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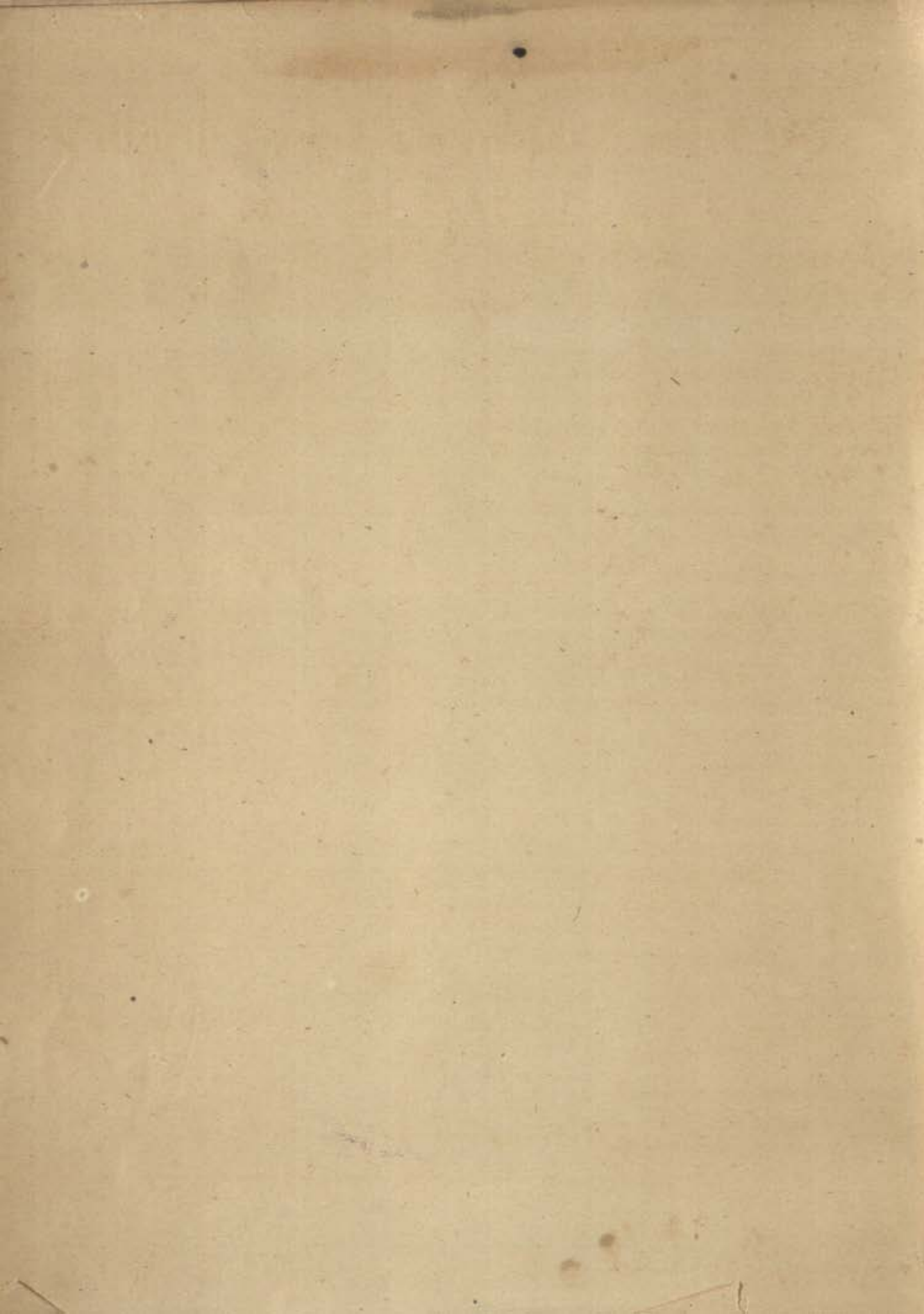
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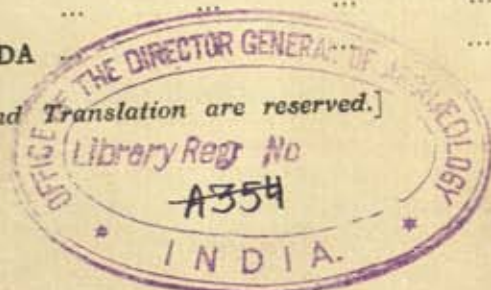
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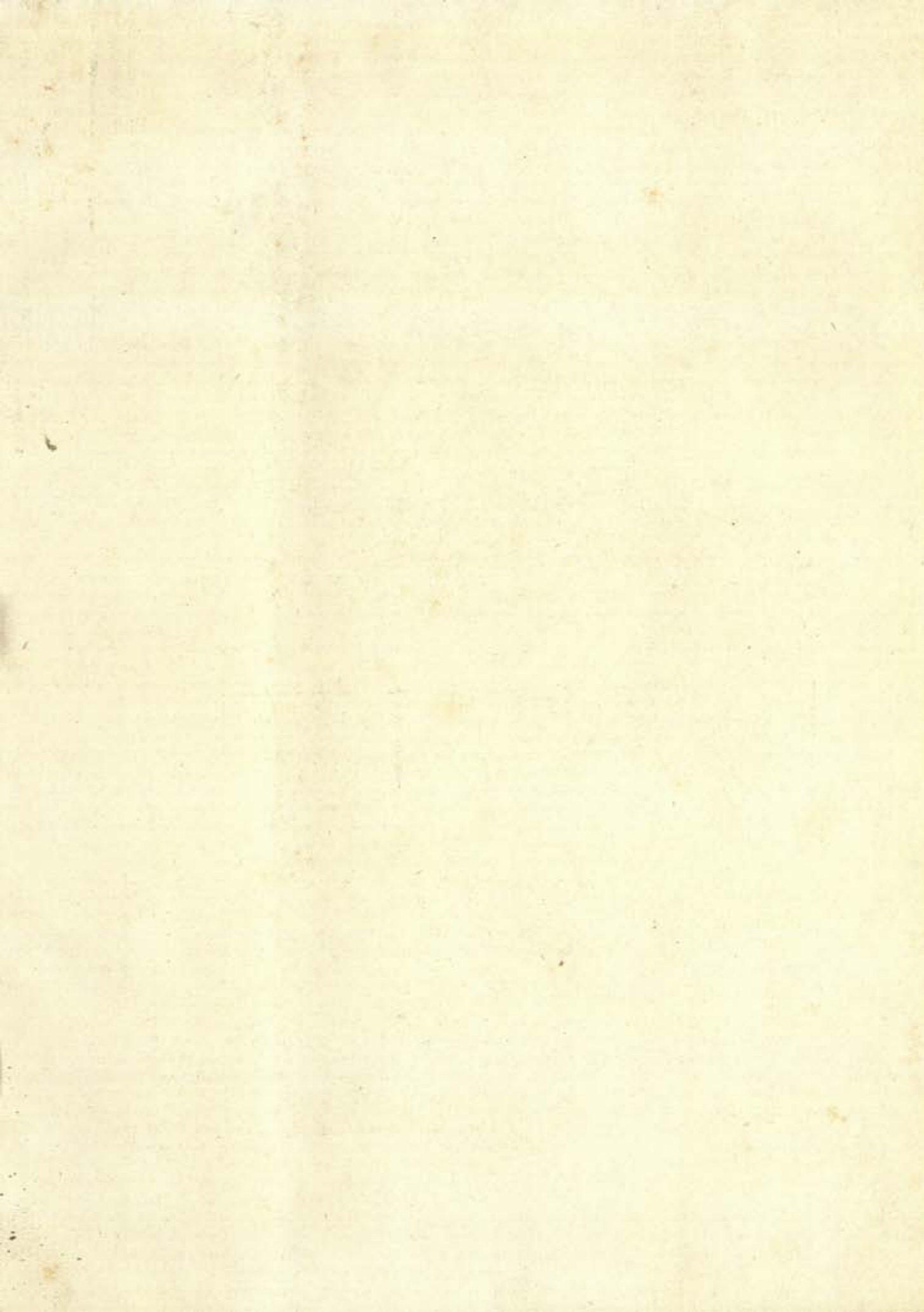
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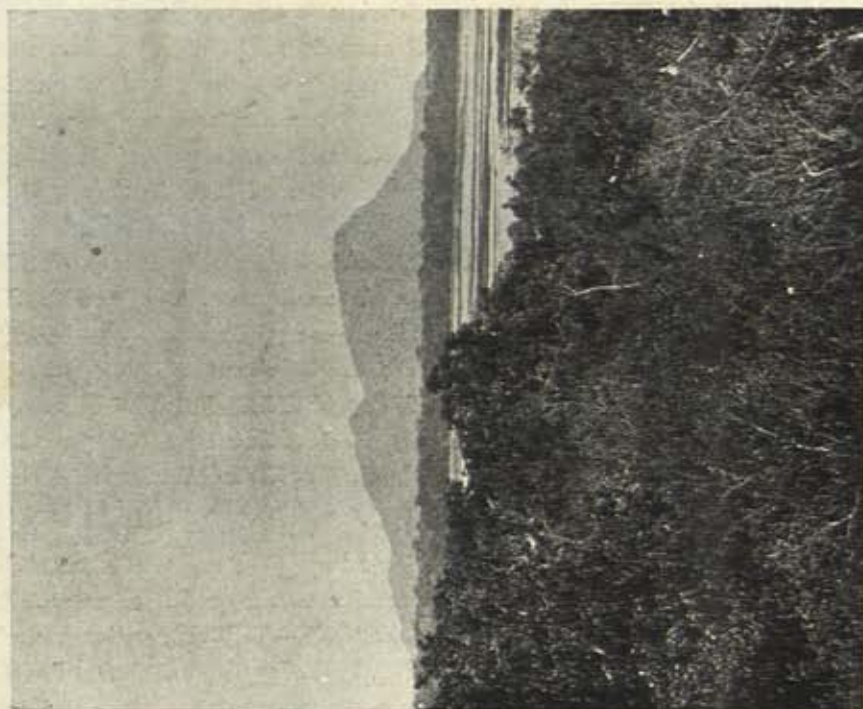


**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**



*H. G. P. Bell  
photograph.*

**THE "MÁRÁVÍDIYE" CAVES.**  
(Telephotographic view).



*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.*

**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**  
(Across Handapan-vila)



# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

## Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

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Vol. III.

July, 1917.

Part I.

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### DIMBULÁ-GALA: ITS CAVES, RUINS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.

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#### I. THE "MÁRÁVĪDIYE" CAVES.

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

**D**IMBULÁ-GALA, or to give the hill its older name, "Dumbulu-galē"—by far the most prominent landmark in the generally prevailing flatness of the Tamankaḍuwa District, North-Central-Province—is the well known beacon-hill, rising 1,700 odd above sea-level, and marked on English maps as "Gunnery's Quoin," by which mariners skirting the Eastern coast of Ceylon are greatly assured of their position.<sup>1</sup>

Archæologically, it goes without the saying that this bold hill, towering in solitary state from the surrounding plain, must have been, from very early times, one of the chief resorts of the oldest inhabitants of Ceylon—those "Yakhās" of the "*Mahāwamsa*," or Vēddās as they came to be known later. Doubtless it is that these aborigines, in their occupation of the spacious and salubrious caves, which pierce the beetling cliffs of Dimbulá-gala, as well as of the more humble shelters formed beneath semi-detached crags and boulders lying off its foot, were gradually supplanted by Buddhist eremites; and that, as centuries rolled on, these hermit recluses gave place in turn to organised *saṅghārāmas*, or monastic associations, structural evidences of which may be found to this day at more than one site round the base of the hill.

Of such was the "Márāvīdiye" Cave Temple above Kuḍā Ulpata, the caves and ruins adjoining Kosgaha Ulpata, and at "Nilmal Pokuṇa" and "Nāmal Pokuṇa," the latter coteries still quite buried in forest.

---

<sup>1</sup> Plate I.—Dimbulá-gala: South View: distant. The Survey Office gives the height of the Trigonometrical point as 1732.7 feet.



All these scattered caves and sites of monasteries (known solely in 1897 to Veddās of Kuḍā Ulpata and Kosgaha Ulpata, the two hamlets then existing at Dimbulā-gala, but, to them, familiar from boyhood) were explored by the Archæological Survey twenty years ago.

In the course of a two months' tour, which covered the North-East portion of Nuwara-kalāviya and the greater part of Tamankaḍuwa (the two broad divisions of the North-Central Province), the Archæological Commissioner spent nearly a week in the examination of Dimbulā-gala and its environs.

Much of archæological value and interest came to light.

To the antiquarian explorer the most engrossing of the ancient habitations at Dimbulā-gala is, undoubtedly, the striking range of caves situated at the point where the cliff begins to rise sharply in bare rock to the wooded summit, and so high up the forest-clad slopes of the hill as to be barely discernible.<sup>2</sup> To this S. W. front of the hill the Veddās have applied the name "*Mārāvidiya*," owing to the caves lying immediately above a traditional ancient *vidiya*, street or road, so termed.

It is of these "*Mārāvidiye Caves*" that some notice is offered in this Paper.

### CAVES.

The whole of one day was allotted by the Commissioner to these archæologically important caves: in taking notes and measurements of the dilapidated rooms, the connecting passage between Caves A. & B.—the "*Saṇḍa Mahā Leṇa*" and "*Hiri Mahā Leṇa*"—and of other features of interest, besides photographing the caves, etc., and making "*eye-copies*" of the inscriptions on the rock roof.

The following Notes, entered in the Archæological Commissioner's Diary, (*Annual Report* 1897, p. 9), afford succinct description:—

*September 3rd.* Camped at Kuḍā Ulpata near a cool, wooded, spring below the South-West side of Dimbulā-gala ("Gunnery's Quoin" Hill). Here are at present located a few Veddās.

Behind, the cliff towers slightly concave (recalling the East face of Sigiri-gala, but steeper) with many *bambara wada* (rock-bee hives) hanging hundreds of feet up. Further East, the range rises still higher with two more rocky scarps well marked. Directly behind Kuḍā Ulpata is a slight dip (*de-gala*) in the range at no mean height. Nestling high near the summit can be seen some caves with white plastered walls, like the "*gallery*" at Sigiriya.<sup>2</sup>

At the East end of Dimbulā-gala lies Kosgaha Ulpata, another Veddā hamlet; and round, opposite its Western face, Manampitiya, the largest and most thriving village in Tamankaḍuwa, two miles this (Egoḍa Pattuwa) side of the Mahāveli-gaṅga and the Mahā-gaṇ-toṭa ferry.

The main heights of Dimbulā-gala are Kaḷukokā-heḷa, Guru-heḷa, "*Mārāvidiye*." For water, besides the "*Nāmal-pokuṇa*" and "*Nilmal-pokuṇa*," there are three springs (*ulpat*)—Kosgaha, Kuḍā, and Pusella-vēvel.

*September 5th.* Gave this day to the exploration, etc., of the caves, hardly visible from the *vādiya* (circuit-hut) at Kuḍā Ulpata as a white speck amid green and grey setting of forest trees and granite cliff, which lie high up that portion of Dimbulā-gala that adjoins the dip in the hill directly behind the hamlet.<sup>2</sup>

All this South-West side of Dimbulā-gala is known to the Veddās (of whom a quaint *posse* of silent folk from Kuḍā Ulpata and Kosgaha Ulpata hamlets guided us) as "*Mārāvidiya*," from the tradition of an ancient road which is said to have passed round the base of Dimbulā-gala to Manampitiya.

The highest point of this part of the hill is just West of the gap, or dip, and above these caves: thence it falls away gradually Westwards, with two rocky bluffs breaking the hill line.

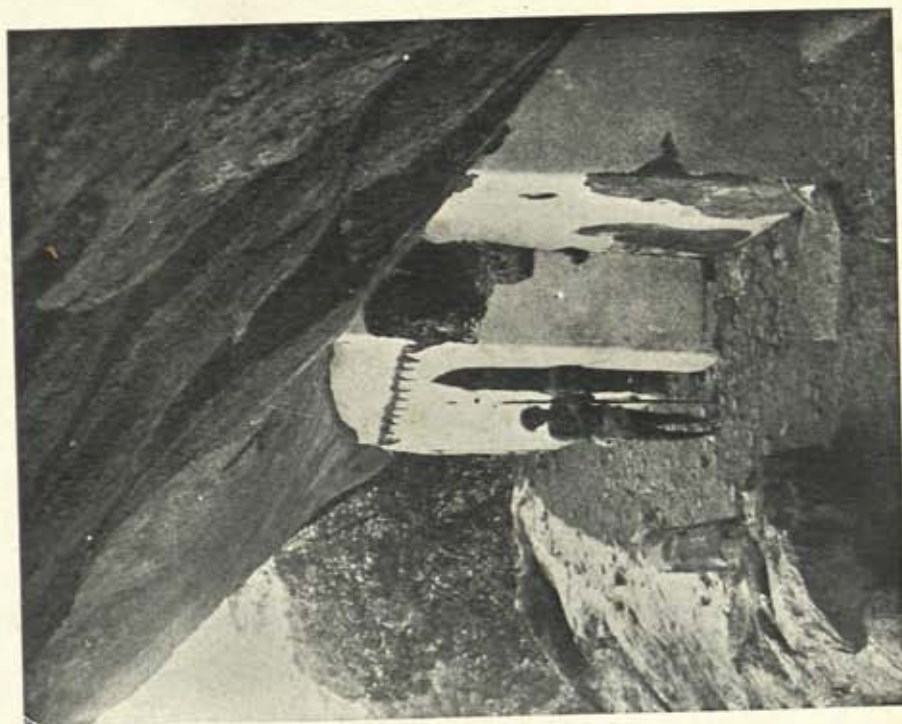
For more than half the way up to the "*Mārāvidiye Caves*" the approach is very gradual. It runs along a rocky spur of the hill, which projects South-West. After passing a cave (with a *kaḷāre* or drip-line cut over its brow, but bearing no inscription) the ascent gets steeper; and just before reaching the rock cliff under which lie the caves becomes quite steep.

The caves—originally natural caverns pitting the scarp, but subsequently improved by artificial handywork—rest on the lower slope of the rock cliff. This forms their floor and that of the passage-way uniting them.

2. Plate I. —The "*Mārāvidiye*" Caves (Telephotographic view.)



**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**



"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.

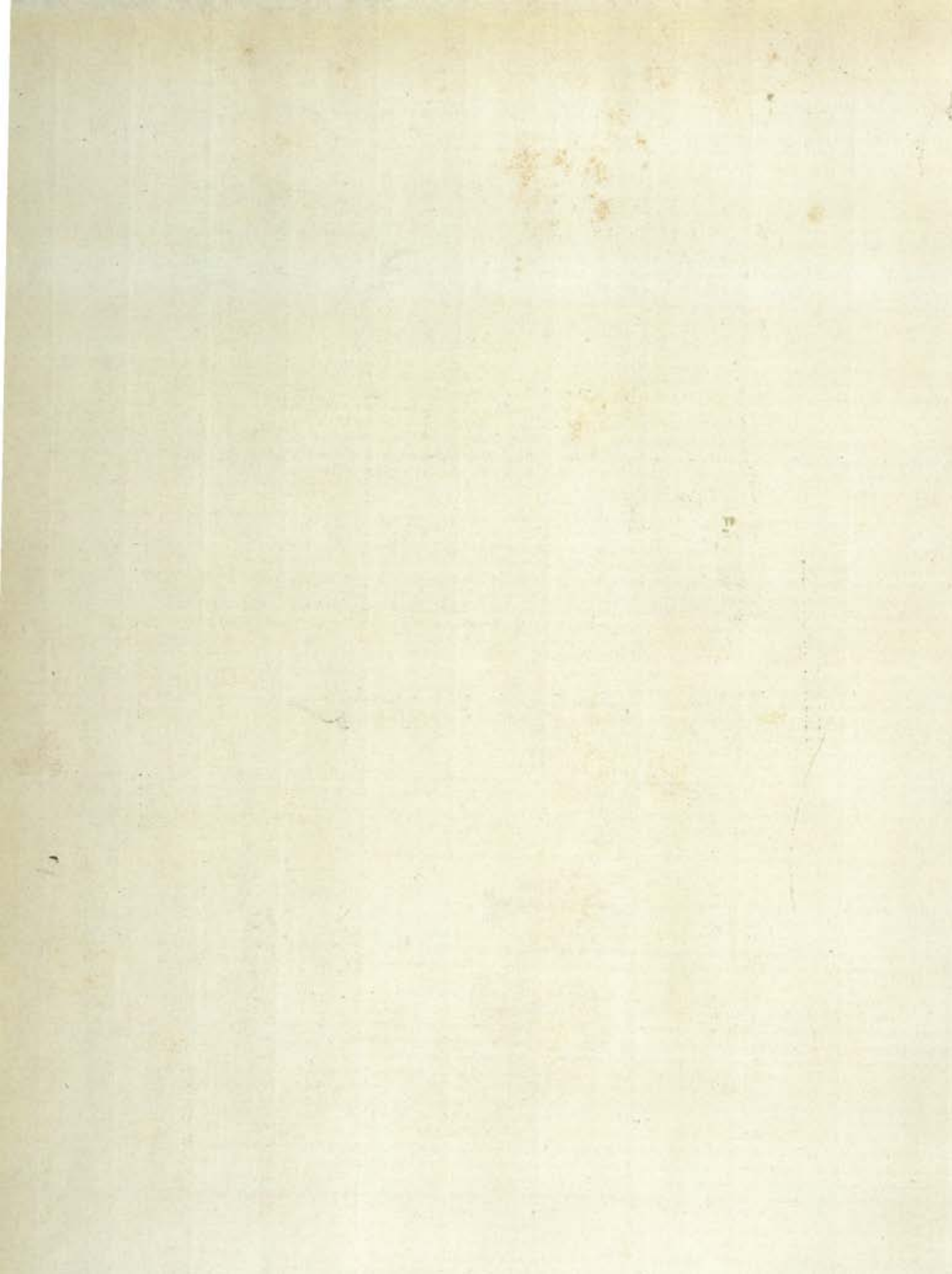
**THE "MÁRÁVÍDIYE" CAVES.**

Cave A. and Passage-way.

Cave A.

H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.





Cave A.<sup>3</sup>

The first cave reached is also the best preserved. Some ten feet of a low wall, or high kerb, with rounded top, which formerly protected the off-side of the narrow terrace, still remain. The walls of the two rooms, with much of the hard plaster adhering firmly, stand in places nearly as perfect as when built centuries ago. Even some of the "frescoes" which once adorned the walls may be faintly traced.

There are arched doorways admitting to ruined chambers, one fairly spacious.

Cut well up on the roof formed by the overhanging rock, outside the cave, is an inscription (No. 1) in the oldest form of "Cave character," (each letter apparently about a foot in vertical size). It is legible enough, but beyond the reach of an ordinary ladder.

Immediately beyond the rooms there is a *gal-wala*, or rock pool, of delightfully cool, clear, water, always in shade, and said never to dry up.

Passing this on the left, a gradual rise by a narrow ledge, two to three feet only in width, leads on, for twenty yards or so, towards the second cave (B). A few fathoms crawl along the breakneck ledge—now almost unprotected, but which troubled the Veddā escort as little as it would have monkeys;—then a dip through a natural rock-tunnel on to a further ledge, hardly less dangerous; which, in turn, descends to a broader passage ending in another tunnel.

Cave B.<sup>4</sup>

This second tunnel emerges on to Cave B, the largest in the range, which is quite open now; but was utilised for a *vihāre* at one time: portions of its walls are left, showing frontage of 26 ft. The rock floor, being wider here than at any other point, this *vihāre* had the advantage of a fair-sized terrace in front.

Remains of "frescoes" (mostly in black and white) exist on the plaster of the inner wall. One of these old paintings may represent Gautama Buddha's *Sat-satiya*, so familiar in modern Temples of the Island.

As with Cave A an equally pellucid rock pool, just beyond the *vihāre*, served to supply pure drinking water in abundance to the occupiers of the cave.<sup>5</sup>

Beyond the pool there is space for perhaps another cave room, but small.

On the rock roof of Cave B are two inscriptions—the older (No. 2), a single line in the "Cave script," dating back B. C. like the record at Cave A; the other (No. 3), an inscription of about the 11th, century A.D. This is incised on a raised panel, once smooth, and is of great interest both in itself, and as proving the occupation of these caves up to mediæval times.<sup>6</sup>

The writing being on the sloping roof, considerably within the cave, is wonderfully well preserved: every letter is quite legible.

In contents, it is apparently a pious record of repairs and improvements, etc., to the Cave *Vihāre*, by "*Sundara Maha Dévi*," queen of Vikrama Báhu (" *Vikumbā nirinda*"), dated in the 27th year of "*Jaya Báhu Vat-himiya*." Mention is made of "*Gaja Báhu Déva*" (? Gaja Báhu II); of special names of caves ("*Sanda Maha Leṇa*," "*Hiri Maha Leṇa*," "*Kaliṅga Leṇa*"); and the charitable dedication of "*Demaḷe Vēhesara*" (? village).

Photographs were taken of both Caves (A.B.),<sup>7</sup> of the passage between them,<sup>8</sup> and of one *gal-wala*<sup>9</sup>: of the three inscriptions "eye-copies" were made, and No. 3 also photographed (Plate VI.)

From the caves the vista of Eastern Province and Central Province (Kandyan) hills is very extensive; and, the day being fortunately clear, afforded a glorious view.

Of former images in the Caves, there survive only two small limestone *ot-pilima* (sedent figures) both worn and damaged, and the mere wooden core of a *hiṭi piḷimayak* (statue), all of the Buddha.

3. Plate II.—Cave A. and Passage-way to Cave B. The figures are those of Veddā guides.

4. Plate III. Plate IV. The old gaffer, with "a wandura beard," leaning against the wall was the "*Koralayd*" or Second Headman of the Tamankaduwa Veddō. The Chief Headman, Talawarigē Mustuwā, who was styled "*Pala bendā*," lived in 1897 at Kobombalewa, a Veddā hamlet on the bank of the Madura Oya river, the Eastern Province boundary. The Third Headman was known as "*Adikāri*." Among the seated Veddās may be seen the hoary figure of the old "*Gamarāla*," or minor headman, of Kosgaha Ulpata. All these "ancients" have long since shuffled off their mortal coil.

5. Plate IV.

6. The inscribed panel can be seen in Plate III, towards the right of the photograph, on the sloping roof of Cave B, apparently almost above the *Koralayd* but really nearer the camera.



## INSCRIPTIONS.

Three inscriptions, and three only, have been discovered at the "Máravídiye Caves," despite careful search on two separate occasions.

Of the three records, two (Nos. 1., 2.) are carved in the most ancient style of the "*Bráhmī lipi*" writing found in Ceylon, and go back to the early centuries B.C.; the third, incised on a panel, is in the Sinhalese script of the 11th century A.D.

## Inscription No. 1.

A record of 21 letters in single line which is (as stated in the Diary entry) "cut in the oldest form of 'Cave character' (each letter apparently about a foot in vertical size)" above the brow of Cave A, though at such a height as to be inaccessible, without special ladder or scaffolding. This, however, is immaterial, as owing to its boldness the inscription can be read easily, except perhaps for one *akshara*, rather worn.

The palatal "digamma" *ṣa* is that used both in this and Inscription No. 2 of Cave B.

## Transcript.

*Pa ru ma ka Pu ṣa jhi ta ya u pa ṣa (ka) Chi ta ya le ne ṣa ga ṣa.*

## Translation.

"Cave of the female lay-devotee Chita, daughter of the Chief Phussa, (granted) to the Community (of Buddhist monks)."

## Inscription No. 2.

Also a one-line epigraph; 15 letters in all, somewhat less largely cut than No. 1, but of about the same age B.C.

## Transcript.

*A ya Ṣu ra Ti ṣa ha jha ya A bi u pa ta ya*

## Translation.

"(Cave) of Abiupala, wife of the noble Sura Tisa."

## Inscription No. 3.

This fine inscription, of seven lines between ruling, is engraved on the inner sloping face of Cave B, within an oblong counter-sunk panel.<sup>5</sup> To right of the panel are outline figures of Sun, Moon, Crow and Dog, all symbolic.

Exposure to the weather in the open cavern may have somewhat roughened the rock surface, but has not materially affected the incised writing, which is still completely legible, and presents no difficulty to the copyist.

The "eye-copy" reproduced (Plate VI) was jotted down in his own Inscription Book by the Archæological Commissioner standing in front of the panel in 1897, after photographing it (Plate V). Five years later, when surveying the Dimbulá-gala caves and ruins, the Head Overseer of the Archæological Survey<sup>7</sup> made an independent official "eye-copy" which differs in no respect, save in being distinctly better drawn.

7. This intelligent officer, A. P. Siriwardhana, now dead, did sterling work in the Archæological Survey Department for many years. To a fair knowledge of Surveying, he coupled natural, though undeveloped, talent for Drawing. In Epigraphical training he proved himself an apt pupil; and the very numerous "eye-copies" and "squeezes" of lithic inscriptions he made for the Department were executed, for the most part, with great care and success; to which some acquaintance with high Sinhalese, Eln, and Pālī, helped not a little. Virtually the whole extensive set of the *estampages* of Ceylon Inscriptions secured by the Archæological Survey, and since forwarded to Professor Wickremasinghe at Oxford to be utilised for the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," was prepared by Siriwardhana.

To his memory this slight tribute is offered by an ex-Archæological Commissioner, (with whom he served for nearly 20 years), mindful of very efficient aid rendered, often under most trying conditions which may have undermined his health from the frequently recurring attacks of malarial fever he suffered.

**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**

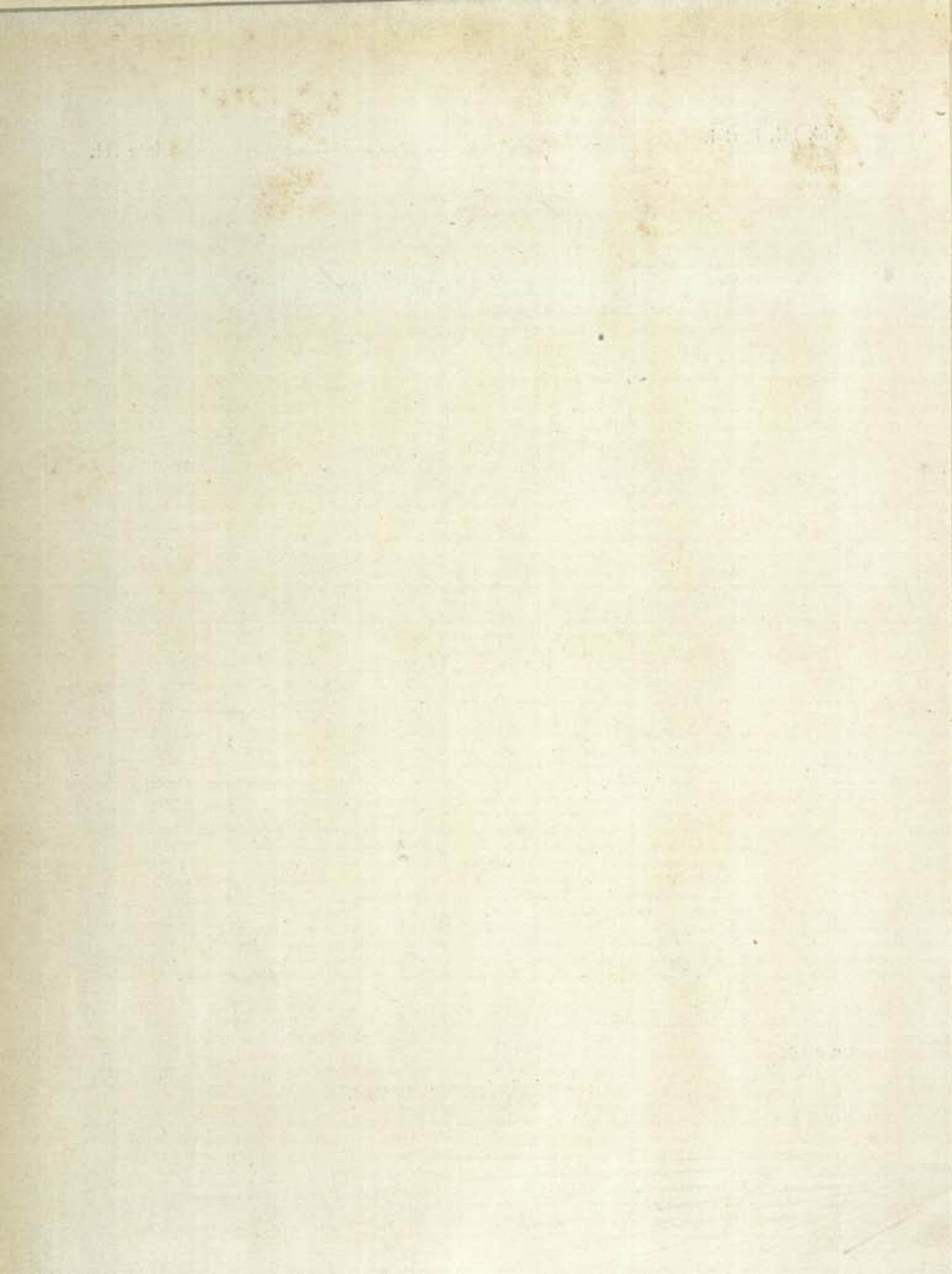


*H. C. P. Bell*  
photograph.

*"Times of Ceylon"*  
half-tone block.

THE "MÁRÁVÍDIYE" CAVES.  
Cave B.





With the exception of two passages, more or less cryptic, the contents of the inscription are easily understood, its language differing but little from that of the present day.

As regards three of the Royal Personages mentioned the "*Mahāwaṇsa*" leaves us in no doubt.

Queen "Sundara Maha Dévi," from whom this *gal-sannasa* professes on its face to emanate, was manifestly "*Sunāri* (Turnour, *Sundari*) the youngest sister" of the three princes who came from "Sihapura" (Kālinga) in India. She was given by Vijaya Báhu I "unto his son Vikrama Báhu"—the "*Vikumbā nirindu*" of the inscription—"to wife, being desirous to establish his race." (*Mahāwaṇsa*, LIX, 49.)

"And when in process of time a son was born unto him named Gaja Báhu"—"Gaja Báhu Déva" the rock record calls him—"the king being mindful of the welfare of his sons," gave Vikrama Báhu "the whole of Rohaṇa and sent him to dwell there" (LX, 89.)

On the death of Vijaya Báhu, after a long and eventful reign, civil war ensued, with fluctuating success, between the late king's brother Jaya Báhu I (who was immediately anointed king) and his sister, or half sister, Mittā, with her three sons, on the one side, and Vikrama Báhu I on the other; until (as the History states) by a signal victory the latter became "the lord of his people, and dwelling in the city of Puḷatthi (Poḷonnaruwa) governed the King's Country (*Rāja raṭa*, a Northerly Division of *Tri Siṅhala*, or ancient Ceylon), although he was not anointed king." (LXI, 47.)

"Vikrama Báhu died after he had enjoyed the kingdom one and twenty years," (LXIII, 18)—an "enjoyment" which cost the Buddhist religious establishments dearly.

He was succeeded at Poḷonnaruwa by his son Gaja Báhu II—who, allied with Mānābharaṇa the Younger, proved such a thorn in the side of their more distinguished relative, afterwards the illustrious Parākrama Báhu the Great.

The internecine struggle for mastery ended only, as the old Chronicler puts it quaintly, by the two former princes, "because that they could not dwell even in their own country through fear, taking refuge in the King of Death, seeing no other way of escape." (*Mahāwaṇsa*, LXXV, 27-31.)

The fourth "Royal Personage" specified on the panel record is "*Jaya Báhu Vat-himiyá*," in whose 27th year the *gal-sannasa* was granted.

Who was he? Was he Maḥaḷu Vijaya Báhu I, who reigned 55 years, or was he his younger brother, Jaya Báhu I, whose rule is variously given as from one year (*Mahāwaṇsa* Editors) to three years (*Rājawaliya*), and, in the Tamil inscription of Poḷonnaruwa, as at least 38 years—the last 15 of which he had shared with his grand-nephew Gaja Báhu Déva?

The question was partially discussed in the Archæological Commissioner's *Annual Report* for 1909 (pp. 26, 27).

Mr. H. Krisna Sāstri, Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, was good enough to favour the Archæological Commissioner with a transcript and translation of so much as is legible of the Tamil pillar inscription. He writes:—

"The fragmentary Tamil inscription from Poḷonnaruwa referred to in Part I of this [Madras Epigraphical] Report is dated in the 15th year of the reign of Gaja Báhu (II), and in the 38th year of Jaya Báhu, apparently ignoring, in this way, the intervening rule of Vikrama Báhu I for 21 years, as stated in v., 18, of Chapter LXIII of the *Mahāwaṇsa*.

"Accepting the initial dates<sup>8</sup> given by Mr. Wijesinha for these kings, the 38th year of Jaya Báhu exactly coincides with the 15th year (i.e. 1157 A.D.) of Gaja Báhu II. Consequently, the statement that

8. "And when he (Mānābharaṇa) had spoken these words he wept bitterly, and, as if it moved him to go unto the place whither the good soldiers of the great king Parākrama would not desire to follow him, he set out for the Fortress of the Ruler of Hell." (*Mahāwaṇsa*, LXXII, 342.)

9. The three dates quoted below are those adopted by the *Mahāwaṇsa* Editors. They are open to amendment.



king Jaya Báhu died one year after accession, as Mr. Wijesinha has put it, may have to be accepted with modification. Perhaps the fact was that either Jaya Báhu did not die after one year as stated in the *Mahāwamsa*, or that Vikrama Báhu ruled the kingdom for him until his son Gaja Báhu II was appointed heir-apparent in 1142 A.D."

Mr. Krisna Sāstri's allotment of this Tamil record to the 38th year of Jaya Báhu, successor of Vijaya Báhu I (1065-1120 A.D.) is, *prima facie*, supported by the inscription in Sinhalese discovered in 1897 by the Archaeological Commissioner in one of the picturesque, and almost unknown, caves which occur high up the slopes of Dimbulā-gala ("Gunners' Quoin") in Tamankaduwa.

The difficulty of reconciling the allotment by the "*Mahāwamsa*" of but one year to the reign of Jaya Báhu with the twenty-seven of the Dimbulā-gala inscription, and the absence of corroborative evidence *contra*, justified the Archaeological Commissioner in then [1897] attributing the record to the extremely long reign of perhaps the greatest regenerator of Sinhalese rule, after years of Southern Indian invasion and ascendancy, and reading "Jaya Báhu" as synonymous with "Vijaya Báhu."

This Tamil inscription of Poḷonnaruwa would appear, however, to settle the point, though the total silence of the "*Mahāwamsa*" regarding Jaya Báhu [except his decease], after mention of his being hastily crowned on the death of Vikrama Báhu I seems strangely unaccountable.

Jaya Báhu I, having been inaugurated king over the kingdom of Lanka, may have been forced, or may have preferred, to live in retirement as *de jure* Sovereign of Ceylon, whilst his nephew Vikrama Báhu I reigned for twenty-one years, "although he was not anointed king"; and similarly Vikrama Báhu's son, Gaja Báhu II may have succeeded to *de facto* rule, of which fifteen years, added to his father's term, would nearly cover the thirty-eight years of Jaya Báhu's nominal reign recorded on the Tamil pillar.

The above arguments, though they advance the question, cannot be said to lay it at rest finally.

If Jaya Báhu I and Vikrama Báhu I, uncle and nephew, rivals for the throne, both dated their reigns *from the demise of Vijaya Báhu I*—and nothing is more reasonable—and, assuming, as we may, that the Poḷonnaruwa pillar inscription is unimpeachable—who will vouch for the accuracy of the *written palm-leaf chronicles* for this period?—, the decision should be in favour of Jaya Báhu I as the "Jaya Báhu Vat-himiyā" of the Dimbulā-gala record.<sup>10</sup>

But, even if Jaya Báhu I lived to reign for the thirty-eight years the Poḷonnaruwa inscription allots him as against the one year, and three years, of the Sinhalese histories, Vikrama Báhu (the length of whose uncrowned rule is not disputed) would have been dead for six years when the *sannasa* was executed!

How then explain the position? In this way. Queen Sundara Maha Dévi may well have issued it *after her husband's death*.

It is this which, after all, seems perhaps the simplest solution of the problem; and for these reasons:—

(i.) Vikrama Báhu could hardly have been given the title "*Nirindu*" (king) during the reign of the great Vijaya Báhu I, his father; nor Sundara Maha Dévi that of "*aga-mehesun*" (chief queen.)

(ii.) Vikrama Báhu was no "churchman"; far from it.

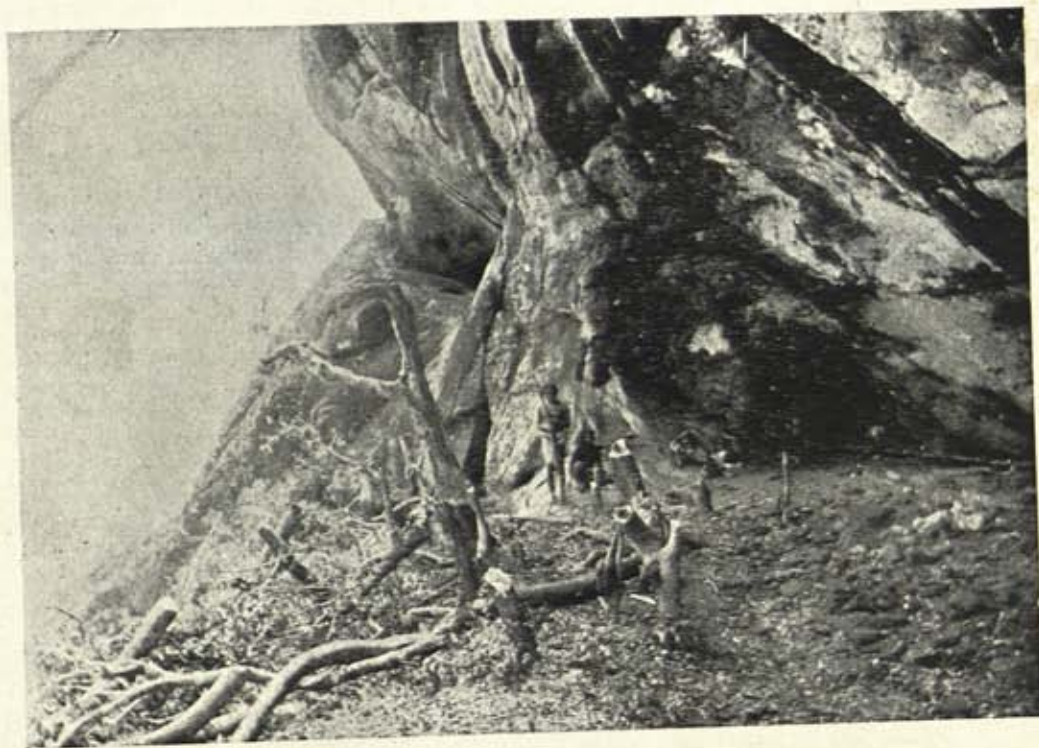
Like his three cousins and opponent "kings"—the sons of Mittā—he "gave no heed to religion."

