are no guns.

Our march was 10 hours and, being rather fatigued, I beg you to pardon this hasty line and to allow me to postpone any particular account for a few hours. I cannot lie down, though, without saying how extremely I feel obliged to the Sergeant and men of the 65th Grenadiers, who only regret there was no Fighting. The Sepoys behaved very well.

P. S. We marched from Pettigodde at 5 p.m. and arrived a little after 3 a.m. this morning. I understand that Dissave Leuke was not here, but at Monty.§ One sad accident took place. The Sergeant thought a Cingalese was about to attack me, as I was climbing into the Fort, and unfortunately killed him, who turned out to be one of our best Guides. He feels it very much and my mind is not quite easy, as I appear to be the innocent Cause. On advancing, I had been challenged by a Cingalese sentry about half a minute before, and the Sergeant thought this was the man."

(Dated same place and day.)

"The letter I had the honour of addressing to you this morning was so very unofficial that you must think another necessary, as well as an apology.

\* Lieut. William Ollauranshaw of the 65th Foot died 5 April, 1803, of "endemic fever" contracted at Kotadeniyawa. See List, p. 81. (J. F. L.)

† Moehoroegampelle, which is the village or rather hamlet called on the railway Mirigama. The stations here and at Veyangoda and Ambepussa are called, not after the villages or hamlets in the midst of which they stand but after the sites of the nearest Rest-houses. (J. F. L.)

‡ At this period, and in fact until after the Crimean War, infantry regiments had usually eight "battalion" companies and two "barrack" companies, the "Grenadier" company, when the battalion was in line, taking the right and the "Light" company the left flank. In some the Grenadiers were the leading company, the Light the rear company. These two companies were not numbered: they were known only by their names. (J. F. L.)

§ Identification required. (J. F. L.)



Our march was much longer from Pettigodde than I had expected and I felt apprehensive of the Soldiers being too fatigued for immediate action on their arrival,—but Zeal gives Vigour.

About a mile and a half from hence the Kandians had an advanced Picquet, and a few yards further on they had erected, across the road, an odd sort of obstacle to our progress, the name of which I am not engineer enough to know—it was something like the front of a Tambour, if you will fancy the holes lined with thorns, to prevent you climbing up it. The Noise unavoidably made in getting through and over it alarmed the Picquet, who left their Fire and retired into the Jungle.

The Tom-tom beat twice before the Grenadiers reached the Fort, who, therefore, certainly expected serious Resistance from the Candians, but I now suspect that the information they had from their Picquet quite predetermined their conduct. I suppose the Picquet increased our Numbers, as Report has their's.

What followed, I had the honour to relate the moment, almost, afterwards.

The post which the Cingalese chose to abandon is a remarkably strong one by Art and Nature. On the south of this Fort there is (an old to be sure but) a complete square redoubt, except that there appears never to have been a Traverse to the Entrance: on the north, a sheet of Water: on the east, a natural slope into the Country: and the west, where the Grenadiers attacked them, they might have defended against almost any force of mere musquetry,—it is a Parapet, in my humble opinion not meanly constructed, of a sort of fascine and earth—with here and there an Embrasure, or rather loopholes, I suppose to accommodate Indian Laziness, for they must fire through them sitting.\*

As I march this evening to a Village, where some disaffected people are said to have assembled, I have reduced the repairs of those works by the Cingalese to as bad a state as time would allow me,—not that I think they will ever return. I have been to-day a little Tour with a few Sepoys, and cannot find one in the Neighbourhood. I have burnt their Camp also.

Allow me, before I close this, to represent to you the alacrity with which Captain Bullock, of H. M. 65th Regiment, assisted me with Ammunition and Provisions,"

"Mahabodele, March 21st, 1803.

"There is a disaffected rabble reported to be about 7 miles off. The 65th Grenadiers have had hard marching, though, Thank God, they are all well. I am, therefore, going after these people with a Havildar and 6 Sepoys and if I find occasion I can send for the Grenadiers. I will inform you of anything worthy of your notice in the evening."

(Same place, same date.)

"I have the honour to inform you that I am just returned from Ballabové (the Village where the disaffected were assembled). They, unfortunately, heard of my Approach, although I took every precaution that they should not have done so. From the best information I can collect, there are two Candian Headmen, who, under the pretence of raising a Force, delude a set of poor wretches to follow them,—these all living like Freebooters. They amount to between 50 and 60: about 12 are armed with firelocks—I daresay perfectly unserviceable—and annoy and terrify the peaceable villagers wherever they go. This last is the worst effect of their revolt. I rode a good distance beyond the village of Ballabové into the jungle, but could not discover an individual.

\* In 1894 when I was in charge of the Negombo District as Assistant Government Agent, I made the following entry in my diary under date September 29th.—"Mr. Swettenham wrote to me about the site of the Redoubt at Muguangampola where Captain Beaver of the 10th Regt. with 38 men stormed a redoubt on 30 March, 1803. He says that South of the stockade there was an old but complete square redoubt except that there never was a traverse of the entrance. On the North a sheet of water, East a natural slope into the country, West a parapet of fascines and earth, musket-proof with loopholes." I had known of the existence of this redoubt from a reference to this event in Cordier, and inspected the site in 1892. I inspected it again to-day. It is in the teak gardens close to the bazaar of Muguangampola and to the Railway Station of Mirigama. I annex a rough plan of the redoubt. The 'sheet of water' to the north has completely disappeared. From the name 'Palliyawatta' it looks as if the Portuguese or Dutch had an outpost and church here, but no traces of any masonry are to be found. I suppose that this was one of the defences of the Dutch (or Portuguese) against the King of Kandy, and that on the departure of the Dutch troops, the King took possession of it until ousted by Captain Beaver and his party."

I sent a copy of this entry to Mr. Swettenham (now Sir Alexander Swettenham, K.C.M.G.), and some months later he returned it with the following:

"Note.—I have since ascertained from the Dutch records that this redoubt was garrisoned 1789 to 1794, and probably both earlier and later. The Kandians did not take possession of it until the hostilities of 1803-4.

11-2-95.

(Signed) J. A. SWETTENHAM.

A rough plan annexed shows that the dimensions of the rectangular redoubt were: E. and W. 35 yards, N. and S. 25 yards, and the boundaries: N. a ditch, jungle and Tāciyanwatta; S. Palliyawatta; E. paddy fields, and W. the teak gardens. Immediately west of the teak gardens is the main road from Pasyula to Girilla, and immediately west of the road the railway from Colombo to Kandy. The names "Tāciyanwatta" and "Palliyawatta" are significant of former uses of the site. (J. P. L.)



I took up 5 men accused of aiding and joining the enemy. I could not make out anything very strong in the testimonies against more than two of them, whom I hope I have done right in sending to Colombo, with the evidences against them.

I gave a trifle to those who appeared well affected and wishing to give me all the information in their power, and assured the whole village (according to His Excellency's instructions to me) that Zeal and Merit would be rewarded and Rebellion and Disaffection severely punished.

I am convinced that the Governor has done much good by ordering this sort of service, and that his private instructions to me will have (indeed, have had) the effect of conciliating and confirming the well-disposed in their attachment to Government and of bringing back to a sense of their just subjection the poor deluded Rebels.

I do not think that there will again appear anything like hostility in this neighbourhood."

### Governor North's Instructions.

Next day, March 22nd, Captain Beaver returned to Negombo, and found there two letters from Governor North, just arrived, giving him fresh instructions, as follows:

"As the Desave of the 4 Corles, Leuke Rathamy, has lately collected a large force and entered the Happitigam Corle, which is in the British territories, with intentions apparently hostile, I will request you to repair to the neighbourhood of the place where that force may be collected.

You will endeavour to discover the strength of the people with the Desave Leuke, as well as their intentions, and should it appear advisable to you to attack them, you will do so. For which purpose, you will, if necessary, call on Captain Bullock to assist you with such regular military force as he can spare.

You will endeavour particularly to discover the disposition of the Desave himself and, more especially, continue to assure him, as I have already done, that Mootoo Sawmy, as well as myself will find means of punishing them for any hostile attempt against my Government.

You will, moreover, let him know that his harbouring deserters, as he has done, from the British territories, I consider as an hostile act, as well as his encamping in them, and if he expects to obtain either favour or pardon, he must immediately dismiss those men from his camp, and withdraw his people from the British territories.

As for the men themselves, if you catch them in arms against Government, they must be treated with the utmost rigour. You will, therefore, send them down close prisoners to Colombo, but without any unnecessary violence, with the most specific evidence that you can obtain against them. You will also cause to be seized and sent down to Colombo the families of such men as may have joined the Desave Leuke.

You will be very particular in transmitting to me such accounts of the conduct of all the Headmen, as you think they deserve; the Moodeliar will, I doubt not, give you very good information on that, as on every other point relating to his country. Above all things it is necessary to make it known that I shall reward Zeal and Merit in the natives and punish Rebellion and Disaffection to the utmost of my Ability."

The second letter begins with very well-deserved praise of Captain Beaver's conduct, and gives further instructions:

"The admirable spirit with which you have conducted your late enterprise and the complete success which has attended your judicious employment of the very inconsiderable force under your command, as well as the great prudence and humanity with which you have brought back the deluded inhabitants to their duty, deserve my warmest thanks and make me desirous at the same time to employ your services in the final expulsion of the Desave Leuke from the British territories. That Chief has, by the latest account, settled himself with a large force at Attengalle in the Hina Corle, about 25 miles from this place (viz. Colombo.)

Mr. Wood, the Collector,<sup>10</sup> marched against him on the morning before yesterday, with a small force of Europeans, Malaya, Cingalese and Moormen. I enclose two letters which he has written since his departure to the Chief Secretary of Government.

10. "The Honourable Alexander Wood, Esq.," succeeded Gavin Hamilton as Collector or "Agent of Revenue and Commerce for the District of Colombo" on the death of the latter in February, 1883. For some account of the former see *Ceylon as It Is*, *British Times*, pp. 33-40 (second edition). He had been appointed on March 8th, a Captain in the Colombo Militia. He was no doubt an able and active man, and his character and more especially perhaps that sense of humor that strikes Miss Methley, appealed to the next Governor, "King Tom," so that the Collector ended as Sir Alexander Wood, B.C.M.G. (J.F.L.)



The force which you will be able to take from this place, consisting of 2 European Sergeants and 24 men of His Majesty's 65th Regiment and of the 2 Havildars and 24 native infantry will, with the addition of that now with Mr. Wood, enable you, I hope, not only to drive the Desave out of our territories, but perhaps to find employment for him in his own.

You have seen the character of the peoples so completely, as well as the most efficacious manner of fighting them, that I need say no more to you on that subject.

I will only subjoin that if the capture of the Desave's person can be accomplished, it will be highly desirable; if not, it will do good, by way of example, to put him to considerable personal inconvenience and alarm, without positive danger, if it can be avoided."

#### Mr. Collector Wood's Letters.

The two letters from Mr. Collector Wood which North enclosed for Beaver's perusal, carry on the story, and show a considerable amount of spirit and sense of humour. The first is dated from Milati, 17 March 24th.

"I wrote you a few lines early yesterday morning, mentioning that Lenke, the Desave of the 4 Corles, had removed from Attengalle, and taken up his quarters at Milati, where he was reported to be in force, and that therefore I had changed my route and had taken the direct road to Milati. I am happy to tell you that I am now there, sitting in the Desave's Mandoo, which a few hours ago he thought proper to leave to me in quiet possession, having absconded with all his train immediately before our approach. The village people say that they were busy eating their rice when the news of our coming reached them, and that they left their repast unfinished and took to their heels and their numbers must have been very great as the temporary huts that they had raised surround the village and 2 guns were left behind in their hurry, which I shall bring in triumph to Colombo, if they can be discovered. A villager had got charge of them and I have sent to bring him here.

The effect of the notice to the inhabitants has been beyond my expectations. I have been joined by almost all the headmen and a vast number of the inhabitants of the Corles have also appeared and declared their allegiance and I entertain no fears of the people henceforward becoming disaffected, as they appear to be well satisfied with the attention which Government has paid to them and to their interest by sending an armed force to their assistance.

I propose visiting Attengalle to-night, where there may still remain some of the Desave's influence, and from thence will proceed through the heart of the District to Colombo, being anxious (as everything is now quiet here) to return to the Cutchery, where the business requires my attendance.

I beg of you to mention to Col. Maddison that all his men are in perfect health and spirits and are behaving themselves in the most exemplary manner, showing the greatest kindness and attention to the black people, which is not always to be met with in British soldiers, but is essentially necessary upon such an expedition as this, intended by mild and conciliatory measures, if possible, to accomplish the object in view, the happiness and contentment of the people at large.

P. S. The Camp of the Desave is now in flames. There is a small brass image of Buddha, I found in the Desave's Mandoo; he must have thought himself in a sad Plight when he forgot his God. He had several Field Pieces, but the exact number I cannot learn."

The second letter from Mr. Wood is dated March 24th, from Attengalle:

"No enemy here. Matters are much in the same state as at Milati, a deserted camp and things in the utmost confusion. The Desave's Mandoo is very comfortable, and I flatter myself with a pleasant pass to-night, but the place is reported to be unhealthy and therefore we shall start early to-morrow morning, after burning the remainder of his grandeur, which in the meantime is a Godsend, the heat being almost insupportable.

I have taken it upon me to name persons of good character, and who have been active and assiduous upon the present occasion, to perform the duty of the Headmen who have revolted until His Excellency's pleasure shall be made known. The houses of the Rebels I have directed to be burnt and their effects sent to Colombo. Several suspected persons I bring along with me, not only to prevent any further mischief, but also to show the people that Government is serious and to convince them of the impossibility of living in our territories with disaffected principles."



I trust that all this will meet with His Excellency's approbation, everything having been done for the best. To-morrow evening or Saturday early, I expect to be at Colombo, till then, being very tired and sleepy, I remain—etc."

### Incursion into Kandyan Territory.

Immediately on receiving these communications from the Governor, and without waiting to rest even for a day at Negombo, after his exertions, Captain Beaver set out again notifying his intentions to North as follows :

"Negombo, March 24th, 1803.

"I hope your Excellency will not disapprove of my marching to-night. By your permission, I have requested an officer from Kotadenia to join me and he will bring up the reinforcement. In the meantime, I can find out Mr. Wood,—and perhaps the Desave. My old detachment is in very good health and spirits and fit for anything."

On March 25th, Arbuthnot despatched further instructions to Beaver, which, however, the latter can scarcely have received before beginning his march :

"Mr. North has heard that the village of Attengalle is very unhealthy and he wishes you to remain there as short a time as possible.

His Excellency is of opinion that it would be attended with good effects if an incursion was made into the Candian territory, and as he believes that there is a road between Attengalle and Rowanelly which is about 12 miles from it, he wishes you to proceed thither without delay. Rowanelly is situated upon the banks of the Calanie Ganga, about 6 miles from Sittawaka. As it communicates with Colombo by water you can be easily supplied with provisions and whatever you may stand in need of.

Before you set out, you will make particular enquiries relating to the road which leads from Attengalle to Rowanelly, as our information on that subject is not perfectly certain and you must not engage yourself in a road attended with difficulties, but upon no account remain at Attengalle above a night. Perhaps you may make a short incursion into the Candian territory direct from Attengalle.

The Maha Modellar has just been here and gives but an unfavourable Account of the Road to Rowanelly, the distance, too, is much greater than we supposed, but he says there is a place called Poogadde about 2 Dutch leagues from Rowanelly, which is in a healthy situation : I think, however, if you hear nothing of an enemy, you had better return to Negombo to wait for further orders."

But Captain Beaver was never inclined to wait for information of an enemy's presence : he preferred to seek him out himself, and he accordingly writes from Attengalle on March 29th.

"I have the honour to acquaint you for His Excellency's information that I shall begin an incursion into the enemy's country this evening, being now within one league of it.

The country is said to be impracticable, but not believing my informers, who are averse from attending us, we shall make the attempt. By threats and promises I have prevailed upon the Headmen here (with some followers merely to erect shelters for the soldiers wherever we halt) to guide us.

What is practicable I hope we shall, under Providence, perform : any invincible obstacles, I trust we shall not absurdly oppose.

Being left so much to my own poor judgment, I hope right intentions will be put into the scale against any errors. The Detachment are all well. I believe any orders addressed to me at this place will reach me."

### Pursuit of the Sinhalese "De Wet."

The course of the pursuit of the elusive Dissava is told by Captain Beaver in the two succeeding letters, the first being dated from Vire Mapolle, March 30th :

"At the point of marching yesterday, a native arrived who undertook to conduct me at once to the Dessave Leuke, but in vain. He was gone with about 4,000 followers (I believe 400!) on our arrival. We, therefore, marched 18 miles for nothing through a country where not



a horse or even cooly could follow us. We passed the Cayan<sup>12</sup> huts of two of the Dessave's halting places, capable of containing a tolerable force. I fear we cannot proceed for want of provisions, which cannot follow us. We will, however, do all but sacrifice the health of our men,—as for overtaking the Coward, it is fruitless hope."

"Sittewelanacade, March 31st, 1803.

"The Dessave is escaped into the 7 Corles. We were yesterday almost in an inextricable country, and not a single inhabitant to be seen. Provisions could not follow us and our Guide made off,—why, I know not, for he was well used and would have been paid: I believe it was because he expected firing.

From the very numerous huts in the Dessave's Camp, his Rabble must consist of a great many. I believe had we known of his Post, one day sooner, we might have surprised him. In our pursuit of him the night before last (of which I had the honour to give you some account by pencil yesterday) we were obliged to wade through much water. Some of the men are, I fear, consequently ill. I shall do all in my power for them and, should they grow worse, endeavour to send them in the doolies to Colombo.

We are now within one league of Attengalle. I am trying to find out some healthy spot for the soldiers, till I receive further orders from you, as you mentioned His Excellency's objections to Attengalle. I do not return to that village, although it did not appear to me to be an unwholesome place.

If there were any possibility of meeting the Dessave, a good account might be given of him at once, but as to overtaking him, I believe it to be out of the question.

I have done my best according to my poor ability, and I hope you will be sufficiently persuaded of this to exert your Influence in obtaining His Excellency's permission for my again going on some service."

On March 31st, before receiving the second of these letters, Arbuthnot wrote to Beaver, assuring him of North's confidence in his prudence and caution, but advising him not to advance too far into the enemy's country, for fear of an attack in the rear. Arbuthnot enclosed some maps for Beaver's guidance, and told him that in Colombo they had no certain intelligence of Dissava Leuke's movements.

Captain Beaver acknowledged this communication from Radaradoore near Attengalle, in a letter dated the 1st of April at half past 10 a.m.

"I am just honoured with your letter of yesterday, enclosing a sketch of the country and also some account of the proceedings of the enemy Dessave.

The account of his having lately been at Belegala agrees with our pursuit of him on the night of March 29th. On our arrival in the neighbourhood of that place, he made his retreat. Now, your account says that he had marched for the Maoya River towards Dambodena before the 29th: this may be true, but, if true, he left a great number of his Followers behind him. All the accounts I could collect agreed in his having been in possession of this Post on the day in the evening of which I marched—I have no means of ascertaining this fact, but of his Rabble having been there very lately I am quite sure. We found Spears, Arrows, Spikes, Iron Bullets and Powder-horns, full of very good Gun-powder, and a small Shell or two, which would not have been lying there long after the Enemy's departure.

The direction of his retreat agrees exactly with your information.

It was not possible for us to follow him any further. First—we had not a single Guide left. Next—the whole country appears to consist of Fastnesses, where only those who know them can make their way—the Men had marched 18 miles during the night through a great deal of Water—we had no provisions up and coolies loaded could not follow.

We halted on good dry ground, where was a resting-house, with benches round it on which (not on the ground) the Grenadiers slept, having pulled off their wet Shoes, etc. Could I take any other precautions?—yes, I am sorry to say, I have now 8 sick and 3 Sepoys.



I trust, under Providence, that we shall not lose any of our little Detachment. I have a good house for the sick on rising ground—dry—among cocon trees. I have an equally good quarter for the rest of the Detachment. I have Dr. Orr's<sup>13</sup> instructions—I have Calomel pills and opium pills, bark, etc. I brought Wine, which I make a point of keeping sacred for the Sick. We have a young black Doctor, who is as attentive as can ever be wished—the men have a cup of coffee and a little Biscuit every morning for breakfast. We have never yet failed of procuring fowls for their dinner, and this day they have a fine young bullock. They have not yet touched salt provisions: I never halt in a bad place longer than can be avoided—indeed, I do not yet know that we have ever stopped in any one unhealthy spot—jungle we avoid as much as His Excellency can wish.

All these circumstances together, I shall trust to give you a better account of the health of the Detachment to-morrow. We have been quiet now 36 hours and this is a great matter. Most of the Sick are *better* this morning.

Should I not receive other orders from you, I shall march when the Invalids can be moved towards Kotadeniawe, as that is the nearest route to Dambodinia—in which neighbourhood, the Dessave, according to your information, means to establish himself. But in this case will not some of General MacDowall's Army come across him? I am extremely obliged to you, sir, for the plan of the different Corles, which you have sent me, and for the Interpreter, whom I expect hourly. Pray let me know if I am acting right or wrong."

"Wackea, April 3rd.

"I have the honour to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of yesterday afternoon, which I met on my ride to this place.

I came here to see the state of the Detachment of 1 Sergeant, 1 corporal, 12 privates of the 65th Regiment, who were under Mr. Wood and of whom I could never hear till yesterday. They are all well except one man, whom the Sergeant sent to Colombo yesterday. As these men are free from sickness, in an apparently good situation and can meet me at any point, in any moment,—and as the other Division of the Detachment is not yet healthy (I am happy to say they are all better this morning, but a drawback on this pleasure is that Lt. Hutchings<sup>14</sup> is taken ill) I have thought it best that the two parties should not yet join. I have, therefore, ventured to order the Division here to halt till further orders.

I collect what intelligence I can in my Rides and I send for Headmen, but I can get no clue to the Dessave Leuke. I thank you, sir, for your promise of communicating what you discover on this subject.

There is this good result from my ignorance of where the enemy at present is—it allows time and rest for the recovery of the sick.

I thank God that my men are mending, but there are not more than six of them, except this party, fit for duty. I attribute their sickness principally to that sad night's march through water: but it could not be avoided.

The liberal latitude and construction which you are so obliging to say His Excellency gives me for my little inconsiderable Operations cannot, I hope, increase my Zeal or my Executions, but they add, as surely they ought, to my Anxiety to do right.

The 2 divisions are about 13 miles apart, and I mean to return to the sick one, after taking a little refreshment here. Therefore, if you please, still address to me near Attengalle. If I may hazard an opinion without presumption, I think that my sick are likely to do better (unless, indeed, the rainy season should surprise us) where they are, until they get a little stronger, than if they should be sent at once to Negumbo. I wait His Excellency's commands."

This letter Arbuthnot acknowledged on April 9th, agreeing with Beaver that his movements must depend entirely for the present upon the health of his troops and instructing him to send them—and especially Lt. Hutchings—down to Colombo, if they did not at once improve, for fear of any development of the endemic fever which had been ravaging the troops of the Kandyan Expedition. Of this expedition, the Secretary says, they have no intelligence. He

13. Surgeon John Orr.

14. Also I think of the 65th. He was at Kotadeniyawa with Captain Bullock and the Grenadier Company when "at the end of one month from the commencement of his march, Lieut. Hutchings and two privates were the only persons of the party who remained alive. This officer recovered by going immediately to sea, a total change of air being one of the most successful remedies for this dreadful malady." See *ibid.* p. 22.



believed that the Dissava had retreated into Kandyan territory, where he was inaccessible, and information had been received of the erection of a battery on the frontiers of the Hēwagam Corle.

Captain Beaver did not receive this letter before writing again,—in pencil and in haste—on April 4th from Radawadoore :

"I have the honour to inform you that about 11 o'clock, a native gave me information that the Kandians, to the amount of something above 100, had erected a small battery about 7 miles from my post. I have so many sick that I could only collect 7 Grenadiers and 14 Sepoys. My Lieutenant, also, a very fine young man and zealous officer, is ill of a Fever—Mr. Hutchings,

We attacked the battery about half past one,—and carried it the first volley.

I write in haste as I am about to pursue the enemy. Having already so many fallen sick, I almost fear for the spirited Lads who go with me,—but I trust in Providence.

P. S. I galloped here to arrange something about the sick and now return to the Grenadiers. We marched in a boiling Sun, succeeded by very heavy Rain—I hope we shall not fall sick.

Our route is towards Belligalle, but I will write more particularly after this chase."

"Near Attengalle, April 4th.

"As Moehoroegampelle is high and, I believe, healthy, having good water, etc., and as it is on the road from hence into the 7 Corles—would it be an eligible post until you have further orders for me?

It is not above ten miles from hence,—and I trust the convalescents would not be hurt by such a march in the cool of the evening—and those who are too weak, I would have conveyed in doolies."

Arbutnot replied to this letter on April 5th, saying that the Governor, taking the sickness and the imminence of the Monsoon into consideration, did not think it advisable for Captain Beaver's force to remain longer in the field, and giving instructions that all the sick, in any case, should be sent down to Colombo immediately. He concluded by expressing North's satisfaction at the 'Intelligence, Activity and Zeal' which Beaver had shewn upon every occasion.

### A Very Spirited Exploit

But Beaver was to conclude his little expedition with a very spirited exploit, of which he gives an account to Government in a letter dated from Attengalle, April 8th.

"I am indebted, under Providence, to the gallantry of Sergeant Fairley and five privates of H. M. 65th Regiment for the success of an attack in which the odds were, out of all proportion, against us.

The monsoon having set in on my way into quarters, in consequence of His Excellency's orders, I was informed of a very strong battery (called Rathmalgalle) at the village of Walgampotte, in the 3 Corles, on the border of the Hina Corle<sup>1</sup>—as it was within reasonable distance, I thought it was my duty to look at it.

We reached it, by a very fine moonlight, at 9 o'clock last night. The enemy immediately distinguished our White Jackets, and scarcely challenged before they began a very sharp firing of musquetry and grasshoppers—notwithstanding which we were, thank God, without the loss of a man, in the Battery in ten minutes. They continued firing till we began climbing up the work, they then escaped instantly into the wood.

Had not the battery been of a great perpendicular height, I think we must have made some prisoners.

This work is on the side of a woody mountain, about forty yards in length, and commands a ravine (the only approach to it) of exactly the (?) width. It had 12 embrasures.

I destroyed a good deal of the work and have engaged the inhabitants to do the rest next day. The country through which we marched 15 miles to it, is so very difficult that the Headmen of Attengalle tried to dissuade me from the attempt. My force was 1 Sergeant, 5 privates of the 65th, 1 Havildar and 8 Sepoys. N. B. 1 Sepoy wounded.

<sup>1</sup> A note on this "battery" will appear in a later issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary*.—J. F. L.

P. S. Had this post been in British hands, I think it might have defied physical force. There was an abbatis from the extreme of the ravine up to the base of the work."

" Near Attengalle, April 6th.

" I have the honour to acknowledge your letters of the 4th and 5th inst.

His Excellency's being pleased to approve of my conduct and your handsome manner of telling me so, lay me under and enhance great obligations.

I shall instantly obey your injunctions respecting Lt. Hutchings and the sick men. They proceed for Colombo to-morrow, which place I hope they will reach in 2 days. I have caused to be made for each sick man a dooly : I give one Rix. Dollar for each, the whole amounting to 18 R. D., which expense I hope you will approve of : that being the number of the sick, I have hired 8 bearers for each man. Mr. Van der Laan, acting as surgeon, goes with them. He is very attentive. I send my cook with them, for their little comforts, and as they all seem to be getting much better, I trust they will thus do well.

The Sergeant and six men that have accompanied me go also and will be very useful. These last men are all quite well and have never been at all ill.

I shall have now with me only a few Sepoys. There are still 1 Sergeant and 11 Grenadiers quite fresh at Wackea—who have been upon no service yet. I have, therefore, sent for the Moodeliar of the Hevegam Corle, in consequence of the information you enclosed in your letter of the 4th, and if I find there is any battery in its limits—or anywhere else within one's reach—I will endeavour to give you a good account of it.

P. S. Should I not find an enemy, I shall, according to the instructions I have had the honour to receive from you, return into quarters."

" Near Attengalle, April 6th.

" I have made rather a circuitous march since yesterday at daylight, of not less than 40 miles : the men I had with me are all well.

We destroyed a battery in the 4 Corles, but found no enemy. I told the Dessave's friends there that if another battery was found in this neighbourhood, I should destroy all their villages. On our way home, we were informed of another field work a little to the eastward. I immediately made to it. We found it a very good masked battery, but I believe there is no enemy within many miles of it at this moment. We destroyed it and then returned to this place.

I send all the detachment of the 65th to Colombo this morning and some sick sepoy.

It is fortunate that there is still a fresh detachment of this regiment at Wackea. If the intelligence be true of a battery erected near the limits of the Hevegam Corle, I hope to give your Excellency a good account of it, without any 2-pounders that the Moodeliar talks about, with the aid of 1 Sergeant and 11 men of H. M. 65th Regiment."





## THE TOWN OF KANDY ABOUT THE YEAR 1815 A. D.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

THE following notes, compiled partly from verbal information<sup>1</sup> supplied to me by T. B. Keppitiipola, Basnáyaka Nilame, and partly from D'Oyly's *Diary*, are given as supplementing the accompanying map. The map itself is entirely the work of the Basnáyaka Nilame, involving a great expenditure of time and labour. It is based on that given in Davy's *Interior of Ceylon*, facing page 365. Additional particulars, collected from various sources, have been added, and the scale increased.

### VIDI (STREETS.)

1. **Hetti Vidiya**: This was a part of the present Trincomalee Street. Chetties (Hetti), whose business it was to supply cloths from India for the King's use, resided here. The gold cloths, coloured jackets, &c., worn by headmen, are still obtained from Indian Chetties.

2. **Nágaha Vidiya**: Before Kandy was made the Capital by King Vikrama Báhu, probably sometime in the sixteenth century, there was a large *ná* tree near what is now the new Branch Post Office in Trincomalee Street. This tree formed a sheltering place for the guard of the Atapattu, and was called the *Nágaha Murapola*. The *Vidiya* was part of the present Trincomalee Street.

3. **Borawe Vidiya**: This was also part of the present Trincomalee Street, so called from the existence here of a mud water pool (*Bora-veva*).

This Vidiya is mentioned by D'Oyly in the following entry in his *Diary*: "March 22nd. 1815.—Rode early this Morning by Kumarupe Widiya—Gangarama Wihara, round Udawatte Keyle entered the Road to Alutgam tota, and from thence return to Kandy by Boraway Widiya."

4. **Daskara Vidiya**: This was part of the present Brownrigg Street. What is now the eastern end of the Lake was formerly paddy land belonging to the King. The village Daskara in Udu-nuwara supplied the labour for driving away birds destroying this paddy, and these people lived in this Street. Their *gé*-name, connected with their work, is said to have been Kurullan-maduwe-gedara, but it may be noted that D'Oyly indicates another source for the name: "In Kandy there is a Kurullan Maduwa where a great Number of Native Birds are kept, under Charge of particular Officers.—There are birds, which talk all Languages" (*Diary*, p. 107.) The family still has a house in Udu-nuwara.

5. **Udu-nuwara Vidiya**: Not now in existence.

6. **Yati-nuwara Vidiya**: Part of the present Brownrigg Street.

<sup>1</sup> Based on the Notes of Unambuwe Batemahatmaya and Giragama Diyawadana Nilame which were founded, in their turn, on Kodappu Pot, Hilekuru Mitti, manuscript versions, &c.

When a King died, the First Adigar pointed out the Nāyakkaras, who had claims to the throne, to the people of Udu-nuwara and Yaṭi-nuwara, who were expected to show their choice by doing homage to the claimant favoured. This ceremony took place in Kandy, and, for convenience, the electors were located in the streets in question. It would thus appear that the King was elected by the people of these districts, but, doubtless, they were greatly influenced in their decision by the Adigar and Chiefs.

7. **Katu-godelle Vidiya** : This was the present north end of Castle Hill Street. The name refers to the cutting of the hill and the using of the earth to level the street.

A "Kotugodella" is twice mentioned by D'Oyly, and Codrington says that it was a "fort on the hill at the S. end of the bund dividing the lake and Bogambara wewa," i.e. in, or near, Wace Park. But the Street of that name is some distance away.

8. **Kavikāra Vidiya** : The King's musician, who sang before the King, lived here. It was the south end of the present Castle Hill Street.

9. **Swarna-kalyāna Vidiya** : This was the present King Street. The King gave his favourites houses here.

10. **Vaikuntha Vidiya** : This led to the Mahā Dewāle, where a figure of Vishnu is enshrined and worshipped. Vaikuntha was the mountain in India on which the God Vishnu lived.

11. **Palladeniya Vidiya** : This was a part of the present Colombo Street. The name signified low ground.

13. **Ridi Vidiya** : This was a part of the present Colombo Street, and was the Street of the King's Silversmiths.

14. **Dala-da Vidiya** : This led to the Dala-da Māligāwa—the present Ward Street. It did not join the road to Peradeniya as it does now.

Codrington, in the Index to D'Oyly's *Diary*, page xiii, identifies "Dalada Widiya" with Malabar Street. But, although each is a continuation of the other, they seem to have been distinct Streets.

15. **Kānda Vidiya** : The present Hill Street.

16. **Kōmmutti Vidiya** : The present Cross Street.

17. **Ashtawanka Vidiya** or **Kumaruppe Vidiya** : This was the present Malabar Street. The name is said to signify "a very precious gem," and to convey the idea of elusiveness. Only relations of the King were allowed to reside here. Kumaruppe Vidiya is frequently mentioned by D'Oyly, e.g. "the English Major (i.e. Davy) had been brought to Kandy, and is now residing near Kumaruppe Kadawata, where the Malabar Princes reside, and which the Singalese are forbidden to approach" (p. 68).

18. **Mahā Dewāle Vidiya** : This is not now a public road. It led from what is now the Pavilion Gate to Hill Street through the present Pavilion grounds.

19. **Alut Vidiya (a)** : not now in existence.

20. **Alut Vidiya (b)** : has also disappeared. These "New Streets" were additions by the last King of Kandy.

21. **Dewa Vidiya** : This street had temples on either side. It ran from where the Fountain is now, to the Pavilion Gate, and, via the Vaiyalliye Linda, to the Mahā-wahalkada.



22. *Et Vidiya*: The elephants taking part in the *Perahera* were kept here. It is not now in existence.

*Kiri-muhuda*: the present Lake. The name—*kiri*, "milk," and *muhuda*, "sea," is supposed to be derived from the legend of the foundation of Kandy (see Four Korales *Hilakam Mifiya*.) King Vikrama Bāhu IV. at the time when his capital was Gampola, conceived the idea of founding a city, and wished to know of a lucky place. An old man was first sent, and on the lucky spot—the *Jaya-bhumi* (*Jaya*, "victory," *bhumi*, "land"), on which the *Daḷa-dā Māligawa* was erected later—he saw a ratsnake and a squirrel fighting engaged in a combat in which the squirrel was victorious. Then the *Atapattu* people were sent to find out the meaning of this, and they found a ratsnake and a frog fighting on the same spot, the frog being victorious. Then the *Adigar* was sent to find out the meaning of this. He decided that these incidents had a favourable portent and invited the King to visit the spot.

The King came with his astrologer, *Hulangomuwe Mulaḥchāriya*, but was delayed on the way. The next day they viewed the *Jaya-bhumi*. The astrologer also held it to be a lucky spot, but the King demurred, saying: "Why should I leave Gampola for a place so surrounded by marshes and hills?" and ordered the astrologer to consult the oracle for forty-eight hours.

On doing so the astrologer predicted what would be found on digging on the *Jaya-bhumi*. White clay, he said, would first be found; and it was found. Next to that would come sand; and it was so. Next to that there would be water, and water was found. The astrologer then asked for a white cloth, and the King enquired if he expected to find a precious stone. The astrologer said a white tortoise would be found; and it was found. The King was delighted at the success of the predictions and decided to build his City on this site. He wished to build his palace on the *Jaya-bhumi*, but the astrologer said: "This is too good a place for a palace, it is a place for a temple," and the King decided to make it a place for Buddhist worship. The *Daḷa-dā Māligawa* was erected, and later the Tooth Relic lodged there. The palace and town of Gampola were abandoned as a royal residence, and the *Embekkē Temple* built out of the materials.

A small pool near the east end of what is now the lake was made for the milk white tortoise, and was called the *Kiri Muhuda*. The food for the tortoise was sent from the King's kitchen. Later, the land was asweddumised as paddy land for the King, and the buffaloes for ploughing were kept in the *Migon Arambe* on the south east side of the Lake.

*Migon Arambe*: D'Oyly frequently mentions this place, and locates it "close to Malwatta Vihāra" (p. 67.) Codrington adds in the Index, p. liv., that it was the "site of the present Haramby House." Major Davy is often reported in D'Oyly's *Diary* to have been living in this locality. *Haramby House* was the old name of the present Hotel Suisse and the home of the Kandy Club in the Nineties.

For his services, the astrologer was given a *mahā darisana mālē* (chain) by the King, and asked what rank he wished bestowed upon him. The astrologer asked for the title "*Śrī*," but the King said he could not give that title, but caused him to be called the *Laṅkeṣa Mulaḥchāriya*.

The site of the present lake was, in the first instance, a *deṇiya*, or low land. Later, it was made into paddy fields, and lands were held for the service of lighting priests from the *Māligawa* to the *Mal-watta Vihāra* over the fields. In 1803, the *Mal-watta Vihāra* would appear to have been used as a Hospital for the Trincomalee Detachment, and was situated "on the opposite side of a paddy field" from the Palace (*Lieutenant Anderson's Journal*.) The Lake,

almost as it now is, was constructed by the last King of Kandy, apparently about 1810-1812. D'Oyly mentions "the Weywa lately made" in diary entry of 23rd October, 1810, but the work of the Dam, apparently a part of the Lake Scheme, was not finished till June, 1812, (*Diary*, p. 115), having been in progress—"by which the people are much harassed" (p. 80)—since the end of 1811 (pp. 65, 69.)

#### WAHALKADAWAL (GATEWAYS.)

1. **Maha Wahalkada** (No. 10 in Map): This is the present main entrance to the *Māligāwa*. There were formerly two separate Gates leading respectively to the *Māligāwa* and to the Audience Hall. The last King had them made into one. This will, no doubt, account for the discrepancies between the accounts of the entrance given by Pybus and Boyd, and the present construction.

2. **Uda Wahalkada** (No. 11 in Map): This is not now in existence. It stood on the level of the Audience Hall, to the north of the *Maha-wahalkada*. It is depicted in Davy's sketch of the Palace frontage (facing page 366.)

3. **Kora Wahalkada**: The name commemorates the legend of how the god Sakra came to Kandy as a cripple (*kora*) to settle a dispute between the King and the priests.

This Wahalkada is very often mentioned by D'Oyly as the residence of Major Davy. Codrington's note in Index (p. xliii) "gateway said to be near Asgiri Vihāre, but apparently near Malabar Street in Kandy" supports the location of this gateway on the Map.

4. **Pēteti Wahalkada** (No. 12 in Map): This gate was situated near the *Uda Wahalkada*. The time basin (*pētetiya*), a large vessel filled with water, on which floated a small cup with a hole in the bottom of it was kept here. When the cup filled with water, it sank, and the passing of a *peya* was marked. A watcher was required to attend night and day to float the cup each time it sank.

5. **Basnahira Wahalkada**: This stood near what are now the premises of Messrs. Walker, Sons & Co. in Ward Street. It was the western entrance to the Town.

6. **Mohana Wahalkada** (No. 13 in Map): This stood near the present Police Court.

7. **Madure Wahalkada**: was situated near the west end of Malabar Street. Tamils from India, who came to see the King, had to stop here.

8. **Gal-prathimawa**: There were two pillars placed near where the Kandy Library now stands. When the queens went to bathe, a bridge is said to have been placed on top of the pillars for them to cross without descending to the street level. But a drawing of Kandy in 1853, which is preserved in the Kandyan Art Museum, suggests that the two pillars were probably a gateway in the wall which ran on the western side of the *Māligāwa*.

9. **Negenahira Wahalkada**: Near the East end of the present Malabar Street, the old eastern gate.

10. **Na-gaha-murapola**: See note on Street No. 2.

#### MANDAPPAS AND MADUWAS (RESTING PLACES).

1. **Waiyelliye maduwa** (No. 4 in Map): was situated at the northern end of the present verandah of the Old Palace.



2. **Dakina Sālāwa** (No. 5 in Map) : was what is now the drawing room of the Old Palace. It was a reception room for the Chiefs, where they were received by the King on occasions less formal than the ceremonies of the Audience Hall.

3. **Magul maduwa** : The Audience Hall, presently utilised by the Supreme Court. It was built in 1783 by King Rājādhi Rāja Siṅha (Mnemonic Verse). It is in the same style as that described by Pybus and Boyd which was probably demolished to make room for it.

4. **Dakina Mandappa** (No. 9 in Map) : For foreign ambassadors awaiting audience with the King. This was situated between the Audience Hall and the Uḍa Wahalkaḍa. Codrington (Index to D'Oyly's *Diary*, p. xiii) identifies the Dakina Mandappa with the Dakina Sālāwa, but the Diary entry itself (p. 226) supports the location here given.

5. **Santi maduwa** : Near the present District Court. This was erected for the King when charms were being performed for his restoration to health.

6. **Madure maduwa** : A resting place for Tamils from Madras.

7. **Atapattu murapola** : See note under Street No. 2.

8. **Kavikara maduwa** (No. 7 in Map) : for musicians.

9. **Mudare mandappa** : The King's seals were kept here.

10. **Haramakkara maduwa** : A place for training in sword exercises, a kind of gymnasium.

11. **Ran auda mandappa** (No. 8 in Map) : A store where the King's gold weapons were kept.

12. **Kunam mandappa** : A store for palanquins.

13. **Jalatilaka mandappa** : A resting place in the cool of the day on the island in the Lake. The island was reached by a kind of suspension bridge made out of rope, called *halwela*. D'Oyly has the following entry in his *Diary* under date June 28th, 1812 : " In the middle of the Weywa lately made by the King, a Square Kundasāwā ( ) has been built and covered with (Hooked Tiles)—There are also built, and in the same Weywa, 2 Yatra Donies with 1 Mast each, and 2 Pades. The Bridge built for going to the Kundasāwā in the Middle of the Weywa, is made to fold up and open." (p. 121).

14. **Demala Ilanga maduwa** : Resting place for Tamil Nautch girls.

#### BUILDINGS. &c.

1. **Dala-da Maligawa** : The Maligawa built by King Vimala Dharmma Suriya was located where the present kitchen is. The building was reconstructed by King Kirti Sri Rāja Siṅha.

2. **Pattirippuwa** : the Octagon. This was constructed during the reign of the last King, possibly completed in 1812 (D'Oyly, 115), though it is mentioned as existing in 1810 (*ib.* 29). The tradition is that the site was selected by Dehigama Diyawadana Nilame. The old kitchen was pulled down, and a specimen octagon built of plantain trees for the King's approval. The King consulted his chiefs but they disapproved of it, because they thought that the Diyawadana Nilame would gain increased favour from the King. Unambuwe Maha Nilame alone approved of the plan, and was entrusted with the work. On its completion, he was presented with a gold chain, and was given a land in Uva on a *sannasa*, but the strain of the work was so great that he contracted paralysis and died in 1813.

The Pattirippuwa would appear to have been intended originally as a place from which the King could exhibit the Tooth Relic to the people, carrying it round the verandah. He is said actually to have done so, but it must, obviously, have been on few occasions only. D'Oyly (31) mentions the fact of the King watching the catching of wild elephants from the Pattirippuwa.

Below the Pattirippuwa, in the Mahā Maluwa or Esplanade, the Atawana Pattirippuwa was erected temporarily for the King when the Relic was taken outside, so that the King might not be standing higher than the Relic.

3. **Mahā Wāsala** : The King's Palace, the present Old Palace, the residence of the Government Agent. *Wāsala* means "gate" literally, but was frequently used for the Palace. Often, the expression "Great Gate" in D'Oyly, means the King himself, following the usage of Mahā Wāsala.

4. **Meda-wahala and Palle-wahala** : Where the Office Assistant's bungalow and the Kandyan Art Museum are now situated. These were quarters for the King's relations and the officers of the household.

5. **Uda Gabadawa** : The King's private store which occupied the present site of the District Court buildings.

6. **Mahā Gabadawa** : A public store which stood on the site of the present Kachcheri.

7. **Ara-mudala** : Royal treasure chamber, south of the last.

8. **Queens' Ulpen-gé** : Bathing place, site of present United Services Library.

9. **Setapenagé, King's Ulpen-gé, Halu-mandappe** : Respectively the King's sleeping chamber, bathing place, and dressing room were situated together between the Audience Hall and the Palace. Major Davie, while living at the Migon Arambe, dreamt that the Palace would be burnt and informed the King. On next night the Setapenagé was burnt and Davie was apparently received into favour (D'Oyly's *Diary*, 6th December, 1811).

10. **Para-gaha-yata-maluwa or Etun-nawana-wala** : "Elephants' bathing place" where the present Māligāwa flower garden is. Here there was a *para* tree, which, in a dream, the King was told not to cut down, and it was built into the wall of the adjacent building.

11. **Waiyalliye Linda** : A well which was sunk by a man called Waiyalli. It is still in existence just below the Old Palace. At night, Waiyalli slept in the verandah of the Palace, which was hence called **Waiyalliye Maduwa**.

12. **Dēwa-sanhinda** : Between the Nātha and Mahā Dēwālēs. The King conducted judicial enquiries here, and could do no injustice because the gods were on either side of him.

13. **Yukthiya Ishtakirimē Ghantāwa** : The Bell of Justice. It was located at the northern corner of the Nātha Dēwālē opposite the Palace. When litigants wished to appeal against the decisions of the Adigārs or Disāwas, they were allowed to ring this Bell, if they had good grounds to appeal, for which a fee was payable. The enquiry was held in the Audience Hall before the King and the Chiefs, and was called a *mahā nadawa*. If the appellant was still dissatisfied, he could appeal to a Court of the King, the Chiefs, and the Priests, who gave a final



decision. The last King is believed to have held only one *mahá naḍawa*—concerning the estate of Ellépola. The idea of the Chiefs and Priests forming the full Appeal Court survives in the present practice in the hearing of cases against priests by the Head Priests, the appeal going to the Diyawadana Nilame and the Chiefs.

14. **Gabadāwa** : A paddy store, on the site of the present King's Barn bungalow.

15. **Nātha Dēwālē** : A temple founded by one of the Kings, the Hindu influence being due to the King's nationality. The King prepared for his coronation here, and went to the Mahā Dēwālē to take the golden sword.

16. **Pushpharama** or **Mal-watta Vihāra** : Formerly the flower garden of the King. This Vihāre is frequently mentioned in D'Oyly's *Diary*.

17. **Hayagiri** or **Asgiriya Vihāra** : The former is said to be the correct name. *Asgiriya* is in Matale District, where Vikrama Bāhu's mother, in whose memory the *Gedigē Vihāra* was erected, is said to have lived. The second name seems to have been given to the Vihāra from this circumstance. D'Oyly frequently mentions this Vihāra, calling it *Asgiri Vihāra*.





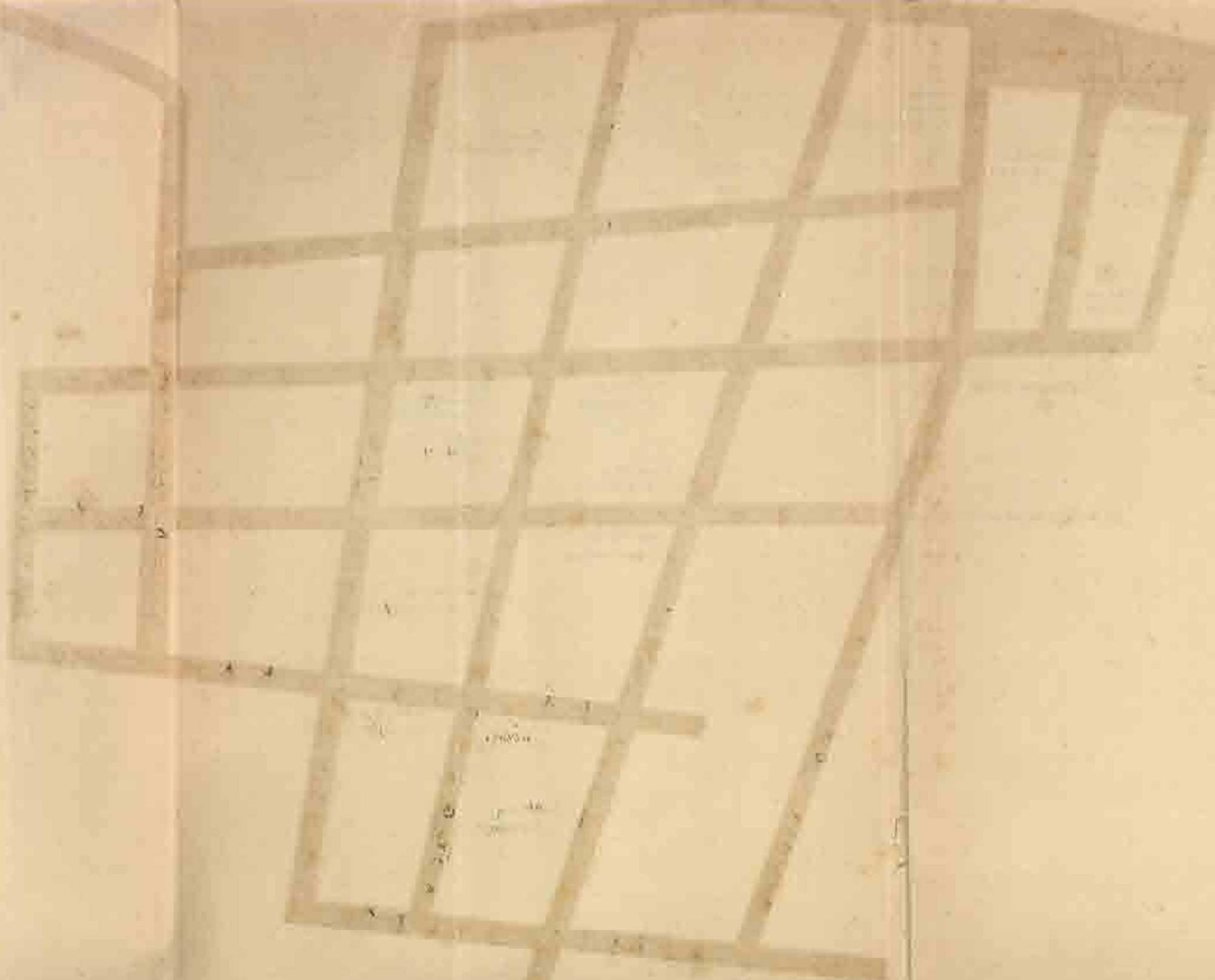


ADDENDUM TO NO. 13.

D'Oyly's *Kandyan Constitution* gives a somewhat different account of the appeal procedure and the Appeal Court. He states that the appeal was introduced to the King's notice by prostrating to him in the street, or by prostrating towards the Palace, the latter occurrence being reported to the Court officers by anyone seeing it. The appellant might also climb a tree near the Palace, and proclaim aloud his grievance.

As regards the Maha Naduwa, D'Oyly states that it was the Great Court of Kandy, composed of Chiefs only, not of the King and Chiefs. It sat in different buildings near the Palace, sometimes in the verandah of the Hall of Audience.

When a case came to the King's notice as described, it was heard either in the King's presence, or referred for hearing and report to the Maha Naduwa. (*Kandyan Constitution*, Codrington's copy, p. 37)



1812 A.D.

WOT YDIAK



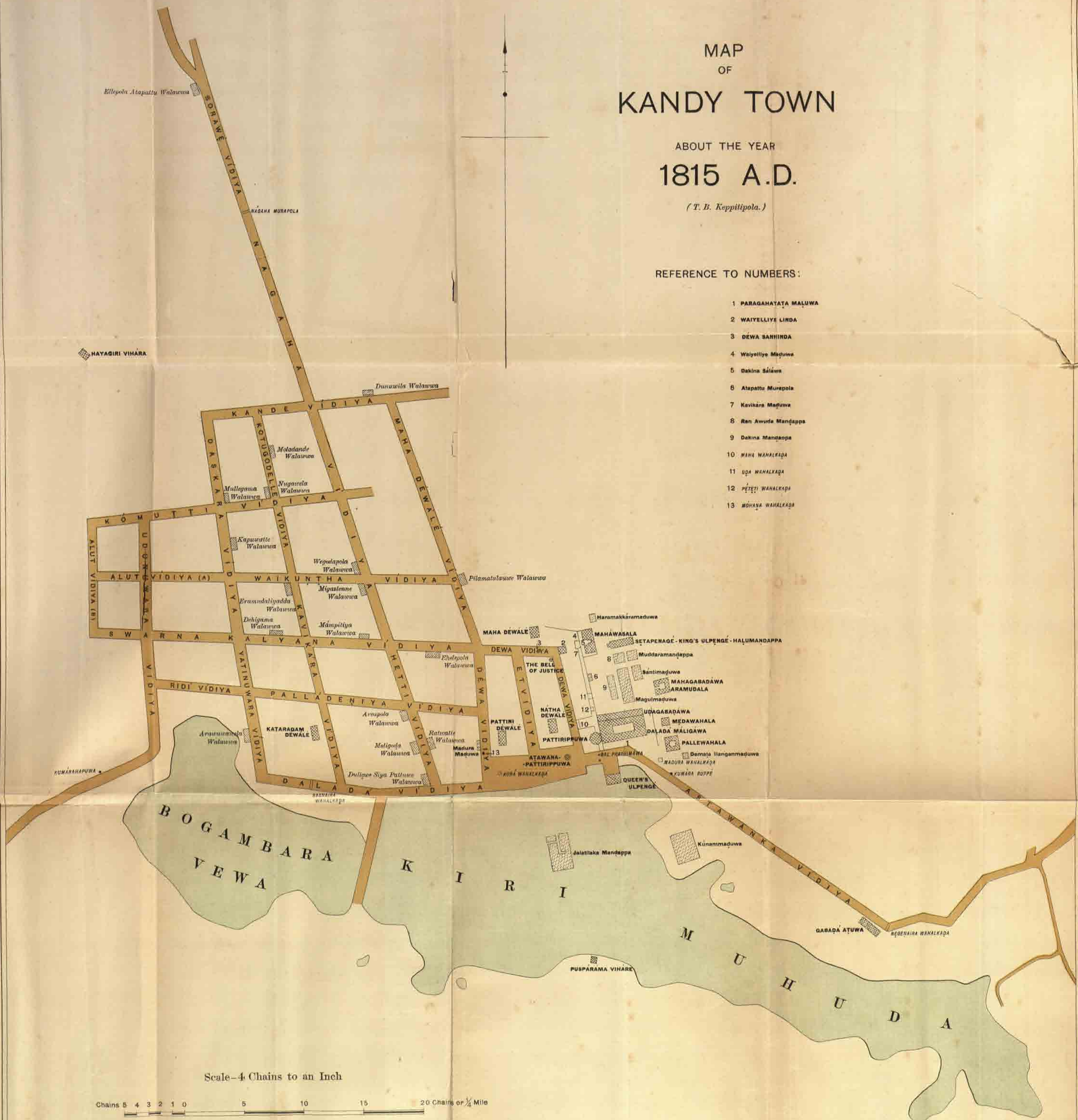
MAP  
OF  
KANDY TOWN

ABOUT THE YEAR  
1815 A.D.

(T. B. Keppitipola.)

REFERENCE TO NUMBERS:

- 1 PARAGANAYATA MALUWA
- 2 WAITELLIYE LINDA
- 3 DEWA SANHINDA
- 4 Waitelliye Maduwa
- 5 Dekina Saliwa
- 6 Atapattu Murepola
- 7 Kavikara Maduwa
- 8 Ran Awuda Mandappa
- 9 Dekina Mandappa
- 10 MAHA WAHALKADA
- 11 UDA WAHALKADA
- 12 PETETI WAHALKADA
- 13 MOHANA WAHALKADA





## REASON AND RELIGION.

A REJOINDER TO MR. W. T. STACE.<sup>1</sup>

By REV. A. M. VERSTRAETEN, S. J.

THERE is something queer in the fact that people cannot leave religion alone. Even those who despise religion, or deny its very existence, feel compelled anyhow to proclaim why they despise or deny it, instead of simply ignoring it, or setting it aside as we do fairy tales.

In our present age this is perhaps more striking than ever. When the first half of the XIXth Century had declared that religion was gone and God done with, there came in the second half a revival of religion, or rather of religions and religious theories—from the Positivists to the Idealists, from the Agnostics to the Metaphysicians—a revival which has ever since been on the increase, and of which, even in our small Island, we can perceive an echo in a recent literary contest between two champions of two opposed religious currents.

Mr. F. G. Pearce, in *The Buddhist*, had set forth that "Intuition is the foundation of religious belief." To this Mr. W. T. Stace, while refuting Mr. Pearce, in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. III, Part IV), opposed his own theory, viz., "Reason is the true organ of religious knowledge."

I am here only concerned with the latter's Essay, inasmuch as it has a direct bearing on Christianity, and more specially because it purports to expound "the only philosophy on which Christianity or any genuine religion can found itself."

## A General Survey.

I am a Christian and a believer. But I write as a philosopher. That is to say, I intend to meet Mr. Stace on his own rationalistic field, with his own rationalistic weapons.

If, however, I happen to allude incidentally to the doctrine of the Church, it will not be by way of argument, but only by way of illustration.

To be quite fair, I greatly appreciate the author's style for its clearness, and I admire his knack of explaining in a concrete and popular way the most abstract concepts of philosophy. I only regret that a broader and more comprehensive study of the true masters of thought has not developed his talent in the right direction.

That there is some lack of broadness in Mr. Stace's views, is at once evidenced to me by the fact that he seems to know only two opposite systems to account for the genesis of human knowledge, viz., sheer Materialism and pure Idealism.

He does not even suspect the *aurea via media*, shown by the Scholastic or Peripatetic system, which admirably combines the existing exterior world with the interior concepts of our mind.

1. [See Mr. Stace's Essay on the True Organ of Religious Knowledge, *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, pp. 264-272.]



In his enumeration of the greatest thinkers of the world, he omits such names as St. Augustine and St. Thomas. This, in the opinion of every student of philosophy, is as objectionable an omission, as would be the oversight of Shakespeare's name in a list of the world's greatest dramatists!

But I forget that it is not with Mr. Stace's personality, but rather with his Essay, that I ought to be concerned.

### Two Parts of the Essay.

Without following Mr. Stace's own division, I shall divide the Essay into two parts: the first, a *negative* one, or the refutation of Mr. Pearce's Intuition, as a true foundation of religion; the second, a *constructive* one, or the assertion that Reason is the true organ of religious knowledge.

Let me at once say that I agree, in the main, with Mr. Stace's arguments and conclusions in the first part. Indeed, in man's present condition, nothing can be in the human mind, which has not previously been perceived in some way by his senses. Hence there is no solid reason for admitting an immanent intuition of religious truths, as Theosophists would have it. I would, however, not go so far as to say that "Intuition" is intrinsically impossible. But that is another question, which we may well leave alone.

As for the second or constructive part: "Reason is the true organ of religious knowledge." I deem it necessary, at the very start, to make an important distinction in regard to the meaning of the term: *true organ*.

If Mr. Stace, by *organ*, only means faculty or power of ascertaining whether the credibility of our religious belief is well founded, he is quite right. Thus he but repeats what millions of Christians have said before him, viz., that reason is the criterion of the foundations of our Faith.

But if by *true organ of religious knowledge* he means that reason is the adequate medium, the real standard and, so to say, the measure and limit of our religious knowledge, then I say: Mr. Stace is wrong. And I am ready to prove my opinion.

Not only do I volunteer to do so, but I feel bound in duty towards my religion, to challenge a statement made in the name of science—or what is called so—and which is pregnant with the direst consequences for Christianity and religion at large.

Yet in a matter of paramount importance, we must first frame our issues exactly, and then discuss them fairly. So I shall do. I contend that:

#### I. Reason is not the Adequate Organ of Religious Knowledge in Christianity.

Now Mr. Stace says:

"The Bible and the Church could have no authority, except that which reason itself bestowed upon them. There must have been some reason for accepting them as divinely inspired."

This sentence obviously means that, before accepting the Bible or the Church as the mouthpiece of God, our reason must first have ascertained whether God has spoken really, and whether His word was transmitted faithfully. That is quite orthodox. In this sense, Reason is indeed the organ, or the criterion, of the credibility of our belief.

But Mr. Stace says again:

"The supremacy of Reason over all modes of knowledge is well illustrated in the old controversy, now happily obsolete, between reason and authority. If—as it was argued—a doctrine appears contrary to reason, it can nevertheless not be rejected if it is held on the authority of the Bible or of the Church; for these are divinely inspired and cannot lie..."

Here, and in other places, Mr. Stace seems to sing in another tone. First, with Mr. Stace's leave, I would say that this controversy is not so obsolete as he thinks. Only, to avoid misunderstanding, I wish to replace the dubious expression: "*contrary to reason*," by this other more clear: "If a doctrine appears to be *inaccessible* to reason, or to *surpass* reason, it cannot be rejected, if it is held on the authority of the Bible or of the Church." I cannot, even for a moment, imagine that any sensible man has ever held that God, the Supreme Truth, could reveal a thing that is *against* truth, or that is *contradictory* to reason. That would be no more and no less than abdicating our rational or human nature! Therefore I substitute: "*inaccessible to, or above reason*."

As a matter of fact, Christ has revealed more than one truth that is *above* reason: for instance, to begin with, that He is the God-Man! And Jesus Christ imposed his "*creed*" upon all who wished to become His disciples, not on the ground that their reason was able to understand it, but on the authority of His divine mission, which He was ready to prove by His deeds.

So important is this consideration, that Christianity without "*creed*" or "*belief*," but simply with reason, would no longer be Christianity!

If Christian knowledge excluded faith, and were entirely confined to reason, it might then be called, no more a religion, but a "*philosophy*," similar to that of Buddhism. The fact that Christians offer daily prayers to Christ, whereas Buddhists offer flowers to Lord Buddha at Wesak, would not make any substantial difference between these two philosophical systems.

We have so far stated the fact; but what about the question of *right*, viz., whether Christianity is right in vindicating any religious knowledge that is *above*, or seems *contrary* to Reason?

I think it is. Indeed, if the child gets its knowledge on the authority of its parents, the pupil on that of his teacher, the man in the street on that of a more learned person; and if the scientist himself owes the two-thirds of his knowledge, not to his personal investigation, but to the conclusions of his brother-scientists—then it is but reasonable that man should accept his religious knowledge—even when exceeding his comprehension—on the authority of God Himself.

I conclude, therefore, that the adequate organ of religious knowledge, at least in the Christian religion, is *not* Reason, but rather Faith, as helped by reason.

We may now proceed to an application of this rationalistic theory, which is of capital interest. In fact, it is nothing less than the existence of God Himself—the fundamental truth of Christianity—that is at stake.

I quote Mr. Stace's words:

(P. 261.) God does not exist and God is not a thing. If he were, he would not be God. He is what is behind existences and things.

Whatever is perceived must necessarily be a particular thing. To perceive a thing means that it must be *this* as opposed to *that*. In other words it is an *individual* existence, a particular thing. But every particular thing is finite. To be *this* and not *that*, is to be limited. But God the infinite cannot therefore be particular. To say that God can be perceived, to say that God exists, is thus the most fatal attack that can possibly be made on the foundation of religion, for it reduces God to a finite existence, a thing of sense.

Of course in common parlance, and in religious devotions, we speak of the existence of God. And there is no objection to this. Indeed it is necessary so to speak to the masses.

I contend that:



## II. To say that God does not Exist is a Falsehood and Mr. Stace's Proof is a Miserable Fallacy.

One is inclined to think that Mr. Stace himself was a bit afraid of his daring and offensive statement. For in a foot-note he remarks: "Let those who would cavil at such expressions beware, lest . . ."

Notwithstanding the author's warning, I shall cavil at, and strongly object to, such expressions as "God does not exist." And I will show that they cannot stand the test of strict logic, nor of common-sense either.

And here I cannot but think that the author's intentions were better than his expressions. Mr. Stace is presumably a victim of his one-sided, subjective philosophy. For him, as for Kant, nothing can be perceived but what is in the mind. We do not perceive things themselves, but their ideas in our mind. It is the old, old story of what is known as: "*Non datur pons*: There is no bridge to link the exterior world with the mind." Therefore all must be in us, or subjective.

If Mr. Stace had only the slightest notion of Scholastic Philosophy, he would know that such a bridge is *not* needed; that exterior objects act on the mind through the senses, and that the mind by an inherent process of elimination and addition can perceive truly, though inadequately, even the Infinite, that is, God.

But we must examine Mr. Stace's proof in itself. We put it in an ordinary syllogism:

Whatever is perceived or exists must be particular.  
But God is not particular, since He is infinite,  
Therefore God, the infinite, cannot be perceived and does not exist.

As regards the first term, we can admit that an existing thing to be perceived must be an individual thing, or *this* and not *that*. But the thing must not therefore necessarily be limited or *finite*. When I perceive the ocean, I do not care whether it is *with*—or *without*—a limit; nor do I need to ascertain whether it is not *that* mountain. In the *minor* it is said: But God is *not particular*. Here is the fallacy! In the first term, *particular* was meant to signify an individual, or *this* or *the* thing. But here it is taken in the sense of *finite* or limited, which was excluded in the major. Therefore the syllogism falls through; and there is no conclusion, and no proof at all.

If Mr. Stace's proof of God's non-existence hold good, then I can demonstrate, on the same ground, that the *King of England does not exist*, though perhaps "in common parlance" people say that he does exist.

I would argue, like Mr. Stace: "We cannot perceive Monarchy as co-existing with Democracy. For the former means that people are governed by a King, whereas the latter implies that people are governing themselves. A King therefore cannot exist in a self-governing country.

But England is a democratic or self-governing country.  
Therefore in England there can be no King; or the King does not exist!

Every student of Logic will at once point out the fallacy of the premisses, viz., not every kind of monarchy—but only autocracy—is incompatible with a self-governing people; and a representative monarch or a constitutional King can, and does, exist in several democratic countries. And so it is in England, where exists a constitutional King.

There is, moreover, another error in this argumentation, viz., it supposes that: to exist, a thing must *first* be perceived. I should invert the order: to be perceived a thing must *first* exist. Once I know that the King of England *exists*, you may bring in a thousand and one reasons to show that one cannot perceive his existence, you will never convince me of his non-existence!

But I ask: Why should I not be capable of perceiving the first cause as existing, and this very first cause as infinite? Why should I not be able to form an idea of *the* infinite being, *the* being by excellence—causing and yet exceeding all finite beings that are on a lower level?

If Mr. Stace cannot, I can. And with me thousands and millions are, and have been, able to do the same. For this philosophy,—or this theory of human perception,—is taught now, as it has ever been, at Louvain, at Paris, at Rome, at Washington, and everywhere. Cardinal Mercier's text books, recently translated into English, are a good instance to the point.

I take it then, not only "in common parlance" but even in the most rigorous logic, we may go on speaking of the "existence of God" not only "to the masses, who cannot understand abstract truth," but even to philosophers and metaphysicians who know as much as Mr. Stace about the recesses of philosophy.

God Himself, when asked by Moses, revealed his Name as "*I am the one who exists.*" With my honourable opponent's permission, we shall leave God in quiet possession of His Name and of His existence!

But I fear I have to go further, and to file another issue against Mr. Stace's theory—but always with the restriction that I be not under a misunderstanding of the author's true intention.

I contend that:

### III. The Concept of a God Who does not Exist, but Who is a Platonic Reality, is destructive of all Genuine Religion.

Mr. Stace on the contrary says:

"This Idealism (of Plato) is the only philosophy on which Christianity or any genuine religion can found itself. Its only logical alternative is materialism, which is the negation of all religion. Plato was trying to express that the truth of things is thought, that thought alone has full reality. Was Plato not right when he said that ideas, thought, concepts, reason are what is real in things? Now God is what lies behind existences and things. He is the final explanation of them. . . . The supreme realities do not exist. . . ."

Here again Mr. Stace seems to be badly served by his idealistic system of philosophy. He conceives only this alternative: either you are an Idealist, and you support religion; or you are a materialist, and you destroy religion. I say: fortunately there is a *medium*, between pure Idealism and sheer Materialism, as we have remarked before. And it is just this *aurea via media* which supports the foundations of religion, and not at all either of the two extremes mentioned by Mr. Stace. For if we grant that Materialism or Intuitionism cannot be a solid basis of genuine religion—as we gladly credit Mr. Stace with having proved to evidence,—we regret to say that he has unfortunately fallen from Charybdis into Scylla!

But we must proceed orderly and gradually. I say, first, Mr. Stace's Platonic idea of God logically *destroys all genuine religion*. Why?

However different may be the definitions given of religion, there is a concept that is common to all, viz., it is the dependence of man on a supreme being, with the consequence that man should express this dependence by some worship. In times past, the civilized man as well as the savage, always rendered this cult to some exterior being, either to the sun, or to a stone, or to Jehovah, etc.

But the subjective philosophy of Kant has wrought a turn in some minds. God is no more existing personally. He is *in* or *behind* all things; he is in my mind; He is *in* me. Why then should I render to God an exterior cult of worship?



Whether you call God the "one" of Fichte, the "absolute" of Schelling, the "idea" of Hegel, the "unconscious" of Hartman, it is all the same. In every system you are dispensed from worshipping God. After all God is but a scientific hypothesis!

The people with their common-sense will at once conclude: "Why then should I worship at all? Why do I need such a Platonic God? Why do I need religion?"