He seized the lands that were dedicated to Buddha and for other holy purposes, and bestowed them on his servants. . . . The gems and other precious things, the offerings of the faithful unto the Alms-Bowl-Relic and the Sacred Tooth-Relic, took he also by force; as also the perfumes of sandal, aloes-wood, and camphor, and a great number of images of gold, and did with them as it pleased him.—*Mahāwamsa*, LXI, 54-57.

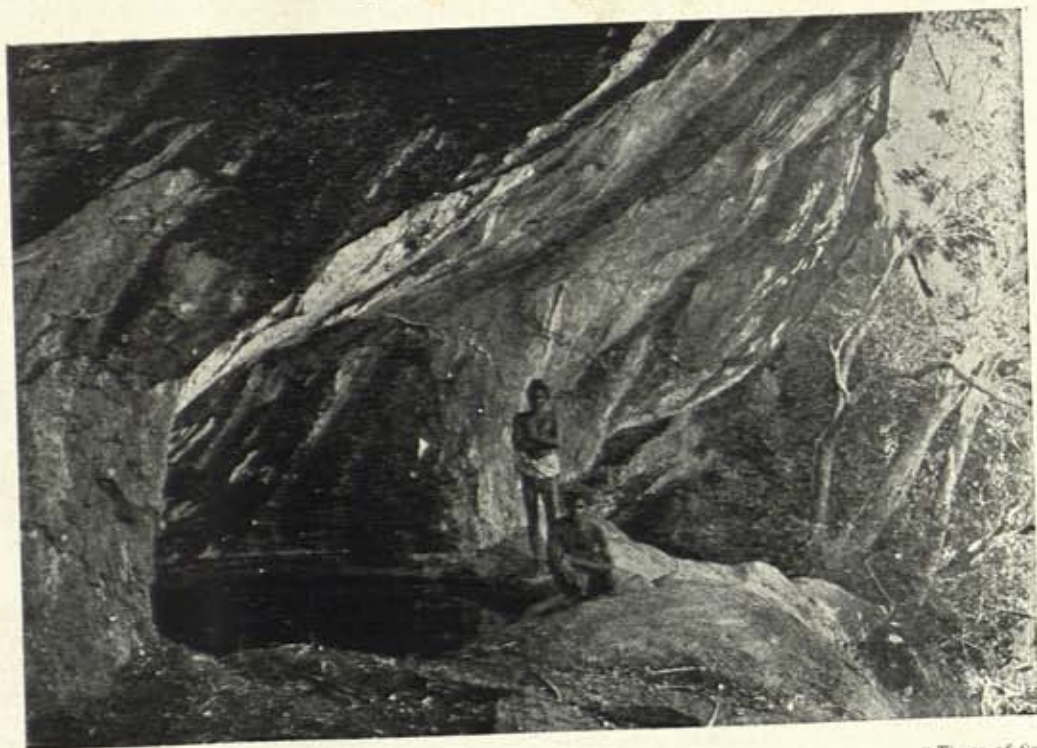
10. Mr. John M. Senaveratne ("*The Ceylon Antiquary*," pp. 262-4) suggests the identification of "Jabāhu-Dēva" of the Tamil pillar inscription at Poḷonnaruwa with the Tamil king Jaya Báhu of the 13th century, who shared the rule of "the Pihiti Kingdom" with Māgha until driven out by Parākrama Báhu II. But this lands him in the difficulty, which he recognised, of accounting satisfactorily for Gaja Báhu Dēva, whose 15th year corresponds with the 38th of Jabāhu-Dēva.



**ĐIMBULÁ-GALA.**



THE "MARAVIDIYE" CAVES  
Cave B. and Passage-way.



H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

"Times of Ceylon,"  
half-tone block.

THE "MÁRÁVÍDIYE" CAVES.  
Gal-wala.





Is it in the least likely that this Ceylon "Henry the Eighth,"<sup>11</sup> unscrupulous robber of monastic property, would have countenanced such liberal Buddhist benefaction by his Chief Queen as that recorded in the Inscription, with the *arrière pensée* of destroying it later?

(iii.) Vijaya Báhu I (in the only inscriptions known admittedly belonging to him) is given the full title "*Siri Saṅga Bo Vijaya Báhu Déva*" (Tamil slab inscription, Poḷonnaruwa); and "*Siri Saṅga Bo Vijaya Báhu Rajapāvahanse*" (Sinhalese rock inscription, Ambagamuwa): *e contra*, Jaya Báhu I is called simply "*Jabáhu Déva*" in the Tamil pillar record above quoted; "*Jaya Báhu Vat-himiyavahanse*" in the Dimbulá-gala inscription; and, notably, "*Śrī Apaiya Salámega Chakravartikal Śrī Jaya Báhu Tévar*" (8th year), on a Tamil pillar inscription at Budumuttáva (*A. S. Report*, 1911-12 p. 115); wherein mention is also made of "*Nāyanār Śrī Vira Báhu*," (Mānābharaṇa the Elder), eldest of Mittá's three sons who supported Jaya Báhu's cause against Vikrama Báhu. (*Mahāvaṃsa*, LXI. 26.)

The balance of probabilities would certainly, therefore, appear to incline to "Jaya Báhu Vat-himiyá" of the Dimbulá-gala inscription being Vikrama Báhu's uncle Jaya Báhu I, not his father Vijaya Báhu; and to the endowment and embellishment of the "Kaliṅga-Leṇa" Monastery being carried out by the widowed queen Sundara Maha Dévi as an act of piety and penance for the sins of her sacrilegious lord, after Vikrama Báhu had "passed to the other world according to his deeds"—an expressive phrase of the Monkish Chronicler, here at least suggestive of much.

At that—*adhuc sub judice lis est*—we may leave the question for the nonce; and proceed to the Inscription itself.

#### Text.

1. ඩකාවස් රජ කුලෙන් නිපන් සුදෙහි පරපුරෙන් ආ ගිරුගොත් කුලෙන් අතින්වඩු රුසිරින් සිඳි
2. දිනු දෙවොටුනු මැනූ ලපන්<sup>12</sup> විකුමබා නිච්ඡන්තට අගමෙහෙසුන් වැ ගජබාහු දෙවසන් ලද
3. සුඤ්ජ මහ දෙවියන්වහන්සේ පන්සියක් මහ සහනට ආවාසවු අප මුනි රජු සිරුරු
4. ද පිහිටි දුඹුලුගල සඤ මහ ලෙණින් ගිරි<sup>13</sup> මහ ලෙණ දෙ අතුරෙහි මහ දණ එව දමවලි යන මිනිසු
5. න්ගෙ<sup>14</sup> දුක බලා ගල් ගඟා මහ පවන්කොට ලෙණ පිළුම දගබ් මහබො<sup>15</sup> පිහිටුවා කලිග ලෙ
6. ණසැස් නම් තබා ජස බාහු වන්ගිමිසන්වහන්සේ සන්විසිවන හවුරුදු පොසොනැ පුර පො
7. හොඟු දෙමළ වැහැසර<sup>16</sup> කුසලාන් කරවා<sup>16</sup> පාබන්<sup>17</sup> පුදනුකොට ලෙණ පවන්තා තාක් කලට දුන් බවට සුඤ්ජ මහ දෙවිම.

#### Translation.

I (*lit.* we) Sundara Maha Dévi—descended from **Suddhodana's** line, sprung from the **Ikhwaka (Okawas)** royal dynasty, coming of the **Solar** race in unbroken succession, (who) transcends (the goddess) **Śrī** in loveliness, (and) was blessed with (*lit.* got) **Gaja Báhu Déva** (as son), when (*lit.* being) Chief Queen to King **Vikrama Báhu (Vikumbá Nirindu)** born of parents both **Crowned Heads** (*lit.* born between two crowns<sup>12</sup>)—hereby set forth (*lit.* certify the fact)

11. The comparison is even closer:—

*De male quæstis viz gaudet tertius heros.*

*Nec habet eventus sordida præda bonos.*

No third generation was granted to either king. With Henry VIII's daughters Mary and Elisabeth the Tudor dynasty closed; Gaja Báhu II ended Vikrama Báhu I's direct line.

12. *Devotunu mende upan.* If (as seems quite likely) this expression be an expansion of the shorter epithet "*de biseve je* (Páli, *dravyabhiseká jato* "twice anointed": *E. Z. I.* p. 50), commonly attached to King "Abhá Salamevan" (Kāsyapa V) in his pillar inscriptions, it is *hapax legomenon*, not met with elsewhere; and, therefore, the more interesting. The epithet usually applied solely to Saṅgha, Kāsyapa's mother, as "twice crowned queen" should possibly not be so restricted always but in some cases, as here, cover both father and mother as equally crowned sovereigns. In modern Sinhalese the expression, as provisionally translated, may be paraphrased *mavupiya dedendé otunu meda upannavil*. "Crowned Heads" may also merely mean at times "of Royal blood," in a general sense.

13. The stone mason cut *mā* for *ā* by mistake; and used the form *hiri* (more modern *hīru*, *ēru*), "sun."



that, observing the hardship of persons traversing with bent knees by the help of chains the passage-way (*māṅga*)<sup>14</sup> between the "Great Moon Cave" (*Sanda Maha Leṇa*) and the "Great Sun Cave" (*Hiri Maha Leṇa*), the residence of five hundred of the Chief Community (*Maha Saṅga*), where corporeal relics of our lord Buddha are deposited, (I, therefore), caused (suitable) stones to be laid (*lit.* broken up) and improved the passage way.

(Further), that having established cave (shelters) *dāgabas*, and great *bó* trees, (I) gave (to this Cave Temple) the appellation "*Kalīṅga Leṇa*," and, in the 27th year (of the reign) of *Jaya Bāhu Vat-himiya* on the Full Moon Day (*pura pohoye*) of (the month) *Poson*, dedicated for the sake of religious merit (*kusalān karavā*)<sup>15</sup> *Demalē Vehesara*<sup>16</sup> (village), causing rice to be offered (from that village) to monks (*pā-bat*, *lit.* monk-bowl rice),<sup>17</sup> for so long a period as the Cave (Temple) shall exist.

### APPENDIX.

The receipt in May of a "presentation copy" of Volume II, Part IV, of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," containing Text and Translation, with Introduction, of the medieval Inscription (No. 3) at Dimbulā-gala, decided the writer to detach the above account of the "Mārāvīdiye Caves" from the fuller Paper on "Dimbulā-gala: Its Caves, Ruins, and Inscriptions," which he had all but completed for "*The Ceylon Antiquary*"; and to issue it at once, as a first instalment.<sup>18</sup>

This last issued Part of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" deals with seven inscriptions from the North-Central-Province—six of King Niṣṣaṅka Malla, at Poḷonnaruwa (two of which had been already published, with Plates, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* for 1911-12), and one of Queen Sundara Maha Dēvi, at Dimbulā-gala; and, from the Central Province, two records, both very short, of the Queens Kalyāṇavati and Līlavatī, at Bōpiṭiya and Rēkaṭipe respectively.

As was to be expected, these records have been edited with that meticulous thoroughness and erudite scholarship which have so notably marked all the literary work done at Oxford by Professor Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, the Epigraphist to the Ceylon Government. By this most recent contribution he has laid students of the Island's rich store of lithic inscriptions under still further obligation to him.

If perchance in the case of the Dimbulā-gala Inscription (No. 3), Mr. Wickremasinghe has failed to satisfy the requirements of that full accuracy, which his own responsible position and the credit of the learned Periodical he edits, demand, no criticism except it be constructive—not that contemptible carping form so commonly indulged in—is justifiable. For, such partial failure—be it said at once—is due to no *laches* on the part of the learned Professor, except in so far as having injudiciously allowed himself to be too confiding, and thus become a victim of treacherous *estampages* (ink impressions),—the best it was possible to

14. *Māṅga dana eva damavatin yana minisunge*. Explained by a learned Buddhist priest:—"*māṅgachī dānin vā da heva (hevat pā akulā) dānaveśalān (hevat dānaveśalā ellī) gamanaya karana minisunge*." The above translation follows this rendering.

15. *Kusalān karavā*. In modern Sinhalese "*pingamak karavā*" "making (it) a village dedicated for the sake of religious merit." The expression occurs not unfrequently in inscriptions e.g. at Nakalaganē Vihāre, N. W. Province, (where it is used two or three times), and Balalu-vewa, N. C. P. *kusalānata pidi*.

16. *Demalē vehesara*. "The Tamil-tank-(village)." With *vehesara* cf. *veṣar pat* "tank side," *E. Z. I.* p. 48, 56.

17. *Pābat* = *pātra bat*, "rice offered to monks" (*lit.* in their begging bowls).

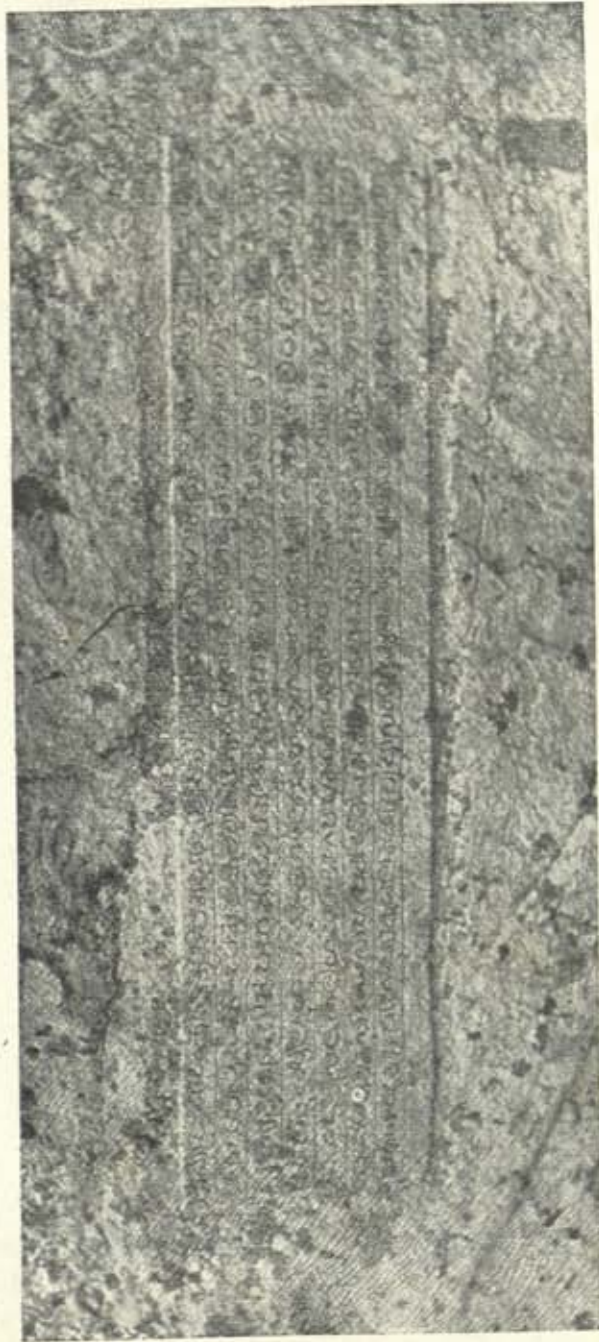
No doubt Sundara Mahā Dēvi set apart this village (*Demalē Vehesara*) for the maintenance of the "*Kalīṅga Leṇa*" *saṅghādrama*, just as one of her predecessors, Dāpulu III's queen, had given the village "*Mahummara*" to "the rock temple *Jaya-sena*," and restored, or allotted, other villages to the *Giri-bhanda*, and other Vihāres (*Mahāvamsa* XL. 23-29.)

This bestowal of village lands for the support of monks (*bhōga upadhāna gam dāna*) was a regular practice of Sinhalese rulers with a religious bent.

18. Part II. will deal with Kosgaha Ulpata caves and "*Nāmal Pokuna*" and "*Nilmal Pokuna*" ruins, &c. and outlying sites



**DIMBULA-GALA.**



*H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.*

**THE "MÁRÁVÍDIYE" CAVES.**

Inscription No. 3 : Cave B.  
(Photograph).

*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.*











supply for his use, but nathless uncertain, if not virtually illegible, here and there—on which he has had to rely for framing his transcript of the Sinhalese text. In consequence, his printed version of that text—and of necessity the English translation based thereon—have suffered considerably in places.

From the point of view of honest epigraphical and historic research, Mr. Wickremasinghe will, it is confidently believed, not resent, but rather be the first to welcome, the friendly criticism<sup>19</sup> tendered below by his former colleague on the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, in the further development of which, as *quondam* servants of the Crown, and personally, both continue to retain deep united interest.

1. After quoting the summarised "description of the locality" from the Archaeological Commissioner's *Annual Report* of 1897, Mr. Wickremasinghe proceeds:—

"The inscription with which we are concerned here is that engraved on the raised panel, between ruled lines two inches apart, in Sinhalese characters of the twelfth century A.D., varying from one to one and a half inches in size. The record seems to be complete, though the unusual ending suggests the possibility of it being continued on other panels on the rock roof, which might have escaped even the long-trained eye of an indefatigable explorer like Mr. Bell."

Mr. Wickremasinghe admits that "the record seems to be complete," but finds the ending "unusual."

The ingenuous solution of this imagined difficulty, so playfully suggested,<sup>20</sup> by finding in "Mr. Bell" a possible scapegoat, must—*fleBILE dictu*—yield to plain realities. The thorough examination, twice carried out (first in 1897 and again in 1903), of an exceptionally open cave, flooded with daylight, where little or nothing could have escaped observant notice, is fatal to such a comforting theory.

No writing, whether on "other panels" or separate, additional to Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3, exists in Cave B.

2. In regard to the subject-matter of the inscription Mr. Wickremasinghe says:—

The contents tell us that Sundara-Maha-dévi, the chief queen of Vikrama-Báhu and the mother of Gaja Báhu, caused the construction of a road at Dumbulá-gala between Sanda-maha-lepa (the great Moon-cave) and Hiru-maha-lepa (the great Sun-cave); that she had it paved with stone and had also cave temples built with statues, dagabas, and sacred *bodhi* trees; and that she further testifies to a certain benefaction which she had made to Demaḷé-peḷe in the 27th year of the reign of Vijaya-Báhu.

The record inscribed on the rock, as given above (p. 7), necessitates some modification of this paragraph, which is based on Mr. Wickremasinghe's misreading of "squeezes" not clear throughout. "*Demaḷé-peḷe*" is not the true reading; nor is "*Vijaya Báhu*."

3. Mr. Wickremasinghe proceeds:—

It is clear from these historical references that the inscription belongs neither to Vijaya-Báhu I nor to his brother Jaya Báhu I but to Sundara-Maha-dévi. It is the only record by her so far known to us, and was set up in her capacity as the chief queen of Vikrama Báhu I (1111-1132 A.D.). That this view must be correct we see first from the script and the phraseology which debar us from giving the inscription a date later than the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D., secondly from the reference to Gaja Báhu II (1132-1153 A.D.) by the title *déva* which suggests that he had not yet come to the throne, and, thirdly, from Sundara-dévi's confirmation of the benefaction which she had made to Demaḷé-peḷe in the reign of her father-in-law, Vijaya-Báhu I (1055-1110 A.D.).

19. *Nulla venenato littera mixta loco set.*

20. Mr. Wickremasinghe further develops this unexpected vein of dry humour in a Polonnaruwa Inscription given in this same Part of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" p. 153.

This record had been already fully published (text, translation, photograph) in the Archaeological Survey Report for 1911-12 p. 102. Nothing on the slab (top, bottom, and sides) was then omitted, accidentally or of set purpose.

Mr. Wickremasinghe writes:—"The rest of the inscription is wanting. It may possibly be found on the reverse side of the slab." As the slab lay within a few feet of the Archaeological Commissioner's verandah for some twelve years, the innocent *innuendo* that it might never have been turned over is not without a quaint savour.



No one with a knowledge of the old Sinhalese character, and capable of understanding even the gist of the contents, mostly simple, of Inscription No. 3, could, after reading it on the rock panel itself, attempt to rob the Royal Lady of her just rights in the record. Clearly she is the authoress, as self-declared.

But it is no less true that the inscription as surely "belongs" to the reign of "*Jaya-Bāhu Vat-himiyā*," be he whom he may; and, in that—the ordinary sense—its allotment to either Vijaya Bāhu I, or his younger brother Jaya Bāhu I, is both reasonable and correct.

Moreover, *pace tanti nominis*, the title *Dēva* (Tamil, *Tévar*) does not suggest to every one that "*Gaja Bāhu Dēva*" had not yet come to the throne. The term is used of himself (15th regnal year), his grand-uncle Jaya Bāhu I (35th year), and his grandfather Vijaya Bāhu I, (55th year) as ruling sovereigns, in two inscriptions, pillar and slab, at Poḷonnaruwa.

Again, to speak of the "*Jaya-Bāhu Vat-himiyā*" of the cave panel as confirmation of the benefaction which Sundara-Maha-dēvi had made in the reign of her "father-in-law Vijaya Bāhu" is assuredly to beg the question.

4. Mr. Wickremasinghe then explains, very rightly, that "*Sundara-Maha-dēvi*" of the Inscription must be identical with the queen whose name is spelt "*Sunāri*" in the "*Mahāwaṇsa*"; and that "the form *Sunāri* probably originated from a copyist's mistake some centuries ago" in misreading "the Sinhalese combined *nda* as *na*."

5. In the first part of the next paragraph Mr. Wickremasinghe writes of *Gaja-Bāhu-dēva*, with truth:—

As regards the other proper names in our record, *Gaja-Bāhu-Dēva* is no doubt identical, as mentioned above, with *Gaja-Bāhu II* (1132-1153 A.D.), although the word at the end of the second line which tells us his relationship to Queen Sundari is hardly legible.

On the rock itself the word closing line 2 is quite legible: it is "*lada*." From the vague "squeeze" Mr. Wickremasinghe read doubtfully "*(vēdu)*," which, in this place, has virtually the same meaning.

6. But in the latter part of the paragraph Mr. Wickremasinghe is not so happy; nay, he is even indiscreet. His words are:—

Vijaya Bāhu Vat-himi is obviously Vijaya-Bāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.), the syllable *vi* being fairly clear in one of the estampages before me.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Bell's original identification is, therefore, correct; but the later suggestion that Vijaya Bāhu of our record might be Jaya Bāhu I is inadmissible.

This airy disposal in four lines and on false premises—the name on the rock is not, as already stated, *Vijaya Bāhu*—of an interesting historical point, without stopping to quote even a summary of the evidence, not lengthy, set out by the Archaeological Commissioner in his *Annual Report* of 1909 (pp. 26, 27) for the identification of the "*Jaya Bāhu*" of the record, will hardly commend itself to readers desirous of enlightenment.

"Mr. Bell," who in 1897 favoured *Vijaya Bāhu*, pointed out in 1909 that the discovery at Poḷonnaruwa of the Tamil pillar Inscription, dated in the joint reign of "*Jabāhu* (*Jaya Bāhu*) *Dēva*" and "*Gaja Bāhu Dēva*," appeared "to settle the point, though the total silence of the *Mahāwaṇsa* regarding *Jaya Bāhu*, [except his decease], after mention of his being hastily crowned on the death of *Vijaya Bāhu I*, seems strangely unaccountable."

21. Mr. Wickremasinghe has previously showed this penchant for an unreliable "squeeze" version not justified by the stone, in imagining that he "seemed to notice marks of erasion of the vowel sign *i* above the *s*" in the word on the south end of the "*Galpota*" slab at Poḷonnaruwa. The reading on the slab itself is undoubtedly "*Sigiri*," not "*Sigiri*" as contended for by the Professor (See controversy in *The Ceylon Antiquary* I, p. 233).



In "plumping," on the faith of a doubtful squeeze, for the reading "Vijaya Báhu" Mr. Wickremasinghe is undoubtedly rash.

True there is no undignified "waving his hands," no "wagging his head," by the staid Professor ; but none the less—

"He has certainly found a Snark !"

*Estampages* of lithic inscriptions (*experto credite*—the writer himself can feelingly testify, from much aggravating experience) are too often the despair of the epigraphist :—

*Ista repercussæ quam cernis imaginis umbra est,  
Nil habet ista sui.*

Where, as in this instance, an *akshara* affecting the whole record historically is not clearly legible on the "squeeze," whilst at the same time there is available the reading, unmistakable on the rock, by a Government Officer, not without some epigraphical training, who has had the solid advantage of personal contact with an inscription, incapable of being misread, the safest rule would naturally seem to be to risk adopting the version of "the man on the spot." <sup>22</sup>

The "eye-copy" of the inscription made by the Archæological Commissioner (Plate VI), and the photograph of the inscribed panel (Plate V), leave no room whatever for doubt that the four *aksharas* immediately preceding "Jaya Báhu Vat-himiyavahanse" in line 6 are "nam tabá" ; and that "vi," which Mr. Wickremasinghe thinks he sees on the peccant "squeeze," is

"just a mere reflection thrown—

A shadow, with no substance of its own."

It is, of course, possible that "Mr. Bell's original identification" may prove to be "correct" even yet ; but "the balance of probabilities" seems distinctly to favour Jaya Báhu I, not his elder brother Vijaya Báhu I, on the combination of reasons quoted above. In any case, Mr. Wickremasinghe's *ergo* gains nothing from the deceptive "squeeze" he trusted too fondly.

7. Mr. Wickremasinghe concludes his useful Introduction by quoting from the "*Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*" the names "of two celebrated monks, namely, the Maháthera Buddhavaṇsa Vanaratana and his chief pupil, the Maháthera Áranayaka Medhankara, both of the Dimbulá-gala fraternity," who "lived in the first half of the thirteenth century."

8. It will suffice to reproduce here Mr. Wickremasinghe's English Translation without his Sinhalese Text, as the points of divergence between both and those given by the writer above can best be shown, by specifying such differences *seriatim* below the translation.

### Translation.

Her Majesty Sundara-Mahā-devī, chief queen of king Vikumbā who . . . . . the crown which he had received and mother of Gaja-Báhu-Deva, who surpasses the goddess Śrī in her beauty and is directly descended from the Solar dynasty, which belongs to the lineage of Sudonā that has sprung from the Okkāka royal race—[this queen] caused the construction of a road between Sanda-maha-leṇa (the great moon-cave) and Hiru-maha-leṇa (the great sun-cave) at Dimbulá-gala, where 500 members of the 'Great Community' reside and where relics of the body of our Lord Buddha also exist, and had the street paved

22. It is but fair to show "the reverse of the medal."

Where the inscribed stone surface is so weathered and dark in colour as to be doubtful in some letters, a black and white "squeeze" may occasionally bring them out better ; but, in such conditions, it more usually adds to the uncertainty.

As a good instance see this very Part IV. "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," p. 171, where the *estampage* permitted Mr. Wickremasinghe to come nearer the truth, in reading "Priti-dāna (ka) māṇḍapayak" (lines 43-44), than the Archæological Commissioner (*Annual Report* 1911-12) who had extracted from the worn rock only *Priti danana mama pasak*.

The actual reading on the rock (since verified) is *Priti dāna nama māṇḍapayak* "a māṇḍapa called 'Gladsome Alms (Hall).'"



with flagstones . . . . . Then she had caves established with statues, dāgabas and sacred *bodhi* trees. Adjoining Kalingu-leṇa (Kalinga-cave) also, on the *uposatha* day of the bright half of (the lunar month) Poson [May-June], in the twenty-seventh year of [the reign of] the munificent king Vijaya Bāhu Vat-himi, she caused the construction of sacred *kusalān* (vessels?) for the Demaḷe-peḥe (monastery), and, after making an offering of gruel in them, dedicated them to it so long as the world exists. To this effect Sundara-Mahā-devī herself [testifies].

Line 2. Mr. Wickremasinghe has :—"dinū lada-voṭunu me . . . . . n) Vikumbā-nirindu-ḥaṭa aga-mehesun-vū Gaja-Bāhu Devayan (vedū)." The first part he translates :—"king Vikumbā who . . . . . the crown which he had received;" adding a footnote "This may possibly be a reference to the fact that he was still not properly anointed as king though he had got the crown." Cf. *Mahāvansa*, lxi. 30."

The inference is not justified by the actual text.

Between "dinū" and "Vikumbā" are, on the rock, nine or ten characters, all distinct, which read :—*devoṭunu menḍe upan*. These words have been translated above provisionally :—"born of parents both Crowned Heads."

Lines 4, 5. Mr. Wickremasinghe has :—"maṅga (duṇu evu a . . . . . remḍu) n (yedū) keḷaligal (hasvā) maṅga pavat-koṭa." He translates the passage :—"had the street paved with flagstones . . . . ."; footnoting that "the greater part of the text here is hardly legible."

Whatever be the closest meaning of the words, the rock text at any rate is not open to fair doubt. The passage from "maṅga" runs legibly :—"dana eva damavalin yana minisunge duka balā gal gasvā pavatkoṭa."

Of this passage the tentative translation offered above is :—"observing the hardship of persons with bent knees by the aid of chains traversing the passage-way . . . . . caused (suitable) stone to be laid (*lit.* broken up), and improved the passage-way."

Lines 5, 6. Mr. Wickremasinghe gives :—"(*Kālingu-le*) ṇa yā (*danavat Vi*) jaya-Bāhu Vat-himiyān-vahanse"; and translates :—"Adjoining Kalingu-leṇa (Kalinga Cave) also . . . . . the munificent king Vijaya Bāhu Vat-himi."

The sentence, as the panel really has it, is :—"Kālinga leṇayey nam tabā Jaya Bāhu Vat-himiyānvahanse." It is translated above :—"gave (to this Cave Temple) the appellation *Kālinga Leṇa*, [and in the 27th year of the reign of] Jaya Bāhu."

Line 7. Mr. Wickremasinghe reads :—"De(maḷe-peḥe siri-kusalān) karavā yā-bat pudanu-koṭa (lov) pavatnā tāk kalaṭa; and renders :—"she caused the construction of sacred *kusalān* (vessels?) for the Demaḷe-peḥe (monastery), and, after making an offering of gruel (in them), dedicated them (to it) so long as the world exists."

The actual rock text is :—"Demaḷe veḥesara *kusalān* karavā pābat pudanu koṭa leṇa pavatnā tāk kalaṭa." As Englished :—"dedicated for the sake of religious merit *Demaḷe veḥesara* (village), causing rice to be offered (from that village) to monks, for so long a period as the Cave (Temple) shall exist."

Mr. Wickremasinghe has failed to understand "*kusalān*," in the present connection; and, deceived by the "squeezes," has misread "yābat" for "pābat," and "lov" for "leṇa."

As regards the termination in *ma* Mr. Wickremasinghe footnotes :—"If the last syllable be *mha*, the translation should be 'To this effect I am [*lit.* we are] Sundara-Mahā-devī.'" 23

23. *Dēvima*. This termination in *ma* later became *mā* e.g. Inscriptions of the 14th century at Gampola, Hulan-gamuwa, etc.



## THE KÓKILA SANDÉSA.

### "CUCKOO MESSAGE."

By W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, MUDALIYAR.

THE Kókila Sandésa was written in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. (A. C. 1410-1467) and is closely connected with a very important chapter of the History of Ceylon. In A.C. 1284, Bhuvaneka Báhu I. had scarcely breathed his last when a Pándyan general, A'rya Chakravarti, invaded this Island at the head of a great army. The invasion was a success, and the city of Yápau, the capital, having been sacked, the sacred Tooth-Relic was seized and carried away.

The kingdom of Pándya was at this time very strong under the able administration of Kulasékhara and his four royal brothers : and the new King of Ceylon, Parákrama Báhu III, saw that a struggle with that power was hopeless. Yet the Tooth-Relic was the most valued possession of the Sinhalese Crown, and its recovery at any cost was imperative. So Parákrama Báhu personally visited the Pándyan Court, and opened negotiations.

The Relic was restored ; but after that date, we find a permanent Tamil settlement in the Peninsula of Jaffna, with an A'rya Chakravarti as King, but more or less under the protection of the Court of Madura. The presumption is that the Peninsula had been the camping-ground of the invading Pándyan army, which sat there, and that it was surrendered as ransom for the Relic.

But whatever the history of this little kingdom may be, the kingdom itself was in the hands of very industrious men, trained to war, but not less trained to the arts of peace. It began to grow rapidly in wealth and power, and in the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu V. (A. C. 1372-1405), we find it become so powerful as to be able to control, with the aid of its fleet, the trade of the sea-coast towns of the Sinhalese sovereign.

The Tamil menace was getting to be very serious, when Alagakkónár, the great minister of Bhuvaneka Báhu, took the matter in hand, and, in his thorough way, dealt a crushing blow at the power of Jaffna. The Jaffnese survived the blow, but it is doubtful if they ever recovered from its effects ; and about 50 years after the days of Alagakkónár, we find the Sinhalese Court consider it not fitting that there should be two centres of independent authority in Ceylon.

Evidently, Parákrama Báhu VI, in his power, thought of recovering what Parákrama Báhu III, in his helplessness, had given away. For this purpose, Prince Sapumal ("Champak Flower"), the adopted son of the King, was dispatched at the head of an army ; and such was the ability, and such the address of the young leader, that some of the Tamils themselves joined his colours, and A'rya Chakravarti was soon in flight across the seas.

The Prince remained in possession of the Capital, the city of Yápá Patuna, as viceroy of the Sinhalese King ; and it was at this time that the present poem was composed as an address of congratulation to the Prince. It takes the form of a message sent through a Cuckoo, and is a reflection of the national joy at the restoration of the nation's supremacy over its own,



This poem was composed by the Principal of the Irugalkula College at Dondra, and is one of the most majestic in the Sinhalese language, while its value historically is incalculable. Its text, however, has greatly suffered at the hands of ignorant copyists for generations, and the corruptions of several centuries have been given a fixity and been even intensified by a glossary written by a gentleman of the name of Dissánáyaka, who is said to have flourished about a century ago. Mr. Dissánáyaka took the text as he found it, meaning or no meaning being a matter of no concern to him; and for what he found in the text, he wrote something as paraphrase, learnedly verbose where sense was most lacking. That is the Kókila Sandésa we now find in print,—the text which served Mr. Dissánáyaka, with his paraphrase.

It is felt that a valuable work like this should not be allowed to remain in such a state, esteemed merely as a rough diamond. It can be restored to its original splendour if the overlying covering of impurities be cleared away; and though the labour will be great, it is a work well worth attempting. At the request of the Editors of this Magazine, I have taken the trouble to revise the opening part of the work, and give it below with an English translation and notes on the plan sketched out for *The Ceylon Antiquary* Series of Standard Oriental Works.

In the West, poetry is the verbal delineation of idealistic pictures, true to nature as far as possible. If ornaments are used, they are artfully made unobtrusive, so that, though they may aid, they may not mar the natural effect. In the East, taste is just the other way. The loveliest women of the East appear in public covered with a profusion of jewels, and it becomes difficult to say which shew most—the jewels or the natural charms of the fair wearer. The Eastern eye, however, appreciates the beauties of both, and the nett result goes in favour of the wearer, whose natural graces of person the jewels are deemed to set off and make more impressive.

So with poetry. A Western poet will say that the heroine's face was like the rose, leaving the reader free to fill in the details in the manner most appealing to his imagination. But an Eastern poet will say her face was like a lotus-flower, the lips being the petals, the teeth the pollen, and the eye-brows the lines of bees visiting the flower. And, generally speaking, every idealistic picture, however beautiful in itself, is presented, not in the natural form in which it is conceived, but clothed in another picture of the poet's own drawing, i.e. a rhetorical figure. Thus the lady's face, radiant and beautiful, with a profusion of raven hair for a background, will be the resplendent moon breaking through a dark-blue cloud (Metaphor.)

The moat of a city may present the liveliest appearance with lotus-flowers glowing on its bosom, resonant with the hum of busy bees, and reflecting in its clear waters the tall rampart of snow-white marble which it surrounds. Yet the depth of the moat and the height of the rampart may be such that the one touches the world of the divine Cobras below, and the other the Heaven of Indra above (Hyperbole). Metaphor and hyperbole are often met with, and the more numerous and striking the rhetorical figures, the more beautiful is the poetry deemed.

This abundance of ornament may sometimes appear to a Western mind as fantastic. But it is no more correct to say it is fantastic, than it would be correct to say that an Eastern garden is fantastic for its abundance of foliage, blossoms and other wealth. The garden is the product of its own peculiar clime, and its beauties must be enjoyed with a proper appreciation of the clime of its birth. It is in this spirit that the specimens from the "Cuckoo Message," presented below, must be read.



## Text.

## Translation.

1. සැරද කොවුලිඳු සද—සරසිරි අමාරස සේ  
තුනුසිරිති නිලසුල තුල්—ලැබ පුල් අමාරස සේ.
2. සිරිදෙන ලකුණ රැඳි—රඳුනෙතිනි යුතු මමිතු ර  
හිමිසල් සහසුරමල් සේසත් සෙමෙ ර  
සුමිසල් නව වසතිඳු දිය මිහිඳුබෙ ර  
පරපුර වදන තුමි—රණකුර කළ කිරිල මෙ ම  
නළාගෙන වෙනෙන් පිහි වෙනුව සර ම දිත්  
නළා කරණ කැලුමෙන් සහද පිය න දිත්  
පු න් සද සුරිඳු සද සලකුණ අදිනව ර  
බන්සොද තෙලිතුබෙහි තෙල තුඩිති මනන ර  
මි න් ද ද ජයවිරිඳු නද කරන පියක ර  
අන්කොද මෙදිය තුර තොප සරිවන පව ර
3. මෙලෙස පසිඳු වන ලක් මුහුදු තු ල්ලා  
ඇ සැස රසදුනෙහි තුනු සිරි සුනි ල්ලා  
පි හි ස සරන වන අම් දලුව ලො ල්ලා  
වෙසෙස අපට සැප න දැකුම කොවු ල්ලා

1. Hail Cuckoo ! glorious bird of heavenly song,<sup>1</sup>  
Blue-lotus like, whose plumage shines serene ;  
Among the flowers nectarean drops enjoy ;<sup>2</sup>  
And prosper long, effective in thy speech.<sup>3</sup>
2. Friend ! crimson are thine eyes,—sure Fortune's  
sign ;<sup>4</sup>  
And come the regal Spring, with tall *sal* flower  
As white umbrella, mango-flowers the whisks,<sup>5</sup>  
Thou art the drum his triumphal march to sound.<sup>6</sup>  
Esteemed report, from olden times received,  
Tells how a wight deft in the craft of gold,  
Once made thy form a monarch's crown surmount,  
The brightest jewel in the highest place.<sup>7</sup>  
When Krishna's reed, from forest drawn, was  
found  
To lack melodious notes, thou with thy hue  
And music, nature's gift, didst help him play  
His knavish pranks among the sportive maids.<sup>8</sup>  
Resplendent is thy beak, so like the point  
Of the empyreal brush by Indra used  
When, on the Moon, he drew the gentle hare,  
To last on high for world's admiring gaze.<sup>9</sup>  
Thy cries are shouts of Cupid's victories.  
Where can the world disclose thy peer in love ?
3. Thus known to fame, a sea of virtues rare,  
Dark-blue in hue, a balm to every eye,  
Where mango-trees wear purple garb there  
found,<sup>10</sup>  
To see thee, cuckoo, is our highest joy.

1. In the literature of India, the highest ideal of a sweet singing bird is reached, curiously enough, in the Cuckoo. One species of this bird is said to be so sweet in its song, that the bird itself, after singing on a higher branch of a tree, flies down to a lower, to listen to the sweet floating notes of its own melody. The bird seen in Ceylon, however, is far from being a good singer. It has only one continuous cry "kú-há-kú-há" . . . . . which is anything but melodious. Perhaps the ideal bird addressed by the author combines both these species.

2. The cuckoo is said to live mostly on the honey of flowers.

3. The author finds it to his purpose to praise the cuckoo as a good speaker, as will be seen later on.

4. According to the science of physiognomy, redness in certain parts of the body is a sign of good fortune.

5. In India, the insignia of royalty were a white umbrella and two chowries. Here the Spring is spoken of as a king.

6. The cuckoo is noisiest in Spring.

7. Here a tradition is mentioned as a compliment to the cuckoo that its form was once used for the crest-gem of a royal crown.

8. This has reference to the early life of Krishna spent amidst the romantic surroundings of Gókula on the banks of the Jumna,—always a story of the most stirring interest and delight to the Indian mind. Krishna was an incarnation of Vishnu, who had sought the life terrestrial in order to destroy Kansa (his mother's cousin), a heartless usurper who had dethroned his own father. Kansa had been warned of the coming hero, and had taken precautions. But the infant, as soon as it was born, was entrusted to the care of a cow-herd, Nanda, and his wife Yasoda, who, when danger was threatening, escaped with their precious charge to Gókula, a pastoral district of simple country life. Here the infant grew up to be a bright young man, with flowing hair and a dark skin, extremely handsome in appearance. He was very fond of the flute,—the common instrument of music among cow-herds,—on which he played soul-melting notes, and the young *gopics* or cow-herdresses of the district fell easy victims both to his natural charms and to his music. He was the gayest Lothario ever seen on earth, and often played many a naughty prank among the simple damsels who adored him. On one occasion they were bathing in the stream when he stole all their clothes, and, hanging them high up on a tree, kept himself seated on a higher branch, quite unconcernedly playing his flute, compelling the girls to come up to the tree "as they were," and to implore him for the clothes. He was free in his favours to all his sweet-hearts, who came up to the round number of 16,000 with a few hundreds besides; and when he died, he left a pretty large family-circle of some 180,000 sons alone in round figures, a few dozen being omitted as the excess.

An idea can, therefore, be formed of the extent of his amours, and the amount of fun and frolic he, with his playful turn of mind, must have had among the country maids. The poet here compliments the cuckoo as being an active helper in this vast enterprise of love. Where the flute of Krishna and his colour were not sufficiently persuasive, he says the kindling notes of the cuckoo and its colour added their influence, and the combined effect on the hearts of the young creatures became irresistible.

9. A hare was practising the austerities of an ascetic's life in the forest. Indra, in order to test him, came to him as a mendicant, and asked for alms. The hare, having no suitable alms to give him, offered his own body, and jumped into a fire prepared by the supposed mendicant. Indra received him in his arms, and conveying him to Heaven, drew his image on the orb of the moon, to be a memorial for all time.

10. The cuckoo is said to be very fond of the tender leaves of the mango tree.



4. මිතුරු තුමෝ පෙර බැඳී මිතුරු දම් න ර  
මිතුරු ලෙසින් නොහරිති දෙන ඉසුරු බ ර  
සිතුරු වනෙහි සිතුවා සිදුකරන ව ර  
මිතුරු එයින් මනෙපල න සවනන පු ර
5. නොලැගේ කනට සිතිවුරු ගිරවුන් වද න  
නි ස ගේ දුර ඇසෙයි නද සැලලිඬිණි ය න  
ඇ ම ගේ ශ්‍රවණ පවසන මිසුරු තෙපල න  
නොහැරේ මෙනතු කීමට නොප මිසක් වෙ න
6. හෙබ වී න් ගන කලට හස සපද සුරප නේ  
න බ මී න් ගමන් සර තුරුසිදුරු සැඟවෙ නේ  
ලොබ යෙත් රැහුම ලස්වෙති මිසුරු දියනෙ නේ  
එ බැ වී න් නොපම නිසිබව මෙයතුරට සි නේ
7. මිතුරු තුරුපති මොරදන සරදකල් තුල් සබද  
න අදහස "කිම?" යන්—.
8. අස්නක් සදිසි සිරිසද හිඳින හැමව ර  
දිස්නක් ලෙසින් මුරි සිරිලකට පුවන ර  
සස්නක් ලෙවින් රකිනා රජකුට පව ර  
අස්නක් රැගෙන යන ගමනකි දුරුකන ර
9. උ න් ආරිය සක්විති රජ දුත දුර ට  
දු න් වැජඹෙන යාපා පවුන නිරනො ට  
න න් සිරිසුන් සපුමල් රජ කුමරිදු ට  
දෙත් මෙහසුන් ගෙන ගොස් මමිතුර සතු ට
10. තවද ජලධරෙඝු හිලවණ්ණකාරී ශරීර ලා  
වණසෙන් නෙත්‍රාභිරමවු මිත්‍රානනමය—මධුර  
ශබ්දව පුණි සංඥය පැසුරි පවසමි—දුන්මේ නා  
යාත්‍රා වන පුරපුරයෙහි වණිනා නැමති සැණි  
ලබ්ධාරයෙන් කණි ලබ්ධාරකර
11. ශිරි රද අසුරු පා නන් පෑය මිදිය  
පිරි මිණි පබ්‍ර තුල් සල් දෙපස මිදිය  
සිරි කර සතන ගෙවුයන් කුසුම මිදිය  
සිරි දෙවි කුමර බල තුරු නිතද මිදිය
4. Good noble friends, by friendship's chain once bound,  
No more forsake those ties than fortune's charms.  
So thou, my friend, my wish-conferring gem<sup>11</sup>  
To these my words thy gentle ear incline.
5. The parrot's voice, too smooth, slides on the ear;  
The Mina's cry, high pitched, is heard afar.  
Thy speech enchants the ear, enthralls the mind.  
So none like thee to whom these words to tell.
6. Come rain, the swan hides in the nearest pond;  
The bee seeks shelter in a hollow trunk.  
The peacock lags to dance before the sun.  
So, for this journey, none so fit as thee.
7. With glorious sun and radiant moon,  
Glows autumn day and night.  
Friend bright as autumn! Wotst the boon  
That lies within thy might?
8. A valiant prince, the guardian of a realm,  
Shines like the seat where Lakshmi sits enthroned<sup>12</sup>  
To him, Sri Lanka's<sup>13</sup> light, a message bear.  
Though long will be the way and great the toil.
9. Great Sapumal is he, our royal scion,  
Who made King A'rya Chakravarti flee.  
He now in strength proud Yāpā Patun holds;  
And thither thou art on this mission bound.
10. Thy charge anon I shall impart,  
In accents grateful to thy heart.  
But first, my friend, with hue endow'd  
The same as of the blue-black cloud,  
And with a form entrancing all  
The eyes that on its beauties fall!  
Now make these words thine ear's adorn,  
Like golden pendants brightly worn,  
Descriptive of the place from whence  
Thine aerial journey shall commence.
11. Know Dondra is this place, this city fair,  
Where stately mansions, bright as Méru, shine;<sup>14</sup>  
Where gems and coral shew in plenteous store,  
In princely shops adorning lively streets;  
Where lotus blows in orchards e'er in bloom,  
And strains of music fill the balmy air.

11. The wish-conferring gem is a well known object in Indian Literature, having the virtue of conferring on the possessor whatever he may wish for.

12. Lakshmi is the goddess of fortune. To say that Prince Sapumal is like her seat is equal to saying that fortune is ever present in him, in the fullest sense conceivable.

13. Sri Lanka, the glorious Island of Lanka or Ceylon.

14. The Méru, originally the polar axis, later became in Indian cosmography an immense rock, standing in the centre of the world, and rising to a height of 84,000 leagues into space. It is a very bright object, with four different colours on the four sides, being on the East white as crystal, on the South sapphire-blue, on the West red as coral, and on the North of the colour of gold, besides having a blending of each two colours in contact in the intermediate directions.

The sea on each side of Méru borrows its colour from the lustre on that side of the rock; and thus we find, opposed to the Eastern face of the rock, which is white as crystal, the Sea of Milk or the Milky Ocean.

On the top of Méru, which is 10,000 square leagues in extent, is the Paradise of Indra, the chief of the gods' fortwo Heavens.

In the present stanza, the poet only says that the houses at Dondra were as bright as Méru. In the next, by a hyperbolic metaphor, he also suggests that they were as tall as that rock.



12. පි ර දි ය පි රි නුපුර උර දිසි මිණි මෙවු ල  
තුතුසු ල කළ කළ පුරදොර කර මිසු ල  
සොමි සිග නිරණ යුග මිණි තෝවු රසු දු ල  
සු ර ර ද නිරුල දුර නිති මෙපුර මනක ල
13. නොපහළ සදෙහි රිපි ගනදර ලන ලෙස ම  
නොවහළ නිරණ තුඩුවා මෙන් නොව සර ම  
සි රි දු ල මෙපුර මේ සුසාදු දොර දොර ම  
සු ල කළ මිණිතොරණ බබළයි හැම දින ම
14. ඉසු නිල් මිණි තුළ පා සිව් මැදුර තු ර  
මනකල් කල් වන සද සදිසි නොමින ර  
සු මිසුල් ගෙදිතුමිල් වැද සරනා නිතො ර  
මියවුල් දුක්ව සක්වා යුග ගිණි හැ ර
15. වන් සුරගත වරගත උවන දුඩු ම නින්  
රන් පියුමැයි දක නොහැකිලෙන සැක සි නින්  
නන් මිණි තොරණ කැලුමෙහි පිම්ස සුරප නින්  
දුන් සිසි වෙස් වළා යන වැන්න සිස ප නින්
16. මෙපුර සොබන පිළුමිණි රුදු පහග බ ද  
අඹර ලෙලෙන සේ දද සෙද පවන් වැ ද  
පවර ඉසුරු සිර සුර ගනිනි මන න ද  
නිතර වැහෙන හැලිසිසි සිරි සිලි සබ ද
17. දිලි මිදුලි සැරහු ගනරන් පොරෙ දු  
නිසුණු උලි දල දළ කොක වැළ මිනි දු  
කනනහැලි ගිලි මද වැසි පොද සිනි දු  
සරන බලි ගජ කුර් මේ කුලෙහි රු දු
18. මලිසිය මලින් රැඳි දිගු නිල් වරල ස රු  
ගෙලෙ මුතුපටින් දිලිහෙන උවන සද ස රු  
සැදි හෙළ සදුන් නන අගනෝ මෙපුර ස රු  
යසලිය ලෙසින් පැලමෙනි සහන පන් ස රු
19. ලකළ උයන්වල සිටි කපුරු තුරු පෙ න  
ගසළ සුවද මදනල මෙපුර දිගුනෙ න  
පුවළ සුරන සරකස දුරුකර නැව න  
ඉපිළ අවල කෙළුයෙහි සැලසිය සන න
12. With moat her anklet, rampart jewelled zone,  
High portals arms, the sun and moon ear-drops,  
This city, lady fair, doth e'er sustain  
The King of gods a diadem on her brow.<sup>12</sup>
13. As if the sun, that darkness be dispelled  
When he is gone, had left his rays behind,  
At every door, an arch transcendent stands,  
Of precious stones emitting lustrous rays.
14. In sapphire mansions here, a maiden's face  
Seen at the casement, radiant as the moon,  
Lo ! makes the Sakvā mates with hearts perplex  
Exchange their sad adieus, and leave the pond.<sup>14</sup>
15. Reflected seen in many a jewelled arch,  
The full-orbed moon seems here to go disguised.  
Perchance the faces of the nymph-like fair  
Seem golden lotus-flowers which will not shrink.<sup>15</sup>
16. White flags surmounting crystal mansions here,  
Tossed in the breeze, the beautiful sight present  
Of numerous falls from the celestial stream  
Meandering in the maze of Siva's locks.<sup>16</sup>
17. With lightning flashing in their cloths of gold,<sup>17</sup>  
And lines of cranes shewn by their pointed tusks<sup>20</sup>  
Here elephants like passing clouds appear,  
Their ichor<sup>21</sup> falling soft as drops of rain.<sup>22</sup>
18. Fair maidens here in endless graces shine,  
Their raven tresses bright with jasmine bloom,  
Their necks with pearls, their breasts with sandal  
balm,  
Their faces beaming like the autumn moon.  
They are the glory of the mind-born god ;  
Like golden vines they glitter and they glow.
19. Here gentle Zephyrs, sweeping over the groves  
Of cooling sandal, cool and thence revive  
The fatigued fair, and prompt their hearts again  
To taste the joys of Love's elysian bower.

12. The reference is to the tallness of the houses which form the body of the lady. To have Indra as a crown, the head of the lady must be in contact with Heaven where Indra is. The figure involved is metaphor combined with circumlocution, and ending in hyperbole.

16. The Sakvā (Sanskrit *Chakravāka*) is a bird noted for its conjugal affection. The pair, always seeking food together in ponds, never separate under any circumstances, except at night-fall when they are bound to go in different directions to roost. This they do with the greatest regret and they bemoan the separation the whole night. At Dondra these poor birds have sometimes to separate earlier than necessary. For, when at the casement of a tall house of sapphire, blue as the sky, they see a face radiant as the moon, they think it is the moon, and sorely perplexed that night could have come so soon, they fly away. The figure is hyperbole combined with circumlocution.

17. Lotus-flowers, which open at sun-rise, close their petals again in the evening. Hence, in poetic fancy, they expand to the sun, and shrink before the moon.

18. The reference is to the celestial Ganges, which, flowing from the great toe of Vishnu, is received on the head of Siva in order to break the force of the fall. It wanders about the tangled locks of Siva until it issues out as a crystal stream on the top of Kailasa in the Himalayas, whence it finds its way to earth.

19. The comparisons of an elephant, which even now are often of rich cloth of gold.

20. Cranes are supposed to have great attractions for a rain-cloud and to be often its companions.

21. The juice exuding from the temple-knobs of an elephant in rut.

22. Like horses in the West, the elephants formed a feature of city life in the East. Here it is intended to shew how numerous were the elephants in the city of Dondra, and how grand they were both in regard to condition and trappings.



4. මිතුරු තුමෝ පෙර බැඳී මිතුරු දම් න ර  
මතුරු ලෙසින් නොහරිති දෙන ඉසුරු බ ර  
සිතුරු වනෙහි සිතුවා සිදුකරන ව ර  
මිතුරු එසින් මනෙපල න සවනන පු ර
5. නොලැගේ කනට සිනිඳුව යිරවුන් වද න  
නි ස ගේ දුර ඇසෙයි නද සැලැලිණි ය න  
ඇ ම ගේ ශ්‍රවණ පවසන මිශුරු තෙපල න  
නොහැගේ මෙනතු කීමට නොප මිසක් වෙ න
6. සෙබ මි න් ගත කලට ගස සපද සුරප හේ  
ත බ මි න් ගමන් සර තුරුසිදුරු සැගවෙ හේ  
ලොබ යෙන් රැහුම ලස්වෙති මිශුරු දියනෙ හේ  
එ බැ මි න් නොපම නිසිබව මෙයතුරට සි හේ
7. මිතුරු තුරුපති මොරදන සරදකල් තුල් සබද  
ත අදහස “කිම ?” යන්න—
8. අස්නක් සදිසි සිරිසද හිඳින හැමව ර  
දිස්නක් ලෙසින් මුර් සිරිලකට පුවන ර  
සස්නක් ලෙවන් රකිනා රජකුට පව ර  
අස්නක් රැගෙන යන ගමනකි දුරුකන ර
9. උ න් ආරිය සක්මිති රජ දුත දුර ට  
දු න් වැජඹෙන යාපා පවුන නිරකො ට  
න න් සිරිසුත් සපුමල් රජ කුමරිඳු ට  
දෙන්න මෙහෙසුන් ගෙන ගොස් මමිතුර සතු ට
10. තවද ජලධරෙහු නිලවණ්ණකාරී ගිරි ලා  
වණ්ණයෙන් නෙත්‍රානිරුමවු මිත්‍රානුමය—මධුර  
ශබ්දව පුණි සංඥාය පැසුර් පවසමි—දන්මේ තා  
යාත්‍රා වන පුරපුරයෙහි වණ්ණා නැමති සවණ්ණ  
ලබ්ධාරයෙන් කණි ලබ්ධාරකර—
11. යිරි රද අශුරු පානන් පැය විදිය  
පිරි මිණි පබල තුල් සල් දෙපස විදිය  
සිරි කර සතන ගෙවුයන් කුසුම විදිය  
සිරි දෙමි නුවර බල තුරු හිනද විදිය
4. Good noble friends, by friendship's chain once bound,  
No more forsake those ties than fortune's charms.  
So thou, my friend, my wish-conferring gem<sup>11</sup>  
To these my words thy gentle ear incline.
5. The parrot's voice, too smooth, slides on the ear ;  
The Mina's cry, high pitched, is heard afar.  
Thy speech enchants the ear, enthalls the mind.  
So none like thee to whom these words to tell.
6. Come rain, the swan hides in the nearest pond ;  
The bee seeks shelter in a hollow trunk.  
The peacock lags to dance before the sun.  
So, for this journey, none so fit as thee.
7. With glorious sun and radiant moon,  
Glows autumn day and night.  
Friend bright as autumn ! Wotst the boon  
That lies within thy might ?
8. A valiant prince, the guardian of a realm,  
Shines like the seat where Lakshmi sits enthroned<sup>12</sup>  
To him, Sri Lanka's<sup>13</sup> light, a message bear.  
Though long will be the way and great the toil.
9. Great Sapumal is he, our royal scion,  
Who made King A'rya Chakravarti flee.  
He now in strength proud Yāpā Patun holds ;  
And thither thou art on this mission bound.
10. Thy charge anon I shall impart,  
In accents grateful to thy heart.  
But first, my friend, with hue endow'd  
The same as of the blue-black cloud,  
And with a form entrancing all  
The eyes that on its beauties fall !  
Now make these words thine ear's adorn,  
Like golden pendants brightly worn,  
Descriptive of the place from whence  
Thine aerial journey shall commence.
11. Know Dondra is this place, this city fair,  
Where stately mansions, bright as Méru, shine ;<sup>14</sup>  
Where gems and coral shew in plenteous store,  
In princely shops adorning lively streets ;  
Where lotus blows in orchards e'er in bloom,  
And strains of music fill the balmy air.

11. The wish-conferring gem is a well known object in Indian Literature, having the virtue of conferring on the possessor whatever he may wish for.

12. Lakshmi is the goddess of fortune. To say that Prince Sapumal is like her seat is equal to saying that fortune is ever present in him, in the fullest sense conceivable.

13. Sri Lanka, the glorious Island of Lanka or Ceylon.

14. The Méru, originally the polar axis, later became in Indian cosmography an immense rock, standing in the centre of the world, and rising to a height of 84,000 leagues into space. It is a very bright object, with four different colours on the four sides, being on the East white as crystal, on the South sapphire-blue, on the West red as coral, and on the North of the colour of gold, besides having a blending of each two colours in contact in the intermediate directions.

The sea on each side of Méru borrows its colour from the lustre on that side of the rock ; and thus we find, opposed to the Eastern face of the rock, which is white as crystal, the Sea of Milk or the Milky Ocean.

On the top of Méru, which is 10,000 square leagues in extent, is the Paradise of Indra, the chief of the gods for two Heavens.

In the present stanza, the poet only says that the houses at Dondra were as bright as Méru. In the next, by a hyperbolic metaphor, he also suggests that they were as tall as that rock.



12. පි රි දි ය පි රි කුපුර උර දිසි මිණි මෙවු ල  
තුතුසු ල කළ කළ පුරදොර කර විසු ල  
සොම් සිය නිරණ යුග මිණි තෝවු රසු දු ල  
සු ර ර ද නිරුළ දුර නිති මෙපුර මනක ල
13. නොපහළ සදෙහි රිපි ගතදර ලන ලෙස ම  
නොවහළ නිරණ තුඩුවා මෙන් නොව සර ම  
සි රි දු ල මෙපුර මි සුසාදු දොර දොර ම  
සු ල කළ මිණිතොරණ බබළයි හැම දින ම
14. ඉපුනිල් මිණි තුළ පා සිව් මැදුර තු ර  
මනකල් කල් වන සද සදිසි නොමින ර  
සු විසුල් ගෙදිහිල් මැද සරනා නිතො ර  
මිසවුල් දුක්ව සක්වා යුග ගිණිස් හැ ර
15. වන් සුරහන මරහන උවන දුටු ම නින්  
රන් පිසුමැයි දක නොහැකිලෙන සැක සි නින්  
නන් මිණි තොරණ කැලුමෙහි පිමිස සුරප නින්  
දුන් සිසි වෙස වළාසන වැන්න බිය ප නින්
16. මෙපුර සොබන පිළිමිණි රුදු පහන බ ද  
අඹර ලෙලෙන සේ දද සෙද පවන් වැ ද  
පවර ඉසුරු සිර සුර ගහිනි මන න ද  
නිතර වැහෙන හැලිසිය සිරි සිලි සබ ද
17. දිලි විදුලි සැරහු ගතරන් පොරො දු  
නිසුණිලි දල දළ කොක වැළ මිහි දු  
කනතහැලි හිලි මද වැසි පොදු සිනි දු  
සරන බලි ගජ කුර් මේ කුලෙහි රු දු
18. මලිගිය මලින් රැඳි දිගු නිල් වරල ස රු  
ගෙලෙ මුතුපටින් දිලිහෙන උවන සද ස රු  
සැදි හෙළ සසුන් නන අගනෝමෙපුර ස රු  
යසලිය ලෙසින් පැලමිනි සහන පන් ස රු
19. ලකුළු උස්වල සිව් කපුරු තුරු පෙ න  
ගසළ සුවද මදනල මෙපුර දිගුනෙ න  
දුටුළු සුරන සරනස දුරුකර නැව න  
ඉවිළ අවල කෙළිසෙහි සැලසිය සන න
12. With moat her anklet, rampart jewelled zone,  
High portals arms, the sun and moon ear-drops,  
This city, lady fair, doth e'er sustain  
The King of gods a diadem on her brow.<sup>15</sup>
13. As if the sun, that darkness be dispelled  
When he is gone, had left his rays behind,  
At every door, an arch transcendent stands,  
Of precious stones emitting lustrous rays.
14. In sapphire mansions here, a maiden's face  
Seen at the casement, radiant as the moon,  
Lo ! makes the Sakvā mates with hearts perplex  
Exchange their sad adieus, and leave the pond.<sup>16</sup>
15. Reflected seen in many a jewelled arch,  
The full-orbed moon seems here to go disguised.  
Perchance the faces of the nymph-like fair  
Seem golden lotus-flowers which will not  
shrink.<sup>17</sup>
16. White flags surmounting crystal mansions here,  
Tossed in the breeze, the beautiful sight present  
Of numerous falls from the celestial stream  
Meandering in the maze of Siva's locks.<sup>18</sup>
17. With lightning flashing in their cloths of gold,<sup>19</sup>  
And lines of cranes shewn by their pointed tusks<sup>20</sup>  
Here elephants like passing clouds appear,  
Their ichor<sup>21</sup> falling soft as drops of rain.<sup>22</sup>
18. Fair maidens here in endless graces shine,  
Their raven tresses bright with jasmine bloom,  
Their necks with pearls, their breasts with sandal  
balm,  
Their faces beaming like the autumn moon.  
They are the glory of the mind-born god ;  
Like golden vines they glitter and they glow.
19. Here gentle Zephyrs, sweeping over the groves  
Of cooling sandal, cool and thence revive  
The fatigued fair, and prompt their hearts again  
To taste the joys of Love's elysian bower.

15. The reference is to the tallness of the houses which form the body of the lady. To have Indra as a crown, the head of the lady must be in contact with Heaven where Indra is. The figure involved is metaphor combined with circumlocution, and ending in hyperbole.

16. The Sakvā (Sanskrit *Chakradāka*) is a bird noted for its conjugal affection. The pair, always seeking food together in ponds, never separate under any circumstances, except at night-fall when they are bound to go in different directions to roost. This they do with the greatest regret and they bemoan the separation the whole night. At Dondra these poor birds have sometimes to separate earlier than necessary. For, when at the casement of a tall house of sapphire, blue as the sky, they see a face radiant as the moon, they think it is the moon, and sorely perplexed that night could have come so soon, they fly away. The figure is hyperbole combined with circumlocution.

17. Lotus-flowers, which open at sun-rise, close their petals again in the evening. Hence, in poetic fancy, they expand to the sun, and shrink before the moon.

18. The reference is to the celestial Ganges, which, flowing from the great toe of Vishnu, is received on the head of Siva in order to break the force of the fall. It wanders about the tangled locks of Siva until it issues out as a crystal stream on the top of Kailasa in the Himalayas, whence it finds its way to earth.

19. The comparisons of an elephant, which even now are often of rich cloth of gold.

20. Cranes are supposed to have great attractions for a rain-cloud and to be often its companions.

21. The juice exuding from the temple-knobs of an elephant in rut.

22. Like horses in the West, the elephants formed a feature of city life in the East. Here it is intended to shew how numerous were the elephants in the city of Dondra, and how grand they were both in regard to condition and trappings.



20. සිතු පිහවන මන සලලුන් දුටු මිහ සි 20. See long-eyed maids. Their narrow foreheads  
නතු පටු නළලතට නොසමව පුර දිගැ සි clear  
ශ්‍රිතු තද ලද සියෙකුළු සරද නව සි Eclipse the graces of the crescent Moon.  
මතු දිනකුට ඇසිරු කළ දළ දළ සි And hence, meseems, the crescent Moon's resort  
To Siva's brow—to mend its fortune still.<sup>23</sup>
21. ම න නි න් නොහළ දසදම් පෙමැති ඇමිමි 21. Here, in this city, all ten virtues shine ;  
ම න නි න් සම් ඉසුරු නෙවුනා නිසිලෙස 21. All wealth abounds. In charm 'tis like the conch  
වෙන නි න් ගත් සකෙම් සිරි පෑ මෙ කුමර 21. In Vishnu's hand—most blessed sight to see.<sup>24</sup>  
වෙන හි න් උවම් නිසිසර විමසනු කුම 21. No other object will compare sustain.

(To be continued.)

23. The crescent Moon is worn by Siva as an ornament on his brow. Here the poet suggests that the crescent Moon, which was the loveliest object of its shape, has been eclipsed by the foreheads of the maidens of Dondra, and is therefore now serving the great god Siva in order that, by divine favour, it may regain its original position of superiority. The figure involved is *utprā-kāśhā* = fanciful suggestion.

24. Vishnu is an auspicious object, and so is a conch. A conch in the hand of Vishnu will, therefore, be an auspicious object in *extremo*. Vishnu does carry a conch in one of his hands.





## JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By the REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. II, Part IV, Page 235.)

Jesuit Letters, 1618—1633.

(Translated from the Original Portuguese, Latin and Italian.)

1618.

College of Colombo in the Island of Ceylon and the Stations annexed thereto.

[Emmanuel A Costa : 15 DEC., 1618.]

WE wrote last year how the Fathers who were successfully labouring for the salvation of souls in various parts of the island betook themselves to the College on the outbreak of war, and how in consequence our resources were taxed by the addition to our number—now fifteen persons in all. Profiting by the opportunity they gave themselves the more fervently to the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius, and, as work was lacking, they spent their time with great fruit in the duties of religious life. Divine Providence did not fail to provide for their sustenance, for a certain person bequeathed them an alms of 500 *aurei*.

The church was enriched with sacred ornaments, holy vestments, altar cloths, and curtains of *damask* and other lighter silks. A silver pyx, gilt, was procured for the Sacred Host, a handsome crucifix was bought for use in Lent, and a banner for the processions which are celebrated with great concourse of people. The church built for the convenience of the College was finished, and the narrowness of the edifice was made up for by a *verandah* (? *portico*) The first Mass was said therein on the feast of our holy Father (St. Ignatius, 31 July) in the presence of a large crowd of Religious and citizens.

When the tumults of war subsided the Fathers at once returned to their stations ; but, seeing the havoc caused by the war, their churches razed to the ground, and their flocks living after the manner of the Gentiles, they were naturally reminded of the past, and the thought that of so many churches hardly any survived was so painful that they shed tears from grief of heart. However, they had the churches rebuilt, though with nothing like their former magnificence, and laboured hard to reinstruct the people in the precepts of the orthodox faith. The trouble they had, both to liberate and to ransom those who had been taken as traitors, was by no means contemptible. They had an order passed that no Christian prisoner be put to death, for those who had been enslaved could be easily bought off. This came to the ears of the pagans, and,



when the prisoners were led forth to be discharged, they made the sign of the cross on the forehead and proclaimed themselves Christians. We hope it will be useful to make them embrace the Christian faith more readily in future. This being said in general, we pass to the various Residences.

In the village of **Moroto**, which was unaffected by the sedition, a new church was built with a house for the Father at a little distance from it ; but, owing to the troublous times, services are held only once in fifteen days.

The Father in charge of **Caimel** repaired the church and laboured not a little to gather his scattered flock and bring back to their minds the practices of the faith which they had completely forgotten. Just now, on account of the difficulty of the circumstances, no attempt is made to make new converts. For all are in daily apprehension that warfare will be renewed as **Maduna**, a descendant of the royal line, has returned and proclaimed himself King of Uva. For this reason in **Chilaw** both the church and the houses of the townspeople were transferred to another place. The Father who had charge of them at once began his catechetical instructions to a great number of children, a work which had been interrupted for so many months. The past lessons are repeated with much labour because more difficult, though with great pleasure because it is something long-desired rather than painfully learnt. From this place the Father often visited the Christians of the inland village of **Monoceram**, where, owing to frequent inroads of the enemy, the Mission has not yet been resumed. There was a man of this village who went over to the leader of the sedition and did not hesitate to accept the role of Ambassador to King Maduna, who was then on the other shore (South India). Realising, however, that the Portuguese were always victorious he returned to the island of Calpety, where he denied his faith, but falling grievously ill he sought the hospitality of Monoceram. The Father heard that he was dangerously ill and paid him a visit. Being asked why he came thither the man, knowing that he was in danger of death, said that he returned to give himself over to the Portuguese General and undergo the death which he had deserved by his crime. His end, however, was near and he soon came to such good disposition as to make a general confession of the sins of his whole life past, shedding tears of repentance. In a few days he lost consciousness and breathed his last, to the great solace of all who had reason to think that he went to the place which is open to those who die well. I make no mention of the grief and pain which our Father had to bear owing to the almost incredible injuries inflicted on the poor people by the leaders and chiefs of villages.

In the island of **Calpety**, where two Fathers used to be stationed in charge of four churches, there is only one Father who resides in the church built at **Tatai**, looking after that flock for the present and neglecting the rest. Twenty-five persons abandoned the Moorish superstition and were regenerated at the baptismal font, preferring to be reborn to God rather than die in their ancestral infidelity. Four other Moors are being instructed in the faith along with another ' of no obscure birth ' to be baptised in due time. Excepting a few Moors there is no one in this island who has not been gathered into the fold of Christ.

In **Matiagama**, where hostilities first broke out with the murder of our Fathers, we have not yet rebuilt any of the three churches that were burnt down. However, the Father who ministers to the Portuguese army visits the faithful living there, whenever he happens to pass by. This Father was of no small comfort to the soldiers in their various engagements with the enemy, and was himself wounded with a spear. He heard many general confessions and succeeded in baptising many who were condemned to death. Among these was a man who, on account of his



conversion, was given the more lenient form of death by hanging (*strangulationis*), but the cord snapping when he was only half dead, he loudly invoked the holy name of Jesus and breathed his last, giving the bystanders a clear testimony that the lessons he had recently learnt were deeply graven in his heart.

Another Father is at **Malwana** where the General abides with his army. When this Father wanted to return to his station from the College of Colombo, the other Fathers attempted to keep him back owing to the floods of the Kelany River, but he set out in spite of their entreaties. There he found one of the children who had to be baptised breathing his last. The child was immediately baptised and fled to heaven fresh from his baptism.

Similarly he went to a place ten leagues away to give the consolation of confession to a soldier who was lying ill. Noticing that he was hastening to the threshold of death, the Father warned him of the danger. The Sacraments being administered the man, as if he had nothing more to wait for, ended his life with indications of eternal salvation.

Another man, on being led to the gibbet (*patibulum*), met a poor old woman and, moved with pity, bequeathed to her the cloth he wore—for besides that he owned nothing else. Some of those who accompanied him, thinking that he was a pagan, asked him whether he wished to receive baptism. The man replied that he was a Christian and asked them to call a priest to make his confession. The Father arrived and absolved him of his sins, everybody ascribing this grace to his charity and alms-deed. The man so prepared himself to die well that it was a great proof of his eternal salvation.

EMMANUEL A COSTA.

15th Dec., 1618.

An. Litt. Malabar, Fol. 357-359.

### The College and Residences in Ceylon.

1619.

[Emmanuel Barrada: 1 DEC., 1619.]

The Bishop of Cochin,<sup>144</sup> on his arrival here, withdrew from us the spiritual care of Moratuwa, which was hitherto entrusted to the Society, and gave it over to the Franciscans, removing from us even the temporal dominion. In the parish of Caimel only 2 adults were baptised this year on account of the frequent inroads of the 'robbers,' who however never dared to touch the town itself. For the same reason only 7 persons were enrolled Christians in Monoceram, though many others, who have promised to become Christians after the sowing season, are being instructed in Catechism. Not differently did matters fare with the Father at Calpety, for as the fear of the 'robbers' led the people to change their abode frequently, only twenty adults were added into the Lord's fold.

The Bishop of Cochin, who has now become a Minister of the King and has obtained temporal jurisdiction also, withdrew from us the administration of nearly all the other churches, and gave them over to the other Religious Orders—a thing which no layman that held office in this island ever dared to do to us in spite of Royal Mandates.

When the General set out on an expedition this year, another Father, besides the usual Chaplain, accompanied the army. Of their doings for the glory of God and the service of the King I mention two things, whatever they may mean.

144. Dom Frei Sebastião de S. Pedro.



The sowing having been delayed at the instigation of an apostate named Baretto, the army hardly found any green crops when it came to a place where at that time of the year corn usually ripened. Consequently they had to suffer hunger for want of corn and they would certainly have perished from it had they not been assisted from on high. The Father twice instituted public prayers for the purpose, preaching sermons calculated to inspire confidence and trust in the Mother of God who would come to our aid in time of need. On both occasions the merciful Mother heard their prayers, abundantly supplying us with corn which seemed to have been preserved for us in the barns of the enemy.

During the march two men coming out of the enemy's hiding places were captured. One of these was convinced of the truths of the Christian faith and professed it to the admiration of all. He said that he had never revered his gods in his heart, but was ever eager of the Christian faith in which he hoped he would one day be instructed and baptised. He was soon well grounded in the faith and piously received baptism. When he had to pay the penalty of a spy by being hanged (*suspensio*)—for he made so much of the salvation of his soul that he did not ask for his life—the handcuffs broke from some cause or other, and he pressed to his heart with great piety the cross that was hanging from his neck since his baptism, and in that happy embrace he received the blessing of eternal life.

E. BARRADA.

Cochin, Kal. Dec., 1619.

An. Litt. Malabar, Fol. 378.

### 1620

[F. Antonio Rubino to F. Mutius Vetelleschi. 8 Nov., 1620.]

Blessed be the Lord who consoles us in our tribulation, and that when we least expect. Last year I wrote to your Paternity the thousand miseries of this College which holy obedience entrusted to me; for at the request and on the complaints of the Bishop of Cochin the villages that were given to us for the foundation of the College were taken from us. But this year our Lord was pleased to console us abundantly by directing them to be restored to us. The Governor who came on the death of the Conde de Redondo sent our papers from Goa with a *provisão* in which he ordered all the villages to be given back to us, to be held by us as formerly till he informed His Majesty of the truth. The Captain General of the island at once carried out the instructions and put us in possession of them once again. We hope that, with Father Albert Laertio's departure for Portugal, the matter will be confirmed by the King. The College in that case will remain well founded.

This city showed the great affection it had for the Society; for, seeing that we were without means, the people came to our rescue with their alms, which amounted to over 500 *pardaões*.

The widow M. Roiz who, during her life, had made a gift of all her property to the College—as your Reverence was informed—died lately; and, by her death, the College received a yearly income of 450 *pardaões*, which is for the new church, the construction of which was begun some time ago and is being continued. I trust in the Lord that it will soon be completed and will be one of the finest churches in India.

This year a Mission was given by our Fathers in the fortress of Galle where much good work was done, and it is hoped that a College will soon be founded there; for the residents asked for one Father with great earnestness and offered to give suitable maintenance. We have also



obtained permission from the Bishop to build two churches in two of our villages. I hope that with God's help all the inhabitants will be baptised in a few months, for they are very anxious to receive the water of baptism.

This College was much consoled by the arrival of the Father Visitor, who paid it a visit and gave some good directions to be carried out for the welfare of the Missions and for our religious observance.

This College has 8 Residences attached to it, in which reside eight Fathers in charge of 11 churches, besides the two we are going to build. There are usually 19 Fathers belonging to this College.

In the Missions about 250 adults were baptised this year, and many are under instruction and will be baptised shortly.

In this College we have three courses—one of Cases of Conscience (Moral Theology) which was recently introduced at the request of the Bishop for the secular clergy, of whom there are many—another of Latin and the third of Reading and Writing. All the Fathers get on well with their work, each in his office and ministry, with great edification. The Fathers in the Mission stations labour hard for the conversion of souls and for the instruction of those already converted, particularly in giving instructions in Christian doctrine to the children. The Bishop marvelled at their work, and spoke publicly in praise of the Society. [As he is not in the best of terms with us, he praised us more than the other Religions for our zeal in the conversion of souls and for religious instruction.] On his arrival in this island this Prelate did us all the harm he could, but our Lord deigned to change his heart, so that now he gets on very well with us and speaks a thousand good things of the Society; but we must not pay great heed to his words, for he changes his attitude on the least provocation, and says and does what crosses his mind. At present he is on bad terms with the Religious of St. Francis, but gets on well with us, especially with me, but it is not for long. May God give him something of the Divine Spirit so that he can make good use of his position.

The Captain General, the Captain of the city, the *Ouvidor*, and all the other ministers and officials of the King get on well with us, and help and favour us in everything. The other items of interest that could be mentioned as having taken place in this city and in this College in the course of the year I leave for the Annual Letter. I will mention only two things. The first is that on all Saturdays of the year, and every day in Lent, the schoolboys, who are about 150, sons of Portuguese, go in procession through the streets with lighted candles, singing Hail Marys and other prayers, a thing which so edified all that the families gather together every night to sing the prayers at home in imitation of these children. The second that on all Fridays of the last Lenten season the practice of taking the discipline, was introduced in our church, and was attended by the noblest Portuguese. They took the discipline, while the organ played the *Miserere*, with such fervour and energy as to cause astonishment to all.

The third is that all the Fathers of the College visited the prison on the Saturdays of Lent, carrying food to the natives, which was a matter of great edification. Many townspeople, also following our example, sent them food on other days.

I have nothing more to write of except to ask your Reverence in all humility to send us your children in this city an ample blessing, so that we may all walk in the fervour and spirit which the Society requires of us.

ANTONIO RUBINO.

Colombo, 8 Nov., 1620.

Jap. Sin. 38.



[F. Antonio Rubino TO F. Nuno Mascarenhas. COLOMBO, 8 NOV., 1620.]

Our Lord deigned to console us this year and to restore to the College the rents withdrawn from us recently at the instance of the Bishop of Cochin. Our papers were returned from Goa, and the Governor passed a *provisão*, ordering the restoration of the villages taken from us till he communicated with the King. On receipt of this *provisão* we were at once put in possession of the villages we held formerly. I hope that Fr. A. Laertius, who is returning to Portugal, will get this order confirmed so that nobody will be able to molest us henceforth.

When we were without means this city showed us great affection by giving us over 500 *pardaões* as alms for our maintenance. That devout widow Meria Ruiz, who, during her life, had gifted all her fortune to this College, as your Reverence must have heard before, died recently, and now by her death there fell to this College a further income of 450 *pardaões* a year for the construction of the new church which we began lately. I hope in the Lord that we shall be able to finish the work in a few years, and that it will be one of the finest churches in the whole of India.

There are 17 subjects belonging to this College, of whom 8 are in charge of the 11 churches which we have in this island and in which many souls have been converted. The others are in the College engaged in the ministry of the Society. This year we began to give lectures [on Moral Theology] to the secular clerics, of whom there are many, at the request of the Bishop. When this Prelate first arrived in the island he did us all the harm he could, but now he is on very good terms with us, especially with me. [He gave] us permission to build two churches in 2 villages of ours [situated] in the district of the Franciscan Fathers. We hope that all the inhabitants of these villages will be baptised in a short time.

This year we gave a Mission at Galle where good work was done in the service of God. I trust in our Lord that we shall soon have a College there, for the residents of the *fortaleza* greatly desire it.

The affairs of the conquest proceed daily from good to better and our Lord granted two great victories this year to Constantine de Saa, the Captain General of the island, who is giving great satisfaction to all.

The first was on the occasion of a revolt that took place in the chief part of the island. The General proceeded thither in person with such great haste that the enemy was unable to carry out his intentions and was forced to retreat. The country was at once reduced to obedience.

The second was the defeat and beheading of Antonio Baretto, a Sinhalese who, for the last 18 years, was in revolt against us and was the worst enemy we had in the island. With him were beheaded 200 others, all leaders of revolt. Owing to these events the island is more secure than it ever was before.

Last year I sent your Reverence a jar of cinnamon oil and now I am sending another. I hope this, like the one of last year, will reach you safe. It was done *by hand* and it will be very good.

Colombo, 8 November, 1620.

ANTONIO RUBINO.



1620.

[F. Andre Palmeyro TO THE Father Assistant. 20 DEC., 1620].<sup>145</sup>

I thought it would please your Reverence to receive a short account of my visit to this Province.

I left Cochin on the 16th of March and with a favourable wind reached Tuticorin on the 20th. We sailed from that place on the 26th, after preaching in the Franciscan convent there on the 25th, which was the patronal feast of the church. I embarked for Colombo on a *champana* and reached my destination after encountering such a heavy sea that I doubt whether the waves ever rose so high during my voyage from Portugal to India. We took four days over the passage; another boat which left with us took 10 days to accomplish it.

The General who resides at Malwana paid me a visit and we discussed the question of the villages, and in three days the matter was satisfactorily settled. I was congratulated by all the Portuguese. The success must be attributed to a great extent to the General Constantine de Sa de Noronha.

When I landed in Ceylon, Jaffna was in revolt against Philip de Oliveira, the Governor of that kingdom. Men and women were all against him, and he had only a boy of 14 years on his side. Philip withdrew into a pagoda which had a narrow enclosure 3 *Varas* in height. He had but a small number of Portuguese with him, for he had sent the others along with the Lascorins, who helped him to conquer that kingdom, back to their stations (*estancias*) outside the kingdom. This pagoda was besieged by thousands of men. But he acted with such courage and valour that he not only defeated them but even opened the doors inviting them to enter, though he had not one man to a hundred of them.

The General, hearing of this, and suspecting the extremity to which Philip d'Oliveira had been reduced, sent Luis Teixeira de Macedo of the Seven Corlas to his relief. Having gathered as many men as he could Teixeira set out and advanced so rapidly that Father Soerio, who never left him, wrote to me that it was more like a race than a march.

Luis Teixeira and his men entered the heart of the kingdom, committing such great cruelties,—cutting children in two and severing the breasts of the women, a treatment which struck awe and terror into the people,—that he was unopposed till he effected a junction with Philip d'Oliveira who received him with transports of joy. Then they set out together in search of the enemy and put him to flight, killing many and imprisoning others in the various encounters in which ours were always victorious.

The leaders of the revolt, thinking that all was now over with Portuguese rule, sent a message to a prince of the ancient royal family who had retired to the mainland, inviting him to come and take possession of his kingdom. He came with great joy, accompanied by Brahmins. On reaching Jaffna he withdrew to a pagoda till the people came to give him a solemn entry. The poor man was deceived in this, for Philip d'Oliveira and Luis Teixeira, coming to know what was going on, delivered an attack. Not a man escaped, all were either killed or captured. The prince and one of the chief personages were sent to Colombo, where this news was brought to us in the beginning of April (5th or 6th).

145. This translation is made from a manuscript French translation of the Very Revd. L. Besse, S.J. It is wanting in my collection.



I was greatly consoled by my visit to the College. I approved the plans for the new buildings of which they stand in great need. I next convoked all the Fathers of the Mission at a central place, called Monisseram, to discuss means for the improvement of the Mission. I visited all the churches, and was received everywhere with the ceremonial usual in the country. The roads were swept and covered with cloth. The country is covered with dense forests and I saw herds of deer, buffaloes and some elephants.

At Calpeti I was shown the teeth of a fish which they call 'woman' (mermaid), which they take in a lake of several leagues in extent and formed by the sea. They call them women because they have breasts like women, and bring up young ones which look very much like children. There is plenty of fish in this place, and they bring some to the Father morning and evening.

From this place we made our way to Manar by land. The road is level but there is no water. Our bearers were obliged to drink the muddy water which elephants drink and bathe in. Manar was formerly rich on account of the pearl fishery, but now it is a poor and miserable island. There are, however, some things in abundance. For a *pataca* one can buy 132 partridges with red feet like those of Portugal. They are smaller, but in taste and size of the crop they are like those of Portugal. For a *pataca* one can buy 33 kids; just now they are dear on account of the drought, for in recent years even 44 were sold at that price. For the same price one can get 11 calves of one year (yearlings) or 5½ if they are 2 years old. Here also there is plenty of fish. When the winds blow from the East they fish in the West and *vice versa*.

The Fathers of the Society were in charge of all the churches of this island except the one in the *fortaleza*: now they are as much in ruins as the others.

I summoned hither F. Antonio Soerio who was at Jaffna with the army of Luis Teixeira. The good Father came barefooted, according to the custom of the soldiers of this island, and he had travelled several miles in this state on the day he arrived. I helped him with my own hands to wash his feet, which were hardened and sore by dint of walking. He is an excellent religious, very zealous for Mission work, full of courage and intrepidity, and is always the first where danger is to be faced. Once he was the first to make his way into an entrenchment and was wounded. Teixeira and his soldiers have great confidence in him, for they think they are perfectly safe as long as they have him with them.

Teixeira would not let him go on any account, and has given him permission to spend only one night here at Manar, and is awaiting him at a place 6 miles from here. He is hurrying to the Seven Corlas, of which he is Dissawa,<sup>146</sup> because he came to know that, during his absence, Madune was disturbing the people. In fact this rising would have had serious consequences if the General, Constantine de Sa de Noronha, had not gone with incredible rapidity at the head of the *Casados* of Colombo, and defeated him and put him to flight.