There is even worse. I have heard it said more than once that the philosophers of the continent habitually push their theories to the extreme, whereas an Englishman is safeguarded from such excesses by his inborn common-sense: he will stand still on the brink of absurdity. May this perhaps not be the case with Mr. Stace?

Hartman, the German idealist, arrives at a monotheism whose God is not outside, but *in* himself. So does Nietzsche, who regards humanity of which he is a part, as the supreme entity ever perfecting itself by a continuous evolution, until it reaches the Superman . . .

We may sneer at the absurdity of German thinkers; but, after all, we must recognize that they are often logical in their deductions. And thus, if God be *in* me, if I be God myself, why should I not act as God, or as the Superman? . . .

### Conclusion.

Mr. Stace winds up his refutation of Mr. Pearce's theory of Intuition by saying: "We resent a doctrine which really amounts to claim on the part of a few persons to be superior beings . . ."

Would it be discourteous towards Mr. Stace to say in our turn: "We, Christians, resent a doctrine which really amounts to claim, on the part of a few idealists, Kantists, Hegelians or Rationalists, to be superior beings endowed with the privilege of holding the whole of reason for them alone, and consequently of imposing their systems and views on all others, for the benefit of humanity."

We resent this the more, when one of them stands up to defend Christianity, and while vindicating it against Intuitionism, throws it forsooth into the claws of Rationalism and Pantheism,—perhaps not intentionally but logically. I think the Christian religion really stands not in need of such defenders: "*Non talibus eget auxiliis!*"

Christian philosophers and theologians can vindicate Christian truth, even in this era of progress and science! Instead of the painful conclusion to which Modernists arrive after all their labours, viz.:

"The whole history of the world is but a long struggle for spiritual truth and the struggle must go on. There is no way but the long and arduous way of reason;"

We Christians have another more cheerful tale to tell; and it is this:

"We are already in possession of truth—indeed by a short cut—by the virtue of Him who called Himself the Way, the Truth and the Light of the world!"

By admitting this divine truth, we did not abdicate our reason; but we supplemented the dim light of the latter with the splendour of the former.

I would say that we, Christians, use human reason as a torch to guide us up to the city of Revelation and Faith. But having once entered the gates of that city, we can walk safely in the Light of God Himself and of His divine Reflector, the Church.

In that sense, Mr. Stace, but in that alone, we can agree with your thesis: "Reason is the true organ of our religious knowledge."

A. M. VERSTRAETEN, S.J.

## MR. STACE IN REPLY.

THE Editors of the *Ceylon Antiquary* have courteously afforded me the opportunity of making any reply I wish to the above criticisms by Father Verstraeten on my article in the April number of the *Antiquary*.

I shall reply only to those parts of Father Verstraeten's criticism which appear to me to contain some substance of thought. There are in his article certain jocularities at my expense which are, I suppose, intended to influence the reader against my opinions; as when he says, for example, "With my honourable opponents permission we shall leave God in quiet possession of His name and of His existence!"—or again, "I think the Christian religion really stands not in need of such defenders." If there are any readers whose minds are of such calibre as to be influenced by utterances of this nature, they are among those whom I do not wish to convince. I do not desire to have them on my side. I make a present of them to Father Verstraeten. For myself, I am thick-skinned enough to be impervious to mere ridicule, and I desire to consider only that which contains an honest attempt to think and reason.

My critic begins by disputing my assertion that there are in reality only two philosophies, Idealism and Materialism. He points out to me what he thinks is a *via media* between the two, the Scholastic Philosophy. Now Materialism is that philosophy which seeks to explain the entire universe, including mind, from the assumption that matter is the fundamental reality. Idealism is that philosophy which seeks to explain the universe from mind as the fundamental reality. That there are or have been many philosophies which come under neither of these heads I readily admit. The system of Spinoza is one example. That the ultimate reality is neither matter nor mind but an infinite Substance, indifferent to both, of which both matter and mind are finite modifications, is an obvious third alternative. That matter is not to be derived from mind, nor mind to be derived from matter, but that both are co-ordinate principles which are alike to be derived from a third essence, which itself is neither matter nor mind—this is the system of Spinoza. What then is meant by saying that Idealism and Materialism are in reality the only two philosophies? I reply in the first place that the system of Spinoza having failed by ending in a fatal dualism, and all philosophy aiming necessarily at a monistic explanation of the universe, the only alternatives which in practice remain to us are Materialism and Idealism. No doubt it would be easy to construct a philosophy which would be neither. But such a philosophy would fail. It would end either in dualism or in inconsistency. Kant attempted a sort of *via media* by assuming two sources of knowledge, the *a priori* principles of mind as the source of the *form* of experience, and the unknowable "thing-in-itself" as the source of the *matter* of experience. Kant's philosophy ended both in dualism and inconsistency. On the whole Kant belongs to the Idealists. He calls his system "Transcendental Idealism." But he was not a thorough-going idealist. He still admitted a something other than mind as ultimate reality, the incomprehensible "thing-in-itself," and through this rift there crept into his system an irreconcilable dualism. Kant's successors Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, saw this, and saw too that the only way of remedying it was by repudiating the thing-in-itself and having recourse to mind as the sole originating principle of the universe. For Kant's merely subjective Idealism Hegel substituted an absolute idealism.



I reply in the second place that the whole history of philosophy from Thales to the present day supports my contention that there are in reality only two philosophies. That history itself is nothing but the battle of two opposing tendencies of thought. One seeks to explain the universe from its details, to explain the whole by the parts: This tendency appears variously as the atomism of Lencippus and Democritus, the subjective principles of the Sophists and Pyrrhonists, the empiricism of Locke and Hume, the materialism of La Mettrie and D'Alembert. The other seeks to explain the parts by the whole, the matter by the form, physical matter by mind. This appears in Plato, Aristotle, in Descartes (mixed with inconsistencies), in Berkeley (mixed with crudities), and finally in the German transcendentalism founded by Kant and completed by Hegel. The above remarks are generalisations concerning the whole of the history of philosophy, which is a subject so vast that it is obviously out of the question to attempt here to support them in detail. I can only say that every competent student of philosophy is familiar with them, that any text book of philosophy sets them forth, that every accepted history of philosophy recognises them. What I have said of the two streams of philosophic thought running through history will be found stated at greater length by William James in his book "Some Problems of Philosophy"—a book which I quote in this connection with the greater pleasure because I disagree with its author on almost every essential philosophical question. The history of philosophy shows many varieties of thought but only two main species.<sup>1</sup> Every consistent thinker belongs to one or the other. Every attempt to find a half way house has ended in dualism and contradiction.

As to the Scholastic philosophy to which my critic refers me as the summit of human wisdom I observe as follows:—

(1) Father Verstraeten says it is a *via media* between Idealism and Materialism. He nowhere in his criticism even attempts to support or explain this assertion. How it is a *via media* he does not show. Only one passage I find in his article which seems like an attempt to explain his meaning. It is this: "If Mr. Stace had only the slightest notion of Scholastic philosophy he would know that such a bridge"—between subject and object—"is not needed; that exterior objects act on the mind through the senses, and that the mind by an inherent process of elimination and addition can perceive truly, though inadequately, the Infinite, that is God." I am aware that exterior objects act on the mind through the senses. I never knew anybody who disputed it. But it does not solve any problem with which we are faced. As to the rest of the sentence, about the "inherent process of elimination and addition" I can only say that I do not understand what it means. Possibly Father Verstraeten intends to suggest that we could arrive at the idea of the Infinite by an endless summation (addition) of finites, as for example we get the idea of infinite space by endlessly adding together finite spaces. My criticism would then be that we can arrive at what Hegel called the "false infinite"—mere endlessness—by such a process, but not at the metaphysical infinite, that is, the self-determined. And I should add too that this does not appear to have anything to do with the subject under discussion, or to show how the Scholastic philosophy is a *via media* between Idealism and Materialism.

(2) The history of Scholasticism itself gives the lie to the statement that it formed a *via media* between Idealism and Materialism. For the world-old antagonism between the two fundamental types of thought, that which explains the whole by the parts, and that which ex-

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the two main streams of thought see also my article on "Buddhist Atomism" in the *Ceylon Antiquary* of July, 1916.



plains the parts by the whole, broke out within the bosom of Scholasticism itself, appearing this time in the form of the controversy between Realism and Nominalism. It is true that a sort of reconciliation, a kind of *via media*, appeared after the time of Abelard, of which the central tenet was the immanence of the universal in the particular. This was more in accord with the real teaching of Aristotle, and it is moreover in accord with modern idealism, like that of Hegel, for whom the immanence of the universal in the particular is an essential truth. In fact this theory is in reality part of the doctrine of absolute idealism. Idealists who fancy that the universal is a sort of separate existence misunderstand their own creed. I should place the followers of Abelard therefore definitely with the Idealists, and to say that they are half way between Idealism and Materialism appears to me an error. They insisted that the universal is immanent in the particular, yet the universal is the essential reality and the true foundation of the world. This is idealism of an advanced type.

(3) Scholasticism was in its time a great and imposing system of thought. During several centuries of civilisation it rallied to its standard the best and greatest minds. It produced, and was produced by, great and noble men. It served as the philosophy of the civilised world and as the repository of all the best thought during a definite phase of the human spirit. Nevertheless the phase of the human spirit to which it gave expression is definitely gone by. Scholasticism is no longer a living philosophy. On its purely logical side it was killed by Francis Bacon. On its scientific side it was killed by Galileo, Kepler,—even by Bruno and Vanini (whom the Church thoughtfully burned in consequence). On its philosophical side—which is what we are now concerned with—it was definitely laid at rest by Descartes, the father and founder of modern philosophy, the inaugurator of the new era, (who was himself, by the way, always a pious Catholic). In many respects Descartes' philosophy was a step backward. It stands not so high in the philosophical scale as that latter-day Scholasticism, of which we have already spoken, which had caught something of the true spirit of its master, Aristotle. Descartes' philosophy is full of crudities. It ends in a hopeless dualism between matter and mind. It is uncritical of the fundamental notions of human thought. Nevertheless it is the turning point in the history of thought. It is the beginning of the new era, because it proclaims, what is the life and soul of modern philosophy, the spirit of free enquiry, absolutely unshackled by dogma. Scholasticism had made it an absolutely fundamental assumption that the dogmas of the Church were the absolute truth, were inviolate. Into them there must be no enquiry. With Descartes we get for the first time the principle! "Let us assume nothing whatever as true, no, not even the dogmas of the Church. Let us begin absolutely from the beginning. Let us sweep away all presuppositions, allow no authority to impose upon us any belief by its mere fiat. Let us begin by doubting everything whatever, even that two and two make four, even (if that be possible) that I myself exist. Building our system thus anew from the absolute foundation, let us see what, out of all human belief, we can proclaim as certain and what not." Following this method Descartes came to the conclusion that the dogmas of the Church do in fact represent the truths. But this was his *conclusion*, not his starting point. He did not assume it. He believed that he proved it. Thus was born the spirit of free enquiry, a spirit in no sense antagonistic to Christianity, but insisting on the right of unshackled investigation, quite ready to admit the truth of Christianity if that appeared as the result of its enquiries, but refusing to admit it on the strength of any mere authority, declining to allow itself to be gagged by any fundamental assumptions into the grounds of which, by reason of their sanctity, it was forbidden to enquire. Secondly, Descartes inaugurated a new era, and set the theme and direction of all



subsequent thought by his famous: "Cogito, ergo sum." All existence is to be derived from that first certainty, the ego, mind. Thus, with all his inconsistencies, Descartes was the founder of modern Idealism, the theory that the fundamental reality of the world is mind. From that point philosophy has moved steadily forward. Scholasticism, with all its undoubted profundity and beauty, belongs to a past age. In the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Scholasticism is not even included in the courses of philosophy. That proves nothing, except that its intrinsic importance is generally recognised as being outweighed by the importance both of Greek and of modern philosophy. Students have not the time to learn everything. Therefore leave out the least important part, Scholasticism. That, no doubt, is the argument by which its omission would be justified. Personally, I am by no means sure that I approve of this. I believe that Scholasticism is now unduly neglected, and that much good would result if it were more studied. But the fact remains that in no progressive modern educational institutions is it taught. It remains the monopoly of purely Roman Catholic seminaries and institutions, which still boom it as the true philosophy, because, rightly or wrongly, they are afraid of the tendencies of modern thought. For the rest of the world it is merely a survival of the middle ages, no longer taught in Universities, no longer considered as possessing any except historical importance.

Father Verstraeten attempts to sum up another part of my argument thus:—

Whatever exists is particular  
 God is not particular, since he is infinite  
 Therefore God does not exist.

He accuses me of using the middle term in two different senses, thus practically committing the fallacy of "quaternio terminorum." I dislike this logic-chopping method of controversy. The syllogism is an excellent thing, but is an unsuitable medium for philosophical discussion. It cramps thought and leads to triviality. However my critic forces it upon me, and if it comes to that, I fancy I can chop logic as well as another. And as Father Verstraeten is evidently muddled as to what logical fallacy he really means to accuse me of, I shall have much pleasure in clearing up his mind for him, and telling him what he does mean. The argument with which he credits me is not a syllogism but an epicheirema. Analysed into its constituent syllogisms it becomes:—

- (1) The particular is not infinite  
 God is infinite.  
 Therefore God is not particular.
- (2) Whatever exists is particular  
 God is not particular  
 Therefore God does not exist.

Now Father Verstraeten accuses me of using the word "particular" in different senses in different places. But what he evidently really means is that he denies the truth of the premise which states "The particular is not infinite." In other words he denies my statement that the particular is finite. This is quite evident from the wording of his paragraph on the subject. He may, if he likes, substitute the word "individual" for "particular" throughout the argument, and it will then be evident that I mean by particular the same thing all through, namely individual. So that it is not quaternio terminorum I am guilty of at all. My syllogisms are quite valid in form; the first is Cesare, the second Camestres. But the major premise of my first syllogism is false. That is what I am guilty of. The particular, i.e. the individual, says my critic, is not necessarily finite.



Now if Father Verstraeten had even the slightest knowledge of modern philosophy (he will pardon my adopting his phraseology), he would know that to identify the particular or individual with the finite is so universal and familiar a thought that any student of philosophy understands it at once, although Father Verstraeten has apparently not heard of it before.\* I will begin by explaining what is meant by the term infinite in modern thought. Since the time of Spinoza the term infinite has meant the self-determined, that which has its whole being and essence in itself, which is thus self-existent, and suffers no determination from anything outside itself. Now that which is particular is, Father Verstraeten admits, an individual, a this as opposed to that. It is therefore one among others. Inasmuch as the one is opposed to the other, it is determined by that other. To be this and not that is to be limited by the that. It is to be determined by that which is outside itself, namely by the that. It owes its thisness to the opposition of the that. It thus owes part of its essential character to something other than itself. Hence it is not self-determined. It is not infinite. Space and time, though no doubt boundless, are, in this sense, not true infinities. They are infinite in the mathematical sense of the word, but not in the metaphysical sense. They are not self-determined. Father Verstraeten evidently uses the word in its mathematical sense, as is shown by his illustration of the sea, an illustration which is quite absurd if applied to the metaphysical infinite. To be particular, to be individual, to be finite, mean the same thing in the language of modern philosophy. Likewise, to be universal, to be self-determined, to be infinite, mean the same thing. If it is not so in the language of Scholasticism I am sorry; but I cannot help it. Hence the concept of the infinite cannot be reached by mere summation. To imagine an individual whose qualities of goodness are increased without end, whose power has no limits, etc., is not to arrive at the true concept of God or the metaphysical infinite. Such a concept is still particular and individual and therefore finite. It is no more the true infinite than endless space or time is so. It is merely what Tennyson, when describing the popular or superstitious notion of God, used to call "an infinite clergyman." God must be conceived not as a particular, but as a universal, and the universal has no existence except in the particulars in which it is immanent, as the later Scholastics rightly saw.

But, of course, all this discussion is really futile. What really troubles Father Verstraeten is that he thinks I am in some way trying to explain away the reality of God. That I am not doing so I have tried to explain in my original article. The very contrary is the case. I do not know what more I can say, except perhaps this. By existence I mean that which is given as an immediate *datum* to consciousness, that therefore which *appears*. Appearance is opposed to reality. And if I say that everything that exists is an appearance, a phenomenon, and not a reality, and that God is the absolute reality, and therefore not a phenomenon, or an existence, possibly I shall be understood better. Probably not, however. Probably it will be a source of fresh misunderstanding. If so, I can say nothing further than that an understanding of my meaning is scarcely possible to anyone not possessed of a thorough knowledge of modern, as opposed to mediaeval, philosophy, and that qualification my critics do not seem to possess.

A few words and I am done. Father Verstraeten foists upon me a subjective idealism which leaves the thing in itself outside the mind, so that a bridge is required between mind and the

\* Spinoza, *Ethics*, Part 2, Definition 7, states: "By individual things I understand things which are finite." The fact that Spinoza puts this in the form of a definition shows that he considers it self-evident. That Spinoza considered it self-evident does not prove it true, but it does prove that the idea is a familiar one, which one might have thought anyone setting himself up as a philosophic critic would be acquainted with, without the necessity of tedious explanations.



thing. So far as I recognise this as anything, my critic seems to be trying to describe the philosophy of Kant. Having foisted this philosophy upon me, he has no difficulty in showing how absurd it is. Unfortunately for his argument, however, I do not happen to hold this philosophy. In fact I repudiate it. I have already shown that the philosophy of Kant failed just for this very reason, that Kant attempted to find a *via media* between Idealism and Materialism, leaving the thing in itself outside the mind. In calling this a subjective Idealism Father Verstraeten has been forestalled by Hegel, who accordingly substituted for it an absolute idealism. Father Verstraeten, however, lumps them both together, and even includes Nietzsche in the same boat ! One might just as well put Anselm and Tom Paine in a class together !

Lastly my critic proceeds to draw from Idealism some astonishing conclusions about man being the same as God, and so not needing to worship. I can only say that no person who understands Idealism has ever drawn from it such conclusions, and if a philosophy is to be judged by the conclusions which those who do not understand it draw from it, then indeed what philosophy would it be safe to hold ?

W. T. STACE.



## THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

### IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. III, Part II, p. 130.)

#### VII.—Jesuit Letters, 1623—1633.

(Translated from the Original Portuguese, Latin and Italian.)

##### 1623.

**W**E have received no news from this house (also). There are in it four Fathers.<sup>148</sup> The harvest reaped in this kingdom is very great; many even of the Princes are already converted. Much work is done among the Portuguese also, preaching etc., as is customary with us.

An. Lit. Malabar, fol. 401.

##### 1627.

#### The House of Jaffnapatam and its Residences.

(J. Carvalho; 1 JANUARY, 1627.)

The letters of the previous years gave an account of the first fruits of this successful undertaking, and this year we have the pleasure of announcing the happy progress and the abundant harvest reaped almost daily. The work prospered from the beginning, and grew to such an extent that, watered by the dew of divine grace, it spread in all directions. Under God's protection and help our Fathers cultivated this vineyard, overgrown with so many superstitious weeds, and by their labours alone 40,812 were led into the fold of Christ.

They built ten churches, vast in size, handsome in structure and well fitted up:

The first, consecrated to the Most Holy Trinity, and situated in a place called Changane, counts 8,500 Christians.

The second, dedicated to the glorious Assumption of the Virgin Mother in the village called Vaiticota, has 3,800.

The third, which takes its name from the Most Blessed Virgin 'a Regibus,' in a place named Pandefingu, reckons 4,800.

The fourth, consecrated to the Princes of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, in a village called Talipule, comprises 5,400. Of these 3,000 passed over from the darkness of error to the light of truth in the course of this year.

The fifth, under the title of Our Lady of the Angels, in a village popularly known as Mailitu, has 2,590 belonging to it, of whom 600 laid aside the heathen superstition this year and were enrolled under the name of Christ.

The sixth, in a certain village which they call Archivele, erected under the august title of the Holy Spirit, contains 4,800, of whom 300, detesting the vanities of heathenism, were cleansed in the saving waters this year.

The seventh, distinguished by the august name of Jesus, and built in a place called Pale, counts 2,270 neophytes, 200 of whom laid aside their errors this year and were received into the Catholic Church.



The eighth, in the town of Mogamale, takes its name from the Saviour. It has 1,900 Christians, four hundred of whom were led to the light of truth during this year, and submitted themselves to the yoke of Christ.

The ninth, which glories in the Nativity of the Spotless Virgin, in a place called Tambana, has 3,800 Christians.

The last, situated in the confines of the kingdom in a populous place called Contadacolam, has for its protector the Archangel Michael, chief of the heavenly host. The congregation numbers 2,000 neophytes, including 200 who were hitherto benighted in the gloom of superstition, but were this year illumined by the splendour of the Evangelical truth.

In each of these Residences there lives a Father whose duty it is to look after those who were formerly so ignorant but now very well instructed, and others who, from time to time, are led to the sacred font, so that, at last, all may be united into the fold of Christ and the Christian religion flourish throughout the whole kingdom. All things considered, this is an undertaking which will bring credit to the Church and honour to the Society.

To the kingdom of Jaffnapatam is attached the island of Cardivo, in which a church was built by ours dedicated to Our Lady of Good Voyage, because ships call there. The first fruits of this mission already number 1,400. This number increases day by day, and the movement spreads on all sides.

Mention must be made of two priests who died in this mission. The first is Father Anthony Dias,<sup>186</sup> a Portuguese and a remarkable missionary. It is said that he was indefatigable in his labours for the welfare of both Catholics and pagans, and that he found great pleasure in enduring toil and hardships for their sake. He used to go long distances on foot to administer the sacraments to the sick, and even to those who are hale. Not infrequently he was exposed to danger of life in these journeys, but the difficulties only made him the more keen in carrying out his resolve. He sometimes received gifts, which he forthwith distributed to the poor, so much so that they looked up to him as their protector and shepherd. Even the gentiles considered him an example of every virtue. When he had already laboured for several years in Commorin, he was sent by his Superiors to Jaffnapatam in the hope that a change of climate would cure him in some measure of a malady from which he suffered considerably; but, in a short time, he departed for his heavenly home to receive the reward of the labours he had undergone for many years, with the reputation of holiness. He died on the 17th March, 1625, aged 53, in the Society 27.

The other was Father Anthony Pereira,<sup>187</sup> also a Portuguese, who died on 17th August, in his 35th year, having given his brethren in the Society an example of sweetness of disposition for 16 years.

J. CARVALHO.

1 January, 1627.

(fol. 416-417.)

1628.

(Ignatius Bruno, TO THE GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY: 31 OCTOBER, 1628.)

Though I see that for the last six years I have not received a reply to the letters I wrote to your Reverence, which is a manifest sign that they did not reach you, yet the desire to have news of your Reverence, and the consolation which I derive from it, impels me to write this letter.

Last year I gave an account of what I had done in this mission of Jaffnapatam, in two letters of mine which were lost when Father Alberto Laertio, the Provincial, was captured by the Moorish pirates as your Reverence was informed at length,<sup>188</sup> wherefore I do the same again briefly.

186. Dias, Antonio, Bracharensis, natus 1675, ingressus Reg. in Indiam protectus 1692. Coadj. ap. form. 1610 & Thomae, 1611 Vellore, 1612-20 Nungapattam, 1620 Tranquebar, 1623 Surar. Manna. Obiit Jaffnapatam 17 martii 1625, aet. 53. Soc. 27, Boiss. Cal. p. 32.

187. Pereira, Antonius, natus Portu. aet. 11. Soc. 4, stud. latinit. 1613; 1618 stud. phil. 1620-23 stud. theol. obiit Jaffnapatam 17 Aug. 1625, aet. 35. Soc. 38. Boiss. Cal. p. 20.

188. Father Alberto Laertio was captured by pirates in 1627. It happened in this way. Father Laertio embarked at Quilon with three companions, Fr. Francis Gomales, Emmanuel Silveira and a Lay Brother Vincent Carrula, and were sailing along the Malabar coast in a merchant ship, which followed in the wake of a Portuguese Armada. A sudden storm with a heavy sea obliged the boat to lag far behind the armed vessels, and finally to lie at anchor for repairs. Some Moorish pirates, profiting by the occasion, fell upon the ship. The sailors, all to a man, jumped into the sea and swam ashore as soon as they spied the pirates. Fr. Silveira, who was a good swimmer, tried to do the same, but when he saw that his companions remained behind on the ill-fated ship, he returned to it and was taken by the pirates along with his companions. The four Jesuits were kept in a close and cruel custody, and owed their lives to the pirates' hopes of a rich ransom. After a long voyage the pirates put to land at the mouth of the Panania river, but hearing that the king of Calcutta claimed a share of the plunder, they hastily set sail in spite of a threatening sea and suffered shipwreck. Fr. Gomales was drowned, and the Lay Brother who was trying to save himself was mercilessly done to death by a pirate. Fr. Silveira succeeded in securing a plank for himself and the aged Laertio, and by his skill managed to struggle with the waves for eight long hours. In this extremity they invoked St. Francis Xavier to whose intervention they ascribed their rescue by some boatmen. But the troubles of the two Jesuits were not yet over. They were led before the king of Calcutta, who held them captives till they were finally ransomed. Cordara, *III. Soc. Jesu*, II. vi. pp. 132-134. Some letters of Fr. Silveira of a later date will be found below.



It is three years since I am in this mission of Jaffnapatano. I have built a new church, which contains about 3,000 persons, all already Christians, as in the other churches of ours. Since my occupation, I got them catechised and instructed in the things of our holy faith, in order that they might understand them; which they did not do so much at the beginning.

At this time, on 22 February, 1627,<sup>119</sup> there took place in this kingdom a tempest of wind and rain, so heavy and furious, that it destroyed all our churches and almost the whole of this kingdom, so that we experience its effects even now. One month afterwards occurred another (calamity), greater according to all, and more detrimental to the kingdom; namely, the death of the Governor, Philip d'Olivera, who—to say it in one word—treated the inhabitants of this kingdom as his children, and respected and honoured the ministers of the Gospel as fathers. Had he lived a few years more this mission would, without doubt, have made great progress.

After his death the Fathers rebuilt the fallen churches as well as they could. I built a small one with the hope of building another of stone, but my hope was not realised. This year I have been watching with growing consolation the progress of these people, especially of the children—the hope of the spiritual fruit which this vineyard will yield. The children attend the catechism classes with great diligence and fervour, and know the things necessary for salvation. The more advanced boys repeat to me the things which I say in sermons. I began to speak to them of confession, and to introduce many of them to it. I succeeded so well that I determined, the following Lent, to hear the confessions of the more advanced belonging to this church.

This mission was in such a state that it could be said that the fruits of this tree, which in the past was so barren, were already appearing. But the devil, seeing the progress, became jealous, and tried to cut it up and uproot it altogether, assailing it with a storm, not of water but of fire; that is to say, by a rebellion, which took place in this kingdom at this time.

The pagan King of Candia, who has his kingdom in the island of Ceylon, adjoining the kingdom of Jaffnapatano, either instigated by some inhabitants of this kingdom, who were intent on restoring the former state of affairs, or wishing to divert the General of Ceylon, who was building a fort at Baticaloa, a port of Candia, which (fort) is against the interests of the said King and his kingdom, sent into this kingdom a large force of soldiers, who, on the night of the 16th of the same month, entered the Province of Bachalampali and the same night killed and beheaded Fr. Bernadine de Sena and Fr. Mathew Fernandez. Fr. Jeronimo Froes, who was with Fr. Bernadine de Sena, escaped. They burnt all the churches of the Province. If they had come as fast as they had started to the province in which our Fathers were, I, and the other Fathers who were in the neighbourhood, would have been in great danger. On Sunday, at noon, I received a letter from Father Rector ordering me to withdraw at once. Thereupon, leaving almost everything that was in the house, I retired, and arrived last of all in the city in which the Portuguese live.

Afterwards, the enemy, who was joined by the whole kingdom, entered the other provinces, burned all the churches, and finally entrenched themselves near our city. Only my church, and that of Fr. Noeita which is near mine, and that in the island of Cardiva, into which the enemy did not enter, were left undestroyed, owing to the industry of the natives who obtained from the enemy that they should not be destroyed. Such in brief was the rebellion which took place in this kingdom and which is not yet put down.

When the enemy saw, thirteen days after his entry, that he was not able to enter our town, he retired far from the kingdom, where the Governor of this kingdom had a victory over him and put him to rout. When the enemy retired, the natives of this kingdom came to make their submission to the Governor. On account of all this we did not return to our churches, and I do not know when we shall return, for the rebels even now talk of insurrection. The Governor of this kingdom tries to settle it; when this is done we will return, but we shall find everything changed, and the Christians become an uncultivated desert. I do not know what they did when they joined the enemy, although I know that they did it out of fear. God help us.

Now that the Fathers of the mission are here all together, the Rector ordered that there should be a class of Tamil, a thing which is extremely necessary. I was appointed for this work, and I am now explaining to the Fathers the Grammar of the Tamil language. All the Fathers are studying with great diligence and fervour.

I have already asked your Reverence, and will now ask you again with greater earnestness, to pass an order that those who are sent to the missions be such as have a real desire and liking for it. If this is done it will follow, first, that they will study the language, a thing so



necessary and so often inculcated by your Reverence. There is in these parts a great scarcity of those who know the language well, and the fervour of the old Fathers of the Fishery Coast in studying the language is lacking in these parts. It will follow, secondly, that the missionaries who are attached to the mission will be affectionate towards the Christians and will treat them with love and charity, and not with too great severity. Our Religion, though sweet, is nevertheless a weight on these people, accustomed to lead free and dissolute lives according to their own will. If the Father who has to lighten the load for his Christians, places heavier weights, how can he help them and promote their good? I say this because we see that, if there is in a College a subject who is little given to mortification, and as we say here, 'they cannot manage him,' they send him to the mission. How can the Christians bear with one whom we cannot bear ourselves? How can those who do not live with edification in the College live edifying lives so far from it and from the Superior? There should, therefore, be a regulation on this point, even though there be a lack of subjects. A few well affected to mission work do more than many who are not.

Nothing else occurs to me to write about. Let your Reverence give me his holy blessing, and commend me to the Lord in his Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your Reverence's most unworthy son,

IGNACIO BRUNO.

Jaffnapatam,  
31 Oct., 628.

1629.

(Ignatius Lobo; 31 JANUARY, 1629.)

In the sixteen Residences of this kingdom there are as many Fathers; and the progress of the faith is such that, within the six years during which we were stationed here, more than 50,000 gentiles were baptised. The new Christians attend all the divine offices of piety and religion. The children are really admirable: they learnt the catechism by heart and repeat it with rapidity. They have the rudiments of the faith at their finger ends, and it looked as if they would one day be the salvation of the kingdom of Jaffnapatam; but the enemy of mankind waxed wroth at being driven from such a kingdom, and stirred up the minds of the neighbouring kings to covet supreme dominion, and to take up arms against Jaffnapatam.

The General of the island of Ceylon, Constantine de Saa de Noronha, built a fort to prevent our deadly enemy, the king of Candia, from obtaining supplies and materials of war; and after great victories won 'not without miracle' he succeeded, in spite of dangers by land and sea, in bringing the matter to a successful termination, according to the orders he had received from the king of Portugal. The king of Candia, realising how powerful the Portuguese would be when once the fort was built, was angry, and in his fury attempted to destroy it, but in vain. Thereupon he determined to distract the General's attention by spreading false rumours of war throughout the kingdom, in order to attack the fort unawares and obtain possession of it the more easily. Alarmed by these rumours, Lancarotus de Seixas arrested (*in arcem inclusit*) the Mudliars, Araches, and chiefs of the people at whose instigation, according to common report, the king of Candia was marching upon Jaffnapatam. The country was in an uproar, but he received reassuring letters from the General and laid aside all uneasiness.

The Fathers too received letters from their Superior directing them not to leave their stations, for they were so placed that they could easily watch the enemy's machinations and give us warning. Father Mathew Fernandez had already left his church, which was destined to be the first object of the enemy's attack, and was close to the town (of Jaffna) when he received his Superior's letter. Forthwith he retraced his way back to his residence, there to die a happy death as will presently be seen. Meanwhile, Father Bernadine de Sena, who was stationed in charge of the church situated on the frontiers of the kingdom of Candia, was attacked by the enemy. He hid himself in the mountains and woods for three nights, till finally he succeeded in reaching Father Jeronimo Froes. That night the two Fathers were quietly discussing the imminent war that was threatening the missions, when, all of a sudden, the enemy was upon them. Entering the church the enemies desecrated the holy things, robbed the altars and destroyed the furniture. The two Fathers slipped out of the house hoping to make their escape: Fr. Froes, being a strong man, succeeded in outstripping the enemy, and with torn clothing and lacerated body reached this fort, and gave us news of the hostilities already begun and raging.

The enemy set fire to the church and reduced it to ashes. Then the barbarous soldiers searched out Fr. Bernadine de Sena and beheaded him. Then they proceeded to Mugama, a town situated at a distance of three miles from the place where they despatched Fr. Bernadine



They fell upon Fr. Mathew Fernandez that same night and pierced him with spears and cut off his head. Then they set fire to the church and presbytery. Thus the two Fathers most gloriously triumphed over the enemy, opening for themselves a way to heaven with their own blood: for the enemy is reported to have said that they waged war on churches and priests. By the mercy of God only these two, out of thirty *parochi*, were put to death. The others fled to the fort, but the churches and presbyteries were all despoiled.

This war, which raged in Jaffnapatam, caused great damage; but it is the ruin of the missions which we fear most. The Christians are tender plants which shake with the wind of persecution, and might return to the worship of idols which they sucked with their mother's milk, if they have intercourse with pagans. The enemy won some people of Jaffnapatam to their side, and with their help devastated the whole kingdom, setting fire to all the churches and presbyteries. The church of Cardiva, which is situated near a river (*quas flumini adjacet*), escaped the fire, and the enemy was driven away from it.

It was owing to our want of soldiers that the enemy was able to come up to the very walls of this fort (*usque ad hujus arcis moenia suburbana*) and set fire to the church of St. Dominic. Our Fathers stood by the Governor and helped him in every way till the enemy, greatly alarmed by the arrival of the General Constantine de Saa in Batecalou, abandoned the siege. The Governor pursued the retreating enemy, and Fr. Petrus Paulus (Godinho), who accompanied him, came upon the bones of the Fathers in the woods on the 20th day. He brought these relics with him to this fort, and the bones and head of Fr. Bernadine de Sena seemed to emit a heavenly perfume.

We envy the glorious and happy death of these Fathers, of whom it can be said that they received the crown of eternal salvation through obedience. Fr. Bernadine de Sena had told Fr. Froes that night when he triumphed over the enemy, that he would return to his station the following day as directed by his Superior. Fr. Mathew Fernandez, as we have already said, returned to his station as soon as he received the first intimation of Obedience.

Father Mathew Fernandez was born at Cochín over 64 years ago, and spent 40 years in the Society, most of which was spent in the Fishery Coast, cultivating that vineyard with great industry. He was greatly beloved by the Christians, for he was gifted with a very kind disposition and laboured for others forgetful of himself. Appointed six years ago to this mission of Jaffnapatam, he laboured with great energy, and advancing age did not in any way make him relax in well doing. He baptised about 5,000 Christians and built 3 churches. He was a man of great virtue, and especially excelled in obedience, which, as was but fit, brought him the martyr's palm.

Father Bernardine Pecci, called Sena after his country, was born of wealthy and illustrious parents, and was not 50 years old at the time of his death; he had spent 30 years in the Society. He came out to India in 1602, and was in the mission ever since. He learnt Tamil thoroughly, the better to serve God in the care of souls, though the study of that language cost him great labour. During the first years he seemed to make little progress in Tamil, but with God's grace he persevered and became proficient in it. It would seem as if heaven had sent him to the most remote station of this mission, that he may win the crown (of martyrdom.) He himself asked for that post and persisted in his request for 6 months and at last the Superior consented. Before leaving Jaffnapatam he paid a visit to Christopher Coelho de Laveiro (the *procurator regius*), who told him that he would come and see him one day in his new church. 'Spare yourself that trouble,' said Fr. Pecci, 'for the church is situated in the forest, and is very far from here.' 'In that case,' said the Procurator, 'I embrace you for the last time, for you are bent on becoming a martyr.' The Father smilingly replied 'I desire nothing better. I have yearned for it for so many years, and have ever prayed that I may be permitted to shed my blood for Christ.' This conversation was related to Fr. Petrus Paulus by the Procurator himself with tears in his eyes.

All the Fathers are now in the Fort of Jaffnapatam, though with great inconvenience as the house is too small for so many. However they are all in good health, and very eager to return to their Christians and to labour for the reconstruction of the churches and the instruction of the people. May God grant that this may be possible sooner than we expect.

The General is waging relentless war on the king of Candia and has brought him almost to the point of losing his kingdom. However, there is nothing to be done but to wait till the former peace and tranquillity is restored.

IGNATIUS LOBO.



1630.

[Ignatius Lobo : 5 DECEMBER, 1630.]

In this College there are 14 Fathers and a Lay Brother, stationed in the various residences. There is much to be said about these Residences, both as regards the increase of the number of Christians—for each one has many thousands of souls, and others were recently converted,—as well as of the reconciliation (*da redução*) of some Christians who were brought back by the fear of arms and past warfare; the love of revolt becoming in their case a means of making greater progress in the path of salvation; but as the general treachery of the king of Candia (*a geral treição do Rei de Candia*) overran this kingdom, the notes (*apontamentos*) we expected did not reach us.

The Viceroy of this state despatched an Armada of 12 ships to scour (*segurar*) the coast of Corromandel, which is infested with European pirates. The Capitao Mor of the Armada was D. Bras de Castro, a Portuguese fidalgo of great courage, well suited for the task. The Armada arrived at Cochin, but the men did not land. Thereupon two of our Fathers, zealous for the salvation of the men who were going to risk great perils, immediately went on board on the orders of the Superior. They heard the confessions of the sailors, and, passing from ship to ship, exhorted them to have Christian union and love among themselves, reminding them of Portuguese fidelity and the observance of the law of God, and other instructions. In fact, they were so great a consolation and encouragement to the men that the Capitao Mor declared he would not set sail till the Provincial allowed a Father to accompany them as Chaplain of the Armada. Seeing that it would greatly promote the service of God and His Majesty, the Provincial granted the request; how useful the Chaplain was will be seen later.

The Armada arrived at Jaffnapatam, where the Governor Lansarote de Seixas, in his zeal for the service of God and His Majesty, invited the Rector of the College to assist him in all that concerned the Armada. Through the diligence of these two the Armada was supplied with munitions and men in abundance, and set sail to cruise the coast. As a result of this diligence the Armada soon espied a Dutch vessel of great strength (*de mta. força e poder*). The offences which these heretics have committed against Portugal are such that the ships did not think of waiting for the Captain Mor who was in the rear. The van fell upon the ship and contended with it (*abalroarão com ella*). The clouds of shot that they discharged brought the Captain Mor to the scene, and he engaged battle with the ship, fighting with great valour from 7 o'clock in the morning till the evening. It happened that a shot of the enemy, the last which he fired, struck a barrel of powder of our flagship (*capitania*). It took fire and exploded, burning many of our men. The Captain took salt water from the sea in a shield (*em hu escudo*) and splashed it on himself to extinguish the fire which burnt him. Then, impatient and vexed with pain, he grasped a sword and boarded the ship with his innate courage, in spite of the enemy's fire and sword. The soldiers followed him, passing over the burnt ship (*fazendo ponte do seu navio*), and killed the enemy. Seventeen were taken alive with their Captain, who, last year, on his way from Europe, burnt 2 pataxos of value at Cochin.

During all the time of battle the Father did not cease to encourage the soldiers, assisting at the hour of death all those who died, till finally the ship was sacked and burnt. The Armada then returned to the port of Jaffnapatam to land the wounded and to get reinforcements. Though the Armada returned victorious, it brought 30 Portuguese less and 60 badly wounded. These were received into the King's Hospital (*em o hospital q. ali tem sua Magde.*) The Rector of the College undertook the task of nursing them, and invited his religious subjects, who were dispersed in different parts, to come and help him in a work of so great charity. They all responded with charity, each bringing what he could for the relief of the wounded as well for their sustenance.

But as the Armada had to start cruising along the coast, the Governor of Jaffnapatam went to a place 6 leagues from here to take reinforcements (*? aviamento*) and gave 60 soldiers of his own garrison who embarked with great pleasure. The eldest son of the Governor took the place of the Admiral who was badly wounded in the fight.

The wounded were left in charge of the Rector. As many things could not be had in the place, the Rector had to go a-begging from door to door with his religious and some Franciscan Friars, who did not refuse to help in a work of so great charity, in order not to let the soldiers die of want. They tended the sick for a month in the hospital and when some of the patients died the Rector borrowed money, for the Governor had recommended him to succour



such misfortunes. He took it upon himself and ran the risk for the love of God, for he had not the wherewithal to pay. Some of the sick were loathsome, with bodies half burnt and already full of worms; for, before arriving at the port, they had been on sea for six days without the benefit of a surgeon: others were without arms and legs, with half their bodies full of corruption, and on account of the stench no one dared to approach them. One of our Brothers took charge of them in spite of the nausea, and nursed them with such great charity and devotion that men flocked to see such a spectacle, and were amazed at such a rare example of holiness.

The Rector also determined to convert the Dutch prisoners, and for this purpose he entrusted them to a French Father.<sup>190</sup> This Father did his work so zealously and with such efficacious arguments that they were all won over. He got them to make their confession, and some who died were assisted by the Father in the hour of death. These died with clear signs of salvation. Their Captain, who is still a prisoner, and had only a small fracture received in the battle, did not submit; though being a man of intelligence he did not fail to understand the truth. His will is riveted in heresy, and being addicted to good cheer he does not think of giving up his obstinacy.

When the Armada arrived at Manar grave differences at once arose between the *casados* of the place and our soldiers, which would have caused great detriment to the state, if our Father the Chaplain had not interfered. At his suggestion the Armada cruised along the Choramandel coast, where it captured some richly laden vessels of the Moors, all the more valuable because of the capture of some European heretics who were in them, and who up to the present navigated all this coast with great insolence.

Let us hope that, with the diligence of the Viceroy, they will be driven out not only from that coast, but from the whole of India.

IGNATIUS LOBO.

Cochin, 5 Dec., 1630.

(*An. Lit.*, Malabar, fol. 499-450).

### 1633.

[Cypr. & Costa, 1633.]

In this College and in the churches attached to it there are fourteen Fathers, who, with admirable ardour, labour in the ministries proper to the Society. Special care is taken of the class of Latin and the school of children. The neophytes persevere in spite of famine, war and other calamities, which is indeed wonderful in Christians still weak in the faith. They show great obedience to the Fathers, who find them making great progress day by day. This is shown especially in the frequency of Confessions, offerings, in the pious use of holy water, and in the custom of swearing by the Cross.

One of these, a simple and pious neophyte, seeing the scarcity of rain, dreamt that he was told to pray, for the clouds were just about to send down rain. Rising early in the morning he related his dream, and announced with great confidence: 'there will be rain today': and so in fact it happened to the no small surprise of all.

A church was built at Telipola, and several performances were given on the occasion of its dedication. When the work of building the new church of St. Xavier was finished, many persons actually affirmed that they saw a bright light on the altar while the image was brought in, which was done, and the Blessed Sacrament placed in the tabernacle on the 21st of August in the presence of a large number of Portuguese.

(*An. Lit.*, Malabar, fol. 467-468.)

(To be continued.)

190. Bergoim Petrus (alias Bergoyn, Berguin, forsan Bourgoin), Gallus ex civit. Divionensi, Dioec. Lingonensis (Langres) bonis viribus, an. 56. Soc. 38, studio absolute docuit latin. biennio: doc. theol. aliquot annis, Cocini 1627-28: 1629-34 Jaffrapatam. Calleting. Malabar et Chingaleu. In conversione versatur aliquot annis, Prof. 5 vol. Beau. Cat. p. 16.



# INSCRIBED PILLAR AT ANURÁDHAPURA.

Edited by H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired.)

## FOREWORD.

“**T**HUS saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the *Dēvas* :—It was in the thirteenth year after my coronation that I had (*i.e.* for the first time) an edict engraved (*dhamma-lipi likhāpitā*) for the welfare and happiness of the people.”  
 “Where this edict exists, whether, on columns of stone or on walls of rock, there care must be taken that it may long endure.”<sup>1</sup>

So wrote the great Aśoka, or Dēvanampiyē Piyadasi, in the 3rd century B.C.

The notable lead in inscribing edictal records on stone,<sup>2</sup> thus originally given by the famous Buddhist Ruler of India, was followed, as the centuries rolled on, by countless sovereigns, both of the like and of alien religious cults, on that Continent, in the Island of Ceylon, and throughout the Far-East.

Here in Ceylon—as indeed elsewhere—royal “rescripts” on stone were at first mostly confined to advancing the “welfare and happiness” of individual devotees, in short Cave epigraphs.

Later, they were issued in more detail to corporate Monastic Establishments, or to Temples ; also occasionally even to groups of Villages, and cut on rocks, &c.

These fuller inscriptions of the Island partook, for the most part, of the nature of local Charters and Warranty Grants ; but (with the sole exception of those self-landatory records scattered broadcast by that insufferably bombastic ruler, Kirti Niṣṣanka Malla)<sup>3</sup> were all, or nearly all, born of the “sentiment of religion” which alone had inspired Piyadasi with the idea of engraving these inscriptions of record throughout his Indian Empire.”

As far as regards *Gal Sannas*, or “Lithic Grants,”—which are found *passim* throughout the length and breadth of the Island—these were, up to the 8th century, almost always carved on “walls of rock” (hills and lesser outcrops, or adjacent boulders)—within, or hard by, the confines of the particular Temple to which the dedication was made. A very small proportion was incised on sculptured slabs ; still fewer on pillars.

With the advent of the 9th century, the tide of “columnar inscriptions,” set in strongly, reaching its flood in the 10th century ; after which it ebbed, until by the 14th and 15th centuries, the old order of *sannas* graven on rock and slab had well nigh wholly reasserted itself.

During the long and prosperous rule of Sena II the craving, so to speak, for the erection at Temples of these “Council Pillars” (*aṭṭāni kaṇa ; samvatā paṇa*) by Buddhist Incumbents (first mainly noticeable in the reign of his uncle and immediate predecessor, Sena I, A.D. 846-866<sup>4</sup>)

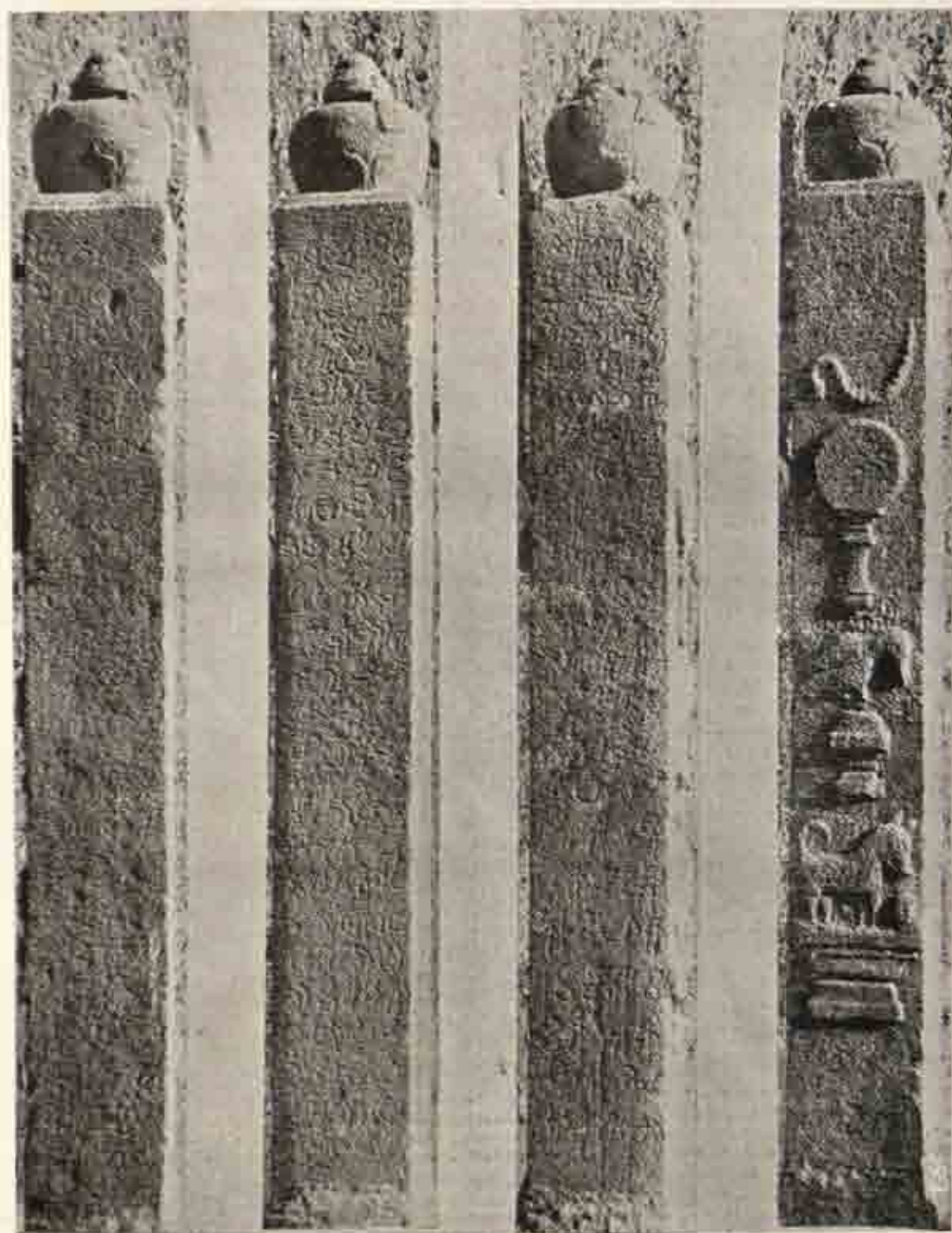
1. Bennett, *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi* (Grierson, *Ind. Ant.*, reprint, 1893, pp. 25, 26).

2. “The earliest written documents that have been discovered in India are the proclamations of the Buddhist king Piyadasi, or Aśoka, which are written in two different characters. The inscriptions of Aśoka are of about 250 A.C. . . . Numerous indications point to a Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabets” (Burnell, *South Indian Paleography*, 1878, pp. 1, 7). Literary works and the characteristics of the oldest Indian alphabets point to the extensive use of writing in the sixth century B.C. (Bakker, *Brahma Alphabet*).

3. See Müller, *Ceylon Inscriptions*, 1882 ; A. S. Annual Report, 1911-12 ; *Epig. Zeyl.*, Vol. II.

4. No inscription of Sena I has yet been published, so far as is known.

**ANURÁDHAPURA.**



A  
*D. A. L. Peck  
Photo.*

B

C

D

INSCRIBED PILLAR.





became marked, and grew steadily through the five succeeding reigns (A.D. 901-952)—four, those of Sena II's two younger brothers, Udaya I and Kásyapa IV, and of his sons Kásyapa V and Dápulu V.

The next quartette of sovereigns—Udaya II, Sena III, Udaya III, and Sena IV—reigned for comparatively short periods; which, further, were not altogether free from foreign and internal trouble (A.D. 952-975.)

But under the firm rule of Mahinda IV (A.D. 975-991), younger brother of Sena IV, the practice of allotting *gal sannas* revived temporarily; only to languish, after the Chōla invasion and the deportation of Mahinda V, once again until the days of Vijaya Báhu I (A.D. 1065-1120) and his even greater grandson, Parákrama Báhu I (A.D. 1153-1197.)

The Pillar Inscription (Plates IV, V) dealt with in the present Paper, is being edited at the request of Mr. D. A. L. Perera, Muhandiram, Native Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

The circumstances connected with its recent discovery at Anurádhapura are clearly set out, in addition to other interesting details, in the informative "Introduction," penned by Mr. Perera, which immediately precedes the Text and Translation given by the editor below.\*

This "Introduction" may be supplemented by a few desirable particulars:—

(i). Owing to its having lain buried in the ground for many centuries the pillar is in an exceptionally good state of preservation. Only some half a dozen *akahas* are open to doubt in a total of over 330, despite their shallowness.

(ii). The type of writing which covers sides A, B, C., coupled with the name of the royal grantor, Siri Saṅg (Bo) Abaya, at once enable this pillar (as Mr. Perera has rightly surmised) to be assigned unhesitatingly to Sena II, who enjoyed a glorious reign of thirty-five years (A. D. 866-901), emphasised by the conquest of Madhurá, in retaliation for the Pāṇḍiyan inroad of the previous reign.

(iii). The archaic forms of the characters (especially of elongated  $\infty$  and  $\zeta$ , and of variant  $\omega$ ), conspicuous on the pillars of the 10th century, gradually gave place to the rounder shapes, now perfected and in printing-press use at the present day.\*

By the time of the reigns (A. D. 1153-1207) of Parákrama Báhu the Great and his nephew Niṣṣaṅka Malla, this transformation had, to a great degree, been effected—the contrast between the writing of the 10th and late 12th and early 13th century being very noticeable.

(iv). The present is the sole pillar, so far discovered surviving in its entirety and legible almost throughout, of the extremely rare "inverted type;" whereon the record is cut, in regular horizontal lines, but from bottom to top of the pillar, on each of the inscribed sides.

This puerile "conceit" of the stone-masons entrusted with the engraving—it can hardly have emanated from Royalty itself, or from the Chiefs responsible for the execution of the lithic grant, or from the special desire of the Temple incumbents interested—appears to have been confined exclusively to the inscriptions left by Sena II.

\* With his "Introduction" Mr. Perera also supplied tentative Text and Translation. The former differs but slightly from that here published by the editor of the inscription.

\* For the gradual process of evolution, with the writing on the inscribed pillars of Sena II, Udaya I, Kásyapa IV, that engraved on the slab records of Mahinda IV, and the rock epigraph of Vijaya Báhu I (in Ambagamuwa), compare the rock and slab inscriptions of Parákrama Báhu I and Niṣṣaṅka Malla; and these again with those of 14th and 15th century Kings, and later *gal sannas*, up to the commencement of the 18th century.



No more than three other similar "freak pillars" are known; and these (all more or less damaged) belong to one and the same King, regularly styled *Siri Saṅg Boy* (or *Bo*),—one of the two *birudas* adopted by Ceylon rulers for many centuries.<sup>7</sup>

(v). On the fourth face, Side D, of the pillar are sculptured, in very high relief,<sup>8</sup> the *four emblems*, almost invariably found on inscribed pillars of the 10th and 11th centuries, (very frequently accompanied by figures of the *sun* and *moon*, expressive of permanent endurance) but usually not all cut on one side.

These symbols represent :—

(a) *Deḷḷetta*, or sickle, emblematic of the landed-property granted, i.e. tilth bearing grain crops.<sup>9</sup>

(b). *Waḷāpata*, or Buddhist Priests' fan, signifying the *Bhikkhu Saṅgha*, or Community of Monks, to whom the dedication is made.

(c), (d). *Crow and Dog*. These (cynically honoured by being placed on moulded pedestals) symbolise the curse against disturbers of Temple rights, &c.

The imprecation not infrequently appears, as here also, cut in full on the stone in specific terms. Cf. the variant : *meyaḷ ulangnā kaṣa kenekun eṭa kavuḍu balu vanuyi*, "should any one transgress this (edict), he will become (in a future birth) crow or dog."<sup>10</sup>

(vi) The pillars utilised during the mediaeval centuries for the reception of these *gal sannas* followed *virtually fixed lines* in their outlines.

A shaft, approximately 6 ft. in height and squared to about 1 ft. section, forming a four-sided rectangular column, was crowned as part of the pillar, by a shapely flower-vase, or (where economy, &c., demanded less elaboration) a rough "cannon-ball" type capital, such as may be seen topping masonry piers flanking the entrance to many a modern residence.

The lotus-filled vase and its *padma* petal base in this inscribed pillar, as in other instances, is of the best-type—a smaller replica of the bold bellying vases, sculptured in full round, to be seen at the *Doraḷu*, or Porticos, of the Abhayagiri and Jetawanārāma Dāgabas at Anurādhapura, and also elsewhere—quite probably intended to reproduce in stone the colossal "golden vase" in which the shoot of the Sacred Bó tree was brought to Ceylon from India in the reign of Dēvānampiyē Tissa, the contemporary of Aśoka.<sup>11</sup>

(vii) The *contents* of this Inscription conform closely to the stereotyped lines of all these mediaeval columnar records—if more or less extended and varied on other examples of the numerous inscribed pillars of the 10th and 11th centuries which survive.<sup>12</sup>

Briefly, it is recorded on the Pillar that :—

7. "Inverted type" pillars have been noted only at Ponnaruwa, N. W. P. (6th year) *Veimaha-pelama*, N. C. P. (8th year); *Ellera*, N. C. P. (10th year). The last of these has since been wilfully destroyed.

8. It is unusual to meet with inscribed pillars on which the emblems are carved in relief. For a photograph of that at Ayitipevura see *Epig. Zeyl.* II. Plate opposite p. 58.

9. The sickle is cut at times so much like a small-headed curling viper that it has been taken for a snake. But no snake except the cobra (*Naga*) has any sanctity in Buddhism, and the ubiquitous *Nāga-gaḷ* met with in Ceylon have their own separate function: they mostly figure on ancient tank bunds, &c., as guardians of water.

10. The crow and dog (always carved in profile), here face to right; but in this respect the practice varies. The dog (on this and many another pillar) is either about to eat rice placed in a heap before it, or has vomited what it had consumed. Some imprecations specify the eating of rice given to crows and dogs as part of the curse.

11. *Mahavamsa*, XVIII.

12. "Direct grants by the King should always contain several clauses, which are well described in the Indian law-books, and are legally necessary to their validity: these are: (a) the donor's genealogy; (b) the description of the nature of the grant, the people, or person, on whom it is conferred, the object for which it is made, and its conditions and date; (c) imprecations on violators of the grant; (d) attestations of witnesses where the grant is not autograph, but rarely.

"There is some difference in the forms of these clauses, but each Dynasty preserved much the same forms." (Burnell *quoting Indian Palaeography* 1878, p. 108.)





One conspicuous peculiarity of this record is that, unlike other inscriptions of the age, it reads upwards, both from bottom to top, and also horizontally. This may be attributed to a whim of the engraver.

The Inscription begins without the auspicious *Swasti Sri* (සුවස්ති ශ්‍රී), which is not wanting in many of the pillars raised by the successors of Sena II.

This is not the only omission noticeable. The King is called by his bare *biruda* without a line as to his lineage, valour in war, or his divers acts of merit. It is this fact that induces me to assign the record to Sena II; as a comparison with some of those belonging to his successors will show that they differ in this respect.

The subject matter of the Inscription is the dedication of the garden *Mihindārāman* in *Walpaluwā-tota* (?) to the incumbent monks of the *Mangul Pirivena*, erected by *Sirisāṅg Abaha* at the Relic-House<sup>18</sup> attached to the *Abhayagiriya Dāgaba*, and the regulations enacted for the protection of the said garden.

It may be interesting to note that the "*Mangul Pirivena*" is referred to in the *Moragoda Pillar Inscription of Kassapa IV* (963-980 A.D.)<sup>19</sup>

That part of the *Malwatu-oya*—lower down stream known as the *Arippu Āru*—which flows to East of the land wherein the present pillar was found, may have been in use as a "ferry," as the name *Walpaluwā-tota* implies.

Close by, on the left bank of *Malwatu-oya* there is a mound, with stumps of pillars on it, indicating the existence of a ruined structure, which if excavated might throw some light on the *Pirivena* attached to "the range of (*parivenas* called) *Kukulgiri*."<sup>20</sup>

In the record reference is made to *Abhayagiriya Dāgaba* in respect of the position of the "*Mangul Pirivena*;" and the place where it was found being near the *Dāgaba* known at the present day as "*Abhayagiriya*," the discovery of this Pillar may help to clear doubts regarding the identity of the *Dāgaba*.<sup>21</sup>

### TEXT.

A.	B.	C.
24 න් නොවි(ද)	25 දවස් නිස	25 හැර දන්වනස්
23 න් වැ(ස්) ස	24 ර නිය වන්	24 නි කණු (පැර)
22 කි කම්බු	23 නොසොනි පු	23 න් මෙ අත්තා
21 න් වන්ත	22 වතුසෙති	22 මො වදලෙති
20 මිනිසුර(ම)	21 ලෙසින් ස	21 වැ මෙ තුවක් දෙ
19 පරිවානො(ව)	20 සෙත් වද	20 කි (මෙ) ඇතුර
18 වදල වල්	19 නැත් සම්	19 කියලා කි
17 කි කසින්	18 ත්සෙ එන්	18 හ් ඉසා කි
16 වයසි වෙ	17 මියන්වස	17 සමන් දෙසු
15 පිළියම්	16 ටි වන්ති	16 කවර දෙසු
14 සුරනට්	15 වලකනු නො	15 සා කිලින්
13 වන්තිම්	14 දතාදිස නො	14 ගම් නිකො ඉ
12 කිසු සැන	13 මැළි ( . . . )	13 ලි ඉසා කෙසි
11 වැ වසන	12 සා නො (වු)	12 වැ(වරු) මියැ(ති)
10 වෙත්ති වැ	11 නා නොවි ඉ	11 දිසුහවරු ආ
9 සුල් පිටි	10 න් නොතන්	10 න් පල්ලිවරු
8 තිට්ටි ම	9 වන්තවු	9 වු (නො) සෙවු
7 පෙත්ති පි	8 ඉසා නොවි	8 වෙති ට
6 ගි ද(කු)ස්	7 දතා නොවි	7 කවුඩු බල
5 ටි වෙතෙරි	6 තුන් නොව	6 ලි කෙතෙත්
4 අවකති	5 නා මන් ඇ	5 අතිසා ක
3 සා රද්දු	4 න් නොවද	4 ර්ම ඉත්මැ
2 අබන ම	3 නැ වැස්ස	3 මෙ කිසු ක
1 කිසි සන්	2 සා පදරුව	2 නි කණිසි
	1 නා නොවි ඉ	1 වු අත්තා

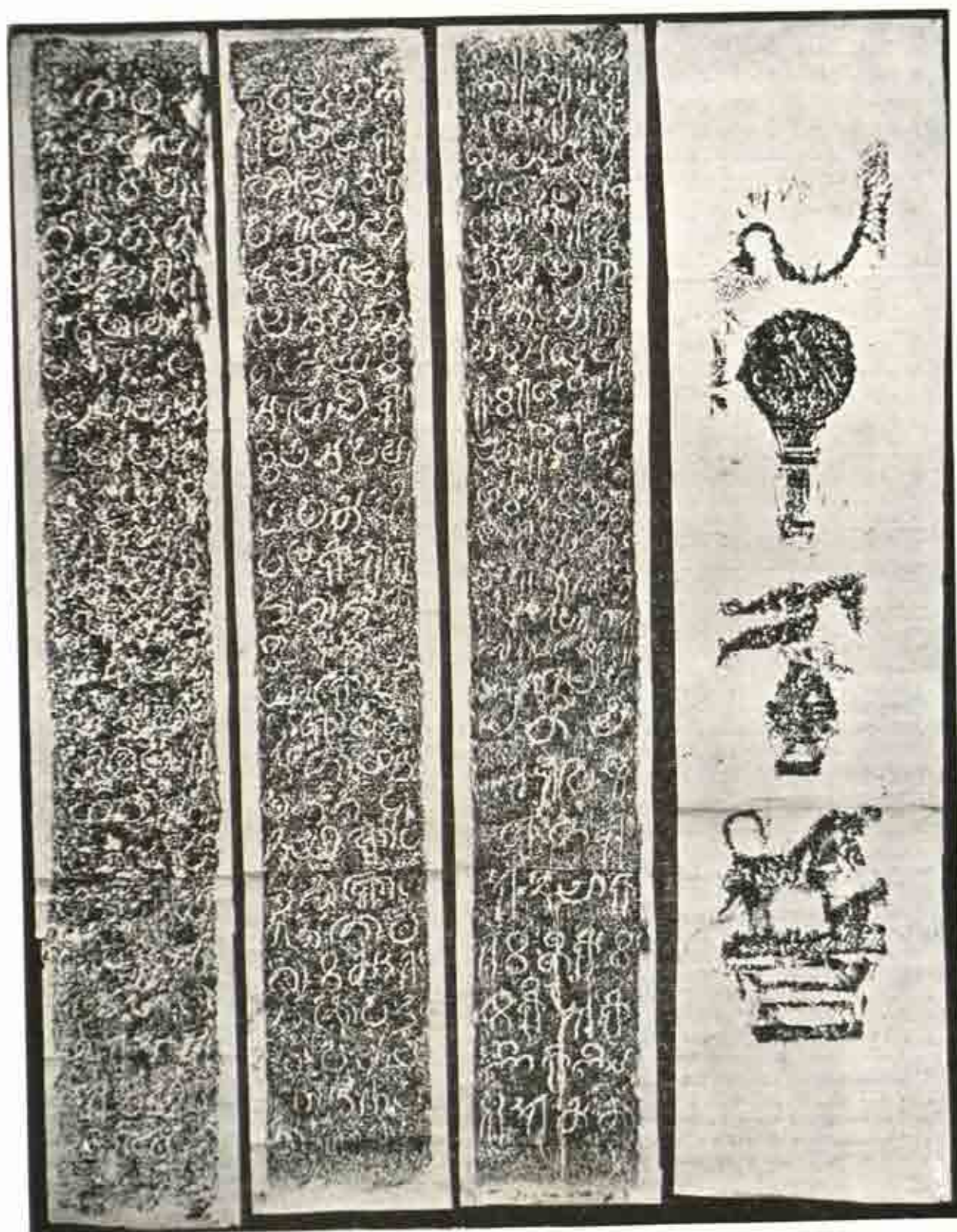
18. See *infra*, footnote 24.

19. *Epig. Zey.* Vol. I, p. 202.—P.

20. The comparative proximity of the site where the pillar was unearthed to the so-called "*Abhayagiri*" *Dāgaba* cannot override the virtually conclusive counter evidence furnished by inscriptions discovered, in recent years, at both the *Dāgabas*, *Abhayagiri* and *Jetavanārāman*, proving that the present-day names have become transposed owing to some strange and unaccountable cause.



ANURĀDHAPURA.



A

B

C

D

Anurādhapura.

INSCRIBED PILLAR. (ESTAMPAGE).





## TRANSCRIPT.

## Side A.

(1) Siri Saṅg (2) Abaha Ma (3) hā radhu (4) Abahagi (5) ri vcher (6) hi Dā(k)us  
(7) pethi pi (8) hifivā Ma (9) ngul Piri (10) venhi vę (11) ęę vasana (12) Biku Saṅga  
(13) Vathimi (14) suranaṭ (15) piṭiyam (16) vayayi ve (17) yi hasin (18) vadāla Val  
(19) paḷuvāto(ia) (20) Mihindāra(ma) (21) n vatta (22) yi kam te (23) n vę(s)sa (24) n  
nova(d)

## Side B.

(1) nā koṭ i (2) sā deruva (3) nę vęssa (4) n novad (5) nā mat ę (6) tun nova  
(7) dnā koṭ (8) isā koṭ (9) vannavu (10) n nogan (11) nā koṭ i (12) sā ko(tu) (13) mbeli  
(14) dānādiya no (15) valakanu ko (16) Vathi (17) miyanvaha (18) use ek  
(19) ten sami (20) yen vadā (21) leyin sa (22) vanuyehi (23) Posone pu (24) ra tiyavak  
(25) ęavas hinda

## Side C.

(1) vū aṭṭa (2) ṇi kaṇiyi (3) me kiyū ka (4) rma ikme (5) aniyā ka (6) la kenek  
(7) kavuḍu balu (8) veti e (9) vu (nó) yevu (10) n Palli-varu (11) Diyūngu-varu Á (12) vę-  
(varu) Muse(ṅgi) (13) li isā Keḷa (14) gam Nimbā i (15) sā Kiling (16) Kamara Deyun  
(17) Saman Deyu (18) n isā Ki (19) ęsalā Ki (20) si(me) etuḷu (21) ve me tuvāk de (22) mo  
vadāleyi (23) n me aṭṭa (24) ṇi kaṇu (perę (25) herę dunmahay.)

## TRANSLATION.

Whereas the garden (called) Mihindā Ārama, situated at Valpaluvā Ferry, has been decreed, under Royal sign-manual,<sup>21</sup> for the medical needs<sup>22</sup> of the spiritual preceptors,<sup>23</sup> the Community of Monks, residing at Maṅgala Pirivena, established by the great king *Siri Saṅga (Bo) Abhaya* in the Dākus<sup>24</sup> Range (of Monasteries) at Abhayagiri Vihāra,—(it is hereby enjoined, by virtue of this) Council-Pillar,<sup>25</sup> which has been erected upon the command of (His Majesty as) the Director of Religious Observances<sup>26</sup> (issued) in the Assembly,<sup>27</sup> on the 3rd day of the light half of (the month) Poson in the 6th (year of His Majesty's reign, that) :—

21. *Evam*: "By and." Alternative renderings: (a) *hanta* = *adakarā* "with intent to"; (b) suggested by A. M. Gussakara Mudaliyar: *āvin* = Sanskrit, *avasta* (Pali *vasa*) "declaring."

22. *Piḷipuvv* says: Literally, "which shall be for the expenses of medical treatment" (A. M. Gussakara Mudaliyar).

23. *Vathimi-suraṇṇi*: Maṅgala Umanas gives *upadhyaya-purudatṭa*, as the equivalent expression. Another plausible rendering, treating *Siri Saṅga Vathimissuraṇṇi* as a compound, is:—"to the Community of Monks and to (their) Spiritual Lord (or Preceptor)" i.e. the *Saṅgha Raja* of the day. (A. M. Gussakara Mudaliyar.)