A Sinhalese renegade named Baretto also raised an insurrection which might have been disastrous, but happily another Sinhalese, the Dissawa of Mature, named Constantine, set out to meet him. He was defeated and beheaded. . . .

ANDRE PALMEYRO.

Cochin, 20 December, 1620.

146. In these letters "Dissawa" is used both for the person and the district.



1620

## The College of Ceylon and its Residences.

[Valentine Pinheyro. 20 DEC., 1620.]

This College was put to great trouble last year by the withdrawl of the revenues it held in certain villages of the island. This despoliation was made owing to misrepresentations of certain persons ill-disposed to the Society, but it only served to make us see more clearly the great esteem which the people of this city entertain towards the Society ; for, knowing that we were unable to remain in Ceylon for want of funds, they offered to give maintenance sufficient for the Fathers needed in the island. Nor did this end in words, for, when our Fathers were obliged by poverty to go a-begging from door to door, they collected more than 500 *pardaõs*. But God who takes care of His servants came to our assistance, and matters so turned out that, on the death of the Viceroy, Conde de Redondo, Fernão d'Albuquerque became Governor of this state, who, with the approval of the learned and the nobles of his Council, restored our former possessions, taking it upon himself to write to His Majesty and show him the falsity of the informations, on the strength of which the villages we held had been withdrawn.

The income of this College was this year enhanced by 450 *pardaõs*, which were bequeathed to the College by a respected old lady, a widow, who had been in her life-time a great benefactress and had given us abundant alms and helped us in all our needs.

While the Fathers of this College were engaged in trying to make up for the loss in their resources, they took good care to improve the spiritual matters. The custom of taking the discipline on Fridays was recently reintroduced in our church, and many people took part in it to the great edification and profit of their souls. The schoolboys, led by their teacher, took up as their devotion during Lent to visit certain churches each night. One of them carried a Cross and others followed with lights, singing the Litany of the Saints with much devotion and great simplicity of soul. This was so well received that, at the request of their parents, they do the same on all Saturdays of the year.

Many notable confessions were made, but I will make mention of only one who made his confession after 40 years. This he did with such signs of repentance that the Father judged that he was so touched by divine grace that he would henceforth live an exemplary life to the edification of all.

Last Lent a Mission was given in the *fortaleza* of Galle, which is at a distance of 18 leagues from this city of Colombo. Father Rector was persuaded to begin this Mission by the repeated entreaties of the inhabitants of Galle who received the Father with great joy. They were quite pleased with the exercises of the Society, for many of them had hitherto no idea of the way in which ours preach and instruct. All of them made their confessions and received Holy Communion, and those who had quarrelled with others came to the Father to be reconciled. Much of this kind of work was done by the Father in the Portuguese garrison which is stationed there. The Father ordered the discipline to be taken three times a week, and it was attended by all the people. Finally, they were so changed that it may be said that they have begun to live like Christians.

Owing to these successes they have resolved to ask the Bishop of Cochin, to whom pertains the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this *fortaleza*, to come to a settlement with the Superiors of the Society and send a Father to reside in the fort of Galle. They offered to buy a site for



a church and a house, and to give whatever was necessary for the maintenance of the Father who would be stationed there ; but up to now this has not been done. We hope that the matter will soon be settled and that the Bishop will be quite pleased with the work done there by the Father who gave the Mission.

The success that attended the labours of our Missionaries this year amounted to 230 adults baptised, which is not a little considering the troubled state of the country, which obliged the Fathers to abandon their stations. This was the case in the place where two of our Fathers were killed recently, for the King whom they call Madune is waging war, which is all the more dangerous in proportion to the kindness with which he treats the conquered people, saying that he only wanted to liberate his countrymen and not to persecute them. But the Captain General of this island, Constantine de Sa de Noronha, marched out against him and made him retire in such a way that it is sure he will not return to these parts again.

Now we have not so many baptisms in this island as we used to have, for the Fathers were obliged to leave the churches which they had in the villages taken from us.

A church was built recently in place of the one destroyed by the enemies when they killed the Fathers. Such great care is taken in cultivating this Mission, giving instructions in Christian doctrine to great and small, that the Bishop of Cochín who visited the place this year was obliged by truth and reason to say that the Fathers of the Society alone know how to catechize the people and to make the Christians practise the means of salvation. In one church there resides a Father who has in his charge a great number of Christians, all soldiers called *Lascorins*. He accompanies them when they go to war along with the Portuguese army, and on these occasions he does much good and renders great services in the cause of God ; for, besides settling discords and hearing many confessions, he baptises the prisoners taken who easily join the Catholic Church for fear of being put to death immediately, according to the methods of warfare in this land.

This Father accompanied the army in its march to the kingdom of Jaffna, which the Portuguese conquered last year, capturing the King who had tyrannically set himself on the throne after murdering all the legitimate heirs. This journey gave rise to a general rising of the natives of the country under the leadership of one of the Princes of the kingdom who claimed to succeed to the Government. He was assisted by the lords of the country (*senhores da terra*) who once sent him more than 300 soldiers, *Badagas*, one of the warlike and dreaded races among the blacks. On being discovered [*sendo estes sentidos*] ours attacked them and put them all to the sword.

Among the many killed in this encounter was a number of children, all of whom the Father baptised. He procured their eternal salvation, being unable to save their lives, as it was thought necessary to put to death even those of tender age in order to prevent risings, lest when they grew up they would think it necessary for their pride and honour to avenge the death of their ancestors. After this slaughter everything was quiet. We have hopes of a great conquest of souls in time to come in the kingdom of Jaffna.

Not less was the favour shown by the Lord in arranging matters in such a way as to bring about the death of a rebel disloyal to God and his King, called Antonio Baretto.<sup>147</sup> Owing to the cunning and craft and inventions which he made use of, and the courage of which he gave many proofs, he was so dreaded by the King and the nobles that they allowed themselves to be led by him in everything. He was the cause why there were all this time such serious risings and continual wars in this island of Ceylon. But God who does not fail to punish rebels of this kind led him to his death in this way.

147. Cf. Queyroz. *Conquista*, p. 596.



This rebellious renegade sent word throughout the island, calling upon all to rise together in revolt against the Portuguese at a certain time and on a given signal. To carry out his design the more securely he killed one of the principal Chieftains who became our vassal last year. Some relatives of the deceased nobleman gave warning of it to Constantino Baretto, a Sinhalese Captain, a person of credit, courage and great nobility who was well disposed to Christianity. He at once despatched about 300 of his soldiers along with those who came to give him warning of the affair; telling them not to appear before him without the head of the renegade at the point of a lance. These words made such an impression on them that they attacked with great determination the place in which the enemy was hiding. The rebel tried to escape, trusting to the velocity of his legs, but was run through with a lance which brought him to the ground, cleaving him in two. They decapitated him half alive.

This victory was most welcome and with it ceased the schemes and stratagems of this enemy. . . .

20 December, 1620.

VALENTINE PINHRO

An. Litt. Malabar, Fol. 388-390.

1621.

### The College of Colombo and its Seven Residences.<sup>148</sup>

This College contains twelve subjects; seven Fathers, two Scholastics, and two lay brothers. The spiritual ministrations have been as usual. During Advent, a favourable season for such work, they have taken special care to procure the salvation of souls, and good results have crowned their efforts.

There has been this year a marked increase of devotion for the usual Lenten processions. Not only the common folk, but the aristocracy [*personnes de position élevée*] assisted, each carrying his torch, and at the end, after a *fervorino* by one of the Fathers, which lasted the space of a *Miserere*, they took the discipline like the rest. On Saturdays, the Fathers carried on their shoulders to the prisoners baskets and vessels containing bread and meat. Their example led many seculars to do the same through their servants.<sup>149</sup> Father Rector has so completely quieted the feuds existing between certain people that hatred has given way to more than ordinary good-will. Many confessions have been heard. The Christian doctrine has been taught to the people and to the pupils. The Fathers preach to large audiences nearly every Sunday, and always on feast days. So much for the College.

At Calpeto [Calpenty] two Fathers labour valiantly, teaching the Christians who are scattered in various places at great distances from one another, and administering the Sacraments. In five churches of that 'country' a hundred adults have been baptised, everyone of them evincing wonderful eagerness for his eternal salvation.

The Father who is in charge of Monucerano shows great zeal for the conversion of souls. He hopes strongly to see the whole of that district and the adjoining territory accept baptism. Having quickly learned that language, he has had already thirty baptisms at Chilaō. Esteemed and honoured as he is by all, he converted 39 at Caimeli, among others an old man

148. This translation was made by Father Hosten, S.J., and published in the *Examiner* (Bombay), 16th March, 1912. The first paragraph will also be found in the *Port. Era* (II. 473), where "Scholastics and Lay Brothers" are given as "seculars and assistants."

149. According to the *Port. Era* (ib) "on Saturdays our servants and menials have carried baskets of bread and meat to the prisons." According to a French translation "Le Samedi nos pères. . . portant sur leurs épaules des paniers, etc."



109 years old, who died immediately after baptism, leaving the firm hope that he is gone to heaven. From there the Father visits frequently the Portuguese soldiers in the garrisons. He hears their confessions and distributes Holy Communion. The virtues which they discover in him endear him to all. Hence he found it easy to turn them away from a project of killing their General whom they hated intensely.

At Maluana, where the General has his palace, there is another Father, who is of great assistance to him by his wise counsels. In return for the services which he receives from the Fathers, the General shows himself very friendly to the Society, proving his affection not by words only but in deeds. One of his least services is to maintain us in the possession of the villages from which the College derives its revenues, and to protect us against the malcontents who seek to deprive us of them. Some seven have been baptised here.

Seventy-two have been gained to the Faith by the Father who is at Moroto. The people look upon that Father as upon a heavenly being. Though a septuagenarian, there is no fatigue, however great, which he does not submit to for the welfare of their souls.

The Residence of Gatis (Galle) which was begun in March is daily making progress. Thanks to the liberality of the Captain of the Fortress and the citizens, the church is already half completed. The Father is much liked by all. With the help of God he did much good during Lent: many confessions were heard and his sermons on the Passion stirred the people so powerfully that they fell repeatedly on their knees and interrupted him with their sighing and weeping. Equal success attended the sermons which he preached three times a week; on Sundays in the principal church, on Wednesdays in the Oratory of Mercy (*della Misericordia*) and on Saturdays in the church of St. Dominic. After dinner he teaches the Christian doctrine as is customary, and the singing of it is so sweet that many are attracted to come and listen. He has opened a school where he himself teaches. For his maintenance, a certain village was promised him by the General of Ceilano during a visit there. He has baptised four persons.

1622.

[Antonio Rubino TO Mutio Vetelleschi. COLOMBO, 10 NOV., 1622.]

I was hoping that Father Visitor would relieve me of the duty of giving your Reverence an account of this College this year, for my term of 3 years is over; but he wrote to me to have patience, that he would send me a successor when it shall be time for it. I am very much grieved at it, for I desire earnestly to do something myself and not be superintending others, and wish to see myself in a Mission where I can do something for the service of God. I have hitherto done little or nothing for God's service, and I have still to remain in charge of this College to pay for my sins.

I shall give an account of it briefly. In this island there are 22 of ours in all, Fathers and Brothers, attached to this College. Of these 11 are in the Mission and have charge of 19 churches distributed in 10 Residences; the other 11 are in this College engaged in our usual ministry. All of these are doing well, each one doing his duty with great edification. The Fathers in the Missions labour with great zeal and ardour in the conversion of these gentiles, and this year they led into our holy faith more than 70 souls. I alone had no share in this work, and seeing such fervour I feel inclined to think that God will never have compassion on me.



This year we opened a *Casa* in Jaffnapatam where there is already one Father. I hope in the Lord that it will be of great use for the conversion of that kingdom, which is in the district allotted us in the division of the island with the King's approval. The Governor of that kingdom has undertaken the cost of building that house of ours, and I hope he will give it a good revenue for our due maintenance.

The house in the *fortaleza* of Galle is progressing successfully, and already there are two of ours in it, a Father and a lay brother. The church is situated in the Cape (*no Cabo*) and the *casas* will be built soon. It has a sufficient income and lacks nothing.

We have two villages close by situated in the district of the Franciscan Fathers, where all are pagans. I wanted to build a church in each of them, and obtained permission for it from the Bishop, but Father Visitor does not like it for fear of giving the Friars an occasion to complain of us. But it seems to me that there is no reason for it, for building churches in our property will in no way prejudice the partition. The Friars do not go there, nor do they endeavour to convert those souls. It seems to me that it is a matter for serious scruple to have two villages in which we make no attempt to convert souls. If your Reverence judges it a matter for consideration and worthy of bringing to the notice of the Father Visitor, it should be done to give some assistance to those poor souls, and to remove the reproach that we are converting souls in the villages of others, neglecting our own, since we do not convert first of all the inhabitants of our own villages.

The grant of the villages was confirmed for 3 years only, with orders to send further information from here. We take all possible care that the information sent by these officials be truthful. Your Reverence should ask the Procurator who is in the Court of Madrid to see that they are confirmed for good; for if not confirmed this College cannot go on, but if confirmed as many as 40 persons can be supported as well as many *ministers* (of God) employed in the conversion of these unbelievers.

The new church is progressing, for it is already half built and in two or three years it can be finished so far as the walls are concerned, and the building of the College can be begun afterwards. It is built in Corinthian style and is well proportioned and handsome. The façade is magnificent (real), and if it is not the best it will certainly be the second best in the whole of India.

In the College we all are in good health, thank God. There is perfect peace among all, and they are united in conformity of will without the least disagreement. Everyone takes good care to keep his rules and to observe religious discipline, and all give great edification. This year the Father Provincial paid us a visit, and we were all much consoled by his visit. He removed from the College a teacher who seemed too fond of some students, and put a Father in his place, who does his duty very well.

The Captain General of the island, the *Capitão* of the town, the *Veedor da Fazenda*, *Ouvidors* and all the officials are on very good terms with us and favour us greatly, especially the Captain General and the *Veedor da Fazenda*, who are former pupils of ours (*q' saõ da Comp.<sup>o</sup>*) May God preserve them for many years. . . . .

ANTONIO RUBINO.

Colombo, 10 Nov., 1622.

Jap. Sin. 38.



1623.

[Antonio Rubino, 16 Oct., 1623.]

Last March I came from Ceylon to this College of Cochin after having been Rector of the College of Colombo for about four years. I expected to rest for some time and then to go to some Mission where I could do some work, but the rest did not last long and the Mission turned out to be harder and more fatiguing than I thought, for I am appointed Rector of the Fishery Coast, which is in extreme danger of destruction on account of a civil war which has broken out among the Paravars as to who should have the supreme dignity known as the Chief Patangatin—*la suprema dignita fra loro che si chiama Patangatino supremo*—Already more than 40 have been killed in the various encounters and affairs are now at such a pass that, unless Heaven sends a remedy, this coast will be altogether destroyed within a short time. Your Reverence can, therefore, well imagine with what heart and feelings I accept such a change, since matters are in such a state. I tried my best to escape the office but I did not succeed. There is no help for it but to close my eyes and swallow the pill, offering myself to suffer all manner of disgust and pain and trouble, trusting to holy obedience to make up where everything else fails.

With God's help I shall set out in another five days, but as I do not know whether, after joining that Mission which is 400 miles from this town, I shall be able to send letters in time to go by their ships, I leave this short letter in Cochin, to make sure that the ships do not set sail without a letter of mine, and that no year may pass without your Reverence receiving a letter from your Fr. Antonio Rubino. If after arriving in the Fishery (Coast) I be able to send letters in time, I shall do it again and will give therein a full account of everything; if it be impossible, let your Reverence be content this year with this letter, for next year, if God spares my life, it will be more complete.

Last year I wrote to your Reverence, and this year up to now I have received no letter from your Reverence, as the ships have not yet arrived from Portugal. These ships cannot delay unless there has been some disaster, as happened last year when everything was lost. I am sorry to have to start before they arrive. . . .

ANTONIO RUBINO.

Cochin, 16 Oct., 1623.

1623.

## College of Colombo and its Residences.

Notes for the Annual Letter have not yet reached us. There are 18 subjects attached to the College, of whom nine or ten usually reside in the College, and the others in the Mission stations. Six Fathers and four scholastics are engaged in the ordinary occupations of the Society. Ann. Litt. Malabar, Fol. 401.

1627.

[F. Andre Lopez to Nuno Mascarenhas. 2 JAN., 1627.]

On the 5th of December, 1626, I received your Reverence's letter dated 15th January, of the same year [*q'me veio por 3 vias ?*] I do not know how, in the midst of so many occupations, your Reverence remembered your unworthy son. I am very happy to have news of your Reverence, for it is always a consolation to me as it was this time. May our Lord give your Reverence good health to take these Missions under your protection, keeping our Father General informed of everything. I hear that God was pleased to save him from getting the *Capélllo* [a Cardinal's hat ?] for if he had got it, it would have been a great loss not only to the Society in General but more especially to those who are in the Missions, for we realised during the last few years how zealous he was in promoting the welfare of the Missions.



Your Reverence asks me to send you long accounts of these Missions, especially of Jaffnapataō ; but as the Fathers of Jaffnapataō have sent you particulars of that Mission, I will only say that the converts amount to 42,000, and that [of these] only 2,000 remain to be baptised. This is only what we have done, and does not include what was done by the Friars. There are 17 churches and 14 Missionaries, but this is not enough. It is necessary that some should come from those parts [Europe].

That the kingdom of Jaffnapataō becomes wholly Christian is due to the prayers of those 600 Martyrs of the Island of Manar, which is since called the Island of Martyrs. They were subjects of the King of Jaffnapataō, martyred in the days when our saintly Father Francis was in the Fishery Coast.

ANDRE LOPEZ.

Cochin, 2 Jan., 1627.

Goa. 18.

1627.

### The College of Colombo and its Residences.

[Joan Cervallius : 1 JAN., 1627.]

I shall begin my letter with an account of the happy demise of two Fathers of this College. The first was Father Emmanuel Costa,<sup>150</sup> of whom we were deprived by a premature death in the prime of his life, to the grief and loss not merely of ours but even of the whole city ; for he was indeed a man remarkable not only for piety but accomplished in every line, an eminent preacher, so well versed in the language that he composed an excellent Sinhalese Grammar, and translated many works well calculated to fortify the Catholics in their faith and to make the heathens detest their errors. The even tenor of his life was not that of a soft and negligent person. No one ever observed him say or do any vain or idle thing that did not make for peace of mind, nor did he even speak a word against another, even in fun. All the hopes we entertained about him were shattered by his death. His funeral was as well attended as was possible in this city, considering our moderation ; and the people, the Clerics and the Regulars vied with each other in showing their esteem of him. He died on the 15th of July in his 36th year, 18th in the Society in which he was Professed of the Four Vows.

The other was Father Sebastian Andrees,<sup>151</sup> an Italian, professed of the four vows, aged 65, of which 43 were spent in the Society. He was a distinguished labourer in the Lord's vineyard in which he spent 20 years to the great profit of souls. He was a determined worker and a rare example to us, so much so that he was known throughout the city, even among gentiles, by no other name than that of Saint and Apostle.<sup>6</sup>

So much for the deceased. As for the others, they are given to spiritual exercises and fulfil the offices of the Society. I shall therefore pass on to the Residences.

In the town of Veragampeti, within four months 800 persons abandoned their false superstition and embraced the Christian religion ; many others are being instructed in the faith to be baptised in due time.

150. Emmanuel da Costa was born in Colombo, and was ordained priest in the College of Colombo in 1620. Besse. *Catalogues*, p. 19. Courtensy, p. 432.

151. Sebastian Andreotti, called Andrees by the Portuguese, and also Androciro. He was at Caimel (1604), Moratuwa 1610-11. Besse. *op. cit.*, p. 15.



In Caimel, 117 well instructed persons were cleansed in the purifying waters, among whom were some of noble birth.

In the station of Chilaw, about 110 were regenerated at the sacred font. Of these 75 were children and twenty of them fled to heaven, fresh from the absolving waters, to obtain that life exempt from sorrow.

The Father in charge of the church of Navacare led two thousand from the prison-house of ignorance to the light of truth. Among these was a certain Moor whose salvation was triumphantly wrought with much labour owing to his wealth and obstinacy in his errors. This man fell so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of. Profiting by this opportunity, our Father visited him and strained every nerve to bring the obstinate Moor to a better frame of mind, arguing and threatening by turns. This man was thus completely won over and did not attempt to hold out any longer against the siege of charity, and exchanged the errors of Mohamedanism for Christian purity by means of the sacred waters which most unexpectedly restored him to health.

When he returned to his station, the Father found one of the boys who had to be baptised, almost breathing his last. When he was baptised he fled to eternal life, as if he had held out so long only to receive baptism. Many others abandon the worship of idols and come over to the Christian fold from time to time, and thus the sheep-fold of Christ increases daily.

1 Jany., 1627.

### 1630

[Ignatius Lobo. 5 DEC., 1630.]

Before the King of Candia marched upon Colombo, our Fathers were in their Residences rendering great service to our Lord, but the persecution which they foresaw drove them from their churches, and we have no information about the work they did in God's service.

In Colombo, the work of building the new church is progressing, and were it not for the siege it would have been finished by this time. The Fathers were engaged this year in various works of devotion and piety; for as this town (Colombo) is one of the most important of this state (India) and contains all sorts of people, there was great scope for work. They did many things of importance both in time of peace and war, which I do not relate, but refer (you) to an account which is being sent from that place, describing the betrayal, rout and death of Constantine de Sa de Noronha, the General of the island, well known for his noble birth and valour. He was accompanied in all the calamities and dangers by two of our Fathers, who were also killed or taken captive.

IGNATIUS LOBO.

5 December, 1630.

An. Lit. Malabar, Fol. 449.

### 1632

In the Island of Manar there are 5 Fathers; in Colombo 6 priests and a Lay Brother; in Jaffnapatao 13 or 14, of whom one is stationed in the fort of Batalou and another in Triquilemale, charged with the spiritual care of the garrisons.



1633

## College of Colombo.

[Cyprianus a Costa.]

There are 19 of ours in this College, besides two others in the Residence of Galle. Some of them reside in the College, preaching, hearing confessions, teaching or engaged in domestic duties. Two are attached to the hospital, tending with great charity and benevolence the sick and wounded soldiers who come thither from the Camp. We undertook this work rather under the stress of circumstances than for any other reason, for this kind of work generally gives rise to detractions, which we should try to avoid. The real motive of the Fathers in taking up this work was the opportunity of exercising charity towards our neighbours, which they ever have before their eyes.

Near the class rooms of the College we have built a chapel dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, to promote piety and devotion among the Sodalists of the Blessed Virgin. In the churches attached to this College there are now only 9 Fathers.

*(To be continued.)*





## "BUDDHA AND THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHISM."<sup>1</sup>

A REVIEW OF DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY'S BOOK.

By W. T. STACE, C.C.S.

IT is doubtful whether Doctor Coomaraswamy can sustain the high claim, which he makes in his preface, that his book contains, not mere information and exposition, but "a definite contribution to the philosophy of life." A bare exposition it certainly is not, for there is scarcely a page which does not criticise what it expounds. But the criticisms are, for the most part, isolated and disconnected. The author possesses no principal of criticism. He gives us merely critical jottings. They do not proceed from any one definite philosophic standpoint which the author seeks to develop by showing where it rises above the system under criticism. When Fichte criticised Kant's doctrine of the thing-in-itself, he did so with a view to developing his own higher concept of the Universal Ego and his view of matter as the self-limitation of that Ego. Doctor Coomaraswamy attempts to point out where, in his opinion, Buddhism succeeds and where it fails. But he does not use it as a stepping-stone to any higher conception. There is no new principle of thought to be found in his book; there is no real addition to the world's stock of philosophy. This is not to deny, however, that his criticisms are frequently acute, and nearly always interesting. And if, instead of making the highest possible claims, the author would be content to have written an interesting, fruitful, and suggestive book, then he can be assured that he has done so.

A certain random disconnectedness and lack of logical coherence, not altogether out of place in art, but unsuitable to philosophy, appears to be characteristic of Doctor Coomaraswamy's mind. He expresses thoughts and even fragments of thoughts. But he does not link them together. This appears even in his expositions. The doctrines of Anicca, Anatta, and the four holy truths, are all systematically connected, the one leading to the other as premiss to conclusion. But this systematic connection is scarcely discernible in Doctor Coomaraswamy's treatment, so that it would be of little use to a beginner in his first struggle to find his way from point to point in an unfamiliar system of thought, however valuable and suggestive it may be to anyone already acquainted with Buddhism.

The author throws out most fruitful suggestions, and then drops them like hot coals. He never develops his thought, or gets the most out of it. In many a single sentence does he drop a hint which sets the reader thinking, till a whole chain of thought is seen to depend from that idea. But the reader has to discover the chain for himself. Doctor Coomaraswamy never helps him, but rather in the very next sentence passes on to quite alien matters. A very good example of this occurs on page 211. Tucked away in a very unimportant-looking footnote is the remark: "Not only does he (Gotama) not perceive that the wish to avoid Dukkha is in itself

1. *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*. By Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. London, George G. Harrop & Co.



a desire, and as such a hindrance, but still less does he see that the fear of pleasure—even as it may come unsought—is a still more subtle bondage." You look up and down the page; you look on the page before and the page after; but you find no further reference to this idea.

Does Doctor Coomaraswamy not realise that, from a philosophical point of view, there is here the germ of a criticism which is absolutely fatal to the whole of Buddhist ethic? Buddhism proclaims that all life is sorrow, and that therefore the object of all effort must be the rooting out of the causes of rebirth. The cause of rebirth is "attachment," desire. To root out desire, therefore, is the object of the Buddhist ethic. But is it not clear that in such a doctrine there is no room for any distinction between evil and good desires? If all rebirth is evil, and if the cause of rebirth is desire as such, then *all* desire is evil. There cannot possibly be any good desires. Desire is by nature evil, because any sort of "attachment"—whether to things good or bad—leads to further accumulations of Karma, and fresh vistas of rebirth. And when we add the fact, proved beyond dispute by modern psychology, that desire enters as an ingredient into every possible conscious state, the force of this criticism becomes apparent. Even the purest state of ideal contemplation is not only accompanied by desire, but is indeed only rendered possible by desire. The aspirant mystic fixes his attention on a single object for the purpose of attaining trance. Now desire is essential to the mental attitude of attention. It needs an act of will to fix the mind on one object and to exclude all other objects. But every volition is grounded in a desire as its motive. Clearly if I will a thing I desire that thing. Attention is thus only possible through desire, and strong concentration or attention is essential to those very mystic meditations which form a large part of the Buddhist's method of reaching Nibbana. The meditations of Jhana and Samadhi themselves can only lead, by means of the desire they involve, to fresh Karma and new rebirths! Pure cognition does not exist. Every conscious state is a combination of cognition, will, and desire, (or aversion). You cannot understand even a theorem of Euclid without volition and desire.

Doctor Coomaraswamy has an evident fondness for the Mahayana, and somewhat warmly espouses its cause against those who tell us that it is a degraded and superstitious distortion of early Buddhism. He suggests that we have here a case, not of deterioration, but of development. Who can deny, it is asked, that every religion may legitimately evolve beyond the conceptions of its founder? And so we get a defence of the Mahayana somewhat similar to Cardinal Newman's defence of Papal claims.

It may be true, as Doctor Coomaraswamy tells us, that the Mahayana is broader, warmer, and, as its name implies, more catholic than primitive Buddhism. It is certainly the case that its return towards Atmanic ideas is a distinct advance, both from the philosophic and the religious points of view. But when Doctor Coomaraswamy tells us that the Mahayanist refusal to fall in with the rigidly monastic attitude of the Hinayana constitutes a reconciliation between religion and the world, we begin to wonder. On the one side we have the Buddhist monastic ideal, calling on men to come out of the world, to turn their backs upon it, and to take no part in the dealings of the market-place. And over against this we have the worldly life. These are the contraries which have to be reconciled. Now the reconciliation of two opposite principles does not occur when one simply gives in to the other. It occurs either when one principle is found to include the other—in which case the opposition was apparent but not real—or when a higher principle is discovered which transcends and includes both. But the Mahayanist has discovered no such principle. He is merely an inconsistent Buddhist, one who finds the monastic



ideal too hard and has therefore compromised with the world. Of course, that may be a very sensible thing to do. It may even be the only sensible thing to do, if we admit that the monastic ideal is both impossible and wrong. But it is not consistent with Buddhism, because obviously we can only get free of "attachment" to the world by turning our backs upon it. This monastic ideal is not an alien thought, taken from outside and eclectically grafted on to Buddhism. It is essential to Buddhism, and with it Buddhist philosophy stands or falls. This ideal follows inevitably and logically from the metaphysical principles, that attachment is the cause of rebirth, and that rebirth is an evil to be avoided. And if one denies the validity of the monastic ideal, one must logically deny the principles from which it springs. Now the Mahayanist does not deny them. He only denies their practical consequences. And so he falls into an inconsistency between belief and life. He still professes belief in the old theory of attachment but quietly ignores it in actual life, simply because the effort involved is too great. This cannot be called a reconciliation of religion and the world. It is simply the capitulation of religion to the world. It is an admission of the barrenness of Buddhism in its relation to the actual problems of daily life.

Again, can it really be contended that the emphasis laid by the Mahayana on the idea of the Bódhisatvas is an advance? So great is this emphasis that the Bódhisatvas are looked upon as gods, and prayers are addressed to them. The Mahayana has degenerated into a system of superstitious polytheism. "Be ye lamps unto yourselves," said Gotama, who preached that only through a man's own effort can he be saved, no prayers to the gods availing him aught. Can that which is a direct contradiction of primitive Buddhism properly be called a development of it? It is true that the peopling of the heavens with Bódhisatva-gods renders the religion easier to the indolent and pleasanter to the mob, which in all ages and countries has shown a god-creating tendency, which in all ages and countries prefers the mean to the exalted, as we see every day, for example, in the universal popularity of the most degraded forms of literature. And here, too, the Mahayana seems to us to come perilously near capitulation to the lower forces of superstition.

These strange doctrines of the Mahayana exhibit merely a particular case of that sad and inevitable law of all religions, namely, that before they can become world-religions, they must be degraded to the level of the multitude. He who speaks in the language of the gods is understood only of the gods. If you would teach his thought in the pig-sty, you must teach it in terms of pig-philosophy. You cannot raise up pigs to the level of your god. You must lower your god to the level of the pigs. And this is what has always happened. A divine man, a Jesus, a Buddha, a Mahomet, appears in the world, and utters his thought. Those who come after him are mediocre men. In their hands the great thought becomes mediocre, for no man, after all, can really comprehend that which is greater than himself, any more than the part can comprehend the whole. A man only understands that part of a fellow-man which is also a part of himself; he only understands the thought of another in so far as it is already potentially his own thought, and implicit in him. And so the religion of every great teacher is degraded by his followers to their own level. And this has happened with Mahayana Buddhism, just as it has happened with the so-called Christianity of the Churches.

Perhaps the best part of Doctor Coomaraswamy's book is the chapter on the relations between Buddhism and Brahmanism, (Part 3 Chapter 4). The author has a keen sympathy for Hindu thought, and realises that the Buddha, in denying the truth of the infinite, absolute, unconditioned Brahman (or, according to Doctor Coomaraswamy, in being ignorant of it), in asserting or implying that there is nothing except the phenomenon, made a retrograde step. It is true that



the theory of the absolute leads to apparently insoluble contradictions, and it is possible that Gotama, realising this, sought to confine the thought of his followers to that part of the world wherein no contradiction appears and to which the understanding can most obviously and legitimately apply its categories. There is a possible ground for such an interpretation in Gotama's assertion that speculation about what lies behind the phenomenon is useless for the spiritual life. For he said it was *useless*. He did not say it was false. And again the mystery of Nibbana leaves a loophole for those who would argue that Gotama believed in the Atmanic theory, but discouraged its study because of the speculative difficulties to which it leads, which would, in their turn, lead to disputes and dissensions in the Sangha.

To us, however, this seems an improbable explanation. It is a marked peculiarity of Indian thought that it has never appeared to be even conscious of the enormous philosophical difficulties of the Atmanic theory. Indeed it seems usually unconscious of any mere logical difficulties at all. The Indian thinker does not reason. He perceives in an intuitive flash. He is in the most literal sense a seer. He is at bottom religious, and unphilosophical. Now intuition seizes instinctively upon the big outlines of the great essential thoughts; but it has no power of filling in the details, nor can it show in what relations the essentials stand to each other. Intuition can give nothing but fragments, cannot piece them together, cannot make of them a systematic whole. For this purpose Reason is required. System is, after all, merely that rational connection of parts to parts, and subordination of all parts to the whole, which Reason brings to the manifold of objects. Hence it is that Hindu thought seizes upon such an idea as that of the Atman, but altogether fails to see the logical difficulties that arise when, for example, we attempt to relate this idea to the other and contradictory idea of the phenomenal world.

In speaking above of intuition it must not, for a moment, be thought that we admit the claim made by theosophists and others to a special power of intuition separate from, and superior to, Reason. Intuitive mental flashes of the truth are, no doubt, to be explained by the ordinary processes of thought known to psychology. Such intuition is, in all probability, simply a process of reasoning in which everything except the conclusion is subconscious, so that the conclusion seems to arise suddenly and out of nothing, and to be a veritable inspiration. In other words it is undeveloped Reason.

But to return to the logical difficulties of the idea of the Atman, which, as we said, Hindu thought fails to understand, just because it is intuitive rather than rational. The multiplicity of the phenomenal world is alleged to be the self-manifestation of the One, the Atman. But how can the One ever become Many? Seeing that the absolute violently repels all quality and determination—for it is the undetermined—how can it, without contradiction, manifest itself in the qualified and determined? How is Brahman related to the world? He cannot be related to it as its cause, for causality applies only to phenomena. Every cause is limited and determined by its effect, just as the effect is limited and determined by the cause. Therefore, if we think of Brahman as the cause of the world, we think of him as determined, limited, finite,—which is absurd. Indeed this difficulty can be generalized. Not only can Brahman, not be related to the world as its cause. He cannot be related to the world at all. For to think of the absolute as related is a contradiction in terms. Even if we use the vague phraseology common to eastern thought and say that the world is the "manifestation" of Brahman, it is still clear that manifestation implies relationship, and therefore finitude.



Indian thought has never realised these difficulties, and has certainly made no attempt to solve them. It simply asserts dogmatically "All is One"—"That art thou"—"Not so, not so"—and it is satisfied with these flashes of fragmentary vision.

It seems unlikely, therefore, that Gotama understood the difficulties of the Atmanic theory, and warned his followers to stick to the world of phenomena in order to avoid them. He was essentially an Indian, and his genius cannot have differed so radically from that of all other Indian thinkers as is required by this hypothesis. It is more likely that he rejected the Atman for purely practical and ethical reasons, because he considered it profitless for the life of a devotee. Or possibly, as Doctor Coomaraswamy thinks, he rejected it simply because he did not understand it.

The whole question of the relation of Buddhism to Hindu thought is highly important and interesting. Both from the historical and the philosophical points of view it stands in much need of elucidation. And Doctor Coomaraswamy, though he has far from exhausted the subject—indeed he has only touched the fringe of it—has much that is of great value to say in this portion of his work. It is the best part of a good book.





## MORE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES IN THE JAFFNA DISTRICT.<sup>1</sup>

By the REV. S. GNĀNA PRAKĀSAR, O.M.I.

### CEREMONIES AT THE THRASHING FLOOR.

**I**N Jaffna paddy is thrashed out very sparingly. It is believed that this process is inauspicious for the harvest. People in general prefer to have the corn treaded out by oxen. The ceremonies and folklore connected with this operation are many and varied, and thus will not fail, it is presumed, to be of some interest to the antiquarian.

#### The First Fruits Ceremony.

It is well to begin with the first fruits ceremony, called the eating of *pudir* : "new rice." Before the harvesting of the field, on an auspicious day, some ears of paddy are culled and solemnly brought home. A few of the ears are hung up in the house as a sign of rejoicing, and the rest are dried and boiled on a good day for a common meal of the family. The curries used on this occasion consist of vegetables and curds only, fish, eggs and flesh meat being strictly forbidden. Before eating the *pudir* some of it is presented in oblation to a lamp which probably represents the god Agni.

#### The Treading.

When reaping is over the sheaves are put together in a stack, and, on an appointed day, the thrashing floor (*Kaḷam*) is prepared near it with a post planted in the centre for tying the team of oxen treading the corn, to receive which rough *ola* mats are also spread round. A ball of cowdung, surmounted by a sprig of *Arugu* grass, to represent Pillaiyār, is then prepared and placed aloft on the post itself or at one end of the floor. When this is ready, one of the men—the owner of the harvest, if he is present—picks out a sheaf from the stack and ties it to the upper part of the post, while another breaks a coconut in honour of Pillaiyār and sprinkles the water around the floor. This is the signal for the other workmen to bring the sheaves gradually and scatter under the feet of the treading animals.

During the whole time of the treading nothing inauspicious is allowed to be said or done by those engaged in the work. One should not beckon by the hands. In urging the oxen one should utter no other word but *poli, poli*, i.e. "increase," "increase." In some places they sing out

*Poli tá é poli*

*Poli Aṇṇamáré poli,*

that is : "Give increase, O increase ; O Aṇṇamār, give increase." I shall say something on Aṇṇamār presently.

The workmen have, in fact, to use a special vocabulary called *Kaḷap-péchu* or

1. For the previous paper on this subject, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. IV. pp. 239 to 246.



## Language of the Thrashing Floor.

As this "language" resembles the slang in use among the Parias, and as it is certainly very ancient, I give here a few specimens of it. One should say

<i>Nadaiyan</i>	for	<i>mādu</i>	or	oxen
<i>Pōrpai</i>	for	<i>kól</i>	or	post
<i>Pól</i>	for	<i>sāny</i>	or	dung
<i>Milāru</i>	for	<i>kéddy</i>	or	stick
<i>Polik-kody</i>	for	<i>vaikkól</i>	or	straw
<i>Pólan</i>	for	<i>āl</i>	or	man
<i>Aḷukunī</i>	for	<i>sóru</i>	or	rice
<i>Kávéri</i>	for	<i>taṇṇir</i>	or	water
<i>Vādal</i>	for	<i>vettilai</i>	or	betel
<i>Koddai</i>	for	<i>pákku</i>	or	arecanut
<i>Karukal</i>	for	<i>pukaiyelai</i>	or	tobacco
<i>Kooran</i>	for	<i>nellu</i>	or	paddy
<i>Poli</i>	for	<i>kuviyal</i>	or	heap
<i>Mudainchán</i>	for	<i>páy</i>	or	mat
<i>Peruváyan</i>	for	<i>kadakam</i>	or	basket
<i>Perukko</i>	for	<i>pó</i>	or	go
<i>Kuvi</i>	for	<i>iro</i>	or	sit down
<i>Koddáppi</i>	for	<i>tin</i>	or	eat

If any other but this language be used in the thrashing floor, the corn is sure to decrease. Demons (*Kooli*) haunting the fields carry away portions from the *poli* (grain heap) of those who spurn them by unbecoming behaviour, to enrich those of their neighbours. This is why passers-by, who happen to carry empty baskets or *ola* bags, are to be detained until the measuring of the corn is over; for, the demons may well use these for removing paddy from the *poli* unseen.

On the other hand, where every precaution is taken not to offend the demons, the *poli* will visibly increase. People believe they often found large quantities of paddy in a *poli* of varaku (*paspalum frumentaceum*) and even pairings of tapioca in paddy, through the good offices of the demons.

When the treading is over the corn is winnowed and the *poli* or heap is made in the form of an elongated cone. In collecting the scattered grain both the hands must be used and held always in a reverent attitude. The back of the hand must never be used. Having made the *poli*, the man who tied the first sheaf to the post or another important person walks round the heap, bending down at different points to grasp by the mouth a few grains from it and eject at once. While doing this the hands are either folded behind or take hold of the ears transversely, as in the posture of worship called *Tóppuk-kandam*.

This ceremony is known as *echil-paduttukiratu*, "defiling by the saliva," and once this is done, the demons can no more carry away any part of the *poli*.

It is also the general custom to draw three crosses over the heap with the winnowing fan, but this is said to date only from Portuguese times. Before measuring the corn, a few winnowing-fan-fulls are set aside for the deity or for charitable purposes. This portion is called *Meesu-poli*.



Dutch ministers of religion seem to have claimed this portion for the Church, and some Protestant denominations to the present day hold a meeting called *Meesu-poli-kooddam* for receiving and selling away the first fruits brought by their Christians.

### Oblations.

Before removing the corn home two classes of deities have to be propitiated. The *Kāṇiyālar* are to be offered cooked rice, fruits, vegetables, betel, &c. The *Aṇṇamār* should have a roasted fowl planted in the heap of cooked rice with arrack or toddy, jak fruit, &c.

These oblations are arranged under movable roofs called *kudil*, which are set in a peculiar way called *Kaṭap-pori*, "thrashing-floor-trap," and, after scattering a few handfuls to the four quarters and sprinkling water, the portion of the *Kāṇiyālar* is eaten by the farmers, the *Vellālas*, and that of the *Aṇṇamār* by their help-mates, the *Pallas*.

### The Annamār.

I have been able to gather no information about the *Kāṇiyālar*; but the *Aṇṇamār* being the tutelary deities of the *Pallas*, still worshipped in rude shrines of their own and with a certain amount of ceremonial, some details concerning them are available.

These gods are especially connected with the fields and cattle. They are supposed to bring back straying cattle to their owners. Their chief weapon being a walking staff, when any one prays to them for the return of one's cattle, one promises to furnish them with a number of sticks, presumably for their use. Jak fruits are also promised as votive offerings. Their preference, however, is for flesh meat and spirituous liquor. Their protection is often sought against field-rats in tapioca gardens. In this case, a few of the trees are set aside for them, and, when ready for sale, the proceeds utilised for a feast in their honour.

The *Aṇṇamār* are said to be the forerunners of *Karuppar*, *Kārtavirāyer*, *Sévukar*, *Iyanār*, *Anumār*, &c. Their shrines are numerous among the *Pallas*. In most cases a rough stone at the foot of a tree, preferably the *Konrai* (Cassia), marks the presence of *Aṇṇamār*.

A devil-dance is annually held before these shrines, when the dancer, simulating a monkey, leaps and jumps with frantic grimaces whilst chewing leaves and green fruits and brandishing a stick in the wildest fashion. Goats are sacrificed and oracles given out by the dancer.





## SINHALESE PLACE-NAMES IN THE JAFFNA PENINSULA.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

THE Rev. Father Gnána Prakásar's paper on this subject<sup>1</sup> is to be welcomed as throwing much light on it.

His list of names ending in *-vattei*, for instance, shows the advantage of collecting and tabulating, not merely names of villages but field names, names of hamlets, ponds, gardens, etc.—place-names of every description, no matter how obscure or local they may be—the more so they are the more important it is to record them as the more likely to disappear. He remarks that “names ending in *-vattei* may be counted by the hundred,” but he only gives us a dozen. Might I suggest to him to send us the lists of all these names with Sinhalese affixes that he can collect?

I can add one or two. There is a Pattuvattei in Tellippalai West, and there is a famous tobacco garden in Mulliyán of Pachchilappalli called Nichchiyavattei.

With regard to names ending in *-vil*, I supposed that this termination might be an abbreviation of the Tamil *-villu*. But as this explanation is evidently ruled out by Mr. Sabaratna Mudaliyar, a competent authority, I have no hesitation in holding with the Father that it is simply the Sinhalese *-wila*, with the same meaning.

I am glad to find that the latter agrees with my explanation of *-páy* or *-pei*. By the way, are not these forms of the affix always interchangeable? If so, there seems to be no longer a doubt that the Tamil *-pei* is merely the Sinhalese *-pé*. The Mudaliyar's suggestion of “San Louis Pai” is what I would call an instance of an ingenious “folk-etymology.”

Father Gnána Prakásar's identifications of the Sinhalese affixes *-yáya*, *ela*, *-péruwa*, *-deniya*, *-wala* and *-eliya* are genuine discoveries, which, I think, are quite correct. *-Koḍei*, too, is undoubtedly the Sinhalese *-goḍa*. *-Piḍḍi*, though of the same derivation and meaning as the Sinhalese *-piṭṭiya* is, I imagine, the Tamil form of the Sanscrit root independently developed, for it occurs in names that are Tamil throughout and that are not likely to be hybrids, such as Chiruppiḍḍi and Erukkalampiḍḍi (in Mannar). I do not think that *-siḍḍi*, whether it is the equivalent of *-hiṭṭiya* or not, is another form of *-piḍḍi*. *-Kollei* is probably the Sinhalese *-golla*, a grove, and *-kolei* and *-kulei* may possibly be the same, but *-ollei* and *-olei* I cannot place. *-Kuḍei* and *-uḍei* I am inclined to regard as Tamil. *Oḍei*<sup>2</sup> seems to me, undoubtedly, one of the numerous Tamil words meaning “a tank” or “pond.” The only example in the names of villages in the Peninsula is Kantaródei, and there is also a single instance, Marutodei, in the Vanni.

*-Paḷai* may be either Tamil or Sinhalese; perhaps sometimes one and sometimes the other. It is, I think, a similar case to that of *-piḍḍi* and *-piṭṭiya*.

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. III, pp. 167-171.

2. I have for the time adopted Father Gnána Prakásar's method of indicating this vowel. My usual practice is to write *ai* and *not ei*, but either is correct.



Are Pandateruppu and Tanankilappu Tamil names or are they Sinhalese names which have been given a Tamil appearance? If they are Tamil, it should be possible for Tamil pundits to explain them. Sabaratna Mudaliyar once told me that the former might mean a "place where there were people who dealt in merchandise," and that *-kilappu* might mean "digging up."

Is the affix *-turai* occurring in several names in the Peninsula (Kolumputturai, Kángesanturai, Návanturai, Paruttiturai, Valaveḍḍiturai) the Tamil word adopted from the Sanscrit, or does it represent the Sinhalese affix *-tara* in the original name? Kángesanturai, correctly Kángeyanturai, called by one of the names of Kadirkámar, seems altogether Tamil. The affixes *-tara* and *-tota* in Sinhalese are synonyms and can be used indifferently the one for the other wherever one of them occurs in a name—sometimes meaning "a port," sometimes "a ford." Thus Bentota is also called Bentara; Kalutara, Kalutota; Gindura, Gintota; Beralapanátara (in Morowa Kórale), Beralapanátota and possibly, though I have not heard it, Pánadura may be Pánatota. It used to be called by the English "Pantura."

In Achchuveli, according to a Kachcheri list of 1804, there are two places named (as spelt) "Tikkoeprvene" and "Wadehoeprvene," in which the first part of each word means respectively "South" and "North." But what does *-prvene* mean? Is it the Sinhalese *prawéni*?

There is or was a place in Chuṇḍikuli called Koḍḍévásal. What can be more Sinhalese?

In 1804 there was in Uduvil a place called "Malpattoe." The same remark applies.

I found also in the same list "Siengepagoeteuwen-koe-ritje" in the Point Pedro sub-division, and "Willewetie" and "Sittiprovne" in the Chávakachchéri sub-division. Here there decidedly seems to be some Sinhalese lurking.

There are still some affixes that want explaining but I am unable to say, without his paper before me, whether Mr. Horsburgh<sup>3</sup> has dealt with them. There is *-santí*, a meeting of cross roads, the equivalent of the Sinhalese (man) *-handiya*. Is it the same word or from the same Sanscrit root like *-piḍḍi* and *-piṭṭiya*? It occurs in several names in the Jaffna Peninsula, e.g. Mutturaisanti at Nallúr.

What is the meaning of *-tonḍal* which occurs in Valit-tondal, a place in Tellippalai West? Also *-kanḍal*, which is common in the Mannár District, is found in one instance in Karaichchi (Uḍuppattu-kanḍal) and one each only in Tunukkay (Terankanḍal), Panankámam (Naḍḍán-kanḍal) and Melpattu (Karuvēlankanḍal), but is unrepresented in the Peninsula. It must signify some feature of the country or village peculiarity that is found chiefly in the Mantai and Nánataṇ divisions of Mannar but is rare in the rest of the Province.

Is the proper affix in the name of the south-eastern division of the Peninsula properly *-paḷli* or *-paḷei*? The former means "a small village" and the latter "a place." Periya Pachchilaippaḷli or Pachchilaippalei is a village in the division from which the latter gets its name. It is curious but I do not know of any other village in the Northern Province whose name ends in *-paḷli*—which inclines me to the belief that the affix is *-paḷei*.

Another affix which is somewhat rare and is to me obscure is *-kaṇḍi*. There are only three names that I know of in which it occurs, viz. Koyilákkaṇḍi in Tenmaraḍchi, Polikaṇḍi in Vaḍamarāḍchi, and Murikaṇḍi in Tunukkáy. What does it mean? There is, I believe, a Sinhalese *-kandiya*, but I cannot recall a name in which it occurs. Perhaps some of your contributors can supply it or other instances.

3. Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. II.



Among the affixes which are unmistakably Tamil is *-véli* which is found both in North Ceylon and Southern India. (Tinnevely will at once suggest itself). Mr. Sabaratna Mudaliyar informs me that in Southern India it signifies a land measure and in Jaffna a fence, and that in a place-name it may be taken to mean a certain extent of land.

*-Kuli* is another undoubtedly Tamil affix. It means a hole and is found in the Jaffna, but is commoner in the Mannar, District. I can recollect no instance in the Vanni.

A curious ending appears to be found in only two examples in the Jaffna Peninsula, Ávarankál and Máta-kál, but nowhere in the rest of the Province. From the same authority I learn that *-kál* means a channel or port. It would seem, therefore, to be a synonym for *-turai*.

On further consideration I am of opinion that the affixes *-pałai*, *-piđđi*, *-púram*, *-kođđai*, and *turai*, though they naturally, as having the same origin, resemble the Sinhalese equivalents, are Tamil words independently developed.

It seems to me that, in investigating place-names, it is not desirable to confine the inquiry to names of villages merely or to names of villages that are expected to afford evidence of Sinhalese occupation of the Peninsula or of the Vanni, and this is why I gave additional names from the Mannár and Mullaattivu Districts as helping to elucidate the subject. But Mr. Horsburgh seems to have intended to limit himself to this object, and also to have excluded any attempt to explain anything more than the mere affixes, except in the case of a few names with a Sinhalese origin. I hope, therefore, that Father Gnána Prakásar, now that he has made a good start, will deal with the whole subject of Place-Names in the Jaffna Peninsula, the Islands, Punaryn and Karaichchi—"Jaffna and the Skirts of the Wanny," as the Jaffna District, when we first occupied it, was quaintly described. I hope, too, that he will not stay in the villages but will go much further afield, and will collect full lists of names of every natural or artificial feature of the neighbourhood he may happen to be working in. The task is not likely to be a heavy one, for, in my experience, I have noticed that the Tamils do not seem to be so fond of giving names to their fields, gardens and *chénas* as the Sinhalese are. In Sinhalese deeds, for instance, the names of the lands forming the boundaries of the lands which are the subjects of them are always given—"the garden called so and so," while in Tamil documents they are identified by the names of their owners, no names of the lands being ever given. The Sinhalese inhabitants of the Vanni follow the Tamil custom in this respect. Sinhalese deeds would yield anyone, who took the trouble to examine them, an abundant supply of place-names; from Tamil deeds one would obtain very few.

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#### NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

By the REV. S. GNÁNA PRAKÁSAR, O.M.I.

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WITH regard to Mr. Lewis' suggestion about making lists of place-names in "Jaffna and the skirts of the Wanni," one with more leisure and greater opportunities than I can command will perhaps do better. I shall, however, try my best to help in this important research from time to time. An inspection of the old Tombo lists in the Kachcheri will, I believe, greatly facilitate the task.

Of names ending in *vattei* I have a few scores noted at random. Almost every village will contribute its quota to this list.



A few days ago, happening to be at Karaveddy West, I enquired from the people for the names of their gardens. Of those ending in *vattei* I noted the following:—

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Ankiḷavattei  | 6. Nittāvattei   |
| 2. Koṭṭāvattei   | 7. Paḷḷiyavattei |
| 3. Kudavattei    | 8. Sólāvattei    |
| 4. Kumbiḷavattei | 9. Untuvattei    |
| 5. Náttāvattei   | 10. Vadduvattei  |

Some of these names occur in other villages also. As to Nichchiyavattei the common pronunciation, I believe, is with the affix *veddei* and not *vattei*. There is, however, a Nuṇavattei near it.

An exhaustive list of names ending in *páy* and *pei* will, I am confident, prove that these forms of the affix are interchangeable, as Mr. Lewis suggests.

Of "folk-etymology," like the one of "San Louis pái," there are only too many examples in Jaffna. The suggested etymologies for Pandateruppu and Tanankiḷappo are, I fear, to be put under the same classification. No one excepting some modern pundits speaks of *Pandatarippo*; the people always say *Panda-teruppu*. Now, considering that there is in the same village an extensive field known as *Pandá-vil*, I am inclined to think that *Panda-teruppu* is more connected with some Sinhalese *Bandá* than with *Pandam* which, again, is a word indicating not "people who deal in merchandise," but the merchandise itself.

I think no one can reasonably doubt the Sinhalese origin of *Tanan-kiḷappu*. The original was probably *Taṇa-kalapuwa*. Compare *Mada-kalapuwa* (Batticaloa) which the Tamils pronounce *Maddaik-kiḷappu*, thus giving an excellent handle to pundit etymologists for concluding that it was a place for "digging up" coconut husk!

I reserve my remarks on the affixes *ollei* and *olei* for another occasion. *Odei*, no doubt, is a Tamil word as well. In addition to *Marutódei*, I may mention *Minásy-ódei* near Punaryn. But *Kantar-ódei*, I continue to think, illustrates the ending *ódei* as a corruption of the Sinhalese *goda*. *Kantaródei* certainly had no connection with the Hindu god *Kantar*. It probably represents *Kaduru-goda*.

On the affix *turai*, I may note that in names like *Kankesan-turai* (there is also a *Periyatevan-turai* near it), it is undoubtedly Tamil. I do not think, however, that *turai* is a word derived from Sanskrit. For it is found as a pure Tamil word along with other derivatives from the root *Tara* 'leave' or 'pass'—akin to *Tira* 'open.' The similarity of this root with the Sanskrit *Tri* 'to cross' is remarkable, but the derivatives of the latter are formed differently. The fact that in some cases the affix *turai* is purely Tamil speaks in no way against other cases where it may be from the Sinhalese. In the case of *Samputturai*, near *Erukkaḷampiddy*, *Mannar*, the original seems to have been the Portuguese *church* of *Sao Pedro* (popularly pronounced *Sampeduru*), of which we read in the Annual Letters of the Jesuits of the 17th century.

In *Achchuvely*, a certain locality is still called *Piravany*. This name occurs in the Jesuit Letters also. I have no doubt as to its identity with the Sinhalese *Pravēṇiya*. *Achchuvely* possesses also a *Puttar-kóyil-vaḷavu*—"compound where a temple to the Buddha stood." Similar names occur in *Puloly* and *Tellipalai*. There is a *Putta-kaladdi* in *Puttoor*.



In Kóddai-vásal, no doubt *Kóddai* is from Sanskrit and may thus have been taken over from the Sinhalese. But this is made improbable by the fact that *vásal* is a Tamil word (? from *váy*, mouth) without the least doubt. I am not aware of any Sanskrit root from which the Sinhalese *Wásal* might have been derived. The Kóddai-vásal Nallavas—i.e. those who reside in Tallálai, a place in Chundikuly—say that they were sword-bearers under the Tamil kings and that they were therefore made to reside before the king's gate.

"Siengepagoeteuwen-Keeritje" is Singapákutéván Kurichchy in the Point Pedro sub-division. Singapákutéván is said to have been a Tamil settler.

Mr. Lewis' reference to the Sinhalese *handiya* is very suggestive. In Tamil, in so far as I am aware, the pronunciation is *santei* rather. In Keraveddy I noted three names with this ending—Vadali-santei, Máli-santei and Téná-santei. I never heard the instance given by Mr. Lewis pronounced as Muttirei-santi. People always say Muttireich-chantei. The explanation they give is that this place was used, during Dutch times, for the stamping of native cloth with the Government seal (*muttirei*). If this explanation be accepted, Muttireich-chantei will not be an instance for the Sinhalese affix *handiya*. Here *chantei*—a word whose origin is disputed<sup>1</sup>—would mean a market.

The mention of *kandal* by Mr. Lewis suggests another affix *kandi* as in Valik-kandi and Poli-kandi in the Vadamardchy and Kóyilák-kandi in the Tenmaradchy division. Are these perhaps variations of the same affix?

1. Winslow derives *chantei* from the Sanskrit *sandhā* 'meeting,' 'collecting.' Katira-Velpillai gives it as a pure Tamil word. The Portuguese wrote 'chandeo.' Prof. A. Giles thinks this may be from the Chinese *chen tu* (pronounced chun too)—city market. See *Ind. Antiq.*, Sept., 1916.





# HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS REFERRING TO CEYLON.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

### TERMS OF A TREATY BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND THE KING OF KANDY.

TRANSLATED FROM A PORTUGUESE MS LETTER OF  
FATHER MANOEL ROIZ, S.J.

By the REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

OF the answer which the Captain General gave to the King of Candia touching the peace which he sought, and of that which the same King answered.

The following are the articles proposed on our side to the King of Candia as to the conditions that had to be observed if he wished for peace with us :—

1. Firstly, considering that the said King Sera<sup>2</sup> of Candia was married to the Queen Dona Caterina, by whom he had three legitimate sons who will succeed to the Kingdom according to their customs, His Majesty is obliged to favour the said King and his descendants on all occasions that may arise in the Kingdoms of the low-country governed by His Majesty's Generals.

2. That the said King shall be a vassal of His Majesty and his lawful descendants, paying as tribute<sup>3</sup> each year four elephants of 5 *covados* in height at Malwana, and a thousand *amunams* of arecanut, and two hundred *bahars* of cinnamon,<sup>4</sup> all of which shall be delivered at Ruanwella.

3. That the fort of Balana shall be rebuilt and given over<sup>5</sup> with the artillery, munitions, and supplied with provisions for a year, along with the Portuguese who were therein : that the Portuguese who were in Soffragam shall be given up with all the arms and munitions which they had.

4. That the head of the rebel shall be delivered as was promised to the General of this Island, Dom Nunalvarez Pereira, or that he shall give every favour and help necessary to capture him<sup>6</sup> ; delivering up, besides, those involved in this recent rebellion who may be in his realms, and all others who shall in future betake themselves thither for any crime they may commit<sup>7</sup> ; and that the same shall be understood of the Moors, whom the King shall not admit again into his realms.

1. [The first instalment of this series appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp 130-136.—ED. C.A.]

2. "O dito Rey O Sera de Candia"—lower down "Sera Rey de Candia." This must be the name of the King i.e. Senerat ; a common form of this is Herat (Serat)

3. Pagando de tributo—lower down *vacalagê* and *pareas*.

4. Mil *amanoes* de areca e duquentos *bares* de canella.

5. Que a fortaleza de Balane se tornara a fazer e entregar. [Where my translation is not quite satisfactory, I transcribe the original.—S. G. P.]

6. Ou dara todo o favor e ajuda necessaria pera que o tomemos.

7. Por qualqua debito que cometer.



5. That he shall not admit into his realms the Dutch, the French, or any other nation hostile to us, but shall be friend of our friends and enemy of our enemies.

6. That he shall give all help and favour to build the forts (*fortalezas*) that may be found necessary in the sea-ports.

7. That he shall not prevent any of his subjects<sup>8</sup> from becoming Christians, but would rather give his favour and help, and land on which the Religious can build churches.

8. That he shall not allow any Portuguese to come into his realms without the express permission of the Captain General; and should any one come without it, the King shall be obliged to send him in safe custody to the said Captain General.

This article is put down in order to avoid the disorders which soldiers are wont to commit in the country.<sup>9</sup>

9. That he shall deliver up all the artillery that was taken from the Portuguese in any war or at any time whatsoever; and that he shall set free all other prisoners that were taken in this rising or have been in his realms.

10. That he shall give one of his sons as hostage for the first three years; and as they are young, four chief men, natives of the Kingdom of Candia, whom we shall name.<sup>10</sup>

**Conditions with which the King of Candia says  
he will conclude the peace he asked for.**

1. Firstly, considering that Sera, King of Candia, is married to the Queen Dona Caterina, legitimate Queen of the Kingdom of Candia, and that he has by the said Queen three children who will succeed him in the Kingdom according to their customs, His Majesty is obliged to favour the said King and other Kings that shall legitimately succeed him, and that the said King of Candia and his descendants shall be bound by the same obligation on all occasions that arise in the realms of the low-country governed by the General of this island.

2. The King of Candia says, moreover, that he will pay each year a tribute (*vacalagē*) of one elephant at Malwana in honour of the King of Portugal, because the King of Portugal has no need of money, but only of honour.

**Reply given to each article.**

The Captain General grants this article on the advice of the Junta.<sup>11</sup>

The King of Candia will pay a tribute (*pareas*) of 2 elephants of 5 *covados* in height each year at Malwana.

8. A nenhu vasallo.

9. Desordens que soldados costumão fazer nas terras.

10. Que dara de Refensui dos seus filhos pellos primeiros 3 annos e sendo de pouca idade quatro pessoas principais naturais dos reinos de Candia quais apoutaremos.

In the MS *e sendo* is written *sendo*; hence it was pointed out to me, by one to whom the MS was shown, that the meaning might be: "That he shall give one of his sons as hostage; for the first 3 years, as they are young, four chief men etc."

11. O Snor Capitain Geral cõsede neste capitolo por poreçer da junta qui fez (faz?)



3. The King of Candia says, moreover, that he will be friend of our friends and enemy of our enemies, and will not make any agreement with them; and that when someone comes to speak to him, he will say that he is a friend of the Portuguese, and that he cannot admit them into his realms.

4. The King of Candia says, moreover, that when he knows where the rebel is, he will be obliged to order to attack him before us, giving us notice that we may come to his assistance also.<sup>12</sup>

5. The King of Candia says, moreover, that all the Portuguese who come to his Kingdom of Candia without the permission of the Captain General, he will order to be given over to the said Generals, and will also deliver up all others of the country, prisoners and culprits<sup>13</sup> that take shelter in the said Kingdom of Candia, and that the Captains General shall be likewise bound as regards all his subjects who, without his permission, come to the realms of the low-country.

6. The King of Candia says also that he will deliver up all the Portuguese whom he captured at Balana with all the munitions, arms, and artillery, and even the Portuguese of Sofragam, except the arms which our people have already taken and which we shall be able to recover.

7. The King of Candia says also that he will give hostages and that they will go and come according to his orders, in order that they may not be always out of their homes;<sup>14</sup> that they will be persons of credit though his royal word will be better than 200 hostages. As for hostages from the low-country, a Franciscan Father whom he will point out will be enough, with a church, looking after the Christians who are in this Kingdom.

This condition is granted.

This condition is granted.

This condition is agreed to, with the addition that he shall be obliged to give over the rebels and all other people of the realms of the low-country, with the assurance of their lives and property given in the name of his Majesty.<sup>15</sup>

This condition is accepted, provided that he will give the rest of the artillery which he will find to be ours.

This condition about hostages is accepted in the form proposed by the King. We add that he should not impede anyone in his Kingdoms who, of his own accord, wishes to become a Christian from doing so, and that he will admit such Religious as may be necessary for this purpose.

12 I suppose this is the sense of this article which reads: *Dis mais el Rey de Candia q' sabendo do' do olevantado estiver q' sera obrigado a mandar dar nelle primro q' nos avizado nos pa o ajudaremos tambe.*

13. *Todas as mais pessoas da tra cativos e culpados.*

14. *Aseitase lhe esta condicao la cresentamos q' sera obrigado etc.*

15. *Dis mais el Rei de Candia q' dara refens e que iram e viram polia ordem que elle mandar p. não estare sempre hums fora de suas casas.*



8. The King of Candia says further that, when peace is made, it must be sworn in the name of the King of Portugal for ever that he, and the prince and their descendants (being) Kings of Candia shall have the lands appertaining to the said Kingdom, and the King of Portugal the lands which appertain to the realms of the low-country.

This condition is agreed to. The Captain General reserves to himself the right of giving account to His Majesty<sup>16</sup> and the Viceroy of India, who will approve of it since it is made for their service.

Finally, peace was made with the King of Candia, and was sworn to by both parties and concluded on the 24th August 1617. However, the business of the war still remains very troublesome; for, the rebel who has no dependence on the King of Candia, again invaded our territory with a great force, and another Captain of the King of Candia is disturbing our territories in other places—which cannot be without the consent of the King of Candia,—but less cannot be expected from these people as they are very treacherous.

The Captain General Don Nuno Alvarez Pereira does what he can with great courage and industry to calm everything; and if it is not as yet quite settled, the reason is that there are many enemies, and that the natives of the country are dispersed over many mountainous and rugged lands full of jungle, in which they hide and conceal<sup>17</sup> themselves when they are closely followed, without our being able to thrust them out.

This is the state of the hostilities and this is how the rebellion, which began on the 6th of December, 1616, has proceeded up to now in this island of Ceylon. . . . .

I commend myself to your Reverence's Holy Sacrifices

From Colombo,

15th October, 1617.

Your Reverence's

Servant in Christ,

MANOEL ROIZ.

16. Consedese lhe esta condisaõ o Snor Capitam Geral pore a se de dar conta a sua Mg. etc.

17. ? embrenhaõ e escoudam



## Notes & Queries.

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### THE SINGING FISH AT BATTICALOA, CEYLON.

By GEORGE M. FOWLER, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

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THE origin of the mysterious sounds rising from the bottom of the Batticaloa lagoon has always been a subject of speculation, but has never been satisfactorily explained. That they are actually caused by fish is hardly within the bounds of possibility, and need not be seriously considered, but as to the fact of the sounds being heard there is no possible doubt.

Emerson Tennent personally verified it, and his account of his visit tends to support the theory which I venture to put forward. He says that he heard the sounds on a night in September, 1848, "when the moon was near the full, and there was not a breath of wind." This would be at the end of the dry season, when the lagoon was filling with fresh water and a current prevailing in the channel. He refers to similar sounds at places on the west coast of India, especially Bombay harbour, and also at Caldera in Chili, where also the mystery remains unsolved, and it would be interesting to know whether the same conditions prevail in these places as at Batticaloa.

In a little book of personal reminiscences, Mr. S. Haughton, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, mentions that the sounds are heard most distinctly, on a full moon night, at the mouth of the lagoon when the flood water is running out to sea, and that they are still clearer if the ear is applied to the end of an oar or pole held vertically in the water.

The idea that the sounds are heard more plainly at full moon is probably due to local superstition, and also to the fact that most visitors prefer to go out boating on the lagoon when the moon is bright.

Sir E. Tennent describes the spot where he heard the sounds most plainly as between the pier and a rock which intersects the channel, where the current would be strongest, in this respect corresponding with the mouth of the lagoon where Mr. Haughton heard them best. He sent down native divers who brought him living specimens of different shells—chiefly *littorina* and *cerithium*,—exhibiting, as he mentions in a note, the peculiarities which distinguish shells inhabiting a rocky locality from their congeners in a sandy bottom.

In each of the spots mentioned, there would certainly be a large collection of shells, live and dead, washed into the hollows in the rocky bottom. Elsewhere the shells lie on the sand, and are not disturbed by the current.

Tennent describes how the sound varied or disappeared altogether when the boat moved across the lake (away from the current in the channel), while on returning to the original locality the sounds were at once renewed.



Is it not possible that the mysterious sounds are caused by the clinking of masses of shells moved by the current? The sounds, "like the faint vibration of a wine-glass when the rim is rubbed with a wet finger . . . not one sustained note, but a multitude of tiny sounds, each clear and distinct in itself," seem to be the result of such movement.

I must confess that my own personal experience is of purely negative value. I went out on the lagoon once in August, 1876, when passing through Batticaloa, on purpose to hear the fish, but failed to hear a sound. It was the dry season—there was no current, and—it was not full moon. But there were plenty of mosquitoes whose music may have drowned that of the "singing fish."

*Note.*—Mr. Fowler adds :—"Since writing . . . I have seen a positive assertion by a man named Searey in *By Flood and Field*, p. 96, that he heard fish in North Australia making musical sounds, and saw them too—yellow and black-striped fish. But there are so many tall yarns in the book . . . that I do not attach much importance to the statement. Lord Dudley allowed him to dedicate his book to him, however."

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## "TEMPLE OF THE SNAKE-GOD."

By the REV. S. GNĀNA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

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IN the interesting note on "Folklore of Animals," contributed by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (retired),<sup>1</sup> the learned writer says : The Sacred Cobra "is said to be numerous in the island of Nainátivo, perhaps because there is a well-known temple there which is often referred to as 'the Temple of the Snake-God.' It is really dedicated to Náka-Tambirán, properly Pushaṇi, a manifestation of the wife of Siva."

May it not be rather that the Sacred Cobra is numerous in Nainátivo, owing to the fact that people have scruple about destroying that species there? The temple at Nainátivo is known popularly as Nákamál, and not Náka-tampirán koil. This Nákamál has been converted by the Pundits into Nága-bhúshaṇi, i.e. 'adorned with snakes.' The word *bhúshaṇi* comes at the end of compounds and does not stand alone. But I have nowhere seen mentioned "a manifestation of the wife of Siva" as Pushaṇi. If Nága-bhúshaṇi is meant, this is merely a feminine duplicate of one of the many epithets of Siva : *Nága-bhúshaṇa* 'wearing snakes for ornaments.'

Interpreted by folklore and actual practices among the people, Náka-tambirán—'His Majesty the Snake'—is no other than the Sacred Cobra. It is often called Nalla-tampirán, same as Nalla-pámpo—an euphemism for 'bad snake.' The masses have no other idea at the back of Náka-tambirán than that of the living creatures crawling before them whom they seek to propitiate by offerings of milk, eggs, &c. They believe, however, that the Sacred Cobra is a mysterious being who appears and disappears at will. Milk placed aloft between the branches of trees said to be frequented by it is supposed to be drunk by it invisibly. Most people think it is an incarnation of Siva. No cobra found in a temple is allowed to be killed. Such snakes are called *koil-pámpu*.

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. iv, p. 280.



**TWO BUDDHIST SEALS.**

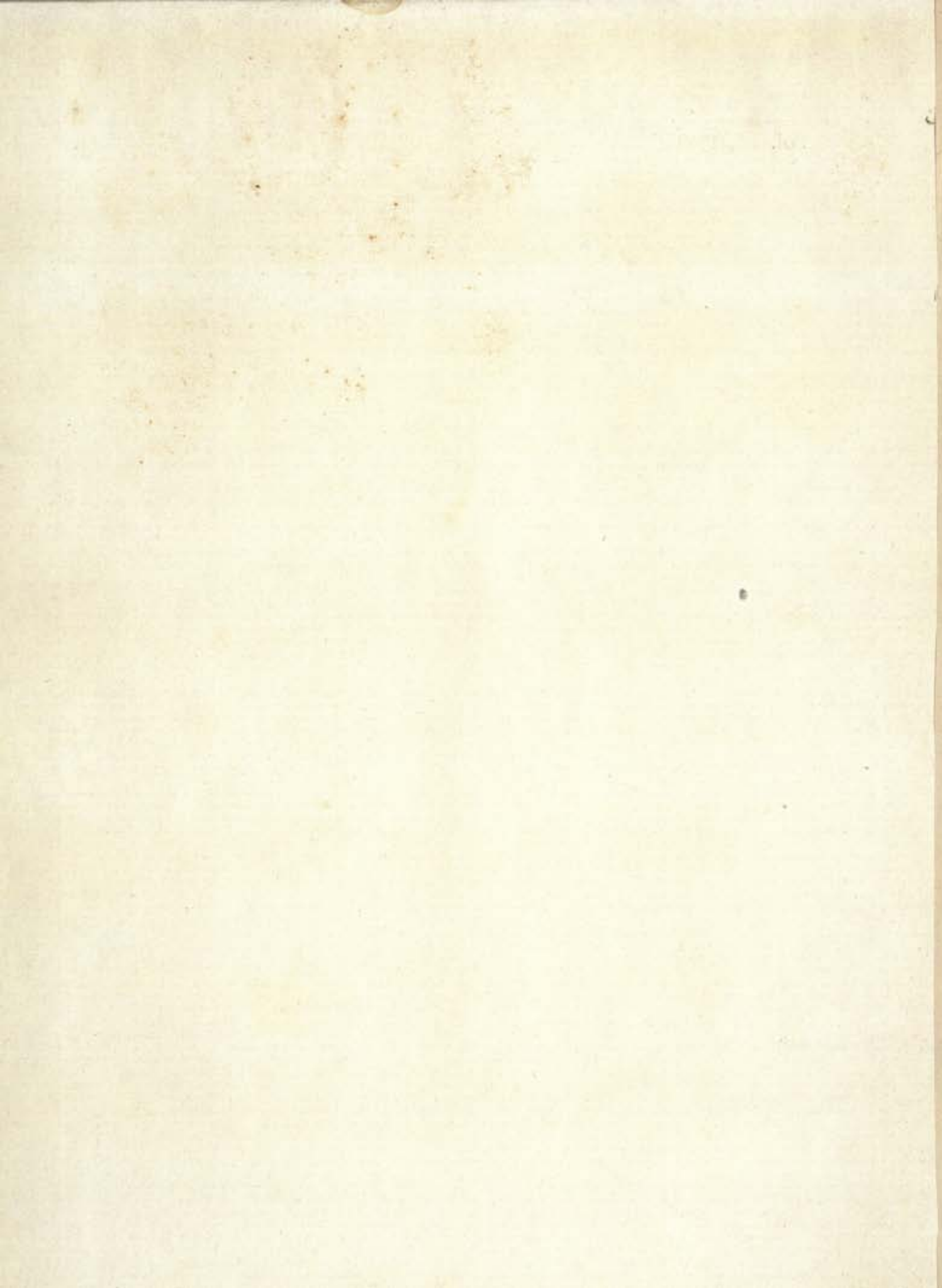


*Apoth: Co., Kandy,  
photograph.*

ACTUAL SIZE.

*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.*







It is a weird manifestation of the deity. If a man kills a temple cobra, it is sure to appear to him at midnight and administer to him a fatal bite.

Mudaliyar Sabaratnam's remarks, anent serpent-worship in India, will be interesting in this connection. The Tamilian, he says, "worships God in the snake, remembering at the same time that the snake represents in form the *Kundalini Sakti* of God. He thinks that any service done to the snake is a service done to the *Kundalini Sakti* that abides in it. . . . The *Kundalini Sakti* being the under stratum of the material world, *Nāga Lōka* or the region of the *Nāgas* is supposed to be beneath the earth. The principle of the worship [of serpents] was forgotten in course of time and its external form was retained, and the ignorant masses began to pay their veneration to ordinary serpents and snakes".—(*The Religion of the Ancient Tamils*, Chapter, viii, ix.)

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## TWO BUDDHIST SEALS.

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

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**SEALS** are mentioned in Sinhalese inscriptions in connection with Buddhist Monasteries.

Both the seals (figured to actual size on Plate VII) were unearthed at, or near, Anurādhapura. The crystal seal is believed to have been dug up in private land—sometime before the Archæological Survey commenced operations—at Alankulama, a village two miles from Anurādhapura on the Kurunegala Road; the bronze seal in 1893, during the progress of Government excavations, in a group of ruins to the North-East of Jetawanārāma Dāgaba.

### Crystal Seal.<sup>1</sup>

The seal was offered for sale by a cultivator of Alankulama, who said that he unearthed it, when asweddumising some paddy land, not far south of the Vessagiriya Rocks where an extensive Buddhist Monastery once existed.

In shape, it is a small cone of semi-transparent crystal, flattened and engraved at the broader end. Along the greater axis it measures 15/16th of an inch: its base 29/32 by 23/32nd of an inch. The seal weighs 229 grains. The cone is pierced about half way up, crossways, to permit of hanging. It has chipped slightly.

Two Buddhist emblems are represented on this unique seal.

To left (on the wax impression) a well drawn, if stilted, *bó*-tree, standing on a moulded podium (*bó maluwa*), with three boughs on either side bearing leaves: to right, a *dāgaba*, correctly shown with its triple-ringed drum base (*tun pesáva*), its bell (*garbha*), square *tee* (*hatarēs koṭuwa*) and a pinnacle (*kota*) truncated for want of space on the field. Both *bó*-tree and *dāgaba* are deeply incised, especially the latter.

The workmanship of the engraving is excellent.

The advance in technique from the days of the circular double-die "Buddhist Coin" in copper is very marked.<sup>2</sup> Drawing in fairly true lines has superceded both the "paddy-stalk"

1. Is being presented to the Colombo Museum.

2. See Still, *Early Copper Coins*, Journal C. A. S. XIX, 58, 1907. Plate, p. 206, Fig. 3.



type of *bô*-tree planted within a square base divided into four equal partitions, and the "three-hoop" (one above two) design which did service for a *dágaba*.

### Bronze Seal.

This may not have been a seal originally, as the haft seems broken: the raised toes, etc., are also against such use, at first at any rate.

The seal—it seal it was—measures at its widest part near the toes one inch and two-fifths, and from the cusped junction of the heels to the border in front of the "big toes" one inch and a half.

It differs from the stereotyped *Śrī-pāda* stone slabs, which are straight sided, in the general roundness given to the shape of the feet: further the stiff *chatra* sometimes carved to overshadow the feet on the *Śrī-patūl* offering slabs (*mal tattū*),<sup>3</sup> is here so softened as almost to lose its character in the graceful foliated arabesques which cover the sole.

## "LATIN NAMES."

By A. C. T. N.

I SHALL be much obliged if someone will be so good enough as to give me the Latin names [Most of them are given below, in italics—Ed., C. A.] of the following, all mentioned in *The Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. IV, pp. 236-7, 280.

### Snakes.

Sinhalese	1.	Diyabara or water-snake	—	<i>Tropidonotus asperrimus</i>
	2.	Wal gerandiya ...	—	<i>Zamenis mucosus</i>
	3.	Cobra ...	—	<i>Naia tripudians</i>
	4.	Tic polanga ...	—	<i>Vipera Russellii</i>
	5.	Mapilas (3 varieties) ...	—	<div> <div>1. <i>Dipsas barnesii</i></div> <div>2. " <i>ceylonensis</i></div> <div>3. " <i>forstenii</i></div> </div>
Tamil	6.	Kodali pudiyan ...	—	<i>Dryophis mycterizans</i>
	7.	Irutalai maniyan ...	—	<i>Cydindrophis maculatus</i>
	8.	Val varasanam (Sinh. "Karawala")	—	<div> <div>1. <i>Bungarus ceylonicus</i> (dunu karawala)</div> <div>2. <i>Chrysopelea ornata</i> (pol-mal-karawala)</div> <div>3. <i>Coluber helena</i> * (mudu-karawala)</div> </div>
Ant.	—1.	Kottideya (? kadiya) ...	—	
Birds.	—1.	Kirala ...	—	<i>Sareogrammus indicus</i>
	2.	Kana kokka ...	—	<i>Ardeola grayi</i>
Plants.	—1.	Papol ...	—	<i>Carica papaya</i>
	2.	Atu-kola ...	—	

And can any reader of *The Ceylon Antiquary* tell me if cases have been known of trained Ceylon bears (*Melursus ursinus*)?

3. See Archaeological Survey Report, 1893, Plate, for the ordinary type of *Śrī-patūl* slab; and for a very elaborate specimen from Koddalkēni, N. P. (now in the Colombo Museum.) See Proceedings C. A. S. 1889-90, pages lxii, lxiii (Plate). This bears numerous Buddhistic emblems on the sole, and a *śaṣṭika* on each toe.

4. [The expression "tel-karawala" is sometimes applied indifferently to varieties of *Bungarus ceylonicus* and *Lycodon aulicus*, in allusion to the oil-like gloss of the scales.—Ed., C. A.]



## NIKKHALA.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

*Vāraṇa yetu rajata nikkhalānam satassavā  
sahassa 'ssāthavā pubbe tattha vikkiya mānakā  
dvayassavā sahasānam vikke tabbā tayassavā  
itiso mariyādanca ṭhapāpesi durāsaya.*

“**M**OREOVER, with evil intent, the king also set a high price upon the beasts, commanding that the elephants, which were sold in former times for a hundred *nikkhalas* of silver, or a thousand, should now be sold for two thousand or three thousand.”

This raising of the price of elephants is recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* (cap. lxxvi 18, 19) as one of the acts of provocation committed by king Arimaddana of Rāmañña, which led to the invasion of his country by Parākrama Bāhu I of Ceylon.

The *nishka* (in Pali *nikkha* and in Sinhalese *nika*) is a well-known measure, and in Ceylon works is a synonym of *kaṣāṇḍa*. The termination in *la*, however, is unknown.

It is now suggested, in view of the liability to confusion between N and T in the Sinhalese script, that the word should read *tikkhala*. This, on the analogy of the Sinhalese *nika*, would be the Pali equivalent of *tikal*, the standard weight of Pegu and the neighbouring countries.

*Tikal*, however, is not a pure native word. According to Sir R. Temple it occurs first in Nunes' *Lyvro dos pesos* of 1554, and is probably the Indian *ṭaka* = *tanka*, through the Talaing *t'ke*. He adds that the pronunciation of the word "has always been two-fold, according as the accent has been placed on the first or the last syllable. At present in Burma it is usual to pronounce it like tickle, and in Siam like tacawl."<sup>1</sup>

If the identification of *nikkhala* is correct, it will follow that this corruption was adopted by the first Europeans from their predecessors in the Indo-China trade, and that it was in use at least as early as the fourteenth century, when the portion of the *Mahāvamsa* under reference is supposed to have been compiled. The word *tikal*, according to Sir R. Temple, appears in Crawford's *Malay Dictionary*, 1852.<sup>2</sup>

## A NOTE ON KOTTI.

By the REV. S. GNĀNA PRAKĀSAR, O.M.I.

**T**HE article in the last number of the *Ceylon Antiquary* entitled "Customs and Ceremonies in the Jaffna District"<sup>3</sup> has a footnote to the following effect:

"Kotti is not a deity. She is an unclean spirit who is appeased on the fifth day of a confinement. She has no temple anywhere."

Whatever may be thought of this remark from a theological stand-point, it is certainly misleading as a contribution to the historical aspect of Kotti. Those acquainted with the Tamil

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVI, p. 245.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. XXVII, p. 40, note 61.

3. [*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. IV, pp. 239-245. The correct name of the author of the paper is Canther Arumugam. He died in 1910, aged 74.—Ed., C.A.—]



classics know the important position this ancient goddess held in early Tamilian religion. Her better known name, of course, is Kottavai, both names being derived from the same word, i.e. *Kottam* 'victory' (from *kol* to slaughter) and the former meaning 'victorious woman' and the latter 'victorious mother' (*Aye*).

In the Kottavai of the classics we find almost all the attributes of Durga or Káli—a more recent goddess who has superceded her. Compare *Purapporul-venpá-málai* (I 20 and III 5) with *Pattup-páddu* (I 47-56), *Silappatikáram* (XII 20-74) and *Tolkáppiyam*, *Porul* 76 commentary by Nachinárkiniyar. The old commentators, in fact, always indentify Kottavai with Durga or Umá.

So also all the old lexicographers. The *Choodámañi Nigandu* gives Kotti as a synonym for Durga (XI *Rakara Etukai*). The *Divakaram* enumerates Kotti among the names for Kádúkál, which, says Nachinárkiniyar in his commentary of *Pattuppáddu* (I 259), is a corruption of Kádu kíłál, a name of Murugan's mother. In Malayálam Kali is popularly known as Kotti.

That in early Tamilian days Kotti was a great deity will be clear by the most superficial acquaintance with the Tamil works treating of 'War.' A formidable goddess of war, she has been nevertheless associated always with motherhood, her proper name being Ayai or Aye, 'mother,' to which Kotta, 'victorious' was added as a qualificative. She is *Velan-táy* 'the mother of the typical warrior'; *Tol-kudi-kumari* 'the maid of the aborigines'; *Palaiól*, 'the old lady.'

These ideas still linger among the purely aboriginal section of the Tamils,—the lowest castes—and find their expression in the fact that Kotti is everywhere worshipped as the goddess of parturition.

P. S.—In connexion with the ancient worship of Kotti as a 'deity,' it is noteworthy that in Karaveddy North (Jaffna) there is a place still called 'Kotti Kóvil.'

## FOLKLORE OF THE TAMARIND TREE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE tamarind tree, though not indigenous, is common in the drier parts of the Island, and in the Vanni and Mannár Districts is to be found in every village clearing, or as the villagers call it "*yárkádu*,"<sup>1</sup> as well as in the jungle where it always marks the site of an abandoned village. In the Central Province it seems to be scarce; except in the drier parts, the climate, I should imagine, does not suit it.

It is owing to this reason, perhaps, that I have not personally become cognisant of the ideas held by the Kandyans and Low-country Sinhalese on the subject of the tamarind tree.

Sir E. Sullivan, in his book, *The Bungalow and the Tent in Ceylon*, says: "The tamarind tree is, like the banian, sacred to the chief of the devils, and its exhalations during the night are said to be fatal" (p. 295), but whether this statement is the result of information given him by Sinhalese villagers or by Tamil coolies does not appear. But there seems to be a widespread belief, not confined to Ceylon, that there is something wrong with the tamarind tree.

1. From the English word "yard" and *kádu*, jungle. This strange hybrid owes its origin to the communal rule that the villagers must keep cleared of jungle so many square yards extent, varying according to the size of the village. The corresponding name used by the Sinhalese villagers of the N. C. P. is '*tis-bamba*,' the thirty-fathom belt. It is curious that Tamils, who are usually supposed to be more conservative and less susceptible to outside influence than the Sinhalese, should in this instance assimilate the foreign word rejected by the latter. (See Mr. Bell's note, *Ceylon Ant.* Vol. II, p. 111.)