24. *Dākus*: "Belic-Mound" (Sanskrit, *dhatu bhūmi*) = *Dagaba*. Mr. Poter reads reasonably well: "near" (but the reading *peḷa* seems assured by the occurrence of *peḷa* in the Moragoda Inscription (A. S. Senarath Report, 1896, pp. 61, 67; Epig. Zeyl. Vol. I, pp. 306, 307), in connection with another "Maṅgala Pirivena" belonging to a different range of Monasteries styled "Kukul-giri."

25. *Aṭṭa*: Sanskrit, *asthāni*; Tamil, *aṭṭa* "throne," *aṭṭa* *vaṇḍapam*, "Seated House" "Presence Chamber."

26. *Vaḷḷamāyan-saṅgha* *ek ten samuḍu*: We may well have here an echo, through the centuries, of the Aśoka official phraseology—the Sovereign assuming the roll of the "Director of Religious Observances" (Pali, *Dhamma-sakkāmadāra* =) Sin. *Vaḷḷamāyan-saṅgha*, and presiding in person, at the Assembly (Pali, *saṅgayaṇa* =) Sin. *ek-ten-samuḍu*) of the *Koḷḷiṇa*, or officers (also termed *vaḷḷa* "scribes"), "from whom the King specially recruited the personnel of his administration."

27. This Assembly of *Koḷḷiṇa* appears to have constituted a sort of Council, of a more particularly religious character, on which the care of the propaganda and of religious works specially devolved, and to which the piety of the King gave a considerable influence (Senarath, *Inscriptions of Pāṇḍya*, loc. cit. p. 42).

The *Dhamma-mahāmātra*s of Aśoka's creation were required to "occupy themselves with all acts, for the establishment and progress of the *dhamma*, and for the advantage and benefit of the faithful of the (true) religion" (Senarath, loc. cit. p. 42.)



(i) Persons carrying on the (two) forms of service <sup>27</sup> shall not (be permitted to) enter (the said Temple premises.)

(ii) Persons who . . . . . <sup>28</sup> shall not (be permitted to) enter (them.)

(iii) Elephants in *musth* <sup>29</sup> shall be debarred from admission (*lit.* shall not enter.)

(iv) Brawlers <sup>30</sup> shall not be received (therein.)

(v) (Provision of *koḷumbēli* . . . . . <sup>31</sup> alms, &c., shall not be prevented.

Those (*lit.* any one) who shall have done wrong, by infringing these aforesaid regulations, will be reborn as (*lit.* become) crow or dog.

(By virtue of) this Council-Pillar, (immunity <sup>32</sup> has been granted) upon the mandate of His Majesty, by each and all <sup>33</sup> of us (bodies and persons), to wit, Palli-varu, Diyungu-varu, Ave-(varu), <sup>34</sup> Muse(ngilli), Kelagam Nimbā, Kiling Kamara Deyun, Saman Deyun, and Kuḍa-Salā <sup>35</sup> Kisi(me.)

27. *Kanten vesam* : Nearly always expanded into *dekam ten* and combined with *deruvam* (without *vesam*) as a joint term.

Mr. Wickremasinghe adopts the rendering of the late scholarly Mudaliyar Bartholomew Gunasekera, Chief Translator to Government, which is followed in the present translation.

What exactly these officers were remains uncertain. They may possibly have been "tax collectors" (*cf. dāsa ten and pāten* : *Pāḷiśāstra*, 1925, p. 26.) At any rate their presence within Temple premises evidently caused some form of confusion or trouble, *cf. Vessagiriya Slab Inscription, Anurādhapura* (*Ep. Zeyl.* I, p. 23) — *ekara vāṭṭa eka kōḷaṃ dāsa ten deruvam deham ten vesam eka dāsa ten kōḷaṃ* (24).

28. *Deruvam vesam* : The real meaning of this term also is still in doubt. It almost invariably appears allied with *dekam ten*, e.g. *deruvam deham ten* (or *ekā vāṭṭa*), *no undu kōḷa ten*. See *Ep. Zeyl.* I, *passim*.

29. *Musth* : "Some elephants will refuse food when *musth*, and, if the excited state continue for some days, they usually become wild and dangerous."

All male elephants, however long they may have been in captivity, are liable to become *musth* from time to time.

In case the animal has become uncontrollable, and has broken its fetters, the best way to re-capture it is to take a dozen or so of plantains which have been prepared with half lole of opium each. Throw these to the animal from a safe distance, and, usually, it will partake of them readily. After having consumed from four to eight plantains, in proportion to its size, it soon becomes giddy; when the keeper can safely walk up and secure it." (*Ep. Zeyl.* I, *passim*, 1878, p. 46.)

30. *Koccamman* : Literally, "those who cause assaults." (*cf. Moragoda Pillar* (loc. cit.) : *no gēhā kōḷa deham eka pēmin pēta karana* (24) *koḷaḷamman eka no pēmin* (24).

Asylum within Temple limits was denied those who committed, or caused others to commit, assaults, and, *a fortiori*, to murderers (*mita kōḷa karana*).

31. *Koḷumbēli* : The word presents much difficulty. A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyar, suggests "woollen cloths" (*Pāḷi koḷumbā*). Also suggested: "granaries"; "rest-houses." The illegibility of the two *akṣaras* following *koḷumbēli* (Mr. Peters would read *pūḍa*) leaves the true meaning of the word, or words, before *dandāya* quite open.

32. *Perehara* : *Pāḷi pāḷaṇa* (*Ep. Zeyl.* Vol. I, p. 141). The closing words of this record are not clear. By analogy from the two usual endings following *atthā-kāra* in these medieval pillar inscriptions the words should be (i) "*perehara dāsa māya*," or (ii) "*perehara dāsa māya*."

33. *Samāyama* : Taken as—the modern Sinhalese *samāyama*. *Samā* (line 22) = *śamāna*; *aya* (line 2) = *āyama*.

34. *Palli-varu, Diyungu-varu, Ave-varu* : Not improbably special classes of persons whose assent to the dedication was deemed essential.

35. *Kuḍa-salā* : The usual form on pillar and slab inscriptions of the time is *Kuḍa-salā*.

## Notes & Queries.

### FOLK-ETYMOLOGY.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

I came across a curious specimen of this in the Matara District. An old man of Kirinda, named Nānāyakkāra Siriweṭi Mohottige Don Hendrick Appuhāmi, stated that his "great, great, etc., grandmother, about seven generations from the last grandparents, or about 300 years ago," gave birth to two snakes, and on that account a certain land, now the subject of a claim by him, was given to her by "the King of Kandagoda Nuwara in Sinhala" with two gold cups to feed the snakes with milk. The grant was made on a copper *sunnasa* now in the possession of Mr. J. W. Maduwanwāla, Ratamahatmaya,<sup>1</sup> of the Sabaragamuwa Province. The hill on this land was consequently called Naygal-kanda, and the same event was the origin of the name "Nānāyakkāra Siriweṭi Mohottige."

### KALUWEL.

By T. PETCH.

IN *Ceylon Notes and Queries* (Part VI, June, 1916, p. CII), Mr. P. E. Pieris writes: "Sri Rahula, in describing the odour of incense, combines *Kaluwel* (Black sand ?) with Camphor. I have never been able to ascertain what this *kaluwel* was and suggest that it was the very valuable camphor of Borneo, which de Orta discusses."

The ingredients of incense were not necessarily confined to gums and resins. Birdwood in his article on "Incense" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, states that the incense mentioned in the Bible included not only resins but aromatic woods, roots, and grasses, such as *Rusa* grass, *Costus*, etc. Elsewhere *Acorus Calamus*, the Sinhalese *Wada-kaha*, was used.

May not *Kaluwel* be *Kaluwāla*, the aromatic *Alpinia Galanga*, or *Galangal*? Its name is said to be derived from its black seeds.

1. The famous elephant hunter of Kolonne, near Rakwana.



## SOME WANNI PLACE-NAMES.

By C. W. BICKMORE, C.C.S., and H. R. FREEMAN, C.C.S.

Natural history and other picturesque Village Names of the Tamil Wanni :

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>Pandi surichchán</i> —wild pig stuck in mud.                     | <i>Mungil murichchan</i> —broke the bamboo.   |
| <i>Kulavi suddán</i> —burnt the wasps' nest.                        | <i>Pákku surichchan</i> —arekanuts hung in clusters.                                  |
| <i>Nari kalatchchán</i> —drove away the jackal.                     | <i>Téntúkki</i> —took out the honey, or, honeycomb hanging from branch.               |
| <i>Marei aditta kulam</i> —tank of the hit elk.                     | <i>Unchal kaddi</i> —put up the swing (swings a common amusement in Wanni).           |
| <i>Kidá piditta kulam</i> —captured buffalo tank.                   | <i>Kodáli parichchan</i> —snatched the axe.   |
| <i>Kompan sainta kulam</i> —leaning tusker tank.                    | <i>Nanju tindán</i> —ate the poison.  |
| <i>Mayil muddai yidda kulam</i> —pea-fowl egg tank.                 | <i>Kalutta murittán</i> —broke the neck.  |
| <i>Alkúddi veli</i> —pewit meadow.                                  | <i>Manuválan padda murippu</i> —breach of tank where bridegroom held up.              |
| <i>Anai vílantán</i> —elephant fell.                                | <i>Ammi vaittán</i> —set up the grind stone.  |
| <i>Kavutári munai</i> —partridge point.                             | <i>Vedi veitta kallu</i> —blasted rock.   |
| <i>Kokku toduvai</i> —crane creek.                                  | <i>Oddi suddán</i> —burnt the stubble.  |
| <i>Kuthirei malei</i> —horse hill (overlooking Marichchikaddi bay). | <i>Sudu venta pilavu</i> —burnt straw plot.   |
| <i>Udumpa panchán</i> —iguana jumped out.                           | <i>Podun kanpilavu</i> —dwarf's plot.   |
| <i>Pandi kaita kulam</i> —shot boar with bow and arrow.             | <i>Karappu katti</i> —jammed in the fishing basket (a local way of fishing in tanks). |
| <i>Kákkai panikkan kulam</i> —crow-chaser bird tank.                | <i>Kudumpicheddiyúr</i> —village of chetty with tuft.                                 |
| <i>Karadi kuli</i> —bear cave.                                      | <i>Pavitu kilavan kadiyirippu</i> —dwelling place of old man Paul.                    |
| <i>Nálancha karadikkulam</i> <sup>1</sup> —four or five bear tank.  |   |
| <i>Udayarai pandi aditta kulam</i> —tank where boar charged Udayar. |   |

The Sinhalese *Erupotána* appears under a Tamil camouflage as *Eriparddán*—"climbed and looked" (a hill there).

Meanings are wanted for *Kondachchi*—the village of Kondachchi bay, the pearl fishery—and the well-known village (now containing only one hut) *Kappachchi*.

<sup>1</sup> This is possibly a pleasantry of Mr. Wickwar when engaged on the topographical survey.

## KNOX'S CEYLON.

### A NOTE ON THE ITINERARY OF HIS FLIGHT.

By HARRY STOREY.

IN Mr. Jas. Ryan's admirable edition of "Knox's Autobiography" he gives, on p. xxv, an itinerary of Knox and Rutland's final flight and escape to Dutch territory.

In the list the second place, named "Hill Bocawl," is stated to be situated in Harispattu but, with this identification, I venture to disagree.

Knox, in speaking of this place, says (p. 247) "the Hill called Bocawl where there is no watch but, in time of great disturbance," clearly proving that over this hill passed one of the paths approaching the Kandy district, from the low country, on which it was usual to set a watch or *Kaduwatha*.

*Bokawela*, or, more correctly, *Bokaluwela*, in *Harispattu*, is a village about 3 miles N. W. of *Katugastota* and there is no hill, such as Knox describes, to be found there, its immediate neighbourhood being all villages and paddy fields.

Some 5 or 6 miles, as the crow flies, however, N. W. of this *Bokawela* we find, in *Galasiya Pattu*, another *Bokawela* and an unmistakable "Hill Bocawl" in the shape of the present estate known as *Morankande*.

The village is situated just south of the summit of the estate which runs down hill, in a long slope, towards the north, ending in the comparative low country of the Kurunegala district, and what is now the estate must, at that time, have been all jungle.

To still further strengthen my identification of this locality the next place mentioned in the itinerary, "Eckkrowat," modern *skiriwattle*, is situated within 2 miles N. W. of the lower northern boundary of *Morankande Estate*, and, still following Knox's track northward, we find, in a few more miles, his "Rombodagol," modern *Rambodagala*, beyond which his route is fairly obvious.

## CEYLON ANTIQUITIES.

### EXTRACTS FROM DIARIES OF GOVERNMENT AGENTS.

#### An Inscribed Pillar.<sup>1</sup>

ON the way from Hanguranketta to Bowala I was shown a pillar, or a portion of a pillar, used as an *edanda*<sup>2</sup> across a small *ēla*, with an inscription in archaic characters and a representation of the sun and moon side by side. Some few hundred yards away there is a Bo-tree, at the foot of which some treasure was found when Mr. Le Mesurier was A. G. A., Nuwara Eliya.

I have arranged to have the pillar, which is small (about 2' 6" x 1' 3" x 9"), removed and set up inside the Hanguranketta Māligāwa premises and shall try to get a "squeeze" of the inscription, so that its date may be ascertained.

M. M. WEDDERBURN.

1. Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Nuwara Eliya, for the month of July, 1911.—Ed., C. A.

2. Plank or beam laid across a river or brook to pass over as a bridge (Clough).—Ed., C. A.



### A Curious Carved Stone.<sup>1</sup>

Took levels of Parangikulam. On the Bund of this tank I found an old carved stone—a flat stone 2 feet square and about 2 inches thick, carved on the surface as shewn in the accompanying sketch.



I understand that similar stones have been found on several places in the Wannu and possibly elsewhere, but though I have heard various suggestions as to the original use for which they were intended, I do not know whether the question has been definitely decided.

Mr. Haughton, who found a similar stone about 4 feet square and "half a foot or more deep" at Pannai Vedduvan, refers to a tradition that "the king used to place his feet on each of the flat arch-like spaces on the carved surface of the stone while his feet were being washed." The stone found on the bund of Parangikulam is at present placed beneath a tree where offerings are made to some god or spirit, the offerings being placed upon the stone. The villagers have no idea where the stone came from.

B. G. DE GLANVILLE

### Two Old Brick Buildings.<sup>2</sup>

TRACE OF THE PROPOSED CHANNEL FOR THE AKATTIMURIPPU SCHEME. Out with Mr. Robertson who very kindly took me over the proposed trace for the Akattimurippu channel from Pannaivedduvan right up to the Tekkam, a distance of about 7 miles. The first 2 to 3 miles from the Tekkam end of the trace are through extremely difficult country, and the cutting of a channel here with the necessary masonry works where streams have to be crossed will prove very costly. The mere making of one's way over the trace was arduous and difficult work. We got back at 1.30 p.m. having been out from 6.30 a.m. A strenuous but very interesting morning.

About half way along the trace I came across what appeared to be the remains of an old brick building. Judging from the fragments of bricks which I saw I should imagine that the building was one of some antiquity. The bricks seemed to be of much the same dimensions as those found at the old sluice works at the Tekkam, which are assigned by Mr. Parker some to the 2nd century A.D. and some to the 12th century. I hope to be able on some future occasion to dig out some more perfect specimens and take measurements of them.

In the afternoon I inspected the tanks of Kundumanikulam and Veppankulam, and then visited the site of another brick structure about a mile away in the jungle, the whereabouts of which I discovered by inquiry from the headman.

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Manner, for the month of July, 1918.—Ed., C. A.

<sup>2</sup> Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Manner, for the month of June, 1918.—Ed., C. A.

Here again I found fragments of bricks of some considerable size but was not able to take measurements. The building is said by the villagers to have been in the form of a small *dāgoba*, and was apparently rifled and destroyed by their ancestors about 2 generations ago in the hope of finding treasure. In the jungle near by I found an old half figure of stone with the head missing, presumably a statue of Buddha. I also found 2 large dressed stones, 2 feet square, with square mortise sockets about 5 inches square, which probably had formed the base of pillars. Two similar stones were found in the Pannaivedduvan fields close to my camp.

B. G. DE GLANVILLE.

### Kusalana Malai Inscriptions.<sup>a</sup>

Left Illuppaiyadichchenai early in the morning with the D.I.E. and went about 2 miles up the Badulla road, where we turned off into the jungle along a survey line running due west towards Kusalana Malai. I had long wanted to visit this place, but this is the first chance I have had. Some description of it may be given as I do not know of any description elsewhere.

An inscription from one of the caves in the hill is given in Mr. Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* (pp. 421 and 445), but Mr. Parker himself did not apparently visit the place. I had this inscription recopied for Mr. Bell who suspected that the copy in *Ancient Ceylon* was faulty, and he proved to be right. Three other inscriptions were found by the Forest Ranger, who copied this inscription, in the jungle close by, but we had no time to explore more than the hill itself.

*Description of the Hill:* We approached the hill from the southeast side, and after a fairly stiff climb reached the first cave where the inscription given in *Ancient Ceylon* is to be seen. Climbing higher up the rock we came to a flight of stone steps cut in the rock and leading to a *pokuna*. This *pokuna* is fairly deep, and still contained a good deal of water in spite of the drought. On the southeast side of the *pokuna* there are the remains of a wall and a quantity of stone slabs on the edge. Higher up the rock above the *pokuna* there was a half circle of small square socket holes, evidently for a railing. Another half circle of larger socket holes ran in the opposite direction, but what these were for we could not guess. After further climbing we reached the top, which is now a narrow grass-covered plateau with a trig-station at the northern end. Here there are the remains of a *dāgoba*, apparently, as well as other buildings. There are traces of a wall on the west side, and a number of dressed stones scattered about. We found also an octagonal stone pillar. There is a good view to be had from the top, which must be about 400 feet above the jungle.

The rock hill falls away steeply on the north and northeast sides, but we managed to get to another small cave on the east. It has a drip ledge, but I could not be certain if there was an inscription below it or not. We then had to retrace our steps, as further progress on that side was impossible; and coming over the top again and going southeast we came on three much larger caves fairly close together. They all had drip ledges cut in them, but without scaffolding it was impossible to get up to them and see if there were inscriptions. In one of these caves we both thought that there was an inscription, but it was not possible to make sure. We found traces of recent occupation by porcupines, but saw no signs of bears, which was rather surprising, as the place appeared to be an ideal haunt for them. There may possibly be further caves on the north and northeast sides, but I do not think it very likely, as the difficulty of approach is too great.

R. A. G. FESTING.

<sup>a</sup> Extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, Eastern Province, for the month of June, 1911.—Ed. C. A.



## Omungala Vihāre.\*

After breakfast I inspected the tank and "village" and climbed up the rock "Omungala" as far as the old *viḥāre*, about a third of the way up the rock. The rock is very picturesque, and one comes on it suddenly out of the jungle in much the same way that one comes on Sigiri. At the foot of the rock there are some pillars and the remains of a building—probably a *pansala*. Then climbing up through the jungle one comes on rocks of all shapes and sizes scattered about and lying in the most weird positions and of extraordinary shapes. There are any number of caves, and the climbing is difficult as the ground is scattered with dead leaves, and one can never be sure of getting a firm foothold.

About 1/3rd of the way up on the S. E. side there is the old *viḥāre*. What was a big natural cave has been further enlarged, and a wall has been built outside along the edge of the precipitous rock. The cave was apparently divided into three chambers.—the first, which now has no wall (and possibly never had any), contains a big offering stone and the remains of some frescoes. Unfortunately, time and the bees as well as destructive man have almost wholly destroyed them. The remains show that the frescoes were in three colours, red, yellow and green, and part of a face that still remains shows that the work was very good.

One then passes through a door-way in the brick wall into the main *viḥāre* where there are the shrines of 3 (?) Buddhas—one sedent and two standing. The figures, which were probably made of brick, no longer remain. A lying Buddha made of bricks and clay lies across the far end, and a stone Buddha minus his head also lies on the floor, but what his original position was in the building I could not determine. Passing on through another door-way one comes to a third and smaller chamber, possibly a *dévāla*. There are traces of frescoes in the main *viḥāre*, and a most magnificent view is to be had facing southwards.

I found a fairly perfect brick, the dimensions of which were as follows:—

Length	...	16"
Breadth	...	8"
Thickness	...	3"

This corresponds to no measurements given by Parker, but my measurements were necessarily rough as I had no tape with me, and had to mark the measurements on a bit of stick. I should have liked to spend another day here exploring and attempting to get to the top, but the local people knew of no way, and the chances against finding a possible way in the thick jungle in so short a time were very remote.

No other ruins are known here, but the whole rock would probably well repay exploration. I examined only one very small portion of it, i.e. the S. E. corner. There is a wide drip ledge running along the top of the cave, but I could not make out if there was any inscription under it or not.

R. A. G. FESTING

\* Extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, Eastern Province, for the month of July, 1918.—Ed., C.A.

## THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES OF CEYLON.

## KOTTE OR JAFFNA?

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

IN my note to "Ceylon According to Du Jarric" I stated that the letters published by Cros settled beyond doubt that these Princes were of the "house and lineage of Kotte." This statement does not find favour with Father Guana Prakasar, who would rather stand by the ancient authorities and reject the testimony of the principal actor, Andre de Sousa, as confused. I regret to have to disagree with the learned Father, for the following reasons:—

The ancient historians of missions and biographers of St. Francis Xavier had no decisive indications to go upon, but most of them declared for Jaffna. Cros was not content with this, but sought information. He discovered the letters of Andre de Sousa and the princes, which he, in common with later biographers, thought to be decisive. Thus, in his masterly exposition of the situation with its lights and shades, Père Brou writes:

"Lucena se perd en conjectures sur le royaume où eurent lieu ces événements et il prononce pour Jafanapatam. De même Bartoli. Le P. Sousa conjecture que ce doit être Cotta, à moins que ce ne soit Kandy. Les pièces traduites par le P. Cros ont apporté pleine lumière sur ces faits" (I, 292.)

The most decisive piece of evidence is that of Sousa, who effected the conversion of the princes, arranged the flight, and stood sponsor to the princes. He is not a little proud of his achievement and hopes to turn it to good account. His letters are given below.

In his letters Sousa speaks of three distinct persons, the King of Ceylon, the King of Cande, and the "Seigneur" of Jafanapatam, without ever a shade of confusion. The princes he converted are said to be sons of the King of Ceylon, and Sousa, if any, ought to know. He calls the "Seigneur" of Jafanapatam, usurper, murderer of his master, persecutor of the Christians of Manar. He is never accused of murdering his son. Moreover, Sousa does not give him the title of King; he is only "Seigneur," while he is never weary of calling his *protégés* Princes. According to him the ambassadors of Jaffna declared that they were dissatisfied with the ruler of Jaffna, and wished to have the sons of the King of Ceylon to rule over them, for they were formerly subjects of the King of Ceylon.

The King of Ceylon is said to be the father of the princes, and is accused of causing the murder of his eldest son. Thus, if Sousa's testimony is worth anything, the princes are not the sons of Sankily but of the King of Ceylon, who is quite a different person. Who is this King of Ceylon? First of all "King of Ceylon" in the mouth of a Portuguese means the King of Kotte. That Sousa meant the same can hardly be doubted. For, who else is this King of Ceylon who is neither the King of Cande, nor the Seigneur of Jafanapatam?

To interpret "Prince of Ceylon (= Jaffna)," "King of Ceylon (= Kotte)" one must beg the question, for it supposes that "we have seen that the King of Jaffna is the father of the prince." To reject the clear statement of Sousa in favour of the conjectures of ancient writers is unjustified. It should rather be the other way about; for Sousa, unlike those estimable authors, speaks from

1. C. A. & I. K. iii 188, note 14, which Father Guana Prakasar discusses in C. A. & I. K. iv, 58, & 59.



personal knowledge. Father Gnana Prakasar insists on the fact that history is silent about the sons of Bhuvaneka Báhu. Nay more, we have reason to think that he had no sons. If we knew this for sure, I should only conclude that "son" is not to be taken literally. It would indeed be hasty to conclude that they were "sons" of Bhuvaneka Báhu; for "son" and "brother" seem to correspond to the Sinhalese "*puttā*," "*aiya*" and "*malli*," which are by themselves indecisive. In this matter the only reasonable attitude is that of Mr. P. E. Pieris, who calls them princes of Kotte, but hesitates about their real relationship to Bhuvaneka Báhu.

Regarding the place where these events occurred Sousa only says it happened "when I was in Ceylon." He speaks of Jaffna and Kandy but by "Ceylon" he can only mean Kotte. Fr. Gnana Prakasar observes: "In interpreting de Sousa's words we should bear in mind that all early Portuguese writers have used 'Ceylon' in a very vague and misleading way. He certainly confounds Jafanapatam with Ceylon more than once (cf. Cros I, 285)." In the page indicated<sup>2</sup> Sousa speaks thrice of Jaffna, but I fail to see any indication of a confusion. To say: "*Cette île de Jafanapatam est l'île même de Ceylan, dans sa pointe nord-est*" is not to confuse Jafanapatam with Ceylon, however awkward it reads. Sousa knows Kotte; of Jaffna he speaks from hearsay. Besides, Sousa is not precisely an early Portuguese writer. He speaks from personal knowledge, unlike the Portuguese writers who have deserved the reproach.

From Sousa's description we also gather that there was a "church," "two Franciscan Friars," "forty to fifty Portuguese," and "many Christians" in the place where the events took place. These seemed to me to point to Kotte. Prince Joan wrote to the King of Portugal that the marvels that attended his brother's death caused many conversions "*de sorte que dans la ville de mon père, et malgré ses défenses, on ne fait que baptiser*" (Cros I, 283.) I think this is scarcely true of Jaffna. Fr. Gnana Prakasar objects: "Correa in his confused account of the princes being transported to Goa speaks of 'some Friars who had taken up their abode there in a little hut they had made.' Surely the Franciscans at Kotte had better accommodation than 'a little hut.' Nor should too much stress be laid on the church mentioned by Sousa. The church referred to might have been outside Jaffna as well." Now Sousa's testimony has nothing to do with Correa's confusion and his little hut, and one may be pardoned for insisting on one of the few indirect indications we have.

Regarding the Friars Fr. Gnana Prakasar writes: "Jaffna had certainly been a scene of missionary labours before 1544," and calls upon the author of *The Portuguese Era* to bear witness that, "as early as about 1520, some Franciscans had penetrated into that kingdom." Besides: "De Sousa had taken two Friars with him. This fits Jaffna rather than Kotte, where Villa do Conde and other Franciscans were more or less permanently settled." I can only reply that we know that Franciscans were in Kotte in 1543. They were not all there of course, but some of them were. Some *might* have gone to Jaffna, but we have no indications of such a journey. According to de Couto, the Franciscans had established themselves in Panture, Macu, Berberi, and Beliguao, perhaps also in Caleture. There is no mention of Jaffna. When Sousa says he brought two Friars, he can only mean that they came along with him. According to de Couto "the Friars arrived in Ceylon in company with the ambassador" and Sousa says he came to Ceylon "on the orders of" the Viceroy.

2. See text and translation below.



Sousa's testimony must be taken as a whole, and it is unmistakably fatal to the Jaffna origin of the princes. It is a pity that Cros does not give us the letters of Don Joan in full. He thought Sousa's letters to be conclusive, and gave little of the prince's correspondence. From what he gives<sup>2</sup> we learn that Don Joan asked for himself the title of "Prince of Ceylon and King of Jafanapatam," leaving to his *matti* the perilous "territories of his defunct brother." I thought this involved a clear distinction between the "kingdom of Jaffna" and the "territories of the defunct brother." But Fr. Gnana Prakasar says: "The martyred brother might well have had some territory assigned to him as Crown Prince. That such quasi-independent jurisdiction existed in the kingdom of Jaffna is gathered from the *Yālpāna-Vaīpava-mālai*, unreliable as it is as to details." Was the territory, over which such quasi-independent jurisdiction was exercised, ever assigned to the eldest son of the King? The martyred prince is not called "Crown" Prince by Sousa or by Don Joan. He is "Prince of Ceylon," "son of the King of Ceylon," "elder brother" of Don Joan. If there is any proof that such a principality was assigned to the eldest son of the King of Jaffna, then the distinction between the "kingdom of Jafanapatam" and the "territories of the defunct brother" is not at "variance with the Jaffna origin of the princes." That is all.

Along with the French of Cros, I give below the translations published in the *Jaffna Catholic Guardian*. I have ventured to make a few changes, indicated in italics.

De Goa, 15 Novembre, 1545, André de Sousa écrit à l'Infant D. Enrique :

"... Etant à Ceylan, par ordre de D. Martin Alo. de Sousa, je requis le fils du roi de Ceylan de se faire chrétien, et cela bien longtemps, et je continuai mes instances, par l'entremise de deux trayles de saint François, qui j'avais amenés avec moi. Je travaillai tant, qu'il était converti, et j'allais partir avec lui pour le faire baptiser à Goa, quand le roi son père le sut : il le fit tuer par trahison, et ordonna que l'on brûlât son corps avec grand cérémonie, selon l'usage. Dieu, à cette occasion, fit bien des miracles : la terre trembla, on vit dans le ciel une croix de la grandeur d'un mât, et là où on le brûla, la terre s'entr'ouvrit en forme aussi de croix. Quand le roi l'apprit, il fit combler ces ouvertures, mais la croix se forma de nouveau, chaque fois qu'on la fit disparaître : ce qui occasionna la conversion d'un grand nombre de gens. Pour moi, j'ai fait, de mes mains, deux cents chrétiens.

Andre de Sousa to the Infante D. Enrique. Goa, 15 November, 1545.

"Finding myself in Ceylon by order of D. Martin Alo. de Sousa, I sought for a long time to make the son of the King (of Ceylon) a Christian. I persevered in my appeals through the mediation of two Frades of St. Francis whom I had taken with me, I laboured so much that he was converted, and I was on the point of taking him to Goa for his baptism, when the king his father had intelligence of it and had him treacherously murdered. He then ordered his body to be burnt with much ceremony according to usage. God caused many miracles to be wrought on this occasion : the earth quaked and there was seen in the heavens a cross as large as a mast, and on the spot where he was burnt the earth opened in the form of a cross also. The king hearing of this had the openings closed, but they reappeared in the form of a cross every time they were covered. This became the occasion for the conversion of many people. I myself have made two hundred Christians.

2. In his letter of 15 October, 1545, Don Joan asks the King of Portugal for the following favours. Cros I 22. Translated in the *Jaffna Catholic Guardian*, 10-6-16.

1. To confer on me the titles of Prince of Ceylon and king of Jafanapatam.
2. To grant me jurisdiction over the Christians of Comorin.
3. To reserve for me the right of distributing the various offices and charges in my lands, independently of the Governor of India.
4. To grant to my brother, D. Louis, the territories of my defunct brother, in as much as our father withdraws them from him or excludes him from this succession as a Christian.
5. In the event of God disposing of me that D. Louis may become my heir.
6. That the pearl fishers may pay me a levy.
7. That Master Diogo may come and reside in my states and that he may be made Bishop over all my dominions.
8. That Andre de Sousa may, throughout his lifetime, be Captain and Governor over my dominions.

Don Joan is evidently a tool in wiser hands (Sousa, Master Diogo or both ?)



Le Roi voulait tuer ses deux autres fils plus jeunes, et moi avec eux. Nous nous réfugiâmes, les deux princes et moi, avec quarante à cinquante Portugais et beaucoup de chrétiens du pays, dans une église, et puis, non sans grande difficulté, risque de ma personne et perte de mes biens, nous sommes arrivés dans l'Inde, etc."

Le 20 décembre, même année, André de Sousa écrit au Roi de Portugal :

"L'an passé, j'écrivis à V. A. comme j'arrivai à Cochim avec un prince de Ceylan, que je fis chrétien. Huit jours après que les vaisseaux furent partis, vint un frère du Prince, plus jeune, et beaucoup de noblesse de Ceylan : ils se firent bientôt chrétiens, et le prince prit nom D. Louis. Je vins, avec eux tous, à Goa où était le Gouverneur, Martin Ao de Sousa, qui les reçut honorablement et comme il convenait à la qualité de tels princes et crédit de V. A. Le Gouverneur voulait les envoyer mettre en possession du royaume, à la place de leur frère, que le roi a fait mourir, et s'emparer d'un fort, à leur profit : on allait partir avec moi, quand arrivèrent nouvelles que les Rumes venaient sur nous. Je ne crus pas devoir m'éloigner de l'Inde : je fis que les princes allèrent s'offrir au Gouverneur qui leur plut.

Au milieu de l'hiver, arrivèrent, de Jafanapatam, des ambassadeurs aux princes et au Gouverneur : ils disaient : 'Anciennement, nous étions sujets du roi de Ceylan ; or, le Seigneur que nous avons maintenant nous tyrannise ; les fils du roi de Ceylan étant devenus chrétiens, nous désirons les avoir pour souverains, obéir au roi de Ceylan, et nous faire tous chrétiens.' D. Martin Ao. de Sousa, informé de ces choses, arrêta qu'il y enverrait les princes ; mais alors arriva D. Juan de Castro, et rien ne se fit.

En arrivant, D. Juan de Castro manda venir les princes, et leur fit plus d'honneur encore que Martin Ao de Sousa : il leur donna pour compagnon son fils. En ce temps, ils ne sortaient pas de ma maison. Juan de Castro, selon le dessein de son prédécesseur, résolut d'envoyer les princes à Jafanapatam, la chose devant être du service de Dieu et de V. A. Il envoya, d'abord, un ambassadeur au roi de Ceylan, pour savoir ses intentions, car on dit que, d'accord avec son frère, il veut empêcher les gens de se faire chrétiens ; ce qui exigerait d'autres mesures.

Cette Ile de Jafanapatam est l'île même de Ceylan, dans sa pointe nord-est. Un seigneur, qui s'est soustrait à l'autorité du roi de Ceylan, la tyrannise : il est haï. C'est un favori du précédent seigneur ; il tua son maître, prit sa place et fit périr plus de deux mille serviteurs

The king sought to kill his two other younger sons and me with them. We took refuge, the two princes and I together with forty to fifty Portuguese and many Christians of the country in a church, and then reached India not without great difficulty and personal risk and having lost all my belongings."

On the 20th December of the same year Andre de Sousa wrote to the King of Portugal.

"Last year I wrote to your Highness how I arrived at Cochim with a prince of Ceylon whom I made Christian. Eight days after the vessel had left, there came a brother of the prince, a younger one, and many nobles of Ceylon ; they soon became Christians and the prince took the name of D. Louis. I came with all these to Goa where the Governor Martin Ao. de Sousa was, who received them honourably and as it befitted the quality of such princes and your Highness' credit. The Governor desired to send them to be put in possession of the kingdom in the room of their brother whom the king has put to death and to occupy a fort to their profit. It was arranged to start with me when news was received that the Moors were coming on us. I believed I should not absent myself from India ; I made the princes go and offer themselves to the Governor ; which pleased them.

During mid-winter there came some ambassadors from Jafanapatam to the princes and the Governor. They said : 'Formerly we were subjects of the king of Ceylon. Now our present master is tyrannising over us. The sons of the king of Ceylon having become Christians we desire to have them as our sovereigns and to obey the king of Ceylon, and all of us to become Christians.' D. Martin Ao. de Sousa having learnt these things determined to send the princes there, but at that time D. João de Castro arrived and nothing was done.

D. João de Castro, on arriving, ordered the princes to go to him and conferred greater honours on them than Martin Ao. de Sousa had done : he gave them his son as companion. During this time they did not go out from my house. João de Castro resolved, according to the plan of his predecessor, to send the princes to Jafanapatam, the thing being favourable to the service of God and your Highness. He first sent an ambassador to the king of Ceylon in order to know his intentions ; for it is said that he wishes, in conjunction with his brother, to prevent the people from becoming Christians, which would require the employment of other measures.

This island of Jafanapatam is the island of Ceylon itself, in its north east corner. A chief



dévoués du seigneur légitime. Récemment, pour mettre le comble à ses péchés, il a fait mourir sept cens et tant de chrétiens. C'est pour cela que l'on veut mettre ces princes à sa place; ce sera, d'ailleurs, un acheminement à la conversion de Ceylan tout entière à la foi chrétienne.

Ces princes attendent encore que V. A. leur fasse justice pour le meurtre de leur frère, que son père, roi de Ceylan, a tué parce qu'il s'était fait chrétien.

Depuis ces choses, est revenu l'ambassadeur envoyé à Ceylan: il dit que le Roi ne se fera jamais chrétien et sera plutôt mort. On se propose d'aller l'attaquer, en septembre 1546."

Ici, André de Sousa fait valoir ses services. Il demande dédommagement pour ses dépenses au profit des deux princes: par exemple, qu'on lui accordât, pour quatre ans, la pêcherie de perles qui se fait sur les côtes de Jafanapatam, où il a vécu avec les princes, etc. André de Sousa poursuit:

"Depuis cette détermination prise, arrivent de Ceylan les frayles de saint François, avec des lettres du roi de Cande pour le gouverneur et les deux princes. Ce roi demandait un secours de cinquante hommes, parce qu'il désire se faire chrétien avec ses fils et ses sujets. Il offre de marier sa fille avec le prince de Ceylan. Le roi de Ceylan menace de s'emparer du royaume de Cande.

Quant au roi de Cande, il est dirigé, dans ses voies nouvelles par un homme d'honneur qui vit dans le pays, Nuno Alvarez Pereira. Le Gouverneur m'y envoie donc avec cinquante hommes et les mêmes frayles. Je ferai beaucoup, car j'ai beaucoup de crédit dans ce pays: le Roi lui-même me fait appeler, etc. Ce royaume de Cande est au milieu de l'île de Ceylan: c'est un pays très fertile, très peuplé etc.

Les frayles et moi nous partons, en janvier prochain (1546), pour le service de Dieu et de V. A., et je fais cela à mes gros dépens et risque de ma personne. Il faudra aller à quinze lieues dans l'intérieur des terres, au milieu d'ennemis, avant d'arriver à l'entrée du royaume de Cande, et tout cela, pour servir Dieu et V. A. Je vous demande de vous souvenir de moi et de mes services, car je n'ai personne qui sollicite pour moi, si ce n'est Dieu Notre-Seigneur. Je laisse donc tout en ses mains et à la conscience de V. A. etc."

who has withdrawn himself from the authority of the king of Ceylon is tyrannising over it, he is hated. He was the favourite of the preceding chief. He killed his master, took his place and made two thousand devoted servants of the lawful chief to perish. Recently, to fill up the measure of his iniquity, he has put seven hundred odd Christians to death. It is for this reason that it is desired to put these princes in his place. This will also, at the same time, furnish an opening for the conversion of the whole of Ceylon to the faith.

These princes are waiting for your Highness to do them justice for the murder of their brother, whom his father, the king of Ceylon, has killed because he had become a Christian.

Since the happening of these things the ambassador sent to Ceylon has returned: he says the king will never become a Christian, he will rather die than do so. It is proposed to go and attack them in September 1546."

Here Sousa details his services to the King of Portugal and prays that the expenses he underwent on behalf of the two princes be refunded. He suggests among other things that the proceeds of the pearl fishery which takes place near Jaffna be given him for four years. He then continues:

"Since the forming of this determination the Frades of St. Francis arrived from Ceylon with letters from the king of Cande for the Governor and the two princes. This king asked for a force of fifty men because he wishes to become Christian with his sons and his subjects. He offers to give his daughter in marriage to the prince of Ceylan. The king of Ceylan threatens to seize the kingdom of Cande.

As for the king of Cande he is guided in his new ways by a man of honour who lives in the country, Nuno Alvarez Pereira. The Governor therefore sends me there with fifty men and the same Frades. I will do much because I have great influence in this country. The king himself causes me to be called, etc. This kingdom of Cande is in the middle of the island of Ceylon. It is a very fertile country, thickly populated.

The Frades and I are leaving here in January next for the service of God and of your Highness, and I do so at my own expense and personal risk. One has to traverse fifteen leagues in the interior of the land in the midst of enemies before arriving at the entrance of the kingdom of Cande—and all this for serving God and your Highness. I beg you to remember me and my services, for I have no one who concerns himself about me save God our Lord. I leave everything therefore in His hands and to your Highness' conscience."



# Literary Register.

## THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

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

### PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Concluded from Vol. III, page 63.)

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

**O**F the expedition of the King of Bengal to the Maldives.—The taking of Malé island.—Death of the Maldivian king, and voyage of the author to Bengal, with a description of the islands of Malicut and Divandaron.

#### Symons.

Having liv'd five Years in these Islands, tho' much against my Will, I had the Opportunity of learning the Language, as I have observ'd before, and being thoroughly acquainted with the Customs, Manners, and all other Particulars of those People. And I believe no European ever knew so much of those Islands, which has encourag'd me to be so particular, as well knowing, that none can give a more exact Account: and the Reason, is, because few Europeans ever so much as touch there; and none go to reside, unless they are unfortunately cast away, as I was; and even in that Case, it is most likely they never get away.

Nor had I and my Companions ever escap'd, but by the greatest Accident in the World; which was, the sudden Arrival of a Fleet from Bengale, with some Forces.

The King of the Islands, at the Sight of those Vessels, fled; and I having contriv'd to stay behind in the Island, with my Comrades, we went Abroad those Vessels, and made our Escape from that Captivity.

In our Passage from the Maldives, the Weather

#### Harris.

After following our Author through his Description of the Maldives, we are next to recur to his personal Adventures, in order to acquaint the Reader how he recovered his Freedom, and escaped from thence to the Continent of India, from whence he returned to his native Country.

The Fact, as he relates it, runs thus: He says, That in the Beginning of the Month of February, 1607, he dreamed that he was set at Liberty, and found a Passage home to Europe, which made a very great Impression on his Mind, insomuch that it induced him to make a Vow of going in Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. James of Galicia, in order to return God Thanks, if this Dream should prove true: at the same time, he was exceedingly perplexed in his Mind, and endeavour'd to discover how this could be brought about.

All his Conjectures proved vain and fruitless; but two Nights after the Thing discovered itself, by the unexpected News that the King of Bengal was preparing to invade the Maldives with a Fleet of sixteen Sail of large Gallies.

1. Harris forces the pace here, in order to get on to the last Act—the descent upon the Islands by a Bengal fleet, the sack of Malé, the pursuit and death of the Sultan, and the deliverance of Pyrard and his fellow captives.

2. Symons skips this dream, going straight to the facts of the *incarceration* at the Maldives, which he contrives to put into the shortest possible words.

3. Symons leaves his tale untold. Harris' assertion that he "thought very heavily" is "improved" from Pyrard's account of Sultan Ibrahim's end:—"La le Roy se mettait en defense luttant d'un coup de pique, & puis à coups d'espée." He received honourable burial at Guradu Island.

4. Pyrard and two of his three fellow captives completely deceived the islanders by feigning desire for flight with the Sultan, but erasing embarkation at the last moment; all four found safety. Regarding his own honesty, Pyrard protests too much to be fully believed:—"L'allotie à venoit dans le Palais du Roy, où il y avait toutes sortes de richesses, d'or, d'argent & de joyaux à l'abandon; mais je ne songeay jamais à toucher à rien, ny mesme à cacher l'argent que l'auoix, que le donnoy à vu de mes amis, avec les arbres, un baston, & une maison que l'auois achetée: pour mes compagnons ils sauroient quelques hardes qu'ils auoient cachées."

being calm, we spent three Days in reaching the Island *Malicut*,<sup>12</sup> which is but 35 Leagues to the Northward of them.

That Island is enclow'd with dangerous Shoals, which must be carefully avoided: The whole Compass of it is but four Leagues, but the Soil is wonderful fertile, producing Coco-nuts, Bananas, and all other Things the Maldives afford. There is a plentiful Fishery, the Air is wholesome, and more temperate than in those Islands. The Inhabitants speak the same Language, and follow the same Manners and Customs as the *Maldivians*.

From *Malicut*, we sail'd to the Islands of *Divanduron*,<sup>13</sup> 30 Leagues to the Northward of *Malicut*.

They are five in Number, each of them about six or seven Leagues in Compass, little more or less, and about 80 Leagues distant from the Coast Of *Cannor*. They are inhabited by *Malabar Mahometans*, many of them rich Merchants, driving a great Trade throughout all India, and particularly at the *Maldives*; whence they export great Quantities of Commodities, having their Factors settled there. Those People are like the other *Malabars* in their Customs, etc. The Soil is very fruitful, and the Air healthy.

The *Malabar* Pyrates often touch there, entertaining some Sort of Amity with those People; yet sometimes they do not spare to commit Rapine there, being a Race who value their Interest above all the Friendship in the World; and therefore, when they cannot light of Enemies to plunder, they make bold with their Friends. Those Islands are, as it were, a middle Mart for the Commodities of the Continent, the *Maldivy* Islands, and *Malicut*.

In our Way thence, to weather the Point of *Gale*, in the Island of *Ceylon*,<sup>14</sup> we met with such a Multitude of Whales, as endanger'd our small Vessels, but that they frighted them with the Noise of Drums and Kettles.

On the first receiving of this Intelligence, the King of *Male* issued his Orders for fitting out, with all imaginable Expedition, the large Ships, and all the Gallies,<sup>15</sup> Barks, and Vessels in his Dominions; but before this could be accomplished, the Enemy's Fleet appeared in Sight. Upon which the King suddenly alter'd his Resolution, and determined to fly to the Southern Islands, in Hopes of taking Shelter there, till such Time as he could assemble a Force sufficient to expel the Invaders. His best Gooda were immediately embarked; as also his three Queens, each of whom was carried by a Gentleman in his Arms as if they had been Children, covered with Veils of Taffety of different Colours. As soon as they were on Board the King followed them,<sup>16</sup> leaving his Capital altogether defenceless, and the Streets full of Women crying and lamenting the Danger to which they were exposed.

The Enemy no sooner arrived than they divided their Forces, sending eight of their Gallies in Pursuit of the King with whom, the Wind failing, they very speedily came up, engaged his small Fleet, and having killed the unfortunate Monarch of the *Maldives*, who fought very bravely in his own Defence,<sup>17</sup> made themselves Masters of his Ships, Wives,<sup>18</sup> and Treasures.

As soon as these People landed in *Malé* our Author surrendered, and put himself into their Hands, declaring to them in what Manner he came thither, and how he had remained Prisoner there for several Years. They treated him very kindly as soon as they were satisfied that he was not a Portuguese; for had he been of that Nation they would, without any Ceremony, have put him to Death.<sup>19</sup>

The Conquerors remained about ten Days on the Island; in which Space they carried on Board their Vessels all the Plunder of the King's Palace, with every thing of Value they could find, particularly one hundred and twenty Pieces of Cannon;<sup>20</sup> and then prepared for their Departure, leaving every body at Liberty,

1. The Sultan had but seven gallies in all.

2. Pyrard:—"Enfin le Roy s'estant embarqué pour se sauver en la galere Royale qu'ils appelloient *egale Gourada* (Gourade veut dire galere & *Goute Royale*)." *Ogata* cf. Sin. *ogut*.

3. No harm befell the Sultan's wives: they were merely robbed of all their goods (thus *he* *to* *goods*) by the *Mukhavars* (*Mowcoys*) soldiers and mariners; but otherwise well treated.

4. Pyrard:—"Au premier abord, ne me comessoient pas pour François, mais croyans au vray que ie fusse Portugais ils me voulurent tuer, & me mectant tout nud, ils m'asseroient ce que ie pouvois avoir. Mais ayans reconnu que veritablement ie n'estois pas Portugais, ils me traitterent plus humainement, & ils me firent mener à leur Capitain qui me receut en sa protection, & qui m'assura que ie n'aurois point de mal."

5. Pyrard has:—"Cinq ou six vingt pieces de canon, tant gros que menu qui y estoient."

6. *Malicut*. *Mimicoy* (*M. Malicut* Island) in lat. 2, 14' N. It is separated from *Ilavandiffnu* Atol, the most northerly of the thirteen *Maldivy* Atols, by the Night-Degree-Channel, which is about 68 miles wide.

7. *Divanduron*, or "the Andurn Islands," thus so called from *Andurn* one of the group. The modern name *Lakkadive* (*Lakshadweep*, "the Hundred Thousand Isles"), applied by the people of India, evidently includes the *Maldives*. By the natives the Islands are termed *Andurn* (from the Island *Andun*), or simply *Dive*. The Portuguese knew them usually as the *Farname* Islands, from the famous *Cannanor* corsair who controlled their trade. (See too *Lancaster*, *Voyage*, *Bot. Soc.*, p. 10).

The *Lakkadive* Islands are ten only in number—*Amini*, *Chellat*, *Kadmat*, *Kilwa* and *Edra* (uninhabited) are British; *Agatha*, *Kavatti*, *Androt* and *Kilpand* (with *Selati*), the property of the *Malé* of *Cannanor*, but under British control. The group lies about 200 miles west of the *Malabar* coast.

8. Pyrard has a Chapter devoted entirely to a description of *Ceylon*. (See *Making Society* Pyrard, II. Chap. x, pp. 145-149.)



We spent a Month in our Passage to the Kingdom of Bengala, of which I will not attempt to give any Account, so many having done it before me; besides that my Stay there was short.<sup>10</sup>

Of Pyrrard's subsequent experiences, Symonds has nothing to say.<sup>11</sup> Harris gives an outline sketch, not very enlightening, of these later varied travels, and sees him back, *via* the Cape and Brazil, to Europe and his beloved France in 1611, after nine years, absence in the East.

### Harris.

While he remained in Bengal, the Mogul declared War against that Prince, who immediately assembled a prodigious Army, in order to withstand him, amounting, as our Author was informed, to several hundred thousand Men, and some thousands of armed Elephants, which military Preparations did not incline him to remain any longer than till he found an Opportunity of withdrawing himself, and this in a short Time he obtained.

He retired from Bengal to the Malabar Coast, inhabited at that Time for the most Part by Pirates, from whence he proceeded to Calicut, where he remained eight Months, waiting for a Dutch Ship; but at last was persuaded by the Jesuits to go to Cochra, where, on his first Arrival, he was imprisoned as a Spy, and suffered great Hardships.

At Goa also he was a Prisoner with those who remained of seventeen English taken at the Bar of Surat. The Jesuits had brought one Master Richards and four other Englishmen from the Mogul's Court; some Hollanders also were there, and they all were Prisoners together; but the Jesuits undertook for them, and procured their Liberty, *via* Thomas Stevens an Englishman, and Rector of Margon College in Salsete, Nicholas Trigaut a Walloon, Stephen Cross a Frenchman at Koon, with Gaspar Almado a Spaniard. This Thomas Stevens procured the Liberty of the Englishmen also, four of whom became Catholics, two of them died there.

Don Louis Lorraine d' Estable arrived at Goa with the Title of Viceroy to the People's great Grief, who the more desired Don. Andree Furtado. Ten Months after his coming four great Carracks arrived, each about two thousand Tons. Five had departed from Lisbon, but they knew not what was become of the fifth, which was separated by a Tempest at the Cape: in each were embarked a thousand Persons, Soldiers, Mariners, Jesuits, and other Churchmen, with Merchants and Gentlemen; but when they arrived at Goa, there were not above three hundred in each, by reason of the Sickness and Miseries they endured in eight Months at Sea without Sight of Land.

These brought an Edict from the King, forbidding the English, French, or Dutch Commerce in his Dominions: and if there were any such there, to send them away, upon Peril of their Lives.

On the 26th of December, 1609, he [Pyrrard] embarked for Lisbon, and on the 15th of March, 1610, they arrived at the Isle of Diego Rodriguez, about forty Leagues East from Saint Laurence. After a cruel Storm there five Days together, they reached the Cape, St. Helena, Brasil, the Azores, the Berlings, and having paid his Vow to St. James in Galicia, he arrived at Rochel<sup>12</sup> the 16th of February, 1611.

Thus we have brought this Voyage to a Conclusion without taking in the Author's Travels through the rest of India, which would have contributed little to the Readers Satisfaction, as containing nothing which may not be met with elsewhere, in as good, or in a better Dress.

10. Pyrrard gives his name as "Rama Boudier Tomara" (M. Rama Boudier Tokura-futan).

As was to be expected on the sudden death, without issue, of a Jewly Sultan, owing his somewhat precarious seat on the throne to the prestige of a ministerial father who had won his way to power for himself and his unworthy son by exceptional force of character, the Islands fell a prey to intestine strife between rival claimants to the Sovereignty of the group.

"As for what followed at the Maldives" says Pyrrard (*Malabar Journal*, p. 230) "I heard afterwards, while at Goa, that the natives fell into a bitter civil war. The King had died without children or nephews. Four of the greatest lords in the country named themselves one against another who should be king; and this war continuing a long time, the King of Cananor, at Rhodia, Ali Khan had dispatched a goodly armament of galleys, under the guidance of Rama Boudier Tomara, the Chief Queen's brother, whom the Bengal galleys had taken prisoner, as has been said. By means of this army he had at length established that Prince upon the throne,—who was, indeed, as true of him, the lawful heir,—but on condition that he should hold it of him, and regard him as his overlord. He sent him all who were causing trouble, and so restored peace to the Islands."

The Prince Rama Boudier Tokura-futan (otherwise called *Moja peria Raja-futan*, from the name of the family island in Fudiffa Atoll, does not seem to have been acknowledged as ruler of the whole Islands in the Maldivian archives. According to the *Yakim* (Chronicle of the Kings of the Maldives) Ibrahim (the Sultan of Pyrrard's time) was succeeded by Husayn Firoz Khagfahan.

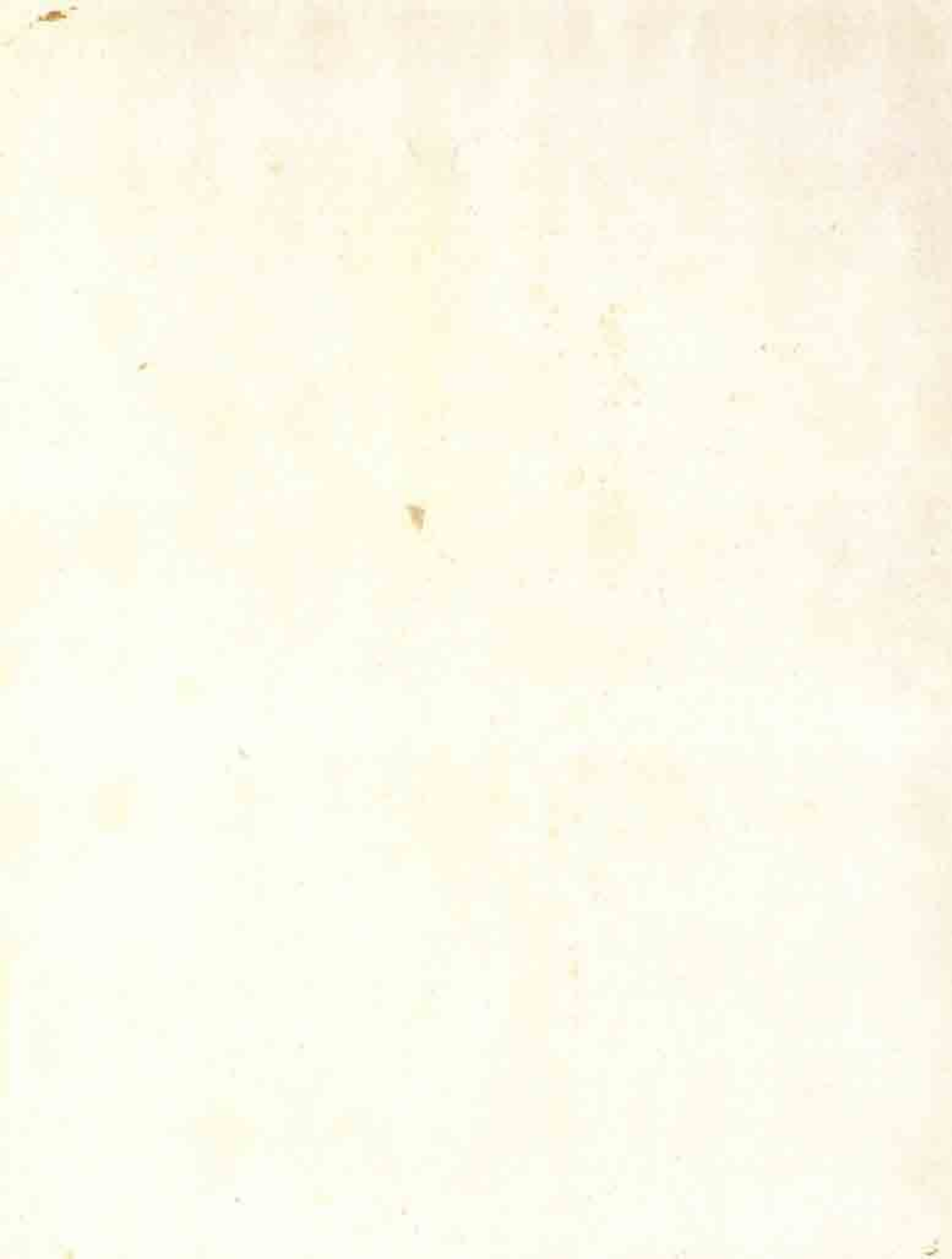
This Sultan may well have been that "man of high breeding," so friendly to Pyrrard during his captivity, son of "one of the captains of the realm, very rich and valiant, named Fumaverry Khan," who conspired with his deeply-widowed sister *Hanay* (widow of Sultan Ali killed by the Portuguese, and of his successor Muhammad Bala Tokura-futan, father of Sultan Ibrahim) to place her son on the throne, but on failure, suffered cruel mutilation and banishment.

11. After four more years in India and the Far East, added to his five of captivity at the Maldives.

12. This paragraph is Symonds', not Pyrrard's.

13. On the other hand, Symonds (pp. 102-103) supplements his narrative by some notice of Pyrrard's "Travel et Description des Indes, des Arabes et de la France des Indes Orientales," as far as it relates to the Maldivian Islands. This Harris passes over untouched, giving instead his account of the Trade of the Islands at the period he wrote, *viz* 1755.

14. Pyrrard reached La Rochelle on February 5th, thence, passing through Nantes (on the 6th) he states that he finally reached Laval, his native town, "on the 18th day of February in the year 1611, for which God be praised!"







THE HON. MR. R. E. STUBBS, C. M. G.,  
*Colonial Secretary of Ceylon.*

## THE STUDY OF CEYLON HISTORY.

By THE HON. MR. R. E. STUBBS, C.M.G.

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I remember that, in speaking at a prize-giving not long after my arrival in this island, I mentioned that on a recent visit to the Training College I had been struck by the fact that, while the walls of that building were adorned with some excellent pictures of scenes from English history, such as Alfred and the Cakes and the Murder of the Princes in the Tower, I had looked in vain for any similar representations of scenes from the history of Ceylon, and went on to urge that Ceylon boys should be instructed in and encouraged to study the history of their own country. The answer given to me at the time was that there were no suitable text-books. Later, a high educational authority confided to me that the real reason for the neglect of the study of Ceylon history was that it "didn't pay": marks could not be earned by it in the Cambridge Locals or the London Matriculation Examination.

I am not sure whether or not this remark was seriously intended—my experience is that schoolmasters tend to become either pessimists or humorists in about equal proportions—but, whatever the reason may be, I fear that the fact cannot be denied; and a very regrettable fact it is.

"The study of history is, as Coleridge said of Poetry, its own great reward, a thing to be loved and cultivated for its own sake;"\* and, surely, the first branch of the study which should be taken up is the history of one's own land and one's own people; a heritage which no child ought to be compelled or even allowed to forego. Perhaps while local education is directed towards the goal of examinations, designed by an external body or bodies, it is too much to expect that space will be found in an already overcrowded time-table for the proper study of Ceylon history in Ceylon schools, but is this state of things to be permanent? It is my hope and my belief that it will not. When the University College, which we hope to see in the near future, has developed into a Ceylon University—and I think that the development will be rapid—I trust that **The Ceylon Antiquary** will use all its influence to secure the establishment of a Chair of Ceylon

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\* The quotation is from my father's inaugural lecture when taking up the office of Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.



History as part of the Faculty of Arts. There are few ways in which a wealthy philanthropist could better immortalize his name among his fellow-countrymen than by endowing such a Chair. Indeed, it is not necessary to wait for the University to come into existence. Is there no rich man amongst the Ceylonese who takes enough interest in the past of his country to endow a Lectureship in Ceylon History at the University College as soon as it is established?

Meanwhile, until Ceylon history can take its rightful place in Ceylon education, **The Ceylon Antiquary** will deserve well of the country by continuing its valuable work of spreading the knowledge and love of history in the island and stimulating historical research.

Let me conclude by quoting from another of my father's lectures, addressed to an audience in an English country town, a passage which is as true for Ceylon as for England :

"We are not all philosophers, we are not all judges, or we are not all, thank goodness, members of Local Boards or County Councils, but we do live in homes, country towns, villages, old houses or new neighbourhoods; we all have had parents, who had their homes and family traditions. We have none of us, thankful we may be for it, had to make ourselves, and such of us as have made or are in the way of making our fortunes, know that if it had not been for what the elders, our parents, our helpers, our early friends, the companions and associates of our mature life have done for us, we might have been, must have been, something very different from what we are pleased to think ourselves now. That means that we all have personal and local interests and connexions that are worth exploring, and that, when they are explored, fasten us on to the past history of our country in ways that are surpassingly attractive to minds that love history."

R. E. STUBBS.

# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

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### THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

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WE have seen<sup>1</sup> that the measures of the Madras Administration associated with the name of Robert Andrews created great dissatisfaction among the inhabitants, and finally resulted in open rebellion, and it is an easy assumption<sup>2</sup> that it was this unsatisfactory state of affairs which induced the Home Government to order a change of administration. But that this view is little more than mere assumption is, at least, indicated by such of the necessary data as are available in the documents of the time.

It is true that the documents do not fix the date of the rebellion at all closely, but, as the first mention of it occurs in a letter of the Committee on Investigation dated 16th August, 1797,<sup>3</sup> it is not unreasonable to suppose that reports on the situation for the information of the Home Government were not sent off before the end of July. The Despatches show that the average time taken for a communication to reach England was about five months, and, as it appears that Mr. North was appointed Governor under the new order in November, 1797,<sup>4</sup> it seems to be impossible that the change of administration was due to the internal state of the Maritime Provinces. It is suggested that the proximity of this date to that of the termination of the negotiations at Lisle, at which the disposal of the Maritime Provinces was one of the principal subjects of discussion, indicates that the change was probably due to a ministerial decision to take these Provinces into the King's management, based upon the postponement of any proposal to restore them to the Dutch.<sup>5</sup>

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1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 48.

2. Made by Tennent, II 173.

3. *Wellesley MSS., Ceylon Literary Register*, Weekly, II 125.

4. *MSS* of the late Mr. Sturte.

5. *Ibid.*



### The Governor.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt as to the importance of the reforms, for it is to them, and to an important amendment made in 1802, that the present constitution is to be traced. The principal innovation was the appointment of a Civil Governor in place of the previous military administrators, the Hon. Frederic North, third son of the second Earl of Guildford,<sup>6</sup> being appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief by His Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, bearing the date of 15th April, 1798. Prior to this appointment, Mr. North had been Chief Secretary of Corsica, in which position he had earned, according to Frewen Lord, biographer of Sir Thomas Maitland, a somewhat misleading reputation for adroitness in handling Paoli and in interviewing the Pope.<sup>7</sup>

As Governor of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, Mr. North drew a salary of £10,000 a year. He left England to take up his appointment by the East India Company's ship *Brunswick* on 1st February, 1798, and arrived in Bombay on 4th June. Here, however, he was delayed till 1st October, waiting for the arrival of his Commission and Instructions, which did not come till 22nd and 15th September, respectively. Leaving Bombay on 1st October in the cruiser *Intrepid*, he arrived at Colombo on 12th October, 1798, and took the oaths in the presence of Brigadier-General Pierre Frederic de Meuron, his predecessor.<sup>8</sup>

In his person, Mr. North united several offices which have since become separated from that of Governor. Till the inauguration of the Supreme Court of Judicature by the Charter of 18th April, 1801, and its opening on 8th February, 1802, he was President of the Supreme Court of Criminal Judicature founded by his Proclamation of 23rd September, 1799, and of the Greater and Lesser Courts of Appeal in civil cases,<sup>9</sup> doing several circuits to the various stations of the Maritime Provinces in the exercise of these functions.<sup>10</sup> He was also Treasurer *ex-officio*,<sup>11</sup> though the actual work of the post appears to have been done by the Vice-Treasurer, the first being William Boyd, who was "Assistant Treasurer" in addition to his duties in the Secretariat, in January, 1800,<sup>12</sup> and probably some time before that, if not back to 12th October, 1798.

In addition to the appointment of a Civil Governor for the first time, the reforms included a change in the Supreme Government. Till the date of Mr. North's arrival, the Maritime Provinces had been under the Government of the Presidency of Madras, which represented the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast, and there seems to have been discussion, including a "debate in the India House,"<sup>13</sup> as to what share the East India Company was to have in the new Government.

### The Supreme Government.

It seems to have been at first intended that the Government of the Maritime Provinces should vest in the Crown and be entirely independent of the East India Company, but Dundas, one of the Secretaries of State and Chairman of the Board of Control created by Pitt's East India Bill of 1784, who had apparently the final determination of the matter, decided first that, if the Maritime Provinces were preserved at peace, the Crown would resign them to the Company, then finally decreed that their revenues should go to the Company, but that the Governor and other civil servants should hold their appointments from the Crown. The Governor was also to be

6. On the death of his two elder brothers, he became the 8th Earl (Frewen Lord 73). 7. Ibid.

8. Despatches of 28th September and 15th October, 1798.

9. Ordinance 172: Wellesley MSS, C. L. R. W., II 204.

10. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, para. 12.

11. Proclamation of 18th October, 1799.

12. Despatch of 8th October, 1801, para. 30.

13. Wellesley MSS, C. L. R. W., II 225.



under the control of the Governor-General of India, while he was further to receive instructions from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and from their Secret Committee. The Government was to be similar to that of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, but without Council.<sup>14</sup>

This arrangement subsisted till 1st January, 1802, till which time Mr. North's Despatches were addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors. No official communications with the Governor-General at Calcutta appear to have been preserved, but that side of Mr. North's responsibilities is represented by a voluminous correspondence with Lord Wellesley, included in the Wellesley MSS in the British Museum, and republished in condensed form in the *Ceylon Literary Register Weekly*, Volume II.

In 1799, the other principal officers of the Government were the Commander of the Forces, the Principal Secretary, the Auditor-General, the Commercial Resident, the Deputy Secretary, the Collector of Jaffna, the Collector of Galle and Matara, the Collector of Batticaloa and Mullaitivu and the Collector of Colombo.<sup>15</sup>

### The Commander of the Forces

The Commander of the Forces at the time of Mr. North's arrival on 12th October, 1798, was Brigadier-General de Meuron, who was also President of the Committee of Investigation, and who, as Military Governor handed over the Government to Mr. North. De Meuron was succeeded, apparently in January or February, 1799,<sup>16</sup> by Colonel Josias Champagne, who acted as Lieutenant-Governor during Mr. North's absence at Madras from March to July, 1799.<sup>17</sup> Champagne's successor was Major-General Hay MacDowall, who apparently took over the command about the end of July, 1799.<sup>18</sup> MacDowall held the command till 29th February, 1804, when he was relieved by Major-General David Douglas Wemyss, and proceeded to Madras as Major-General on the Staff as from 23rd March, 1804,<sup>19</sup> with command, according to Cordiner,<sup>20</sup> of the northern division of the Madras army. Wemyss' overbearing character and extravagant ideas seriously embarrassed Mr. North's none too strong government and contributed to the confusion which Sir Thomas Maitland found to be reigning on his arrival as Mr. North's successor on 19th July, 1805.<sup>21</sup>

### The Secretary to Government

The first Principal Secretary, or Secretary to Government, the title used in the Proclamations, later called the Colonial Secretary, was Mr. Hugh Cleghorn, whose services in arranging the transfer to the British of the Régiment de Meuron, and the consequently increased ease of the capture of Colombo in 1796, were considered to be worth £5,000.<sup>22</sup> He had come to Madras with Colonel Charles Daniel de Meuron on this business, but appears to have returned to England shortly afterwards, as he seems to have been there when Mr. North was leaving for Ceylon in February, 1798. He probably travelled out with him as they were together in Bombay, where Mr. North was delayed from 4th June to 30th September, waiting for his Commission from England. During that time, Cleghorn was sent by Mr. North to Madras to collect information

14. *Ibid.*, and *Despatches* from the Court of Directors of 25th May, 1798.

15. *Wellesley MSS*, II 245.

16. *I*, 388.

17. *Id.*, 246.

18. Sir Thomas Maitland's *Despatches*.

19. *Id.*, 248.

20. *Despatch* of 26th February, 1799, para. 10.

21. *Gazette* of 11th April, 1804.

22. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 244, footnote 48.



relative to Ceylon, arriving there on 15th August, and remaining till after 8th September.<sup>22</sup> On 28th September we find him writing from "Jaffnapatam," whither he had probably come from Madras, intending to join Mr. North at Colombo. He, no doubt, assumed duties on or about the date of Mr. North's arrival.

Most of the work of the Secretary's office seems, however, to have been carried on by William Boyd, who came out with Mr. North, apparently, in the first instance, as his Private Secretary, later being appointed First Assistant Secretary. Cleghorn appears to have been often absent on other business—what business is not stated, but the Pearl Fishery was, no doubt, one of the occasions—and to have had "many avocations,"<sup>23</sup> and, in 1799, during Mr. North's absence, he started a campaign against the Governor on the head of the alleged misconduct of the Commissioners of the Pearl Fishery of 1799, the Commissioners being Cleghorn, John MacDowall, and the Hon. George Turnour. Cleghorn wrote "reams of paper . . . to Dundas against me (Mr. North)," publicly abused the Governor, wrote furious letters, and generally behaved like a "madman." The upshot was that he was suspended from his duties by Mr. North in December, 1799, and the Governor writes under the date 3rd February, 1800, "Heaven be praised, the "Preston" with Cleghorn has weighed anchor from this place."<sup>24</sup> William Boyd acted as Secretary to Government from the date of Cleghorn's suspension till he was relieved on 10th September, 1801, by Robert Arbuthnot, who held the post of Chief Secretary till 3rd September, 1806.