Bishop Heber, writing in 1825, says that in Rohilcund "the people have a curious idea, which I have never seen any sign of in Bengal, that the shade of the tamarind tree is unwholesome to man and beast." (*Journal* ; Vol. I, p. 238).

This idea was prevalent in Ceylon at the time of the British occupation of the maritime provinces, for Captain Percival writes (*Ceylon*, pp. 321-2) :—

"The tamarind tree renders the air beneath its shade so unwholesome,<sup>2</sup> that it is a general order with the troops never to allow horses to be picketed there." He adds: "This noble tree expands its branches so widely that assemblies for religious<sup>3</sup> and other purposes have been held under its shade, secure from the influence of the sun."

Both Sinhalese and Tamils agree that the shade of a tamarind is cooler than that of any other tree. So pleasant is it that there is a saying in Jaffna that the son of a widow should not sleep under one—apparently because it will make him lazy and will, therefore, result in his failing to work for his mother.

A characteristic of the tree is that, when there is a shower of rain, it penetrates very slowly through its small but densely crowded leaves to the ground below, and it is a long time before the leaves begin to drip. Hence the episode of the poet Tiruvallavar and the poetess Avaiyar. The poet fled for shelter from a shower of rain to a banian tree, while the lady preferred a tamarind close by. The poetess hailed the poet in a couplet more forcible than flattering:—

வெற்றிலைப்பேயே		veṭṭileppéyé
சிறந்திலக்குள்வடா.		siṭṭilayakkuṭvadō

which means in plain prose :—"You fool of the empty leaves, come under the little leaves!" Whether the poet gallantly took the advice (*verb. sap.*) or countered with another couplet was not told me.

But this advantage of the foliage of the tamarind in wet weather involves a corresponding disadvantage. It keeps dripping long after the rain has ceased. Hence it is considered a bad tree to plant near houses. Its roots too are liable to break up walls.

## ITACON, ILÀCON, IZLAMGAMCOM, ILLANGAKON.

By "HISTORICUS."

MR. P. E. PIERIS (*Portuguese Era*, I, 64) says :—

"Acting on the advice of the great minister Illangakón, the two brothers were allotted principalities, etc."<sup>1</sup> A<sup>o</sup> 1521.

On turning to Fernão de Queyroz,<sup>2</sup> we find that the three brothers repartitioned the kingdom of Cotta among themselves (*repartiraõ os tres irmaõs o reyno da Cota entre sy...*). There is no mention here of any part taken by the "great minister Illangakón" in this matter.

To this statement (*Port. Era*, I, 64) Mr. Pieris appends a note (*ib.* p. 463) which begins as follows :—

2. In pre-Christian times, the same ideas were held of the yew tree.

3. Evidently Percival had been reading Baldaeus and his reference to the tamarind tree at Point Pedro, under which the latter *did not* preach, but another Predikant did.



"The name is given by de Queiroz alone and appears in my copy in this connection as Itacon, an obvious copyist's error for Ilācon."

Now Mr. Pieris, by not giving chapter and verse in this note, has rendered himself liable to be misunderstood. After the words "in this connection," he should have added "folio 97" (page 172, printed edition). Here Itacon, not Illangakón, is referred to as Secretary of the King (*Secretario do Rey*), A<sup>o</sup> 1538.

Says Mr. Pieris (*Port. Era*, I, 75) :—

"About this time an attempt is said to have been made at the instigation of Madunne to assassinate Illangakón, the *Chief* Secretary of the King, who was friendly towards the Portuguese. The would-be assassin was *arrested* and sent back with a *contemptuous* message from Illangakón to Mayadunne inquiring if this was the gratitude *he* received at his hands for having secured Sitawaka for Mayadunne at the distribution of the kingdom." A<sup>o</sup> 1538.

To this Mr. Pieris appends the note : "This incident is mentioned by Q. alone" (*Port. Era*, I, 468). As stated above, the folio of the manuscript copy is not given.

If Mr. Pieris accepts the truth of Itacon's statement, Itacon, the "chief" Secretary in 1538, is identical with "the great minister Illangakón" in 1521 (*i.e.* on the assumption that Mr. Pieris' statement is correct that there was such a "great minister" in 1521).

Does Mr. Pieris think that the office of *chief* Secretary to the King was a higher rank than that of the "great minister"? If not, Itacon was holding a lower rank in 1538 than what he held in 1521; but, as stated below, de Queyroz does not call him the *Chief* Secretary, but only the Secretary. Why does Mr. Pieris call him the "Chief" Secretary, unless it be to give him a higher rank and to show that there is no improbability in a "great Minister" in 1521 being the "Chief Secretary" in 1538?

Now let us see what de Queyroz says about the incident mentioned by Mr. Pieris (*Port. Era*, I, 75). It is as follows :—

"Como a paz estaua feyta, e não auia lugar, nem disposição no Rey, p<sup>a</sup> fazer crua guerra ao Madúne, como os nossos desejauão : o Capitão mor voltou a suas imprezas, o Rey a outros cuydatos : e o Madúne a suas treyçoës. E p<sup>r</sup> q' Itacon, Secretario do Rey, se nos mostraua inclinado, e agradecido, intentou tirar lhe a vida, e vindo o uisitar hum Chingalá de Seytauâca, ao entrar, ficou taõ turbado, q' descubrio seu intento. Certificado Itacon, p<sup>r</sup> sua confissão, do intento q' trazia, com valor m<sup>s</sup> q' de gentio lhe disse : 'Volta a Seytauâca, e dize a teu Rey, etc.'"

There is no word here that the would-be assassin (the Sinhalese from Sitawaka) was arrested, or that Itacon was *Chief* Secretary of the King. The cryptic message was "contemptuous," perhaps because it was given "com valor m<sup>s</sup> q' de gentio."

Itacon complains of Madúne's ingratitude towards him,—"*aludindo a hũa das suas anti-guidades* (sic), e p<sup>r</sup> q' na distribuição entre os tres irmãos, foy causa de se dar a Madúne Seytauâca."

Mr. Pieris ignores this most important statement of de Queyroz, which, if true, shows that the Secretary of the King did not claim for *himself* the credit of bringing it about that Sitawaka was given to Madúne.



Again (*Port. Era*, I, 93) Mr. Pieris says (once more without giving chapter and verse):—

"Widiye Bandara was not prepared to yield up office: he declared that Illangakon held no authority from the King and arrested and put him to death." A<sup>o</sup> 1543.

The incident is related by de Queyroz (folio 112, p. 201): *Chegaraõ estas queyxas á Cota, donde. o Rey despedio Itacon em q' já fallamos, etc.*, " (already referred to).

So this Itacon was identical with the Secretary of the King, A<sup>o</sup> 1538. Itacon died a *Christaõ de terra*.

Says Mr. Pieris (*Port. Era*, I, 99): "The relatives of the murdered Illangakón had taken refuge at Sitawaka and Senda Senkadagala." A<sup>o</sup> 1545.

De Queyroz (fol. 116, p. 208), who is not cited in connection with this incident, says that the relations and friends of Itacon left, some for Kandy, and the rest for Sitáwaka.

Again, Mr. Pieris says (*Port. Era*, I, 266):—

"A second army was rapidly collected under the command of Illangakoon, Mudaliyar." A<sup>o</sup> 1593.

De Queyroz (fol. 210, p. 384), whom Mr. Pieris does not cite in his illuminating note (*Port. Era*, I, 545), does not say anything about "a second army" but calls it a good force (*hũ bõ exercito*) with many elephants under the command of Modeliar Izlamgamcom (*a cargo do Modeliar Izlamgamcom*)—not Izlamgamcon as stated in Mr. Pieris' note (*Port. Era*, I, p. 545), nor Izlamgamcoom as in another note (*ib*, p. 463).

So neither the name Ilācon nor Illangakón is anywhere given by de Queyroz, and it is to be noted that there is no *til* over the "a" in Itacon and consequently no warrant for Mr. Pieris' statement that Itacon was an obvious copyist's error for Ilācon.

To sum up,

- (1) *There is not sufficient proof that there was a "Chief Minister Illangakon" in 1521*
- (2) *There was a Secretary Itacon (1538-1543) not Ilācon nor Illangakon.*
- (3) *There was a Mudaliyar Izlamgamcom in 1593, not Illangakon.*

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## ILANGACON.

By "HISTORICUS."

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THE more one reads de Queyroz (*Conquista de Ceylaõ*) side by side with *The Portuguese Era* (P. E. Pieris), the more one is amused at the way Mr. Pieris has failed to record what de Queyroz actually states in the passages he is translating from the *Conquista*.

To take one instance: In *The Portuguese Era* (I, 384), there is a reference to Mudaliyar Tenecon (A<sup>o</sup> 1603) confiscating the property of some Portuguese and even that of Dom Fernando (Samarakon). De Queyroz (p. 479) calls Tenecon *este traidor* (this traitor). This is not reproduced by Mr. Pieris in the translation.



Says Mr. Pieris (*The Portuguese Era* I, 384): "Samarakon's officers on the borders of Matara were getting out of hand, for they seemed to have been under the belief that Samarakon himself was the leader of the uprising." If Mr. Pieris had added the words "or pretended" after the word "seemed," he would have correctly reproduced what de Queyroz had stated, for *ou fingindo* are the only two words left out in the translation.

Again Mr. Pieris says (*loc. cit.*) that the "more restless" were punished, including Pedro de Abreu Mudaliyar. What de Queyroz says is (p. 479): "but hearing that they were plotting another treason, some were punished, and especially the Mudaliyar Pedro de Abreu (called) in *Gentoo*<sup>1</sup> *Ilangacon*."

Now, why does Mr. Pieris ignore the fact that *Pedro de Abreu's Sinhalese name was Ilangacon*? This is, so far as I know, the only place in de Queyroz where the name *Ilangacon* occurs. Mr. Pieris does not allude to this in his note (*Portuguese Era*, I, 463). He maintains in the said note that Itacon (*de Queyroz*, 172, 201, 208) is a mistake for *Ilācon* (*Ilangacon*).

If so, why did not de Queyroz, who spells the name correctly at page 479, misspell it three times (*Itacon* at pages 172, 201, 208)? Of course, the spelling *Ilangacon* (*de Queyroz*, 479) rather upsets Mr. Pieris' theory in the said note.

Mudaliyar *Tenecon* is called a traitor because, having got some armed men into his house, he invited the Mudaliyars to a consultation and got them murdered (A<sup>o</sup> 1630): "By armed men who were kept ready for the purpose." This has been omitted in the translation by Mr. Pieris who translates both what precedes and follows it.

In the index to *The Portuguese Era*, Mr. Pieris cites Vol. I, pp. 300, 330 and 384 in regard to *Pedro (Pero) de Abreu*. In none of these references is it stated that *Pedro de Abreu* was also called *Ilangacon*.

Recording the events in 1614 Mr. Pieris says (*Port. Era*, I, 423): "In the Disawani of Matara . . . . . which contained the best and most loyal population in the Island and had always been administered by the noblest born among the natives or by selected Portuguese, a low-born Moor, a native of the country, had been placed in charge . . . ."

And this is history!

De Couto (*C. B. R. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XX, p. 419) implies that *Pedro de Abreu* was a Portuguese ("Knocking over some Lascarins and wounding some Portuguese, among whom were Simaõ Pinhaõ, *Pero de Abreu Modeliar*, and others"):

Mr. Pieris (*Port. Era*, I, 330): "Pinhaõ himself and *Pero de Abreu Mudaliyar*, being among the numerous wounded" A<sup>o</sup> 1597. (Translated from *de Queyroz*, p. 423).

De Queyroz (p. 423) also implies that *Pedro de Abreu* was a Portuguese (*de q' cahiraõ alguns Lascaris e foy ferido Simaõ Pinhaõ, Pedro de Abreu e outros Portuguezes*).

Pinhaõ was a native of Azambuja (*de Queyroz*, 497).

## PINHEY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

[THE Hyderabad Archaeological Society, on the 21st April, 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., the Founder and first President of the Society. The Council of the Society desires us to publish the following Regulations governing the award of the Medal, for the information of readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary*.—Ed. C. A.]

1. *Em gentio*: This, I think, means "in the pagan fashion," (like *d la française*), i.e. whose pagan name is *Ilangacon*. By "pagan" name de Queyroz means "Sinhalese" name. This implies that he was a Sinhalese and received "Pedro de Abreu" at his baptism. Was he a Portuguese?



**The Regulations.**

(1) The 'Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal' shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archaeology or History, in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archaeology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(4) Theses for the first competition will be received up to the end of October, 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, *i. e.*, in October, 1921, 1924, and so on.

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the *Society's Journal*.

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(7) If thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.





# Literary Register.

## MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

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

### PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from Vol. II, page 286.)

#### CHAPTER XV.

*Orders of the People,—of the Nobility, the Great Offices and Dignities, and their Rank.*

#### Symson.

As to the several Ranks of People, there are four.<sup>1</sup> The first comprehends the King,<sup>2</sup> the Queen,<sup>3</sup> the Princes,<sup>4</sup> either of his Race, or descended from his Predecessors, the Princesses,<sup>5</sup> and the great Lords. The second is that of the Dignities, Employments, and Precedence the King gives, which is also religiously observ'd. The third of the Gentry, and the fourth of the Commonalty.

To begin with the third Rank, which raises Men by Birth above the Commonalty; there are abundance of Nobles, or Gentlemen, dispers'd throughout the Islands. No Man who is not noble, dares presume to sit down before one who is; and if they see one coming after them, they must stand still and let him pass; and if the mean Person has any Piece of Cloth or other Thing on his Back, he will let it fall.<sup>6</sup>

Gentlewomen, tho' marry'd to Men of an inferior Degree, do not lose their Rank; and even their Children are noble on their Account, tho' the Father were mean. Thus mean Women marry'd to Men of Birth, are not enobled by their Husbands.

The King enobles whom he pleases; and when that is done, besides the Instrument or Patent pass'd on that Purpose, he sends a proper Officer to proclaim it throughout the Island, beating with a Hammer on a Plate of Bell-Metal.

#### Harris.

The Inhabitants of this Country are divided into four Classes, namely, the Royal Family, Persons invested with Dignities and Offices, the Nobility and Gentry, and the common People.

The third Rank is distinguished from the fourth by their Birth, and the Distinction is so nicely kept up, that the latter dare not sit in the Presence of the former.

If a Noble Woman marries a Plebeian, she retains her Rank, and upon her Account, the Children are reckoned Noble; but a Woman of the lowest Form cannot enoble herself by marrying a Nobleman.

Besides the Nobles by Birth, there are some enobled by the King, who, upon such Occasions, gives them Letters, entitling them to that Privilege, and sends an Officer round the Island to make Publication of the Promotion.

1. The footnote to *Hak. Pyrard* I, 208 should be consulted as to these four classes. They are (1) Persons of blood royal (*Bandara*), as with the Sinhalese, (2) Dignities conferred, as state officers and titles bestowed or bought, (3) The aristocracy generally (*Maniku, Mantke*; Cf. *Sin. Menika*). (4) The common people (*Kalo, Kamula*).

2. *Pyrard*: *Rasquan*; *M. Raskan*; *Rasge-fanu*: Cf. *Sin. Raja*.

3. *Pyrard*: *Renequillague*; *M. Rant-kilage-fanu*.

4. *Pyrard*: *Calans*. *M. Kala-fanu*: *Pers. Kolan*: "great."

5. *Pyrard*: *Comenaz*; *M. Kamana-fanu*. Cf. *Sin. haminat*, "lady."

6. A mark of respect shown by Kandians to their Chiefs and European Officials.



## Symson.

The Prime Dignities, are as follows : Next to the King are the Princes of his Blood, and those descended from his Predecessors, tho' of different Races, who are all honour'd and respected. Then the Prime Officers of the Kingdom, viz. the *Quilagé*, who is as it were, the King's Lieutenant, as governing all in his Absence, and to whom the King directs all his Orders ; another in very great Authority is call'd *Perenas* ;<sup>7</sup> the *Endequery*<sup>8</sup> is to be always near the King, and gives his Advice upon all Things that occur ; the *Velonnas*,<sup>10</sup> or Admiral, who has Charge of all Things relating to the Sea ; under him are two Officers call'd *Mirvaires*,<sup>11</sup> who execute his Orders, and are known by carrying a *Bengale Cane* in their Hands, which no other dares do. There is also a General of all the Land-Forces, call'd *Dorimenaz*,<sup>12</sup> whose Lieutenant bears the Name of *Acouraz*,<sup>13</sup>

The Chancellor has the Title of *Manpas*,<sup>14</sup> and puts the King's Seal to all his Orders, being no other than his Name in *Arabick* Characters, carv'd on Silver, which he dips in Ink, and makes the impression on the Paper. The Secretary is call'd *Carans* ;<sup>15</sup> the Intendant of the Revenue, *Masbandery* ;<sup>16</sup> and the Treasurer, *Ransbandery* ;<sup>17</sup> besides many inferior Officers, too tedious to mention.

All these great Men are summon'd to the King's Council upon important Affairs, as are the six *Mouscoulis*, or Elders, being Persons of Wisdom and Experience, chosen by the King, to assist him with their Advice. These six compose the Court within the King's Palace, to do Justice to such as appeal to the King from the *Pandiare*, or *Naybes*, and each of them has the Command of a Company of Soldiers.

To all these and the rest, the King gives certain Islands, the Revenue whereof is their Salary ; besides which, he allows them Rice, as he does to his Soldiers, who have also certain Duties upon Ships and Barques, coming to trade at the Islands. It is the greatest Honour in those Parts to eat of the King's Rice, and to be in some Post under him, without which a Man is little regarded, tho' never so well born.

## Harris.

The first Rank comprehends the King, who is called *Rosquan* ;<sup>2</sup> the Queen is called *Reneguellague* ;<sup>3</sup> the Princes and Princesses of the Blood are called *Callans*<sup>4</sup> and *Camanz*,<sup>5</sup> and all who are descended of the King's Predecessors. The next Station is allotted to the great Officers of the Kingdom, particularly to the *Quillague*,<sup>7</sup> or the King's Lieutenant-General, who commands in the King's Absence ; the *Endequerry*,<sup>8</sup> who always attends the King's Person, as chief Counsellor ; the *Velanas*,<sup>10</sup> who takes Care of all Strangers, and takes the Rudder off all Ships that arrive, for fear they should set sail without taking Leave ; the General of their Forces, called *Dorimenaz*.<sup>12</sup>

The *Manpas*,<sup>14</sup> or Chancellor, who affixes to all Letters the King's Seal, i.e. the Impression of his Name in *Arabick*, engraven on Silver ; the Secretary, called *Carrans*,<sup>15</sup> &c.

These Officers have, besides the Rents of certain Islands allotted them, the King's Rice for their Provision (which is a great Honour, allowed likewise to the Soldiers) and the Toll of the Ships that trade to the Maldives.

The Officers and Soldiers are so much esteemed, that a Nobleman is not respected, unless he be an Officer, and a Gentleman will hardly pass for such, unless he be lifted into the King's Service.

7. Pyrard : *Quillague* M. *Kilagé-jánu*. Lists of the Sultan's chief ministers are given by Ibn Batúta (eight: 14th century) Pyrard (nine: early 17th century), Christopher (six: 19th century, 1834), and Bell (three: 19th century, 1878). See *Hak Pyrard* I, 210-13, for tabulated names and full particulars.

8. Pyrard : *Perenas* ; M. *Faruna*, *Farhina*.

9. Pyrard : *Endequery* ; M. *Hadégré*, *Bodu Badéri*.

10. Pyrard : *Velonnas* ; M. *Velana*.

11. M. *Miru Baharu*.

12. M. *Dorhtuena*.

13. M. *Hakurá*.

14. M. *Mafal*.

15. Pyrard : *Carans*, Skt. *káran* "a doer" ; Cf. Sin. *káraya karuná*. Ibn Batúta writes *kirani* "clerk." See Hobson Jobson, *Cranny*.

16. M. *Má Badéri*.

17. M. *Ran Badéri*.



## Symson.

The Land Forces consist of the Guards,<sup>18</sup> being the six Companies, of 100 Men each, commanded by the six *Mouscoulis*, as was said above. There are 10 other great Companies, commanded by the greatest Men of the Nation; which do not serve as Guards, but upon all other Occasions, not only of Martial Expedition, but to launch Vessels, draw them ashore, building, or do any other Labour. They are call'd together by Beat of the Plate I spoke of before. Five of those ten Companies are more honourable than the others, into which none but Gentlemen are admitted; whereas into the other Five all Sorts are receiv'd.

The Revenue of several Islands is appropriated for the Payment of these Men, who enjoy many Privileges, as, that no Person may touch them, that they may be differently habited from others, and wear a great Gold Ring; so that there are few Persons of Condition, but desire to be admitted among them, which cannot be obtain'd without the King's Leave, for which they pay to him 20 *Larins*, and 40 to be distributed among the Company they are listed in.

No Slaves can be receiv'd among them, nor those who gather the Product of the Coco-Tree, or any other, vile Persons, and, in general, none who cannot read and write, or who are Servants to others. Most Employments are purchas'd of the King, and sought after by the richest Men, because of the Authority and Power they confer over other Persons; but there is no selling, or resigning of them.

Those Islanders never bear any more than one Name, without any Surname, or distinctive Appellation; and the Names most in Use, are, *Mohomet, Haly, Hussum, Assan, Ibrahim*, and the like. But in Order to know one from another, they add their Quality after the Name: so those who are nobly born, add to their Name *Tacouron*,<sup>19</sup> which shews of what Degree they are, and to their Wives they surjoin *Bybis*; <sup>20</sup> and besides, they mention the Island that belongs to them. Such as are not otherwise noble than by their Employments are call'd *Callogues*,<sup>21</sup> and their Wives and Daughters *Camullogues*.<sup>22</sup> This is not only allow'd to such as are in Offices, but also to all who purchase Quality of the King, that they may be respected above the common Sort; which they pay dearly for, because there is only a limited Number of them, and they cannot be enlarg'd, that being the fewer, they may be the more respected. The common Sorts, besides their proper Name, are call'd *Callo*,<sup>23</sup> and their Wives and Daughters *Camulo*,<sup>24</sup> adding their Trade or Condition.

## Harris.

The King's Guards<sup>18</sup> consists of six Companies, of one hundred Men each, commanded by the six Counsellors, called *Moscoulis*. Besides these, there are ten Battalions, commanded by ten of the *Grandeos* of the Country, which serve the King not in Fighting, but in the Launching of Ships, building of Palaces, and such other Work, being called together by the Sound of a Bell. In five of those Companies none but Gentlemen are received, but the other five take in common People

Whoever is listed as a Soldier, pays twenty *Larins* to the King, and forty to be distributed among the Company, in which he is to serve.

Slaves are always excluded, as well as those who work in a Mechanical Way, as the dressing of Cocoa Trees, &c., and particularly such as serve others, or cannot read or write. To conclude; all Offices are bought of the King, and much coveted, on account of the Honour and Power that attends them; but the Persons invested with these Offices can neither sell nor resign them.

The Islanders have but one Name, such as *Mohammed, Haly, Hassam, Assan, Ibrahim*, and are distinguished by their Stations as Noble, Plebeian, &c., added to their Name, and sometimes by the Addition of the Island in which they live.

18. Regarding "the sole military force" at *Malé* for the Islands, see Christopher, *loc. cit.* I, 72, Bell, *loc. cit.* 68.

19. Pyrard: *Tacouron*; M. *Takurn-jann*. Cf. Skt. *Thakur*.

20. M. *Bibi*. See Hobson Jobson, S.V. *Beebe*.

21. M. *Kaloge*.

22. *Kamulo-ge*.

23. M. *Kalo*.

24. M. *Kamulo*.



## Reviews.

### INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.

*Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1916.* Lahore, 6d.—Mr. H. Hargreaves' Report, which is of unusual interest, discloses *inter alia* the regrettable fact that the condition of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments in the Punjab is such as to cause misgiving and, as is the case in Ceylon at the present time, there is little evidence that the monuments are the objects of that care and attention which their importance demands. While the general remoteness and inaccessibility of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments may be the cause of their neglect—in Ceylon, the neglect extends to monuments in the very heart of the Sacred City—it is, nevertheless, as Mr. Hargreaves rightly considers, "no excuse or adequate explanation." During the year under review Rs. 19,712 were expended on Hindu and Buddhist Monuments in the Punjab and Rs. 10,451 in the United Provinces. One of Mr. Hargreaves' most interesting "finds" was a so-called magic square, on the underside of a fallen lintel in the 11th century shrine known as the Chota Surang in Jhansi District. The square, which is in the following form, is interesting, mathematically, as possessing the following properties: (1) the sum of each row, each column, and each diagonal is 34, (2) the sum of all the numbers in each sub-square is also 34.

7	12	1	14
2	13	8	11
16	3	10	5
9	6	15	4

### PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, (March, 1917).

Grierson (Sir George) The Pārijāta-Harana of Umāpati Upādhyāya.  
Hill (S. C.)—Major Randfurlie Knox, Dilawar Jang Bahādur : A Memoir.  
Macpherson (T. S.)—A Note on the Nāek Caste.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY, (Feb., 1917).

Amrita Row (K.)—The Dravidian Element in Prakrit.  
Rangachari (V.)—History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura.  
Wali (Abdul)—Surgeon Gabriel Boughton.  
Temple (R. C.)—Notes from Old Factory Records.  
Enthoven (R. E.)—Folklore of the Gujarat.

HINDUSTAN REVIEW (April, 1917).

Gupta (N.)—Revolutions Red and White.  
Ellis (S. M.)—The Art of William de Morgan.  
Sarda (Harbilas)—Rana Hammir.  
Sant (M. B.)—The Swadeshi Movement.  
Greenwood (G.)—The Command of the Sea.  
Vaughan (Miss K.)—Educated Indians and Indian Women.  
Chundar Dass Bahadur (Rai Sarat)—Origin of the Tibetans.  
Coomaraswamy (A. K.)—Love in Hindu Literature : a Rejoinder.



REVUE HISTORIQUE DE L' INDE FRANCAISE, (Pr. Vol., 1916-17).

Martineau (A.)—Les Cyclones à la Côte Coromandel de 1681 à 1916.  
L'affermage des revenus de Chandernagor en 1732.  
The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. V.

---

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES,  
(Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, April, 1917).

Rolfe (Miss Deette)—Environmental influences in the Agriculture of Ancient Egypt.  
Luckenbill (D. D.)—The Chicago Syllabary.  
Grant (Elihu)—A new type of Document from Senkerch.  
Meek (T. J.)—Old Babylonian Business and Legal Documents (the R. F. H. Collection).

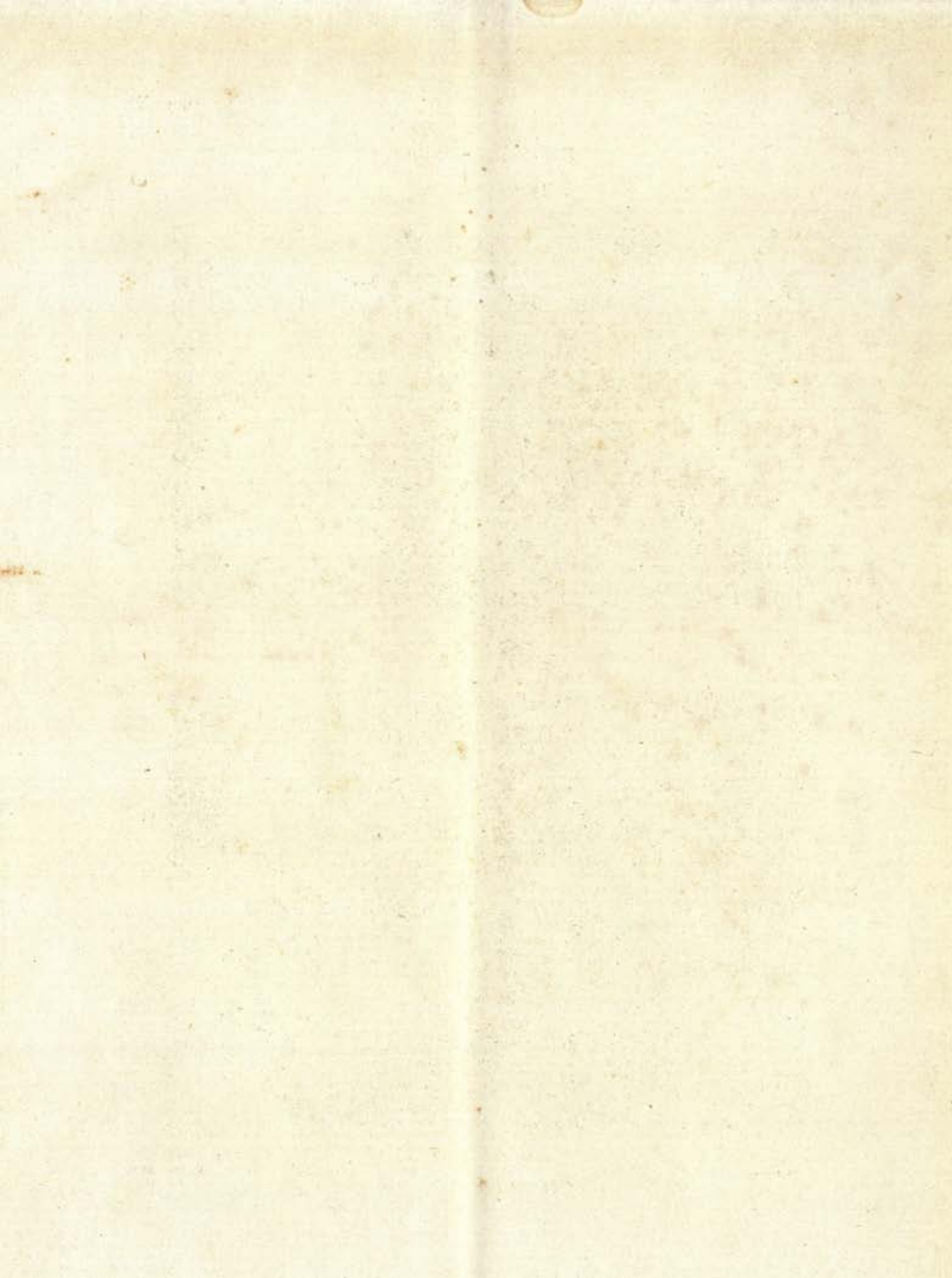
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JOURNAL OF THE BANGALORE MYTHIC SOCIETY, (Vol. VII, No. 3, April, 1917).

Subbiah (Dr. A. V.)—A 12th Century University in Mysore.  
Rangachari (V.)—History of Sri Vaishnavism.  
Sastry (R. Shama)—A Note on the supposed identity of Nātsyāyana and Kautilya.  
Subrahmanya Iyer (V.)—Mādhavāchārya and his younger brothers.









**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**

VILLAGE VEDDÁS.



KUDÁ ULPATA.



H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

KOSGAHA ULPATA.

"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.



# The Ceylon Antiquary

and

## Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

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October, 1917.

Part II.

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### DIMBULÁ-GALA: ITS CAVES, RUINS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.

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#### II. OTHER SITES.<sup>1</sup>

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

**I**N the course of an autumn tour through the Egoḍa Pattuwa of Tamankaḍuwa, the Archæological Commissioner camped, early in September, 1897, at the foot of Dimbulá-gala ("Gunnery Quoin"), and spent about a week exploring the caves and structural ruins upon and around the hill, besides copying such lithic inscriptions as were met with—comparatively few, considering the promising field.

Operations were conducted from the small Veḍḍá hamlet of Kuḍá Ulpata as a centre.

The accompanying account of the chief sites examined between September 3rd and September 9th is taken from the Commissioner's Circuit Diary.<sup>2</sup>

#### KUDÁ ULPATA.

*September 3rd, 1897.* The Veḍḍás of Kuḍá Ulpata, headed by the old "Kóralayá," the Second Headman of the Tamankaḍuwa clan, gnarled of forehead and grissly, receive the "Sudu Hurá" or "White Chief" (as Veḍḍó style European officials) on arrival at their little hamlet, with a lowly salutation, which for humbleness recalls that of the Gevala-pitiya Rodiyas, when the Commissioner similarly toured the Kegalla District in 1890.<sup>3</sup>

These people are obviously very poor, and eagerly receive rice distributed to gain their confidence. For the most part they are exceedingly timid, yet possess much of the charm of unsophisticated childhood.

#### MOLA-HITIYE-VELÉ-GALA.

In the afternoon some of the Veḍḍás led us about a mile S.S.E. to a long low reach of rock, hummocked in three or four ridges, and running E. and W. parallel with Dimbulá-gala. The whole *gal-pota* stretch, called "*Mola-hitiye-velé-gala*," is strewn with small boulders and broken rock—for all the world like some Giant's Fortress.

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1. For the first instalment see I. "The Mārāvidiye Caves," Vol. III, Part I, July pp. 1-12.

2. Brief synopsis appears in Archæological Survey, Annual Report, 1897, pp. 9, 10.

3. Sessional Papers, Ceylon, XIX, 1892, "Report on the Kegalla District," p. 53.



Here is manifest much evidence of ancient quarrying—wedged stone, and longitudinal grooves in the bed-rock, deep and shallow, for further "splitting," together with many small heaps of stone "refuse" piled about. \* Imagination can see in some of these blocks the rough-hewn images and figures (stone lions, etc.), found amid the Pojonnaruwa ruins; and, indeed, this may have been, in a district strikingly barren of rock, one of the chief quarries for that medieval Capital, of which the largest Dāgaba ("Rankot Vihara") can be distinguished clearly from this open rock plateau rising above the sea of forest.

### Ruins.

About the centre of the main ridges stands what is left of a couple of ruined structures :—

(i) Remains of a dāgaba.

(ii) Plinth stones (some in place still) belonging to a small, eight-sided fane, showing on their top lotus-boss mortices for wooden pillars, resembling those of "Pijima-ge' No. 1" amid the Abhaya-giriya ruins at Anurādhapura. †

This shrine fronted south. Inside it are lying two granite slabs, one a fine square *mal-poruwa*, or flower altar.

### Inscriptions.

At a higher level, on the crest of the middle ridge, were noticed two long lines cut in the rock, so as to run parallel for twenty yards or more, perhaps marking a "procession path." They terminate at four inscriptions. ‡ Two of these records (carved on the rock's surface in four lines, close together, within an oblong frame) are specially well incised in characters both bold and deep. The *swastika* emblem precedes Nos. 1 and 2. All four inscriptions are of the early Christian era.

The guides said there were some caves at the foot of this ridge; but as it was getting dusk, further examination of the site deferred till tomorrow.

September 4th. Return to Mola-hitiye-velé-gala.

Set the Circuit coolies to put the whole basement of the octagonal ruin (ii) into position again. It proved, when all the stones were replaced, to be a little fane shaped in plan as an octagon of eight-feet sides (approximately), having the lotus-knop sockets at the angles.

Within the ruin, as noted yesterday, are two stone altars, one 5 ft. square, the other oblong and fallen. To this little shrine a few rock-cut steps lead from the site of the quarry.

Eye-copied, and took photographs of, the inscriptions.

### Caves.

Then proceeded to examine the caves.

There are four or five in all, three with *kaṭārama* (drip-ledge) above their brows, but none yielding inscriptions. Two occur about 50 or 60 yards N. E. of the inscriptions and a *gal-wala* containing water.

Cave No. 1. Wall-less, but in two parts; faces roughly south-east. Like Cave No. 2, it is fairly roomy.

Cave No. 2. Has part of the stout wall, which once shut it in, standing. The cave is of irregular shape, and fronts north-east.

Cave No. 3. Lies north, and closer. It is formed beneath an immense boulder, which towers above the drip-line. The Veddā guides counselled caution in approaching, as they wot of a well-known "bear's lair" in this rock. "Bruin" may have slunk away: anyhow he was "not at home."

This is the largest of the caves (60 ft. wide, with a depth of 27 ft., and 20 ft. in height), and was evidently the most important, having seemingly been used for the *vihārē*. Remains of rounded stone plinth, kerb-bricks, &c.; also an altar slab (2 ft. square) with shallow circular depression.

There was formerly an artificial terrace in front.

### ALI-VETUNU-PAHALA-HINNA.

The Veddās next guided us Southwards by a path through *damana* (open land with copses here and there) for three quarters of mile to another low ridge called "*Ali-veṭunu-pahala-hinna*."

### Puli-goda gal-geval.

Fifty yards up, midst boulders, are two caves known as "*Puli-goda gal-geval*."

Cave No. 1. Beneath an undercut boulder standing on slab rock. It has a short single line inscription, shallowly cut, and now incomplete from weathering. §

4. Plate VIII: Mola-hitiye-velé-gala.

5. Archaeological Survey Annual Report. 1891, pp. 3, 4.

6. See Appendix.



**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**



MOLA-I ITIYE-VELÉ-GALA.

Quarry.



H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.

**PULIGODA-GAL-GÉ.**

Painting.







*Cave No. 2.* To right and slightly lower, under another boulder. That this cave was once used as a *vihāre* is obvious; for there is painting still on its rock wall. Faint traces exist of a Royal Figure, and, to right of a gap where the plaster has gone, five other male figures, better preserved. Seated and wearing tall *makūṭa* headgear, they seem to be worshipping the King (?) to left. The colouring of this piece of "fresco" is wonderfully fresh considering its age.

This painting was photographed.<sup>7</sup>

Descending thence, we were taken back to Kuḍā Ulpata round the back of all these ridges, striking into the path to Kos-gaha Ulpata hamlet.

### The "Māravīdiye" Caves.

The exploration of the "Māravīdiye Caves" occupied the whole of September 5, and has already been recounted.<sup>8</sup>

### Ruins at Nā-mal Pokuna and Nil-mal Pokuna.

The two following days were spent among the caves and ruins on the N. W. side of Dimbulā-gala—the medieval *Dumbulu-gaḷe*, and the *Dhūmarakha-pabbata* of far earlier history—to which the general name "Nā-mal Pokuna and Nil-mal Pokuna Ruins" is assigned at this day.

*Dhūmarakha-pabbata* (*Dumruk-gala*) figures prominently in the *Mahāvamsa* story of Prince Paṇḍukhābaya—how he defeated his uncles in battle, captured their "fortified camp" near the hill and drove them across the *Mahāveli-gaṅga*; and of his subsequent romantic capture of the Yakhini princes Chetiya, "who dwelt in the *Dhūmarakha* mountain near the pond *Tumbariyan-gama*" in the form (as oriental imagery has it) of "a beautiful mare."<sup>9</sup>

It is clear that, under the guise of a fairy-tale, the episode really denotes the subjection of the Yakkhās, or *Veḍḍā*, by the Prince, who thereafter ruled the *trans-flumen* country from Dimbulā-gala for four years, before feeling himself strong enough, with the aid of the *Veḍḍās*, to cross the river, and crush his uncles finally at *Ariṭṭha-pabbata* (*Riṭi-gala*).<sup>10</sup>

The first mention of the hill in connection with Buddhism occurs in the reign of King Mahānāma (A.D. 412-434), who "had a *vihāra* established in the name of his queen at the *Dhūmarakha-pabbata*, and bestowed it on the *Théravādi* (*Mahā Vihāra*) Community of *Bhikkhus*."<sup>11</sup>

The present day ruins in this valley prove that the *Sanghārama* located here was the most important and extensive of the Dimbulā-gala Monasteries, and may even date back to the 5th century. It doubtless accounted for the large majority of the "500 monks" alluded to in the 11th century inscription of Queen Sundara Mahā Dévi at the "Māravīdiye" caves on the south-west face of the hill.

*September 6th.* Leaving the exploration of the E. and N. E. side of Dimbulā-gala for the last day or days, to be given to this famous hill and its environs, today we skirted round the S. W., and W. slopes. ("Māravīdiya") by the path on that side which passes on to Manampitiya.

On the way examined a cave called by the *Veḍḍās* "Talaven-hiṭiya gal-gé," 1½ mile from Kuḍā Ulpata. A large duplicated cave, with no inscription and of little interest.

The path traversed *Mora-damana* until it brought us to the slopes of Dimbulā-gala facing N. W. At this point the main hill (at back of which lie Kuḍā Ulpata and Kosgaha Ulpata) rises in naked rock, heavily wooded at top and at foot.

7. Plate VIII: Puli-goda-gal-gò. This print, with others, was sent to Mr. Vincent Smith (I.C.S., Retired), and is shown as Fig. 213 (p. 302) in his "History of Fine Arts: India and Ceylon." From the Photograph, the painting was considered "of early date; possibly of the seventh century, though it may be later."

8. See footnote 1 *supra*, p. 1.

9. *Mahāvamsa*, X, 46, 47.

10. *Loc.-cit.* X, 63-65.

11. *Loc.-cit.* XXXVII, 164.



Separated by a narrow wooded valley from the hill proper, is a low rocky ridge. This crossed, one drops immediately into the "Nā-mal Pokuna and Nil-mal Pokuna" valley.

In this gorge are found structural ruins rather wide-spread, and nearly a dozen caves (some artificially improved) formed by the numerous over-hanging boulders, which are scattered freely from one end of the valley to the other.

On the ridge (from which a good view of the fine Manampitiya-vila, or lake, is to be got) was noticed one of those large outline circles, still not finally explained, which have been met with at Tāmara-gala and elsewhere in Nuwarakalāviya. The circle here is 16ft. in diameter, and may have had a few letters in the middle (as at Kuṭṭikulama in Eppāwala Kōralē); for the rock surface has evidently been tampered with at the centre.<sup>12</sup>

### NĀ-MAL POKUNA.

The path, as followed, passed through thorny scrub, between stone-fenced ruins, and then entered forest at a fine oblong *pokuna*, banked in rubble, with cut-stone steps and a broad walk all round its bund.

This is the "Nā-mal Pokuna," broadest from west to east, and about 40 yards by some 30 across. It is so called from the grove of fine *nā*, or iron-wood, trees (*Mesua ferrea*) which surround the pond.

### Ruined Site.

On the west, the bund is connected with a raised site by a couple of massive monolith bridges.

This site, being wholly under close jungle, no definite enumeration, or description, of its ruined buildings can be offered. By stooping and pushing through the thick brush, it became evident that the site, held up on the east and south by a long straggling revetment of rubble, was of some extent. Bricks occur freely, with occasional pillar stumps: one pair of huge curling balustrades, *makara*-headed, marking the position of stairs, was stumbled on.

Nothing certain can be postulated regarding these ruins, until the site is swept of its jungle pall.<sup>13</sup>

### Monastery.

To east of the *pokuna* is situated the Monastery enclosure, within its own *simā-pahura*, or stone boundary wall, which is squared in part to face the cardinal points but irregular on the south. It covers an area of about one and a half acres.

Inside this temenos were erected four structures apparently:—

- (i) Indefinite ruin; to north-west.
- (ii) Twenty-four pillared building; south of (i); probably the *pirivena* or *pansala*. It was constructed upon stout scappled columns. Dimensions now uncertain.
- (iii) *Vihāre*. East of (ii), is a ruined *vihāre*, oblong, (with a bayed vestibule on the north front), whose roof was once supported on some twenty pillars, placed upon a brick-faced platform. The *vihāre* itself tapered along its greater axis (north to south) about 54ft. by 33ft; its stylobate 82ft. by 60ft., more or less. Both shrine and platform have but one set of projecting stairs each, in the middle of the north face.