The salary attached to the post of Secretary to Government was £3,000 per annum, and, from the outset, the post was considered a Staff appointment. It "cannot be considered as One to which the Civil Servants have any Right to look forward. The Appointment will, in all Probability, be always made at Home."<sup>25</sup> This practice obtains to the present day, as does that by which "all Public Acts . . . are, previous to their being published, or put in execution, to be signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government, by the authority of the Governor"<sup>26</sup>

### The Deputy Secretary.

The post of Deputy Secretary corresponded with that of Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary of the present day. The first holder was John MacDowall of the East India Company's Madras establishment, his appointment being referred to in the Despatch of 26th February, 1799 (para. 11), as having been made before that date. The vacancy created by his dismissal about September, 1799, was not filled for some time, as, on Cleghorn's suspension in December, William Boyd attended to the duties of both the Secretary to Government and his Deputy. It would, however, appear from Despatch of 18th February, 1801 (para. 49), that he was about to assume the title of Deputy Secretary, apparently chiefly in order that he might obtain a seat at the proposed new Board of Revenue and Commerce. On the arrival of the Arbuthnots on the *Henry Dundas* on 10th September, 1801, George Arbuthnot was appointed Deputy to his brother,<sup>27</sup> a post which, according to the *Gazette*, he resigned on 22nd December, 1802. During

<sup>22</sup> Somewhat different accounts are given of his reception. Mr. North in Despatch of 15th September, 1799, speaks of "the liberal communications of the Government and of Individuals," but Cleghorn in his letter of the same date states that they "gave hardly any information." (C. L. R. W., II 129) and see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 483.

<sup>23</sup> Despatch of 20th August, 1800, para. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Cleghorn's conduct is extensively commented upon in the *Register MSS.*, C. L. R. W., II 246, 278, &c.

<sup>25</sup> Despatch of 18th March, 1802, para. 38.

<sup>26</sup> Despatch of 8th October, 1801, para. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Despatch from the Court of Directors of 25th May, 1798, para. 2.

the following year, Richard Plasket acted as Secretary to the Council, the duties of which were generally performed by the Deputy Secretary, but there is no record of his acting as Deputy Secretary, though he possibly did. He was gazetted Deputy Secretary and Secretary to Council from 1st January, 1804, and appears to have retained these posts till the end of the period under review.

### The Accountant-General and Civil Auditor.

The first Auditor-General was Mr. Cecil Smith, lent by the Madras Government, who held what were, according to Mr. North,<sup>28</sup> "the two most laborious and disagreeable offices under Government," those of Civil Auditor and Accountant-General, discharging his duties to the enthusiastic satisfaction of Mr. North, and being recommended by him for the increased salary of 500 pagodas a month or £2,400 per annum. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Fraser of the Madras Civil Service on some date previous to 3rd September, 1799.<sup>29</sup> The Governor's Despatch of 5th October, 1801 (para. 50), mentions that he was preparing to return to India, and, on his leaving Ceylon, his duties were distributed between two, if not three, officials. By 16th March, 1802, Robert Boyd had become Accountant-General, to which post he was probably appointed on his arrival by the *Manship* on 23rd January.<sup>30</sup> In October, 1801,<sup>31</sup> it was Mr. North's intention that James Scott Hay and Samuel Tolfrey, who arrived with the Arbuthnots and others by the *Henry Dundas* on 10th September, 1801, should, in addition to their duties as members of the Revenue Board, carry on the duties of Judicial and of Civil Auditor, respectively. It is not clear that Tolfrey ever actually became Civil Auditor, and it is stated by Lewis that Scott Hay was Civil and Judicial Auditor from 11th February, 1802.<sup>32</sup> However that may be, Robert Boyd, the Accountant-General took over the duties of the Auditor of Civil and Judicial Accounts in addition to his own from 29th September, 1802.<sup>33</sup>

### The Commercial Resident.

The Commercial Resident was the Head of the Cinnamon Department, the most important revenue-producing Department of the day, the Maritime Provinces, after the first of January, 1802, receiving credit for £60,000 for an annual supply of 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon. According to Mr. North,<sup>34</sup> the Commercial Resident was the same officer as the Captain Canella or Cinnamon Captain under the Dutch. The first Commercial Resident under the British was Robert Andrews, in addition to his duties as Superintendent of Revenue and Ambassador to Kandy. At or before his departure from Ceylon, the latter two posts were suppressed as useless, and Joseph Greenhill succeeded Andrews as Commercial Resident. He appears to have left Ceylon early in 1801,<sup>35</sup> the control of the Cinnamon Department being apparently vested in the Board of Revenue which was established about this time, Joseph Jonville, who had been Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations under Greenhill in 1799 being retained in his post, and relied upon for expert advice. Jonville came out with Mr. North, a "very learned naturalist" such as Jonville was said to be, being necessary as "cultivation of plants is a source of revenue."<sup>36</sup> He was appointed Superin-

28. Despatch of 25th February, 1799, para. 18.

29. Despatch of 16th March, 1800, para. 130.

30. *Travels and Discoveries*, v. 441, without quoting authority.

31. Gazette of date, and Despatch of 20th September, 1801, para. 50.

32. Despatch of 30th February, 1799, para. 36.

33. Despatch of 15th February, 1801, para. 22. Greenhill appears shortly afterwards to have been appointed Agent for the East India Company in the matter of the cinnamon contract (Despatch from the Secretary of State of 3rd March, 1801, para. 79).

34. *C. L. R. W.*, 222.

29. As is shown by Wellesley MSS. II.354.

31. Despatch of 5th October, 1801, para. 38.



tendent of Cinnamon Plantations some time before October, 1799, but resigned as from 13th April, 1803, in order, apparently, to take up duties as Commissioner Extraordinary for the newly annexed Kandyan Province of Seven Korales (the present Kurunegala District.) He was succeeded as Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations by the Hon. George Melville Leslie, but replaced him as from 1st January, 1804.<sup>37</sup>

### Reforms in the Revenue Department.

On his arrival Mr. North found the provincial administration in the hands of three Collectors, Lieutenant-Colonel Barbut at Jaffna, Gregory of the Madras Civil Service in charge of Galle and Matara Districts, and Garrow, apparently of the same Service, with Batticaloa and Mullaitivu. To these Mr. North added John MacDowall as Collector of Colombo in addition to his duties as the first Deputy Secretary. Gregory left Ceylon towards the end of 1801;<sup>38</sup> Garrow was unsatisfactory, was suspended in July, 1799,<sup>39</sup> and dismissed shortly afterwards, being succeeded by Lieutenant, later Captain, Young of the East India Company's Service;<sup>40</sup> MacDowall was also unsatisfactory was suspended on the same day as Garrow, and dismissed before 14th September, 1799,<sup>41</sup> the Collectorate of Colombo being put under Gregory at Galle. Thus Barbut was the only original Collector who remained to see the completion of Mr. North's reforms of the "Revenue Line."

The chief feature of these reforms was the establishment of the Board of Revenue and Commerce, full details of which are given in the Governor's Despatch of 18th February, 1801.<sup>42</sup> By this creation, Mr. North hopes to obviate the many disadvantages arising from changes of Collectors, the inexperience of the incoming officer, the prepossessions, irresolution, illnesses, irritabilities to which individuals may be subject, but which "cannot pervade a Board, particularly one so numerous as that which I am about to establish." The following are to be members: the Secretary to Government, President; the Deputy Secretary, to which William Boyd is recommended in the same Despatch; Fraser, the Accountant-General; Gregory, the Collector of Galle and Matara; Alexander, apparently Gregory's Assistant; Captain Young, Collector of Batticaloa and Mullaitivu; Frederic Gahagan, who had been Barbut's Assistant at Jaffna, Secretary, and H. A. Marshall, who had come out with Mr. North, but had been apparently laid under an "unexpected proscription" by the Court of Directors, Deputy Secretary.

As all the Collectors were to be given seats on this Board, the abolition of the Collectorships was a necessary part of the scheme. The proposal was to replace them by Agents of Revenue, uncovenanted servants of Government, who were to be recruited from the Europeans who had previously been appointed on the recommendations of the Collectors to attend to the work of the Kachcheris in the absence of the Collectors, and in such other manner as the Governor determined. By October, 1801, the following Agents of Revenue had been appointed: Gavin Hamilton, who had come out in 1798 as Private Secretary to Cleghorn, to the Agency of Revenue and Commerce of Colombo; Joseph Smutz to that of Galle; Lewis Gibson to Matara; Peter Marshall to Trincomalee; Lieutenant Arthur Johnston of the 19th Regiment to the Agency of Chilaw. In addition, two Land Regents or Residents were appointed: Lieutenant Jewell, who

37.  *Gazette*, proximate dates. Jonville was also Surveyor-General from August, 1800, to July, 1805.

38. Despatch of 8th October, 1801, para. 30.

39. *C. L. R. W.*, 247.

40. Despatch of 8th October, 1799, para. 67.

41. *C. L. R. W.*, 282. A reference in a Despatch of Sir Thomas Maitland's to the death of a John MacDowall seems to indicate that the surmise as to the reinstatement of the Collector in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, IV, p. 67, is probably incorrect.

42. *Para.* 31 ff.



had preceded Gahagan as Barbut's Assistant, to the Province of Batticaloa, and William Orr to that of Magampattu or Hambantota. The Agents of Revenue and Commerce were to be paid 200 rix dollars a month, with 2% commission on the collections, the Residents 300 a month and 3% commission. Barbut, now Lieutenant-Colonel, was the only Collector who was not given a seat on the Board of Revenue and Commerce, being appointed Commissioner Extraordinary for the Provinces of Jaffna and the Wann, thus carrying on his old work under a new title.<sup>43</sup>

In the absence of the necessary particulars in the Despatches, it is impossible to say on what date or dates these arrangements came into force. The *Wellesley MSS* show that Mr. North contemplated the reforms in December, 1800,<sup>44</sup> and it would appear that Barbut's appointment had been made before the Despatch of 18th February was written.<sup>45</sup> Section 20 of the Proclamation of 20th August, 1801, shows that the new system was in working order before that date. Probably the Board of Revenue and Commerce had commenced its sittings before then, and the appointments of the Agents made some months before they are reported in the Despatch of 5th October, 1801.

It was not long before alterations in the arrangements began to be made. It does not appear from the Despatches who<sup>46</sup> acted as President of the Board while the office of Secretary to Government remained vacant, but it seems that Mr. Nicholas Saumarez was sent out by the Secretary of State to fill the vacancy. Mr. North was, however, not advised of this intention, and, as the new Secretary, Arbuthnot, arrived on 10th September, 1801, apparently some months before Saumarez, Arbuthnot was duly appointed President of the Board, an appointment which he had to relinquish in favour of Saumarez on the latter's arrival early in 1802, probably on the *Manship*, which reached Colombo on 23rd January, 1802.<sup>47</sup>

By his Despatch of 7th May, 1803, received in Ceylon on 5th October, the Secretary of State directs that the Board be reconstituted to consist of the Chief Secretary, the Vice-Treasurer, the Accountant-General, and the Paymaster-General. Saumarez, whose post of President of the Board is thus abolished, is to be made Vice-treasurer with a salary of £2,000 a year. The other members of the Board, whose services were discontinued by the reconstitution, were Messrs. Scott Hay, who had returned to England, and Tolfrey who had a substantive appointment as President of the Provincial Court of Colombo. It is not clear when this reconstitution was carried out by Mr. North, but we find Saumarez Vice-Treasurer in 1804, a post which he resigned on 1st May, 1804,<sup>48</sup> being succeeded by the Hon. John Rodney. Saumarez was still in Ceylon in September, 1804, having been unable to secure a passage to England sooner.<sup>49</sup>

Several changes were also made among the Revenue Agencies. By September, 1802, we find that they were thirteen in number, one for each "province," but sufficient particulars are not given to enable us to trace the names of the Agents. The thirteen "provinces" were probably the districts surrounding the thirteen principal coast towns of the present day. It is curious to note that, after all the trouble he took to find substitutes for the Collectors, Mr. North, in his Despatch of 10th September, 1802, proposes to replace the 13 Agents of Revenue and Commerce by 6 Collectorates<sup>50</sup> on the ostensible ground that it is necessary to establish a

43. Despatches of 18th February, 1801, paras. 45, 53, &c. and of 5th October, 1801, para. 35.

44. *C. L. R. W.* 300. 45. Para. 45.

46. Probably William Boyd, who was Vice-President (Despatch of 5th October, 1801, para. 25).

47. Despatch of 18th March, 1802, para. 30.

48. *Gazette* of 2nd May, 1804.

49. Despatch of 10th September, 1804.

50. Para. 14.



regular gradation among the servants of Government, but with a hint that the native officials were exceeding their powers under the Agents. This proposal does not, however, appear to have been carried out by Mr. North, as we find the title "Agents of Revenue and Commerce" continuing to appear in official papers till after Mr. North's departure.

### The New Supreme Government.

Meantime, a radical change in the supreme control of the Maritime Provinces had been effected by the resumption by the Crown of the authority granted to the East India Company over the Government of these Provinces. This change is first notified in the Despatch from the Secretary of State dated 13th March, 1801, apparently received in Ceylon in September,<sup>51</sup> the reasons given being the nature of the difficulties with which Mr. North had had to struggle in carrying on the Government—possibly a purposely obscure statement—and "other circumstances" not detailed. Mr. North's Commission under the previous arrangements was cancelled, and a new one and fresh instructions were transmitted with the Despatch.<sup>52</sup> The date fixed for the inauguration of the new régime is the 1st January, 1802, from which date the Maritime Provinces became a Crown Colony as Ceylon is now, and the Governor corresponds with the Secretary of State for the Colonies instead of with the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

### The Council.

This new system of Government entailed many important alterations of existing offices and methods. As the Governor is no longer subject to the control of the Governor-General of India in Council, the Secretary of State suggests the formation of a local Council to consist of the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, the Chief Secretary, and two others in the discretion of the Governor. Mr. North decided to restrict the Council to the three first named officials, and the first meeting of the Council took place on 4th February, 1802.<sup>53</sup> The Deputy Secretary was Secretary to the Council.

### The Supreme Court.

A second fundamental innovation was the constitution of a new Supreme Court of Judicature, and the appointment of a Chief Justice, and a Puisne Justice, who were to relieve the Governor of the judicial functions exercised by him as President of the old Supreme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, and of the two Appeal Courts for civil cases. The first Chief Justice was Sir Codrington Edmund Carrington, who arrived in Ceylon on 23rd January, 1802,<sup>54</sup> and opened the new Supreme Court on 8th February.

### The New Civil Service.

A separate Civil Service was also arranged for, some 20 civil servants being sent out with Robert Arbuthnot, the new Chief Secretary, and the members of the Madras Service being encouraged to return to India. The new civil servants were: James Scott Hay, Samuel Tolfrey, Alexander Wood, the Hon. George Melville Leslie, George Arbuthnot, David Erskine, Robert Boyd, Charles Manage, John William Carrington, Alexander Cadell, John D'Oyly, Alexander Johnstone, John MacDowall, Richard Bourne, John Davidson, Joseph Wright, Edward Tolfrey, William Erskine Campbell, James Allardyce, Barclay, William Richard Montgomery.<sup>55</sup> To these

<sup>51</sup> G. L. N. W., 301.

<sup>52</sup> See Charter of 18th April, 1801, Articles I, IV.

<sup>53</sup> Despatches and Council Proceedings.

<sup>54</sup> Despatch of 16th March, 1802, para. 3.

<sup>55</sup> See also MSS quoting the Despatches. These officers arrived, some on the *Henry Dundas* with the Arbuthnots, some with the new Chief Justice on the *Monship*, arriving on 10th September, 1801, and 2nd January, 1802, respectively. The writer of the article above has in preparation a Biographical Index, which, it is hoped, will make clear the distribution of these and other officers throughout the Maritime Provinces, and their subsequent careers.



may be added the members of the staff brought out by Mr. North in 1798: William Boyd, H. A. Marshall, Gavin Hamilton, Joseph Jonville, Sylvester Gordon, Robert Barry, and George Lusignan, the last three being "boys of 13" and Anthony Bertolacci, "Assistant Private Secretary for French correspondence."<sup>56</sup>

These officers formed the nucleus of a regular, "covenanted" Civil Service, whose appointment was understood, from the outset, to vest exclusively in the Home Government. But there still remained in the Maritime Provinces several officers, whose appointments were not so derived, but who had been named to their offices by the Madras Administration or by Governor North. Mr. North also appears to have been of opinion that he retained the power of making local appointments to the Civil Service, and the exercise of this power, and the continuance of uncovenanted servants in their offices led to his being charged by the Home Government with "improper Inattention to the reserved Right of that Government" "in the appointment of Civil Servants."<sup>57</sup> In explaining his action, he names the officers whose appointments had not been "formally authorised": James Dunkin, Thomas Farrell, Lieutenant-Colonel Barbut, Joseph Jonville, Johannes Tranchell, Frederic Baron Mylius, Lewis Gibson, Joseph Smitz, Peter Marshall, Lieutenant Jewell, Lieutenant Arthur Johnston, Beauvoir Dobree, John George Kirby, Peter Smellie, and gives the reasons for their appointment or continuance in office. Several of these officers were employed as "Register-Holders," apparently on the receipt of orders from the Secretary of State that revenue appointments were to be confined to the "exclusive Establishment."<sup>58</sup>

### The New Judicial Establishment.

As the multiplication of the judicial posts accounted for several members of the increased Service, the development of the judicial establishment may be briefly traced.<sup>59</sup>

We have already seen that the only courts in existence on Mr. North's arrival were the Courts Martial, the Collectors' Kachcheris, and the Court of Equity.<sup>60</sup> As the vesting of judicial power in the hands of the Collectors prevented any reform of the administration of the revenue without a change in the system of judicature,<sup>61</sup> and as Mr. North found the latter in a state of almost complete inefficiency and both in need of amendment, the establishment of a new judicial system was the first of his many tasks on assuming the Government, and occupied much of "at least Ten Hours of every Day" occupied in "painful and uninteresting Drudgery."<sup>62</sup>

The first result of this labour was the Proclamation of 23rd September, 1799, constituting the Supreme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction to consist of the Governor as President and five Associate Judges,<sup>63</sup> replacing the criminal jurisdiction of the three Dutch courts at Colombo, Galle, and Jaffna called *Hoff van Justitie*, and having full criminal jurisdiction in the Maritime Provinces. For lesser criminal cases, offences against the Police, &c., Fiscals' Courts were established in the following year, to consist of three members, the Fiscal (i.e. the Advocate Fiscal) being President.<sup>64</sup>

For civil cases, the Dutch Landraads were reconstituted to deal with civil cases outside the Towns of Colombo, Galle and Jaffna,<sup>65</sup> and the Fiscals' Courts were given civil jurisdiction for matters in dispute up to twenty-five rix dollars in value, land cases excepted. In the Towns, civil

56. C. L. E. W., 223.

57. Despatch of 34th November, 1802, para. 21.

58. Despatch of 26th April, 1800.

59. See the relevant Proclamations, and Walter Pereira's *Law of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pp. 100 ff.

60. *Ceylon Antiquary*, IV, p. 52.

61. Despatch of 27th October, 1798.

62. Despatch of 29th February, 1798, para. 104.

63. See also Proclamation of 14th October, 1799.

64. Proclamation of 31st June, 1800.

65. Proclamation of 23rd September, 1799.



cases were to be tried by the Civil Court which replaced the Court of Matrimonial and Petty Causes under the Dutch. Two Courts of Appeal in civil cases were constituted, the Greater to consist of the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary to Government, the Lesser, to consist of the Governor and five others.<sup>65</sup>

But further important amendments were not long in following. By the Charter of 18th April, 1801, the Supreme Court of Judicature, with the Chief Justice as principal Judge and one Puisne Justice was inaugurated, replacing the Supreme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction and the Civil Court of Colombo. The Charter also constitutes the High Court of Appeal to consist of the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Puisne Justice, and the Secretary to Government, replacing the Greater and Lesser Courts of Appeal in civil cases.

Later Proclamations<sup>66</sup> extend the jurisdiction of the Fiscals' Courts both in criminal and civil cases, while, by August, 1801, we see signs of Mr. North's dissatisfaction with the working of the Landraads, which the reforms had left practically untouched. By the Proclamation of 20th August, the Landraads of Galle and Jaffna are abolished, and their powers vested in the Civil Courts of these stations, and by November, 1802,<sup>67</sup> all the Landraads had been merged with the Civil Courts, or with each other, into the Provincial Courts of Colombo, Matara, Puttalam, Jaffna, Trincomalee. By the Proclamation of 25th June, 1802, the name of the Fiscals' Courts is changed to that of the Courts of the Justices of the Peace to avoid the confusion which had arisen by the appointment of Fiscals to execute the processes of the new Supreme Court. One Justice of the Peace is to sit daily, and to be called the Sitting Magistrate, while the others apparently sat as occasion required.

Thus, in Colombo, about 1804 we find the following subordinate courts mentioned by Cardiner : <sup>68</sup> the Provincial Court, held in the environs, chiefly occupied in settling disputes concerning landed property : the Court of the Justices of the Peace, meeting in the Fort ; and the Court of the Sitting Magistrate in the Pettah.

### The Fiscal.

The early confusion in the title of Fiscal has been noticed incidentally, and, as it is a real one, officially recognised and continuing in practice even after the official amendment, it may be cleared up here. Under the Dutch, the Fiscal was a judge in civil cases, and public prosecutor in criminal cases, while he also inspected the police and was Justice of the Peace.<sup>69</sup> The Fiscals' Courts apparently received their name from the judicial functions of the Fiscal, although their jurisdiction was mainly criminal, not civil ; while the Fiscal's functions as public prosecutor fell to the Advocate Fiscal, the lineal predecessor of the present Attorney-General, and the term Fiscal was, by Proclamation of 25th June, 1802, assigned to the Fiscal, provided for under section XIX of the Charter of 18th April, 1801, to execute processes, detain prisoners, &c., the duties of the present Fiscals. But it may be noted that the old judicial significance of the name survived till a late date in popular parlance, the later District Judge being called the "Maha Fiscal" and the Police Magistrate the "Fiscal."<sup>70</sup> Under the Dutch, there appears to have been Fiscals stationed at various places in the Maritime Provinces, and probably this was so in British times ; but there is no record of the number or the names of the holders. Under the British, there was only one

65. Proclamation of 14th October, 1793.

67. Those of 16th July, 1801, and of 13th February, 1802, *s.v.*

68. By Proclamations of 25th June, 18th July, and 10th November, 1802.

69. 172.

70. *Cleghorn's Manual*, C. L. E. W., VJ 43 and Pereira I 101.

71. See Lewis *Foundations and Monuments*, 381.



Advocate Fiscal, the first being, apparently, James Dunkin from 19th February, 1801.<sup>72</sup> There also appears to have been, at least in the first instance, only one Fiscal to the Supreme Court, the first being Frederic Baron Mylius from 15th May, 1802, who had previously been Fiscal in the original Dutch sense probably from, or even before, the British occupation.

### The Survey and Public Works Department.

Another somewhat obscure question of origins is that of the beginnings of the Survey and Public Works Departments. The former is clearly constituted by the Proclamation of 2nd August, 1800, to consist of a Surveyor-General and five Principal Surveyors at Negombo, Colombo, Matara, Trincomalee and Jaffna, each with an Assistant and Sub-Assistant. The first Surveyor-General was Joseph Jonville appointed by 30th August, 1800,<sup>73</sup> probably from the date of the Proclamation; there is no record of the names of his assistants.

The beginning of the Public Works Department is not so clear, but the first appointment in it appears to have been that of Lieutenant R. J. Cotgrave of the Madras Engineers as Civil Architect and Engineer and Superintendent of the Public Works, probably in September, 1800, to remedy "the State of Decay into which all the public Buildings, the Wharfs and Ware-Houses, the Dykes and Canals have fallen."<sup>74</sup> On 16th March, 1802, George Atkinson, Civil Engineer, was "newly arrived,"<sup>75</sup> and, although there is no record that Cotgrave was still Civil Engineer at that date, it is possible that he handed over to Atkinson.<sup>76</sup> By 10th July, 1805, the office of Surveyor-General had been given to Atkinson in addition to his duties as Civil Engineer in view of Jonville's approaching departure.<sup>77</sup>

The only other civil Departments, apparently in existence at this time, were the Medical Department, the Master Attendants' Department, and, in a very rudimentary form, what later became the Education Department.

### The Medical Department.

The first was, in its early beginnings, apparently a purely military Department Dr. Briggs being "Head Surgeon" on Mr. North's arrival, but being almost immediately superseded by Dr. Ewart, who had come out with Mr. North with the appointment of Physician-General to the King's Forces in Ceylon.<sup>78</sup> There is no mention in the records of Dr. Ewart attending to civil work, nor is it clear whether Messrs. Christie, Orr and Carnie "to whom I (Mr. North) confided the Medical Superintendence of the Three Districts into which I at First divided the Settlements,"<sup>79</sup> and Mr. Yates, who was later appointed at Galle, were subordinate to Dr. Ewart, or were civil medical officers independent of him. Probably the division of the Maritime Provinces into three districts refers to the establishment of small-pox hospitals at Colombo, Jaffna, and Trincomalee<sup>80</sup> for the treatment of the civil population, and it is certain that Dr. Yates' appointment at Galle was made in view of the necessity of a fourth small-pox hospital at Galle. Thus, it would appear that all the appointments were made in connection with the campaign against small-pox and formed the beginning of the Civil Medical Department, say, from April, 1800, but it is

72. *Ib.* 269.

73. *Despatch of date*, para. 25.

74. *Despatch of 20th September, 1800.*

75. *Despatch of date*, para. 137. He probably arrived on the *Monk* on 13rd January, 1802.

76. Reference to correspondence between Baebus and Cotgrave, who is called "Civil Architect" is made by Lewis. *Temples and Monuments*, 82.

77. *Despatch of date*. Atkinson's appointment as Surveyor-General was gazetted on 17th June, 1805.

78. *Despatch from Court of Directors of 25th May, 1798*, part. 34.

79. *Despatch of 30th August, 1800*, para. 46.

80. *Despatch of 5th April, 1800*.



likely that these officers also held military appointments either with the civil ones or before or after them. Thus, Christie was made Inspector-General of both Civil and Military Hospitals by 18th February, 1801,<sup>81</sup> and later became head of the Medical Department, presumably controlling the regimental surgeons as well as the civil physicians.

#### The Masters Attendant.

The Department of the Masters Attendant was already in existence on Mr. North's arrival, having been established under the Madras Administration. There were three Masters Attendant, James Dent at Colombo, William Carmichael Gibson at Galle, and Thomas Marshall at Trincomalee, all of whom were continued in their offices by Mr. North. As they all held different agreements with Government, entered into "at different Times . . . in the confusion . . . of a recent Conquest," the Governor expresses his early intention of revising the arrangements and of regulating what he considers to be the inadequate emoluments of thirty pagodas, or £20, a month each.<sup>82</sup>

By 18th February, 1801,<sup>83</sup> "some Degree of Analogy and Regularity" had been introduced, and satisfactory results are anticipated from the new arrangements and from the "Activity and Intelligence" of the Masters Attendant, who were now George Laughton at Colombo, Granby Calcraft Bagshaw at Trincomalee, Gibson being still at Galle. By March, 1802, James Gordon had joined the Department, and was Master Attendant, Colombo, in the place of Gibson, who, after apparently exchanging with Laughton from Galle, appears to have returned there to relieve Laughton for duty in connection with the intermediate examination of the pearl banks. It would also appear from the same Despatch<sup>84</sup> that an additional Master Attendantship had been created for Jaffna and Manaar, but its suppression is recommended in the following year.<sup>85</sup>

#### The Education Department.

The only representative of the Education Department of the period was its head, the Revd. James Cordiner, who was Superintendent of Schools and Examiner of the Candidates for the office of Schoolmaster from probably about the middle of 1799.<sup>86</sup> But, in spite of this small beginning, great interest was taken in education during the period under review, as may be shown at another time.

81. Despatch of date, para. 89.

82. Despatch of 20th February, 1799, postscript.

83. Despatch of date, para. 65.

84. Despatch of 18th March, 1802, para. 46.

85. Despatch of 20th April, 1803.

86. Despatch of 24th October, 1799, para. 23.



## THE CHARIOT, STATE-CAR AND OTHER VEHICLES IN ANCIENT CEYLON.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

THERE appear to have been at least four kinds of vehicles or conveyances,—each more or less different from the others—known to, or used by, the ancient Sinhalese.

I confine myself to the period of the *Mahāvamsa* or Great Dynasty, beginning with the coming of Vijaya in the 5th century B. C. and ending with the death of Mahāsena in the 4th century A. D.

### 1. THE LOAD-WAGGON.

This was commonly called the *sakaṭa* (Sinhalese ගල, *gēla*), sometimes *ratha*, and rarely *vāho*.

Thus the giant Ummādhussadeva, the greatest Sinhalese marksman in traditional history, "who hit by (the light of the) lightning, and who hit a hair," used also to shoot his arrow through "a waggon laden with sand" (*vālukāpanṇasakaṭam*).<sup>1</sup>

In the battle of Vijitanagara, the elephant Kandula seizes "a cart-wheel" (*rathacakkam*) with which it batters its way into the town. But Mitta, another of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's giants, lays hold of "a waggon-frame,"<sup>2</sup> the term for the latter being *sakaṭapañjoram*.

A merchant from the city of Anurādhapura, taking "many waggons" (*sakaṭe bahū*),<sup>3</sup> in order to bring ginger and so forth from Malaya, had set out for Malaya. Not far from the Ambaṭṭhakola-cave, he brought the "waggons" (*sakaṭāni*) to a halt. . . . He took a lump of the silver he found in the cave and went to his "freight-waggons" (*sakaṭāntikam*). Then he leaves the "waggons" (*sakaṭāni*) behind.

To King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's enquiry: "How wilt thou make the *thūpa*?", one of the assembled five hundred master-builders replies: *Pessiyānam satam laḍḍhā pamsūnam sakaṭam aham khepayissāmi ekāham*,<sup>4</sup> which Geiger translates as follows: "Taking a hundred workmen I will use one waggon-load of sand."<sup>5</sup>

And we have King Bhātikābhaya bidding that the mass of plaster of the great *Thūpa* be carefully kneaded together with oil and making a plaster-covering for it from "a hundred waggon loads of pearls" (*sakaṭasatena mattānam*).<sup>6</sup>

The use of *vāho* in the sense of a "load-waggon" occurs, so far as I am aware, only once. Asoka's gifts to Devānampiyatissa, on the occasion of the latter's coronation, included "sixty times one hundred waggon loads of mountain rice" (*sālinam saṭṭhivāhusatāni*).

1. M. XXIII, 67. Sinh. ගල පියුම ගල, ගල.

2. M. XIV, 44. ගල පාන, ගල පාන, ගල පාන.

3. M. XXVIII, 11. බහු සකට ගල.

4. See also, p. 138.

5. M. XXV, 1.

6. "Sand," however, does not appear to be quite accurate, since *pessā* (not *sakaṭa* as at XXIII, 67) ordinarily means "oil," *satth*, in the sense of the Sinhalese ගල, and might here be rendered as "lump."

7. M. XXIV, 44.



## 2. THE PALANQUIN OR LITTER.

This was the *sivikā* (Sinh. *sivikāya*, *sivigeṇa*), to which very little reference is made in the *Mahāvamsa*. Asoka's gifts, referred to above, included also a costly "litter" (*sivikam*):<sup>8</sup> a sick *sāmanera* is brought to the Tissarāma "in a litter" (*sivikāya*, M. XXII, 28); and Dutthagāmani, just before his death, goes to the great Thūpa "lying on a palanquin" (*sivikāya nipajjitvū*).<sup>9</sup>

## 3. RIDING-WAGGON OR CARRIAGE.

This was called *yāna*, sometimes *ratha*. It is probably the vehicle indicated in the following references from the *Mahāvamsa* :—

Princess Pālī, "the woman at whose touch leaves turn to gold,"<sup>10</sup> brings food for her father and for the reapers, mounted on her "splendid waggon" (*yānam sobhanam*).<sup>11</sup>

Vihārādevī, after her visit to the sick *sāmanera*, mounts her "car" (*yānam*) and goes her way.<sup>12</sup>

And it is in "a covered car" (*channayanena*) that the same Queen brings the body of her dead husband to Tissamahārāma.<sup>13</sup>

## 4. CHARIOT OR WAR-CAR.

This was the *ratha*, sometimes referred to as *vāhana*, and rarely *yāna*.

The King was the "Lord of Chariots"<sup>14</sup> (*rathesabho*). See *Mahāvamsa*, XV, 11, 189; XVIII, 62; XIX, 1; XXIX, 12; XXXV, 42.

The King of Madhurā's presents to Vijaya included elephants, horses and "waggons" (*hatthassaratham*, M. VII, 56.)

On the morrow of Mahinda's arrival at Mihintale Devānampiyatissa sends him a "waggon" or rather chariot.<sup>15</sup>

The same king comes upon his "car" (*rathattho*) to his ārāma, followed by "a mighty train" which included "chariots, troops and beasts for riders" (*sayoggabalavāhano*).<sup>16</sup>

He mounts his "car" (*ratham*)<sup>17</sup> to go to the Cetiya mountain in the wake of the *thera* Mahinda.

On the occasion of the arrival of the Relics, the city is thronged with *theras*, troops and "vehicles" (*satherabalavāhano*).<sup>18</sup>

The great Bodhi tree is placed on "a beautiful car" (*rathe subhe*) to be brought to the Capital,<sup>19</sup> and it is similarly conveyed to the spot where the Eastern Monastery afterwards stood.<sup>20</sup>

Elāra's son, going "in a car" (*rathena*) to the Tissa tank, runs over a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow.<sup>21</sup>

Elāra himself is seated upon "a car" (*ratha*) when the point of the yoke on the latter causes some damage to the "thūpa of the Conqueror" at the Cetiya mountain,<sup>22</sup> i. e. breaks off fifteen stones from it.

8. M. XI, 21. 9. M. XXXII, 2. 10. M. X, 25. 11. Loc. cit. v. 31. See also v. 32. 12. M. XXII, 28.  
13. M. XXIV, 11. 14. Or "chariot-owners," as Childers says on the authority of Subhuti.  
15. M. XIV, 42. See also vv 29, 43. 16. M. XV, 199. See also XXV, 1. 17. M. XVI, 5. See also v. 7.  
18. M. XVII, 26. 19. M. XVIII, 42. 20. M. XIX, 1. 21. M. XXI, 16, 17. 22. Loc. cit. vv 22, 23, 24, 25.

Prince Tissa, in order to guard the open country against the Tamils, is equipped with troops and "chariots" (*vāhanam*) preparatory to being stationed in Dīghavāpi (in the modern Eastern Province.)<sup>22</sup>

Dutthagāmani begins his victorious campaign against the Tamils by marching forth "with chariots, troops and beasts for riders" (*sayoggabalavāhano*).<sup>23</sup>

Elāra is similarly equipped.<sup>24</sup>

In actual battle, warriors are seen mounted on elephants, horses and chariots (*ratha*).<sup>25</sup>

On the occasion of the enshrining of the Relics, Dutthagāmani is surrounded by his dancing-women, warriors, troops, elephants, horses and chariots (*hatthivājirathehi*).<sup>26</sup>

In Dutthagāmani's dying moments he sees in the air "six cars" (*cha rathe*) with six gods led by devatās from heaven.<sup>27</sup> There was, presumably, a seventh, since, immediately upon his death a few moments after, "he was seen, reborn and standing in celestial form in the car that had come from Tusita-heaven" (*Tusitā āgate rathe*).<sup>28</sup>

Vatthagāmani, after being vanquished in battle by the Tamils, mounts his "car" (*ratham*) and flees.<sup>29</sup>

Ilanāga, after his victory over the Lambakannas, commands that they be yoked two and two behind one another "to his car" (*rathe*).<sup>30</sup>

### NOTES AND INFERENCES.

The above, together with a few further casual references noted below, are all that the *Mahāvamsa* has to tell us on the subject of chariots or war-cars and vehicular traffic in ancient Ceylon. They are, however, much too meagre to enable it to be stated with anything like precision how the respective vehicles differed from each other, what their relative size, how drawn usually, what their ordinary "load" or seating capacity, how extensive their use, etc., etc. No single vehicle is anywhere described in any detail, not even in general terms.

Nevertheless, few and uninformed as they are, the references afford, by implication and otherwise, not insufficient ground to permit of our forming some general idea of what the vehicles were like. In the case of the chariot or war-car at least, the details we have of it as it existed in India<sup>31</sup> about the period covered by this paper, place us on surer ground. Firstly, then,

#### The Palanquin or Litter (*sivikā*)

This probably differed little, if at all, from the modern *dōlāva* or *kūnama*, borne by four, sometimes eight, men. There is no indication whatsoever of a *Kūnam Maduwa*, as the Royal Palanquin Department was styled in later times. The ancient Royal Palanquin had, it may be assumed, quite apart from its general splendour, some such distinguishing marks or mark as the "bent pole" peculiar to Sri Vikrama Rāja Sinha's *kūnama*, the roof of which, by the way, was of silver.<sup>32</sup> It was probably also embellished with gold and precious stones.

#### The Load-Waggon (*sakaṭa*)

This was probably a form or type, if not replica, of the modern බර සෙරුවම or bullock-cart (single or double or both). It served aforetime some at least of the purposes which the bullock-cart serves today.

22. M. XXIV, 2, 2. 24. M. XXV, 1, 2, 71. 25. Loc. cit. v 57. 26. Loc. cit. v 81. 27. M. XXXI, 37, 40, 44.  
28. M. XXXII, 83. 29. Loc. cit. v 75. 30. M. XXXIII, 41. See also v 85. 31. M. XXIV, 40.  
32. Hopkins, *Position of the Ruling Class in Ancient India*, pp 125-127.  
33. Codrington, *D'Oyley's Diary*, p. 146 (C. B. B. & J. Vol. XXV, No. 68, 1911).



It was large and heavy. Otherwise, its "frame" would scarcely have been a befitting weapon in the hands of the giant Nandhimitta, whose arm alone is sufficient to break down a wall "18 cubits high and 8 usabhas long,"—the same Nandhimitta whose pride would not allow him to enter Vijitanagara by the way opened by the elephant Kandula which had "seized a cart-wheel" as its battering weapon.

It is "laden with sand"; we read again of "waggon loads of rice,"<sup>33</sup> "waggon loads of pearls,"<sup>34</sup> "waggon loads of clothes."<sup>35</sup> And an Anurādhapura merchant takes several of them, "many waggons" in fact, in order to bring "ginger and so forth" from Malaya.<sup>36</sup>

That these load-waggons were drawn by bulls, is nowhere specifically stated in the *Mahāvamsa*; but there can be little doubt on the point. Even if we had no such indication of their use as is to be found in Ilanāga's mother's appeal for the lives of the condemned Lambakannas yoked to his car—"These are but oxen yoked to thy chariot, O Lord of chariots; therefore let their horns and hoofs be struck off" (*gonā etc rathe yuttā tava honti rathe sabha, singam khuram va etesam chedāpaya tato*).<sup>37</sup>—there is the significant fact that, when the Anurādhapura merchant, already referred to, makes the discovery of silver in the Ambatthakola-cave, he leaves his carts behind in order to go "in haste" to Anurādhapura to announce his discovery to the king. Presumably he felt that his legs would carry him faster than his bulls (?) would. These had apparently broken down already; for, at a distance of no more than eight yojanas from the starting-place, he had found it necessary to bring his carts to a halt "since he had need of wood for whips!" Wood would scarcely be used on the backs of horses, but there is nothing surprising in its employment to goad on bulls, since it is the universal practice today. The modern Sinhalese carter is, in this respect, faithfully portrayed in the Anurādhapura merchant-carter of just 2,000 years ago.

[Note the enumeration of ගැල් ගොන් මඩුන් ("carts, oxen and buffaloes") in the Slab-Inscription of Kassapa V (*Ep. Zeyl*, Vol. I, p. 44, l. 17) and in the Moragoda Pillar-Inscription of Kassapa IV (*Ib*, p. 207); ගැල් ගොන් ("carts and oxen") in the Buddhanehāla Pillar-Inscription of Kassapa V (*Ib*, p. 197, l. 13C); ගැල් මඩුන් ගම් ගොන් ("carts, buffaloes, village-oxen") in the Iripinniyāva Pillar-Inscription (*Ib*, p. 167, ll. 8-10C) and in the Rambāva Pillar-Inscription (*Ib*, p. 173, ll. 7-9B). In the Kiribat-Vehera Pillar-Inscription (*Ib*, pp. 158-159), a ගැල් මග ("cart-road") is described as the western boundary of the garden called Upper Megiri-vatta granted to the dispenser at Thupārāma].

#### The Riding-Waggon or Carriage (*yāna*)

Like "Vessavana's chariot which served as a car for the women"<sup>38</sup> (*nārivāhanayānam Vessavanassa*), the chariot or war-car (see remarks below), with modifications or embellishments, probably served as a riding-waggon or carriage for the noble ladies of ancient Ceylon.

The references in the *Mahāvamsa* indicate its use generally by Royal women—once by a Princess and twice by a Queen—but it was not improbably used also by the nobility and rich gentry. [The *Dhātuvamsa* gives us a description of King Mahā Nāga of Tissa presenting Mahākāla, the son of a wealthy man, with "a car suitable for four persons" (*satara deneku yedu rathayak*).<sup>39</sup> which was in all likelihood a riding-waggon].

33. M. XI. 27.

34. M. XXXIV. 36; XXVIII. 37.

35. M. XXIX. 37.

37. Caravans of bullock carts, filled with similar household requirements and proceeding to the "interior," are familiar sights in Colombo even today.

38. M. XXXIV. 42.

39. M. XXVII. 29.

40. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 542.

Some idea, however vague, of the form, fittings, luxuriance and rich decorative scheme of Princess Suvannapālī's "splendid waggon" may be formed from the following description of the "gem-pavilion" (set up in the middle of the Lohapāsāda) which was modelled on "Vessavana's chariot which served as a car for the women".—

"It was adorned with *pillars*<sup>41</sup> consisting of precious stones, on which were figures of lions, tigers, and so forth, and shapes of devatās; a bordering of pearl network ran round the edge of the pavilion and thereon was a coral *vedikā*.<sup>42</sup>

"Within the pavilion, gaily adorned with the seven gems, stood a shining beautiful throne of ivory with a seat of mountain-crystal, and in the ivory back (was fashioned) a sun in gold, a moon in silver, and stars in pearls, and lotus-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-tales in the same place within a festoon of gold.

"On the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with *costly cushions* was placed a beautiful fan of ivory, gleaming (magnificently), and a white *parasol* with a coral foot, resting on mountain-crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were the eight auspicious figures<sup>43</sup> and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. Palace, parasol, throne and pavilion were beyond price."<sup>44</sup>

The riding-waggon or carriage was, presumably, a roomy conveyance, i.e. provided ample accommodation within. It is not quite certain whether it was Princess Pālī's own waggon or her retinue that brought food for her father and for the reapers of a field measuring a hundred *karisas*<sup>45</sup> (400 acres), but Queen Vihāradevī's *yāna* was large enough for the purpose of conveying, from Mahagāma to Tissamahārāma, her husband's dead body which was in all likelihood encoffined.

The *yāna* in the latter case is expressly described as "a covered car," the implication being that there were uncovered cars, i.e. waggons without roofs or tents.

In all probability the riding-waggons were drawn by horses, of which there were a great many in the country,<sup>46</sup> but they may have been drawn by bulls as well, like the spring-cart or "buggy" of our own day, persons such as the nobility who could afford to invest in horses, using them.

#### Chariot or War-Car (*ratha*)

*Lord of Chariots*: The King was the "Lord of Chariots" or charioteers. This meant no more than that he was the supreme head of that group, as he was the head of the other three groups—cavalry, infantry, elephants—which together constituted "the four-fold army" (*caturangini senā*, M. XXVIII, 29), a qualitative, not a quantitative distribution. It was a complimentary title expressive of the king's might and power.

The earliest chariot was a car of two, or it may be three, wheels, and with one, two (or three) or four horses.

The car which Devānampiyatissa sent to Mihintale to bring Mahinda into the city may have had one or two horses. It may have been a "two-wheeler," as certainly was the car in

41. These in Pālī's waggon, would be the posts on which the roof or tent rested. Similarly, the "throne" would represent her own seat in the vehicle, the "costly cushions," "parasol," etc., forming part of the embellishments which made her waggon "splendid."

42. *Vedikā* means first "terrace, altar"; here it stands for the parapet-balustrade to the windows.

43. The *āśāsa* mentioned were: lion, bull, elephant, water-pitcher, fan, standard, conch-shell and lamp.

44. M. XXVII, vv 33-35.

45. A *karisa* here means an area of about 4 acres, i.e. as much ground as can be sown with a *karisa* of seed-corn. See Rhys Davids, *Ancient Ceylon and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 18.

46. "Elephants and Horses in Sinhalese Warfare" will form the subject of another paper, for which I have been gathering materials for some time.



which Elara's son killed a young calf by driving "the wheel" over its neck. Elara himself drove in a two-wheeled car, for, when he accidentally damaged the thūpa at Mihintale, we find him flinging himself down upon the road with the words: "Sever my head also (from the trunk) with the wheel."

The seating capacity of the chariot was proportioned to its size, which probably varied. Pandukabhaya takes Suvannapālī with him in his car (M. X, 40). Devānampiyatissa has "two queens" with him, possibly also the charioteer, when he follows hard after Mahinda to the Cetiya mountain (XVI, 5). But Vattagāmani, in his flight, takes not only his two Queens—Anulādevī (who was with child) and Somadevī—but also the two young Princes, Mahācūla and Mahānāga, making five in all. Apparently, however, five was one too many—the car was presumably a "four-seater"<sup>47</sup>—to permit of the rapid flight necessary for successful escape from the Tamils. Therefore, "to lighten the car," Somadevī is let down "with her own consent" the chronicler is careful to add, in order to palliate the conduct of an ungallant king.

There is no means of determining, even approximately, the dimensions of the chariot,<sup>48</sup> but that it was somewhat cumbersome and nevertheless attained a fair measure of speed, there is some ground for inferring. The wheel of Elara's son's car does not injure the young calf<sup>49</sup> but kills it at once; and such is the force with which the point of the yoke on Elara's waggon comes in contact with the thūpa that so many as fifteen stones from it are "broken off."<sup>50</sup>

Despite its weight, the chariot must have been small in size and swung low, so low that it was easy to leap in or out. Note the security with which Elara "leaped from his car" in the passage referred to above.

*Parts of the Chariot:* The references we have are few and unilluminating. Three bamboo stems are said to be in girth even as a waggon (or chariot) pole (*rathapatoda*).<sup>51</sup> We read again of "poles of the cars"<sup>52</sup> (these are heavenly ones) and of "the point of the yoke on the waggon" (*rathassa yugakotiya*).<sup>53</sup>

The references to chariot-wheels are equally uninforming. Bhātikābbaya's scheme of decorations for the great Thūpa included "lotus flowers of gold, large as waggon-wheels" (*sovaṇṇayāni padumāni cakkamattāni*).<sup>54</sup> Similar flowers, of equal size, were made for the Dighavapi cetiya by Saddhatissa, brother of Dutthagāmani.<sup>55</sup> And we read that the pile of the Lambakannas' heads, struck off by order of Ilanāga, was as high as "the nave of the (king's) waggon-wheel" (*rathanābhisamam*).<sup>56</sup>—a statement obviously intended,—but, in the absence of more precise information, scarcely sufficient,—to convey an indication of size.

The facts enumerated above and the legitimate inferences which we are entitled to make from them can leave us in little doubt as to what the Sinhalese chariot was exactly like. It could not have differed largely, if to any extent, from the ordinary war-car so frequently spoken of in the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* and of which we have fairly full descriptions.

Note the description of a war-car in the sixth book of the *Rāmāyana* :—

47. Maha Nāga's present to Mahākāla was a "four-seater." See above.

48. Note, however, that according to Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, a pre-Christian work (B.C. 321-296), "the best chariot shall measure 10 purushas in height (i.e. 120 angulas) and 12 purushas in width. After this model, 7 more chariots with width decreasing by one purusha successively down to a chariot of 6 purushas in width shall be constructed. He (the Superintendent of Chariots) shall also construct chariots of gods (*devaratha*), festival chariots (*puskarsika*), battle chariots (*sangraha*), travelling chariots (*paripustika*), chariots used in assailing an enemy's strongholds (*parivahatiganta*), and training chariots" (Ch. 23, p. 170).

49. The stray cattle nuisance in Ceylon 2,000 years ago.

50. The repair of the damage cost the king "just 15,000 *kalahperas*."

51. M. XXI, 22.

52. M. XXXIV 47.

53. M. XXXIII 11.

54. M. XI, 10, 22.

55. M. XXXV, 36.

56. M. XXXII, 70.

"He mounted with joy the divine war-car, his bow strung, that car furnished with all kinds of weapons, sounding with a hundred bells, harnessed with thought-swift steeds, and well guided by the charioteer; which had the sound of thunder, and the glory of the shining moon or sun; which had a lofty flag-staff; which was irresistible, furnished with a protection (*suvarātham*), well-adorned, covered with a net of gold, on fire as it were with glory."<sup>57</sup>

And the following from the *Mahābhārata* is "the shortest yet fullest picture of the war-car in its greatest if not most ponderous glory:"

"Harness up (*sajjikuru ratham*), the saint cried: prepare quickly thy chariot called the war-car, with weapons and banners, with a spear and a gold-staff (*yaśti*), noisy with the sound of bells, furnished with ornamental doors (*yuktas toranakaḥ*), gilded, supplied with hundreds of arrows; this was done, and the king placed his wife at the left of the pole (*vāme dhurī*), himself at the right, and laid within the car the goad, sharp-pointed, made of three sticks."

A simpler description tells us that the war-car ready for battle was

"Large and fine, and adorned with bells, with a golden net, and light to run with the noise of thunder; well-adorned, furnished with tiger-skins which made protection (guard, *varāthin*), and drawn by good fair-necked steeds."<sup>58</sup>

Of the larger chariots drawn by four horses we read:

"All the cars were drawn by four horses (*caturyaḥ*), and equipped with arrows and spears, and a hundred bows apiece; for each car were two pole-horses directed by one driver (*dhuryayar hayayor ekah . . . rathī*), and two outside horses fastened to the axle-end (*pārṣṇī*), and driven by one driver apiece (*pārṣṇisārathī*)."<sup>59</sup>

These battle-cars were "like guarded cities," and the horses had gilded trappings (*hema-bhāṇḍa*). Each car was accompanied by ten or by fifty elephants.<sup>60</sup>

The earliest Sinhalese chariot was then in all likelihood like the Vedic war-car and may be "reconstructed" as follows:<sup>61</sup>

It was of very tough wood, placed on a box, *koṣa*, fixed on a wooden axle, *akṣa*, fastened by thongs of cowhide or other strong material. The seat, *bandhura*, was single (there may have been more than one seat). The "warriors mounted on chariots" in Dutthagāma's battle with Bhalluka (M. XXV, 81) must have stood on the floor of their cars, *garta*, to the left probably of their drivers. A rim, called the *anka*, protected the cars, and the wheel-spokes were of wood.

The wheel consisted, besides the wooden circle, of the tire (*rathanemī*), the spokes, *ara*, and the hub, *nābhi*. The tire must have been of iron. Note that on the occasion of the enshrining of the Relics, the earth seemed as it were rent asunder by, *inter alia*, "the thundering noise of . . . chariots" (*rathasaddhehi*).<sup>62</sup> A banner-pole probably stood erect in the car. A horse stood on each side of the pole and the two were yoked, guided by a bit, *qīprā*, and reins, while urged by a goad or whip.

The "pole of the car"—its girth in one case is left to be surmised from the unspecified size of "three bamboo stems"<sup>63</sup>—was fastened to the "box of the car" (*kāṣṭha*), and to the double yoke (*yuga*) that crossed it, and (*dhur*) rested in turn on the necks of the steeds. The fastenings of the yoke (like the general *cakrabandha*, *rathabandha*) were probably of leather, as also the reins. The ordinary mount must have been from the side or back.

57. *Bhāgavata* (ed. Gorenlo) VI, 51, 25, ff. 58. *Mahābhārata* (Bombay edition) V, 121, 28, ff.

59. *Id.* V, 125, 15, ff. Chariots with 4 horses are found on the Bharhut Stupa.

60. Hopkins, *loc. cit.*, p. 201. (For the ideal, see *Rāmāyana*, VI, 96, 2 ff.)

61. *Id.* pp. 137-342. 62. *M. XXXI*, 43, 44. 63. *M. XI*, 10.



### The Charioteer (*sārathi*)

The ordinary car, with one or two horses, had only one charioteer. There was only one in the car which Devānampiyatissa sent to Mihintale to bring Mahinda in. Often, however, Prince or King was his own charioteer. We find that Pandukābhaya "drove his own waggon" (M. X, 33),<sup>64</sup> and it is Elāra's son himself who drives the wheel over the young calf's neck and ultimately pays the penalty for it with his own. The injury to the thūpa must have been caused by Elāra himself when driving his own chariot. He would scarcely have flung himself down and asked that his head be severed if his charioteer was responsible for the damage. And Dutthagāmani, immediately upon his death, "standing in celestial form in the car that had come from Tusita-heaven," is said to have himself driven three times around the great Thūpa (M. XXXII, 75-77). Vattagāmani, in his flight, is indicated to have been his own charioteer.

The functions of the charioteer in war must form the subject of another paper. An important casual occupation of the trusted charioteer was the office of herald when he carried written messages or repeated verbal ones. This office Devānampiyatissa's charioteer discharges on the occasion referred to above.

### The State-Car.

We have only one direct reference to this in the *Mahāvamsa* (XXXI, 38, 39):—Dutthagāmani "mounted his car of state (*śaratham*) that was drawn by four pure white Sindhu-horses."

The state-car was to the chariot what Suvannapālī's *yāna sobhāna* was to the ordinary waggon—the difference being one of splendour and magnificence, not so much in the matter of the greater number of horses as in the ornamentation employed to deck the car itself.

If the gorgeous beauty of the Lohapāsāda gem-pavilion, modelled on "Vessavana's chariot which served as a car for the women," cannot give some idea of the splendour of the king's state-car, the following at least may:

The *Mahābhārata* speaks of a state-car adorned with sapphires (*masāra*), crystal, and gold-plated wheels (*hemanibaddhacakraḥ*), "all sorts of gems" being fastened to it, so that "it shines like the newly-risen sun."<sup>65</sup> Yudhishthira has "a war-car like Indra's, with golden harness, and bright with *hātaka* (gold)."<sup>66</sup>

The relative positions of the "four pure white Sindhu-horses" in Dutthagāmani's state-car may have been as follows: one bearing the right-hand *dhur*; one the left, the "near" horse; one attached to the end of the fore-axle on the left; the other, parallel to this, to the axle-end on the right. Another possible arrangement is by interpretation as a double span, the foremost drawing on the yoke and pole, the hinder pair on the axle.

The "beautiful car" on which the Bodhi tree was brought to the Capital and later conveyed to the spot where the Eastern Monastery afterwards stood, may not improbably have been Devānampiyatissa's state-car. It was certainly the latter's state-car which was sent to bring Mahinda from Mihintale, for the *Pūjāvālyā* expressly describes it as such.

64. This is the only use of *yāna* to describe what was undoubtedly a chariot or war-car. Pandukābhaya takes Pāṇinto his own waggon and faces onward, "fearless and surrounded by a mighty army."

65. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 16, 33 ff.

66. *Ib.* VI, 22, 5.

## GARCIA DA ORTA'S MONGOOSE PLANTS.

By T. PETCH.

THE publication of an English translation of Garcia da Orta's *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, by Sir Clements Markham, has apparently aroused some interest locally in the Mongoose plants, or snake-bite antidotes, described by that author, and has given occasion for some speculations concerning their identity. For the most part, however, the question was decided nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, as a reference to the standard works on Ceylon botany would have shown. But it is improbable that the readers of Markham's edition would infer that such was the case, for his footnotes are decidedly inadequate, and frequently botanically incorrect.

Garcia da Orta was a Portuguese physician who lived at Goa from 1534 until his death about the year 1570. He made extensive enquiries into the origin and uses of the drugs employed in native medicine, and published an account of his investigations under the title of *Coloquios dos simples e drogas he consas medicinaes da India*, in 1563. The book is of interest to Ceylon readers chiefly for the fact that it contains the original account of the methods adopted by the mongoose in its fights with the cobra, and of three Ceylon snake roots, or snake-bite antidotes, one of which is said to afford the mongoose protection against the venom of the snake.

It has generally been considered doubtful whether Orta ever visited Ceylon. Markham, in his introduction, states that he accompanied Martin Alfonso de Sousa in a campaign from Cochin against the Zamorin, and in Ceylon. Again, in a somewhat contradictory footnote on p. 136, he states positively, "Orta visited Ceylon at least twice," and immediately qualifies it by adding: "He was with Martin Alfonso de Sousa at the taking of Repelin, and when that Captain landed at Colombo soon afterwards, Orta probably accompanied him. This was early in 1537. On the 15th of February 1538, the battle of Beadala was fought, and Orta seems to have been present. Beadala was in the Gulf of Manaar."

Orta's book gives very little evidence that he was personally acquainted with Ceylon. His references to Ceylon are usually purely general, and merely convey information which he might have learnt from hearsay. His tale of the cobra fight was told him by a Franciscan friar, and it took place, not in Ceylon, but on the mainland, at Negapatam. He gives a short account of Ceylon, but does not say he has been there. In treating of the coconut, he states that notches are cut in the stem in order to climb the tree, and does not refer to the Ceylon method, which to a European is one of the most astonishing things connected with the coconut.

There is, however, one passage which shows that, if not actually on Ceylon soil, he was close to the Ceylon Coast. It occurs in the Colloquy on the Bezoar stone, on page 363 of Markham's edition: "I afterwards found them when serving in the fleet off the Ilha das Vacas (near Cape Comorin) when many he-goats were killed for the fleet. For the most part they contained this stone in their paunches, and the people who sought for them found a great many. Afterwards those who occupied the island had the custom of killing a great many." Markham notes that this was in 1543. Ilha das Vacas was Deift, but it does not appear that Orta landed there.



Another passage is more doubtful. Orta's book is written in the form of a dialogue between one Ruano, an imaginary personage, and himself, but in Colloquy Fifty-eight, he introduces another person, Dimas Bosque, and he makes the latter relate how he employed Bael fruit as a medicine. "When the Viceroy Dom Constantino was in Jaffnapatam, owing to the continual labour of fighting and the heavy rains to which the soldiers were always exposed, a great many sickened with dysentery; and their cure always fell into my hands, as there was no other doctor in the fleet." Now, Dimas Bosque was a real person and a correspondent of Orta's. Are we to take this account as a statement by Dimas Bosque, or does Orta make use of the name of Dimas Bosque to relate his own experience? From the reference to Dimas Bosque in the description of the third kind of snake plant, it would appear that it was the latter who was the only doctor in the fleet at the time stated.

Omitting the friar's tale, now regarded as fairy tale, of the mongoose-cobra fight, the following is Orta's account of the Pao de Cobra, or Snake wood, according to Markham's translation.

"Of this stick there are three kinds in Ceylon. The most esteemed kind of which I spoke, is called in Ceylon (the land of the Chingalas) Rannetul, a bush rising to two or three palms.<sup>1</sup> It gives out few branches, only four or five, and those very slender. The root is the most profitable part, and that also is very slender, finer than the finest of our vine roots, and some root of this stick is always above ground. If it is broken or bitten off at any part, presently other roots spring out where the place is that was broken. The fruit of this stick is like the elder, only vermilion and harder. It grows in round clusters like honeysuckle, the vermilion grains being smaller and more open as I said. The flower is a very deep vermilion and apart from the leaf, which is like that of a peach tree, the green colour being deeper. The colour of the root is between white and grey, and is very smooth to the touch, and very bitter. This stick is found in many parts, both in Goa and on the mainland. It is drunk in water, being first well mashed. We also give it in wine or in some cordial water. It is also ground like sandal. It is called Boqueti avale in Cingalese, so the ambassador told me.

"In Ceylon there is another stick or root used as an antidote. The tree is like a pomegranate and not larger, and the leaves yellow and very beautiful. The whole stem is thorny. The bark is white and thick, cracked, very smooth, and bitter, but not so much so as the first. The stick and the root and the bark are what is given, all mixed, but they say the root is the best. This tree grows like a pomegranate, and is with the other trees of the forest that are neighbours to it, but leans to them in the same way as a gourd, and so the highest branches embrace the rest.<sup>2</sup> I ordered cups to be made from this tree for the sick, when they had been touched with poison, and I believe that it did them good. These cups also serve to make a posset of treacle as some of our doctors prescribe to prevent a poison from doing harm. They say that some of this stick is in the island of Goa, but I have not tried experiments with it.

"When the Viceroy Constantino was at Jaffnapatam, which is an island off Ceylon, they presented a fagot of sticks with their roots, as a thing much esteemed for an antidote. The root has a pleasant smell; it is slender, hard, and black. They say that there are many of these sticks on the mainland of Goa. The leaf is like that of a mastic tree, as fine and long, with white and grey spots, not green. The branches are slender, and extend far over the ground more than four or five covados.<sup>3</sup> The leaves are very few, and the branches few and slender, unable to bear much weight. The licentiate Dimas Bosque told me about this in his last letter. He is a person of learning, very truthful, and of very good judgment as regards the cures he has effected."

Orta's botanical facts have long been known through the summary published by Clusius. The edition usually quoted is that in the *Exoticorum Libri Decem*, published in 1605, where it constitutes the seventh book. This is said by Clusius to be the fifth of his editions of

1. 3 palms = 34 inches.

2. Evidently a mistranslation.

3. 6 to 12 feet.



Garcia's work, "castigator et multis locis auctor." As Markham states that these versions are very incomplete, we quote Clusius' translation verbatim, omitting, as before, the account of the fight. It is headed "*De ligno Colubrina.*"

"Tria sunt hujus ligni genera in insula Zeilan.

"Primum et laudatissimum illud est a quo subsidium quaerit viverra, vocaturque incolis Rametul, Lusitanis Pao da cobra, id est, Lignum Colubrinum, quod serpentum morsibus fit salutare. Duorum aut trium palmorum magnitudine assurgit, paucis virgulis, quatuor aut quinque dumtaxat tennibus; radix quae maxime in usum venit, veluti tenuiorum nostrarum vitium radices, multis capitibus aut nodis se propagans, ita ut semper radix aliqua extra solum se exerat, et radice una exempta, aliae in ejus locum succedant. Radix haec ex candido cinereo est, solida admodum, amaro gustu; folia Persicae mali, magis tamen virentia; flos longe a foliis racematim cohaeret, pulcherrimo colore rubens. Fructus sambuci, sed rubens et durus, racematim cohaerens, veluti in Periclymeno. Teritur primum haec radix, et ex vino aut aqua cordiali propinatur a serpente percussis; teritur etiam ad cotem Santali modo, et vulneribus inspergitur. Hanc multis aliis regionibus, et in Goæ continenti nasci tradunt.

"Secundum genus veluti primum adversus venena commendatur, eodemque modo quo superius usurpatur. Arbor est (cum sola provenit nullis vicinis arboribus). Malo punice similis, spinis brevibus et firmis horrida, cortice candido, denso, rimoso, et solido, et amaro, non tamen veluti prioris cortex; foliis est luteis, aspectu pulcherrimis. Hanc autem, si juxta aliam quampiam arborem proveniat, per summos ejus ramos serpente, atque Curcubitae modo amplecti ferunt. Solent ipsum lignum cum radice et cortice permixtum exhibere. Praefertur tamen radix. Hoc etiam in insula Goa nasci ferunt; sed nunquam id videre mihi contigit.

"Cum Prorox in Jaffnapatam, Zeilan contermina, esset, dono dati sunt illi aliquot fasciculi ligni cum suis radicibus, quae tenues erant, durae, nigrae, et odoratae. Eam radicem mirifice praedicabant, et adversus venena pollere siebant. Similem in continenti Goæ nasci ferunt. Ramos habet paucos, tenues, quatuor aut quinque cubitorum longitudine, qui, nisi alligati, sustentare se nequeant, sed per solum sese diffundant; folia rara, Lentiscinorum effigie, oblonga, non viridia, sed maculosa, sive nigricantibus ex candido maculis respersa."

To the above, Clusius added the following footnote, with an illustration of the second kind of Lignum Colubrinum.

"Primi generis fragmentum, trium digitorum transversorum longitudine, anno salutis MDLXIV ostendit mihi Salamanticae ornatissimus vir Augustinus Vasaes, dono olim e Lusitania missum D. Joanni Vaseo viro doctissimo, ejus parenti, cum vasculo e Cocco de Maldiva confecto, Lapide Bezar insigni, et vasculis testudineis; quae omnia mirifice adversari venenis creduntur.

"Secundi autem generis (nisi fallor) fragmentum quinque unciarum longitudinis, quodque, ut conjicere liceat, duarum unciarum crassitudinem aequarat, mihi non modo ostendebat Londini anno MDXXCI, C. V. D. Hector Nunez, Medicus Lusitanus, sed etiam dimidia ejus parte liberaliter donabat. Ejus porro materies firma erat, candida, venis quibusdam distincta, non dissimilis fraxini ligno; cortex autem, qui eam integebat, candidus, et quasi cinereus. Utraque vero degustata, amaro sapore praedita esse deprehendebantur. Ejus, quale accipiebam, fragmenti iconem lectoris oculis subjecimus."

It will be seen that, as far as the botanical facts are concerned, there is little difference between the two versions. Clusius makes the mistake of writing *Rametul* for *Rannetul*, and he omits the reference to *Bouqueti avale*, probably considering that what the ambassador said was not definite evidence. But his description of the second species is certainly more intelligible than that of Markham.<sup>4</sup>

4. As Markham is so critical of previous versions of Orta's book it would be expected that he would have taken special care to see that his translation was above reproach. But, on the contrary, it is very often obscure and frequently unintelligible. In some passages, a reader who has a knowledge of the subject matter can guess what Orta meant, but others are inexplicable. For example, in the Colloquy on Ouboe, we find (p. 170): "These oboes are so highly valued in their own country, that they are gathered there first and sent away, and this because they do not come up when sown in other lands." What Orta most probably meant was, that they are gathered there (sown rarely), and sent away, and because of this they do not come up, etc. But what is the meaning of the following passage, re cloves: "They collect them because the branches that form a great cup give out cords with which to collect the cloves, and this is the reason why the trees are beaten and felled."



In 1578, Christoval Acosta published his *Trata de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales*, another account of the drugs and medicinal plants of India. He included much of Orta's work, but gave considerable additions of his own. Markham states that it is copied wholesale from Orta, though "Acosta occasionally makes independent remarks." But, on turning to Acosta's account of *Lignum Colubrinum*, we find that the descriptions given by him are so totally different from Orta's, that, as noted by Clusius, it is scarcely possible that he is dealing with the same plants. As Acosta states that his snake woods were those used in Malabar, we need not confuse the issue by quoting his descriptions.

The first available local information is contained in Grimm's *Laboratorium Ceylonicum*, published in 1679 (vide *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, pp. 80-100). In that book two of Orta's snake plants are referred to, as follows:

**"Ekaweriya. Radix Serpenti.**

"Vocatur a Cingalensibus *Rametul*, pulcherrima Planta est, in altum exurgit cum ramis tenuibus, et cum foliis longis et acuminatis, cum parvis raris Fructibus qui sicut racemi simul sunt conjuncti. Radix decurrit in modo serpentum cum nodis sub Terra, valde lignosa, alba fusca cum cortice coloris cinerei, et saporis amari. Hæc est prima species quam *Garcias* ab Orta inter Ligna Serpenti describit. Vires ejus non minores sunt quam ex quæ magna Serpenti arbor possidet. Incolæ plurimum eam extollunt contra omnia Venena et venenosos morbos. Conterunt eam supra parvo lapide et exhibent eam usque ad Semidrach, et amplius."

**"Arbor Serpentaria, Slangen Boom, vel Slangen Hout  
Seu Lignum Colubrinum et Nuces Vomicae.**

"Hæc Arbor vocatur a Cingalis *Godhakaduru*, magna est atque ramos suos simul valde inter se commixtos, non secus ac serpentes emittit; ipsius folia potius rotundæ quam longæ figuræ cernuntur. Fructus quos progignit sunt notæ illæ *Nuces Vomicae officinarum*, quæ numero quodam in rotundissimo cortice conclusæ reperiuntur. Canes ab isto fructu rabiosi fiunt et moriuntur. Hominibus autem inserviunt adversus venena; prout a variis Scriptoribus mentio facta fuit. Lignum mediocriter durum est parum per anthracinum cum venis albis transcurrentibus. Optimum est Alexipharmacum adversus omnes venenosos atque Malignos affectus, adversus Morsuras Venenosarum Bestiarum aut Serpentinum, adversus Febres commanes, Sanguinis impuritatem, Scabiem et similes alias ægrotudines."

Grimm was a doctor who had seen service in Ceylon in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, and his descriptions are from local knowledge of the plants. He was evidently acquainted with Orta's description, probably from Clusius' version, as he gives the alternative name *Rametul* instead of *Rannetul*. His account definitely fixes the first plant, but he probably confuses two allied species in the second.

Another doctor who was in Ceylon at the same time as Grimm was Paul Hermann, the chief medical officer in Ceylon of the same Company, and a celebrated botanist. In his *Musæum Zeylanicum*, published in 1717, the following notes occur:

"*Ratnethul*. Radix recens dulcescit, acris est et corrodens, unde vesiculis excitandis frequens est. Cinghali eam contusam imponunt vulneribus a Colubris aliisque venenatis inflictis." (p. 51).