In more than one place (thus proving vandalism) lay *perdu* and half-buried, different portions (head, trunk, &c.), of a large stone statue of the Buddha, (originally 9ft. in height), and its pedestal.<sup>14</sup>

- (iv) *Dāgaba*. Nearly opposite the *vihāre* to north, or east of ruin (i), is a half fallen *dāgaba* (earth-laden and undug) upon a four-square *maḷuwa*, which is revetted in brick and stone paved—giving the appearance of a tree-covered tumulus. Steps rise on all four sides of the platform. Projecting from the mound was the octagonal stone *kōṭa*, or pinnacle, of the *dāgaba*, broken off in its collapse; and not far off two circular *mal-taṭṭu* (flower-altar slabs) with raised boss centres.

12. Such circles or squares were discovered by the Archaeological Survey at Tāmara-gala (1891, diameter, 13 ft. 6 in.); Veli-mahā-potāna (1891); Tammanna-gala (1893, 14 ft. 6 in.); Kuṭṭikulama (1895, 26 ft., with letters); Vēra-gala (1896, 14 ft. square, with letters); Dimbulā-gala (1897, 14 ft. 6 in.)

The letters at Vēra-gala are partially destroyed, but the last two *akṣaras* read "*simi*." One of the circular buildings flanking the ruins at Vessagiriya, Anurādhapura, also has the words "*simiya*" at the middle of the rock upon which it stands.

All this cumulative evidence goes to support the view that these large outline circles and squares marked the *simā*, or boundaries, of Monasteries, and that the circles, &c., may have been shallow and narrow "sets" for foundations of structures.

13. A rough Survey Plan of the uncleared ruins at Nā-mal and Nil-mal Pokuna and the "Mārāvidiye" and Kosgaha Ulpata Caves, was made by the Archaeological Survey in 1903.

14. Plate IX: Nā-mal Pokuna: Stone Buddha.

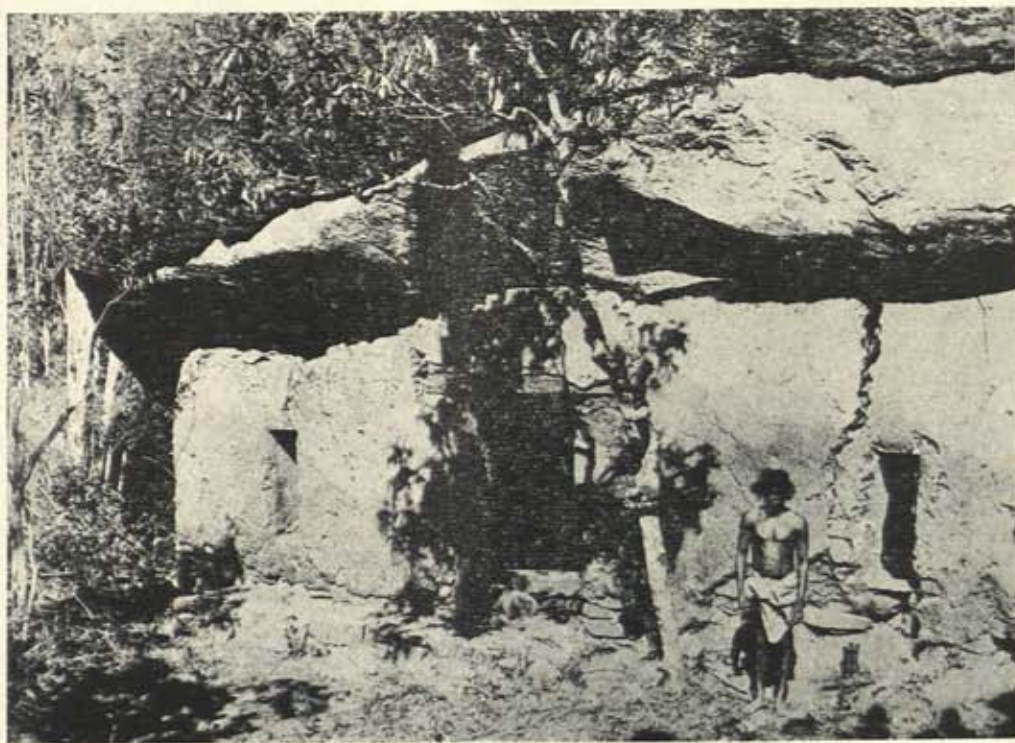


**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**



"NÁ-MAL POKUNA."

Stone Buddha.

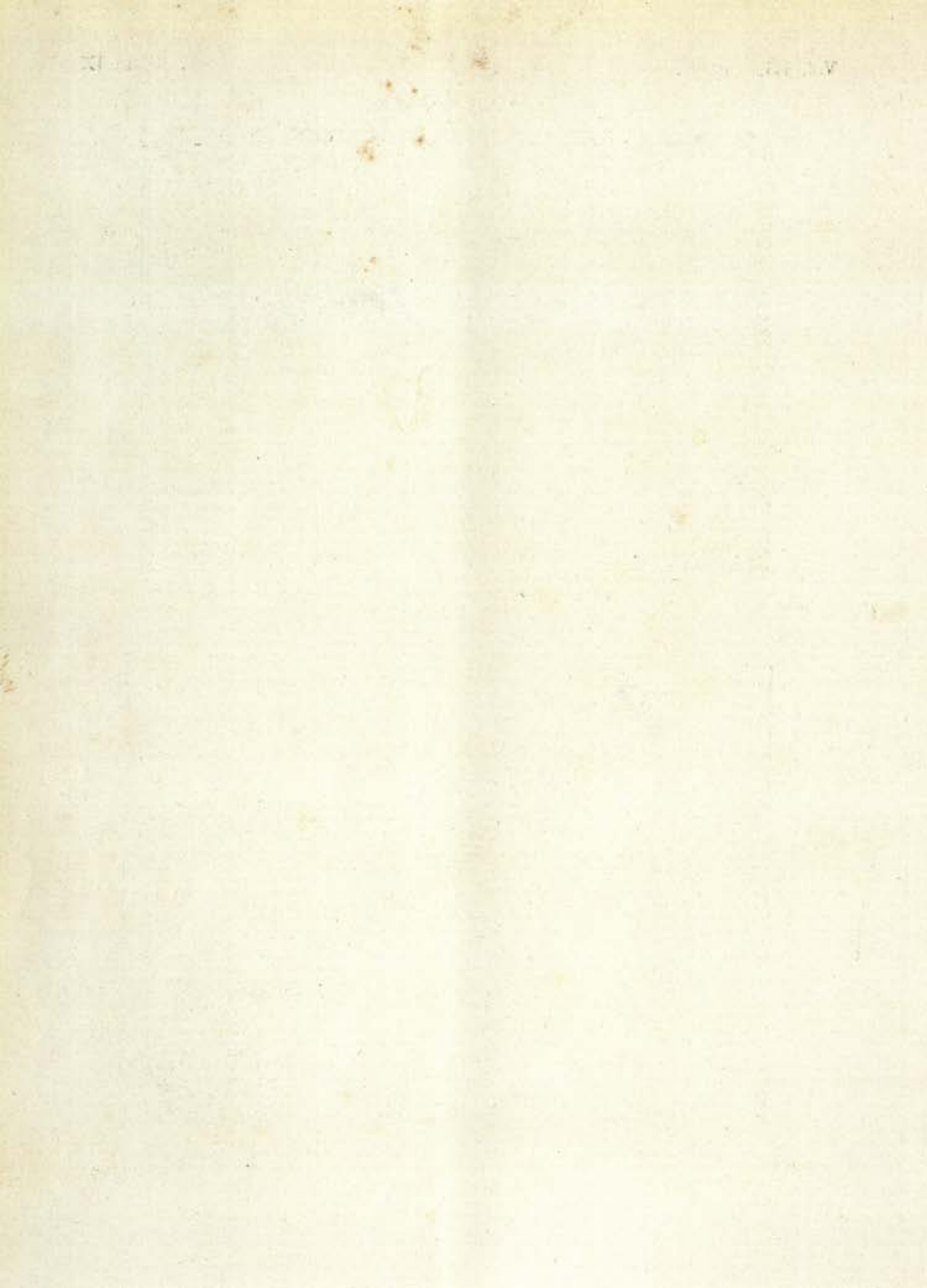


H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

"NIL-MAL POKUNA."  
Cave No. 5.

"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.







A few other functional members, speaking to the type of architecture, are observable. Stair guard-stones of the *vihāre*, as well as those of the *dāgaba* platform, all quite plain; the former terminating in large wings, splayed above. Brick walls; portions in good order yet. The twelve tall inner pillars of the *vihāre* are 10ft. in height, and in section 8" by 8", neatly squared, having tenons to receive the wooden superstructure.

*Detached Ruin.* A hundred yards or so from these ruins, on the top of the highest boulder, among much scrambled rock—the Northern termination of the low ridge—is a small ruin; perhaps another *dāgaba*, with a portion of its brick wall remaining.

From here Manampitiya bears North-West; Mutugalla nearly due North.

### Cave.

Only one cave (36ft. by 28ft.), of which the *kaṭāre* line is some 15ft. above the ground, rewarded careful search. This lies north-east of the Monastery. It seems to have no inscription.

Took measurements of the ruins, and photographed the broken *hiṭi-piṭimaya* after collecting together *disiecta membra*.

For want of time, examination of the "Nil-mal Pokuṇa" area has to be put off until tomorrow.

### NIL-MAL POKUNA.

*September 7th.* Returned to "Nā-mal Pokuṇa" from Kuḍā Ulpata, Guided thence by the Veḍḍās to "Nil-mal Pokuṇa," which lies south-west about 300 yards.

A comparatively small rock-pool (50ft. by 40ft.), banked up to retain more water; a rock occupies part of its contour.

From "Nā-mal Pokuṇa" the path skirts the elongated ruined site southwards, keeping the "Nil-mal Pokuṇa Ḃla" to the left. This *Ḃla*, which flows between "Nā-mal Pokuṇa" and the ruined buildings of the Monastery, passes the "Nil-mal Pokuṇa" bund to south behind boulders.

### Caves.

Though apparently void of free-standing ruins, the site is rich in inscription-yielding caves.

Just across the *Ḃla*, half way along its course, obtrude two huge boulders; and, under opposite sides of that first reached, occur two caves.

*Cave No. 1.* Overhangs well, and faces south-west. It has signs of walls of a former room.

*Cave No. 2.* On the other front (north-east); shows no traces of such occupation.

*Cave No. 3.* Fifteen yards south of this boulder is a second, with a cave under the north-east face. A piece of its old wall is to be seen, but fallen.

This cave has a *Brāhmī* *lipi* inscription of eleven letters.<sup>o</sup>

Fifty or sixty yards south-west of "Nil-mal Pokuṇa," a third boulder intervenes. It has two caves (Nos. 4, 5) almost at right angles to each other.

*Cave No. 4.* The wall of the built shelter has gone, except that of a small room to right.

Upon the brow is carved a bold "Cave-character" inscription of 29 *aksharas*, in one line.<sup>o</sup>

*Cave No. 5.* A walled-in room, 20ft. wide, exists here in excellent preservation. The walls are fashioned of stone and clay mostly. Two open slot windows, 3ft. by 1ft., and a doorway (with part of the old wooden doorframe standing) pierce the front.<sup>15</sup>

There is a "Cave-letter" inscription below the drip-line, much shorter than that of Cave No. 4.

Bears had obviously put this cave, and another, to free use. Plantigrade feet-marks, &c., were manifest on the dusty floor of these convenient lairs, which had been quitted but recently.

*Cave No. 6.* Behind this boulder, and lower, is another, providing a shallow cave of no importance.

Fifteen yards or so north of Caves Nos. 4, 5, are two more boulders, one behind the other at a distance of 20 or 30 yards. Each overhangs one cave.

*Cave No. 7.* Retains part of its old walls. Two records are inscribed here, both in the "Cave script"; neither long.<sup>o</sup>

*Cave No. 8.* This also has a single line "Cave" inscription; short.<sup>o</sup>

These were all the caves the Veḍḍās professed to know; but a vigorous hunt further South, up the slopes of the main hill and of the outlying ridge mentioned yesterday, proved successful in the discovery of two others. There may well be more in the medley of rocks in this wild area.

*Cave No. 9.* Three hundred yards south of Nos. 4, 5, and much higher. It has a *kaṭāre*, but no inscribed record.

15. Plate IX: Nil-mal Pokuṇa: Cave No. 5.



*Cave No. 10.* The last cavern found; at the back of the ridge. A small cave under a low flat roof, on which the latter part of an inscription of similar type is discernible.\*

This concluded our examination of the "Nā-mal and Nil-mal Pokuṇa" ruins.

### KOSGAHA ULPATA.

One day sufficed for the exploration of the caves at Kosgaha Ulpata—the name of the village, as given by the old Gamarāla, or village headman, in 1897, but now (and perhaps even then) more usually known as "Mahā Ulpata."

Twenty years have witnessed the complete abandonment of the smaller hamlet at Kuḍā Ulpata, and the migration of the Kosgaha Ulpata Vēddās to a site somewhat further from the hill.

*September 8th.* Exploring at Kosgaha Ulpata.

This is a larger settlement of Vēddō than that at Kuḍā Ulpata, two miles to West. The path from Manampitiya to Arala-gam-vila and the Mādara-oya, (the boundary of the North Central Province to South East), passes within half a mile of it.

The *ulpata* (spring), which supplies the hamlet with water, is situated a hundred yards behind the hamlet.

### Caves.

On higher ground, 50 yards or more further back and as high again, are found the main caves. They lie at the foot of Kaḷu-kokā-ḥēla cliff (the name of that part of Dimbulā-gala), not far up the hill as are those at the "Mārāvidiye" caves, but otherwise in like relative position the one to the other. Above the caves the stark rock rises vertically for hundreds of feet.

### Cave A.

A long, rather shallow, cavern, originally divided up roughly by cross-walls into four separate chambers (now open to the air), increasing in height from left to right, and protected from wet by ample drip-ledges. Three of these rooms appear to have served as *vihāres*, and had a terrace in front, nearly 40 yards in breadth. In dimensions, the first two nearly equal the third, which is itself about half the size of the fourth.

Room (1) contains what survives of a low estrade, or dais, of brick, once occupied by an image or images; whilst in room (ii) are discernible the ruined *āsanaya* (throne) for a seated Buddha (*ot piḷimayak*).

In room (iii) is still to be seen about two-thirds (23ft. from thigh to ankles) of a colossal recumbent Buddha (*ṣeṭa piḷimayak*), fashioned of brick and plaster. Part only of the left outstretched arm exists.<sup>16</sup>

Against the right-side wall there are also remains, in like material, of two statues (*hiṭi-piḷima*) probably of Vishṇu and Nātha Deviyō. Pieces of a carved stone doorframe and a small *addhona-gala* (basin) are other relics of the past.

The bare chamber (iv) beyond, to right (over 60ft in width), is much the largest, and has a fine natural rock roof, very lofty.

There is a small "water-pocket" in the cliff wall to left of Cave A.

Not unlike the means of connection between the "Mārāvidiye" "Sun" and "Moon" Caves, a narrow pathway also connects the Kosgaha Ulpata Caves A and B.<sup>17</sup> This hugs the cliff to left, but on the right, in this case, is neither a giddy drop, nor those hardships of a cramped passage, which at the "Mārāvidiye" cave shelters called forth the pious aid of Queen Sundara Mahā Devi. The approach, along a tree-lined slope, is made both safe and easy by rough-built steps, (much displaced at this day), which mount gradually for sixty yards to Cave B.

### Cave B.<sup>18</sup>

The wonderful preservation in which this artificially improved cave exists—considering not time's ravages alone, but the destructive hand of man—is due both to its comparative isolation, and to the exceptional protection afforded by the site selected.

16. Plate X: Kosgaha Ulpata: Cave A (iii).

17. Plate X: Kosgaha Ulpata: Approach path to Cave B.

18. Plate XI: Kosgaha Ulpata: Cave B.



**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**



*H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.*

KOSGAHA ULPATA.  
Cave A.



*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.*

KOSGAHA ULPATA.  
Approach to Cave B.







**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**



*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.*

**KOSGAHA ULPATA.**

Cave B.

*H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.*







A deeply recessed platform of rock, quite overhung by the cliff and necessitating a climb to gain access—it can be reached now only by a 12ft. ladder—, provided an ideal "retreat" for the *Wanawāsa Bhikkhu*, or forest monks, who centuries ago made it their habitation.

For this cave dwelling was undoubtedly the ancient *pansala* of the Monastery located at this part of Dimbulá-gala.

It would be difficult to find any cave-sheltered residence of Buddhist monks, so long abandoned, which has survived the flight of time with lesser weathering by the elements, or wilful destruction by the later occupiers of the site.

Every available foot of the flat-floored cavern was pressed into service. A half-wall, run along the platform's edge and following all its curves, enclosed an area sufficiently roomy to permit of a cosy residence, walled up to the rock roof on south and east, allowing 22ft. by 15in. for very commodious housing and, in addition, leaving room for a suitable verandah in front, with wider unconfined space on the east side.

The *pansala* had a doorway in the middle of each of its walled sides, and was lighted originally by two large windows (4ft. 5in. by 2ft. 4in.) with crossed wooden bars. The wonder is that one only has since been hacked away. The walls of the chamber even now are nearly 12ft. in height at one point, and the plaster is little damaged on the whole.

Two or three other caves occur under detached boulders between the hamlet and the cliff foot in which are Caves A and B. A short, poor, inscription is found at one (Cave C).<sup>6</sup>

### KUDÁ ULPATA AND KOSGAHA ULPATA VILLAGERS.

Before leaving Dimbulá-gala and pushing further into the "Vēdi Raṭa" of Tamankaduwa as far as the utmost confines of the North Central Province on the South East, photographs of the inmates of the two hamlets, Kudá Ulpata and Kosgaha Ulpata, were secured.<sup>19</sup>

It is quite easy to single out, from each group, the members exhibiting in more or less degree a Vēddā strain. Inter-marriage between those of Vēddā origin, and the unscrupulous Low-Country Sinhalese adventurers who have settled in these hamlets—to the sad undoing of their simple folk—is gradually destroying nearly all traces of pure Vēddā type.<sup>20</sup>

The "purest Vēddā" in general characteristics (short stature, distinctive features, fuzzy hair, &c.), among these two communities was "Vēlá" of Kosgaha Ulpata, who proved himself the brightest and most active of the Dimbulá-gala *Gam-Vēddó*.<sup>21</sup>

### APPENDIX.

The several inscriptions referred to in the above account are grouped below, for more convenient reference.

#### 1. MOLA-HITIYE-VELÉ-GALA.

Of the four rock-cut records,<sup>22</sup> all of the same period, discovered at this site, the first and second (Nos. 1, 2) were manifestly intended to be read together (being enclosed within outline framing), and were doubtless both engraved during the reign of the King "Naka" named in the last line.

19. Plate XII: Kuda Ulpata and Kosgaha Ulpata Villagers.

20. Of such, in 1897, were Carolis, Juwan, and two other *ci-derant* "Appuhāmis" of Mātara District, Pabils of Kelaniya, Colombo District, and several other like "vultures" from the Low-Country and Mātala Districts, who had gradually scented the prey and swooped down on the few scattered Vēddā hamlets, under the specious plea of "trade" (!) with these poverty-stricken denizens of Tamankaduwa's remotest nooks and corners.

21. See Plate IX. Among the Kudá Ulpata Villagers the third figure from the left was the *Adikāri*, or third Headman of the Vēddó. This exceptionally intelligent and willing young Vēddā, Vēlá, was drowned a year or two later in trying to cross a swollen stream when the floods were out. He does not appear in the group.

22. Plate XIII.



The writing of these first two inscriptions is beautifully incised, in four lines of bold, deeply carved, characters, clear throughout, save for four *aksharas*, of which three are too worn to read except speculatively.

A *swastika* symbol, to left, precedes both records.

The employment of the "Cave type" palatal *ṣ* for *śagaṣa* (No. 2) in a Rock Epigraph is peculiar, but not unique: the dental *s* almost invariably rules on rock but not on caves, as, with this one exception, it does in these and the other two inscriptions.

### Inscription No. 1.

The first inscription, in three lines, belongs to (Gamani) Abaya, or Gaja Bāhu I, (A.D. 113-135), son of Kuta-kana or Vāṅka-nāsika ("Crooked Nosed")<sup>23</sup> Tisa (A.D. 110-113)—here alone given the prænomen "Jeta"—and grandson of Vasaba (A.D. 66-110), who, in this, and other records of the period, is styled "Devanapiya Tisa Maha Raja."<sup>24</sup>

#### Text.

1. Sidham Devanapiya Tisa Maha Rajaha<sup>24</sup> marumanake Kuta
2. kana<sup>23</sup> Rajaha Jeta pute Raja Abaye Atara gagahi (.. ..) ṭakaha Ati
3. (..) yeli Pavata Viharahi biku sagaye sovaṇa kota (ri)<sup>25</sup> niyate.

#### Translation.

Hail! King (Gamani) Abhaya, son of King Jettha (Tissa) the Crook-Nosed,<sup>23</sup> (and) grandson of the Great King (Vasaba) Tissa<sup>24</sup> beloved of the gods (Devanampiya), ordered (that) a golden finial<sup>25</sup> (be fashioned) for the Community of Bhikkhus in Ati (..) yeli Parvata Vihara of (.. ..) ṭaka at Atara-ganga.

### Inscription No. 2.

This short record consists of but eleven *aksharas*, all perfect, forming the fourth, or last, line within the oblong frame.

The King "Naka," who herein confirms the previous donation, was Mahallaka Nāga of the Mahāvamsa, either brother-in-law (*suhuru-baḍu*) or father-in-law (*sasuro*), of his immediate predecessor Gaja Bāhu I.

#### Text.

Naka Maha Raje dina sagasa.

#### Translation.

The Great King (Mahallaka) Nāga bestowed (this finial) on the (said) Community.

### Inscription No. 3.

A shallowly cut record, of four lines; much weathered in places, and with portions possibly missing. Three vertical dots (also found elsewhere) precede "Naka-vili" after "sagaha."

It is extremely tantalising to have lost the letters, in line 3, which should have given us the name of Vāṅka-nāsika Tissa's Queen,<sup>22</sup> the likely donor of these tanks and fields to the Vihāra.

23. Kuta-kana = Kūṭeghāna (Pāli), "false (shaped) nose." In the *Dipavamsa* Mahalan Tissa (B.C. 42-20), is called "Kutikanna Tissa."

24. If King Vasaba was not alternatively named "Tissa" (no inscription known to the writer has the combined names) marumanake must be translated "descendant," and the identity of this particular "Devanapiya Tisa Maha Raja" left uncertain.

25. *Sovaṇa kotari*. Translated (provisionally), "golden finial." The words are repeated in another inscription of Gaja Bāhu at Anurādhapura; and in one of his grandfather, Vasaba, at Sinādiya-gala, North Central Province. *Kotari* assumed = *keturu* (See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I p. 227).



**DIMBULÁ-GALA.**

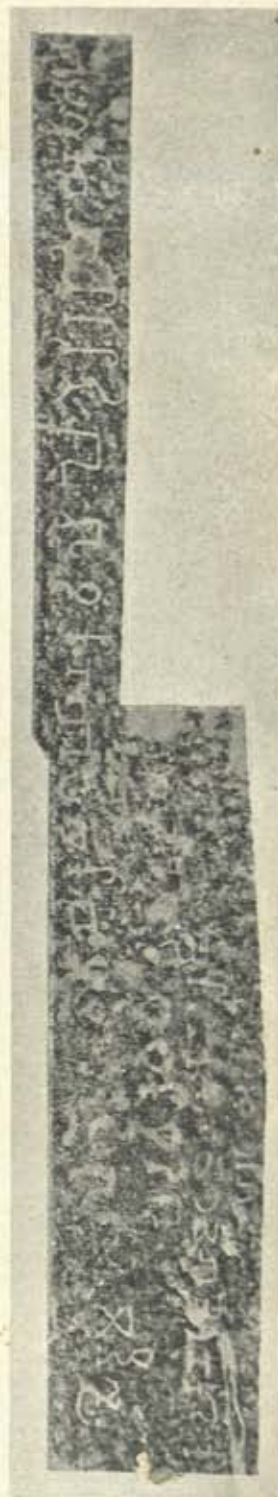
MOLA-HITIYE-VELÉ-GALA.



Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2.



Inscription No. 4.



Inscription No. 3.

H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

"Times of Babylon"  
half-tone block.







*Text.*

1. Sidham (Dapalagama vavi) biku sagaha: Naka-vili Lodori<sup>27</sup> karahi biku sagaha
2. Padavika vavi
3. Kutakana Rajaha Jeta jaya (.. ..<sup>26</sup>) raji (..) taka Pili Paravata Vi<sup>28</sup>
4. viharahiya saga dine.

*Translation.*

Hail! (Granted to) the Bhikkhu Community (Dapalagama tank): (granted to) the Bhikkhu Community a *karisha* (extent) of Lodori<sup>27</sup> (field tract) in Nāga-vila. (These, and) Padaviya tank, Queen (.. ..<sup>26</sup>), wife of King Jettha (Tissa) the Crook-Nosed, bestowed on the Community at Pili Parvata Vihara.<sup>28</sup>

**Inscription No. 4.**

A few yards east of, and below, Inscription No. 3. Contains the same number of lines in well-cut, but smaller, characters.

The text is quite perfect save for two letters.

This record is of more than usual interest, as being the pious donation of a well-to-do *private individual*, not the customary Royal Grant so universally prevalent; and as providing scope for scholarly elucidation of the somewhat obscure passage following "*Pili Pavatehi*."

*Text.*

1. Sidham Sena puta Vahabaya Ka(te)la vasaka vavi cha
2. Ahura-viki cha Pili Pavatehi ati simiya
3. gaṇavaya tumaha asaṇaka daka-patiye kariha miniya
4. (ku) bara biku sagahaṭaya dine.

*Translation.*<sup>29</sup>

Hail! **Vasaba**, son of **Sena**, bestowed on the Community of Bhikkhus the tank where Ka(te) la dwelt as well as Ahura-viya (tank); (and), after having taken count of (gaṇavaya)

26. From a half legible "A" on the rock followed by a possible "nu," it is tempting to read "Anulā" as the name of the benevolent Queen. Gaṇa Bāhu's mother, also a lady of piety, was, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Mahāmattā, daughter of Subba Rāja: but Vānka-nāsika Tissa may have had more than one wife.

27. Cf. Lohadwāra (Lohodora) Vihāra (*Mahāvamsa* XXXVII, 162) mentioned in close connection with Dhūmarakka Pabbata (Dimbulā-gala). If the three vertical dots mean "3," "three *karishas*" may be understood instead of "one."

28. The "squeeze," taken by the Head Overseer in 1903, stops short at "Pili Pa" in line 3 (see Plate XIII, No. 3); but the letters "*Paravata Vi*" are quite legible on the rock. The character "ri" was again cut by the stone-mason, in error, when passing on to the fourth line. The present day "Puli-goda" may quite possibly be the ancient "Pili Parvata."

29. The translation offered is a not unreasonable compromise (for which little or no credit is claimed by the writer, but responsibility accepted) between the variant renderings (*ignot homines*, &c.) courteously suggested by erudite monks (notably the scholarly Madugalle Terunnānse of Kandy) and others, who were consulted.

The difficult passage is *ati simiya gaṇavaya tumaha asaṇaka daka-patiye*. This has been explained variously.

*Ati*: taken as = *aytti*. Also proposed = *atikkanta*; and as = *pūjā-karapu*.

*Gaṇavaya*: taken as = *gaṇan karavā* (Cf. the forms *karavaya*, &c., in similar inscriptions). Also proposed = *kanavaya*.

*Tumaha*: = *tamangē*.

*Asaṇaka*: taken as connected with *asa*, *ahāra* (Cf. *assenna*, *aveenna*). Also proposed = *āsannavā*.

*Daka-patiye*: taken as = *udaka pati* (See *Ep. Zey.*, I, p. 72.)

The three words together have been rendered above as = *tamangē aveenna diya-bada*: or, more fully, *tamangē ahārāya udeṣṣa bhikkhū vevhāra Prāḍana Mulddeniyaṭa diya upadā aya veyā*.

The expression "*tumaha asaṇaka daka-pati*" occurs in more than one inscription: "*tumaha sana-pati*" (thrice), "*tumaha asana-pati*" (once), at Rasnakewā Vihāre; *me veyā asaṇaka* at Min-vila.

*Kariya miniya*: = *karisha pramāṇavā*. Th *karisha* = 4 *amunam* = 16 bushels.



the boundaries (*simiya*) belonging to (*ati*) **Pili Parvata (Vihara)**, (he further offered) of (a tract of) fields a *karisha* in sowing extent (*karihi miniya* ; *lit.* extent measuring a *kiriya*) (together with) his (*tumaha*) dues derived as Irrigation Headman (*daka-patiye*) from paddy cultivation (*asanaka*).

## 2. PULI-GODA GAL-GE.

One-line record ; too weathered to be read with much certainty. The text and translation given below are, therefore, in part tentative.

### Text.

Pa (ru ma ka) Da mi da rá ta ka le ñe Şe da ra (pa di ta pi te) dhá na.

### Translation.

Cave of (the Chief) Dhammadaráta. A charitable offering established by Şédara (for the Community.)

## 3. NIL-MAL POKUNA.

All the inscriptions copied are single-line records at caves, cut above their brows, in the B, C. form of *Bráhmī lipi* character. The palatal *ş* prevails in all, except for the solitary dental *s* in "*Palayasa*" (Cave No. 4).

### Cave No. 3.

#### Text.

A şa Şu ma na ha le ñe sa ga şa.

#### Translation.

Cave of Aşa Şumana, (bestowed on) the Community.

### Cave No. 4.

The longest of the Cave records. It covers 15 feet stretch. Dental and palatal sibilant used once each.

#### Text.

Pa ru ma ka U ta ra pu ti Pa ru ma ka Pa la ya sa ba ri ya u pa ş i ka U ti ya le ñe.

#### Translation.

Cave of Uti, female lay-devotee, wife of the Chief Palaya, son of the Chief Utara.

### Cave No. 5.

#### Text.

A<sup>30</sup> A şa jha ta ha le ñe şa ga şa.

#### Translation.

Cave of Aşajhata, (bestowed on) the Community.

### Cave No. 7.

There are two inscriptions at this cave ; both short.

#### Text.

(i) U pa şa ka Şu ma na ha le ñe şa ga şa.

30. The *pal-leadword* (stone mason) carelessly repeated the "A" which commences the line.



*Translation.*

Cave of the lay-devotee Šumana, (bestowed on) the Community.

*Text.*

(ii) Ga pa ti Ši va ku la ha le ñe ša ga ša.

*Translation.*

Cave of the householder Šivakula, (bestowed on) the Community.

**Cave No. 8.**

*Text.*

A ša na da ha le ñe ša ga ša.

*Translation.*

Cave of Ašanada, (bestowed on) the Community.

**Cave No. 10.**

The first part of the record at this cave has worn away. If "*Parumaka*" began the line four letters only are missing.

*Text.*

.. .. Ka ḍa gi ri ka ha le ñe ša ga ša.

*Translation.*

Cave of .. .. Kaḍagirika, (bestowed on) the Community.

**4. KOSGAHA ULPATA.**

**Cave C.**

This badly cut cave inscription is of later age, and its script that more usually found on rocks. The reading and translation are not free from doubt.

*Text.*

Ja ta te ra ha le ñe la ja cha da ša pa ti ke.<sup>29</sup>

*Translation.*

Cave of Jhóthi Théra. (Bestowed are) a dormitory and ten sites (for habitation).

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29. *Laḥa*: possibly = Sinhalese *legum* (-ge); *paṭṭha*: perhaps = *pada* "place," "site."



## GRIMM'S LABORATORIUM CEYLONICUM.

By T. PETCH.

“**I**NSULÆ ZEYLONÆ THESAURUS MEDICUS VEL LABORATORIUM CEYLONICUM” is a small duodecimo volume of 167 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1679, “a Bartholomeo Pielat Medicinæ Doctore Latinitate donatum.” Soon afterwards, it was declared<sup>1</sup> that the real author of the book was not Pielat, but one Nicholas Grimm. How Pielat obtained possession of Grimm's work is not clear. He claimed to have translated it into Latin (“ut loquitur,” is Burmann's comment), but there is no evidence of any previous publication in another language. In any case, he published it under his own name and suppressed Grimm's entirely.

I have no records relating to Pielat, save that of his theft. Grimm might have lapsed into equal obscurity, were it not that his book was considered valuable, not for its medicine, but for the botanical details it contains. Burmann<sup>2</sup> styled it “aureus libellus,” and Linnaeus<sup>3</sup> referred to its author as “Clarus ex Laboratorio Ceylanico.” Both Burmann and Linnaeus cited Grimm's references to Ceylon plants; indeed, one gains the impression that, probably as a recompense for Pielat's injustice, both these botanists made a special point of praising Grimm, and consequently exalted him to a position which his botanical knowledge scarcely warranted. However, it has to be remembered that Grimm's book appeared at a time when pharmacists were engaged in laboriously comparing seeds, fruits, and dried specimens, in more or less vain attempts to ascertain something about the sources of the drugs with which they dealt; and Grimm's observations, scanty though they may be, came as a refreshing and fragrant odour from the living plants.

We learn from Burmann<sup>4</sup> and Linnæus<sup>5</sup> that Grimm was a Swedish doctor. According to Burmann, he was in Ceylon for a long time. He was contemporary with Hermann who was chief of the Dutch Medical Service in Ceylon, 1672-79; and MSS notes by Trimen record that he was in Ceylon in 1674. Perhaps further information concerning him may be available from the Dutch records. It may be expected that he also was a doctor in the service of the Dutch East India Company. After leaving Ceylon, which he apparently did before Hermann, he became “Metallurgiz Præfectus ad Fodinas Sicilidanæ,”<sup>6</sup> in which office, as he records,<sup>7</sup> he had excellent opportunities of observing the “generation” of minerals. He contributed an article on the Ceylon Pitcher Plant, *Nepenthes distillatoria* Linn., to *Ephemerides Germanicæ Naturæ Curiosorum*, Ann. I, Dec. 2, p. 363, t. 363 and to Ray's *Historia Plantarum*, II, p. 721.

1. In Acta Lipsiens, Ann. 1682, p. 39, *ſcde* Burmann, Thesaurus Zeylanicus, p. 65.

2. Thesaurus Zeylanicus, p. 65.

3. Flora Zeylanica, p. 14.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Loc. cit.

6. Flora Zeyl., p. 14.

7. P. 142.



As an "*Insulæ Zeylonicæ Thesaurus Medicus*," his book is distinctly disappointing. It is not, as might be expected from the title, an account of Sinhalese medical practice, but a handbook compiled on strictly orthodox mediæval lines, for the use of European doctors in Ceylon. True, he makes use of native products, but in the majority of cases these were substances already well-known to European pharmacists, and he deals with them after the European fashion. Thus, given practically any substance, the pharmacist of the middle ages would extract from it, a water, an oil, a spirit, etc. That is exactly Grimm's method. He gives a list of the products, Aqua, Oleum, Spiritus, etc., which can be obtained from any given substance, sometimes describes the methods of preparing them, and enumerates the diseases in which they may be administered. He also gives prescriptions, which are chiefly remarkable for the multiplicity and diversity of their ingredients.

Only in dealing with vegetable products does Grimm show any knowledge of native medicine. In treating of Cinnamon and Ebony, he still adheres to European practice, but he describes in addition a number of plants recognised as medicinal by the Sinhalese, and he applies them in accordance with the native custom. This is the only part of the book which indicates extensive local knowledge; the remainder might be described as almost purely general. Now, Grimm informs<sup>8</sup> us that he knew no more botany than was necessary to recognise the common things in daily use. Why, then, does this section of his work surpass all the rest? The probable answer is, that he was contemporary with, and in the same service as, Hermann: and he, no doubt, obtained his information concerning Ceylon plants and their uses from the latter. That Grimm was acquainted with Hermann and the latter's botanical work he himself tells us.<sup>9</sup>

Paul Hermann, though primarily a botanist, was Chief Medical Officer in the service of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon from about 1672 to 1679. In the latter year, at the early age of 33, he was elected to the Chair of Botany at Leyden, but he did not arrive in Europe to take up the post until August, 1680. During his residence in Ceylon he made a large collection of the plants growing in and around Colombo, and sent numerous specimens to botanists in Europe. To further elucidate the dried specimens, he made a number of drawings, and compiled notes on the Sinhalese and Portuguese names and uses of the plants.

Hermann, no doubt, intended to publish full accounts of the plants he had collected in Ceylon, but for many years his energies were devoted to the improvement of the Leyden Botanic Garden, and all that he himself published on Ceylon botany was a few drawings and descriptions of Ceylon plants, included in his "*Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi Catalogus*" which appeared in 1687. He had evidently planned a series of volumes dealing with new species from Ceylon and elsewhere; but none had been published before his death, which occurred in 1695.

After his death, his manuscripts appear to have been entrusted by his widow to William Sherard, an Englishman. Sherard, in 1698, brought out "*Paradisus Batavus*," which contains all the descriptions and illustrations of Ceylon plants which Hermann had brought to a condition suitable for publication. In 1717, however, Sherard published a more important work under the title of "*Musæum Zeylanicum*." This is a small, insignificant-looking pamphlet of 71 pages, but it is a catalogue of Hermann's Ceylon herbarium, consisting of the notes on Hermann's herbarium sheets or from Hermann's MSS, in no particular botanical order, but given, as a rule, under the Sinhalese name for each specimen. From that date, Hermann's herbarium

8. P. 134.

9. P. 135.



seems to have been forgotten, until, in 1744, August Günther, Apothecary-Royal at Copenhagen, sent to Linnaeus to be named a collection of Indian plants in four volumes accompanied by a volume of plates. This collection was recognised by Linnaeus as Hermann's own herbarium of Ceylon plants. He immediately set to work to describe them, and in 1747 published an account of them, with the title "*Flora Zeylanica*."

The total number of plants in Hermann's herbarium appears to have been about 660, but some of these had disappeared before it came into the hands of Linnaeus. In "*Flora Zeylanica*," Linnaeus classified all the plants which he could determine, 429 in number, arranging them in genera in accordance with his sexual system of classification. He did not then name them in the modern sense, because at that time he had not adopted his binominal system of nomenclature, but in his "*Species Plantarum*," published in 1753, all the Ceylon plants were included, duly named, with reference to the numbers of the "*Flora Zeylanica*."

Hermann's herbarium is, therefore, the foundation of Ceylon botany. It is of great scientific value, as it contains the types of the species which Linnaeus named from Ceylon, and to it reference must be made to determine what plants Linnaeus meant to indicate by his names. It is of considerable local interest also, as it gives some idea of the flora of the Colombo district more than 200 years ago, and provides a test of the permanence of native names. The collection is now in the Herbarium of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, where it was critically examined by the late W. Ferguson in 1857 and by the late Dr. Trimen in 1886. Trimen published an account of it in *Jour. Linn. Soc. (Botany)*, XXIV, pp. 129-155, from which many of the facts stated above are taken.

The foregoing, somewhat lengthy, digression may perhaps serve to convey to the reader some idea of the exceptional opportunities which Grimm had of becoming acquainted with Ceylon plants from the botanical side. He was, perhaps, in constant association with a man who was to become one of the foremost European botanists. There are indications that Hermann's knowledge sometimes led Grimm astray. In some cases he appears to know the name, but not the plant. He apparently knew from Hermann that a plant of a certain generic name grew in Ceylon, and the properties of the European plant of that name were within his experience; hence he includes the name in his list. But the Ceylon plant is, of course, quite different from the European species, and its medicinal virtue may be *nil*. It may be noted that Hermann wrote a *Materia Medica*, "*Cynosura Materiae Medicæ*," which was published, after his death, in 1710; apparently it has no special reference to Ceylon.

Other sources of information which might have been available to Grimm are Garcia da Orta's *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas* (1563), and Acosta's *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales* (1578), both of which were included in Clusius, *Exoticorum*, X, published at Amsterdam in 1605; while J. Bontius, another doctor, in Dutch service in Java, had published "*Historia naturalis Indiae orientalis*" at Amsterdam in 1658. Grimm refers to Garcia da Orta in his account of *Lignum Colubrinum*, and cites the names of some of Bontius' plants; but that his descriptions of plants are his own may be deduced from the fact that Burmann, who in his *Thesaurus Zeylanicus*<sup>10</sup> gathered together all previous references to Ceylon plants, quotes Grimm's accounts verbatim.

The "*Laboratorium Ceylonicum*" opens in the customary manner of books of that era. The first six pages are occupied by a lengthy dedication by Pielat to William III, Prince of Orange, whose titles cover a whole page. This is followed by a sonnet, in French, to the same exalted

10. Amsterdam, 1731.



personage, also by the versatile Pielat. And, not satisfied that his laudatory efforts would suffice to win the favour of the Powers-that-be, he adds a "most Christian" prayer on behalf of His Most Serene Highness. But here he was apparently conscious of his unworthy action, and so he refrained from writing the prayer himself and requisitioned the piety of one Dr. Johannus Fr. Helvetius, "Veræ Medicinæ Restaurator."

The next six pages are difficult to account for. They contain, apparently, a series of extracts from two medical books by the aforesaid J. F. Helvetius, "Veræ Medicinæ Compendium," and "Cœleste Diribitorium."<sup>11</sup> The character of the medical information may be judged from the first paragraph. "Lapis Philosophorum est Sapientiae æternæ scintilla, magnesia Saturnina Catholica, ignis Saxa perforans. In Vitulo Aureo." It might be imagined that these six pages state the medical axioms on which the *Laboratorium Ceylonicum* is based, but that would necessitate the assumption that they were incorporated in the book by Grimm, whereas the evidence appears to show that J. F. Helvetius owed his appearance to Pielat. Perhaps they are merely an advertisement of the books mentioned, inserted as a payment for Helvetius' prayer. J. F. H. seems to have reserved his Christianity for special occasions, for he describes himself as "The steadfast opponent of donkey-doctors or quack doctors, of apothecaries, mean, aye, and bungling, of surgeons (save the mark!) unskilled, and barbers half-witted."<sup>12</sup>

Grimm begins with the drugs obtained from animals, and first and foremost from the highest of all animals, man. He describes the method of preparing "*Spiritus vini Diaphoreticus*" from human blood, the raw material for which is to be taken from healthy young men, "as much as is desired"; he prescribes its use for Apoplexy, Epilepsy, Dropsy, etc. He similarly treats of "*Sal Volatile Urinae Vinosum*." Next he passes to Elephants, and tells how to prepare "*Spiritus & Sal Volatile Oleosum*" from Elephants' teeth, prescribed for Syncope and Palpitation of the heart, etc.; "*Sal Volatile & Oleum*" from elephants' bones, of which he states as many as are desired can be found in the forests of Ceylon; and "Calcined Elephant Bones" which are much more efficacious than "*Cornu Cervi ustum*." "*Sal Armoniacum Artificiale*," from the bones of elephants, is recommended for Beri-beri.