"*Acaweriya*. Clematis indica, folio Persicæ, fructu Periclymeni. Ligni Colubri primum genus Garc. ab Hort. qui asserit a Cinghalis vocari *Rametul*, sed falso" (p. 4).

"*Ghodakadura* . . . . . Lignum circumfertur per Europam nomine Ligni Colubri" (p. 47).

From the foregoing evidence, we are able to decide what the first two of Orta's plants were, for Hermann's specimens were seen and named by Linnæus. In the first place *Rannetul* is a mistake. As Hermann notes, the first plant described by Orta is *Ekaweriya*, and the latter's



statement that it is called *Rannetul* is incorrect. *Rannetul*, as I have previously pointed out,<sup>5</sup> should be *Ratnetul* (*Plumbago rosea*). Hermann recorded that the pounded root was applied to snake bites, and in that sense it may be regarded as a "snake plant," but it is not one of the plants described by Orta.

The first of Orta's plants, the one which the mongoose (in fable) seeks in order to protect itself against the bite of the cobra, is the Sinhalese *Ekaweriya* (*Rauvolfia serpentina*). The descriptions given by Orta and Grimm agree fairly well with this plant. It grows about a foot or eighteen inches high, has slender stems and is sparingly branched. Its leaves are lanceolate and might be compared to those of the peach, though darker. The stalk of the inflorescence is comparatively long in many cases. The colour of the flower is peculiar. The calyx is white, tipped with red, and the corolla white, tinged with violet. But after the corollas have fallen, the whole of the inflorescence, calyces and stalk, becomes bright red. With regard to the root, there is probably some error either in the translations or in Orta's account. The root-stock is vertical, and penetrates deeply into the soil. In the case of old plants, it usually divides into several branches about six inches below the surface, and these run up parallel to one another and give rise to separate stems. If one of these stems is pulled up, another arises from the root-stock. This is probably what Orta meant. The translations apparently confuse two meanings of the word *radix*, i.e. (1) *radix* in the botanical sense, a true root, and (2) *radix* as a medicinal term, which may be either root or stem according to the fancy of the early pharmacists. The part below ground is nodular or somewhat zigzag, and hence has the qualification of a snake root. The identification of this plant as the first of Orta's snake plants was first made by Hermann *ante* 1679, and it has been generally accepted by later botanists. Trimien<sup>6</sup> notes that the root does not appear to be employed in cases of snake bite in Ceylon at the present day, though it has a reputation against hydrophobia in native medicine. Another Sinhalese name for the same plant is *Rat-ekaweriya*, while it was originally named by Linnæus *Ophioxylon serpentinum*.<sup>7</sup>

The second of Orta's species was identified by Hermann with *Goda-kaduru*, and he noted that the wood of that tree was sent to Europe as *Lignum Colubrinum*. Hermann's specimen of *Goda-kaduru* was seen by Linnæus and was named by the latter *Strychnos Nux-vomica*. This tree is the well-known source of the alkaloid Strychnine. If, however, we turn to Grimm's account, we find several points which throw doubt on Hermann's statement that *Strychnos Nux-vomica* was the source of *Lignum Colubrinum*. It is true that Grimm makes the same identification and gives the same Sinhalese name, but his description rather suggests a climbing plant. Again, Orta states that it is a tree when it stands alone, but a climber when near other trees. We may take it that it was certainly a *Strychnos*, and the only question to be decided is which of the Ceylon species it was. *Strychnos Nux-vomica* is a tree. *Strychnos Beddomei* is said to be either a tree or a creeper, but is a rare species. *Strychnos trichocalyx* and *Strychnos cinnamomifolia* are large climbers, the latter being the Sinhalese *Wel-beli*. We should expect that a snake plant would be a climber rather than a tree, and the balance of opinion favours *Strychnos trichocalyx*,<sup>8</sup> whose circinate-coiled tendrils may be the serpent-like branches of Grimm, while the persistent bases of the tendrils may be the thorns. But it is in the highest degree probable that the wood of any species of *Strychnos*, which would yield a piece of sufficient size, was passed

5. *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, p. 92.

6. *Flora of Ceylon*, III, p. 126.

7. *Ophioxylon* = Snake wood.

8. Previously known as *Strychnos colubrina var. zeylanica*.



off as snake wood, and that Hermann was correct when he stated that the wood of *Strychnos Nux-vomica* was sent to Europe as *Lignum Colubrinum*. There does not appear to be any evidence that the wood of *Strychnos* is collected as a cure for, or charm against, snake bites at the present day.

Some farther notes on *Lignum colubrinum* were furnished by Thunberg, who visited Ceylon in 1777, and was accompanied on his botanical excursions by a Vedarala, detailed for that purpose by Governor Falck. The following account is taken from the English edition of his Travels.

"Another kind of tree was called the Serpent Tree, by the Dutch Slangen-hout, and by the Cingalese Godagandu, which had a very bitter taste. It was used not only as an efficacious antidote against the bite of serpents, but likewise in ardent and malignant fevers. The Europeans have cups turned of the wood, into which wine is poured, which, in a short time, extracts the virtue from the wood, has a bitter taste, and is drunk as a stomachic, or strengthener of the stomach. Water likewise extracts a green tincture from it. Most probably this tree is the *Ophioxylon Serpentinum*, which grows here, although I had no opportunity of seeing any of the flowers. [This conjecture is erroneous—T. P.]. The wood itself resembles that of the oak, by its grey colour, and numerous small pores, which, in the cups that are turned from it, frequently let the water filter through them."

In this case, the tree referred to is evidently *Strychnos Nux-vomica*.

It may be noted that it is only Orta's second species to which the name *Lignum Colubrinum*, or snake wood, is applicable. The *Lignum Colubrinum* of South India is obtained from *Strychnos colubrina*, another climber.

On the question of Orta's third species, both Hermann and Grimm are silent, and no botanist appears to have ventured any identification since. The plant was a climber, with a very weak stem, which ran along the ground, in the absence of any support, to a length of about ten feet. Its leaves were scattered, or few, narrow, and variegated. This description, as far as it goes, fits the Sinhalese *Iramusu* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), which is most probably the plant intended.

Orta's three plants are, therefore, in the order given,

*Rauvolfia serpentina* Hk. f.

*Strychnos trichocalyx* A. W. Hill, or, by substitution, *Strychnos Nux-vomica* L.

*Hemidesmus indicus* Br.

None of these plants appears to be in use as a remedy for snake bite at the present day, nor are they enumerated in the recipes for snake-bite medicines, twenty in number, which Hoatson collected in Uva in 1822.

One further point of interest is worthy of note. There are (at least) two Sinhalese plants known as *Ekaweriya*, one *Rat-ekaweriya*, the plant referred to by Orta, and the other *Wal-ekaweriya*. Hermann collected both these plants, but, as so frequently happens, he was given the name, *Ekaweriya*, for each, without any prefix. Consequently, on page 37 of the *Museum Zeylanicum*, he has, "*Ekaweriya*, *Periclymenum Zeylanicum* herbaceum foliis variegatis diversicoloribus maculis ornatis," which is *Wal-ekaweriya*. This name had appeared previously in his *Paradisus Batavus Prodrumus*, and in 1712, Kämpfer, doubtless misled by the same name in Grimm's book, attached the mongoose story to this plant. Hence, when Linnæus bestowed names on Hermann's Ceylon plants, he named *Wal-ekaweriya*, *Ophiorrhiza Mungos*. But the real mongoose plant is *Rat-ekaweriya*.

According to Hermann, *Ophiorrhiza Mungos* is also a snake plant, though it is not one of Orta's. He collected two specimens, one of which was named *Ekaweriya*, as noted above, while the other was entered as "Naghawalli. Colubrina Zeylanica. Periclymeni species foliis maculatis: transfertur ex monte Adami, a Nagha Colubro appellato, cujus ictus hujus plantæ folia mirifice et specificè sanant." This specimen was also seen and identified by Linnæus. The name *Nagawalli* has not been recorded since, except by Moon, and he identified it, doubtless in error, as a common introduced garden plant, *Graptophyllum hortense*, which would scarcely be found on Adam's Peak. It would seem probable that there was some confusion of Hermann's names and specimens in this connection, for it would be unnecessary to go to Adam's Peak to obtain *Ophiorrhiza Mungos*. However, Adam's Peak was quite inaccessible to Hermann, and he could only have been repeating what he had been told. The possibility of an error in these identifications of Hermann's descriptions with *Ophiorrhiza Mungos* is also suggested by the fact that they both refer to a plant with spotted leaves, whereas those of *Ophiorrhiza Mungos* are not spotted. But his specimens were the latter plant.





## THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. IV, Part II, p. 101)

### VIII.—Jesuit Letters, 1641—1648.

(Translated from the Original Portuguese, Latin and Italian.)

1641.

[Manoel Sylveiro: 17 Jan., 1641.]

**T**HIS new mission is the largest and the best of all the missions in charge of the Society; largest because it surpasses all others in the number of Christians, the best because of the goodness and docility of the natives, and because of the greater care and devotion with which all treat the things of God and the faith.

There are ten churches situated throughout the country. The first and the most ancient is in the island of Cardiva, with which the mission began. The chief church is of stone, and the chapel is already finished. It is dedicated to **Our Lady of Refuge**, and has three villages belonging to it, viz: the first is Calapume (Kala-poomi), where the church is, and has 538 Christians; the second Core (Then-karai) with 500 Christians; and the third Valanoale (Vada-moolai) has 350 Christians. Total 1,388. More than 300 children attend catechism classes daily, and 30 attend the school of 'reading and writing.'

The second church is dedicated to **Our Lady of the Assumption**. It was begun in stone and the chapel and Presbytery are already built. It has two villages, one named Vatucoia (Vadduk-koddai), in which the church is built, has 1,340 Christians; the other Pale has 1,206 Christians. Catechism classes are attended daily by 526 children, and 30 attend school.

The third church is dedicated to **The Holy Trinity**. It was begun of stone this year, and the chapel is already finished. It has three villages; the first in which the church is built is called Changane (Chankanai), and has 1,245 Christians; the second Poluarao (Pol-puram) has 698 Christians; the third Cholivarao (Chuli-puram) has 881 Christians. Total 2,824. There was a great contest between these Christians as to which village should have a church of stone. Those of Changane carried the day. It was agreed to choose a Protector for each, and one Sunday after Mass they threw lots with great solemnity. The result was satisfactory to all, for each was persuaded that the decision came from heaven, and that God gave to each its Protector, to wit: **Our Lady** for Changane, **All Angels** for Poluarao, **All Saints** for Cholevarao. The names of these villages and their Protectors were engraved on the stones of the wall of the Chapel.

The fervour with which they all applied themselves to the construction of the new church is both remarkable and edifying, for they themselves brought all the materials for it, the elders giving the example. If one avoided work or showed any repugnance for it he would at once be reprehended by the others reminding him who the person was for whom they laboured, and what great profit the work would be for their souls. The alacrity and delight with which the children set about their work is something to behold. They take great pleasure in the work and invite the Father to come and see them at work. These new Christians take good care that no infant dies without baptism. Two of them have taken on themselves the cost of the candles for the Sunday Mass, and consider it a great honour, such is the esteem they have for this exalted Mystery and Divine Sacrifice.



The fourth church is dedicated to **Our Lady of the Kings**. It has six villages. The first in which the church is built is called Pandetiripu (Pandattarippo) and has 464 Christians; the second Madagar (Mathakal) has 626; the third Chilale (Chillalai) has 395; the fourth Pariabolao (Periavilam) has 466; the fifth Cheriabolao (Chiro-vilam) has 472; and the sixth Magorapeti (Mahiappiddy) has 257; which makes a total of 2,680. During this year 92 children and 14 adults were baptised, so that there are no pagans left. 400 children attend the catechism classes and 60 attend the school.

The fifth church is dedicated to holy **Father St. Ignatius**, and foundations are already laid for a church of stone. To this church belong four villages. The first, Malagam (Mallagam), in which the new church is situated, has 373 Christians; the second Alabate (Alaveddy) has 976; the third Elati (Elalai) has 763; and the fourth Pugnale Cathuven (Punnalai-kadduvan) has 422; which makes a total of 2,534. This year 5 adults and 70 children were baptised. Catechism classes 355, school 112.

These new Christians have a great esteem of the Sacrament of Confession, which formerly they did not frequent so often thinking that one had to die after confession, as if God would not wait longer, but would send them death as soon as they were well disposed. On account of this belief many died without confession and without informing the Father of their illness. Besides this, the fear lest the Father would punish them for their sins, if he knew of them, also made them neglect Confession. This is not very surprising in the case of people who were heathens for so many years. They are, however, very well instructed now, and come to confession freely, and make their confessions with great care, and the first thing they do in time of illness is to send for the priest, hoping by this means to obtain the health of their bodies as well as health of soul. Thus they confess very carefully without hiding anything in which they have offended God.

Women who are with child are especially careful in this matter. When the ninth month approaches, they at once go to church without waiting for the pains of childbirth, to make their confession, bringing offerings according to each one's condition. God does not fail them, but gives special favour in the dangers of childbirth, for which they prepare by a good confession. During this year some three or four Christians came to the Father out of the usual time, saying that they wished to make their confession only to be relieved from the bad state in which they were; and so they made their confession with great grief and repentance.

A Christian woman of this place was very much afflicted, because, though 16 years married, she had no children. She confided her grief to another Christian, a Paravar, who advised her to go to church with an offering and ask St. Ignatius to give her a son, saying that if she asked the Saint with faith she would obtain it from God. She followed the good advice, and going to church with her offering, fell on her knees and begged the Saint with such devotion that her eyes were filled with tears. Wonderful to say, after watering the sterile earth with her tears, she who was barren conceived and brought forth a son, who was given the name of Ignatius.

Another event not less remarkable took place in connection with this same woman, which shows the faith she had in God and in the glorious St. Ignatius. A cow belonging to her was attacked with vermin, and was on the point of death when she made a vow to St. Ignatius, that if the cow were spared she would make butter the first time the cow gave milk and would offer it to the church. The day after making the vow the cow was cured. Those who had seen the animal and had given it up for dead marvelled at the result, and began to proclaim the praises of St. Ignatius, who worked miracles not only for men but even for animals. What followed was not less wonderful.

As the woman did not take the butter to church, St. Ignatius appeared to her in a dream, with a host of armed men, and threatened her for not bringing the promised offering. She replied in her dream that it was not through her fault, but because she was indisposed. On awaking she brought the butter to church, made her confession with great devotion and related what happened and was the more confirmed in her faith and devotion to the Saint.

These new Christians make much of rosaries and medals unlike formerly; so much so that they do not go about without wearing them round their necks, and will not leave the Father till they get them. This year two festivals were celebrated in this church with great solemnity, namely, Christmas, when there was a devout performance in the presence of a curious and well made crib, the sight of which was a great consolation to these new Christians,



who, being ignorant, are more impressed by what they see than by what they hear; the second was the feast of St. Ignatius, Patron of the church. They observed the feast with great devotion, mindful of the favours they constantly receive. There was a stately procession, with music, etc., both at Vespers and at Mass.

The sixth church is dedicated to the Princes of the Apostles **SS. Peter and Paul**. It has six villages. The first Thelepule (Thelli-palai), which has a handsome church completely of stone and is the residence of the Father, has 1,773 Christians. The second Manitaperao (Maviddapuram) has 590; the third Mangamao (Veemangamam) has 377; the fourth Palle (Palai) has 231; the fifth Cathuven (Kadduvan) has 307; and the sixth Canganturei (Kangesanturai) has 167, which makes a total of 3,414 (?). These numbers are according to the roll, but in reality the number is much greater and amounts to about four thousand, for this *aldeia* is the most important in the kingdom. More than a hundred children were baptised this year. There are 669 children in the catechism class and about 100 attend the school.

The seventh church is of **Our Lady of the Angels**. It has six villages. The first, called Mailety (Mailiddy), has 530 Christians. The church is situated here. It is being built of stone and the chapel is already finished. The second Vianalao (Vasavilan) has 746; the third Pallali (Palali) 536; the fourth, a village of fishermen (*de pescadores da prata*), 161; the fifth Thaiti (Thaiddy) 620; and the sixth Valatalevarao (Verutthalai-vilam) 157. Total 2,750. Baptisms during the year 70, catechism 341, school 154.

The eighth is dedicated to **The Holy Ghost**. It has seven small villages under the name Achiveli (Achchuvelli), which name is common to all: the first Barenporovara, in which the church is built, has 178 Christians, the second Perempurenvani 215, the third Cateveni (Patthaimeny) 350, fourth Balalai (Valalai) 314, fifth Tambale (Thampalai) 70, the sixth Caderipai (Kathirippai) and the seventh Mavericare (Navat-kado) has 90. Baptisms during the year one adult and 250 children, which makes a total of 1,701. Catechism 440, school 30.

The ninth church is dedicated to **Jesus**, and has five churches (villages): Pulupale (Puloppalai), in which the church is built, has 720 Christians; Pamaqveni (Tamakkeni) 350; Alipale (Allippalai) 200; Peliapale (Peria-palai) 140; Chorepatu (Chorappatto) 220; which makes a total of 1,665. Baptisms during the year 55, catechism 250, school 22.

More than 20 persons were reclaimed from a bad life and were reconciled to the Church, along with the women with whom they were married '*ao modo gentilico*,' after instruction and confession.

The tenth church is dedicated to the **Archangel St. Michael**. It has 17 small villages in which there are 1,600 Christians. This year 3 adults and 50 children were baptised. Two hundred children attend the catechism classes, and 20 attend the school. Twenty persons were reconciled and received into the Church along with the women with whom they were married after the pagan fashion. They were well instructed and made their confession.

The Father in charge of this station has also to take care of Palle, owing to a shortage of Fathers. He has, moreover, to give missions in the Vani which is an inland district, and has many extensive forests of more than 10 leagues in circumference. Here there are many pagans and about 1,500 Christians. Last August the Father visited that country at great peril owing to the forests and the robbers and rebels who are there. He was well received by all, especially by the chief men. He catechised and baptised 10 men with their wives, and about 40 children between 2 to 12 years old, of whom one was the son of a pagan, and the others children of Christians. The Father also reclaimed 30 men from an evil life. He instructed the women with whom they were living in the pagan manner, and married them, to the great consolation of all, for the devil who like a lion was infesting that forest was driven and the Faith triumphed. The Father planted crosses in various places, and leaving behind *Canacapos* or teachers of doctrine to instruct the people, he returned to his station.

The eleventh church is of **All Saints**, and has four villages under the name of Mugamale (Mugamalai). There are in them 2,000 Christians; 200 children attend the catechism classes and 20 attend the school. Many baptisms were administered and many others were reclaimed from a bad life.

To the church of Mugamale belongs a village called Quilale (Kilaly ?) in which is a Hermida of the Holy Cross under the invocation of São Diogo. Many Christians and pagans go there in pilgrimage, for God works many miracles, of which it was so far impossible to make inquiries, for the concourse of people began of late.

The twelfth church is dedicated to **The Nativity of Our Lady**, and is situated in Tambane. It has four villages with 2,500 Christians. Catechism classes are attended by 300 children and



30 attend the school. Many baptisms were administered and not a few were gained from a bad life. Owing to the scarcity of priests and because there is no maintenance, the Father of Muga-male is in charge of this church also.

In the last four churches the Fathers have much work, for the Christians are many and are dispersed. Besides, this country is infested by robbers, and is the refuge of rebels. Owing to these reasons the Fathers run great risks, and this also is the reason why the Christians are not so docile nor so well instructed as those belonging to the other churches in which the Fathers can go about without danger.

From this account of the souls in charge of Ours, and the converts made since they are in charge of the kingdom—making a total of 23,720, not counting those who died after baptism,—it will be seen that this mission is not the least of the many missions in charge of the Society. Though we came late, after the Franciscans had worked for a long time, if the work of the labourers is to be measured by the amount of success, it is clear that Ours have wrought much in spite of the fact that they came late on the field. A thousand thanks to the Society which knows how to turn out good workmen.

## 1642.

(Didacus Alfonsua.)

This year we had to put up with many inconveniences as the walls of the church and the houses suffered damage, but many distinguished Portuguese came hither and fixed their abodes near our house, relieving us greatly by their presence and alms. All the Fathers belonging to this College spent some days in making the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius to stimulate their zeal in the service of the neighbour. They visit the hospitals where they assist the sick both in their spiritual and temporal needs. Those who are condemned to death are not neglected, and some of them were often liberated from the jaws of death by the industry and prayers of our Fathers. When the prisoners were lately brought hither from Malaca, which fell into the hands of the Batavians, we received them with great benevolence, and care was taken to reconcile those who were at enmity.

The Christians are assiduous in attending church, whither they come attracted by love rather than by fear, for they are not fined if sometimes they fail to attend, which is no small sign of their edification and charity. So much about the College; now for some information concerning the churches attached to the College and not mentioned in previous letters.

At Changane there are 3,401 adult Christians and 614 children who are taught 'to form letters' and are instructed in Christian doctrine. They are so keen and painstaking in learning their lessons that even when they are driving cattle they sing canticles; but what is most remarkable in the Christians of this church is their great affection and devotion to the faith. Recently, when intestine war broke out and they were obliged to take to the woods and caves, they were admonished to be mindful of their eternal salvation even under the stress of persecution. Accordingly they flocked to the churches on all sides with such assiduity that they not only attended Mass but were even present at the instructions. On this occasion those who up to this time had not made their confession, owing to their weakness of faith, did so at once. Moreover, when a certain work had to be undertaken for the completion of the church and the materials could not be had except from a great distance, there was not a tree which they did not cut down without hesitation, however great the loss. They were in fact so fired with zeal that they went up to the Father of their own accord and offered to bring all the wood that was needed; which was promptly done, the elders giving the example.

The church of Vattucotei numbers 2,500 adherents. Of these 2,200 make their confession at due times, and frequent the church for Mass, etc. If some happen to be absent on the usual days of obligation, they make up for it on other days. However, lest they relax afterwards some light punishment is imposed. There is singing at every Mass. On Saturdays, as the church is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the Vespers, Litany, *Salve*, and *Ave Maria Stella* are sung in Tamil. There are 460 children in the catechism classes. They are so well advanced in the knowledge of their Christian doctrine that they grow up to be good teachers, and they are well prepared for that office.

The church of Cardiva has 1,600 souls. The Father in charge of them finds in them every aptitude for Christian piety, for those who are won from paganism make much of the faith. Once when a Christian of this place was going to another village on business, a pagan met him and asked him whether he was a Christian or a pagan. When he acknowledged boldly that



he was a Christian, the pagan was so incensed that he threatened to kill him unless he abandoned his faith at once. The Christian was firm in his faith and showed himself ready to suffer for his faith. Thereupon the pagan rubbed some superstitious ashes on him, but the faithful Christian contemptuously trampled the ashes under foot, and thus obtained a victory over the pagan. If one of Ours could only reside with them, they will be able to act more boldly.

## 1643.

(Simão de Figueiredo, 1 DECEMBER, 1643.)

In the College of Jaffnapatão and in the twelve churches attached to it, there are thirteen priests and a Lay Brother. Three of these are engaged in the work of the College, and the others are occupied in looking after the Christians in our charge. In this kingdom there are no new conversions since all have already been converted to the faith. They are all so well instructed by Ours that there is scarcely a boy or a girl who does not know the catechism thoroughly, besides the whole *cartilha* of Marcos Jorge, which has been translated into their language.

All the Christians who are capable of it make their confession and receive Communion each year, while those who are more advanced in devotion and piety do so oftener. The oppression which these poor Christians have to suffer is incredible, and is much more than what those of Manar suffered. I do not know when we shall have redress; but it is certain that for want of it the greater part of the people abandon the territory of Our Lord the King, and go to cultivate and populate the lands of our enemy, the King of Candia. I wish I could appear before the pious King of Portugal, and represent to him the great wrongs which some of his ministers do to His Majesty under the cloak of justice; for I am sure that a king so pious and so desirous of doing good will not tolerate that newly converted Christians find it preferable to be subjects of a pagan king than of his own, on account of the officials who govern them and despoil them. The trouble which Ours have on this account is very great, and their labours are frustrated and brought to nought.

In the town of the Portuguese there were many disagreements, some between the soldiers, others between the Captain and the *Vigario de Vara*, and others still between the same Captain and the Religious of the other Orders, which were all settled by the mediation of Ours.

## 1644.

In the College of Jaffnapatão there are two Fathers and a Lay Brother. One of the Fathers is Rector and the other is school master, and teaches Grammar: the Brother is in charge of the estates which are attached to the College. In the Mission of which the Rector is also Superior, there are 12 Fathers resident in 12 churches. Once, one of them had to keep away from his church for some time, for the place was too near the rebels who are attacking and disturbing the country. As some of these Christians have been baptised in a hurry and within a few years, their faith even now is sometimes found faulty. The Fathers seeing this were very solicitous about them, and determined above all to teach the children well, as they were persuaded that those children could be expected to become good Christians. It is a matter for giving thanks to God Our Lord to see how well the children are taught, and how well they know the prayers of the Catechism and many other things which the Fathers have done into their language. It can not be said that the children of any particular Residence know better than the children of another, for it seems that they are all masters, and are able to teach Christian doctrine even to men advanced in age.

In one Residence there were some houses which gave great scandal to the people, houses of dissolute women, both married and unmarried, the husbands of the former being absent from their homes for years. The Father took no small pains in this matter, and with God's help put an end to the disorders, marrying those who were not married and bringing back to their homes the absent husbands, so that all now live in peace, repairing their past scandal to the great satisfaction of the people of the country.

In the Residence of Mugamale there is a *Hernida*, called the holy Cross of S. Diego. In this place God works some miracles by means of this holy Cross. [Here follows a long list of Miracles].



## 1644.

(Andrew Lopez is the General of the Society of Jesus. 1644)

The College of Jaffnapatam has 12 Residences with 12 Fathers attached to them. The Fathers have to undergo great fatigues in the administration of this mission, because the Christians do not live together in villages, but are scattered through coconut plantations (*palmares*). The Fathers apply themselves with great zeal to the cultivation of these new Christians; yet they surpass themselves in the care they take to teach the young generation. It is a matter for consolation to see how they (the children) learn the mysteries of our holy faith and are able to recite the catechism and many other prayers, which the Fathers have translated into their tongue. In general, all these Christians have great respect for the Fathers, on account of the example of their lives, of their zeal for souls, and of the protection they afford them in their troubles with the officers of the King.

Besides these 12 Residences, the Fathers are in charge of the territory known as Vanny, where there are about 1,000 souls, without church, properly so called, although the Fathers several times preached missions there, which gave great glory to God. But now for five years it is no longer possible to do so. Beginning with the Residence which is nearer to the hill country, we have:

**The Residence of Cutandaculam:** the Patron of the church is St. Michael; it has 2,538 Christians, and 197 children attending catechism daily.

**The Residence of Pallo:** Patron, a beautiful Crucifix, which is a source of consolation to the Christians of those woods; there are 1,637 Christians, 208 children attending catechism and 27 attending the school.

**The Residence of Tambamma:** Patron, The Nativity of Our Lady; Christians 2,614, 516 children attending catechism, 45 attending the school.

**The Residence of Mugamalle:** Patron, All Saints; Christians 2,000, children, 200 attend catechism, 15 attend school.

**The Residence of Achevelli:** Patron, Holy Ghost; Christians 2,500, children, catechism 600, school 50.

**The Residence of Mailatty:** Patron, Our Lady of the Angels; Christians 2,985, children, catechism 400, school 190.

**The Residence of Telipulle:** this is the principal Residence of the Kingdom of Jaffnapatam. Patron, SS. Peter and Paul; Christians 4,660, children, catechism 664, school 200.

**The Residence of Malagam:** Patron, Our Father St. Ignatius; Christians 3,222, children, catechism 500, school 150.

**The Residence of Paditiripu:** Patron, Our Lady of Remedies; Christians 2,627, children, catechism 375, school 100.

**The Residence of Changane:** Patron, The Holy Trinity; Christians 3,140, children, catechism 477, school 123.

**The Residence of Vatucote:** Patron, The Assumption of Our Lady; Christians 2,624, children, catechism 250, school 50.

**The Residence of Cardiva:** The above churches are enumerated from East to West. They stand on the continent to the North of Jaffnapatam. Facing Vatucote is the island of Cardiva. The Patron of this Residence is Our Lady of Remedies. There are 1,740 Christians, 227 children attend catechism daily and 52 attend the school.

**Total.** Christians belonging to the College of Jaffnapatam, 32,287, besides 1,000 Christians who live in the Hill country of Vanny. Children attending catechism 4,624.

## 1648.

(Balthasar de Costa: 28 NOVEMBER, 1648.)

There are in this College, a Rector, another Father who teaches Latin, a Lay Brother, who looks after the estate and is procurator, and a virtuous secular priest in charge of the school. There are 22 students and 80 children in the school. These students have a Confraternity with the usual exercises; they say the office of Our Lady every day, and make their confession every eighth day. The Rector and his companion also attend to the other ministrations of the Society, especially hearing confessions and preaching.



In the interior of the country the Society has charge of 12 churches in which 12 Fathers are usually stationed, though for lack of subjects there were sometimes less. The Fathers have charge of 24,366 persons 'fit for confession,' and 609 school children learning to read and write. More than 4,620 children attend the catechism classes. In this district there is not a single pagan left. However, on the occasion of the famine, 800 persons were baptised, and of these 608 or more died soon afterwards.

All the Christians of these Residences make their confession once a year in Lent, which they did not do up to now; for as they were baptised in great hurry, and many compelled by the fear of being driven out of their country if they chose to live as pagans, it did not seem expedient to be too exacting. The children are indeed the best instructed in the whole of the East, and there is thus great hope that this mission will one day be more flourishing.

Father Robert Nobili, owing to his advanced age and infirmities, came to this island from the mission of Madura to rest for two years, during which he did much good with the books he composed for the children. In the district of the Residence called Mugamale, there is an *ermida* under the invocation of S. Diago, in which is a cross which works miracles and is much resorted to by a large concourse of the faithful both of this kingdom as well as from outside.

(To be continued.)



## THE KÓKILA SANDÉSA.

## "CUCKOO MESSAGE."

By W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, MUDALIYAR.

(Continued from Vol. III., page 18.)

[RECAPITULATION.—The Peninsula of Jaffna, as a part of Ceylon, had always been a part of the Sinhalese country, until, during a time of national weakness, it had been seized and colonized by Tamils from Pándya, under a General named A'rya Chakrawarti, who erected it into an independent kingdom and became its first ruler. A few generations had passed when Parakrama Bahu VI, King of Ceylon, great in resources and power, thought it not fitting that there should be two centres of independent authority in this Island, and therefore sent his adopted son Prince Sapumal, at the head of an army, to reduce the Kingdom of Jaffnapatam into subjection to the Sinhalese throne. This was accomplished by the Prince to the great joy of the Sinhalese nation; and, as it was necessary that the occasion should be celebrated in a permanent form, the present poem was composed by the Principal of the Irugalkula College at Dondra, in the form of a message to the victorious Prince, who was then at Jaffna, as Viceroy of the Sinhalese King. The envoy employed to convey the message is a cuckoo, which bird is first addressed in most flattering and endearing terms, and then informed of the distinguished duty on which it had been selected. Consent being assumed, the envoy is first given a description of the city of Dondra from which he is to start on his important journey. From that point, the poem now proceeds:—]

22. පුර පුර සි රි සපිරි-එක තැන්හි වුන් දිසි සෙ  
සි සන සනන් හදනා-පුවතර බෙසුර පිරිසි

22. And in this city so with plenty hiest,  
Where all the wealth and all the charms of Heaven  
Would seem to have an earthly centre found—  
Here where the eye is pleased, the soul is lulled—

23. මි සෙසෙ වන් පිසුමෙන් සෙසි දිසි සි  
සෙසෙ දස, පෙර පුර කුරිරු මන් සි  
සොසෙ දිසිසු සහන රනිනා නිසි  
සෙසෙ සිරිත් නිසිදලි පුර පුරිසු

23. The Lily-coloured-god\*\* in glory shines,  
In endless prowess the mighty Vishnu's peer—  
Who crushed the previous gods and shewed his ire  
And now presides as guardian of the Faith.

24. ස හ සි සිරිත් සෙසුරු සොසුරු සෙසුරු  
අ හ සි සොසුරු සොසුරු සොසුරු  
ස හ සි සොසුරු සොසුරු සොසුරු  
සොසුරු සිරිත් සොසුරු සොසුරු

24. His might and glory, as the sun and moon  
With diverse rays, have filled both earth and  
heaven;  
Imposing sight! as if at crack of doom,  
The raging storms had struck the Milky Deep,\*\*  
And hurled its gems with billows soaring high,  
A sparkling flood, above, below, around.

22. This is the god whose sacred seat is Dondra, and to whom, at Buddha's death-bed, the care of Lanka, which, it was foreseen, would become an abiding home of the Faith, was committed by Indra, the chief of the gods. By lily colour here is meant the colour of the blue water lily, (Cont. 41. 28 infra), which is also the colour of Vishnu (Cont. Note 4, p. 15), and on that account this god is generally confused in popular idea with Vishnu himself. The confusion is heightened by the fact that nothing of the god's pedigree and history as an independent deity is known.

23. In poetic fancy, Might, conceived as a visible object, glows like fire, and may be compared to the rays of the sun, and other objects having a fiery glow, such as various gems, &c. Glory, which is not a power, but only the external manifestation of pre-eminence, is conceived as mild and white in colour, and therefore comparable to the rays of the Moon and other objects of a white glow, such as the heavenly Ganges, pearls, &c. The might of the god of Dondra is felt over the whole cosmos, and his fame is everywhere. In other words, his might and glory, conceived as visible objects, have so filled the world, that his appearance is that of the picture drawn by the poet. To understand this picture fully, it has to be remembered that the milky ocean (Note 14, p. 15) is perfectly white, and it has further to be noted that the bottom of the sea is a vast repository of all gems of the "purest ray serene." If a raging storm were to hurl up the waters of this ocean with its gems, the waters perfectly white, will resemble his glory, and the gems of various colours his might in visible form, the two spread and filling space together.



25. පැහැති සිසන් මින් පටහසු කුණු පසු ෫  
 හැමිනි සකස් ලද රුද්ධි පසු ෫  
 දින හි පොසු දන්වා රද පසු ෫  
 හැමිනි පසු රද පද නිස පලසු වැ ෫
26. පැහැතර සුරකැහිලි දල අත් අතු ලක ෮  
 පුවතර හිමින පලබර ලක ෮  
 පිහිතර පැලිසි මැලි දල ෮  
 පිහිතර දකුණු පවර සුරතු ෮
27. පුතුර මි අරණ පුලු පුලු දිරදෙවි අ ෮  
 පිතුර මි පසු පොසු පවසන් අසුර ෮  
 දුතුර මි පිසෙන් සැහවි බලකොට පෙ ෮  
 හිතුර මි පවසන් පිසෙනු පවකොට ක ෮
28. අ ව ර දිනිසු පෙ ලෙස දිනිසු වන ග ෮  
 ප ව ර පුරිසු අනෙව පැසුසි සිර ස ෮  
 නිසාර සලා අනු වැසි වන පැහැර ල ෮  
 පි ස ර කර හරිස නිතුරු පිසින් අ ෮
29. කිසි පිසතුරු පිසුමැලි රුසිරු කලි ෮  
 පිසි පොසුන පුරකත නුවන දිස දි ෮  
 දිසි පොසු පස පිසි දිස ලද්දා නිස ෮  
 හැසි පිසු මිස පර සුර පිසුර කොස දි ෮
30. අ ම අයුරු ලන් සද සිතසුන් ම ෮  
 ප ම පොසි පැසිපෙත සුරව වසව ෮  
 ක ම ම සැවි බල පැසි පොසා සි ෮  
 පෙම ම වෙසු නිස පොසු කෙස බල අනු ෮
31. පෙමිරුන් සුරිද රෙන් කෙත පද පෙන ලෙසව ෮  
 ග හ ර න් නිසිනි සන්කොට සුත පද අව ෮  
 කෙරෙහි සැදු රත නරි මුරි නැවති ෮  
 නු මි ම න් ලෙසින් වැසු සුර රද මැදරන ෮
25. With glinting swords as fishes, and the shields  
 As turtles, whirling disks<sup>27</sup> as currents strong,  
 The Danva sovereign's<sup>28</sup> host, a raging sea,  
 Did find at this god's feet its beach and bound.
26. His fingers tender shoots, his arms long boughs,  
 Pearl-clusters flowers, his bounteous gifts the trail,  
 His rows of blue sapphires the swarming bees,  
 This gracious god portrays the tree of Heaven.<sup>29</sup>
27. And he, an elephant destroying still  
 The plantain-grove of human woes, is feared  
 By Vepachitti, King of Titans, so  
 That down below, mescema, that Titan hides  
 Amid three rocks, by Mera fortified,  
 And by the ocean girded all around.<sup>31</sup>
28. As shadows in the western sun, still grow  
 This godhead's fortunes, Lakshmi<sup>32</sup> holds him still  
 In fond embrace. But see the moon, with spot:  
 It waxes or declines with varying phase.  
 Be e'er so great in glory, will the moon  
 Thus stand compare with this illustrious god?
29. Seductive sight, this god is like that river  
 Of peacock's radiant hue, the Kāliadi,<sup>33</sup>  
 With eyes of nymphs delighting in the sight,  
 Like fishes playing in that lovely stream.  
 His glory is like moon, his victory  
 The Eastern Rock<sup>34</sup>; and when this moon adorns  
 This rock, his foes but lotus-flowers, decline.  
 His friends, Chakoras,<sup>35</sup> revel in delight!
30. When, on the diamond throne, the Teacher sat  
 Of endless Bliss, and Māra came to war,  
 Undaunted stood this god, his circling bow  
 In play.<sup>36</sup> What need of words his prowess to tell?
31. At even-tide, when damsels at his fane,  
 With golden bells resonant round their feet,  
 Like thankful bees around a bounteous flower,  
 Have done their nautch, then dateous enter thou.

27. A kind of circular weapon with which gods are armed; used to be hurled at an enemy with a whirling motion.

28. The Danva sovereign's host are the Danavas, who, like the Daityas, are Asuras or no gods, to wit, persons as good as gods, but not of their order. They were the possessors of Heaven before the gods, who conquered that place and expelled them therefrom, from which time there has been eternal warfare between the two races. Such warfare always ends in the defeat of the Danavas if the god of Dondra leads on the other side. For, as the waves of the sea must end at the beach, so the onrush of the Danavas end at the feet of this god, by their prostration there, as the vanquished. Evidently the gods are the mythical symbol for the Aryan invaders of Northern and Central India, and the "no gods" for the original Dravidian possessors of the country.

29. There are five trees in Indra's paradise, each one of which yields everything desired. They are all auspicious objects. 30. Vepachitti is a king of the Asuras or no gods. After their expulsion from paradise, the Asuras dwell in another world, at the bottom of Mera, in the space between the three rocks on which Mera rests. All round Mera is the deep sea, and the poet in a flight of fancy says that Vepachitti hides in this well fortified and well guarded position, for fear of the god of Dondra.

31. The goddess of fortune (Note 12, p. 16).

32. Kāliadi is the river Jumna. In poetic convention, its waters are of a bright blue colour.

33. The rock over which both sun and moon are supposed to rise.

34. Chakora is a bird (Greek partridge) which is fabled to revel in the Moon-beam which forms its food.

35. In concentrating his thoughts for the attainment of that enlightenment which culminated in supreme illumination or Buddhahood, the Buddha sat with his back to a Bodhi-tree, on a diamond throne which had miraculously sprung up for the great occasion; and thither Māra, a great and powerful god, came as the Tempter to prevent the Buddha just going to be, from attaining a position which would destroy his (the Māra's) empire, i.e. the empire of the senses, attachment, feeling; he tried weapons of force though without effect. Most of the gods who had assembled to witness the attainment of Buddhahood, had fled; but the poet says that the god of Lily-Bud stood undaunted and relied his bow.

32. මහ රසුර දිරද ආසිලිසිදි සිංහ රලප සිංහා ර  
 ස ස හ ර නිමිත්ත කාල සංචල සුසාද්ද සංහාර ර  
 ස ස හ ර උසුල්වන් පුර රද පා සසි ර  
 හ ස හ ර මිතුරු සද මැළි සහ සත්ත්ව ස ර  
 32 In awe behold the god of Lily Hue,  
 The lion strong that broke the frontal knobs  
 Of elephants yclept the former gods;<sup>37</sup>  
 And made his glory shine like rows of pearls  
 Of loveliest eay, around the muses' necks.  
 Salute his lotus-feet, and take thy leave.
33. සුක්කිල් සපිරි සද රැස්වන් එක පැති ර  
 එකතුල් රහස් රළුමැළු සලසු නිරි සසු ර  
 හාමසල් දිසුතු සුතු මැළිසල මරි පම ර  
 සුචි සල් මෙසුර මැද මෙහෙරට මැද මිතු ර  
 33 Thence to the sacred precincts wend thy way,  
 Of that uplifting scene, the great *vihār*,  
 Which in the centre of this city shines.  
 With spacious courts besprent with snow-white  
 sand,  
 Suggestive of the Milky Sea,<sup>38</sup> with waves,  
 Reflecting everywhere moon's gentle beams.
34. සිත් සම් රැවින් පිසිතුරු මුක්ති මැදුර ම ර  
 ම හ ර ම මලසින් බබළන මුක්ති ර නිම ර  
 සිහි සසම් වඩා මැද සිරිපා සුභ නම් ර  
 බ ම සි ම නිව්වා නිව්වාත් භර සැප පිසු ර  
 34 There icons of the Sage<sup>39</sup>, installed in shrines  
 Touched by the painter's hand with tender skill,  
 Resplendent glow. Salute their lotus-feet,  
 That Bliss be thine, where life's revolving wheel  
 Of birth and death, and birth and death again,  
 Will be at rest—where ends all heat and toil.<sup>40</sup>
35. පිඳුරු අසන තුරුපත් මහ පිසන ස ර  
 ම හ ර සුදු කදින් රැඳි නම් පුටු මිතු ර  
 ස ස ර නිමිල් කාන් සහ පුද්ගල පිනන ර  
 සොසුරු දුමිසි සද පෙණිපා සර මිතු ර  
 35 Next see the Bó, green nearly as the sea,  
 The chief of trees,<sup>41</sup> which here adorns the sky,  
 Majestic in its trunk of spotless white,  
 A friend in need to calm all life's alarms.  
 What graceful boughs! What wealth of fruit  
 unborn  
 Of flower! And with what love adored of men.  
 A source of purity! 'Tis like the moon,  
 On elephant up-borne,<sup>42</sup> of planets chief,<sup>43</sup>  
 Revolving in the heavens;—that orb so white,  
 And such a welcome lamp when darkness falls!—  
 The moon, with hare's image,<sup>44</sup> and pure of beam.  
 Adored of men,<sup>45</sup> and cause of gentle dew.  
 So like the moon this sacred object glows.  
 Before it bend thee low and reverence pay.<sup>46</sup>

36. The *Asurav* are called the "former gods" because they were the former possessors of Heaven.

37. See Note 14, p. 16.

38. S. *see*, the Buddha.

39. The Nirvāṇa or Summa *Samma* of the Buddhists is a complete cessation of active existence, free from birth and death which are the causes of sorrow. It is a quiescent state, a perpetual peace.

40. The Bó, *Asus religiosus*, is called the chief of trees by the Buddhists, evidently, from his religious importance as an object of veneration, this veneration being due to its association with Buddha at the attainment of his supreme enlightenment. The Buddha received omniscience under this tree (see note 36 above), and Himself paid it reverence. His followers therefore adore it out of love for Him, and feel much comfort and assurance of future reward in such act of piety directed as it ultimately is towards Buddha Himself.

41. The word Moon ("Chandra") is indifferently used both for the celestial object and the god whose habitation it is. That god rides upon an elephant.

42. The Moon is called the chief of the planets because it is the largest (in appearance) as seen from the earth.

43. See Note 8, p. 16.

44. The Moon, especially the crescent Moon, seems to have been in ancient times, an object of love and adoration.

45. The whole stanza is a comparison or simile. A simile becomes possible only when there is a common attribute by reason of which the subject of comparison resembles the object which forms the standard of comparison. Thus if the lady's face is compared to the Moon, the common attribute is brightness, expressed or understood. It will be seen that though the sacred Bó-tree is here compared to the Moon, there is no common attribute or set of common attributes running throughout to sustain the simile. This is due to the fact that the simile is brought about by an artificial process known as *double sandēsa*, which consists of a mere play upon words conveying two meanings for two sides, but yet by the sameness of sound serving as the common attribute of a word, for both sides; as when we say, the lady's finger is like a bell, because both have a ring. Compositions of this class, like feats of magic, are esteemed for the ingenuity they show. The length of the translation here is due to the great set of words being separately translated as attributes for the two sides alternately.



36. ප හැ ස් මදුර මිසිතුර තුරෙහි න 4  
 මි සෙ ස් මලස මිසිදුණු කුසුමෙහි සුව 9  
 අ පි ස් හූණන් යුතු යහපත් හට නිස 9  
 ස මනාස් සිංහසි දුරමින් නමිදිව සබ 9
37. ම හ යුවතන පුන්සද හැර'ද 8  
 ප හ මිසු රැසි දි පිපි මල් හු 8  
 මෙ හ ම මෙහෙර සුවසිරි අම් හු 8  
 හු හ මෙව මෙහෙර සුව රැ මෙහු 8
38. කර සි ර මින් මිණිසුතු මලා නමුරු කැ 0  
 මෙර සිර මින් කුස මිණි පැණිණින ලද 0  
 අ ර කර මෙමෙහෙරින් අසි රිසි ලද ක 0  
 කර සර මිතුර යාකර හැමද දස බ 0
39. දෙ ස දෙස වනය කනවා පිටිමල් කැන 0  
 පි ස මන සුවද මද නල මිද මලස කැම 0  
 මෙ ස 'ගත මිහිතු සත් සින් මෙර මල පැව 0  
 ල ස මොව මිසින් සත් දුක මෙ සුව සිමි 0
40. අ දු ස් මිසිදු කුසුමෙහි මවන හැම දි 0  
 අ දු ස් මිසිදු සුවද මද නල මිද මලස කැම 0  
 අ දු ස් සුවද මලා රදවන සෙ සුව 0  
 අ දු ස් මිසිදු මිලසින් දුක මි 0
41. ම මුතු සුළු සුර රද-සුරසිංහ-දින මිහිකල් 0  
 දු පිසමිසු සිරිත් දුල්-කහන් මිසුල් මැල්ලන් 0
42. මැ ල මල් මිසුසු කර කරමින් මෙවන් මි 0  
 දි ල මල් ගණිසු සුදුසව දු මෙන් මෙමි 0  
 තු ල මල් සුරිසි මිමෙහි මෙර මෙ පැමි 0  
 මැ ල මල් මෙම දුක සත් සිරි කර සිමි 0
43. ම හ සිස කමිල ලිස මල් බර නිසු මැ 0  
 අ හ ම නිසු මල් මන් ගත කරන නි 0  
 ම හ කර කරන පැණිසර රිත හැරි නි 0  
 ද හ හට සිංහසි කැකුණා මෙ මෙහි මි 0
36. See monks of saintly life, whose wants be few,  
 Most fragrant flowers on the Mandara-tree!<sup>14</sup>  
 Yclept the Lord with Five-fold vision blest.<sup>15</sup>  
 Salute them friend, with heart of love profound.
37. When rising comes the full-orbed moon to view,  
 Dispelling darkness falling all around,  
 And evening bloom is sought by busy bees,  
 On trees and shrubs resounding with their din,  
 Then, by the precincts of the holy place,  
 Find on the mango-tree thy simple bed.
38. What time kissed by the sun's congenial ray,  
 The lotus-ponds begin to blush and smile,  
 When Guru,<sup>16</sup> though with lustre undisplayed,  
 Arises on the rolling dial of time,  
 At that good moment, loving homage pay  
 To Him of Ten-fold Power,<sup>17</sup> and rise on wing.
39. There, in the air, with gentle breezes fanned,  
 Sweet with the fragrance of the choicest flowers,  
 See *filles de joie*, bear drums and chaunks and  
 horns,—  
 Good omens<sup>18</sup> greeting thee, and then proceed.
40. In New Street, maids behold, whose slender frames  
 Most delicate and soft, superbly shine,  
 Their faces fresh as lotus-flowers new-blown,  
 Their palms transfixing, by their tender glow,  
 The eye, therewith the heart, of gallant swains.  
 As tender leaves invite and hold the deer.
41. Next Mangul-Vella pass, a lovely sheet  
 Of snow-white sand, which looks a carpet spread  
 By Madam Earth, the day the gracious god  
 Of Lily Hae came here from o'er the main.<sup>19</sup>
42. At Vellennadam, see the radiant glow  
 Of rubies cast on shore by ocean-wave.  
 These shine like lamps in loyal homage list  
 To wise Ganesha,<sup>20</sup> Counsellor divine.  
 A thousand charms beside here greet the view.  
 This is a place like part of Indra's Heaven.
43. Proceed and see the world, so like a dame,  
 The round hill-side her waist, *tamala*<sup>21</sup> vines  
 In radiant bloom, her tresses gay with flowers;  
 With noisy parrots thronging line on line,  
 In rounds unbroken, seeming to thy view  
 Like rows of emeralds glittering on her form.

14. One of the five trees of Indra's paradise.

15. The Buddha, who, in addition to his sight as a human being, had four superhuman visions.

16. The planet Jupiter, called *Guru* because its regent is the *Guru* or teacher, of the gods.

17. The Buddha.

18. In going on an important journey, it is necessary that the start should be made at a lucky hour. Here it was at the moment of the rising of Jupiter along with the sun early in the morning; and the good omens met with at the start assure the success of the journey.

19. The god of Lily Hae, according to the tradition preserved at Dondra, came over from Southern India, in the shape of a floating log of *shari* (*senecio cathartica*), and touched shore first at Kitalawella, a small fishing port of Dondra. But the *Asquerula* or the god-in-charge at Singama near Hikkaduwa, who had been apprised in a dream, and was going with a large procession to receive the god, had not yet arrived. So the god had to put back to sea, where, rounding the Point of Dondra at Senhasena, he floated on to Mangul-vella, on the Malabar side of Dondra, where on the shore he was received with all due homage by the functionary from Singama with his train, and carried in procession to Dondra. Mangul-vella (*senecio cathartica*) received that name from the auspicious event of his touching.

The silver log was duly converted into an image of the god, and painted blue. Hence the god is also called *sharaloga* (*Shari-ghata*, *Rhadira-shah-utala*), i.e. (god of) the silver log of Lily (colour).

20. Ganesha is the eldest of the gods. He seems to have been held in special veneration at Vellennadam.

21. In India, *tamala* means a kind of tree. In Ceylon, it means also a kind of creeping plant not identified, but supposed to be asparagus.

44. ස ඵ තා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං භූමි  
භූමිසුභා දරණ වාසී භිද්ධං භූමි  
ක ර තා පසුසු භූමි භිද්ධං භූමි  
සොඛනා භාසනා භූමි භිද්ධං භූමි
45. උ ඝ්භු ල් භූමිසුභා දරණ වාසී භූමි  
භූමිසුභා දරණ වාසී භූමි  
ස ඝ්භු ල් භූමිසුභා දරණ වාසී භූමි  
උ ඝ්භු ල් භූමිසුභා දරණ වාසී භූමි
46. මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං
47. භූ ල් මුලා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
භූ ල් මුලා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං
48. සුභ භූමි පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
සුභ භූමි පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං
49. ර භූමි පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
ර භූමි පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං
50. ම භූමි පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
ම භූමි පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං  
මා පා පටිභාසනිසෙසි මුඛ භිද්ධං
44. There, on the South, see Naga-Kovil famed  
For serpent-king with wide expanded hood,  
Who, by his form, proclaims great Muchalinda,  
The first pious member of the hooded race,  
Within whose ample folds, 'neath open hood,  
The Sage, in serene rest, passed week the sixth.\*\*
45. Next, in thy flight, o'er Ukalbenla pass  
Where beauteous maidens, radiant in their smiles,  
Speak honeyed words from lips of ruddy glow,  
And with their glances flying like darts around,  
Proclaiming Cupid's war, shew like the nymphs—  
The glorious nymphs of Indra's paradise.
46. At Māpa-Patun, rest thyself a while,  
And see the charms of that delightful town,  
The work of Virabā,\*\* the satrap Prince,  
In glory like the moon, in grandeur sun.
47. Thence take thy flight across the Nil-Vala,\*\*  
A noble stream, all seeming like the track,  
Along which Sea, the herdman, fain would draw  
Gongiri, sturdy ox, aigh unto him,  
Blue clouds in line unbroken being the rope,  
Now dangling on this track, now on the move.
48. At Matota, great town, in power renowned,  
See elephants in stall, by chains restrained,  
With ichor flowing down their necks, they seem  
Like clouds assembled for to drink the sea.  
Be not afraid at sight of these huge beasts,  
Though red their eyes, but serene wend thy way.
49. The stretch of fields at Pangurau survey,  
And there enchanted behold the lovely sight  
Of sylphine damsels, slender in their frames,  
Red in their lips, aglow as golden vines,  
To see whose beaming faces like the moon,  
One thought suggests—one thought, oh, bliss to think!
50. Proceeding farther, still see maidens fair,  
In fields of el,\*\* engaged in joyous play  
Bright strings of midel\*\* buds, like rows of gems,  
Their shapely busts adorn, and\*\* flowers their ears;  
And with their pretty mouths, so lotus-like,  
They sing in floating notes melodious lays.

54. After attainment of supreme enlightenment, the Buddha spent seven weeks in perfect rest in the vicinity of the spot where the great struggle had been gone through. The sixth of these weeks he passed inside a "silver palace" made of the coils of the great body of Muchalinda, sheltered from sun and dew by the hood of the great cobra spread above.

55. There were two Virabahu in the history of Ceylon, one king in 1207, and one 1231-06. Evidently the latter is the one here intended as having founded the town of Māpa-Patuna, while he was Māpa or heir presumptive, and viceroy of South Ceylon. Māpa-Patuna ("the town of the Heir Presumptive") is that part of the present town of Matara which lies on the southern bank of the river Nilvala, between that river and the sea, and at the western end of which the old Dutch fort is situated. The old town of Matara ("Matota, the great ferry") is that part of the present town, which lies on the opposite bank of the river.

56. Nilvala-ganga (the river of blue clouds) is the name of the river which flows into the sea through the town of Matara. It takes its rise at Gongil-kanda, "hill of the bovine rock" in Moravak Korale.

57. Hill-paddy.

58. Rarringtonia racemosa the inflorescence of which is in long racemes of buds hanging from long stalks.

59. Iron-wood tree which has a beautiful sweet flower.





58. කුඳුන් අඳුරු දුලු පිසගුරු සුභ පුටු      ට  
ස දුන් පසාසුම් සමිතව යා පුටුද පසා      ට  
සුභන් සරසා තැන තැන රු දුටු පසාසා      ට  
ස දුන් කුඳුරු එක්සතට අදුන් සුමි      ට
59. රන් වන් පැහැති පිටුමැලි හරිති වෙරද න      ට  
තැන් තැන් වලමි නොබිමින් යොන් ලිය සිටි න      ට  
ගන් මි න් අතට හිරවුන් සරසමි පෙ      ට  
මින් වෙත් උගන්වති රස තෙපල වෙත වෙත      ට
60. මේ තුල් සුසැදි තෙවුසන් පිඳුරු කල අ      ට  
පු දුල් පලින තල හිමි සිසි කිරණ තු      ට  
මා සල් විසල් පිඳුමිණි පවුරපෙත් තු      ට  
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58. There lovely creatures move, their heaving orbs  
Fall on their bosoms, each on other pressed,  
Well scented and adorned with sandal paste  
And glowing *kokum*<sup>58</sup> mixed—bright cooling blend.  
To eyes once soothed with their celestial charms,  
What use again of camphored sandal-balm?
59. There too see Moorish beauties here and there.  
Soft are their forms, and of a golden sheen.  
Like *Sarasvati*,<sup>59</sup> in their hands they hold  
Apt parrots whom they teach the art of speech.  
Sweet words, one at a time, with patience taught,  
With patience learnt, reward the pleasing toil.
60. Done with these sights, proceed in graver mood  
To see the beauties of the great *vihar*,<sup>60</sup>  
Which, with its glorious charms, the heart adorns  
Of this great sea-port town it sanctifies.  
A crystal wall surrounds the sacred place,  
With portals high and wide, and all around,  
Fair orchards stand, e'er green, imparting joy  
To pea-cocks' eyes, suggesting laden clouds.<sup>61</sup>  
In setting such, the holy precincts glow,  
Bestrewn with sand, white as the lunar beam.
61. Proud work this fane, of *Dévadhikari*,<sup>62</sup>  
Minister great, a golden casket filled  
With precious camphor in his virtues pure,  
Who worked intent on future Buddhahood.  
That end in view, desiring men be shewn  
The way to Supreme Bliss, in that true light,  
The Teacher's Law, which, for the fields of hearts,  
Is grateful rain, to quicken seeds of good,  
Provision did he make that ghostly guides  
Arriving from the four directions here,  
Be here supplied the four bare needs of life,<sup>63</sup>  
That they may serve the higher needs of men.  
There, at this fane, thy fatigue all forgot,  
And all thy thoughts fixed on salvation dear,  
Enter with awe the shrine where glows the Sage,<sup>64</sup>  
And worship at his feet, in faith profound.
62. Next go and see the holy hermits here,  
Who, holding fast the five conduits of sense<sup>65</sup>  
In full control, observe their rigid rules;  
And pleased in eye and heart, thou gentle friend,  
Mild as the moon, salute their lotus-feet,  
And merit gain towards thy ghostly weal.
63. Now, when the golden swan, the Gem of heaven<sup>66</sup>  
With wings expanded in his spreading rays,  
Hath, in his flight, arrived in western skies,  
And sought the shelter of the lotus-pond—  
The glowing sea where sea and sky do meet,  
Thou too, then, friend! take shelter on a tree.

58. *Kokum* (Sanskrit *Simamū*), Indian wood with ground small-wood as a cosmetic. *Kokum* also means a tree, *kokum* seyalum, the hard bark of which is dried and used for the same purpose. When blended with sandal-wood *kokum* is supposed to be very cool and refreshing.

59. *Sarasvati* is the goddess of speech. She has a parrot in one of her hands.

60. Buddhist temple.

61. A rain-laden cloud is always an object of joy to the peacock. Before it he gives cries of joy, and dances with all the glories of plumage displayed. He also dances to the rising and setting sun.

62. A Minister of Queen *Kalyāṇavati* who reigned at Polonnaruwa early in the thirteenth century.

63. Lodging, refreshment, food, and a cooling draught in the uttermost of any time of exhaustion or thirst.

64. The Buddha.

65. The five media of sensation, viz., the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch.

66. The sun. *Confl. Exp.* eye of day.





71. මත් තුටු වන සිඳු හමිණරම් කැරු  
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මත් සුරසන ලිස රු දුටු හා  
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71. At *Galle*, the fair-like goddesses appear,  
On moon-light halls,<sup>82</sup> their rounded breasts  
confined  
In golden lace, and themselves sought by bees  
Drawn by the scent of fancied lotus-bloom.<sup>83</sup>  
Behold their charms and in thine eyes enjoy  
A fresh'ning coolness as if from a balm.

(To be continued.)

### CORRIGENDA.

(For previous instalment.)

Page 16,	English stanza 6, line 4,	}	for none so fit as thee	read none so fit as thou
" 17,	English stanza 16, line 2,	}	" beautiful	" beautiful
" 17,	Foot-note 20,	"	Cranes are supposed to have great attractions for a rain-cloud	" Cranes are supposed to find great attractions in a rain-cloud
" 18,	English stanza 20, lines 1 & 2,	}	See long-eyed maids Their narrow foreheads clear Eclipse the graces of the crescent Moon.	See long-eyed maids whose very sight inspires The hearts of ardent youth with joy sublime. Their graceful foreheads, narrow, bent, and clear Surpass the crescent of the autumn Moon.

82. Open terraces on the tops of houses, wherein to enjoy the moon-light.

83. This distantly hints that the ladies have sought the cool of the moon-beams, fresh from the society of their husbands.





## Notes & Queries.

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### THE ANCIENT BOWL AT HULFTSDORP.

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By THE HON. SIR ANTON BERTRAM, Kt., K.C.

**I**N the spacious front Court yard of the Courts buildings at Hulftsdorp, at present choked up with untidily grown trees and unnecessary structures, there is an ancient carved bowl, very unworthily mounted, which at present appears to be used as a receptacle for rubbish. It is hoped shortly to clear this Court yard of some of its superfluous trees and structures. When this is done and the Court yard is converted into something of the same nature as the interior quadrangle, and similar improvements have been effected in the untidy open space alongside the District Court and old Record room, the Court buildings will wear an appearance more in accord with their dignified architectural design and with their nature and history.

St. Sebastian Hill is marked out for widening. When this is done there will be an ample and spacious approach to the Courts from the Fort through the fine new thoroughfare which is being constructed under the Lake Scheme along Norris Road, and up St. Sebastian Hill; and it will only remain to widen and rebuild the miserable little alley by which our Courts are at present approached and in which so many members of a learned profession are condemned to pass their working days, to transform Hulftsdorp into a place worthy of its associations.

When this is accomplished I hope that this ancient bowl will be appropriately mounted, and in the meantime it would be interesting to learn what is its origin and history.

It is about 35 inches high and 48 inches in diameter at the rim. Ancient carving now very indistinct runs round the circumference, and there are four projections of the nature of rudimentary handles. At present it is merely planted in a mass of cement.

Dr. P. E. Pieris has written me the following note on the subject:—

"You have put to me a question for the answer to which I have been searching in vain these 37 years. That the bowl belonged to a Buddhist Temple, and that it was used there for the purpose of collecting offerings, I have no doubt. A smaller but somewhat similar bowl brought from Tiruketisswaram near Mannar is now at Jaffna, and a still smaller one is, I believe, at the Colombo Museum near the cadjan shed with the Buddha. There can, I think, be little doubt that it came from one of the temples at Cotta, in the same way as so much granite work now in Colombo was brought from there. Or it came from Kelaniya, where there is a great mass of granite work still to be found. We know as a matter of fact that the Portuguese, the Dutch, and our own P. W. D. removed a lot of granite from Cotta. Beyond that I can offer no explanation. I do not think it belonged to any Colombo temple, as there does not seem to have been any temple of importance there when the Portuguese came in 1505. . . ."

I have also received the following interesting communication from an old and respected member of the legal profession, Mr. J. R. Loos —

"The site on which the present Supreme Court stands was once the site of the residence of the Dutch Governors in the time of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon. The Dutch Governor, Hulft, when he resided there—the locality takes its name from his—had a large number of deer roaming about the grounds and the urn in question with another were used as drinking troughs for the animals;—a large well, which was in existence, till fairly recently, and which stood 40 feet from the present roadway, in a quadrangle, supplied the water for this purpose and also supplied the needs of the neighbourhood.

"During the time of Sir George Anderson or Sir Henry Ward in 1852 or 1854 an officer of the Public Works Department, during the vacation of the Supreme Court, removed the two drinking troughs without the permission of the Judges of the Supreme Court; and for a long while the whereabouts of the urns were not known: indeed, one has not been heard of since. The Judges were indignant at their removal and complained of this vandalism to the Governor. A visit by the Chief Justice Sir W. C. Rowe to the Governor casually disclosed one urn in the Queen's House Gardens! The Governor promptly ordered it to be returned and the P. W. D. officer in question was censured and made to pay the cost of the removal and apologise to 'My Lords.' No one to this day knows what happened to the second urn.—It was long shaped and resembled the dyeing-vats used by Buddhist priests for dyeing their robes, the remains of which are still to be seen at Anuradhapura."

I should be very glad if any one who is in a position to throw any light upon the ancient functions of bowls of this description would either send a note to *The Ceylon Antiquary* or communicate with me personally, so that some authoritative memorandum on the subject may be preserved in the records of the Supreme Court.

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## THE JAFFNA DIARIES.

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By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G. C.C.S. (Retired).

REFERENCES to these Diaries in Mr. L. J. B. Turner's paper in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. IV, Part I), induce me to state that in 1905-6 I did what no one else, I suppose, has done since these records ceased to have an immediate and living interest for the officers in charge of them (and how much the more for everyone else!) and that is, read and perused them through their first decade, 1795-1805. It was then a matter for regret that my departure from the Northern Kachcheri prevented me from continuing this survey, but on the other hand I had noticed that, towards the end of this period, they were becoming less and less interesting—more meagre in detail and more strictly of a routine character, so that perhaps I did not miss much. Possibly, however, I am wrong in making a general statement as to their being left to waste their sweetness on the torrid air of the Jaffna Record Room, and Mr. Turner may have dug them out since, in which case I hope that he or others may continue the task.



The Jaffna Kachcheri is the oldest in the Island, and it has been fortunate in having had at its head, during two-thirds of a century, two officers, viz., Mr. P. A. Dyke and Sir William Twynam, each of whom possessed the idiosyncrasy of taking a special pride in its record room. The Diaries were regularly bound, and it is due to this fact and the care taken of them that this Kachcheri has preserved some of the oldest British records in the Island.

I have quoted from these Diaries somewhat frequently in my *List of Inscriptions*; as well as in my papers on Delft and on the Diaries of Robert Andrews' Embassies to Kandy published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Ceylon Branch), and in my Administration Reports on the Northern Province for 1905 and on the Pearl Fishery of 1906. It has been my intention to publish an abstract or summary of the more interesting entries—occasionally reproducing them word for word—and omitting those which have already been freely quoted in the publications named or in others such as Mr. Turner's papers, and for this I have received the permission of the Ceylon Government. I propose to do this in the *Ceylon Antiquary* as soon as time, space, and the War permit. Meanwhile, it is to be hoped that the work of examining the Diaries at the chief Kachcheries may be continued. Those of Kandy, which include some of George Turnour, the Oriental scholar, must be of considerable interest, and the late Mr. Sueter of the Civil Service was going through them while he was Police Magistrate at Kandy. I should be glad to hear that his notes from them are extant, and that we may expect to see them some day in print. But I fear that in no Kachcheri has so much care been taken of its records as at Jaffna.

"Collector John Macdowall." (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 47). Mr. Turner, writing of this Madras civilian, says: "He was dismissed about September, 1799. (The Jaffna Diary shows that a John Macdowall was Assistant Agent of Revenue at Trincomalee in June, 1803. It is hardly likely that there would be two John Macdowalls in Ceylon within 4 years; it would therefore seem that the dismissed Collector had been reinstated later.)"

Nevertheless there were two. The John Macdowall, whom Mr. Turner is concerned with, who was appointed a Writer H.E.I.C. in 1792, came over to Ceylon originally in 1795 with Colonel Stuart's expedition as Paymaster, and he remained there until his appointment as Deputy Secretary to Government, an appointment which he was holding in 1798. He was Collector of Mannar in 1799, and Commissioner for the Pearl Fishery. He was reinstated in the same year that he was suspended (not dismissed), viz. 1799. See Wellesley MSS, *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, p. 254, letter from North to Macdowall, where the Governor says: "I reinstate you, but must enquire further." General Hay Macdowall, too, writing to North (*loc. cit.*), is of opinion that "Macdowall is innocent." But although he was reinstated it was deemed expedient to give him a change of station, and he was accordingly moved to Colombo as Collector there. In June, 1803, he became Secretary to the General Committee of Superintendence, and on 16th May, 1804, Assistant to the Paymaster General, and during the absence of the Hon'ble Mr. Alexander Wood at Trincomalee, he acted as Paymaster General (16th Oct., 1805). Sometime after this, but when exactly I have not been able to ascertain, he returned to his original service and in 1810 was Dutch Translator to the Government of Fort St. George. He died on 5th August, 1814, and is buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, Madras. (See Cotton's *Madras Inscriptions*, p. 46).

The other John Macdowall appears to have been a nephew of the General, and there is a reference to him in Cordiner in connection with that writer's account of the services rendered by General Macdowall in the introduction of fruit trees, etc., into the Island. He was not a Madras civilian, but was appointed a Writer in the Ceylon Service on 22nd March, 1802, and in



the same month and year accompanied Governor North on his visit to the Pearl Fishery and Jaffna. He remained at Jaffna as Second Assistant at the Kachcheri, and on 29th June, 1803, was promoted to First Assistant and Custom Master or "Sea Customer" in lieu of Ensign Spence, who it seems had become a victim to drink. A month later he became Assistant to the Agent of Revenue at Colombo, and on 28th February, 1805, First Assistant to the Secretary of the Board of Revenue. He died at Calcutta on the 14th January, 1806.

General Hay Macdowall had a son with him in Ceylon, Captain A. Macdowall, who acted as his A. D. C. and accompanied him to India when the General was appointed to the staff of the Army in India. The son died in India, a Major-General, on 15th May, 1834.

It should be noted of the Madras civilian that on his tombstone his surname is spelt, not "Macdowall" but "McDouall," and this we must assume to be the correct spelling. No weight can be given to the fact that in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, where the Wellesley MSS are printed, the name is throughout spelt "Macdowall." For this is in all probability a mistake of the copyist who was predisposed to adopt it from familiarity with the spelling of the name of the General.

**George Garrow.** Of this Madras civilian Mr. Turner remarks: "Garrow's later history is not related"—i.e. in the records or documents quoted by him. But an outline of it may be obtained from Dodwell and Miles' *List of Madras Civilians*. He had returned to Madras by 1807—the exact date I have not ascertained,—but on October 12th he was married there to a daughter of Joseph Baker (Eliza Jane) and on 4th August, 1834, he died at Trichinopoly as Acting Civil Auditor and Superintendent of Stamps. We also learn that he entered the service of the East India Company in 1794; that his status was that of a Junior Merchant, and that he had been Collector of Arcot. His first office at Colombo in 1797 was that of "Senior Assistant under the Secretary in the Public Revenue and Commercial Department." In 1799 he became "Assistant Collector of Revenue" at Trincomalee and later in the same year was appointed to the similar office at "Batticaloe and Mouloutivoe." But the most interesting fact about the Garrows (there were three of them in the Madras Service) we discover from Mr. J. J. Cotton's book is the connection by marriage which existed between them and the Trollopes—the family of Anthony, the novelist of Victorian times and manners. One of the three, Joseph or William or George, married a high caste native lady and had by her a son whose daughter, Theodosia, married Thomas Adolphus, the novelist's elder brother, himself an author. Mr. Cotton says: "Her literary tastes are celebrated by Landor in his lines 'To Theodosia Garrow.'" (*Loc. cit.*, p. 32).

[**Note on the above by Mr. Turner:**—My authority for the dismissal—not suspension—of Collector MacDowall is *Ceylon Literary Register*, Weekly, II, page 262 (vide footnote 62 on page 47 of *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV). Here Governor North writes: "I have dismissed McDowall and suppressed the office which will be looked to by (the) Collectors of Galle and Jaffna." In his Despatch of 5th October, 1799 (para. 22), the Governor reports that "since the dismissal of Mr. McDowall I have suppressed the Collectorship of Colombo, and have united the whole District from Chilau on the North to Matura on the South under Mr. Gregory (Collector of Galle)."

Unless the Collector MacDowall had been reinstated, the General's nephew—for it is clear now that there were two John MacDowalls in Ceylon about the same time—would appear to have been the holder of the posts of Secretary to the General Committee of Superintendence of Charitable Institutions, Assistant to the Paymaster General, and Acting Paymaster General.]



## VILLAGE NAMES IN THE NORTH CENTRAL PROVINCE.

By H. R. FREEMAN, C.C.S.

**H**ANG up the agricultural map of the North Central Province and it will be seen that the province is just like a bat with its wings spread out, the roads shewing up like bats' veins; it is like a butterfly too; it happens that the Sinhalese of this province call a butterfly 'wawula,' the word for 'bat' elsewhere.

The topmost bit of the province on this map has the appearance of a sloth bear's head, face and nose; the eye is Ruwanmadu, and Padawiya tank the ear.

Animal and tree names of villages abound; strangely, the names of the jackal and leopard do not appear, and the mongoose only once, in Tamil form: 'bear' and 'elephant' are often found in village names.

Hills are few and, therefore, hill names for villages are few. Villages take the names of springs, especially in the Veddah country.

Here are some picturesque village names:—

Kimbulpetiyawa—young crocodile tank.  
Kiribbawa—milk tortoise village.  
Urulawa—civet cat village.  
Yakawewa—devil tank.  
Yakkure—devil's hoof (Veddah village).  
Sinhayanlpota—lion spring.  
Walaskunuwewa—bear carcase tank.  
Walawiddawewa—pierced bear tank.  
Walawahengunawewa—hiding bear tank.  
Elkimbulagala—white crocodile rock.  
Miminnawala—moose deer.  
Kombichchikulam—broken tusk tank.  
Keditokkuwa—broken gun.  
Harakweldamana—cattle noose.  
Kāpiriggama—Kaffir village.  
Bamburhela—bee hill.  
Pandiggama—(Tamil and Sinhalese mixed) pig village.  
Kunu Uragama—wild pig carcase village.  
Miellawa—caught buffalo.  
Kukulkatuwa—cock spur.  
Kolibendawa—tied fowl.  
Walanteluwewa—shaped the pots.  
Lunuphichchawa—salt baked by sun tank.  
Labunoruwa—gourd washed down to city.  
Kauhindigama—ear-pick village.  
Morakawa—ate mora fruit.  
Metikawa—ate clay.

Betkawa—ate medicine.  
Dunnabindunawewa—bent bow tank.  
Italwetunawewa—arrow fell tank.  
Italwiddawewa—arrow pierced.  
Ilakkawiddawewa—pierced target.  
Dachchidamana—burnt damana.  
Ginidamana—'blasted heath'—a hot spot in the Veddah country.  
Aspabendiawewa—horse tied tank.  
Kudabilibawa—fish hook and line village.  
Aliyawetunawewa—elephant fell tank.  
Etawetunawewa—tusker fell.  
Etinniwetunawewa—she elephant fell.  
Annulundawa—(blended Tamil and Sinhalese) elephant fell.  
Galapitagala—rock upon rock.  
Diwulwewa—woodapple tank.  
Konwewa—'oak' tree tank.  
Kapugollawa—mass of cotton village.  
Kitulgollawa—cluster of kitul trees.  
Parangi-wadiya—camping ground of Portuguese.  
Kayinattama—(origin desired).  
Kakulbendigiliya—watershed of the legs tied together tank (perhaps from the appearance of the trees).  
Kahatagasdigiliya—watershed of Kahata tree tank.

The longest name in the province appears to be Pannikkiyanayakapuwewa<sup>1</sup>—tom-tom beaters' biting cobra village.

1. 'Wawa' (tusk) as well as 'gama' expresses 'village'.

## UMBRELLA AND BAOBAB TREES.<sup>1</sup>

By SAMUEL HAUGHTON, C.C.S. (Retired.)

ONE is much struck both in the south of Mannar Island and the coast immediately opposite by the extensive growth of the gum acacia (*acacia nilotica*),<sup>2</sup> as well as here and there some of the curious gigantic old Baobab trees,<sup>3</sup> hollow in the centre and many feet in circumference, the existence of these trees from Tropical Africa indicating, according to local tradition, a remote occupation of the locality by Arabs from the Red Sea, probably, among other visitors, attracted by the famous Pearl Fishery.

The Baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is reputed to live to an age of 5,000 years in Senegal and to attain a circumference of 75 feet. In 1884 I sent Dr. Trimen some fruit from the Mannar trees; he informed me that the seeds were, apparently, perfect, and he sowed them in the Peradeniya Botanic Gardens in the hope of growing trees from them.

He informed me, however, that, although the tree grows commonly in India, especially in the Madras Presidency, it had never, so far as he was aware, become naturalised in either India or Ceylon (i.e. propagating its species from its own seed) but had only been reared by planting<sup>4</sup>. The fruit is eaten in Africa by the negroes and used by the Arabs as food for their camels, the large hollow inside of the trees (which usually have a large hole in the side a few feet above the ground), being also used by the negroes as a storage place for the corpses of executed criminals.

In Mannar the hollow trees are occupied by poisonous snakes, and at Mantota they are occupied by leopards, as convenient strongholds for depredation on goats and dogs belonging to the villages around.

The tree bears several different names in Tamil,<sup>5</sup> one of which is "Judas' Bag," from the large first pod generally containing thirty seeds.

These uncanny trees, of which there is only one species, are somewhat gruesome members of the vegetable kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

The Nile acacia, on the other hand, appears to have become thoroughly naturalised, and is very useful in the Mannar District, where the very tough, twisted hard wood has for generations been used for the ribs of canoes and ballams.

1. One of the puzzles of Ceylon is the "Hundredth of Batticaloa," one theory to account for which was propounded by Mr. G. M. Fewer in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 55. Another is the Baobab Tree of Mannar. Regarding these Mr. S. Haughton, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, adopts Sir J. E. Tennent's view. *Tennent*, Vol. II, p. 559. (J. P. L.)

2. *Acacia glauca* (Tamil) under the "umbrella tree." (J. P. L.)

3. It is curious that the late Mr. W. J. S. Soaks, C. O. S., though in his "*Mannar, a Monograph*" he describes the physical features of the district, and has a chapter devoted to "The Villages," never mentions either the umbrella tree or the baobab, the two most striking features of Mannar Island. It is still more curious that the umbrella tree is found nowhere else in the Mannar District than in the parts mentioned. I noted that it extended on the Madawachchi road as far as the 10th mile from Mannar, i.e. in the Jaffna District with the sole exception of the Island of Elavative, nor in the Vanni; while the baobab tree is to be seen only in Mannar and the island of Delft. In the Mannar Island the tops of them rise out of the flat sea of umbrella trees just as the big rocks of the Vanni appear above the sea of forest-like beacons or islands. There used to be a specimen at Luttalam. (See Tennent II, p. 627.) (J. P. L.)

4. While at Mullaitivu in 1880 I sowed some seeds, which I had obtained at Mannar, and when I left Mullaitivu at the end of the year the plants were flourishing. I repeated the experiment at Jaffna in 1894, and I believe the plants are there still. But I imagine that they require a dry climate and that Peradeniya would not suit them any more than Kandy does the palmyra. (J. P. L.)

5. The Mannar name for the tree is *perulla*, which evidently owes its origin to the size of the tree and means "the big"—something or other. Dr. Trimen gives "*pupura palm*," which would imply that the Mannar people classified it as a species of the palmyra. (Tamil *palu*.)

6. They strike one as trees whose trunks are suffering from elephantiasis!



## RYAN'S "KNOX'S CEYLON."

By HARRY STOREY.

**A** REMARK by Mr. Ryan in the preface of this valuable edition seems to call for correction.

On p. XVII of the preface, referring to Knox, Mr. Ryan writes: "It is perhaps unfortunate for our general impression of his veracity that he should have magnified the tonnage and gunnage of the 'Tonquin Merchant.'"

Unless Mr. Ryan possesses some inside information, concerning this vessel, that does not appear in the book his remark requires either explanation or correction.

On p. 310 of the "Autobiography" Knox says: "After this Sir Josiah Child called me into the parlour and told me he had this day bought a small ship building at Blackewall, to put me in Command . . . ."

Further, on p. 311, he states: "This ship was named the Tonqueene Marchant . . . . She was but 130 tuns burthen . . . . we were in all 25 men in her, and went in company with 5 others, all small ships bound for the Eastindies."

Perhaps Mr. Ryan may be able to explain what he considers to be "magnification" in the above figures?

After a successful voyage to Tonquin the ship, on her return, called in at Batavia where the valuable goods brought by her were transferred to a larger vessel the "Suratt Marchant," concerning which proceeding Knox naively remarks:

"But note this by-the-by: that the small ship which they distrusted to bring their rich goods whome but sent almost empty away, came whome and Arrived very safely without any losse or hazard and the Great Ship the Suratt Marchant which was entrusted with all the rich goods I had brought from Tonqueene Perished on the way whome with all her men, and was never since heard of."

Arrived at home, on Knox reporting the vessel to be a slow sailer, Sir Josiah Child (at that time Governor of the Company,) although he only owned 1/10 part in the venture, being evidently very masterful and overbearing, instructed Knox to have the vessel lengthened 12 feet, and this was done in spite of the opposition of other shareholders who did not like to see their profit in the voyage thus disposed of. This caused Knox serious legal trouble, and loss, as two of the shareholders, being afraid to tackle Sir Josiah, instituted proceedings against both Knox and the vessel so that he had to borrow money "at bottomry" as security before he was allowed to take her out again on another voyage.

Concerning the alterations Knox says on p. 313: "The Ship being now leughened 12 foot in the Midships which made her about 30 tonns bigger than she was before . . . ."

On p. 314 he further states: ". . . I set saile out of the Downs on 5th May, 1684, in Ship Tonqueene. She carring 18 guns and 33 men."

This is the only reference to her guns, but it is difficult to perceive wherein lies Mr. Ryan's accusation of magnification!

The vessel's tonnage has now become increased to 160 tons, but, even in those days, a ship of this size must have been considered small.

Luckily, however, we have, to hand, in the same volume a reliable statement of the dimensions and equipment of another vessel which admits of instructive comparison.

Referring again to the preface we find, on p. XII, a copy of the charter of the "Ann" frigate to the E. I. Company.

This was Knox's father's ship, the same in which they went on their ill-fated voyage.

In the charter she is stated to be of 230 tons burden, with 20 guns and 48 men.

When we consider the small size of the cannon of those days there seems to be no reason why a ship of 160 tons should not carry 18 guns if a 230 tons frigate carried 20 guns; and, by the same comparison, if the latter required 48 men the "Tonqueene" would certainly need 33.

Knox's veracity must stand good unless Mr. Ryan can conclusively prove otherwise.

There is one other small matter in which more than one modern writer, Mr. Ryan included, have found fault with Knox.

He is accused of spelling his version of *Yafinuwara* as "Taltanour," but a careful reference to the editions of the 17th century will show that such is not the case.

The erroneous idea has been caused by the very close resemblance between the old Y and the modern T.

The old Y was printed with a very shallow valley in the head line thus,—Y; so that it bears a strong resemblance to a "fancy"-topped T.

The 17th century T was printed thus,—T so that, if seen together, there is no possibility of mistaking one for the other.

Knox was far too careful and painstaking to make many mistakes even if his spelling was, at times, eccentric.

It is rather interesting to consider the reason of his disputes with the Company.

Captains of Eastindiamen were allowed a certain amount of tonnage space for their private ventures, and, on Knox's own showing, he made a very good thing out of his privileges whether the Company profited or not.

Presumably on this account the directors dropped on him on every possible occasion for commissions, supposed losses and shortages, based on rules and regulations formulated mainly under Sir Josiah Child's Governorship.

The latter, however, was Knox's good friend until he refused to risk his life in a patent vessel of Sir Josiah's own design wherein he (Sir J.) had achieved the maximum of cargo capacity with the minimum of strength and safety!

After Knox's refusal Sir Josiah never forgave him, and, although the Company were willing enough to employ him again (Sir J.'s Governorship having lapsed), Knox felt that it would not be to his advantage to serve them again in the face of Sir Josiah's influence and animosity.

His final voyage, therefore, out of which he did well enough to enable him to retire, was in a privately-owned vessel, as opposed to Company control, known, in those days, as an "Inter-loper."

Whatever his faults Knox was a strong character worthy of considerable admiration, and well deserved all that he earned.



## CEYLON ANTIQUITIES.

### EXTRACTS FROM DIARIES OF GOVERNMENT AGENTS.

#### Dewanagala Vihara.<sup>1</sup>

**V**ISITED the old Vihāra of Dewanagala. It is finely situated on a bare mass of rock which rises some 250 feet above the surrounding country. The very steep ascent is by rough steps cut in the face of the rock. There are two inscriptions on the rock, one of Parākrama Bāhu I (1200 A.D.) and the other of Vimala Dharma Sūriya, (1600 A.D.) On the summit are two Vihāras and a broken dagoba. Of the older Vihāra, supposed to be of the time of Parākrama Bāhu I, only the stone walls and a few pillars remain. The newer Vihāra is in fair order. Some dubious improvements are being carried out in the shape of a vestibule which will, I fear, spoil the view of the fine old carved doorway of the Vihāra.

#### Kadigomuwa Vihāra.<sup>2</sup>

Visited the Kadigomuwa Vihāra. There are three Vihāras within the precincts, the oldest dating back some three hundred years and having a fine carved door-way and frescoes. The buildings and surroundings are well kept and a substantial flight of stone steps has recently been built to the terrace on which the Vihāras stand.

G. F. R. BROWNING.

#### Old Ruins near Mundumurippu.<sup>3</sup>

Spent the morning (Sunday 6th) investigating the ruins of an old Dagoba and *pokuna* situated about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Mundumurippu and about 100 yards to the west of the Mundumurippu-Tumukkai Road. These ruins are now called by the local inhabitants Kalaimaraipokunai. There are remains of what has apparently been a small Dagoba composed of brick. To the west of this is the *pokuna*, now a large hollow roughly circular in shape and about 100 feet in diameter, while to the south of the Dagoba are the remains of some building which was about 35 feet, by 22 feet, its roof being supported on 14 monolithic stone pillars about 8 feet high and of rectangular section. 5 of these pillars are still standing. Their thickness varies but the average section is about 1' 9" by 1' 3". The whole place is overgrown with thorn and jungle and investigation is in consequence a matter of difficulty. The *pokuna* was apparently faced with brick work on the side nearest the Dagoba. Down inside the *pokuna* I found a large stone with a square socket cut in it, of the same kind as I have found elsewhere in the District and which I imagine to have formed the base of a pillar. On the side of the mound of debris which forms the remains of the dagoba I found a similar stone but smaller. The socket in the case of the larger stone was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches square and in the case of the smaller one  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in square. These stones, however, differed from these I have found elsewhere in that round the socket there was in each case a raised circular portion carefully dressed, which makes it probable that both these stones supported circular pillars. This raised circular "platform" was in one case 18" in diameter and in the other 14". Among the debris of the dagoba I also found a large slab of stone rectangular in shape, and measuring 8 feet by 3 ft. 4," with a smooth dressed face. This slab was about 1 foot in thickness and in section somewhat as shewn in the accompanying sketch. I was able to collect a fair number of bricks from the dagoba and in the *pokuna*, and from the measurements of these it appears to me probable that the building is of pre-Christian date. The ruins are situated about 5 miles south of the southern end of the bund of the large ancient irrigation work Vavunikkulam, which is thought to have been constructed in the 3rd century B. C."

B. G. DE GLANVILLE.

1. Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Kegalle, for the month of August, 1912—E. D. C. A.  
2. Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Mannar, for the month of October, 1912—E. D. C. A.

## THE BARNES BUDDHA.

By HERBERT WHITE, C.C.S. (Retired.)

THE Revd. James Selkirk, C. M. S. Missionary who was in Ceylon for 13 years (1826 to 1839), published in 1844 his *Recollections of Ceylon*. On October 19th, 1838, he visited the Dalada Māligāwa in Kandy and was shewn over it by the lay head of the temple, the 3rd Adigar. The following is an extract from his journal under that date:

"After leaving this place (the Tooth Shrine) I went to another temple still within the precincts of the Māligāwa, where is an image of Budha in a sitting posture, about four feet high, covered with gold, and a great number of other images of Budha, some are entire precious stone, others of gold or silver. On one of those made of silver is the following Singhalese inscription, which I copied while the image was before me :

<p>'Awāyana dēsaychi Rakkaduwe Maha Dāgoba Wihāra stānāyē gal mē Pillma Wahansē Barnes Kumārikāwa wisin Daladā Mandirayata pradānaya kalē warnaha ek dahās ata siya wisi hutēdiya.'</p>	<p>'This image of Budha taken from the great Dāgoba and Wihāra at Rakkaduwa, in the country of Ava, was presented to the Daladā Mandiraya (temple) in the year 1827 by Miss (the Princess) Barnes.'</p>
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"Miss B is the daughter of the late Sir Edward Barnes, who held the Government of Ceylon from 1823 or 4 to 1831."

The country of Ava is, of course, Burma, of which Ava was the capital on and off from 1364 to 1837.

In 1824 war had been declared between Great Britain and the Court of Ava. This, the first Burmese war, lasted until February, 1826, when the Court of Ava gave way and peace was declared, British troops having then occupied a great part of Burma and being within four days' march of Ava the capital. From these dates and the date on the image (1827) it seems likely that it was looted from some Euddhist temple in Burma in the course of that campaign and given to Sir Edward Barnes.

Where was the great Dāgoba and Wihāra at Rakkaduwa? The word "Rakka" seems to refer to that portion of Burma called Arracan (modern spelling 'Arakan'). There is in Mandalay the Arakan Pagoda or Temple reputed to be the most sacred place in Upper Burma and containing a miraculous image of Buddha said to have been brought there from Arakan in 1784. Perhaps the silver image in Kandy was taken from that Arakan Pagoda.

Last and possibly least—Who was Miss (the Princess) Barnes? Mr. Selkirk, who was in Ceylon during five years of the reign of Sir Edward Barnes and must have known all about his family, says she was his daughter, whereas Sir Edward Barnes not having married until 1823, his daughter could not have been more than three years old in 1827.

1. Probably she was born at Kandy, and the gift was intended as a memorial of this event.—J. F. L.



Having an eye to what he considered "the connexion of the Christian Government of England with the idolatries of the country," it is evident that Mr. Selkirk looked with disapproval on this gift. And doubtless he would have on one made by Sir Edward Barnes' successor, Sir Wilmot Horton (1831—1837), to the shrine at Adam's Peak, to which Miss Gordon Cumming in her *Two Happy Years in Ceylon* thus alludes:

"Strange to say, among the offerings presented at the shrine fifty years ago was an embossed silver covering for the great footmark, the gift of Sir R. W. Horton who held office as British Governor from 1831 to 1837 and who thus emphasised the proclamation made in the name of His Majesty King William IV that protection would be continued to all rites and usages of the Buddhist religion."

Another Governor, Sir William Gregory (1872—1877), made a gift to the Kandy Temple in the shape of two handsome lamps which adorn the entrance.<sup>2</sup> I do not think that either Mr. Selkirk or Miss Gordon Cumming could have objected to these.

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2. These lamps arrived in 1875. They are surmounted by brass canopies in the shape of a dagoba.—J. P. L.



## Literary Register.

## A FRENCH VIEW OF CEYLON, 1668.

By S. G. P.

THE following brief reference to Ceylon occurs in a French work entitled: "*Histoire des Indes Orientales, contenant outre l'établissement de la Compagnie de France, diverses particularitez du Pais très-remarquables.*" It was published at Amsterdam "aux dépens d'Estienne Roger Marchand Libraire" MDCCLX. The writer signs himself Souchu de Rennefort, and was, we learn, 'Tresorier des Gardes du Corps du Roy,' and afterwards 'Secrétaire du Conseil de la France Orientale.'<sup>1</sup>

## Seconde Partie, Livre Second. Chapitre II.

Vue de l'isle de Ceilon, & des Ports que les Hollandois ont dans cette Isle.

Le vingt-quatrième Decembre, l'Isle de Ceilon fut vue d'abord comme une terre basse qui paroissoit assez belle, & plus avant des hautes montagnes couvertes de bois. Le vingt-cinquième au matin, les François fondèrent par le travers d'une Baye appelée de Mata qui est du côté du Midy, où deux Vaisseaux Hollandois les ayant reconnus, furent mouiller au dessus du Cap Rouge qui est un coin de cette Baye, sur laquelle il y avoit des maisons, des magasins & une petite Forteresse avec pavillon Hollandois. Cette habitation se nomme Saudy. L'Aigle-d'or en approcha, & fut abordé d'un canot, dans lequel estoit un soldat qui dit de la part du Gouverneur appelé Piter Groot, que les François seroient bien-venus par tout où il y avoit des Hollandois, & que s'ils vouloient écrire, il y avoit à Pontugal des Vaisseaux prêts à partir pour l'Europe. Le sieur Goujon fit une dépêche à la Chambre generale de France pour donner avis du lieu où ils estoient.

La Ville de Pontugal fut découverte de trois lieues auprès d'une montagne en forme de Pic, qui la fait reconnoître. On distingua avec des lunettes à longue vue une fort belle Forteresse neuve, quantité de maisons bien bâties, & cinq grands Navires mouillez dans la Baye, sur laquelle elle est située. On avoit sçu de soldat qu'avoit envoyé le Gouverneur de Saudy, que les Hollandois estoient en guerre contre le Roy de Ceilon auquel ils avoient pris grand nombre de sujets qu'ils faisoient travailler au Fort de Pontugal les fers aux pieds.

Le 27 voguant le long de l'Isle du côté du Midy, il parut une habitation de Hollandois sur une éminence nomme Barberin.

## Part II. Book II, Chapter II.

Sighting of the island of Ceylon and of the Ports which the Dutch have in that Island.

On the twenty fourth of December (1668) the island of Ceylon was sighted, first as a fine low-lying land with high wooded mountains further on. On the twenty fifth, in the morning, the French took soundings across a Bay called the Bay of Mata, which is on the Southern side. On recognising them two Dutch ships came up and cast anchor in front of the Red Cape, which is a corner of that Bay, on which houses, stores, and a small Fortress with the Dutch flag were seen. This place is called Saudy. The 'Aigle-d'or' approached it and was met by a canoe, in which was a soldier sent by the Governor named Piter Groot, to say that the French would be welcome wherever there were Dutchmen, and that if they wished to write there were vessels at Pontugal<sup>2</sup> ready to leave for Europe. Mr. Goujon<sup>3</sup> wrote a despatch to the 'Chambre generale de France' to inform them where they were.

The town of Pontugal was sighted from a distance of three leagues near a mountain of the form of a peak, which served as a mark to point it out. With the 'lunettes à longue vue' one could make out a fine new Fortress, a number of well built houses, and five large ships at anchor in the Bay on which it is situated. From the soldier sent by the Governor of Saudy they had learnt that the Dutch were at war with the King of Ceylon, from whom they had taken a great number of subjects, who were made to work at the Fort of Pontugal with chains on their feet.

On the 27th as they sailed along the Southern coast of the island there was seen a settlement of the Dutch on a hill named Barberin.

<sup>1</sup> "C'est où l'on trouve un assortiment général de toute sorte de Musique dont on peut avoir chez lui le Catalogue." (1)  
<sup>2</sup> P. 10. He was once taken by the English and imprisoned "au château de Carebrooke" in the Isle of Wight "à trois lieues de Cowes." p. 225.  
<sup>3</sup> Point de Galle.  
<sup>4</sup> Conseiller au Conseil Souverain de Madagascar. 350.



Le 31 à vingt lieues de Pontugal, se découvrit la Ville de Colombo, bien bâtie au bord de la Mer, sur un terre-plain garny de beaux arbres qui font une très-agréable perspective. Il y avoit une grande Forteresse à côté, & huit Navires à la rade.

Les Hollandois qui tiennent à Ceilon outre Pontugal & Colombo, deux Villes nommées Negombo & Japhnepatan, sont établis & très-bien fortifiés sur les côtes de l'Occident, du Septentrion & du Midy; pour le côté de l'Orient, ils ne le gardoient point, parce qu'il n'y avoit point de canelle: Les Portugais y ont néanmoins autrefois eu des Fortereses que les Hollandois ont prises & démolies à sept degrez & demy & huit degrez de latitude, au Nord en deux places dont l'une s'appelle Tinkemale, & l'autre Batticalo. Cette dernière est sur une Baye très-seure où tombe une grande Rivière; les Navires y entrent & en sortent à la voile. Au coin de cette Baye est un endroit fort commode pour bâtir une Forteresse, & que le Roy de Ceilon voudroit bien avoir donné à une puissance capable de le défendre de l'opposition des Hollandois qui emportent sa canelle sans rien payer, prétendant avoir dépensé de grandes sommes à le délivrer des Portugais. Ils conservoient toutes les Villes & tous les Forts qu'ils leur avoient pris, exceptez ceux qu'ils démolissoient, & n'en rendoient point au Roy de Ceilon, quoy qu'ils se fassent obligez par traité de luy en remettre quelques uns; ils les tenoient comme gages de leur denb, & prenoient la canelle pour partie de l'intérêt.

On pourroit toujours avoir aisément correspondance de Batticalo avec le Roy, car la Ville de Candie où il demeure, est située à peu près au milieu de l'île à deux journées de Batticalo & à deux journées de Colombo. Les Cartes Géographiques manquent de les mettre autrement.

Proche de Candie, du côté de Batticalo, il y a un très-beau Bois de canelle, que les Portugais ny les Hollandois n'ont jamais possédé parce que qu'il est trop prest de la puissance du Roy, & ainsi qu'ils n'y ont pas employé la dernière force, la côte d'Occident donnant plus de canelle que tout le monde n'en peut consommer. Ce Roy qui n'est pas riche, parce qu'en luy prend ce que sa terre produit de meilleur, sans rien payer, auroit bien voulu trouver Marchand à qui vendre ce Bois. C'estoient des dispositions au négoce de canelle, qui devoit réussir aux François. Tout le débit s'en fait par les Hollandois qui ne la tirent que de Ceilon: mais les dépenses excessives qu'ils font en cette île, ont fait juger qu'ils y connoissent encore quelques autres avantages. (pp. 355.359).

On the 31st, at a distance of 20 leagues from Pontugal, was seen the town of Colombo which is well built and situated on the sea shore on a level ground, covered with beautiful trees that form a very agreeable sight. There was a big Fortress by the side and eight ships in the harbour.

The Dutch, who, besides Pontugal and Colombo, have in Ceylon two towns called Negombo and Japhnepatan, are well settled and strongly fortified on the West, North, and South coasts; but on the Eastern side they have nothing, because there was no cinnamon there. The Portuguese nevertheless had some Fortresses there formerly, which the Dutch have taken and destroyed, at seven and half and eight degrees North Latitude, in two places, one of which is called Tinkemale, and the other Batticalo. The latter is on a very safe Bay into which a large river flows; ships go in and out of it with spread sails. In a corner of this Bay is a spot very suitable for a Fortress, which the King of Ceylon would gladly have given to a nation capable of protecting him from the Dutch, who carry away his cinnamon without paying anything for it, on the pretence that they have spent large sums to deliver him from the Portuguese. They kept for themselves all the towns and forts they have taken, except those which they had destroyed, and did not give any to the King of Ceylon, though they had bound themselves by treaty to hand over to him some of them. They kept them as security for what he owes them, and took the cinnamon for a part of the interest.

One could easily correspond with this King at any time from Batticalo, for the town of Candie, where he resides, is situated almost in the centre of the island, at two days' journey both from Batticalo and from Colombo. There are no maps to locate them otherwise.

Near Candie, on the Batticalo side, there is a fine cinnamon wood, which neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch ever possessed, because it is too close to the King, and also because they did not exert their utmost to get it, as the West coast yielded more cinnamon than could be consumed by the whole world. This King, who is not rich because they take from him without any payment the best that the land yields, would be very glad to find a Merchant to whom that wood can be sold. These dispositions for the cinnamon trade should be of profit to the French. All the export is carried on by the Dutch who get it only from Ceylon, but the heavy expenses which they incur in this island make one suspect that they know of other advantages also.\*

# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

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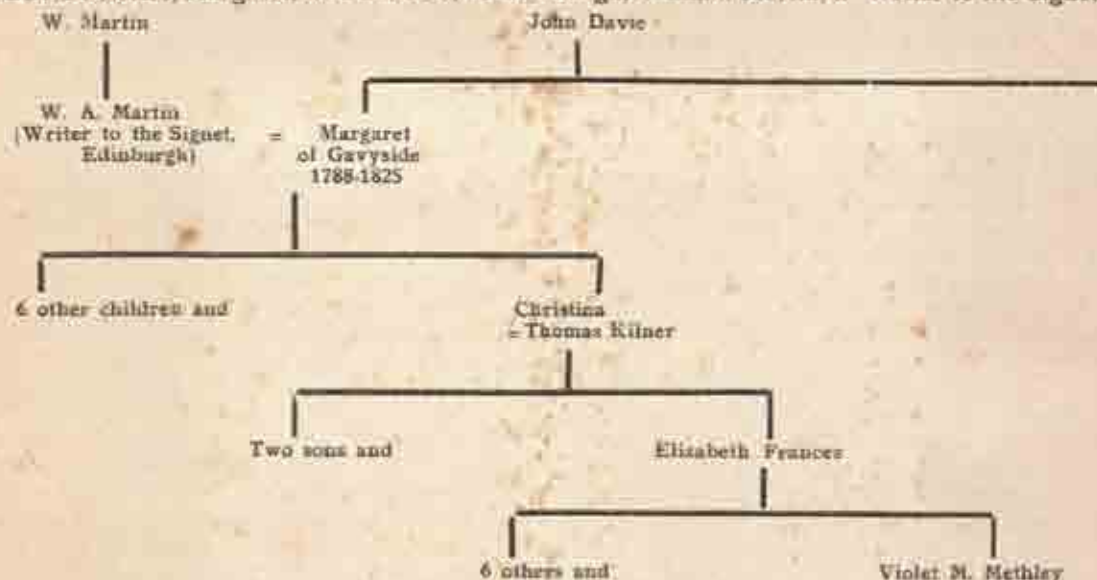
April, 1919.

Part IV.

### THE TRAGEDY AND PROBLEM OF MAJOR DAVIE.

A PAPER was read by Miss Violet M. Methley, of Clifton, Bristol, on April 11th, 1918, before the Royal Historical Society on the subject of Major Davie and the massacre of the garrison under his command at Kandy in 1803.

As will appear from the following pedigree, Miss Methley is a great-grand-daughter of one of Davie's sisters, Margaret, who married, at Edinburgh, William Martin, a Writer to the Signet.<sup>1</sup>



For the chief sources of the information on which her paper is based Miss Methley, as required by the Society, has relied on original research and spent much time in examining documents at the Record Office, transferred there from the Colonial Office and the War Office. One of these is an account of the massacre at Kandy written by a Dutch Sub-Assistant Surgeon named Greeving (query, for "Greevinck"?), who managed to escape by hiding in a dry well. His diary has never been printed (though it is quoted in the *Illustrated London News* for

1. One at least of the other sisters (there were six, see Marshall) married.



17th August, 1850), and is practically unknown in Ceylon, which is curious as it contains first-hand information extremely relevant to the much-vexed question of Davie's conduct at Kandy. There is, however, at the Record Office "the MS—taken down by an interpreter—in the most exquisite microscopic hand-writing, as clear as print."

The result of Miss Methley's study of these documents, is to put a much more favourable construction on the conduct of the unfortunate Major than that which has hitherto held the field, and to support the view of it taken—almost alone among Ceylon writers—by Dr. Henry Marshall in his book.

Governor North made Davie a scapegoat and Cordiner, who belonged to the Governor's *entourage*, naturally adopts his point of view. There are but slight or second-hand accounts of the Kandy debacle in the other Ceylon historians and writers, Tennent, Pridham, Forbes, Davy and Knighton, and the fuller narrative of it given in the Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* is chiefly based on Cordiner. Evidently Mr. Fortescue had never seen Greeving's diary.

I was able to supply Miss Methley with other sources of information recently discovered, viz., the letters from officers of the Kandy garrison including some from Davie himself, given by Captain T. A. Anderson as an appendix to his *Poems Written Chiefly in India* (a unique copy of which containing this appendix I supplied to the Colombo Museum), and Doyly's *Diary* edited by Mr. H. W. Codrington, and recently published by the R.A.S. (C.B.) Miss Methley's paper therefore may be said to be the last word on the subject, embodying everything that is known of it.

There is in the possession of the Methley family "a very beautiful miniature of the Major, taken in 1801, just before he went to Ceylon, and given to his *fiancée*, Miss Nicol, also a lock of his hair." These Miss Methley gave me an opportunity of seeing at Clevedon, on March 8th last, when she kindly brought them over for my inspection. The miniature shows a very fine face.



MAJOR DAVIE.

The inscription on the back runs :—

January, 1798.

From A. Davie

to M. Nicol,

Went to India,

September, 1801.

The miniature was painted by "Mr. Charles, Miniature Painter to His Majesty, Strand." No further particulars of the lady have been traced.

The hair, consisting of two thick locks, arranged in a Greek cross, is of a light brown colour.

The only other relics of Davie are at the Record Office. They consist of "two or three scraps of letters from him to Governor Maitland still preserved among the Colonial Office papers—terribly pathetic letters," which Mr. Fortescue has reproduced in his book, and a letter in his own hand-writing, dated "London, July 9th, 1801," and addressed to "R. Sullivan, Esq.," asking him to write to the India Office to obtain a passage for himself and his servant, "a native of that country," on board the "Manchip," East Indiaman, about to proceed to Colombo "as he had been ordered to join his corps," at the Island of Ceylon. "The Malay Corps" had just been embodied and Davie had been gazetted to it as Major.

It occurred to me that the proper place for these letters is not the Record Office, where they are buried among piles of other documents, and are only with difficulty excavated on rare occasions and at long intervals by stray students of the history of this island, but the Colombo Museum where they would excite much more interest. Any historical value they may have had has long ago been exploited to the full, and they are of value solely as relics, and such value chiefly is local. Accordingly I told Miss Methley, who was the last to unearth them, that I contemplated suggesting to the Ceylon Government that it should make an application to the Record Office to sanction their transfer to it in order that they might be deposited in the Colombo Museum. But on inquiry it was discovered that this would require a special Act of Parliament.

Miss Methley was good enough to present photographs of the miniature to the Colombo and Kandy Museums.

J. P. LEWIS.

### THE DAVIE LETTERS.

With Notes by MISS V. M. METHLEY.

London, July 9th, 1801.

Sir,

*Being ordered to join my corps at the Island of Ceylon, I will therefore be much obliged to you, to write to the India House, in order that I may obtain a passage for myself and servant, a native of that country, on board the "Manchip," East Indiaman, about to proceed to Colombo.*

*I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant.*

ADAM DAVIE,

Major, Ceylon Corps.

To R. Sullivan, Esq.

In 1805 Maitland conveyed letters to and from Davie by means of secret agents.

The following I have only seen printed. I have not yet discovered the whereabouts of the original,—but it is probably somewhere amongst the masses at the Record Office of unclassified correspondence, etc., where I found Greeving's *Diary*.



"I, Davie, am the only prisoner left: the rest are all dead, murdered or starved. I am without meat or clothes. I expect not to survive many days. Do not tell my friends that I am alive."

Then followed advice (unquoted) as to expedition to Kandy, with a plan for his escape, and the letter ends:

"I am told that I am to be murdered when my countrymen come to Kandy."

The following two letters are amongst the Colonial Office records. Fortescue quotes them, and "Balkis," also.<sup>2</sup> The latter, I may say, *misquotes* them, making a mistake in punctuation in the last scrap which entirely alters the sense. She puts a full stop after "imperfectly," making "My" begin a fresh sentence!

"August, 1811. 10 miles S.-E. of Kandy.

Gen. Wilson. Oh, be expeditious in saving me. Is there any question that my wishes are to be released hence without delay? I have no means to propose than those formerly mentioned. I have wrote several times within these ten months, and have got three small slips of paper without signature. Messenger is of no use being in daily . . . sick unto death without money, clothes or food: please send me a little opium or laudanum to alleviate my pains: expect to die daily: could be carried by dooly by way of Gambo or Ganda . . . (illegible).

If you have no intention of speedily doing something, send me a pair of pistols to terminate my painful existence, twelve months unable to rise from mat . . . a penknife, a little rum, gin, or brandy and laudanum . . . stopping at Kalug . . . and when night falls sending a party with a dooly might get out of the country . . . distance without a shot being fired, and as my anguish . . . DAVIE."

The foregoing is scrawled in pencil upon a scrap of native paper. Very badly written and in places absolutely illegible, as the words are completely rubbed out.

The little communication which follows, almost certainly the last written by Davie, is of another scrap, measuring four and a half by two inches.

"My anguish of body is insupportable, and I see but imperfectly my dear friend. No paper. My complaints are . . ."

This is unsigned.

[NOTE BY MR. L. J. B. TURNER.—The following extract from Governor Maitland's Despatch No. 13 of 28th February, 1806, is interesting in that it indicates that some of Davie's letters may be found with the original of the letter of Nov. 22, 1805, in the Colonial Office.

"In my Letters under Date Novr. 22nd, 1805, I stated that I had managed with some Difficulty to open a Correspondence with the unfortunate Major Davie, and I enclosed you the Letters he had sent to me in answer to my first.

"I have still managed, tho' they have changed the Place of his Confinement, to communicate with him, but nothing has recently passed worth Your Lordship's Notice.

"You will however perceive that in his first Letters, he the Commanding Officer at the time attributes the Massacre of Candy entirely to the Malays. . ."]

<sup>2</sup> Cornhill Magazine, October, 1900, "A Forgotten Tragedy" by "Balkis." As Balkis according to the Mohammedans was the name of the Queen of Sheba, I assume that the writer who used that *pen-de-plume* was a lady. J. P. L.

# SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMICS OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

## I. CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

**B**EFORE entering even upon the barest outline of the financial position and economic conditions of the British possessions in Ceylon from 1798 to 1805, it is necessary first to collect the available information on the obscure subject of the coinage and currency of the time. The Despatches and other papers of the period contain frequent, though very scattered references to them, and, checking, with their aid the valuable, though not always accurate, work of Bertolacci,<sup>1</sup> we shall find it possible to accumulate a considerable amount of material.

### Rates of Exchange.

At the time of the British occupation of the Maritime Province the chief currency appears to have been a depreciated coinage of copper stuivers. This currency had once been the silver ducatoon, worth 5s. 5d. sterling and equal to 80 stuivers, but, by the issue of Treasury notes, called Credit Brieven,<sup>2</sup> in terms of rix-dollars, fanams, and stuivers, payable on presentation at the rate of 48 stuivers for each rix-dollar, and by selling by auction the gold and silver coins brought into the island, Governor Vander Graaf had practically eliminated the ducatoon, and the true currency had become the copper stuiver, 48 of which went to the rix-dollar, which was itself a mere money of account. By 1795, the ducatoon, which, in 1785, was worth only 80 stuivers, was sold for 100.<sup>3</sup> We shall see that, in March, 1803, the figure was 162.

Further depreciation took place on the fixture by the British of the rate of exchange between the gold and silver currencies of India, and the copper of Ceylon, shortly after the occupation in 1796. The Dutch rate of exchange had been about 30 fanams to the gold star pagoda worth 8 shillings sterling,<sup>4</sup> but the British, assimilating the copper coinages of India and Ceylon, fixed it at 45 fanams. This remained the nominal rate of exchange for several years, but, as early as February, 1799, apparently owing to a fall in the value of copper, a star pagoda could not be procured for 50 fanams. This figure rose, in 1800, to 58 and even 60, and was at 60 in 1803.<sup>5</sup>

1. "View of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Interests of Ceylon," 1817. Bertolacci came out with Mr. North in 1783 as "my Assistant Private Secretary for French correspondence" (Wellesley MSS.), and was later Commissary of Mustiers, Sitting Magistrate of the Pettah, Colombo, Postmaster General, Garrison Storekeeper, and Comptroller General of Customs. Readers of his work will see that the present writer is considerably indebted to it, though parts of the paper, particularly that of currency and exchange, were, originally, developed independently. Elsewhere, where Bertolacci's treatment has been frequently followed, every attempt has been made to trace the original authority for the data, and thus to remedy Bertolacci's unfailing omission to quote his authorities.

2. 45,138 star pagodas were current at the end of 1798, according to the Despatch of 27th October. The Hon. George Leslie offered to refund part of his defalcation in 1803 with Credit Brieven. (Despatch of 1st January, 1804, para. 13). Article 6 of the Capitulation of Colombo provided for these notes being taken up by the British.

3. This information on the Dutch exchange is from Bertolacci, *el.*

4. This figure remained fixed throughout the period under review, see, e.g., Despatch of 27th October, 1798, and an annexure to that of 5th October, 1804.

5. Despatches of 16th February, 1799, para. 87, and 30th January, 1800, para. 34; *Gazettes* of 8th June, 1802, 1st December, 1802, and 25th March, 1803.



As a rix-dollar equals 12 fanams, it must be equal to  $8 \times 12/45$  or 2.133 shillings, with the star pagoda at 8s. and 45 fanams, or 2s. 1½d. which is at the rate of 9 3/8 rix-dollars to the pound sterling. This became the official rate of exchange when the Maritime Provinces were transferred from the control of the East India Company to that of the Crown from 1st January, 1802. From that date, the Government accounts were maintained in rix-dollars, fanams, and pice or stuivers. Before that date, the accounts were generally kept in star pagodas, fanams, and cash.\*

### Copper Coinages.

The amount of Dutch copper in circulation, augmented by what came over from the Coast, appears to have been sufficient for the requirements of the Settlements only for a short time. In 1800 we find Mr. North, in his Despatch of 30th January, asking for a "considerable quantity of copper coin" to be sent from England, owing to "the Increase of Confidence in Government and the internal Commerce of the Country, and partly to the activity with which the Productions of Candy are bought up, consisting chiefly of Coffee and Arrecka nut." It is not clear whether or when this coin was received in Ceylon, but it probably arrived some time in 1801.

In April, 1801, 62,000 pounds of copper, which were in the Company's store, and some abandoned cannon at Trincomalee, were "given over . . . to an individual to be coined into Stuivers," 48 to the rix-dollar.†

About the same time, as this local coinage was a slow process, 100,000 pounds weight of copper coined into stuivers was ordered from England.‡ This probably arrived in 1802.

In a Despatch of 20th April, 1803, we find mention of a sum of £10,000 included in the sum drawn upon His Majesty's Treasury for a supply of copper. This may have arrived later in 1803. In the same Despatch, an annual supply of copper is asked for, but there is no evidence that this request was complied with. According to Bertolacci,\* issues of copper coin were occasionally made each year from 1802 to 1805. The issues would include both coin minted locally and that struck in England.

### Silver Coinage.

Up to 1802, the rix-dollar, though originally a Dutch coin,†† was, as far as Ceylon was concerned, a mere money of account for the purposes of the issue of the Credit Brieven. But, in Mr. North's Despatch of 15th December, 1801, we find an order on England for £8,333. 6.8 in silver to be coined into rix-dollars. The bullion value of the coin was to be 1s. 8d. sterling, whereas the nominal value was 2s. 1 3/5d. Mr. North does not think that "this great difference between the real and nominal value of the rix-dollars" will "produce in this Country the same Evils which it would in one where the Fabrication of Coin is more easy," and he apparently expects to make some profit for Government out of the difference.

This proposal was apparently carried out some time in 1802. Bertolacci states that 50 pounds of silver were added 5 of Japan copper, and one pound of this metal was coined into 50 rix-dollars. Thus, with silver at 5s. 2d. per ounce, 2,500 rix-dollars were worth  $50 \times 16 \times 62$  pence or one rix-dollar was worth 1s. 7 21/25d., not counting cost of copper, which is practically Mr. North's figure of 1s. 8d.†††

\* Despatch of 14th October, 1801, para. 99, gives 140 cash in 10 or 1 cash = about 1/5d. With the star pagoda at 8s. and 45 fanams, 1 fanam = about 18 cash.

† Despatch of 15th December, 1801 para. 51. According to Bertolacci (ib. footnote) coining was done in Ceylon by contract at a cost of 4% for silver and nearly 25% for copper, till a mint in 1811 was established on Bertolacci's recommendation and conducted by him, and a reduction of the charges on copper coinage to about 11% was effected.

‡ Same Despatch, para. 55. Secretary of State's Despatch of 1st May, 1802, states that concurrence of H. M. Treasury had been obtained for the coining of 10,000 pounds of copper.

§ See Codrington in *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. I, page 100.

†† Bertolacci (ib.) calculating from the Spanish dollar makes the intrinsic value of the rix-dollar 1s. 6½d. This figure should be 1s. 7d. on his own data, but 1s. 8d. is more likely to be the correct one.



It was not long before the new coin found its real level in relation to the gold star pagoda. Thus, though the rate of exchange with England remained at 2s. 1 3/5, the local rates of exchange given in the Ceylon Government "Gazette" of proximate dates, show on 1st June, 1802, the star pagoda at 4 rix-dollars 33 stuivers, or the rix-dollar at 1s. 8 1/2d.; on 1st December, 1802, the star pagoda at 4.36 or the rix-dollar at 1s./8. 4/19d.; on 30th March, 1803, the star pagoda at 5 rix-dollars, or the rix-dollar at 1s./7. 1/5d.

These rates represented the price of Madras bills in the open market in Ceylon, but Government, in the disposal of bills, were content with a premium of some 7%, as against the premium of nearly 30% in the open market. Further, according to Bertolacci, Ceylon currency was received by the local Treasury in exchange for foreign coins, or for bills on England or the Presidencies at the same rates at which it had been issued. In these ways, the nominal value of the currency was supported. But, in 1805, apparently after the departure of Mr. North, receipt of Ceylon currency at issue value, and the granting of bills at that rate were discontinued and the currency fell to its intrinsic value.<sup>12</sup>

### Convertible Paper.

The actual coining of the rix-dollar was preceded, by some years, by the issue of a convertible paper currency, consisting of promissory notes, generally of the value of 25, 50, and 100 rix-dollars.<sup>13</sup> 30,000 rix-dollars' worth of this paper was issued in March, 1800, and by February, 1801, 75,000 dollars' worth had been issued. The "credit is so perfect . . . that another issue still may be found useful or even necessary." By 5th October, 1801, about £10,000 worth of the paper was in circulation at a small premium and by July, 1805, 887,525 rix-dollars' worth.<sup>14</sup>

### Exchange with India

In the early years of the British occupation, the revenue of the Maritime Provinces was never sufficient to meet the expenditure, and money had to be raised in various ways to carry on the Government. As the Presidencies of India were frequently drawn upon, the question of the rates of exchange with them often arises. Bills on Madras were drawn in star pagodas and Bills on Bengal in Arcot rupees, par in the latter case being 350 Arcot rupees for 100 star pagodas, that is, the Arcot rupee at 2s. 3 3/7d. with the star pagoda at 8s.<sup>15</sup> On Mr. North's arrival, however, the exchange was 400 Arcot rupees to 100 star pagodas, but by 5th October, 1799, he "had the satisfaction of gradually lowering" it to 365. For some time before 18th February, 1801, it had been 360. In April, 1801, the Governor "was obliged to raise it . . . to Three Hundred and Sixty Five, in consequence of the Government of Fort St. George having raised that of their Treasury."<sup>16</sup> (5 Oct. 01) By 10th September, 1802, it had fallen again to 360.

For conversion to Ceylon currency, the par was 45 fanams for one star pagoda, and the exchange never rose above par, and occasionally copper would be paid into the Treasury for bills on Bengal at 48 fanams to the star pagoda.<sup>17</sup> When the rix-dollar had been coined, the par, with the dollar at 2s. 1 3/5d. or 9 3/8 to the pound sterling, was 375 rix-dollars to 100 star pagodas. But, after May, 1802, bills for 360 Arcot rupees or 100 star pagodas were not given at Colombo for less than 400 rix-dollars. "Therefore altho' His Majesty's Treasury pays at the End of

12. Bertolacci, 25. 13. Despatch of 18th February, 1801, para. 21.

14. Despatches of these dates.

15. In the first years of the British occupation, the Arcot rupee was fixed at 48 stuivers, and was thus equal to the then imaginary rix-dollar (Despatch of 16th February, 1799, para. 84). But the later par made the former of slightly higher value.

16. Despatch of 5th October, 1801, para. 141. The other details are from Despatches of the dates given.

17. Despatch of 18th February, 1801, para. 24.



Eighteen months one Thirty Sixth more than Forty Pounds, for each Hundred Star Pagodas that I draw for, I on the other Hand receive a full Sixteenth more than its value on the same Sum." Or more clearly, Government, in remitting 100 star pagodas to Bengal, paid out 360 Arcot rupees or 1/36 over par, but received from purchasers of bills for 100 star pagodas 400 rix-dollars instead of 375. But this satisfactory state of affairs was only on the Government side, the falling exchange, while it was favourable to Government in its position of an exporter with bills to sell, being against the interests of importers who wished to buy bills. It may also be noted that the supposedly great advantage to Government only brought in, during the whole of Mr. North's administration, "the paltry Sum of £286, 8, 10."<sup>17</sup>

By July, 1805, the nominal rate of exchange between star pagodas and rix-dollars had fallen to 48 fanams instead of 45, owing, according to Mr. North, to the increasingly unfavourable balance of trade against Ceylon. But the actual rate had fallen far below par. We saw that it was 60 fanams in March, 1803, and it seems to have remained about this figure till 1808. But as the specie or silver export point was probably slightly less than 60—1 fanam = 5/3d. silver value and a star pagoda = 96d. or 57 3/5 fanams, to which costs of transport are to be added—a constant drain of silver rix-dollars to India must have been going on, so that it is not surprising that they had almost all disappeared by 1808.<sup>18</sup>

#### Sale of Bills by Auction.

The high premium on foreign bills was a result of the great demand for bills, resulting from the excess of imports over exports due to the undeveloped condition of the Maritime Provinces and the prohibition of grants of land in perpetuity to Europeans.<sup>19</sup> So great, in fact, was the demand that by July, 1805, it had become a "very general practise" to procure bills from the Treasury at par to sell them at an advanced price in the bazaar. This induced Mr. North to try the experiment of selling a great proportion of the bills by public auction, and it "has so well succeeded that I have little Doubt of the Possibility of extending it, and of very considerably reducing by means of it the Expence of our supplies of money."<sup>20</sup> But private individuals who had to buy bills on India in the open market had now to pay anything up to 60 fanams for a star pagoda instead of the old 45, or the later 48 of the nominal exchange, and the sale of bills by auction, the first departure from the principles necessary to support the nominal value of the currency was the forerunner of later measures, such as the refusal to receive the currency at issue value, which led to acute depression of exchange, till, in 1812, it fell to 70 fanams, and, in 1813, the stuiver showed a depreciation of 210% from its value in 1780.<sup>21</sup>

#### Other Rates of Exchange.

Besides the star pagoda and the Arcot rupee, with which we are principally concerned, there were many other currencies for which rates of exchange are quoted in the *Gazette*. The *Gazette* of 30th March, 1803, gives the following with rates of exchange in rix-dollars and stuivers: Venetian ducat—6.24; Bengal gold mohur—22; Surat gold mohur—18; star pagoda—5; Porto

17a. Despatch of 10th September, 1805, para. 60, and Governor Maitland's Despatch of 20th February, 1806.

18. Bertolacci, 94. The chief difficulty of exchange theory is the number of different terms used, all meaning much the same thing. The following is a list of those applied to this period of Ceylon history, exchange being expressed in so much Island currency to the foreign mint (fanams to a star pagoda), excess of imports over exports, excess of demand for bills, balance of indebtedness against Island, less foreign currency purchasable by Island mint, cost of foreign mint increasing, more fanams to star pagoda, foreign currency improving, or at a premium rising to silver export point, unfavourable to Island, owing to drain of silver, unfavourable for buyers bills, favourable for sellers.

19a. See *Gazette* of 8th March, 1805, where the orders on this subject are reprinted. They will be referred to later.

19. Despatch of 10th July, 1806, under Head Miscellaneous. India Council Bills are, at the present day, sold by auction.

19a. Bertolacci, 94.



Novo pagoda—4; Tutucoreen pagoda—4.18; ducatton—3.18; Spanish dollar—2.36; Surul rupee—1.24; Arcot rupee—1.18; sicca rupee—1.24. Of those not already especially mentioned, the only ones we are likely to hear of again are the Porto Novo pagoda and the sicca rupee. Under the Dutch, 120 Porto Novo pagodas went to 100 star pagodas, but the above list makes the number 125, so that the Porto Novo pagoda equalled 6s. 4 4/5d.<sup>20</sup> The sicca rupee was fixed at 2s. 6d. in London early in 1802, but appears from the list to have dropped to 2s. 4 4/5d. by March, 1803.

It is obvious that Bertolacci's complaint must have been well-founded: "The confusion that has been introduced into the accounts of the colony, from the variety of exchanges, and by the complicated and difficult fractions arising from them, have rendered those accounts intricate and perplexing to a great degree, even to the best informed civil servants; and have added work, in the offices of the different accountants, which, with a fixed exchange unincumbered with fractions, could have been spared."<sup>21</sup>

### Minting.

Before leaving the subject of the coinage, the local arrangements for minting may be noted. According to Bertolacci,<sup>22</sup> minting was done by contract till 1811, the charges on the coinage of silver being 4% and on copper nearly 25%. It is not clear whether the reference in Mr. North's Despatch of 1st January, 1804, para. 14 to "the Establishment of a Mint" adverts to this system of coining by contract, or whether Bertolacci's statement that he established a mint in 1811 is incorrect.

### II. Finance.

In the absence of the financial statements, which should appear as enclosures to the Despatches, no exact statement of the revenue and expenditure of the period under review can be given. In the Despatch of 10th September, 1802, however, we learn incidentally that the expense of Mr. North's administration for 38 months to the end of 1801 was 19 lacs of star pagodas, or £20,000 a month, or £240,000 per annum. We also gather that Lord Hobart, Secretary of State, expressed "On the Article of Expende... Dread and Disapprobation" as early as May, 1802.<sup>23</sup> But the revenue appears to have been increasing every year from 1798, and by the end of 1802, there seemed to be grounds for expecting that the revenue for 1803 would exceed the expenditure. The estimated expenditure appears to have been £331,000, and the estimated ordinary revenue £288,000. The excess of £43,000 is expected to be met from the following items of increased revenue: land rents—100,000 rix dollars; areka nut—30,000; "ouilliam"—40,000; fees and stamps—60,000; coconut tree tax—100,000; pearl fishery—100,000 (excess); total 430,000 rix dollars.<sup>24</sup>

This estimate was, however, totally upset by the outbreak of war with Kandy in 1803, and the large increase of military expenditure. There seem to be no figures available for 1803, but, in 1804, the expenditure exceeded the revenue by £240,000<sup>25</sup> and appeared to be increasing. In the same Despatch, an estimate of the revenue and expenditure of peace times puts the former at £270,000 to £300,000, and the latter at £430,000.<sup>26</sup>

20. The conditions of the Chilaw Pearl Fishery in 1803 put the exchange at 115 1/2 Porto Novo pagodas to 100 star pagodas, and the Porto Nova pagoda at 45 fanams. The latter figure is that in the *Gazette* of 1st December, 1803, but the former in that *Gazette* is over 136. This figure may have been specially lowered for the benefit of Government. (Annexure to Despatch of 20th April 1803.)

21. Bertolacci, 115. 22. Bertolacci, 94 foot. 23. Despatch of 24th November, 1802, para. 5.

24. Despatch of 22nd November, 1802. The Secretary of State's Despatch of 8th February, 1803, shows that the Governor's Despatch of 18th March, 1802, reported a deficit of £200,000.

25. Despatch of 8th February, 1804.

26. Cordimer (16) gives the "annual income" at £288,000, and the "common expenditure" at £25,000. He does not say to which year these figures apply, but they may be an average of a few years up to 1804. He justly criticises Perivall's (2nd Edition) 860 estimate of the revenue at £1,200,000 as "by far, too wide an estimate." By way of comparison, it may also be noted that the revenue in 1816-7 was about £4,500,000.



Thus, a deficit of £130,000 to £250,000 had to be met, and this was done in various ways. While the Maritime Provinces were still a possession of the East India Company, that is, up to 31st December, 1801, the Presidencies of India, also under the same control, were freely drawn upon. In addition to drafts for current expenses, bills on Bengal were granted to public servants, not only for their personal salaries, but also for the pay of their departments. But the great demand for bills made it possible for the said servants to make so considerable a profit on the negotiation of the bills that they were restricted to drafts for personal salaries only.<sup>27</sup> Further, it became necessary to restrict the drawings on India when the Maritime Provinces were taken over by the Crown, and these bills were also discontinued to some extent, and, in their place, debentures were issued for personal allowances. These debentures were in the nature of exchequer bills of the amounts of 250, 500, 750, 1,000, 2,000 rix dollars bearing interest at slightly over 9%. The principal and interest were payable at the end of a year either in Ceylon currency or by a bill on His Majesty's Treasury at 18 months from date, or the debenture might be renewed in Ceylon. These debentures were issued on and after 1st September, 1802, from which date no bills were granted on Bengal and Madras except for cash received.<sup>28</sup> It was Mr. North's intention to limit this debenture debt to one million rix dollars, but by July, 1805, the great expenses of the Government had obliged him to raise it to 1,245,250 rix dollars or about £132,827 at 9 3/8 rix dollars to the pound sterling. At this date, there were 887,525 rix dollars or about £94,669 in circulation in the paper currency, the balance of indebtedness being made up by bills on the Home Treasury and on the Presidencies of India, of which particulars are not available.

As an example of the finance of the period, we may quote the arrangements made for the purchase of three lacs of Surat rupees in specie—gold mohurs and Surat rupees—towards the end of 1801 from a "House of Agency at Madras." "For one Half of this Sum which I am to pay in Bills on Bengal, at my present Exchange of Three Hundred and Sixty Five Arcot Rupees for One Hundred Star Pagodas I will venture to draw my First Bill on the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury. For the other Half I shall grant Bills on the Madras Government in Part of the Credit stipulated for me by the Crown with the Company" (that is, on account of the cinnamon contract).<sup>29</sup> It may be noted that the deal fell through owing to "unforeseen Accidents."<sup>30</sup>

### III. Land Tenure.

The other principal item of economic interest in the period under review was the very vexed and intricate questions which arose on the subject of land tenure. As these questions were probably the most discussed of any of the day, the material at our disposal is extensive and complicated, but it is hoped that the following synthesis will bring out the main points without too much obscurity or fundamental error.

The Committee of Investigation explain that the Dutch found that the Sinhalese system of basing land tenure on personal service had been retained, in great part, by the Portuguese and that, under the Dutch, "the tenures of personal labour and official service were continued in conformity with the prejudices and customs of the inhabitants."<sup>31</sup>

27. Despatch of 10th September, 1802, para. 42.

28. *Ibid.*, and *Gazette* of 14th August, 1802.

29. Despatch of 15th December, 1801, para. 46.

30. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, para. 136.

31. C. L. R. II 133.

### The Sinhalese System.

This Sinhalese system assumed that the King was the absolute lord of the soil. All private individuals holding land did so, in the first instance, not by paying rent, but by performing services for the King, the soldiers serving for 15 days at a time and supplying themselves, the workers in iron serving for 15 days at a time in the King's workshops and making implements for the villagers, the wood cutters felling timber, carrying ammunition and spare arms, and so on, each performing some service, in return for which each "had for his maintenance a piece of muddy land which he sowed, and a large tract of fruit trees . . . as well as a garden where he had his house. To this portion they give the name of *paravenia*, and all the inhabitants, whether noble or plebeian, had their duties, each serving in his own way the King or the Lord of the village."<sup>22</sup>

### Non-Service Paravenies.

This system became complicated by gifts to individuals of lands and villages with their service tenures, by the commutation of services for payment in kind or money, by alterations made by the Portuguese and Dutch, so that, by the time of the British occupation, the subject had assumed a high degree of complexity. The chief exception which appears to have arisen was the coming into existence of what we may call "non-service" tenures, apparently owing to the failure, probably through oversight, on the part of Government to exact the due services. In the meantime, the tenants retained possession, and became entitled to the land by prescription, the period being said to be three generations under the Sinhalese Government, thirty years under the Dutch, ten years under the British.<sup>23</sup> We find, however, in the period with which we are dealing, that these lands paid a share of the crop to Government, so that it would appear that the tenant's right to the land was only admitted on the condition that this share was considered to be due to Government. Some, however, of these non-service tenures may have arisen from commutation of the services.

As Ribeiro makes no mention of non-service tenures, it would seem probable that they did not appear till the eighteenth century. By the end of it, however, the distinction between service and non-service tenures had become clear. Ribeiro uses the term *paravenia*, correctly *pravēntya* (ප්‍රවේන්ත, hereditary land) in the single sense of a service land, a usage followed by Mr. North,<sup>24</sup> but the other British authorities generally use a qualifying term to distinguish the service tenures. Thus De Meuron has *Neijnde Parvent*<sup>25</sup> while in Burnaud's Memoir we find *Dienstbaare* (service) *Parvenies*.

### Classification of Tenures.

Introducing this distinction into Bertolacci's classification of land tenures<sup>26</sup> we find that the tenures in the Sinhalese districts fall into three classes: (1) lands of which Government has retained immediate possession; (2) non-service tenures; and (3) service tenures.

22. See Ribeiro, *Pieris* translation, pp. 104, 105; Ryno's Edition of Knox, p. 58; Philastros, p. 34.

23. Bertolacci 286.

24. Despatch of 26th February, 1798, para 55, gives a division of the lands in the Maritime Provinces "into three great Classes, the *ente*, the *ottoe*, and the *Parvent*." But we shall see that *ente* and *ottoe* lands fall under the same head of non-service lands.

25. Wellesley MSS., v. I, f. 11. "Neijnde" may be ප්‍රවේන්ත, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, IV 46, footnote 17. As we shall see, Sir Thomas Maitland uses the qualifying "Devil" "*parvenia*." It is also interesting to note that D'Oyly's Kandyan Constitution has the following: "All lands in the Kandyan country being subject to service, the distinction of service *parvenia* is little known." Codrington's copy, p. 75.

26. 281 ff. His classification suffers from lack of clearness owing to failure to make the distinction between service and non-service lands sufficiently well-marked.



The first class includes (i) *Muttettu* (මුත්තෙට්ටු) lands which are cultivated on Government account—in ancient times, the rice grown on them was reserved for the King's household. (ii) *Ratninda* (රත්නින්ද) lands which are "cultivated by Government, whose sole property they are."<sup>37</sup> (iii) *Ratmahera* (රත්මහර) lands, which include "all waste and uncultivated lands to which no private title can be shown."<sup>38</sup> These lands might be granted for cultivation, in which case 1/10th share for lands on high soil, 1/4th for low lands was due to Government after five years. If they were cultivated without Government sanction, they paid  $\frac{1}{2}$  share. This head includes chenas, or lands intermittently cultivated by burning down the jungle. (iv) *Malapala* (මලපලා) lands, which were private lands which have reverted to Government, owing, according to Bertolacci, to failure of male issue to perform the due services. (v) *Nilapala* (නිලපලා) lands which have reverted to Government owing to failure on the part of the occupants to perform the services. When lands under the last two heads are cultivated, they paid  $\frac{1}{2}$  share to Government.<sup>39</sup>

The second class is that of the non-service lands, which were heritable, saleable, and held in fee simple. They may be divided into three heads: (a) paddy fields, (b) gardens, (c) other.

Head (a) paddy fields were of two kinds (i) *Otu* (ඔතු) paying 1/10th and (ii) *Ande* (අඳ) paying  $\frac{1}{2}$  share to Government—the "paddy tax."

Head (b) gardens were also of two kinds (i) *Tanhool* (තන්හූල්, third share) to plant which permission had been given on condition that the planter should pay 1/3rd of the produce, or 1/3rd of the value of the garden when planted, to Government. This payment was enforced by the Dutch for a long time, and was paid in kind, or a valuation was agreed upon and paid in money. But some time before the British occupation, the collection had been neglected, and apparently even abandoned, and Andrews' attempt to renew it in the form of a tax on coconut trees was so greatly resented that it had to be given up. (ii) *Samboody* (සම්බුද්දිය, self-will) or *Ratmahera* gardens, planted without the permission of Government, and subject to pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  share of the produce to Government. Many of these, however, like the former, held by one family for a long time, were later possessed without any payment to Government, either in kind or money.

Head (c) Other, includes miscellaneous non-service *paraveni* tenures, of infrequent occurrence, e.g. *otto Combra Paraveni*, *Owila* (ඔවිලා), and *Kanuis* (කනුයි, apparently resembling chena land) *Paraveniya*, said to be tenures of the Chilaw District, which pay 1/5th share to Government.<sup>40</sup> *Carwoodeny Paraveni* (perhaps from කරදිය, sea water) is given as land covered with low jungle and impregnated with salt water paying 1/5th share when cultivated.

The third class is that of the service tenures, and includes both fields and gardens. This class is divided into two heads: (i) *Accommodessan*<sup>41</sup> lands granted under a personal service tenure, chiefly by way of pay for official duties. These lands were not alienable by will, sale, or mortgage, nor were they, in general, heritable. Till the beginning of the XIXth century, almost all the native officers of Government were paid by the grant of these *accommodessans*. (ii) *Divel Paraveni* (දිවෙලපල, pay) or *Vedawasam* (වෙදවසම) or *Neinde Paraveni*, lands granted for personal services of a more menial kind, such as providing charcoal, chunam, &c., carrying

37. D'Oyle's *Kandyan Constitution*.

38. *Glossary of Native Words*, p. 22.

39. Calves in Glossary identifies *Malapala* and *Nilapala*, while General Martland states the former as signifying failure of heirs general, and the latter failure of the heirs who could perform the special services (Despatch of 26th February, 1805.)

40. The Glossary (18) gives the tax at one-tenth.

41. The term is said by Burnand to "of Portuguese, or rather, of Latin, origin," and it was probably introduced into Ceylon by the Portuguese. The Italian term is *lotta vetilla*, Piccol. *Albetro*, 115.]

baggage and palanquins, and general cooly labour. As the term *paraveniya* implies, these lands were hereditary, reverting undivided to the male heir. They could not be alienated by gift, sale, bequest or any other act, nor could they be charged or encumbered with any debt, nor were they liable to be sold in execution of writs or any legal processes.<sup>42</sup>

Such are the general outlines of land tenure in the Low-country Sinhalese Districts, but, apparently in many cases, the tenures became somewhat confused, and we find, for example, that *accommodessans* sometimes paid *otu* or 1/10th share possibly in commutation of the services, and in some cases, were hereditary.<sup>43</sup>

### Tamil Tenure.

In the Tamil Districts the tenure of land was much simpler. According to Bertolacci,<sup>44</sup> the Government share on paddy fields was invariably 1/10th of the produce. From Burnand's *Memorial* on the Batticaloa District, it would appear that this share was, in part, a commutation of the whole share due from the 42 King's *matteṭṭu* lands in the District, and that the payment of it was definitely agreed to in a "deed of submission" entered into by the headmen in 1766. The tenure of land in this District, and probably in the other Tamil Districts, was thus a non-service tenure. The liability to service was, apparently, a personal one, termed *uṭiyam* (ඉදියම), which existed quite independently of land tenure. *Accommodessans* were, however, given to the Dutch *Disāwa* of Batticaloa in the same way as they were distributed in the Sinhalese Districts, by way of pay for official services, and possibly other officers enjoyed them.

### Land Tenure Reforms.

Such was the general system of land tenure which existed in the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon at the time of the British Occupation in 1795-6, but, in the few years succeeding it, this system became subject to great and rapid changes. As we have seen<sup>45</sup> the Madras Administration abolished the service tenures entirely, in their assimilation of the revenue machinery in Ceylon to that of the Coast. Services were, in future, to be paid for in money, not in land. *Accommodessan* lands were resumed, and salaries paid to the incumbents. Service *paravani* were vested entirely in the owners, without any service obligation, on the condition that 1/10th of the produce was paid to Government, and these lands became alienable. As an additional reform a tax on non-service *paravani* gardens, which, though liable to payment, had escaped it through the negligence of the Dutch, was proposed to be raised by collecting from the owners of coconut trees one *fanam* for each.

But the Madras Administration was a failure, and the principal cause of that failure was found by the Committee of Investigation to be the land reforms. The Committee recommends a return to the previous system of service tenures, pointing out (1) the necessity of the "quieting of the minds of the people;" (2) the insignificance of the Government 1/10th share from a revenue point of view; (3) that "no temptation of reward within the bounds of reason can induce a Cingalese to labour while he can exist in idleness," undisturbed by the demands of his service tenure. As regards the coconut tax, unfair as it may have been, that paddy fields should be taxed, and gardens not, this tax was of unequal incidence, and was very unpopular on account of its being payable in money, instead of in kind.

42. See Proclamation No. 2 of 1838.

43. See Oughorn's Minutes, C. L. N. II, VI 45.

44. 295.

45. *Notes on Administration*, IV, 44.



### Mr. North's Views.

The service tenure system was accordingly reverted to by Mr. North, but, although he was in agreement with the Committee at the outset of his administration, it was not long before he began to see very grave objections to the old system, and, by 1801, he had decided upon "the absolute necessity of abolishing Tenure by Service."<sup>40</sup> The Proclamations of 3rd May, 1800, and 3rd September, 1801, show that Mr. North, by that time, considered the old system uncertain as regards tenure, inconvenient to the people, oppressive and irregular. His Despatches show that his chief objection to the service *paraveni* tenures was the probability, and indeed certainty, of the abuse of the system by the headmen, for whom it was easy to utilise the services for their private purposes instead of for public ends, or to employ the system for the harassment of their enemies. He objected to the system of *accommodessans* as they were often held, apparently undivided, among several families, and formed an entirely inadequate recompense for the labour of the holders, particularly in the case of the lower officers, of the rank of *lascoreens*, for example.

The positive advantages of the abolition of the old system were expected to be the great encouragement of agriculture and commerce, and the stimulation of the people to a realisation of their time, liberty and labour as a property and not as a tribute.<sup>41</sup> A considerable increase to the revenue was also apparently expected. "Territorial Revenue (that is, the Government shares from non-service lands) calculated at my accession at 1 lac and 47,000 P. N. Pagodas has this year exceeded 2 lacs and 20,000, and will next year produce at least 2 lacs and a half Star Pagodas and when the land rents fall in in May will be greatly increased" by the new system.<sup>42</sup> It will be noted that Mr. North's implied opinion that the land rents would be more valuable than the services was diametrically opposed to that of the Committee of Investigation.

Nor does the opinion of the day, with apparently the single exception of that of Lord Hobart, the Secretary of State, appear to have borne out the fear of the Committee that the inhabitants would not work without the compulsion of the services to be rendered. The Board of Revenue and Commerce anticipate "that the improved system of collecting the Revenue under your Excellency's administration, and the perfect security which is now extended to the lowest order of People against oppression, will in time . . . introduce among the Inhabitants a knowledge of the value of time and labour, by which alone a Nation can become rich and independent of foreign assistance,"<sup>43</sup> while the fact that there had been no desertions among the labourers at the reclamation works at Mutturajawilla was considered "as one of the first proofs of the happy change that has been made in the condition of this people by the abolition of *accommodessans*."<sup>44</sup>

### Mr. North's Legislation.

By 1800, Mr. North had decided to depart from the recommendations of the Committee of Investigation, and on 3rd May, 1800, and 3rd September, 1802, he issued Proclamations embodying the new orders on land tenure. In the former, he combined with the service tenure question, regulations to encourage the partition of land, to the effect that lands held in undivided tenure should pay 1/5 to Government till partitioned, thereafter 1/10, and that disputes about the partition should be referred to the Land Raads.

40. Proclamation of 3rd September, 1801.

41. Despatch of 25th February, 1798, para 63.

42. C. L. E. N. 11 500. 43. *Ib.* 36.

44. Gazette of 29th September, 1802.

The first Proclamation also provides that "all land now enjoyed without Title or Grant under the denomination of Canois Parveny, Ratmahere or any other whatsoever" may be appropriated by the occupier, provided that he declares the possession before the Landraad and pays Government 1/10 of the produce. If the declaration is delayed, it will then pay 1/2.

The sections dealing directly with service tenures are Nos. 11th and 16th. Section 11 states all persons holding land by tenure of service may appropriate the lands on payment of 1/10 the produce of high lands and 1/4 that of low lands. If the land was "Mallapalla, Nellapalla, Ratninda or Ande" 1/4 is to be paid. All such appropriations are to be "enregistered in the Registry of the District." By section 12 persons taking up this appropriation are freed from all obligation of service, "except on particular order of ourself or our successors, Governors of Ceylon, in which case they will receive pay" at the usual rates.

As regards *Accommodessan* lands, section 16 notifies that Lascareens having *Accommodessans* from Government can give them up, having the renunciations registered. Thereafter they will not be bound to any service, except on the "especial command of our self and our successors, Governors of Ceylon, receiving adequate pay for the services."

To encourage agriculture, section 14 provides for grant by Government of uncultivated lands, to be held duty free for five years, and thereafter to pay the same rates as the old service tenure lands. And it is further declared that "for the further encouragement of agriculture" there is to be no monopoly of any production of the soil, save and except cinnamon.

There seems, however, to have been little response to the proposals in this Proclamation, and by Proclamation of 3rd September, 1801, the 11th and 16th sections of that of 3rd May, 1800, are repealed, and it is notified that, from May 1st, 1802, "all obligation to Service on Tenure of Lands . . shall cease . . and lands held Duty free . . on account of such Service, shall . . . pay to Government one-tenth of their produce if High Lands, and one-fifth Part of their Produce if Low Lands, excepting only such Lands as were formerly Mallapalla, Nellapalla, Ratninda or Ande, which will continue . . to pay one-fourth of their Produce to Government."

The right is, however, reserved to "ourselves and our successors, Governors of Ceylon" to order the services of those liable to serve, giving them adequate pay for such service.

By section 5 "all accommodessans at present enjoyed by Native Head Men, and all others of what description soever" are resumed by Government, "Measures for the adequate Remuneration of such as will be continued in Office and for the fair Indemnification of those who will then have permission to retire from Service" being taken.

The date of operation of these reforms as fixed is extended to 1st May, 1802, the date referred to in Mr. North's letter of 12th October, 1800, "when land rents fall in in May 1802."

Such was Mr. North's solution of this very difficult question. We see that he belonged to the school which held that the abuse of the system by the headmen and its restrictive effect on agriculture and commerce pointed to the necessity for a change, while it denied the tenet of the opposing school that the inhabitants would not work voluntarily for pay. Each school held sway in turn: Andrews, the abolitionist, was criticised by his successors, the Committee of Investigation, who were conservatives; the Committee was succeeded by Mr. North, who adopted the abolitionist view; following Mr. North came a strong conservative reaction. The examination of this reaction takes us somewhat beyond the limits of the period under review, but, as the retrospective reflections made upon Mr. North's policy throw further light upon it, that examination may at least partially, be undertaken here.



## General Maitland's Five Criticisms.

The chief, as well as the most weighty and authentic, critic of Mr. North's policy was his successor, Governor Maitland, a considerable part of whose able and lengthy Despatch of 28th February, 1806, is devoted to a discussion of Mr. North's land reforms. Maitland first clears the ground with a few definitions—those of "Parvanie," "Devil Parvanie," Accommodessans, &c.—confirming the classification already given, and establishing the correctness of the more or less tentative division of *praveni* lands into "service" and "non-service."<sup>51</sup> He then proceeds with a very active criticism of Mr. North's policy. Although he is willing to admit that the resumption of the *accommodessan* lands was a "wise and politic" measure, he finds that "the resumption of the Feudal<sup>52</sup> Tenure . . . was of a very different Nature." His first point is that, while the giving up of the *divel praveni* lands was expected to bring in a largely increased land revenue in lieu of the services remitted, there were no accounts kept under Mr. North's Government from which the amount of that increase could be ascertained. Nevertheless, it was easy to see that the anticipated increase was based on some misapprehension. Thus, the grain revenue from the districts of Colombo, Galle and Matara was £27,472.17 at the outside, while only a part of the cooly corps, which had to be raised by Mr. North to do the work previously done by the holders of *divel praveni* lands, amounted to £32,000. Governor Maitland points out that the former amount covers the whole paddy tithes, not the expected increase only, and that no account is taken of "Bricklayers, Carpenters and Artificers of every Description," who had also to be paid instead of working for the tenure of their lands. Thus the first point is that, so far from Government gaining from an increased land revenue, there was a heavy loss from the large sums requiring to be paid to labourers whose labour was previously the payment for the lands held by them.

The second point deals with the establishment of the abovementioned cooly corps, an establishment which had been found necessary by Mr. North as the people of the country always ran away from work, and had to be replaced by imported labour. But, says Sir Thomas, "the Question arises why they did run away? and the answer to that is, neither more or less, than that the British Government in doing away the Tenure by which they hold their Lands, had dissolved the sole Tie which made you sure of getting their Service when necessary, so that this Measure stated to be so economical in its Nature and so productive in its Consequences is made the real Ground for immediately setting up a new Establishment, infinitely more onerous, infinitely more difficult to Manage, and infinitely more unwieldy in every respect than what previously existed." It was hopeless to attempt to secure indigenous labour, for "it is impossible to collect the men even with all your Money, for their (*sic*) being no Penalty, there is not an Inhabitant in this Island that would not sit down and starve out the year under the shade of two or three cocoa nut Trees, the whole of his Property and the whole of his Subsistence, rather than Increase his Income, and his Comforts by his Manual Labour." This point is, in effect, (3) of those of the Committee of Investigation.

The third point was that the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon had not at that time reached a stage of economic development at which a payment, even in kind, could be adopted. Governor Maitland compares it to that of England in the days of Feudalism, and adds: "It would have been

51. Despatches Vol. IV, p. 15. The above distinction of service and non-service lands was developed before this Despatch was sent.

52. Though "feudal" is a sufficiently good general description, it is not strictly applicable. The real feudal tenure was a tenure on a scale of military service, which was owed to a local baron, whereas the Sinhalese tenure was a general one, including services other than military, and those were owed to the King or his nominee.

a most strange and unaccountable Measure . . . (if) One of the Ancient Barons had pulled out of his Pocket Adam Smith, and said, I will apply to you vassals, whose situation renders it impossible to carry into Effect all the Rules and Regulations laid down by him for a Society in the last state of Civilization and Wealth." He goes on to sketch the development of society from the service tenure stage to that of commutation by payment of what is generally a capitation tax, and from that to general taxation, and points out that "whenever Wealth was so generally diffused as to render the Service Tenure a Burthen, the people would then have voluntarily come forward to commute their Service." The charge against Mr. North is thus that of premature and hasty action, doing away "by a single dash of a Pen . . . the whole Tie of Government," instead of waiting for the gradual effects of economic forces, especially the result of the increased circulation of money the "loosener . . . of the rigidity of early laws and customs."<sup>53</sup>

A fourth point was that even the tax of one-tenth of the crop—reduced in many cases from one-half and one-fourth—not only taxed the existing cultivation, but laid a new tax on all increasing cultivation, with the result expected by modern economic theory<sup>54</sup> that there was a very considerable decrease of cultivation.

A fifth point was "the excessive Vexation that always attends the Collection" of the land revenue, a point elaborated by Bertolacci. Apart from harassment of the cultivators by the farmers to whom the collection of the tithes was rented, the "pernicious" system of selling the rents at the Kachcheris, often many miles away from the villages, continued till an order of 25th August, 1808, insisted on the sales being held at the spot. The settlement of difficult questions of valuation and title was often beyond the capacity of young Collectors and Magistrates. The headmen, except possibly when they themselves bought the rents, disliked the new system, by which their old time influence was shaken, while, as possessors of the best fields, they were not likely to encourage agriculture to their own disadvantage.

#### Burnand and Bertolacci.

Other points are made by Burnand and Bertolacci. The former emphasises the increase in crime resulting from Mr. North's reforms. "Freed from the obligation of the old personal services, the inhabitants have not made good use of the ideal liberty which they have acquired; instead of being more laborious, they are more lazy now than they were; those who had a degree of honest industry, have taken to commerce or hired farms (i.e. rents) which little suited their habits; others have given themselves up to all kinds of disorders, uniting in gangs to rob; in a word more crimes have been committed in one year than were formerly in twenty." The last part of this statement is supported by the number of Proclamations attempting to deal with "numerous and daring associations of Robbers," while the Proclamation No. 18 of 1806 states that "it appears however of late years measures have been adopted inapplicable to the situation of the Country, shaking in a considerable degree the tenure on which various species of property rested, and destructive of the Police and Tranquillity of the people."

A further point was that the renters, while oppressing the people possibly more than the headmen did under the old system, gave Government endless trouble in the collection of the rents. "Little more than one-half of the rented revenue is collected within the year: the rest comes in by small sums, for five or six years following. The average number of executions in

53. Nicholson, *Political Economy*, I 300.

54. See Adam, *Elements of Indian Taxation*, 42.



revenue, including, it is true, cases regarding other farms than those of land revenue, rose, in Colombo District only, to 700 or 800 annually from a figure of 20 to 25 under the Dutch."<sup>55</sup>

Thus, the abolitionist theory of Mr. North and the Madras Administration was completely discredited by the former's successors, if not actually disproved by facts, and economic considerations would appear to support the contention that Mr. North would have been better advised to have left the old system to be remedied in the course of general social and economic development than to have attempted to amend it by a legislative act.

Two points as regards land tenure may be mentioned before leaving the subject—one is the fact that gardens apparently continued to escape taxation. We have seen that the Dutch allowed the collection of the Government share from gardens to lapse, and that the unfortunate form of Andrews' tax on coconut trees and the agitation created by it obliged Government to drop the matter. Mr. North's scheme for the commutation of services for rent applied principally, if not exclusively, to paddy lands, and the prior non-service lands paying rent were also paddy lands—whence the "paddy tax"—and although he, at one time, proposed to tax gardens containing more than ten coconut trees by taking as the Government share the produce of every tenth tree,<sup>56</sup> it would appear from Bertolacci<sup>57</sup> that this measure was never put into practice. The non-taxation of gardens, particularly coconut plantations, is commented upon by both Burnard and Bertolacci, and it is interesting to note that the latter<sup>58</sup> proposes a tree tax on coconut trees tapped for toddy as one way of securing part of the lost revenue to Government, but nothing ever appears to have been done to carry out any of the suggestions made.

The other point as regards land tenure, though not quite in the line of the above investigation, is worth noting here—the prohibition of grants of land in perpetuity to Europeans including British subjects, except in the Town, Fort, District of Colombo. The Despatch from the Secretary of State of 13th March, 1801,<sup>59</sup> indicates that the reason for this order is "to preclude all approaches towards European Colonization," and it may be that the intention was the same as that of the order for the registration of Europeans, namely, to prevent Ceylon becoming "an Asylum to Adventurers from every nation in Europe."<sup>60</sup> Even so, it is difficult to see why the restriction was applied to British subjects, and while it obtained, there was little hope for the industrial development of the country. Thus, Sir Alexander Johnstone, in his recommendations for the development of the Maritime Provinces, laid great stress on the annulling of these restrictions.<sup>61</sup>

55. Bertolacci, 328-9.

56. Despatch of 23rd November, 1800.

57. 329.

58. 323.

59. *Pars.* 35-40.

60. *Pars.* 32.

61. *O. L. R. W.* I, 353.

## DUTCH TOBACCO BOXES AND THE CALENDAR.

By CHARLES FREDERIC HARDY.

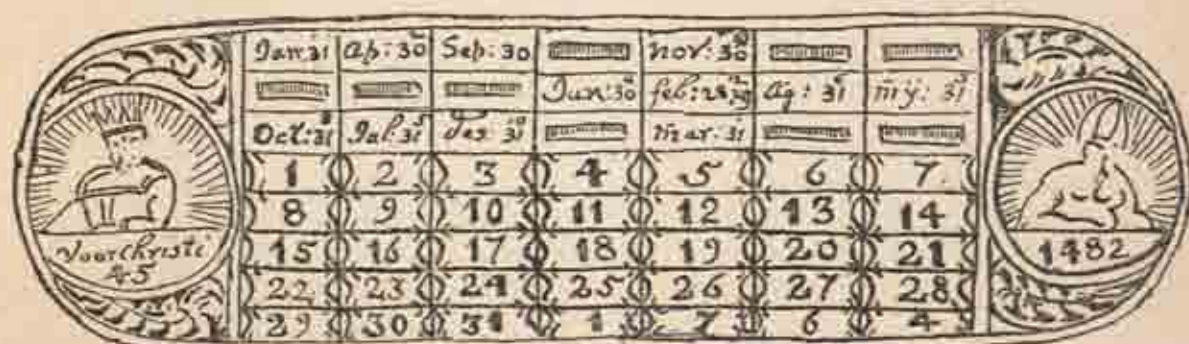
[MR. C. F. HARDY is an antiquarian of some standing, having in 1901 edited "*The Benenden Letters, 1753-1821*," a volume of letters and papers unearthed at a country house in Kent containing family history and reflections on topics of various sorts, historical, political, social and theatrical—a book which quickly went out of print and in 1913 having published "*The Hardys of Barbon, and some other Westmoreland Statesmen, Their Kith, Kin and Childer*;" a work which throws some light on the social conditions prevailing in the County as far back as Tudor times—and here it should be noted that the "statesmen" of those parts were not politicians but belonged to a more useful class,—though our Ceylon reformers apparently do not accept such an estimate—viz., the sturdy class of farmers holding by Border Tenant-right. Mr. Hardy also contributed to the *Archæologist* in 1909 a paper on the Windows of the Beauchamp Chapel of St. Mary's, Warwick, and has besides written in the *Burlington Magazine*, the *Connoisseur* and *Notes and Queries* on topics connected with history and art. He was interested in the subject of the "Mysterious Dutch Box" described in the Christmas Number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1917, and in consequence got into correspondence with me respecting it. Hence this paper, which explains much about it.

J. P. L.]

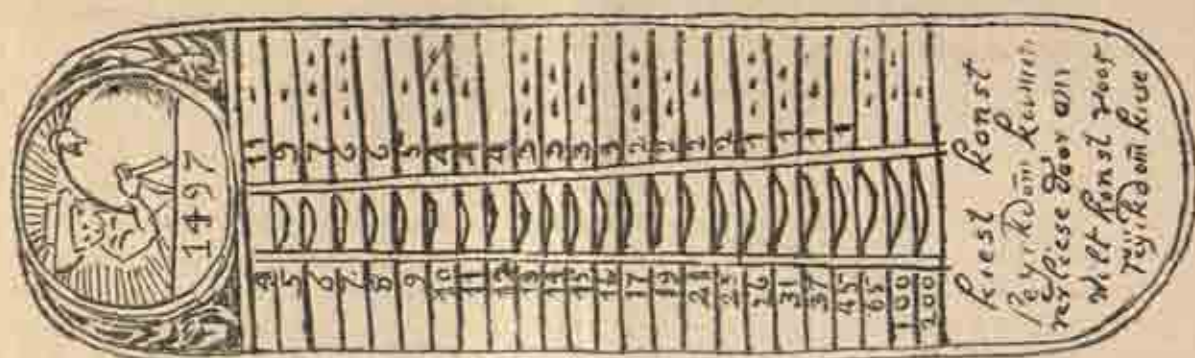
In the Christmas Number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1917 there was an article by Mr. J. P. Lewis on "A mysterious Dutch Tobacco-Box." The following is an attempt, or rather, perhaps one should say, a contribution, towards a solution of the mystery, so far as it has not been already solved by Mr. Lewis or by contributions from several correspondents which have appeared in the weekly issues of the same paper.

These contributions furnish descriptions more or less complete of a series of boxes of similar design, and the problem before us will be most readily understood after a short review of this series, headed by Mr. Lewis's illustration of his own box.

No. 1 Box (Mr. Lewis's.)







On the lid it will be noticed that, over the figures noting the number of days in each month, are figures shewing the order of the months in the year according to the Julian Calendar. Thus March is numbered 1 and February 12. But the following irregularities in these numbers should be observed. The "11" which should be over January is imperfect; the "7" which should be over September is omitted; and over November, instead of a 9, is a blotch which seems to conceal a 10.

#### No. 2 Box (Mr. Hepburn's)<sup>1</sup>

This box, which is the only one I have myself seen, has the same dates throughout as Mr. Lewis's, viz., V. C. 45, 1764 and 1497.

The design on the lid differs slightly in the numbering of the months. August, which should be the 6th, is numbered 7; September is numbered 8 instead of 7; November 10 instead of 9; January 1 instead of 11; and February 2 instead of 12.

Another variation from Mr. Lewis's box is in the motto at the foot of the design on the bottom. Mr. Lewis's reads:

Kiest Konst: Reyckdom kan men verliese;

Daarom wilt Konst voor Reyckdom kiese

The first line of Mr. Hepburn's Motto is:

Gien Konst maar Reyckdom kan men verliese

The difference is little more than verbal.

Choose knowledge: riches may be lost:

Therefore choose knowledge before riches,

No knowledge, only riches, may be lost.

The figures on the bottom are exactly the same as on Mr. Lewis's, but the strokes on the right hand side of the figures are different.

The table is consequently as follows:—

4 — 11 —	16 — 3
5 — 9 —	17 — 2 —
6 — 7 — — —	19 — 2 — — —
7 — 6 — — —	21 — 2 —
8 — 6	23 — 2
9 — 5 —	26 — 1 —
10 — 4 — — —	31 — 1 — — —
11 — 4 —	37 — 1 —
12 — 4	45 — 1
13 — 3 —	65 — —
14 — 3 — — —	100 — — —
15 — 3 —	200 — — — —

<sup>1</sup> This box was sent to the writer of the paper for inspection by Lieutenant J. F. Hepburn, B. G. A., and Miss Hepburn, Quamore, Bradninch, near Callington, Devon.

On the front of the box are engraved, or rather scratched, the words *Recht door Zee*: that is "Straight forward," in a moral sense; literally, "Straight through the sea."

### No. 3 Box (The "Graphic" Box.)

This box is described in the *Graphic* (London) of 4th May, 1889, and is quoted by Mr. Lewis. An illustration of the lid is given in the *Graphic* shewing the design apparently much worn. The date "Voor Christi" is not legible in the illustration, but is said in the letter-press to be 43. The date under the other personage was no doubt 1482, but appears as 182. The numbering of the months is not all quite legible, but it is remarkable that in every case where there is a mistake, as noted above, on Mr. Hepburn's box, there is a similar mistake on this box. The date at the end of the Calendar is 1765.

No illustration is given of the bottom design, but it is described as having a King at the top with the date 1497, and at the foot the motto:

"Geen Konst meer Rykdom kan men verliese  
Daarom is konst den Rykdom te kiesse"

This, as Mr. Lewis points out, must be a mis-reading.

The first line is really the same as Mr. Hepburn's; "meer" should be read "maar." The second line should be:

Daarom is Konst voor Rykdom te kiesse.  
(Therefore is knowledge to be chosen before riches)

The main design on the bottom was evidently similar to that on the other boxes, being described as in the shape of a ladder: but unfortunately no details are given by which we can compare the contents. This box, it is said, was long in the possession of the Gipsy Lee, who presented it to George Smith of Coalville with an absurd story of how he or his ancestors had possessed it since the year 1182. It had on its front the inscription "Recht voor Zee" read by the impudent Gipsy as "Right door Lee."

### No. 4 Box (Sir Everard im Thurn's.)

Mr. Lewis<sup>2</sup> describes this as only differing from his own in having the date 1793 instead of 1764 at the end of the Calendar on the lid.

### No. 5 Box (Mr. W. H. B. Carbery's of Chilaw<sup>3</sup>)

This is described in the *Times of Ceylon* as differing from Mr. Lewis's in only one point—an important one. The date on the right side of the lid is 1582 instead of 1482.

### No. 6 Box (Mr. Smale's.)

This is also described in the *Times of Ceylon*.<sup>4</sup> It differs from Mr. Lewis's only in the motto, which however is not given.

### No. 7 Box (Mr. Vigors's.)

This is described by Mr. Lewis<sup>5</sup> in the *Times of Ceylon* as also having the date 1582 in place of 1482, and the date 1750 at the end of the Calendar.

2. Christmas Number, 1911.

3. *Now of Colombo* (Ed., C. 4. 1).

4. Letter of Mr. C. J. Smale dated *Nemperul Oliva*, Dec. 14, 1917.

5. Writing under date January 20th, 1919.



The mystery or problem for solution is the interpretation of the design on the bottom of these boxes. The design on the lid presents little or no question. On the left is evidently represented Julius Cæsar with date B. C. 45, from which he promulgated the Julian Calendar, and on the right is Pope Gregory XIII with the date 1582 (wrongly engraved as 1482 in most examples), being the year in which he promulgated the reformed or Gregorian Calendar, adopted in the United Kingdom in 1752. Between the two is a "perpetual calendar" for shewing throughout any month in any year the days of the week corresponding with the days of the month. The days of the week are supposed to be placed in order in the seven spaces at the top and shifted every month. Where two or three months are grouped together in the top spaces it will be found their calendars are identical.

The four figures at the bottom of the Calendar Mr. Lewis takes as indicating the year in which each particular box was made. This seems decidedly probable and I think we may also suppose, at all events as far as Ceylon is concerned, that, as time went on and a new box was made, the designs were copied by the engraver from an older one rather than from one original type. This would account for the evident mistakes pointed out above, as it might often happen that the figures, especially the small ones enumerating the months, were too much worn to be legible by a person uninstructed in their meaning. I think also that the original type of the designs, judging especially from the figure on the bottom with the globe and compasses, and comparing them with other existing boxes of which the period is known, may be put down as dating from about the end of the 17th Century.\*

It may be noticed that on the specimen of 1750, the earliest so far as dates are given, the correct year of the Gregorian Calendar, 1582, instead of 1482, is engraved on the lid.

The motto "*Recht voor Zee*" on the front of some of the boxes, if it has any special significance, may indicate a point of pride in its possessor in having brought the box with him on the ocean voyage between Europe and Ceylon or some other part of the East Indies. Judging from Mr. Hepburn's box it seems plain to me that these words were not engraved by the same hand as the designs on the lid and bottom, but were added later.

With regard to the meaning of the design on the bottom, it is suggested by the design on the lid that there is a reference to the reform of the Calendar in 1582, and it may be well to state shortly what that reform consisted of, without going into the immensely complicated questions which it involved, more especially from an ecclesiastical point of view, as settling a rule for the celebration of Easter.

Apart from this the practical problem was to fix the number of days in the calendar of certain years, so that in the end the solar year, which regulates the seasons, should, so to speak, keep pace with the calendar of days, and the vernal equinox, for instance, should approximately always happen on or about the same day of the month of March. Hitherto owing to the mistaken assumption of the Julian Calendar that the solar year consisted of exactly 365 days and 6 hours, the 25th March and every other day of the calendar had been slowly and steadily retrograding as regards the seasons at the rate of a whole day in every 128½ years; for the solar year is in fact 11 minutes 12 seconds and a fraction shorter than Cæsar assumed. Gregory did not want to correct the whole of the error which had elapsed since Cæsar's time, but he decided to restore the Calendar to the place in the seasons which it had in A. D. 325, the year of the Council of Nice, when the equinox happened on the 21st March.

\* It is Mr. Lewis's impression that there is a box with the date 1750. (Letter of 29 Jan., 1916.)



This was effected by skipping 10 days in the calendar of the year 1582, and reckoning the day after the 4th October as the 15th instead of the 5th. In order, moreover, to prevent the recurrence of the error, it was ordained that the 29th of February should also be skipped in every three centurial years out of four. In 1600 it was to remain, and consequently in 1700, 1800 and 1900 it was to be skipped.

Thus came into existence a discrepancy between the old and new styles—the Gregorian and Julian. It consisted of 10 days till the 28th February, 1700, and thereafter of 11, a hundred years later of 12; and now, existing in Russia only, it has amounted to 13.

It is in the history of the adoption of the new style in the Dutch Netherlands that I have attempted, following a hint in Mr. Lewis's paper, to find the interpretation of the design on the bottom of his tobacco box. Shortly, my supposition is that the scale of figures refers to a scheme proposed at the end of the 17th Century for annihilating the discrepancy of 11 days, not at a single stroke as was done by Pope Gregory, but gradually during a period of 45 years.

The chapter of history which should deal with the event in question is, I fear, more obscure than I had anticipated, and I much regret that this paper should leave my hands without any confirmation or contradiction of my theory from the quarter in which I expected to find it.

My applications for assistance in research amongst the records or the libraries of Utrecht have in fact remained so far without avail, and the present is obviously not a time for pressing an historical enquiry on the Continent, especially one which probably concerns Germany as well as the Netherlands in its scope. The test of my theory, therefore, must remain for the present a matter of inference from the facts which general history has made fairly well-known.

The new style promulgated by Pope Gregory in 1582 was at once, or within a twelve-month, adopted in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Catholic States of Germany. In England, Sweden and the German Protestant States the old style was adhered to. In the Netherlands the same ecclesiastical distinction did not prevail. The facts are clearly stated by Bor.<sup>7</sup> A proclamation dated 10th December, 1582, was issued in the name of the Duke of Anjou, as Suzerain of the Low Countries, to the effect that the ten days between the 14th and the 25th of that month should be suppressed and that the new year should be reckoned as beginning with the 1st January following, thus bringing the Calendar into exact identity with the new style. The reform was accepted not only by the loyal provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Artois and Hainault, but also by two of those which had revolted, and those by no means the least important, namely, Holland and Zealand.

Wagenaar, whom I take to be the leading authority for the period in question, after repeating Bor's account of the events of 1582, adds the significant remark, that Holland being the main subject of his history, he will henceforth in his chronology adopt the new style throughout.<sup>8</sup>

It is therefore in the separate archives or histories (if they exist) of those five of the United Provinces which retained the old style, or possibly in Ceylon itself, that we should expect to learn the circumstances in which they came to suppress the eleven superfluous days in the calendar of 1700. Wagenaar, and such of his followers as I have been able to consult, pass over the topic in silence.

7. *Overzigt der Nederlanden. Zeevecht, &c.* Book XVII (Edn. of 1690) Vol. 7 p. 338.

8. *Vaderlandsche Historie* (Edn. 1740-50) Vol. VII, p. 370.



As to Ceylon, I shall be only employing the better part of valour in commending the necessary research to those of my readers who are on the spot. As to the five provinces, the only facts which I have discovered are the following dates of the resolutions of the several Governments for the adoption of the reform, all in the year 1700 :—

6 February,	Groningen
4 April,	Overijssel
26 May,	Guelderland
24 July,	Utrecht
11-12 October,	Friesland

The days suppressed seem to have been in all cases either in December, 1700, or at the beginning of the month following, so that the reform became universal throughout the Republic, as from the 1st or the 12th of January, 1701, of the new style.

The truth is, as I suspect, that after the adoption of the reform by the Protestants of Germany there was no scope for any discussion of consequence in the small Dutch Provinces. The decision to adopt reform was come to in the Diet of Ratisbon on the 23rd September, 1699, and the ship was made from the 18th of February, 1700, to the 1st March. In the interval the States General of the Republic, following a demand from the Diet, invited the five provinces to follow suit, which they accordingly did.

On the other hand the discussion and controversy which preceded the adoption of the reform in Germany were widespread and long continued, and it is here that I find the nearest thing to a solution of the tobacco-box riddle.

According to Montucla's account<sup>10</sup> one of the greatest difficulties encountered was the obstinate refusal of the Swedes to concur in the plan devised by Weigel and finally accepted by the Germans. He attributes this mainly to the authority of their philosopher Bilberg; but, according to Boud, it would seem to have a practical basis in the difficulty of dealing with commercial contracts if a single year were shortened by eleven days.<sup>11</sup> He states that, on the authority of the King, a simple scheme was accepted of suppressing the 29th February in eleven successive leap years, after which the Swedish Calendar would coincide with the Gregorian. This plan was by no means novel. It is mentioned by Clavius in his great exposition of the reform of 1582 as one of the many alternatives proposed at that time.<sup>12</sup> Had it been possible to impose one scheme simultaneously upon the whole of Christendom, the arguments in favour of this one might well have prevailed. But in the actual circumstances of the 17th Century the objection to it, as introducing a third style which would vary every four years in its relationship with the two others, was fatal, and not long in being recognised as such by the Swedes themselves. Having ultimately refused to concur in the decision come to by the Germans at Ratisbon, they adopted one of their own. According to Montucla, their proposal, as put forward by Bilberg, was to suppress 7 days at the end of February, 1700, and the 29th of February in 1704, 1708, and 1712. This would have considerably reduced the period of transition and confusion as compared with the royal plan, and what was ultimately adopted was only slightly different. Seven days were suppressed in September, 1700, instead of in February, but a blunder, which seems difficult to explain, resulted with the suppression of the 29th February in 1700, in one day too many being cut out, so that in 1712 an additional intercalation was necessary in order to get into exact harmony with the rest of the Continent.

10. J. J. Boud, *Handy Book of Dates and Tables for every day Dates*.

11. *Histoire des Mathématiques*, Vol. 4, p. 322, 323, (Lalande's edition, Paris, 1802).

12. *Handy Book*, p. 25.

13. *Roman Calendaris Explicatio* (1603) cap. III, p. 74.

According to Montucla the above is only an illustration of a multitude of absurd and impracticable proposals which were rife at the time, and amongst them, I believe, we should find the original of the tobacco box scale. It seems to partake of the objectionable features of both the schemes identified with the Swedes. It rivals the King's scheme in prolonging the agony of the transition, while, unless the engraver has introduced into it more errors than I see ground for supposing, it exceeds it in its want of symmetry the scheme which the country actually adopted.

If I am not mistaken in my supposition, the figures on the left refer to the years, starting with 1704, and those on the right to the discrepancy in days during each year between the Gregorian style and the style to be newly adopted. Thus, the old style not having suppressed the 29th February in 1700, it was from that time 11 days behind the Gregorian. This would in the ordinary course continue till the end of February, 1704; and, if the 29th of that month, were intercalated as usual, the discrepancy for the whole of that year would be represented by the figure 11 opposite to it. Supposing that at the end of that year two days were suppressed, which would be either the 30th and 31st December, reckoning the new year from the 1st January, or the 27th and 28th February, reckoning from the 1st March, the discrepancy during the next year, 1705, would be 9 days only. According to this reading it will be seen, on referring to the drawing of the box, that the scheme required two more days to be suppressed in 1705, and one each in 1706, 1708, 1709, 1712, 1716, 1723 and 1745, thus clearing off the total of 11 by 9 suppressions spread over 41 years.

It is, of course, rather tempting to suppose the engraver has made mistakes in these figures, and to revise them so that they would fit into a regular suppression of the 29th February through an even series of 44 years, but there seems to me no ground for this supposition in the engraver's mistakes already pointed out. They are attributable to the wearing out, and smallness of the figures, and are shewn up by their varying from other examples. The scale figures appear to be identical throughout, and to treat some of them as erroneous and substitute others where they would suit our theory would be only gratuitous and arbitrary conjecture. We must, therefore, be content simply to wonder why these lengthening but irregular periods were selected for suppressing the lingering remnants of overgrown years. Again, I can suggest no satisfactory reason for the odd series of years inserted after the consecutive series down to 1716. Why should there be intervals of 2 and 3 years for one period, and of 5, 4 and 7 for the next? Again, why should the year 65 be selected? It may just be conjectured that in the original scheme all the years were given, but that the designer of the typical tobacco box, finding the same figure against them all on the other side of the scale, thought a selection of four would be enough to conveniently fill the space in hand, and so left the others to be understood.

The importance of the figures 100 and 200 may be more plausibly suggested. It may be connected with the years 1800 and 1900 being, like 1700, prescribed in the Gregorian scheme for the suppression of the 29th February.

This brings us to another point on which I have but a doubtful explanation to offer: the meaning of the little strokes following the figures in the right hand column and standing by themselves in the last three spaces. On comparing the arrangement of these strokes on Mr. Lewis's box with that on Mr. Hepburn's, it will at once be seen that they are almost entirely different. The only thing in common is that they are all arranged so that each space contains one, two or three, except that after the first four spaces every fourth space is left blank. Here it is certainly legitimate to conclude that the engravers are not true to type. They seem to have rather indulged their



fancy in grouping the strokes as if they were merely ornamental. Thus they cannot be, as the scale of figures is evidently placed on one side of the design in order to leave room for the strokes on the other.

My supposition is that they were originally intended to represent fractions of a day, and refer to the difference of approximately six hours between the common calendar year of 365 days and the solar year of approximately 365 days and a quarter.

On Mr. Lewis's box we find the following series :—

12	4
13	3 — — —
14	3 — —
15	3 —
16	3

I interpret this to mean that, assuming a discrepancy of 4 days in, say, March of 1712 between the calendar in course of reform and the fully reformed calendar of Gregory, the mere reckoning of 365 days instead of 364½ for the ensuing year would reduce the discrepancy to 3½ days in March, 1713, again to 3½ days in 1714 and to 3½ in 1715. Then, by suppressing the 29th February in 1716, the discrepancy between the two calendars would come to 3 days clear.

If this be the meaning of the strokes, we must suppose that by little more than an accident the engraver of this box has copied them correctly in this particular group, for I cannot find any plan by which the position of the others as a whole would fit my theory. I would, however, point out one thing which may be of significance. I need scarcely repeat that the whole of the Gregorian reform was dependent on the fact that the solar year, instead of being exactly 364½ days in length, is 11 minutes and a fraction less. The result of this is that, in reckoning the reduction of the discrepancy by bare quarters, the error would amount to approximately 6 hours, that is a whole quarter of a day in 32 years. For half this period, 16 years, the growth of the error might be ignored, and the diagrammatic notation of the strokes as above suggested could be regularly continued. But if it were continued after this, it is difficult to see how it could be worked out. It would be bound to break down at some point, for the correction of a whole quarter stroke would become necessary in the 32nd year of the series. This consideration may possibly account for the consecutive series of supposed years in the left hand column coming to an end with 16, and also for the continuation of the scale after 1745, when the discrepancy in days between the supposed new calendar and the Gregorian would be reduced to zero. As far as the relationship between calendars or styles of dates is concerned the sub-divisions of a day are necessarily unapparent, although they are all-important in the extremely nice and elaborate calculations on which the calendar itself is based. But, whatever calendar is adopted, there must always be a fractional discrepancy between the number of days allotted to a calendar year and the actual number in the measure of the year itself. To indicate this discrepancy or relationship in any particular year of a series, as I take to be the intention of the strokes in question, it seems to me to be necessary to assume a fixed moment in astronomical time, such as one of the equinoxes or solstices in a given year, for instance, as a point of departure. To this in the scale on the tobacco box I can find no clue and should therefore be at a loss in attempting to work out the fractional discrepancies mathematically. I may just throw out the hint that 65 may be chosen as the approximate number of years in which the difference between the Julian and reformed reckonings amounts to half a day. According to this, however, we should rather expect two quarters than one to be marked

opposite this year. On the other hand if we assume a discrepancy of a quarter of day in the year '65, the further discrepancy in the next 32 years would bring the total approximately to two quarters as marked against 100. But how this would become three-quarters at the end of another century is not so easy to see.

Another question raised by Mr. Lewis in his original article, and subsequently dealt with by him in the correspondence columns of *The Times of Ceylon*, is the identity of the personage at the top of the scale over the date 1497. He at first took him for a geographer applying a pair of compasses to the terrestrial globe, but his more considered view is that he represents the navigator Vasco da Gama who in the year 1497 was the first to reach the Indies by doubling the Cape. Undoubtedly the date 1497 is strongly suggestive of that event, important in the history of the world in general, and of Holland in particular in relation to the East, including Ceylon. I think, however, there is something to be said for supposing a connexion between this part of the design and the question of the reform of the Calendar which I take to be dealt with in the scale below it. To begin with, the gentleman in a broad-brimmed hat leaning on a globe is to me more like a professor than a sailor, and more suggestive of an astronomer than a geographer. The compasses and celestial globe as the emblems of astronomy are a very ancient tradition. The instruments of the navigator, if not of the geographer, would rather be compasses and chart. Urania herself has been represented with a globe since the time of Hesiod,<sup>13</sup> and frequently in a conventional pose which that of our Dutchman much resembles.

But for the difficulty of the date, 1497, I should feel confident that this was meant for an astronomer and the author of the scheme of calendar reform figured below. The only way to get over this difficulty, however, seems to be to suppose that 1497 is a subsequent alteration of 1697. This would be a probable date for such a scheme being put forward, being the time when the discussions leading to the reform in Germany were at their height. It seems at first unjustifiable to question the date which appears on all the boxes, but it is tempting to suppose that an early engraver with a somewhat illegible model was so familiar with the date of da Gama's voyage that he adopted it on the assumption that that event and person were meant, and that a great many others subsequently followed him with the same idea.

Unfortunately, I am quite unable to point to any particular Dutchman as the author in question, or to any publication of the year 1697 as containing the wonderful scheme. These are what I hoped to get by enquiries in Utrecht. The most obvious Dutch astronomer near that time is Christian Huyghens, but I can find nothing on the subject in his published works, and he died in 1695. The only Dutchman I know of connected with the reform of the Calendar was Paul of Middelburg, who became Bishop of Fossombrone in 1494, and wrote a great book on the subject, *Paulina de recte Paschalis celebratione*. His recommendations were referred to the Lateran Council of 1512-1517,<sup>14</sup> and were of great authority, but after careful search I cannot find any event in his life nor any work by him connected with the subject in 1497. Nor can one think that even a Dutchman of the seventeenth century would represent an Italian Bishop, though a native of Middelburg, in an ordinary broad-brimmed hat unless he intended rather to diminish than to magnify his fame.

Last of all we come to the little rhyme about knowledge and riches at the foot. If it has anything special to do with the author of the scale, it suggests that he was poor and perhaps very little known. But it may be only meant for general application. It may possibly be an extract from the writings of the obscure astronomer himself, but I rather think it is founded on a text in the Old Testament, Proverbs xvi, 16: "How much better is it to get wisdom than gold, and to get understanding, rather to be chosen than silver." The later Dutch versions of 1657 and 1684 concur word for word with the English and, it may be added, with the French, German and Italian, but it is rather remarkable that in Visscher's version of 1648, which was reprinted magnificently in 1702-3, the text begins in a form much more resembling the "Kiest Konst" of the Tobacco-box: *Nemt an de Weysheyd, want zy is heter dan goud, ende Verstand hebben is edelter dan Zilver*.

With this appropriate sentiment I commend to my readers the further research still required to solve completely the Tobacco-box Mystery.

13. See Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* by Nettleship and Sandys, where a relief from a Sicilian vase in the Louvre is reproduced, showing Urania with a globe at her feet and a red in her hand resting on it, much as the more modern figure of the Muse point with their compasses.

14. See Demetrio Marti's *La questione della riforma del calendario nel pontificato di Sisto IV.* (for a good account of Paul and his matter).



## THE MADRAS ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1795-96.

I. By C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

TO the interesting articles contributed by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., on "The Madras Administration of Ceylon" to the April and July numbers of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, I would add a few particulars here and there to make the story narrated by him a little more complete.

The severe strictures passed on Mr. Robert Andrews, which seem to be based on all the records accessible so far to Mr. Turner, would perhaps bear a more critical examination in view of the fact that Mr. Andrews was, after a period of six years, sent back by the Court of Directors to Madras to serve them once again. He apparently left for home (after taking leave of his post in Ceylon) in 1804. He returned to Madras in 1808. In 1808 he was appointed Acting Judge in the Criminal Court of Appeal and Circuit of the Southern Division. In 1813 he became Postmaster-General at Madras and, in 1815, he was made first Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal, Southern Division, and posted in that capacity to Trichinopoly where he died, as narrated by Mr. Turner, on 13th November, 1821. The fact that his service was mainly in the judicial line after his restoration to office may be noted in passing. It is important, however, to bear in mind that the present day distinction between the Executive and the Judicial lines was not so marked in the old days.

In this connection attention may be directed to certain MSS in the Madras Record Office bearing on Mr. Andrews' mission to Ceylon. His embassy to Kandy covers the whole of (Fort St. George Consultations) Military Sundry Volume No. 89—Madras Record Office No. 4355. Perhaps this may throw a great deal of the much-needed further light on Mr. Andrews' Mission to Ceylon. Possibly it might even prove a corrective to the account of Andrews' Embassy of 1795 published in *J. R. A. S. Ceylon Branch*, XXVI, No. 70, Part II—50, quoted by Mr. Turner. Mr. Andrews' Mission, according to the Madras Records, was the second of its kind sent out by the Government of Madras. The first of these had been sent out in 1762, on the invitation of the King of Kandy, by Lord Pigot, then Governor of Madras.

John Pybus' Diary of his visit to Ceylon is in the Madras Record Office (Military Sundry No. 17—Record Office No. 4290) and has been printed. Mr. Dodwell, who refers to this Diary in his *Report on the Madras Records*, says: "His Diary offers entertaining reading about how he had to be carried in a dooly with a straight pole instead of in a palanquin with a bent one, how he had to walk miles one wet night to the palace in his shoes and stockings, and how finally his resolution not to prostrate himself before the Kandian King was overcome by some muscular attendants." This John Pybus entered the Madras Service as Writer in 1742 and by 1768 rose to be a Member of Council. He left Madras in that year, apparently not longer after his elevation.

## Mr. Andrews' Embassy—His Assistants

The second embassy to Ceylon was sent by Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, between 1794 and 1798. He selected Mr. Robert Andrews, who had by then put in some seventeen years of service as Writer, Senior Merchant, Second in Council at Cuddalore and Collector of Trichinopoly District. His Assistant in Ceylon is referred to by Mr. Turner as "a Mr. John Jervis." He (John Jervis) entered service as Writer in 1787, became next Assistant under the Secretary in the Secret Department: in 1790, he was Assistant under the Accountant: in 1791, he was Assistant under one of the Collectors of Ganjam; in 1793, he became Assistant under the Sea Customs: in 1796, he was posted to serve as Assistant under the Collector of Jaffnapatam and in 1797 he was made Assistant to the Resident at Ceylon. He died in December, 1797. He appears from his previous service, *prima facie*, a suitable man for the post he was sent out by Lord Hobart's Government to occupy in Ceylon. Mr. Andrews' other Assistants were Mr. Alexander for Colombo and Galle, and Garrow for Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Mullaittivu. Of these two, Mr. Alexander had rather a notable after-career.

Mr. Josias Du Pre Alexander, to give him his full name, entered service as Writer in 1796; in 1798 he became Assistant under the Secretary to the Board of Trade, and in 1799 he was made (permanent) Deputy Commercial Resident at Colombo. In 1801 he was posted as Assistant to the Collector of Government Customs in which he served for three years. In 1803 he left on leave for Bengal. In 1818 he returned home. A couple of years later, he was out of the Company's service and was, on 16th August, 1820, elected a Director of the East India Company.

Mr. George Garrow—there were two others of the name contemporary with him in the service—had also a noteworthy after-career in the Madras Service. He entered service as usual as Writer in 1794; in 1797, he was Assistant under the Secretary in the Public, Revenue and Commercial Department. In 1798, he became permanent Assistant to the Revenue and Commercial Department in Ceylon. In 1799, he was out of employ. But shortly afterwards, he was appointed Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue. In 1800, he was made Superintendent of the Company's Land in Black (now George) Town in Madras. In 1801, he became Secretary to the Board of Revenue. In 1802, he was appointed Collector of South Arcot. In 1803, he was again out of employ. He returned Home in 1805 and came back to Madras in 1807 and was posted as Acting Superintendent of Police. In 1808, he was appointed as Collector of Trichinopoly. In 1809, he became Accountant-General to the Chief Court. In 1827, he was appointed Chief Judge and Criminal Judge of Kumbakonam. In 1829, he became First Judge of the Provincial Court, Northern Division. In 1832, he was appointed first Judge of the Provincial Court, Southern Division. In 1838, he was appointed Acting Civil Auditor and Superintendent of Stamps. He died at Trichinopoly on 4th August, 1838.

I have stated that there were two other Garrows who were contemporaries of this Assistant of Mr. Andrews. One of these was Edward Garrow, who entered service as Writer in 1769, and after 23 years' service became, in 1792, Senior Merchant and Pay-Master and Store-Keeper at Trichinopoly. In 1795 he went home and in 1799 was out of Service. The other was William Garrow, who entered service as Writer in 1796 and became Principal Collector of Coimbatore in 1805. He died (aged 33 years) at Fort St. George on 14th July, 1815. Besides these two, there was an earlier Garrow in the Madras Service. This was Joseph Garrow, who entered service in 1779 and became Senior Merchant in 1790. He died at Madras in 1791 in the 34th year of his age. Apparently all these Garrows were related to each other. Mr. J. J. Cotton, in his list of *Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Madras* (Page 32), says that "the Garrows are connected in an



interesting way with the family of Anthony Trollope. His elder brother Thomas Adolphus, also an author, married in 1848 Theodosia, only daughter of Joseph Garrow (died 1853), who was the son of one of these Garrows by a high caste native lady. Mrs. Trollope died at Florence in 1865. Her Literary tastes are celebrated by Landor in his lines to "Theodosia Garrow," and it was at the Villino Trollope that George Eliot stayed as a guest in 1860 and set to work upon *Romola* in the following year."

Mr. Turner mentions in his article "Mr. John MacDowall of the Madras Civil Service," another probable Assistant of Mr. Andrews in Ceylon. This is, I think, a mistake for "John MacDonall" of the Madras Civil Service. His name has been given as "MacDonall" by Princep in his *List of Madras Civil Servants*. It appears on his Tombstone (vault) in St. Mary's Cemetery at Madras as "John MacDonall." Born on 26th December, 1773, he entered service as Writer in 1792. In 1794, he was Assistant under the Secretary to the Board of Revenue and later Assistant to the Accountant-General. In 1796, he was appointed Pay-Master to the Expedition against Trincomalee. In 1798, he became Pay-Master to the Expedition at Colombo. In 1799, he was appointed Collector of Colombo. About 1800 or so he was out of employ. He returned Home in 1802 and four years later, in 1806, he came back to India. In 1809, he was appointed Civil Auditor. In 1810, he became Dutch Translator to Government. He died (aged 41) at Madras on 5th August, 1814, and lies buried in St. Mary's Cemetery there. His brother Lieut-Col. Sutherland Orr MacDonall, was Resident in Travancore and died (aged 42) at Madras on 7th November, 1820.

### The "Madras System."

It is a question whether Mr. Turner is not a trifle too severe on the Madras Administration of Ceylon, more particularly on the Civilian Officers, Mr. Andrews and his Assistants. I have set out above the careers of some of them both before and after they served in Ceylon. It will be seen from them whether there is not something to be said in their defence. In judging of them, I am afraid Mr. Turner judges from a standard which in the times they lived they did not know. In their days the difference between trading and Civil Administration was not a widely marked one; the one was closely connected with the other. Trade went hand in hand with executive administration. Private trade was not out of the question. The Company itself had not yet emerged out of its trading stage of existence. It seems possible from a study of the contemporary annals of Civil Administration in the Madras Districts, the English were trying to evolve system out of the chaos to which they had succeeded after the breakdown of the system of Revenue Administration which the Mahomedans had passed on to them. The Madras Civilians—or rather the Madras Agents of the Company—introduced into Ceylon the only system—if it could be so called—with which they were acquainted. They were themselves the victims of the vicious *débâcle* to which they had succeeded and which had yet to be purged of its evils. The Board of Assigned Revenue to administer the territories of the Nawab of Arcot that passed temporarily into the hands of the Madras authority came into existence in 1793, but it did not become the Board of Revenue until at least five years after the Committee of Investigation on Ceylon affairs had presented their Report.

So far about the origin of the "Madras System" which Mr. Turner criticises so adversely. Now, as to the conditions under which it was introduced into Ceylon. The Conquest of Ceylon in 1795-1796 by the British at Madras was an act practically forced on them by the attitude of the local Dutch. If only the Dutch Governor had acted as required by the Madras Government, probably the internal administration of the Island would not have been interfered with by them.



But the Dutch Governor proved treacherous and there was nothing left but to forcibly occupy the Island. This done, its administration had to be provided for. The Government of Lord Hobart selected an experienced Officer in Mr. Andrews—he had by then put in nearly twenty years in various capacities and the last one he held was that of Collector of Trichinopoly—and posted him to Ceylon. He and his Assistants already named thus became responsible for the internal administration of the Island. In this they were subordinate to the Officer Commanding the British Forces in Ceylon, who, as Mr. Turner himself admits, claimed full control over the Civil Department. That this dual control led to considerable friction in spite of the fact that the Commander-in-Chief was the head of all the Departments is also admitted by him. But Mr. Turner does not assign the failure of the Madras Administration so much to this fact as to the Madras system and the maladministration of the Island by Mr. Andrews and his subordinates.

Among the defects of the Madras system pointed out by the Committee of Investigation and approvingly referred to by Mr. Turner are :—(1) The Foreign Agency it introduced into the administration of the Island ; (2) The abolition of the Service Tenures and the substitution for them of paid labour ; (3) The union of the offices of renters and Magistrates. It is not exactly clear why the revenue system of the Island was superseded by the Madras Government, but it is possible to guess at the probable cause. The Island had to be literally wrested from the Dutch Governor's hands and the Dutch intrigues in the Island prevented the hearty co-operation of the Islanders in the British occupation of their country. But effective occupation was rendered necessary by the existing conditions of the War, and Lord Hobart and his Council had no option but to introduce the system with which they were best conversant. This necessarily meant the introduction of a Foreign Agency. Apparently this Agency was disliked by the people and in any case could not prove a success. But for its introduction or its failure in the particular conditions prevailing in Ceylon, Mr. Andrews cannot be blamed. Nor, so far as I can see, can the Madras Government be blamed for it. Doubtless the Agency could not endure for any length and had to be superseded eventually by a complete reversion to the *status quo ante* on the final transfer of the Island to the British. The tree tax was introduced by order apparently of the Government of Madras. In this they were doubtless mistaken. Mr. Andrews' duty, however, was to carry out the instructions of his official superiors in this as in other matters. His duty ended there, until he found anything went wrong. And that he was a consenting party to its abolition in 1797 shows, I think, that he was not averse to a change of policy in the matter.

In regard to the abolition of Service Tenures, it is impossible to state why this was agreed upon, as it is to this date an essential part of the Madras Revenue System. The difficulty in modern times has been to get people in rural areas to agree to its continuance. They would rather compound it in some way. Why and how the thing came to be abolished by the Madras Government, it is not easy to guess without further research into the matter. It is just possible that the difficulty of enforcing it, specially from a recalcitrant population, under the influence of the Dutch who were still supreme in the land, forced this on the Madras officials and through them the Madras authorities. It is also possible that this difficulty must have arisen particularly in regard to the collection of the tree tax. Mr. Andrews may have committed a mistake in the matter, but why did his critic Mr. North revert to Mr. Andrews' innovation? He was himself adversely criticised for this reversion to Mr. Andrews' policy by his successor, Sir Thomas Maitland. That shows to some extent the difficulty of enforcing this tenure in places where the corporate spirit is either lacking or breaking up under the stress of outside influence. That is what seems to have happened as it certainly has in Southern India generally.



Finally, as regards the "Union of powers of renter and Magistrate," it was an integral part of the system of revenue as administered in Madras. It was later abolished even there when its evils became better known. Its true origins have to be traced to the time when the trading instincts in the Company's servants were still strong and the Company itself did not feel that anything wrong was done by allowing a farmer to be judge as well. Even now in Madras and elsewhere in British India the essence of the revenue system consists in the combination of executive and judicial functions. Their separation has been long agitated for and is still being discussed, though it is over a century since the Committee of Investigation in Ceylon condemned it.

It will thus be seen that Mr. Andrews and his Assistants were only the instruments of their Government in carrying out its policy in the Island. It is clear that that policy was dictated by (1) the general attitude of the dominant Dutch in the Island, and (2) the exigencies of the period at which the British at Madras had to interfere in the Island's affairs. Any estimate we might form of the Madras Administration of the Island during this period should, I think, be tempered by some consideration of these two facts. It is possible that, under other conditions, the policy of the Madras Government in Ceylon would have been totally different. It is easy to quote examples to substantiate this hypothetical proposition, but it is hardly necessary.

#### "Maladministration" of Madras Officials.

I would now turn to the other portion of the argument developed by Mr. Turner in his article, viz., the maladministration of Mr. Andrews and generally of the Madras Officials in Ceylon. Mr. Andrews, in his opinion, was not only incapable but also corrupt. Following the generality of Ceylon critics he says that:—

"At the best 'indolence,' want of vigilance and activity, 'ignorance of the habits and disposition of Islanders' are among his characteristics, although Mr. North, generally charitable, allows him, somewhat inconsistently, 'experience, talent, and incomparable temper.' At the worst, Andrews, according to Lord Valentia (I. 314), cannot be acquitted of having at least connived at the malpractices of his subordinates. Lord Valentia adds that the matter of the pearl fishery, in which double the number of boats were employed for which the Company received payment, would authorise a more unfavourable construction of his conduct. When we note that Mr. North, during his investigation into the misdeeds of the Collectors, finds reason for saying that 'the Company seems to have been cheated of 7 lacs of pagodas in the fisheries of 1797 and 1798,' which sum he has to increase to 12 lacs later, and that 'no boat could or did fish without passport from Andrews countersigned by the renter,' it may be reasonably supposed that Lord Valentia's suspicions were not without some solid foundation."

He adds:—

"Nor is the positive evidence confined to the matter of the Pearl Fishery. Cleghorn, in the letter already quoted, lays a serious indictment against Andrews: 'I have not described, because I cannot as yet legally authenticate, the particular instances of rapine and cruelty which the Madras Dubashes have inflicted in Ceylon upon every class of the native inhabitants. The very enormities of which I have received accounts will prevent me from stating them without the fullest evidence. But I have heard of these from men of the most undoubted veracity and whose situations must have made it very difficult to impose upon the fictions for facts. And I have no difficulty in saying that the Madras Government, knowing as they do either Mr. Andrews' ignorance of business or his connivance with the Dubashes, ought not again to have employed him. And if that gentleman has felt with delicacy what is publicly said of his conduct, he would not again have accepted of his situation until he had obtained a full and fair acquittal of the facts alleged against his management. I have no personal prejudice against him. I hardly even know him. But when the happiness and misery of thousands depend upon his conduct . . . that understanding must be contemptible which can attempt to derive lasting Public Revenue from injustice and extortion. Whether oppression upon unfortunate inhabitants has proceeded from his indolence or from worse motives, in his situation indolence and guilt are the same.'"

In Mr. Turner's opinion Mr. Andrews' later career—after his reversion to the Madras Service—cannot be held to exonerate him from the charges of incompetency and corruption preferred against him. He thinks the posts he held after he went back to Madras "would be, no doubt, within easy reach of anyone possessing the influence at Head-quarters which Andrews undoubtedly had." He even blames Mr. North for "inconsistently" allowing him "experience, talent and incomparable temper." One does not, indeed, go to epitaphs for critical estimates of character, but Mr. North's testimony to Mr. Andrews' talent and temper seems to be echoed in what appears on his tombstone at Trichinopoly—"If suavity can ensure esteem, philanthropy respect, and charity gratitude, time will review the name of Andrews in the remembrance of the Good. In him truly did the wretched find a friend, the poor a parent and mankind a man." Mr. Turner hints that it was part of the Madras Government's policy to pay little heed to Ceylon affairs generally and to give little credit to Ceylon complaints against Andrews. He even suggests that the Madras Government's alleged truculent attitude towards Ceylon after its separation from Madras is evidence of its partiality to Andrews and apparently also his subordinates. How far such a general argument against Andrews is evidence of his incapacity or corruption, it is unnecessary to go into.

As regards the positive evidence adduced by Mr. Turner, the first refers to the fishery rents of 1797 and 1798. As to this, one point worthy of note is that the officer in direct charge of the Fisheries was Mr. Jervis. This officer was apparently somewhat irregular in regard to the Fishery Rent of 1796, but so far as I can see, there was even against him nothing like a charge of peculation preferred or alleged. Lord Hobart stigmatised his conduct in resigning his post of Renter as no more than one of "impropriety" in one who was both "Renter and Collector." Lord Valentia's evidence as regards the year 1797-1798 is not by any means conclusive. And it is a question whether such a charge as corruption can be made to depend on evidence of the character that Mr. Turner has been able to produce. The position that Mr. Andrews occupied was a difficult one. He had to introduce and work a system of Government, not perfect in itself, and amidst a population, all but openly inimical to him. The insurrection that followed was the result, not of his misgovernment—for if that were so the Commander-in-Chief would be more liable for it than he—but the pretext for a change, which, for other reasons, had become inevitable. The Committee of Investigation, of which Mr. Andrews himself was a member, was the direct outcome of the action of the Madras Government, who, though they at first showed themselves slow in comprehending the position of affairs in the Island, were fairly prompt after they once grasped its cardinal weakness. There is much to be said in favour of Lord Hobart's opinion, formed after his visit of inspection to the Island in 1797; he thus sums up the position:

"Having recently turned a considerable share of my attention to the affairs of Ceylon, I am induced to offer some observations . . . which may possibly be found not undeserving of notice. Although they convey the idea that improvements may be made in the Revenue System on that Island they will not, I trust, be considered to cast the most distant imputation upon the conduct of the Superintendent. The precariousness of our possession, the short period the Dutch settlements have been in our hands, the difficulty of obtaining information, the distrust of the natives and indisposition of the Dutch, furnish so many and such serious obstacles to a successful management that it ought not to be a matter of surprise that the mode of amelioration should only be gradually discovered.

#### True Causes of Failure.

The true causes of the failure of the Madras Government's first Administration in Ceylon were due, I think, to the following:—



(1) Dual control, which caused friction between the Revenue and the Military Departments, with the result that the already recalcitrant population were encouraged to set at defiance the authority of Government. The policy of making the natives of the Island to look to one master instead of two was lost sight of by the Madras Government in providing for the Administration of the Island at a time when the Dutch were still dominant in the Island and were encouraging the people in their defiance by giving out that the French were coming to their aid.

(2) The Tree Tax, which was certainly felt to be an obnoxious one by the Islanders. It was introduced for purely Revenue purposes without knowledge of local conditions, and its working was rendered difficult because of its inherent worthlessness as a means for raising any money in an equitable manner. It led to the third cause.

(3). The abolition of Service Tenures to which I have already referred.

(4). Dutch intrigues, which were rampant in the Island at the time. The local Dutch did not relish the idea of their supercession. They held to the Island tenaciously and incited the inhabitants to open revolt against the English. They made the Islanders to believe that French aid was at hand and that the English usurpers would be turned out ere long.

(5). The suspicions of the people against the new set of Europeans who had invaded their country were of themselves sufficient to raise difficulties for the new Administration. These were only confirmed by the kind of Government that the English were forced to set up in the Island—a Government which was foreign from top to bottom. It was clearly one that could not work anywhere, least of all in Ceylon at the period we are writing of. The Government failed just because it lacked the very elements of a stable Government.

This diagnosis is confirmed by the Report of the Committee of Investigation. Mr. North's denunciations apart, Mr. Andrews and his Assistants cannot be held responsible for the breakdown of a system for whose setting up they were in no sense responsible. They may not have been angels, but they were hardly the demons they are described to be by Ceylon officials from Mr. North downwards. That these were prejudiced to some extent against the Madras Civil Officials there can be no denying. But it must be remembered that, when these very officials saw that the system of Government they had improvised at a critical moment for the Island could not stand, they appointed a Committee of Investigation and Lord Hobart as the head of the Administration had the satisfaction of giving effect to its recommendations. The Committee's work could not have been approved of by Lord Hobart and his Council unless they had felt the need for change. And if they felt the need for a change and agreed to the Committee's recommendations, does it argue prejudice on the part of Madras Officials against Ceylon?

There was no reason for any prejudice whatsoever in the manner suggested by Mr. Cleghorn, because the Madras Government had no knowledge until at the last moment that their officials would be superseded and Ceylon separated altogether from Madras. Lord Hobart, in his minute of March 15, 1798, states that the recommendations were carried into effect by the Board and Committee of Madras. They were to be brought into operation by Madras Officials themselves—the successors of Mr. Andrews—but they find it impossible to do this early in June as required, as the period of current Revenue was unexpired. In the July following, Mr. North's appointment was announced and the Madras Officials very discreetly left the task of carrying into effect the Committee's recommendations to him. Meanwhile, the Committee's recommendations became widely known in the Island and had the desired soothing effect. In fact, when Mr. North arrived in October, he found that the "Island is in most perfect tranquillity."



### Last Madras Officials in Ceylon.

I would add a few words about the last Madras Officials in Ceylon. Mr. Joseph Greenhill, who succeeded Mr. Andrews as the Superintendent of Revenue, was apparently an officer of some sixteen years' standing in the Madras Service when he was posted to Ceylon. He entered service as a Writer in 1781. In 1783, he became Assistant to the Secretary to the Select Committee; in 1784, Assistant to the Secretary in the Civil Department; in 1786, Assistant to the Secretary in the Military Department, Deputy Garrison Store-keeper, Acting-Secretary to the Committee for Revising, Correcting and re-publishing the Book of Military Regulations, and Surveyor of the Company's Grounds; in 1787, Assistant to the Board of Trade; in 1788, Under Searcher at the Sea Gate; in 1790, Upper Searcher-General; in 1791, Garrison Store-keeper; in 1796, Import Warehouse Keeper; and, in 1797, Commercial Resident in Ceylon. In 1801, he went home and did not return to India until 1803. In that year he became Military Paymaster at the Presidency and of Extraordinaries. In 1807, he was appointed again Garrison Store-keeper and in 1811, he became Paymaster to the King's Troops. He died on 18th June, 1811, at Madras. Mr. Julian James Cotton does not mention where he lies buried but refers to him 'in connection with his wife Caroline, who also died at Madras, aged 19 years, on 17th December, 1792.

Mr. Josias Du Pre Alexander, who was to have succeeded Mr. Greenhill, as Superintendent, was his Deputy. He entered service as Writer in 1796. In 1798, he became Assistant under the Secretary to the Board of Trade. In 1799 Deputy Commercial Resident at Colombo. In 1801, he was Assistant to the Collector of Customs. Two years later, he went on leave to Bengal. In 1818, he returned home. In 1820, he resigned the Service, being elected on the 16th August of the same year a Director of the East India Company. He became an Annuitant in 1822 and died in England on August 20, 1839.

I will now briefly refer to a few other persons mentioned by Mr. Turner in his articles. These are Brigadier-General de Meuron and Lieut.-Col. P. A. Agnew, who with Mr. Andrews formed the Committee of Investigation, and Major-General Stuart who was virtually the first Military Governor of Ceylon, by reason of his being Commander-in-Chief in the Island and invested with superior authority over the Revenue Officials appointed to the Island.

He (Major-General Stuart) left the Island on 1st January, 1797, and later distinguished himself in the Madras Army. He served throughout the Mysore Wars, first under General Meadows and then under Lord Cornwallis. He was present at the first siege of Seringapatam and then at the second and final one. In the latter as Lieut.-General Stuart, he commanded the Bombay Army, and defeated Tippu on the way up to Seringapatam. Referring to his services in the conquest of Seringapatam, General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, thus referred to him in his *Orders of the Day* dated Camp, Seringapatam, 5th May, 1799:—"Lieut.-General Harris trusts that Lieut.-General Stuart will excuse his thus publicly expressing his sense of the cordial co-operation and assistance received from him during the present service, in the course of which he has ever found it difficult to separate the sentiments of his public duty from the warmest feelings of private friendship." He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Madras on August 1st, 1801, a post which he resigned, after holding it with distinction for three years, on 17th October, 1804.



Lieut.-Col. P. A. Agnew was an equally distinguished Officer and saw service in the Polygar and Mysore Wars. He took Panjalamkurichi and Callarcoil in the former and in the latter served as Military Secretary to General Harris on his march to Seringapatam. His Excellency the Governor-General (Marquess of Wellesley) in his *General Orders* dated the 24th May, 1799, thus referred to his services:—"The Selection which the Commander-in-Chief had so judiciously made of Lieut.-Colonel Agnew and Captain Macaulay, for his confidential Staff, was confirmed by the Governor-General in Council with a just expectation that His Excellency would derive considerable advantage to the Public Service for their able assistance." He was later removed from the Service. He, however, became Adjutant-General in Java and was afterwards (1833) elected a Director of the East India Co. He was again elected a Director in 1835 and continued up to 1842. He was made a C. B. and died in June, 1842. He was the father of G. A. L. Agnew of the Punjab Civil Service, who was one of the two officers murdered on their mission to Gilgit to take over the province of Multan from Mulraj. He was an exceedingly promising officer and was only 26 when he was cut off. His death was widely lamented.

In regard to Brigadier-General de Meuron and the circumstances under which his Regiment came to be transferred to the British, Mr. Turner has, in his first article,<sup>2</sup> given full particulars. Nevertheless, I would give the following extract from Lieut.-Col. W. J. Wilson's *History of the Madras Army* (II, 270-1) which furnishes one or two additional points.

[The extract referred to, as well as another which Mr. Hayavadana Rao quotes from the same publication (pp. 251-7) relative to the cause of the Madras Expedition against the Dutch in Ceylon in 1795 as can be made out from the Madras Military and Government Records, are reproduced below in the course of the contribution by "S. G. P."—Editors, *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

## II. MR. TURNER IN REPLY.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao's most interesting paper raises several important points, on which I should like to comment with the greatest possible brevity. Exception is taken to my criticism (1) of the Madras system, (2) of Andrews' administration of it.

As regards (1) the criticism is not mine, but that of the Committee of Investigation. The general argument, directed against that criticism, that circumstances obliged the Madras Government to introduce their own system and to adopt the other reforms, seems to be discounted by the fact that the Committee reverted to the old system with satisfactory results. The suggestion that the Madras Government was anxious to raise revenue—which, I trust, is not unjust—must, also, be borne in mind. On points of detail, the opposition of the inhabitants to the new regime is more likely to have been due to the novel nature of that regime, than to the Dutch intrigues. Regarding the abolition of Service Tenures, the old system was reverted to under Governor Maitland with alacrity on the part of the inhabitants, whose preconceived ideas were upset by the change, so that it is unlikely that there would have been any difficulty in continuing it in 1796. On the general question, it does not seem to matter very much why the Madras Government ordered the reforms. The fact remains that the Administration was a failure, and the causes are given by the Committee.

On the second question, the criticism of Andrews' administration, it may be noted that Andrews is criticised, not for the existence of the system, but for his methods in administering it. Mr. Hayavadana Rao counters my criticism, in its various items. (i) He points to the later

<sup>2</sup> *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, Pt. I (April, 1914.)

careers of the officials in question, but, as I have already said, this evidence is purely negative. (ii) He disagrees with my suggestion that the Madras Government would support its own men in the circumstances, but I think that the reasons given by me lend colour to that suggestion. Mr. Hayavadana Rao argues that the appointment of the Committee of Investigation by the Madras Government does not show prejudice against Ceylon, but, as the Committee was appointed to investigate "the state of the Revenue," among other matters, it is to be supposed that it was appointed as much in the interests of that Government as in those of Ceylon. It is also stated that there could be no reason for the prejudice mentioned by Cleghorn "because the Madras Government had no knowledge until at the last moment that their officials would be superceded." But Governor North had arrived in India in June, 1798, and the constitution of the new Government of Ceylon must have been well-known before October, the date of Cleghorn's letter. Further, there is no reason to doubt Cleghorn's explicit statement. The relevance of this statement is, not that it is evidence of the partiality of the Madras Government for Andrews, but that complaints from Ceylon against Madras Officials would receive little attention at Madras. (iii) Mr. Hayavadana Rao questions the bearing of the facts of the Pearl Fisheries on the alleged charges of corruption. I limited the charge to connivance, and the fact that Governor North found that the Company had been cheated out of 12 lacs of pagodas in 1797 and 1798 seems to bear this out. The facts of Jervis' dealings in connection with the fishery of 1796 are, as I said, peculiar. It may be the case that the standard of public morality was low in those days, but the admission seems to support my view of the case. Incidentally, it may be noted that the criticisms are only to be applied to the Madras officials specifically mentioned. Thus, Gregory and Alexander were "honesty itself" and "justly beloved," as should have been stated in the Article. Barbut was held in high esteem by Mr. North, but his reputation suffered severely at the hands of Governor Maitland, in connection with the Lusignan case. (iv) Mr. Hayavadana Rao's strongest argument seems to lie in Lord Hobart's minute of 9th June, already quoted by me. But it must be remembered that Lord Hobart was not likely to have been aware of Andrews' methods, and the general defence of Andrews based on the difficulties of his position appears to be no reply to the direct charges made by Cleghorn—charges which there appears to be no reason to discredit, and which, apparently, cannot be explained away.

Thus, with all due deference to Mr. Hayavadana Rao's views, I must uphold the position taken up in my Article, that "we must give the positive evidence from Ceylon more weight than the negative from India."

In no carping spirit of criticism, I should like to point out that Andrews' Embassy of 1795 was the third, not the second, of its kind. The second was that of Boyd in 1782. As regards the spelling of "Macdouall," Governor North's Despatches give "MacDowall" and "McDowall," but the tombstone ought to be correct. Regarding the causes of the failure of the Madras Administration, Mr. Hayavadana Rao mentions, as first of them, the friction existing between the revenue and military departments. But there is no evidence in the Ceylon records that it had anything to do with that failure. The Committee says nothing about it, and it is, indeed, only hypothetical that it was "considerable."

L. J. B. TURNER



## THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1795-1796.

By S. G. P.

THE following extracts from the Histories of the various regiments that served in Ceylon give details, names, numbers and movements, of the troops that formed the Ceylon expedition of 1795, and will therefore be of interest in connection with the article on the "British Occupation of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon" which appeared in Vol. III, Pt. IV, of the *Ceylon Antiquary*.

To them are added notices of the two notorious members of that "infamous faction of Madras civilians" whom Governor North dismissed. (Cf. "Madras Administration of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon," in *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p. 47) but who, nevertheless, found their way back into the Madras service.

Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart of H.M.'s 78th, who led the expedition, was one of the principal persons concerned in the arrest and deposition of Lord Pigot, and figures in the Inquest proceedings. In his turn, James Stuart, then Major-General, was dismissed from the Company's service by Lord Macartney in 1783. He persisted in retaining command of the King's troops, and was placed under arrest and conveyed to England.<sup>1</sup> Stuart made this a personal matter between himself and Macartney, and called out the latter on his return from Madras. "A duel was accordingly fought near Kensington, 8 June, 1783, and His Lordship was shot through the shoulder."<sup>2</sup> In 1787 Stuart published his grievances in a "Letter to the Honourable the Directors of the East India Company from Major-General James Stuart" (3 July, 1787. 47 pages folio with 100 pages of appendices). He was presumably reinstated, for "Old Row" reappears in 1791 as Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart, of H. M.'s 72nd (the 78th having, about the end of 1786, become the 72nd), and led the Ceylon Expedition of 1795 as Colonel to become Ceylon's first "Military Governor." A Lieut.-General John Stuart was Commander-in-Chief, Madras, 1801-1804.<sup>3</sup>

### Ceylon Expedition, 1795.

[From the *Military History of the Madras Engineers and Pioneers, from 1743 up to the present time*. Compiled by Major H. M. Vibart (London, 1881). Vol. I, pp. 280-283].

Early in January, 1795, it was intended to have sent an expedition against Mauritius and Bourbon; and, with this view, a Monsieur Grand Pré, a French officer of talent and much local knowledge, was sent out from England to assist with his advice. The expedition was, however, abandoned, and it was determined to confine our attention to the reduction of the Dutch Settlements in Ceylon, and to the eastward.

In July, 1795, an expedition sailed from Madras with Admiral Rainier's squadron for Ceylon.

The <i>Suffolk</i>	...	...	74	(guns 7)
" <i>Centurion</i>	...	...	50	
" <i>Diomedé</i>	...	...	44	

1. *Hist. of the Madras Army*, pp. 81-84. 2. *Id.* p. 134 note. 3. *Prinsep, Record of the Services of Madras Civilian*, p. xxxi.

The *Diomedé* struck upon a hidden rock, and went down so suddenly that it was not without great difficulty her crew were saved. Colonel James Stuart commanded.

The Engineers with the expedition were :—

Captain Norris,	Madras Engineers,
Lieutenant Mackenzie,	
" Cleghorne	
" De Havilland	
" Colgrave	
" Torriano	
" Hayter,	Royal Artillery, as Acting Engineer.

Two companies of Pioneers accompanied the force.

Trincomalee, armed with nearly 100 heavy guns, was besieged for three weeks, and capitulated after a slight resistance, as preparations were being made to carry it by storm. Our loss was only sixteen killed, and sixty wounded.

In September, Jaffnapatam capitulated also. The town and fort stand at some distance from the main ocean, but there is a communication by means of an inlet navigable for boats. It is 200 miles north by east from Colombo.

Shortly after this, the force was joined by two more companies of Pioneers from the Baramahl.

(The force against Malacca).

Colonel Stuart's forces were directed to capture Colombo, etc.

Troops for the expedition against Colombo assembled at Ramiseram in January, 1796. About the 10th, they left in large open boats. Crossing below Adam's Bridge, they coasted along by Arepoo, Calpentyn, the rendezvous being at Negombo, thirty miles north of Colombo. A landing was effected, and the works at Negombo abandoned by the enemy.

Lieutenant Colin Mackenzie had previously been ordered to collect materials for the siege on the coast. All fascines and gabions we had made,—under the idea that we were not likely to find materials in the best-wooded country in the world!—were afterwards served out at Colombo as firewood.

The army marched from Negombo to within four miles of Colombo without meeting any opposition. At daylight, 10th February, they crossed the great ferry called Grand Pass, and formed on the other side, when fire was opened on them from 800 to 1,000 Malays, with some Dutch troops. They soon, however, took to flight, and we entered the Pettah about 2 p.m. next day.

The army then took up a position about a mile from the fort, with the Pettah between it and the fort. Our right flank was close to the sea, and the left to the nullah running from the river Malware, near the great pass, to the lake on the south west.

Our loss was only three killed, and two officers and eight men wounded.

The fleet anchored at the mouth of the river Malware on the 13th.

The General of the King of Candy had joined Colonel Stuart at Negombo, and was now at Baspital. He crossed the river on the 14th and took up a position on the left of the English.

On the 15th, the fort of Colombo, and the remaining possessions under the Dutch authority in the island, surrendered by capitulation, and the British troops were in possession of the fort on the 16th morning.

The senior Engineer was Lieutenant Mackenzie, Captain Norris having been left at Trincomalee, to put the fortifications in a proper state of defence.

The other Engineers were :—

Lieutenant Cleghorne
" De Havilland
" Colgrave, and
" Torriano.

Early in 1797 the Pioneers in this force were ordered to Madras, but Major-General Doyle, then commanding the island, having represented that some pioneers were indispensable, a party of fifty, under Lieutenant Fitzgerald, were allowed to remain, and did duty in Ceylon till 1802, when the island became a Crown Colony.

Colin Mackenzie inspected and reported on the force on the west coast of Ceylon, and returned to Madras coast in May, 1796."



## British Expedition to Ceylon, 1795.

[From the *History of the Madras Army*, Compiled by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Wilson (Madras, 1882), Vol. II, pp. 251-257.]

Expeditions were also organised against the (Dutch) settlements in Ceylon, and Malacca, and the troops sailed from Madras on 23rd July.

*Expedition against Ceylon.*

The force for Ceylon was placed under the command of Colonel James Stuart, H. M.'s 72nd Regiment, and consisted of—

Detachment Royal artillery	42 of all ranks, under Captain-Lieutenant Dixon.
Do Madras artillery	136 of all ranks, and 340 gun Lascars, under Captain Carlisle.
Flank companies H. M.'s 71st and 73rd regiments	351 of all ranks, under Major Dalrymple.
H. M.'s 72nd regiment	742 of all ranks—Major Fraser.

*Native Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Bonnevaux.*

1st Battalion, Capt. Fergusson	14 Europeans and 643 Natives.
23rd Battalion, Capt. Campbell	13 Europeans and 643 Natives.
Pioneers, Lieut. Dowse	2 Serjeants and 219 Natives.

*Staff.*

One Brigade-Major, 1 Quarter-Master of Brigade, 1 Captain and 1 Lieutenant of Engineers, 1 Lieutenant of Royal Artillery Acting Engineer, 1 Commissary of Ordnance, 1 Commissary of Provisions and Judge Advocate, 1 Paymaster Royal troops, 1 Paymaster Company's troops, 1 Head Surgeon, and 2 Assistant Surgeons.

Operations in Ceylon were commenced by the siege of Trincomalee. A breach having been made after the force had been nearly three weeks before the place, the troops were prepared to storm when the Governor capitulated on the 26th August.

The garrison consisted of 786 officers and men, of whom 185 were Dutch, 84 belonged to the Swiss regiment De Meuron, 136 were Wirtemberghers, and 363 Malays and sepoys.

Our loss was small, viz., 41 Europeans,\* and 25 natives killed and wounded, more than half of whom were artillerymen.

Colonel Stuart, in a report to the Madras Government, dated 30th August, expressed his hearty approbation of the zeal and gallantry which had been displayed by the officers and men in the course of a very laborious service.

Thirty-seven brass guns and mortars, and fifty-five iron guns were found in the Fort.

The neighbouring garrison in Fort Ostenburgh surrendered on the 31st of the same month. It consisted of 8 artillerymen, 69 of De Meuron's regiment, 32 Dutch infantry, 54 Wirtemberghers, and 89 Malays.

Twenty brass and forty-one iron guns were taken.

The Fort of Batticaloa surrendered on the 18th September to a detachment under Major Fraser of the 72nd, composed of the flank companies of that regiment, two companies of the 1st battalion, and a party of artillery.

On the 24th of the same month Colonel Stuart left Trincomalee with the flank companies of the 71st and 73rd, five companies of the 1st battalion, a detachment of artillery, and a party of pioneers, for the reduction of Jaffnapatam which capitulated on the 28th without resistance. The garrison was very weak, having been composed of 39 Europeans, and 98 Natives.

One hundred and six guns, 500 barrels of gunpowder, and 71,000 lbs. in bulk were found in the place.

Europeans			Natives.				
	E.	W.	Total.		E.	W.	Total.
Royal artillery	4	2	6	Madras artillery	6	3	15
Madras do	3	13	16	1st battalion	1	8	7
71st and 73rd		8	8	23rd battalion		1	1
72nd		16	16	Pioneers		2	2
Staff		1	1				
Total	7	39	41		7	18	25

The town of Molletivo surrendered on the 1st October to a detachment of the 52nd regiment under Captain Monson.

On the 5th of the same month the fort and island of Manar were taken possession of by Captain Barbut of the 73rd with a detachment of his own regiment, and the 7th<sup>a</sup> battalion under Captain Bowser.

From Manar Captain Bowser was detached against the Fort of Calpenteen which surrendered on the 13th November on being summoned.

About the end of December, Captain Barbut, with the flank companies of the 73rd, and the 7th battalion, was ordered to Negombo, there to await the arrival of Colonel Stuart from Trincomalee with the troops destined for the siege of Colombo. Captain Barbut arrived at Negombo on the 3rd February, 1796, and took quiet possession of the place which had been abandoned on his approach. On this occasion he reported to Government that, although he had been without the means of attending to the requirements of caste during the passage from Manar, the native troops had submitted to the inconvenience without complaint.

Colonel Stuart arrived on the same day, and on the 4th he was joined by H. M.'s 77th regiment, and some native troops from Bombay under Major Petrie.

Shortly after the surrender of Jaffnapatam, the flank companies of the 71st returned to Madras, the regiment being under orders for England; but between the time of their departure, and that of the advance against Colombo, reinforcements had been received which raised Colonel Stuart's force to about 2,300 Europeans,\* and 4,200 Natives. The 1st and 23rd battalions, with the detachments of artillery and European infantry, were left to garrison the places which had been taken, while the rest of the army assembled at Negombo as stated above.

In consequence of the increase in the strength of the force, an Adjutant-General, and a Quarter-Master-General were added to the staff. Major Agnew was appointed to the former, and Captain Allan to the latter office.

Colonel Stuart's advance, composed of H. M.'s 77th, and the 7th and 9th battalions of the Bombay Grenadier battalion, arrived within four miles of Colombo on the 8th, and were joined by the main body the next day. On the morning of the 12th the troops crossed the river and were fired upon by a body of Dutch and Malays, who retired immediately on the fire being returned.

The town was occupied the same night, and the fort capitulated on the 15th, all the Dutch possessions in the island being ceded at the same time.

One hundred and seventy-three brass guns and mortars, and 187 iron guns were found in the fort, besides a large quantity of naval<sup>†</sup> and military stores, pepper, cinnamon, and other merchandise.

The garrison was composed of 95 officers, 909 European troops, 1,840 Malays and sepoys, and 281 seamen—3,125 in all.

Immediately after the surrender of Colombo, the 9th battalion was detached to Point De Galle to take possession of the fort, and to be there stationed.

On the 20th March the 35th battalion suddenly mutinied at Colombo without alleging any particular grievance.

The men knocked down their commandant, Captain Kenny, and turned out under arms without their European or Native commissioned or non-commissioned officers, the latter of whom they had made prisoners. They were immediately brought to order by Colonel Stuart who proceeded against them with part of the 73rd, the Bombay Grenadier battalion and a couple of field pieces. Colonel Stuart, when reporting this affair, remarked:—

5. The Commander-in-Chief in a letter to Government, dated 12th October, reported that the 7th battalion "after an arduous march of 150 miles, arrived on the 2nd instant at Paumotu, where it was to embark for Manar; the battalion showed the greatest alacrity for the service, and had not lost a single man."

6. Return of Coast troops in Ceylon for January, 1798 (1796).

Royal artillery (officers included)	27		
Coast artillery	178		
2nd foot	830	1st battalion	726
3rd do	800	2nd do	797
4th do	800	3rd do	796
Engineers	7	4th do	804
General staff	14	5th do	803
Pioneers and artificers (1st European battalion)	62	Pioneers	201
	2,208	Natives	4,197

Gun horses not included.

7. It is mentioned in James' *Natal History* that the prize-money was valued at £300,000, exclusive of ships and stores.



The battalion is chiefly composed of boys. The European officers, though fine young men, are in general very young officers, and the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers were recently drafted from various corps in the Carnatic. Thus formed, they were sent on service without a knowledge of, or confidence in, each other, and these circumstances considered, I think I may safely say that the selection of such a battalion for foreign service was rather unfortunate.

Government, on receiving this report, ordered the battalion to be broken up, and the men to be drafted into the other native corps in Ceylon, but they at the same time permitted Colonel Stuart to exercise his own discretion in the matter. The result was that two of the mutineers were shot, three flogged, and several of the native officers dismissed, but the battalion remained in the service.

Early in April the force was strengthened by the arrival of six companies of the first European battalion which had left Vellore about the end of March on being relieved by the Regiment De Meuron recently received into the service of the East India Company."

#### Regiment of Neufchatel or De Meuron.

[From Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, pp. 270-1.]

"On the 30th March (1795) a deed was executed at Neufchatel for the transfer to the British service in India of the Swiss regiment of Neufchatel or De Meuron, then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and doing duty in Ceylon.

This deed was signed by Mr. Hugh Cleghorn on the part of the British Government, and by Charles Daniel, Count De Meuron, styling himself Major-General and proprietary Colonel of the regiment. Mr. Cleghorn was sent out to India to see the arrangement carried out, and the regiment came over from Ceylon by detachments during September and October.

It appears from a memorandum delivered to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas in February, 1795, that the regiment, although raised in Switzerland, was not under the control of any of the Cantons, and that the officers were nominated by the Count De Meuron. The Colonel-Commandant was the Count's brother, the Major was his near relation, and most of the other officers were connected with him by blood.

The establishment of officers consisted of—1 Colonel-Commandant, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 20 Lieutenants, 12 Second Lieutenants, 1 Surgeon, 2 Assistant Surgeons, and a Chaplain, designated in the return as 'Chaplain Malade d'Esprit.'

The regiment was composed of ten companies, and was about 800 strong when it arrived in the Madras Presidency."

#### Operations in Ceylon.

[From the *History of the Organisation, Equipment, and War Services of the Regiment of Bengal Artillery*. Compiled from published works, official records, and various private sources. By Francis W. Stubbs (London, 1877). War Services Vol. I, pp. 159-60.]

"In 1795, Holland was united with the republic of France against England, and the Government of Fort St. George despatched a force under General Stuart to reduce the Dutch possessions in the island. Along with this force were the following companies of Bengal Artillery:—5th Company, 1st Battalion, Captain John Barton, Lieutenants Richard Humphreys and William Winbolt, and two companies of gun lascars.\* This company left Bengal in September, 1795, and was soon followed by the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, Captain Edward Clarke and Lieut.-Fireworker Edward Graham."

General Stuart landed about two miles from Trincomalee about the end of December, and commenced his operations. The troops suffered much from the climate and fatigue; and during the siege a body of Malays, in the Dutch service, got into one of the batteries unperceived and spiked the guns, and killed several of the artillerymen before they were repulsed. After a siege of three weeks, and as preparations for a storm were about to be made, the fort capitulated.

\* In p. 168 is given a list of the Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Ceylon: 5th Co., 1st bat. (ordered on service by G. O. 12th August, 1795). Capt. (Brevet-Major) J. Barton. Capt.-Lieut. H. Balfour and J. E. Eashaw, Lieut. R. Humphreys and W. Winbolt, Fireworkers H. Clark and E. Graham. (Lt. Humphreys is here said to have been massacred at Kandry, 1802, though he was one of those who escaped. Cf. *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1802, p. 14).

5. 5th Co., 2nd bat. (ordered on service by G. O. 10th Sept. 1796). Capt. E. Clarke, Capt.-Lieut. J. Collier, Lieut. R. Hestler, and N. Douglas.



From Trincomalee, after a short rest, General Stuart marched along the coast northward to Jaffna, which surrendered on being summoned, and thence in February to Negombo<sup>10</sup> which likewise made no resistance. The next place was Colombo, a strong place, and well garrisoned. General Stuart marched against it with three regiments of the line, three battalions of sepoys, and part of the artillery. The road lying all the way through jungle intersected by ravines and rapid streams, the bridge of which had been broken down, could easily have been defended. But no opposition was offered; even a fort on the left bank of the Kalaneganga, four miles from Colombo, the natural advantage of which might have made almost any resistance successful, was abandoned by its garrison. The General, incredulous of such weakness or cowardice, advanced with caution. A party of Malays, under command of Colonel Raymond, a Frenchman in the Dutch service thoroughly ashamed of his associates, attacked the English, but were repulsed with the loss of their leader; and with this nominal effort resistance ended. In a few days, Van Angelbeck, the governor, surrendered, by a private capitulation, the capital of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon (Galle), and the other fortresses were all shortly given up.

Medals were granted by the Indian Government to the native troops employed, probably more as a reward for their embarking on foreign service, than for the arduousness of its nature.<sup>11</sup>

The two companies of Bengal Artillery remained in Ceylon for some years longer . . . ."

[From the *Historical Record of the Honourable East India Company's First Madras European Regiment* . . . By a Staff Officer. (London, 1843) pp. 368, 369.]

"In July (1795), an expedition, of which the 1st and 3rd battalions of the regiment formed part, sailed from Madras with Admiral Rainier's squadron, for the reduction of the Dutch possessions. The land forces were commanded by General James Stewart. Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was besieged for three weeks, and capitulated as preparations were being made to carry it by storm.

In February, 1796, Colombo and Point De Galle were also taken, and the complete subjugation of Ceylon effected; after which a part of the expedition, including detachments from the 1st and 3rd battalions, sailed against Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate, which were all reduced after a slight resistance . . . . (p. 368.)

In January, 1796, two small corps of Europeans, one of artificers, and the other of pioneers, were formed for service in the Island of Ceylon, and were composed of drafts from the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the regiment; each corps consisted of one subaltern, two sergeants, two corporals and twenty-six privates.

During 1796 the battalions were stationed as follows:—1st and 3rd on service at Ceylon, and to the Eastern Islands; 3rd at Pondicherry, with a detachment in Ceylon; . . . . (p. 369).

[From the *Record of the Services of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants in the Madras Presidency. 1741-1858* . . . . By Charles C. Prinsep. (London, 1885), pp. 59-60; 92.]

"John Macdewall (Macdonall).

1792. Writer.

1794. Assistant under the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and Assistant to the Accountant-General.

1796. Paymaster to the expedition against Trincomalee.

1798. Paymaster to the expedition at Colombo.

1799. Collector of Colombo; *Out of Employ* (dismissed Sept., 1799. C.A. & L.R. IV, 47).

1802. *At home*.

1806. *Returned to India*.

1809. Civil Auditor.

1810. Dutch Translator to Government.

*Died 5th August, 1814, at Madras.*

10. The Swiss Regiment de Meuron, which was part of the Dutch force in this part of the island, transferred themselves at this time to the English service, and were for some years after in the pay of the British Government.

11. *Memoirs of the Services of the Bengal Artillery*, by the late Capt. H. Buckle, edited by J. W. Kaye (London, 1882) gave all this (pp. 150-52) with a sketch of the medal. For Services on the island of Ceylon, A. D. 1795-6.



## "George Garrow.

- 1794. Writer.
- 1797. Assistant under the Secretary in the Public, Revenue and Commercial Dept.
- 1798. Assistant in the Revenue and Commercial Dept. at Ceylon.
- 1799. *Out of employ*: (suspended by North. C.A. & L.R. IV, 47). Deputy Secretary to the Board of Revenue (Madras ?)
- 1800. Superintendent of the Company's Land in Black Town.
- 1801. Secretary to the Board of Revenue.
- 1802. Collector in the Division of Arcot south of the River Palar.
- 1803. *Out of employ*.
- 1805. *At home*.
- 1807. *Returned to India*. Actg. Superintendent of Police.
- 1808. Collector of Trichinopoly.
- 1809. Accountant-General, and Accountant-General to the Supreme Court.
- 1827. Judge and Criminal Judge of Combaconum.
- 1829. First Judge of the Provincial Court, Northern Division.
- 1832. " " " " Southern " "
- 1836. Actg. Civil Auditor and Superintendent of Stamps.
- 1838. *Died 4th August, 1838, at Trichinopoly.*

The 'Records of the Services' of Jervis, Andrews, Alexander and Greenhill are also given by Princep.



## Notes & Queries.

### KANDYAN RELICS.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE relics of the last King of Kandy that I was fortunate enough to obtain for the Ceylon Government consist of two large handles and a lock with key plate and hasp, all of iron inlaid with silver and brass in the conventional Kandyan style. They were described as "of the King of Kandy's Treasure Chest," but they might just as well have belonged to the door of a room in the palace, used as the treasury.

The way they were acquired was this.—Early in June last Mr. Herbert White sent me a cutting from the *Daily Chronicle* in which it was stated that these relics were among the things for sale at the rooms of the British Red Cross Society in Old Bond Street. I immediately wrote to the Honorary Secretary and asked whence they had been obtained and ascertained that they had been given to the Society by Mr. W. Kinnaird Jenkins, son of the late Canon R. C. Jenkins of Canterbury, at one time Vicar of Lyminge in Kent and author of *The Diocesan History of Canterbury*, who died in 1896. Canon Jenkins had been given them by the late General William King.

Mrs. Stanhope Pearson, daughter of Canon Jenkins and widow of an Indian civilian, described the General and this transaction thus :—"A very old gentleman who lived at Hythe, and when father became acquainted with him he presented him with that inlaid lock and handles which came off the treasure chest of the King of Kandy . . . The Jenkins family only knew him when he came to Hythe."

In the General I immediately recognized Captain King of Fort King at Attapitiya, an officer of the Royal Staff Corps, A.D.C. to General Brownrigg in the Kandyan War of 1815, and knew, therefore, that there was no question as to the genuineness of the relics. I, therefore, asked the Honorary Secretary to keep the offer of them, at the price of £10 which she had made to me, open for three months, and meanwhile wrote to the Colonial Secretary and recommended their purchase for the Colombo or Kandy Museum. At the end of the three months I paid the £10 and received the relics, and shortly afterwards the authorisation of the Ceylon Government for their acquisition. I retained them until the submarine war on shipping was over, and they are now at the Crown Agents awaiting removal to Ceylon, which will soon take place.<sup>1</sup>

**General King and Fort King.**—I endeavoured to obtain some further particulars about General King, of whose career after he left Ceylon I knew nothing. I ascertained from the Vicar of Hythe, the Rev. Herbert D. Dale, that there is a tombstone to him in Hythe churchyard with the following inscription of which the Vicar courteously sent me a copy :—

1. The relics have since arrived in the Island and will, it is understood, be entrusted to the Kandy Museum.—Ed., *Ceylon Antiquary*.



WILLIAM JAMES KING MAJOR GEN.  
LATE ROYAL STAFF CORPS  
BORN XI DEC. A.D. MDCCLXXXIII  
DIED XXIV MARCH A.D. MDCCCLXIV

In Hythe Church the pulpit with its mosaics was erected "in memory of  
MAJOR GEN. Wm. J. KING R.S.C. and of  
LIEUT. GEN. RICHD. T. KING R.A."

I take the two Generals to be brothers.

The following particulars of their careers are given in the *Army List* :—

*Major General William James King*.—Ensign 16 May, 1805; Lieutenant, 29 May, 1809; Captain 17 February, 1814; Major 25 June, 1830; retired on half pay on this date; Lieut.-Colonel H. P. 9 June, 1846; Colonel H. P. 20 June, 1853; Major General 1 May, 1861; died 24 March, 1864.

*Lieut. General Richard King*.—born in London 23 October, 1787; 2nd Lieut. R. A. 8 September, 1803; 1st Lieut. 12 September, 1803; 2nd Captain 8 May, 1811; 1st Captain 29 July, 1823; Brev. Major 22 July, 1830; Lieut. Colonel 10 January, 1837; Colonel (Army), 11 November, Major General (Army), 13 December, 1834; retired on H. P. 22 July, 1840; served in the Mediterranean, 1803-1811; Canada 1814-17; Nova Scotia 1823-5; advanced into the United States with General Sir G. Prevost's Army and commanded a mortar battery against Plattsburgh; died in London 5 December, 1866.

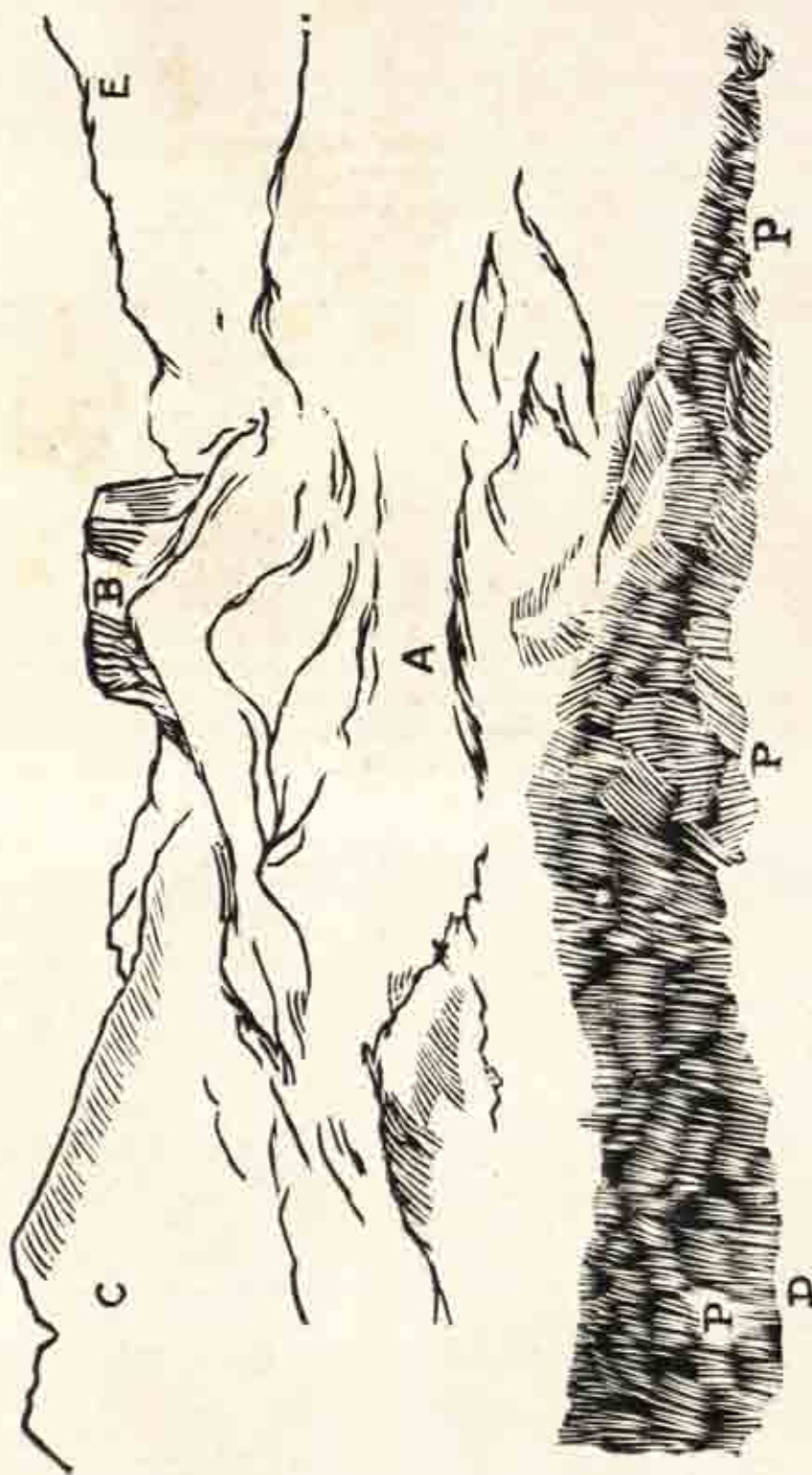
I tried to find out more about the Ceylon officer. Mr. E. Palmer of the *Hythe Reporter* was 11 years of age when General W. King died, and recollected where he lived at Hythe, but that newspaper was started in 1888 only, so that no record of him in its files was to be expected. Mr. Palmer referred me to the *Kentish Express*, published at Ashford, Kent, but a reply postcard addressed to the proprietor of that journal, asking whether the files of the paper for 1864 contained an account of the General's career, elicited no response. This is the kind of thing that one is up against when one attempts to make researches with regard to people and events of a past day.

Fort King is described by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his *Kegalla Report* (1892) :—

"Attapitiya. Between 1816 and 1834, a military post, and the station of the Accredited Agent of Government for the Four Koralés, the officer in command of the detachment quartered there. The cantonment (nominally placed at Attapitiya, but actually within the limits of Pallo Pamunuwa village) was better known as 'Fort King,' from the circumstance of Captain King having planned and superintended the erection of the regular redoubt about 1817. It stood advantageously upon the high right bank of the Maha-oya, above the ferry, where the old Kandyan path from Arandara to Balane crosses. The outlines of the escarpment are still fairly defined, and a portion of the fort wall remains intact. The Duraya of the village has purchased the site and converted it into a plantain garden." (P. 48).

**Historical Sites.** It is of facts like that stated in the last paragraph that I complain. These historical sites should be acquired by Government, and should not be left in private hands so that all their features of interest are in danger of being obliterated. In this way the site of the King's palace at Medamahannuwara has become a paddy field; that of Davie's Tree at Wata-puluwa a cocoa plantation; Ammupura (of which there is an illustration in the Christmas Number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1918) is, I think, part of a tea estate. I should like to see all these sites and that of Balane Fort (also depicted in the Christmas Number) in the hands of the Crown. I was instrumental at Jaffna in getting the site of the old Dutch gateway at Nallur acquired in this way, and the structure repaired.

The position of Fort King is shown in the accompanying rough sketch of the country made by me from "the fatal heights of Balane."



A Attapiya Fort  
B Bible Rock  
C Ambalakanda

D Dewanagala  
E Urukanda  
P Patana

**VIEW FROM BALANE. J. P. L., 1908.**





## KUVENI.

By ROBERT J. PEREIRA.

**I**N the unpublished revised edition of Lawrie's *Gazetteer* (Volume I. p. 498) is the following MS note:—

KUVENI-GALA alias ULUND-GALA alias IDDA-GALA. Between Pamunuwa and Uṇḡama in Matalé South. It is a bare mountain of rock on which are two stones, one slightly resembling a human figure in a standing attitude, the other looking like a seat. It is on this that legends assert the *Yakinni* (Kuvēni) sometimes appears and casts the withering glance of malignant power over the fair fields and fertile valley of Aṣḡiriya.

## OFFICERS OF THE 19th FOOT.

By MAJOR M. L. FERRAR (OF "TORWOOD," BELFAST.)

**I** am compiling a roll of officers of the 19th Foot which served in Ceylon for many years at the beginning of the last century. Could any of your readers possibly tell me the parentage of the following officers who at one time were in the Regiment:—

*Captain Mark Praeger*, Ceylon Rifles,<sup>1</sup> 1806-1807.

*Major George Ingham*, Ceylon Rifles,<sup>1</sup> 1805-1839. Died at Colombo, 25th December, 1843.

*Captain Edwin Fletcher Foster*, 19th Foot, 1858-1865. Born in Ceylon, 18th June, 1828.

*Robert Brown Duke*, Ceylon Rifles,<sup>1</sup> 1805-1807.

Perhaps you could find space for these queries in your interesting journal, a copy of which has been sent me containing Major Beaver's letters in which I was much interested.

## THE KILALI GOLD HAT.

By MISS VIOLET M. METHLEY, F.R. Hist. S.

**I** fancy that Mr. J. P. Lewis is quite right in the suggestion he makes<sup>2</sup> with regard to the Kilali Gold Hat.

According to Mr. D. C. Calthrop's *History of Costume* and other authorities, three-cornered hats for men did not come into vogue until the eighteenth century.

The broad beaver of Stuart days was, indeed, turned up in various fashions during the reign of Charles II.—at one side, in the manner known as the "Monmouth Cock," or all round. But it was certainly not until the reign of Queen Anne that the *double cock* was adopted, after fashions called respectively "*à la Marlborough*" or "*à la Webb*," and only in the reigns of George I and his successors did the regulation tricorn or three-cornered hat become the mode.

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., O.B.E., to whom we related Major Ferrar's query, informs us that "there were no" Ceylon Rifles in existence before 1800.—Ed. *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 54.



## THE PORTUGUESE-DUTCH CHURCH AT CHANKANAI.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

I regret to learn, from a paragraph that recently appeared in *The Morning Star of Jaffna*, that it has been decided that "it would be a mere waste of money to spend any amount" on the repair of this old building, and that "the church should be rebuilt entirely."

In my paper on "The Portuguese-Dutch Churches of Jaffna, which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary* for July, 1916, I noted that "the most interesting and best preserved part of the church was the chancel, which retained its roof, vaulted in coral stone," and that "this chancel is a unique feature and both chancel and chancel-arch are in perfect preservation, except that the east-window has been broken out or a hole made in the east-wall" . . . but "that a banyan tree had started just above the chancel-arch which would soon bring down both it and the roof, if not removed."

I fear that this contingency must actually have happened since I inspected the building fifteen years ago; otherwise I cannot believe that this part of the church was beyond repair or that "it would be a mere waste of money" preserving a structure that is unique in Ceylon, for it is the only building of Portuguese origin that I know of in the Island, which still retains its roof or is vaulted in stone, and it certainly should not be demolished. If it is "rebuilt entirely" it will entirely lose all its interest. A "Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings" is evidently wanted in Ceylon.

I have recently been studying the *Inventories of the Ancient Monuments of the Counties of Montgomery, Flint and Radnorshire*, published by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire, and I find among the "Monuments Specified as Especially Worthy of Preservation," several chapels, etc., which are not of such age or interest as this church at Chankanaï.

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## SOME "ROCK DRAWINGS" AT DORAWAKA IN KEGALLA DISTRICT.

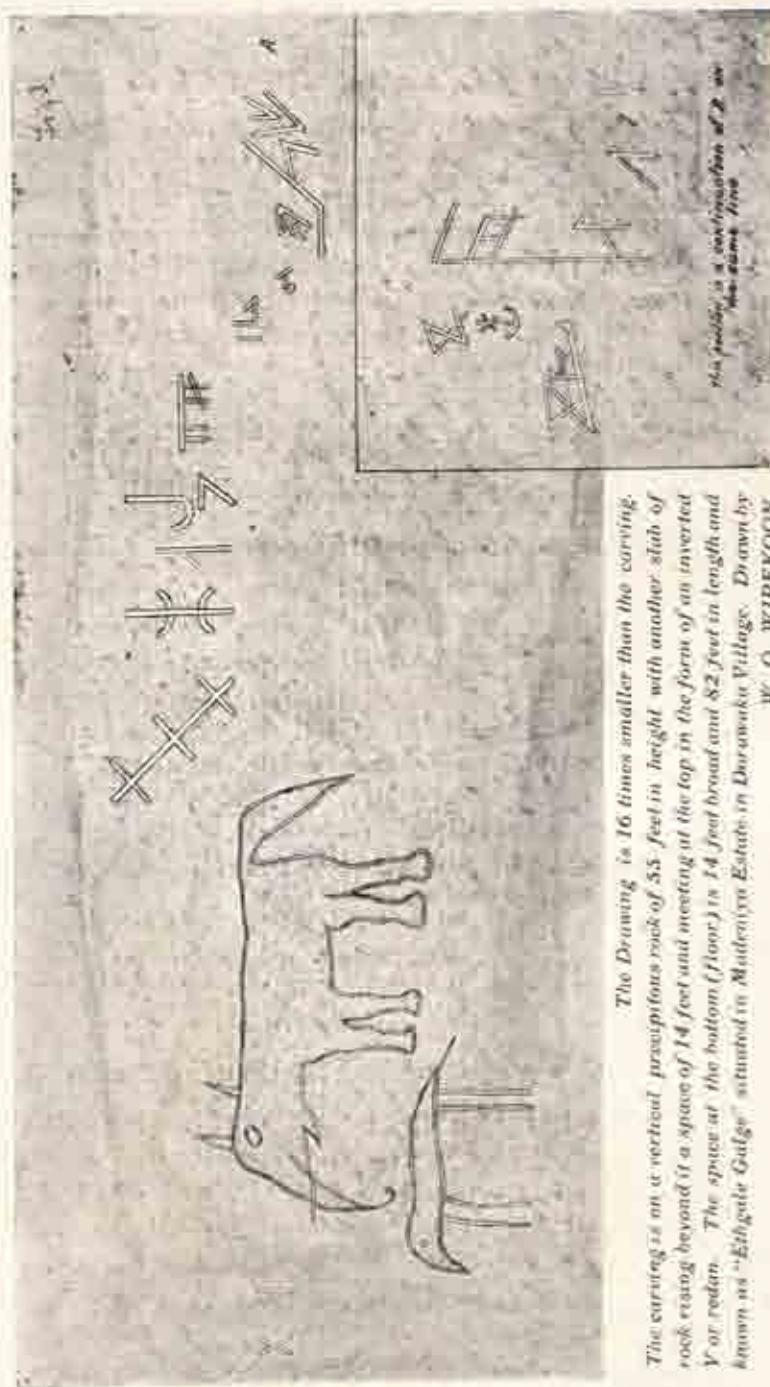
By G. F. R. BROWNING, C.C.S.

FIGURE I is a copy on a scale of 1 inch to 16 inches of some peculiar rock drawings or pictographs which were discovered at the village of Dorawaka in the Beligal Korale of the Kegalla district.

The "locus" is a natural cave formed by two large slabs of rock, supported one by the other and situated on the summit of a hill, which was formerly "chena" and has recently been cleared for rubber cultivation.

The cave is 55 feet in height, with a floor space of 82 ft. by 14 ft. and is known by the villagers as "*Ethgale Galge*."

## "ROCK DRAWINGS" AT DORAWAKA.

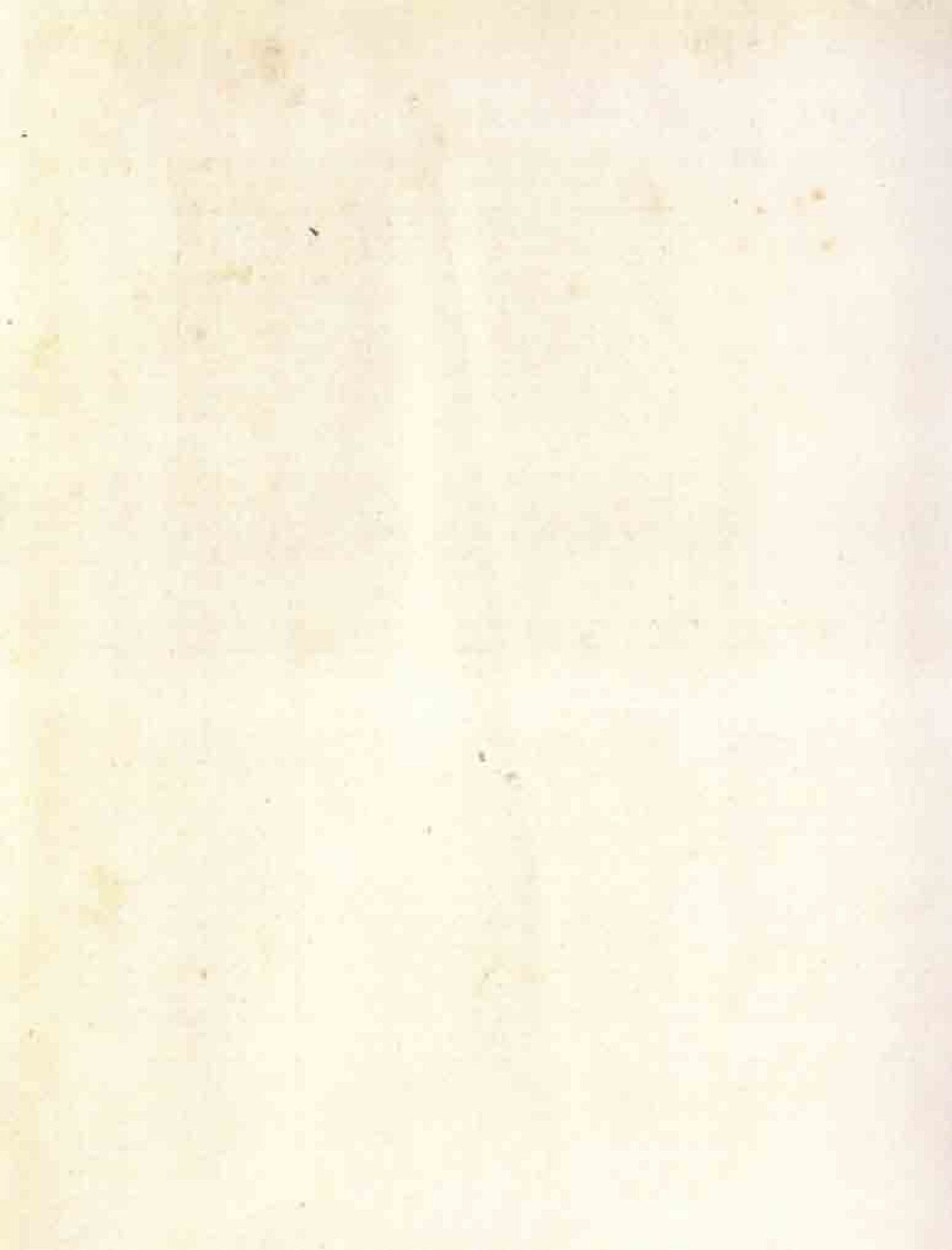


The carving is on a vertical precipitous rock of 5.5 feet in height with another slab of rock rising beyond it a space of 14 feet and meeting at the top in the form of an inverted V or redan. The space at the bottom (floor) is 14 feet broad and 82 feet in length and known as "Kithgale Gulge" situated in Madden's Estate in Dorawaka Village. Drawn by

W. O. WIREXON.

C. M. 42-211 (1912)





The drawings occur on the inner side of the taller slab and are about 6½ feet from the floor, which has probably sunk a good deal since they were executed.

They are rough carvings on the surface of the rock, varying in depth from ¼ to ½ of an inch. The elephant and its calf are recognisable as such, but the significance of the other figures is obscure.

It is suggested that the drawings are of Veddah origin and a comparison with the reproduction of Veddah drawings in Chapter XI of Seligmann's book on *The Veddahs* lends support to this view. A photograph taken by Mr. H. C. P. Bell of some Veddah drawings at Konattegodagala exhibits resemblance to the drawings at Dorawaka.

The latter, however, are unusual, in that they are carved on the rock, whereas the others are merely fugitive drawings made with ash.

If the drawings at Dorawaka are indeed of Veddah origin, they must be of considerable antiquity, for there are no other traces of Veddah settlements in this part of the country.

There is no local tradition as to the origin of the drawings; but the cave is said to have provided some centuries ago a refuge for a royal Prince who was escaping from his enemies.

## BANDAR-MAHA-LANKA.

By S. G. P.

"BURNOUF conjectures," wrote Tennent (*Ceylon* I, 330 n. 2), "that the point from which Wijayo set sail for Ceylon was the Godavery, where the name of Bandar-maha-lanka (the Port of the Great Lanka), still commemorates the event. *Journ. Asiat.* Vol. xviii, p. 134." And "to facilitate reference to the ancient divisions of India," Tennent gave on the same page "a small map chiefly taken from Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*," in which Bandar Maha Lanka is marked prominently at the mouth of the Godavery River.

If one consults the authorities quoted by Tennent he will find surprising results. To begin with, Lassen gives a map of Ancient India in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* III (to face page 784), but no Bandar Maha Lanka is found marked. Secondly, there is absolutely nothing about Bandar-maha-lanka or about Ceylon in the *Journal Asiatique*, volume and page quoted. This is perhaps only an error in the numbers given.

Burnouf's opinion on the subject is found in an article entitled "*Recherches sur la géographie ancienne de Ceylan, dans son rapport avec l'histoire de cette île.*"<sup>1</sup> In it Burnouf says that there is nothing to indicate the exact spot from which Wijayo set sail, but that if we may conclude anything from the account of another emigration which set out from Bengal to Ceylon some time later, we might suppose that it was from *Tamralipti*, the modern *Tamlouk*, that the emigrants set out.<sup>2</sup>

Burnouf speaks also of *Bander Mahālakā*. Discussing the situation of *Nāgaladvīpa* he says that there is a *Nāgalankā*, a *Pootalankā* and a *Bander Mahālakā* not far from each other at the mouths of the Godavery and the Krishna,<sup>3</sup> and concludes from it that "the name Lanka,

1. In the *Journal Asiatique*, No. 1, of 1857, afterwards reprinted. The references here given are to the pages of the reprint.

2. "Rien ne nous apprend le point précis d'où partirent les vaisseaux" (cf. *Vidjaya*): "mais, s'il est permis de tirer argument du récit d'une autre migration qui abandonna plus tard le Bengale pour se rendre à Ceylan, on peut admettre que ce fut de *Tamralipti*, la moderne *Tamlouk*, que partit, selon le *Mahābhārata*, la migration dont nous venons de parler" (p. 66).

3. Pp. 64-5.



(which is the name of Ceylon), with or without *Nāga* is of frequent use on that coast," and that "the name Lanka, thrice repeated, is a sufficient proof of direct communication with Ceylon in ancient times."<sup>4</sup>

Burnouf says that he found those names in a very detailed map of the Northern-Circars in Heyne's *Tracts on India*. And indeed Heyne (*Tracts historical and statistical on India I*, to face page 282) has a detailed map in which one of the mouths of the Godavery is marked "Bandermalenka River,"<sup>5</sup> only it is Bandermalenka and not Bander Mahālanika.

If now to complete our search we look up the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, we find the following: "Once through the hills the river (Godavery) again opens out and forms a series of broad reaches dotted with low alluvial islands (*lankas*), which are famous for the tobacco they produce" (p. 298). It would appear that—*lanka*, as found in *Nāgalanka*, *Postalanka* and *Bander Mahālanika*, has nothing to do with Sri Lanka. As regards *Bandar Maha Lanka* there is only this:

"The coast of the Godavery delta was the scene of some of the earliest settlements of Europeans in India, the Dutch, the English, and the French having all established factories there. The channels of the river which led to these have now greatly silted up. The little French settlement of Yanam still remains, but the others—*Bandamūrlanka*, *Injaram Mandapollam*, and *Palakollu*—now retain none of their former importance." (299) It is probably this *Bandamūrlanka* which became *Bandermalenka* (Heynes), *Bander Mahālanika* (Burnouf), and finally *Bandar Maha Lanka*, the Port of the Great Lanka (Tennent).<sup>6</sup>

This is, however, not the only occasion in which Burnouf and Tennent were both misled by the name Lanka. Tennent said that "the Hindus, in their system of the universe, had given prominent importance to Ceylon, their first meridian, 'the meridian of Lanka,' being supposed to pass over the island" (I, 6). And Burnouf wrote: "les géographes indiens . . . font passer leur premier méridien à Langkā" (p. 12). This, however, created a difficulty, for the meridian passes through Ujjein, and if it passed through Ceylon also the ancient Lanka must either have been further to the West, or it extended westwards, both of which Burnouf discusses at learned length.

But a modern and very reliable authority on Indian Chronology, Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, says: "very explicitly that the Lanka of the ancient geographers was not Ceylon but an imaginary island. For purposes of calculation they imagined an island to lie on the equator at the same longitude as Ujjein, and named it Lanka."

4. "En ajoutant à ces dénominations remarquables, (i.e. *Nāgalanka* *Phalanka*, etc.) que nous trouvons sur une carte très-détaillée des *Northern-Circars*, dressée par Heyne pour ses *Tracts sur l'Inde*, celle d'un port beaucoup plus connu, de *Bander Mahālanika*, nous reconnaitrons que le nom de *Langkā* (qui est celui de Ceylan), avec ou sans *Nāga*, est d'un usage fréquent sur cette partie de la côte" (pp. 56-7).

5. "Le nom de *Langkā*, répété trois fois dans un espace aussi peu étendu, est une preuve suffisante de ces communications" (i.e. communication directe avec Ceylan) p. 67.

6. *Nāgalanka*, *Postalanka* are also marked.

7. Cf. also *A Descriptive and Historical account of the Godavery District* by Henry Morris (London, 1878), who says that the tobacco of the district "has received the name of 'Lanka tobacco,' from the word *lanka* which signifies an island." "The three early English factories, *Injaram*, *Bandamūrlanka*, and *Mandapollam*, were situated near these three principal mouths of the Godavery" (p. 5).

8. *Indian Chronology* *Tithis*, *Nakshatras*, etc., p. 46.

## Literary Register.

## SINHALESE BALLADS.

By ARTHUR A. PERERA.

**A**N interesting guide to Sinhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources, of 120 pages, has been published as a supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLV (1916), by Mr. L. D. Barnett, "based on abstracts of a large mass of Sinhalese Poetry which were originally prepared by the late Mr. Hugh Nevill and are now in the British Museum, which also possesses copies of nearly all the Poems." The notes have been made from the following works:—

- |                                  |                                  |                               |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Abhimāna Puvata               | 37. Bhadrā Kālī Piliyama         | 73. Devel Yādinna             |
| 2. Abhimāna Yādinna              | 38. Boksai Upata                 | 74. Devel Bāge                |
| 3. Abhimāna Dola                 | 39. Candrabharanē                | 75. Devel Kavi                |
| 4. Ankeli Upata                  | 40. Cinci Mānavika Kivi          | 76. Devel Bāge Kavi           |
| 5. Abhūta Deviange Kavi          | 41. Dala Kadavara Upata          | 77. Devel Devi Nāinna         |
| 6. Alutdevi Kavi                 | 42. Dala Kadavara Dola           | 78. Devel Devi Yādinna        |
| 7. Amesiri Kadavara Kavi         | 43. Dala Kadavara Kavi           | 79. Devel Alankārāya          |
| 8. Ambarā Poti Upata             | 44. Dala Kadavara Yaksagiri Bali | 80. Devel Devi Yātrāya        |
| 9. Amara Sāntiya                 | 45. Dala Kadavara Piripata       | 81. Dividos Sāntiya           |
| 10. Asura Bhavana Kavi           | 46. Dala Kadavara Pidavila       | 82. Dividos Pirittava         |
| 11. Asura Vidiya                 | 47. Dolahadevi Kavi              | 83. Davol Upata               |
| 12. Asuragiri Baliya             | 48. Dolagiri Devliyage Puvata    | 84. Desi Upata                |
| 13. Asura Bandhanē               | 49. Dolos Rās Sāntiya            | 85. Dehi Upata                |
| 14. Atanagula Sāntiya            | 50. Dolosmas Sāntiya             | 86. Deva Kaksaya              |
| 15. Ayyanāka Devi Kavi           | 51. Dala Kumara Asne             | 87. Divitāla Kavi             |
| 16. Abina Mangalē                | 52. Dala Kumara Puvata           | 88. Diyākā Sāntiya            |
| 17. Andi Kadavara Tovil          | 53. Devagiri Bali                | 89. Deviraja Pōja Kathāva     |
| 18. Abhūta Devi Kavi             | 54. Dalumura Yahan Kavi          | 90. Diviraja Kavi             |
| 19. Atavisi Muniguna Sirisa Pāda | 55. Dalumura Pidum Kavi          | 91. Danudiya Kathāva          |
| 20. Alutnava Gata Bindima        | 56. Dēvatā Kavi                  | 92. Dandu Monura Kathā Kavi   |
| 21. Atavisi Mangalē              | 57. Dosharanē                    | 93. Gangē Bandāra Kavi        |
| 22. Alutdeviannē Kavi            | 58. Dhata Ana Vina Kāpima        | 94. Ganarura                  |
| 23. Abina Sāntiya                | 59. Diva Sānti Kima              | 95. Gana Ran Mālē             |
| 24. Amesa Pāda Mangalē           | 60. Diva Sānti Sāntiya           | 96. Gana Devihāla             |
| 25. Anukas Deviyas Kavi          | 61. Dharma Ratna                 | 97. Gana Pati Yādinna         |
| 26. Amba Pattini Upata           | 62. Dādumunda Upata              | 98. Ginnadu Yāgaya            |
| 27. Amba Vidumana                | 63. Dādumunda Avatāra            | 99. Girē Upata                |
| 28. Amba Yāga                    | 64. Dādumunda Varama             | 100. Giriliyō Dolaha Pidavila |
| 29. Āmbakkē Alankārāya           | 65. Dādumunda Paralē             | 101. Gura Yak Pāliya          |
| 30. Budumula Upata               | 66. Dādumunda Kavi               | 102. Giri Devi Kavi           |
| 31. Budubala Dāpanē              | 67. Dēvatā Bandāra Kavi          | 103. Giri Devi Asnē           |
| 32. Buduguna Sāntiya             | 68. Dahanaka Devi Kavi           | 104. Giri Devi Upata          |
| 33. Buduguna Mula Sāntiya        | 69. Dalaraja Upata               | 105. Gura Upata               |
| 34. Bali Sārasana                | 70. Dalaraja Piliyeta            | 106. Gannuna Nāga Kathāva     |
| 35. Bali Piliyeta                | 71. Dalaraja Kavi                | 107. Gannē Dēvatā Kavi        |
| 36. Bali Vidiya                  | 72. Dalaraja Sāntiya             | 108. Gam Paravemē Dēvatā Kavi |



109. Giniṇṇaḷ Yakkā Kavi  
 110. Giniṇṇaḷ Vīṇa Kāpima  
 111. Gini Kanda ṛsi Upata  
 112. Gini Kanda Kavi  
 113. Gurnuḷ Dapaṇe  
 114. Gajabā Kavi  
 115. Gajabā Puvata  
 116. Gajabā Raja Upata  
 117. Grahavalalla Sindu  
 118. Graha Yōga  
 119. Ganuṇ Taranga  
 120. Hōra Sāntiya  
 121. Halaṇḍa Sāntiya  
 122. Hat Pattini Kathā  
 123. Hat Raja Kavi  
 124. Hindos Pahakirima  
 125. Hūniyan Yakongē Kavi  
 126. Hūniyan Yādinna  
 127. Hūniyan Dēvatā Kavi  
 128. Hatadiya Prārambhaya  
 129. Hatadiya Vīṇa Kāpima  
 130. Hatadiya Dola  
 131. Hatadiya Upata  
 132. Indra Gurulu Bali  
 133. Indra Gurulu Hatadiya  
 134. Igaha Sāntiya  
 135. Imā Mālē  
 136. Ivara Mālaya  
 137. Iru Handa Gamana Kavi  
 138. Iri Panuṇ Kavi  
 139. Irugaḷ Bandāra Kavi  
 140. Iṇḍārī Devī Kavi  
 141. Jayastimangala  
 142. Jāṇamāṇḍanaya  
 143. Kahadiya Upata  
 144. Kaka Upata  
 145. Kadavara Upata  
 146. Kadavara Tovil  
 147. Kadavara Vidiya  
 148. Kadavara Sirisa Pāda  
 149. Kadavara Kavi  
 150. Kadavara Vistare  
 151. Kadavara Gotu Pidavila  
 152. Kovila Pēvima  
 153. Kandē Bandāra Kavi  
 154. Kala Kumāra Kavi  
 155. Kalu Dēvatā Kavi  
 156. Kiri Amma Kavi  
 157. Kiri Amma Upata  
 158. Kadaturāva Hārima  
 159. Kehelgomuṇḍa Devī Kavi  
 160. Kukulū Upata  
 161. Kiri Korabe Kavi  
 162. Kalagedi Nāṭum  
 163. Kalagedi Varuṇāva  
 164. Kalagedi Pimbina  
 165. Kalagedi Mālē  
 166. Kambili Devī Kavi  
 167. Kambili Kadavara Upata  
 168. Kalugāḷ Asnē  
 169. Kaladivya Kavi  
 170. Kābēri Kathāva  
 171. Kalu Yak Upata  
 172. Kalu Yak Yādima  
 173. Kali Devī Upata  
 174. Kālī Nalavilla  
 175. Kālī Yakini Kavi  
 176. Kadira Pura Devī Upata  
 177. Kandasura Varuṇā  
 178. Kanda Kumāra Sāhalla  
 179. Kumāra Devī Upata  
 180. Kosambi Upata  
 181. Kaurāṇ  
 182. Kōlasanni Yak Yādima  
 183. Kotahale Kavi  
 184. Kotahale Upata Kavi  
 185. Kotahale Magul Kavi  
 186. Kotahale Yādinna  
 187. Lankābandhanaya  
 188. Lankābōdhi Vastuva  
 189. Lankā Puvata  
 190. Lakṣat Pattini Kathāva  
 191. Loka Uppattiya  
 192. Malvara Kina  
 193. Malbali Upata  
 194. Mihidu Bali  
 195. Mōlangarā Kavi  
 196. Mōlangiri Kavi  
 197. Metibaliyāgaya  
 198. Maha Sammita Sāntiya  
 199. Maha Sammita Sivupada  
 200. Maha Sammita Mula Patuna  
 201. Maha Sammita Taranga  
 202. Maha Sammita Piliveta  
 203. Minirandama  
 204. Mahason Pidavila  
 205. Mahason Andegāsima  
 206. Maha Asnē  
 207. Malalu Kumāra Kavi  
 208. Malkeli Upata  
 209. Malkeli Yādinna  
 210. Mavuli Mālaya  
 211. Mohol Upakarana Upata  
 212. Malyahan Sāntiya  
 213. Malyahan Kavi  
 214. Mahadev Vidiya  
 215. Mangra Devī Puvata  
 216. Mangra Devī Rāgē  
 217. Mangra Kavi  
 218. Manik Pāla Yāgaya  
 219. Manik Pāla Yādinna  
 220. Manik Pāla Kavi  
 221. Manik Pāla Sāhalla  
 222. Mahakalu Dēvatā Kavi  
 223. Mahapurusa Lakuna Vīṇa  
 224. Mārāṇāṇa Ināva  
 225. Mādevī Upata  
 226. Maralu Yak Kavi  
 227. Mātalan Kathāva  
 228. Mininaru Bandāra Kavi  
 229. Mugat Kathā Kavi  
 230. Murtu Māri Kavi  
 231. Malpattini Upata  
 232. Maha Tapasa  
 233. Maha Dasāphala Sindu  
 234. Madana Yak Upata  
 235. Madana Yak Yādima  
 236. Maha Visal Yādinna  
 237. Navagraha Malbaliya  
 238. Navagraha Sāntiya  
 239. Navagraha Siva Sāntiya  
 240. Navagraha Sirisopāda  
 241. Navagraha Dasā Phala  
 242. Navagraha Phala  
 243. Nāva Nātha Kavi  
 244. Nava Nātha Yantra Yāgaya  
 245. Nava Guna Sāntiya  
 246. Nikinidola Kavi  
 247. Nikinidola Upata  
 248. Nāmal Kumāra Upata  
 249. Nāmal Kumāra Vistare  
 250. Nāga Mālaya  
 251. Nayikeli Mālaya  
 252. Nayinatavana Kavi  
 253. Nāta Devī Upata  
 254. Nṛtya Upata  
 255. Otuna Upata  
 256. Otuna Vasharūṇē  
 257. Oḍḍisa Upata  
 258. Oḍḍisa Kavi  
 259. Oḍḍisa Vidiya  
 260. Oḍḍisa Yāgaya  
 261. Oḍḍisa Inā Mālaya  
 262. Oḍḍisa Yādinna  
 263. Pāramkumbhā Varuṇāva  
 264. Pindiya Ālattiya  
 265. Pattini Yāga Kavi  
 266. Pattini Yādinna  
 267. Pattini Patima  
 268. Pattini Kāṭiva  
 269. Pattini Hella  
 270. Pattini Vilāpaya  
 271. Pilsundastva  
 272. Pittiya Devī Kavi  
 273. Pittiya Surindu Puvata  
 274. Pittiyē Dala Mura Kavi  
 275. Perahāra Mālaya  
 276. Pandam Pāli  
 277. Pandam Upata  
 278. Pandama Kina  
 279. Pilli Vidiya  
 280. Pilli Yak Kavi  
 281. Pilikul Bhavana Sāntiya  
 282. Panuhatanē  
 283. Pandēvatil Kavi  
 284. Pirittuva

285. Pafica Paksi Hatadiya  
286. Patra Kāli Ammā Kavi  
287. Patra Kāli Kavi  
288. Parālā Kavi  
289. Pannān Devī Kavi  
290. Pala Vala Dānē  
291. Pādēniya Sinduva  
292. Pantis Kōlmura  
293. Paṇḍineta Maku Upala  
294. Polupata  
295. Palanga Maravimma Sinduva  
296. Rakusu Bali  
297. Rakusu Bali Sangarāva  
298. Rakusu Bali Kavi  
299. Ratikan Bali Kavi  
300. Ratikan Kumari Bali Kavi  
301. Ratikan Madana Bisavago Kavi  
302. Ratikan Vidiya  
303. Ratikan Yadinna  
304. Randun Alattiya  
305. Randun Parālā  
306. Randun Mangalē  
307. Randun Upata  
308. Randun Kavi  
309. Riri Yak Kavi  
310. Riri Yak Yadinna  
311. Ratikala Murtu Bali  
312. Rāhālamba Kavi  
313. Rabel Varnanava  
314. Rāja Oḍḍisa Kavi  
315. Rāsi Phala Kavi  
316. Ratimadana Yāge  
317. Ratnavalligē Sivupada  
318. Rittā Vittiya  
319. Ruval Yak Kavi  
320. Rājādhu Rājosimha Sāntiya  
321. Rāvanā Hatunē  
322. Rāvanā Puvata  
323. Sayam Jāta vi Upala  
324. Simhalē Vistare  
325. Sāvasi Yāgaya  
326. Subha Kavi  
327. Samāgam Mal Yahan  
328. Samāgam Padura  
329. Subasiri Mangalē  
330. Sudarāna Bali  
331. Sataravaran Mal Yahan  
332. Solos Maathina Sāntiya  
333. Solos Maathina Vapdanāva  
334. Sat Adiya Kavi  
335. Sāvasi Vivarana Sāntiya  
336. Sāvasi Mangalāya  
337. Sāvasi Yāgaya  
338. Salu Salima  
339. Satarā Dēvala Devī Puvata  
340. Sēniyan Kālu Yak Kavi  
341. Solos Svapnaya Kavi  
342. Sim Vistaraya  
343. Swapna Mālaya  
344. Sōrya Kovu Murraya  
345. Sōrya Sāntiya  
346. Senkadagala Kālu Kumāra Kavi  
347. Senkadagala Vistare  
348. Solikumāra Kavi  
349. Sāgalpura Asōē  
350. Sannala Mangalaya  
351. Set Bisav Yāge  
352. Sat Pattini Yadinna  
353. Sīriya Devī Kavi  
354. Sakgedi Sāntiya  
355. Sandukumāra Kavi  
356. Sankhapala Yadinna  
357. Sanni Yak Upata  
358. Sanni Yak Kavi  
359. Sanni Yak Dāpanē  
360. Senevirātha Devī Kadavara Kavi  
361. Saldina Sāntiya  
362. Saldina Baliya  
363. Sāntāna Patana  
364. Sita Yak Kam Kavi  
365. Sivaranga Mālē  
366. Sokari Nattina  
367. Sokari Kathava  
368. Sōnāvali Devī Kathava  
369. Solambāvatī Kathava  
370. Simhāsana Vidiya  
371. Set Kavi  
372. Toran Bandina  
373. Tovil Pāli Upata  
374. Tovil Vidiya  
375. Tis Paye Kima  
376. Tota Kumāra Baliya  
377. Tota Kumāra Sāntiya  
378. Tota Kadavara Upata  
379. Tuntuvān Pirittuva  
380. Tira Hata Mangalē  
381. Tedāhānkārya  
382. Talaga Upata  
383. Tirimā Sarana Kavi  
384. Tabana Kavi  
385. Tanipola Riri Yak Kavi  
386. Upulvan Annē  
387. Una Sāntiya  
388. Una Vidiya  
389. Una Vidiya Sirisa Padaya  
390. Unuvinnē Bandāra Kavi  
391. Urudānaya  
392. Usangoda Bisavunnē Kavi  
393. Udākke Upata  
394. Virabhadra Kavi  
395. Viśālā Sāntiya  
396. Visal Pura Sāntiya  
397. Viṣṇu Vidiya Kavi  
398. Vāthuntha Alankārya  
399. Virandagala Vihāre Sindava  
400. Viramunda Alankārya  
401. Viramunda Yāgaya  
402. Viramunda Upata  
403. Viramunda Pēna Kima  
404. Viramunda Yadinna  
405. Vasi Sivupada Upata  
406. Vijayindu Puvata  
407. Vijayindu Hatunē  
408. Vijayindu Divides Upata  
409. Vanni Bandāra Kavi  
410. Vallimālē  
411. Vaduru Mā Devī Kavi  
412. Vadi Sāntiya  
413. Vadi Yak Yadinna  
414. Vadi Pujāva  
415. Vata Panti Bali  
416. Viskam Bali  
417. Vanni Puvata  
418. Valala Vidiya  
419. Visapu Upata  
420. Valala Devī Kavi  
421. Vidi Bandina  
422. Vas Haranē  
423. Vina Upata  
424. Vina Dos Upata  
425. Vina Vidiya  
426. Vina Kapan Kavi  
427. Valala Vina Kāpima  
428. Vaduru Mahali Upata  
429. Vaduru Sāntiya  
430. Vili Rujāva  
431. Vadiga Patunē  
432. Vadiga Patunē Yāge  
433. Vadiga Vina Kāpima  
434. Vembu Rāja Mangalē  
435. Vitti Hata  
436. Yak Pidavila  
437. Yaka Elavima  
438. Yogi Guru Yadinna  
439. Yiga Alankārya

## MALDIVIAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES.

**Maldivian Linguistic Studies.** By Professor Wilhelm Geiger, translated from the German by Mrs. J. C. Willis and edited by H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retired). C.B.R.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXVII. Extra number: 182 pages, 9 plates. Colombo, 1919. Price: to members, Rs. 5, to non-members, Rs. 7/50.

A copy of this unusually interesting and very valuable publication reaches us too late to give it, in the present number, the full notice it deserves. We defer this for the July issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. Meanwhile, we must rest content with merely congratulating the Author, the Translator and the Editor on the fine result of their joint labours, and hoping that the work will meet with the widest possible circulation, both here and abroad.



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