The next animal to be laid under contribution is the deer, which supplies "*Spiritus Cornu Cervi*" (? Spirit of Hartshorn) of which enough can be made in Ceylon to supply the whole of India with as much as is required, "*Cornu Cervi ustum*," "*Oleum Cornu Cervi*," "*Aqua Tenellorum Cervi*," "*Aqua Cordis Cervi*," and "*Spiritus Sanguinis Cervi*." "*Aqua Tenellorum Cervi*" is made from the budding horns, "sanguine adhuc repleta." Grimm distinguishes between the *Cervus*, perhaps the Spotted Deer, and the Elk or Sambhur, and from the latter manufactures "*Spiritus Cornu Alces*," "*Cornua Alces Calcinata & Præparata*," "*Spiritus Antiepilepticus ex Ungula Alces*," "*Bezoardicum Cornu & Ungulae Alces*." Elk horns, he states, were never lacking in Ceylon.

Grimm then includes two animals, which certainly did not inhabit Ceylon. Of the first of these, *Caper Cervus Orientalis*,<sup>13</sup> he states that it has twisted horns, like the Unicorn's horns, which are straight above and terminate in a spine. The other was the Rhinoceros, "whose horns were considered of great value by the natives and the Portuguese in India." From the first, he

11. Diribitorium—The place where the votes were counted.

12. "Mulo-Medicorum seu Medicastroorum, Apothecariorum sordidorum scil. ac Insulsorum, Chirurgorum Insciorum nempe simpliciumque Tonsorum Impugnator [e] perpetu[o] us."

13. *Caper Cervus* was the animal which yielded Lapis Bezoar. "In India supra Gangem, quam Ptolemæus ab ubertate et opulentia adeo celebrat, certis montibus Sinarum regioni vicinis, animalia cervis valde similia reperiuntur, cum magnitudine, tum agilitate, & aliis notis, exceptis quibusdam partibus quibus cum capris magis conveniunt, u. cornibus, quæ, veluti capræ in deorsum reflexa habent, et corpora forma, unde nomen illis inditum caprarum montanarum; commodius tamen mea opinione cervi-capræ vocari possent," Nicolas Monardus, De lapide Bezoar et Scorzonera Herba, Olusius, Exoticorum, X.



makes "*Spiritus Cornu Cervi Orientalis*," and from Rhinoceros horn, "*Spiritus Cornu Rhinocerotis*," and "*Bezoardicum Cornu Rhinocerotis*." The two latter were of value in cases of snake bite, and Grimm gives half a dozen recipes based on them.

Of snakes (*Colubri*) Grimm has nothing to say except that among the various kinds found in Ceylon there are vipers (*Viperæ*) and other great serpents (*Angues*). He manufactures, apparently from any snake whatever, "*Sal Volatile & Fixum ex Viperis & Serpentibus*," which is good for Arthritis, (obviously), "*Bezoardicum Viperinum*," and "*Theriaca Ceylonica*."

Over the last named, Grimm waxed eloquent. "Quid fiet nunc de vobis? O Theriacæ Venditores, qui per totum orbem vagamini? melius esset ut deceptoriam vestram Theriacam a Ceylonia prohiberemus propter eam quam ibidem centies meliorem componere possumus. Haec est recta venenum expellens Theriaca, cujus Scrupulus j: tam magnum effectum producit quam vestrae Libra integra. Non est Theriaca somnum inducens, sed Spiritus ipsos exhilarans. Suo Tempore satis superque manifesta fiet, propter tot & tantas virtutes quae continentur in ea."

Theriaca were among the most precious drugs of the middle ages, fit only for kings and the like. And very necessary they were, for they immunised the partaker against the effect of poisons,<sup>14</sup> though, like other faith cures, they doubtless sometimes failed. According to one authority<sup>15</sup> they were compositions containing opium, flavoured with nutmeg, cardamom, cinnamon, and mace, or simply with saffron and ambergris. But they did not all contain opium. Grimm states that his was not "sleep inducing" and his prescription does not include opium. Evidently the name was extended to any universal panacea.<sup>16</sup> We reproduce Grimm's masterpiece, as an illustration of what our rich ancestors (if such there were) were expected to swallow; the poor were more fortunate, for these pharmaceutical marvels were not wasted on them.

### Theriaca Ceylonica.

Rec. Mell. Despumat. lb. V.  
 Pulv. Viperin. Præp. Unc. iij.  
 Spin. Vip. Calc.  
 Terre Sigill. Ceylonic. an. unc. ij.  
 Rad. Zerumbeht.  
 Zedoariæ.  
 Calam. Aromat. an lb. S.  
 Cortic. Rad. Cinnam.  
 Cinnamon. Sylv. an. unc. iiij.  
 Aristolochia long.  
 Citri.  
 Arantior.  
 Fol: Cinnam. an: Unc: j.  
 Sal: Vol: Oleos. Zerumb: unc: S:  
 Vol: & Fixi Viperin: an: dr: ij  
 Camphor ex Rad: Cinnam dr: j:  
 Sulp: Philos: Præp: Unc: j:  
 Ol: Rad: Cinnam dr: iij:  
 M: F: Electuarium.

14. "Hoc metuentes plerique e veteribus præclari, multa variaque medicamenta composuerunt, quorum usu munirentur, ne venena illis propinata nocere possent. Quemadmodum comperimus Imperatorem Marcum Antonium fecisse, qui adversus venena, singulis diebus mane pauxillum Theriacæ sumebat; et Mithridatem, qui suam interdum confectionem Mithridaticum, nonnunquam aliquot rutæ folia, juglandis, & ficus: sic etiam utebantur similibus aliis medicamentis, ne venena, si præberentur, eos offenderent," Nicolas Monardus loc. cit.

15. Flückiger and Hanbury. Pharmacographia, p. 41.

16. The British Pharmacopœia, 1865, includes Theriaca as "Treacle." How are the mighty fallen



Grimm now returns to the mammals, and from the goat (*Hircus*) evolves "*Spiritus sanguinis Hirci*," and "*Spiritus ex Urina Hirci*." His instructions for procuring the raw material for the latter are precise. "Sub ortum Auroræ, sufficientum portionem Urinæ Hircorum, nasum eis obturando, tunc anxii redduntur & urinam emittunt quia se quasi suffocatos sentiunt." The wild pig of Ceylon furnishes *Lapis Porcorum*, which Grimm explains is not a stone, but a compact mass of hair. He states that it was in frequent use among both the natives and the Europeans. These concretions found in the stomachs or intestines of animals constituted the Bezaar or Bezoar stones of mediæval pharmacy, but Grimm goes wrong over his species, for *Lapis Porcini* was supposed to be obtained from the Porcupine. However, his species furnishes him with "*Essentia Lapidis Porcini Ceylonici*," which was, no doubt, as efficacious as any other *Essentia Lapidis*.

Passing on to "reptiles," Grimm tells how to make Oil of Scorpions, by stewing ten or more large scorpions, "adhuc viventes," in oil, not all at once, because it is difficult to obtain so many at a time. The base of his "oil" is Olive oil; he neglects the native product (coconut), but there does not seem to be any valid reason why he should, for he adds to the olive oil no less than eighteen, highly aromatic, vegetable substances. One wonders what effect the scorpions could have produced on such a mixture. Oil of Millipedes could be used, *fide* Grimm, in place of Oil of Scorpions; and if any one wished them, Oil of Worms and Oil of Wolves could be prepared.

The concluding paragraphs of the section relating to animals describe the preparation of Butter of Pearls from Ceylon pearls and Ceylon vinegar, Syrup of Pearls, and "*Pulvis Anti-febricitus Perlatus*."

The botanical pages of the book begin with Cinnamon. This was a well-known drug in Europe centuries before Grimm, and formed a common ingredient of mediæval medicines. Grimm was, no doubt, well acquainted with its uses, and consequently it is not surprising to find that, in compiling a Thesaurus of Medicine for the country in which Cinnamon grew wild, he devoted considerable space to the consideration of the preparations obtainable from it. His account of the products of the cinnamon tree extends over thirty pages, but, except for the botanical details, it might equally well have been written by one who had never visited Ceylon.

#### "De Arbore Cinnamomi."<sup>17</sup>

"*Arbor Cinnamomi*, quæ Rex omnium Arborum jure merito vocari potest, Corticem habet quæ per totum Orbem cibi vicem præbet; est autem hæc ejus minima qualitas; tot enim, totque variæ res ex ea procedunt, ut justa fit occasio demirandi qui fit ut hæc Arbor omnigenas Medicinas nobis exhibeat. Quælibet enim pars suam profert, & talis est omnium inter eas differentia, ut qui earum ignarus fuerit, juramentum præstare facile velit, eas scilicet ex unica Arbore provenire non posse. Nos igitur ab Arboris cacumine principium ineuntes, finem ad Radicem usque deducemus."

#### "Flores Cinnamomi."

"Flores isti sunt parvuli, stellati, in fundo & in medio parum per lutei, odore jucundi, atque cum Tiliæ floribus *Europæis* convenientes, tantillum pingues sentiuntur, dum pertrectantur aut conteruntur . . . . ."

Opinions may differ as to the scent of the flowers, but it is usually considered vile. Grimm, by the stereotyped methods, obtains from them *Aqua Flor. Cinnamomi*, *Oleum Flor. Cinnamomi*, *Spiritus Flor. Cinnamomi*, and *Conserva Flor. Cinnamomi*.

17. Grimm's botanical observations are quoted here verbatim; medical details have, in general, been omitted. The punctuation is Pielat's; it requires considerable emendation.



### "Folia Cinnamomi.

"Hujus Arboris Folia nihil fere quoad figuram a foliis Laurinis differunt, mediocres sunt crassitudinis, atque pinguedinis; calidæ sunt usque ad quartum gradum . . . . ."

Aqua Fol. Cinnam., Oleum St. Fol. Cinnam., and Syrupus Fol. Cinnam. are obtained from them. For making the Syrup, Grimm prescribes the use of fresh leaves. Oil of Cinnamon can be used in place of Oil of Cloves, according to Grimm. He gives the following recipe for a "*Pulvis Carminativus*" of his own invention.

"Pulv. Fol. Cinnam.	lb. j.
Sach. Alb. unc.	vij.
Ol. st. Fol. Cinnam.	dr. iij.
M. F. Pulv. Subtiliss."	

### "Fructus Cinnamomi.

"Ejusmodi Fructus sunt æque ac *Laurini*; cum ad maturitatem pervenerunt cæruleum colorem habent, alias viridem. Sunt etiam interna cortice circumcincti veluti *Baccae Laurinae* & finduntur pariter eodem modo . . . . ."

Directions are given for preparing the usual Aqua, Oleum, Spiritus, Oleum coctum, and Essentia, and nine recipes are prescribed for various diseases. Among the ingredients of "*Emplastrum Nervinum*" and "*Unguentum Nervinum*" are "Oss. Elephant," Elephants' bones; no doubt the elephant's "nerves" were considered exceptionally strong. But it is difficult to guess why Grimm's *Unguentum Hepaticum* should include "Sterr. Vaccin. & Caprilli."

Cinnamon bark afforded Grimm, Aqua Cinnam., Oleum Cinnam., Tinctura Cinnam., Essentia Cinnam., Sal Cinnam., the last of great importance for "Noble Society." From the wood, he obtained "Spiritus Fuliginis ex Ligno Cinnamomi," while the root of the tree furnished Aqua Camph., Oleum Camph., Camphor ex Radice Cinnam., Syrupus Camphorat., Spiritus Vini Camphorat., Balsamum Sulph. Camphorat., Tinctura Sulph. Camphorat., and Extractum Rad. Cinnam. Directions are given for preparing the majority of these, to which the curious may be referred. It may be noted that Grimm was acquainted with the fact that the root of the Cinnamon tree contained Camphor, which could be extracted by distillation with water. That indeed was well known to the mediæval pharmacists, though it is still periodically brought forward as a new discovery.

Finally, Grimm presents a "*Diascordium Spagiricum*," invented by him to take the place of the recognised Diascordium, and according to his experience more effective in the East than the latter.

"Rec. C. C. Spagyr. præp.  
C. C. Ust. & præp.  
Oss. Elephant. calcinat. & præp.  
Gum. ex. Arb. Bolang. an unc. ij  
Terr. Sigillat. Ceylonic. Unc. j. S.  
Croc. Martis  
Fol. Cinnamon. An. un. j.  
Cinnamon. Acut.  
Cortic. Rad. Cinnam. an. Unc. ij. s.  
Opj. Spagyr. præp. dr. ij.  
Ol. st. Fol. Marmelle.  
Bolang. an. dr. S.  
Extr. Rad. Cinnam. lb. ij  
Syr. Cydon. Bengalens, lib. ij. S.  
M. F. S. a Electuarium."



**"Arbor Cinnamomi Sylvestris" Quae Canell de Matte a Portugalis  
Nomen habet, & a Cingalis "Walkurundu."**

Grimm does not give any description of the tree. Walkurundu is *Cinnamomum multiflorum* Wight, and its bark is not collected. Hermann did not list this species, but recorded,<sup>18</sup> as "*Canella zeylanica sylvestris*," Dawul-kurundu, *Litsea zeylanica*. His specimen, however, was a mixture of *Litsea zeylanica* and the true Cinnamon, *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*. At the date of Grimm's visit all Cinnamon was "*sylvestris*," i.e., wild.

**"Arbor Bolanga."<sup>19</sup>**

"Ingens Arbor est, rotundos fructus ferens, cum duro putamine. Intus continet acidulum liquorem vel Pulpam seminibus plenam. Si detrahatur hæc Pulpa, & primo cum aqua liquor excoquatur atque clarus fiat, solus coqui potest vel cum Saccharo donec pretiosum *Rob* <sup>20</sup> fiat, quod fructuosissimum est in Fluxibus ventris; quippe quod refrigeret & optime Viscera laxata corroboretur, atque validissime talium affectuum causas emendet.

"Arboris istius Folia sunt *Balsamica* quoad odorem & saporem, atque convenientissima pro decoctionibus, Infusionibus & Clysteribus ad ventris Fluxus requisitis.

"Præbent etiam per Distillationem, odoriferam et Balsamicam Aquam quæ ad Supradictos morbos est aptissima, prout ad Infusiones Rhabarbari et similibus. Educitur etiam cum aqua Balsamicum quoddam *Oleum*, quod intus desumptum, pro Morbis stomachi, præclara præstat officia. Extus autem plurimum inservit in eundem finem cum Emplastris & Linimentis. Nascitur adhuc ex hac Arbore genus *Gummi*, quod easdem Virtutes habet atque *Gummi Arabicum*."

The tree in question is the Wood Apple, *Feronia elephantum* Corr., the Sinhalese Diwul. Hermann records it under the name Diwul and gives Bolangos as the Portuguese name. He explains<sup>21</sup> the Sinhalese name as follows, "Diwul notat adstrictionem gutturis, quæ adstrictio causatur sæpe ab fructibus immaturis; hujus arboris enim fructus adstringunt, unde inde Dysenteria valde commendantur."

Linnaeus<sup>22</sup> confused this species with some small-fruited *Limonia*, and added the following observation: "Diæwul sive Giæwul Suecis Diabolum significat, & hujus fructus est, qui, a Nautis nostratibus esus, eos brevi jugulat lethali diarrhœa." I have not been able to find the source of Linnaeus' information. Is the similarity of names any more than a coincidence?

**"Arbor Marmelle."**

"Hæc Arbor similiter est altissima, fructus oblongos producit cum duro putamine; *Clusius* vocat eos *Cydonia Bengalica*. Eadem aequè ac *Cydonia* vires possident & ex eorum pulpis res omnes confici possunt ad quas *Cydonia* sunt in usu.

"Ex foliis per Distillationem Aqua & Oleum extrahuntur quæ iisdem usibus inserviunt de quibus dictum est supra quoad *Bolangiam*.

"Flores quæ incundissime [jucundissime?] olent, Aquam exhibent per *Balneum Mariae*, quæ valde odorifera est, atque cor & Spiritus vivificat. Eandem Aquam ut & alias ex istis ambabus Arboribus compositas, ad *Emulsiones in Dysenteria*, mei moris est adhibere.

"Componuntur etiam ex *Pulpa* (præter ea omnia quæ ex communibus *Cydoniis* in *Europa* fiunt) exquisitæ adhuc variæ Marmeladæ quæ excellentissimæ sunt pro Nobilibus atque Magnatibus, & ad remotas Regiones transferri possunt. Easque sic compono."

18. Mus. Zeyl., p. 26.

19. Burmann changed this name to Balanghas, and applied it in error to a *Sterculia*, the Sinhalese Nava; whence Linnaeus named the latter *Sterculia Balanghas*; see *Thesaurus Zeyl.*, pp. 31, 84.

20. "Rob enim Arabice densatum sonat," *Clusius*, *Exoticorum*, X, p. 152.

21. Mus. Zeyl., p. 17.

22. Fl. Zeyl., p. 77.



The tree is the well-known Beli or Bael fruit, *Aegle Marmelos* Corr. Marmelle water was an article of export in 1824.<sup>23</sup>

Grimm gives nine recipes for the manufacture of exquisite marmalades for the Nobility and Gentry. In them he refers to the fruit as Diacydon. His *Marmelada Cordialis* contains, *inter alia*, Butter of Pearls, Ambergris, and Musk; it invigorated the vital spirit and the heart, and preserved the latter from many accidents. *Marmelada pectoralis* contains "*Pulm. & Carn. Vulpis Indici, inomia*," and "*Jackhals, exsiccat. & praep.*;" we may deduce that Grimm had heard the Jackal and appreciated its lung power. *Marmelada nephritica* has "*Sal. Oc. Cancr.*," i. e., crab's eyes, as one ingredient.

**"Arbor Serpentaria, Slangen Boom" vel Slangen Hout.**

**"Seu Lignum Colubrinum & 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 & 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 Serpentium, adversus Febres communes, Sanguinis impuritatem, Scabiem & similes alias ægritudines."

Grimm concludes this section by describing the method of preparation of *Essentia Ligni Colubri*.

The fruit described is that of the well-known Godakaduru, *Strychnos Nux-vomica* L. Of this tree, Hermann wrote: <sup>24</sup> "Lignum circumfertur per Europam nomine Ligni Colubri." Grimm probably relied on Hermann, but the Lignum Colubrinum of the pharmacists was the wood of *Strychnos colubrina* L., not that of *Strychnos Nux-vomica*. This Lignum Colubrinum is the second kind described from Ceylon by Garcia da Orta. The "branches intertwined like serpents," probably refers to the circinately curved tendrils of *Strychnos colubrina*, which is a climber, not a tree. Grimm further confuses matters by describing as Lignum colubrinum, what is evidently the wood of an ebony, probably calamander.

**"Merda Papaveris seu Lignum Stercoris.**

"Hæc arbor ita vocatur, quoniam fortiter olet, plus tamen juxta stercus vaccinum quam humanum. Propter ipsius odorem, Incolæ non ipsam cusant sed utuntur ejus ligno cum ligno Santali contuso & illud cum aqua sorbetur ad Febres, morbos calidos & puerorum Morbum a Belgis Sprouw dictum."

I have not met with Grimm's name, *Merda Papaveris*, elsewhere. The tree is *Sterculia foetida* L., according to Linnaeus,<sup>25</sup> who quoted Grimm's name for that species. Hermann included it twice in his list, under the name Talebo, but he described it as "flore puniceo stercus humanum redolente." The Sinhalese name is usually written Telambu.

**"Ebben-Hout, Lignum Ebenum.**

"Tantum abest ut lignum istud nobis deficiat in *Ceylonia* ut ipsius Rami decidentes nobis sufficiant. Quis autem negare potest lignum istud eandem virtutem habere quam *Lignum Guajacum* vel notum *Lignum morbi Venerei* possidet, hoc enim plus quam satis expertum est a pluribus doctis atque judiciosis hominibus. Ego quidem ausim munus hoc suscipere, me scilicet peracturum

23. List of Export duties, Ceylon Almanac, 1824.

24. Mus. Zeyl. p. 41.

25. Fl. Zeyl. p. 166.



ex isto quidquid ex alio potest fieri. Caterum præterquam quod ad omnigenas Concoctiones alterius vice cumque bona ratione usui esse potest, præbet etiam Spiritum qui præstantissimum est Medicamentum Sudorum promovens contra quavis Impuritates, Lues, Scabies, & morborum istorum dependentias."

Instructions are given for preparing *Spiritus Ligni Ebeni*. The wood is, of course, Ebony.

### "Cocos sive Arbor Crepitaculorum.

"Præter suam satis agnitam utilitatem, suppeditat nobis in gratiam *Medicinae, Chirurgiae, & Alchimiae*, pulcherrimum quoddam *Acetum distillatum* quod in quibusvis casibus multo melius est quam *Acetum vini*, quippe non multas aut potius nullas in *Fundo Faeces* relinquit. Cortices ipsius quæ duræ sunt, atque lignosæ, præbent super igne *per Descensum* multum Olei spissi atque nigri quod rectificari potest & Chirurgis inservire, non secus ac oleum ex *Ligno Ebeni*.

"Oleum recens e putaminibus ejus expressum optime commendatur etiam pro *Chirurgia* præsertim in adustionibus, etinim valde refrigerans est & dolorem mansuefacit . . . . ."

"*Cocos Melk* sive *Cocos Lac*, nobis inservit loco *Lactis Amygdalarum* pro Floribus Alvi, refrigerat & moderatur acrimonias lutosarum Materialium in Visceribus. Optimum etiam est in Gonorrhæa, Urinae ardoribus quos cito pacificat.

"Recens expressum Oleum aequè bonos effectus operatur, atque Oleum Amygdalarum."

Grimm's *Acetum distillatum* is coconut vinegar; modern taste does not prefer it to the European product. He does not appear to have any idea how it was obtained, and the rest of his statements convey the impression that he was writing at random, not having made any inquiry into the products of the coconut. He seems to believe that coconut oil is obtained from the husks (putaminibus), and his remarks on coconut milk would appear to be more applicable to toddy.

### "Grana Molucca, Grana Tiglia officinarum, ab Incolis Gajapala vocata.

"Arbores istae non longe ab Aulica nostra civitate *Columbo* crescunt . . . . ."

Hermann<sup>26</sup> recorded this under the name Gajapala, giving the pharmaceutical synonyms *Grana Tiglia*, *Pinei nuclei moluccani*, and *Lignum Moluccense* or *Pavana*, the latter from Garcia da Orta. It is Jayapala, *Croton Tiglium* L. Grimm's remarks do not show any acquaintance with the elaborate native method of preparation.

### "Gummi Gutta quae ab Incolis Kannakurka vocatur.

"Arbor ista crescit etiam in Territorio Civitatis nostrae *Calumbo*; jucundissima est; mediocriter alta; Folia habet rotunda, viridia atque pingua. Fructum profert qui non multam distat a *Morella* quoad magnitudinem atque continet in se quatuor tenuia semina in quodam dulci succo, qui cum luteis Venulis intermixtus est. Cingalenses & Portugaleses eos in cibis suis immiscent, eosque etiam crudos comedunt, sicut & mihi contigit, nullo exinde percepto incommodo. Dum cortex hujus Arboris percutitur, luteus ille Succus copiose defluit, seque ipsum pedetentim condensat, & maturitatem suam a Sole & Aëre consequitur, & tunc lubricus atque *Gummosus* apparet & non secus alia vulgaria operatur."

Six recipes containing Gummi Gutta are appended. The tree is the Kana-Goraka, *Garcinia Morella* Desrouss., but Grimm apparently confuses with it the common Goraka, *Garcinia Cambogia*, which has an edible sulcate fruit. It is to be noted that Hermann also mixed up these two species, and while his specimen consists of leaves of the true Gamboge tree, Kana-Goraka, his drawing is the common Goraka.<sup>27</sup>

26. Mus. Zeyl., pp. 15, 30.

27. Trimen, Jour. Linn. Soc. XXIV, p. 143.



**"Kakuna Ghaha ; Arbor quae nobis Gummi Elemni exhibet.**

"Tantum *Gummi* nobis praebebat haec Arbor quantum necessitas nostra postulat. Maximi usus est in Chirurgia, quoad *Emplastra, Unguenta & Linimenta*. Cortex istius arboris multum pinguedinis habet & valde Therebinthus est quoad odorem. Decoctus autem in Oleo communi, optimum praebebat Balsamum ad ulcera carnosae, & ad *Linimenta* : Contunditur etiam ut *Emplas-tris* immisceatur, ad Contusiones, Fracturas, Dislocationes & plures alias infirmitates."

This refers to *Kekuna*, *Canarium zeylanicum* Bl. Hermann<sup>28</sup> recorded the Dutch name, *Wilde Amandels*, for it.

**"Sambucus Indica Minai vocata.**

"Radix istius Arboris corticem nobis exhibet qui valde *Aromaticus* est. Succus aut pulvis ejusdem optimum nobis Remedium suppeditat Fluxus Ventris, deprimit Bilem acrem & effervescentem, dolores demulcet, Stomachum & Viscera confortatur.

"Fructus nobis per *Coctionem* certum Rob offerunt, cui eadem virtus inest.

"Cortex, ut antea dictum est, Oleum & Aquam per *Distillationem* exhibet in quibus eadem vis continetur, praeterquam quam quod adhuc virtutem Specialem obtinent in Gonorrhœa atque Renum affectibus."

No recipes are given. The plant is *Midi*, *Premna serratifolia* L. Hermann<sup>29</sup> recorded it as "*Mindi*, *Midi*. *Sambucus zeylanica* odorata aromatica. Ex radice distillatur oleum aromaticum."

**"Billingsbingh.**

"Pulcherrima est Arbor ; Fructus habet virides angulatos & oblongos qui succum acidum continent. Crescit ab infima parte Stirpis usque ad apicem per omnes nodos & ramos modo mirabili atque jucundissimo. Succus iste pulchrum nobis praebebat Syrupum in morbis calidis, in Hepatis aut aliarum partium inflammationibus ; Variis modis convenit in Morbis Biliosis. Ex eodem succo potest adhuc in *Balneo Mariae* Aqua valde refrigerans distillari.

"Flores qui rubicundi aut Violacei fulvi sunt, nobis contra morbos supradictos, imo adversus plurimos alios affectus pulcherrimam Conservam suppeditant."

*Bilin. Averrhoa Bilimbi* L. Hermann gave the names *Billingshas* and *Bilin*. Grimm's description of the fruit and his spelling of the name are taken from Bontius, who recorded the tree as *Billinbing*, and depicted an angular fruit.

**"Carambolos.**

"Jucundissima etiam est Arbor. Fructus ejus paulo majores sunt quam illi quos *Billingsbingh* nobis profert, oblongam habent formam & in acies angulosam, ut plurimum quinque angulorum, habent etiam in se Liquorem subacidum non tamen adeo jucundum ut ipsa *Ballingsbingh* (sic) . . . . ."

*Kamaranga. Averrhoa Carambola* L. Hermann recorded *Kamaranga* as the Sinhalese and *Carambolos* as the Portuguese name. He gave<sup>30</sup> the derivation of the Sinhalese name as *Ka* = something edible, and *Marangha* = to destroy : "Creditur enim lignum secum gestatum aut in cubiculo servatum valere ad omnis generis veneficia, quae a veneficis struuntur. Hinc ex hac materia conficiunt vaginas, in quibus gladios & cultros, quos secum semper portant, custodiunt."

**"Morunga.**

"Radix ipsius excellentissimam nobis exhibet *Medicinam* ; maxime vero convenit cum nostra *Piperis* radice quoad Odorem & Saporem. Quam ob rem pro cibis etiam usui adhibetur . . . . . Fructus optimi cibi locum habent . . . . ."

The Horseradish tree, *Murunga, Moringa pterygosperma* Gaertn.

28. Mus. Zeyl., p. 48.

29. Mus. Zeyl., p. 14.

30. Mus. Zeyl., p. 19.



"*Acacia Vera*, & multa ipsius genera.

"*Varia præstissima nobis præbet Medicamenta pro Stomachi & Viscerum debilitatibus veluti Succus Acaciæ Inspissatus, Conservæ Florum Acaciæ, adeo ut eadem ad nos transferi non oportet ut solliciti simus.*"

There is nothing to indicate what species Grimm employed. *Acacia vera* does not occur in Ceylon.

"*Tamarindus arbor.*"

Grimm notes the use of the pulp of the fruits, and says that a Conserve can be made from the flowers and an Aqua from leaves. "E succo viridis Tamarindis pulcher acidus Syrupus conficitur ad magnos ardores atque Sitim in morbis calidis."

"*Arbor Cassia.*"

"Ex Floribus ipsius Conservam extrahimus quæ ab obstructionibus Renum & Uretherum liberat & in ipsa Genorrhæa optimum producit effectum."

The *Arbor Cassia* of the older pharmacists was the tree which yielded Cassia Lignea, which was erroneously supposed to grow in Ceylon. *Cassia fistula* had been introduced into Europe before Grimm's time, and Burmann<sup>31</sup> attached Grimm's reference to that species. But it scarcely seems to fit. Cassia buds were the buds of Cassia lignea.

"*Arbor Citri.*"

The usual medicaments are referred to. *Arbor Citri* should be the Citron or the Lemon, but Grimm may have only seen the Lime.

"*Arbor Aurantia.*"

Names of medicaments only. Hermann saw the orange and the Pumelo in Ceylon.

"*Arbor Granata.*"

"Offert nobis Syrupum Granatorum, Conservas Florum Granatorum. Flores & Folia optimum suum usum habent in Chirurgia, ad Gargarismos, Clysteres & alia Medicamenta quæ simul attrahendi, repellendi, atque abstergendi virtutem habere debent."

This is rather a puzzle. *Arbor Granata* should be the Pomegranate, and Burmann accepts Grimm's statement as a reference to that fruit, but Hermann did not gather a specimen or make drawing of it, and it seems very doubtful whether it was then grown in or around Colombo. There is a complicated botanical tangle on this point. Hermann did not mention anything that could be taken to mean the Pomegranate in his notes which Sherard published as "*Musæum Zeylanicum.*" In "*Paradisus Batavus Prodrromus,*" however, he listed "*Granata malus Zeylanica spinosa,*" and in the Appendix to "*Paradisus Batavus,*" which contains a list of the plants of which he had intended to publish illustrations later, this appears as "*Malus Granata Zeylanica spinosa flore luteo.*" But when he issued *Hort. Acad. Lug.-Bat. Catalogus*, 1687, he did not include the name among his synonyms of *Malus Punica*, the Pomegranate.

We may assume, from Hermann's omission, that his "*Malus Granata Zeylanica*" was not the Pomegranate. What it was is a matter of conjecture. Plukenet<sup>32</sup> assumed that it was the Pomegranate, and gave the synonyms "*Malus Punica Zeylanensium spinosa. Malus granata Zeylanensis aculeata. Granata Malus Zeylanica spinosa P. B. P.*"; and in his

31. Thes. Zeyl., p. 86.

32. Almagest., p. 240.



*Phytographia*<sup>33</sup> gave a figure, with the second and third of his synonyms. But unfortunately, his figure shows leaves and spines only, and it was drawn, not from a Ceylon specimen, but from a living plant at Hampton Court; it looks like a piece of *Carissa spinarum* L., the Sinhalese Hin-karamba.

J. Burmann, in *Thesaurus Zeylanicus*, accepted all the names quoted above as indicating the Pomegranate. Linnæus did not take up Hermann's name, probably because he did not see a specimen. N. L. Burmann, however, in *Flora Indica*, 1763, made the Ceylon plant a variety of the Pomegranate and said it differed from specimens from Coromandel in its broader leaves and its spines, but whether he had seen a specimen or was judging from Plukenet's figure cannot be decided. What Hermann's plant was must, in the absence of a specimen, be uncertain, but it would appear probable that it was *Randia dumetorum* Lam., the Sinhalese Kukuruman, which has a yellowish-white flower, paired spines, and a fruit crowned with the calyx limb.

#### "Arbor Tristis."

"Ipsius Flores Aquam nobis præbent valde odoriferam quæ Cordialis & refrigerans est atque oculorum Inflammationibus optime prodest."

*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis* L.; Sepala, Sinh. Linnæus recorded this plant for Ceylon on the evidence of Grimm's statement. There was no specimen in Hermann's Ceylon Herbarium, but he gave its Portuguese name, *Foula Mogori*, to a specimen which is *Jasminum Sambac* L. The statement that it was used in making a lotion for the eyes is in Garcia, who explains the name *Arbor tristis* by the fact that the flowers open at night.

#### "Ekawerya, Radix Serpentum."

"Vocatur a Cingalensibus *Rametul*, pulcherrima Planta est, in altum exsurgit cum ramis tenuibus & cum Foliis longis & acuminatis, cum parvis raris Fructibus qui sicut racemi simul sunt conjuncti. Radix decurrit in modum Serpentum cum nodis sub Terra, valde lignosa est, alba fusca cum cortice coloris cinerei, & saporis amari. Haec est prima species quam *Garcias ab Orta* inter Ligna Serpentum describit. Vires ejus non minores sunt quam eae quae magna Serpentum Arbor possidet. Incolae plurimum eam extollunt contra omnia Venena & venenosos morbos. Conterunt eam supra parvo lapide & exhibent eam usque ad Semidrach, & amplius."

*Ekaweriya, Rauwolfia serpentina* Hk. f., is the first species of snake wood described by Garcia. Grimm took the name *Rametul* from Garcia, and thereby shows independence of Hermann who knew that Garcia was wrong on that point. *Rametul* is probably an error for *Ratnetul*, *Plumbago rosea* L., of which Hermann<sup>34</sup> recorded that the Sinhalese used the pounded root in cases of snake bite.

#### "Cardamomum Sylvestre" quod ab Incolis

##### "Alaghahu" dicitur.

"Haec Planta fertiliter crescit extra Civitatem nostram Aulicam Columbo. Planta est quae ad visum *Magnam Galangam* repraesentat . . . . ."  
Alugas, *Alpinia Allughas* Rosc.

#### "Zedoaria Harankaha."

"Maximi pretii est apud Cingaleses; in morbis suis periculosissimis ea vel sola vel cum aliis Medicamentis commixta quae venenum impugnare debent, utuntur. . . . ."

33. Tab. 98, f. 6.

34. Mus. Zeyl. p. 51.



Harankaha, *Curcuma Zedoaria* Rosc. Hermann's note<sup>35</sup> was, "Radix recenter effossa Camphorae spirat odorem, postmodum Zedoariae. Radicem hanc inter sacra reponunt Cinghali, ad quam solam in morbis desperatis confugiunt."

**"Zingiber Sylvestre" quod ab Incolis  
"Kaluwala" dicitur.**

"Pulcherrima est Planta quae mediocris est altitudinis, Florem profert rubricundum qui non absimilis, est a pini pomo fert etiam nigrum semen sicut nigrum *Cuminum* quod valde calidum est, jacet in quibusdam globulis inter Folia Florum inclusum. Flos iste continet in se magnam quantitatem Liquoris qui Rorem fortissime *attrahit*, eum ego mane expressi. . . . ."

Kaluwala, *Alpinia Galanga* L.; its roots are known on the London drug market as Galangal or Greater Galangal.

**"Arundo Indica Odorata.**

"A Parte inferiori est arundinosa & a Superiori velut Gramen. Radix satis est dura, dum scinditur, instar ligni finditur, valde odorifera est, convenit aliquibus modis cum *Calamo*, in membra pariter divisa est, nodosa, & satis abundanter circa Civitatem nostram *Columbo* crescit. . . . ."

*Andropogon Nardus* L. Hermann recorded this as "*Arundo Zeylanica farcta odore & sapore Calami Aromatici*," under the native name Pengriman. Hermann's specimen is the Citronella grass.<sup>36</sup> Grimm advises the use of this plant for baths in Beri-beri.

**"Aristolochia Longa, Sacksanda.**

"Est Planta sursum se extollens. Radix est intus Lignosa sed Cortex est valde *Aromatica* & magnam virtutem in se continet tam pro *Medicina* quam pro *Chirurgia*. Cingaleses eam plurimum existimant eamque cum Theriaca sua commiscent quae contra morbos venenosos assumitur. . . . ."

Sapsanda, *Aristolochia indica* L. Hermann<sup>37</sup> recorded it as "*Aristolochia longa Indica*," with the native name Sacsanda, and derived the name from Sanda = Moon, because the root of the plant is most potent at full moon.

**"Turbith, Tirastawalu.**

"Colligitur etiam extra *Columbo*; crescit non secus ac *Convolvulus*, Folia ipsius *Malvae*, sunt similes subtusque contactae lenes sentiuntur, semen etiam veluti arbor Belgice *Winde* Gallice *Liset*<sup>38</sup> dicta, continet, ed<sup>39</sup> rotundum atque nigrum instar grani *Piperis*, in certis quibusdam Globulis jclusum<sup>40</sup> jacens. Radix mediocriter est longa, contorta, & Resinosa."

Trastawalu, *Ipomoea Turpethum* Br. Hermann gave the same spelling as Grimm for the Sinhalese name.

**"Galanga major.**

"Hanc nos ipsi prout necessitas postulavit saepissime usui adhibuimus, & apud nos abundanter plantari potest, non parvae est Altitudinis, albos Flores emittit, sicut & Fructum non ab similem ipsi Cardamo de quo supra mentionem fecit; propter quam rationem inter ejus Species libenter Fructum istum annumerarem. . . . ."

Grimm appears to recommend planting the Greater Galangal, not recognising that it is the plant he has previously referred to under the name Kaluwala, or Zingiber Sylvestre.

35. Mus. Zeyl., p. 50.

36. Trimen, Jour. Linn. Soc., XXIV, p. 136.

37. Mus. Zeyl., p. 9.

38. Liset = Bindweed, *Convolvulus*.

39. ? Sed.

40. ? Inclusionum.



**"Calamus Aromaticus.**

"Apud nos iste parite implantatur. Firmior atque perennior Radix est quam ea quae aliunde nobis transmitti solet; usus ipsius sat est notus."

*Acorus calamus* L., the Sinhalese Wada-kaha. Hermann<sup>41</sup> recorded it as *Calamus aromaticus*, with the native name Vazumbo.

**"Esula cujus praeter legitimam multae aliae sunt species."**

Grimm gives no details of any species. *Esula Indica* was *Euphorbia antiquorum*. This is the "legitimate" species of *Esula* or *Esula verum*. It is the Sinhalese Daluk.

**"Faba Purgatrix. Catharodu.**

"Haec Faba exsiccat & ex eadem pulvis conficitur qui cum *Lacte Cocos*, aut *Jusculo assumptus*, lenissime purgat & dolorem mitigat in *Colica*, *Stomachum* etiam & *Viscera* juvat."

Katarodu, *Clitoria ternatea* L.

**"Polypodium Indicum.**

"Ad usum *Europaeorum* transportatur . . . . ."

This is *Drynaria quercifolia* (L.) J. Sm., a plant well-known to the old pharmacists. Hermann<sup>42</sup> recorded it under the Sinhalese name Benduru.

**"Balsamina, Momordica, etiam a nonnullis Halicacabus Peregrina, & a Cingalensibus Hundule vocata.**

"Ex hinc cum *Oleo* vulgari *Balsamum* quoddam elicitor quod in *Chirurgia* magni usus est tam ad *Vulnera* & *Contusiones*, quam ad alia *Accidentia*."

The Sinhalese Hondala is *Modecca palmata* Lam. Hermann<sup>43</sup> recorded the native name for his "*Bryonia zeylanica folio quinquepartito*." *Momordica* was a general name for *Cucurbitaceae*, and Hermann applied it to the Sinhalese *Dummella*<sup>44</sup> and *Karavila*<sup>45</sup>; he gave<sup>46</sup> "*Balsamina scandens sive Momordica indica*" for *Bryonia laciniata* L., for which he cited the native name *Kopalam*; but "*Kopalam*" is probably *Gopalanga*, *Corallocarpus epigaeus* Clke. *Halicacabus peregrina* is the Sinhalese *Penela*, *Cardiospermum Halicacabum* L. Grimm's reference is consequently indeterminable, but he perhaps meant *Titta-hondala*, *Trichosanthes palmata* Roxb., the pounded fruit of which is used as an external application.

**"Solanum Hortense & Indicum.**

"*Solanum Hortense* notissimum est. Alterum quod est planta mediocriter alta fructus profert parvos, rotundos, rubros sicut *Alkekengi* conclusos. Apud *Incolas* maximo pretio habetur atque ipsi vires easdem quas nos *Alkekengi*, adscribunt."

The second of these is probably *Physalis angulata* L., recorded by Hermann<sup>47</sup> as *Solanum vesicarium indicum*. *Solanum hortense*, now known as *Solanum nigrum*, is a common weed of cultivated land.

**"Arum.**

"Apud nos extraordinarie magnum est. Conficiunt ex ea *Farinam* *Incolae* quae plurimum eos juvat. Hinc habemus etiam nostrum *Faecul Aronis*."

41. Mus. Zeyl., p. 56.

42. Mus. Zeyl., p. 7.

43. Mus. Zeyl., pp. 41. 62.

44. Mus. Zeyl., 53.

45. Mus. Zeyl., 39.

46. Mus. Zeyl., 69.

47. Mus. Zeyl., p. 51.



Probably refers to Habarala, *Alocasia macrorrhiza* Schott. Burmann<sup>48</sup> referred Grimm's Arum to Kovila, *Lasia spinosa* Lour. The latter was Hermann's *Arum zeylanicum spinosum*,<sup>49</sup> but it scarcely fits Grimm's statement.

#### "Bryonia.

"Præbet nobis *Faecul Bryonia*, cujus præstantia specialis est, ad *Morbos Matricis & ad Hydropem*."

Probably refers to Panu-kondol, *Dioscorea sativa* L. Burmann<sup>50</sup> attached Grimm's note to Hermann's Kopalam, for no apparent reason.

#### "Salsaparilla.

"Duo sunt ipsius Genera quae usui adhibentur, tantumque eorundem habemus quantum nobis est necessum, & Europaeis commode carere possumus."

Hermann gave the description, "*Convolvulus Zeylanicus terrestris flore amplo albo, radice Sarsaparillae simili gummosa*," for a plant for which he cited the native name "Bin-tamburu." The plant was *Ipomaea biloba* Forsk., Mudu-bin-tamburu. Grimm's two kinds may refer to two species of *Ipomaea*. But it is more probable that he had in mind the root of *Iramusu* (see below), and China root, both of which were used for the same diseases as Sarsaparilla originally was. True Sarsaparilla is an American species of *Smilax*, and Burmann<sup>51</sup> supposes that Grimm referred to two species of *Smilax*. Hermann<sup>52</sup> wrote, re *Smilax zeylanica*, "*Fert enim radicem a radiculis suis tenuibus sarmentosis purgatam Chinae forma & virtute proximam*."

#### "Nicotiana, Tabac.

Grimm gives four recipes for "Vomitoria"!

#### "Radix Amoris a Portugalensibus Res de Amor vocata.

"Planta haec est Graminosa quae longe repit supra terra vel si quid ipsi adjacet cum eo convolvitur & ascendit. Radix est Aromatica, maxime cum *Caryophyllata* nostra conveniens quoad saporem & odorem."

Hermann<sup>53</sup> cited *Radix amoris* as a Portuguese name for *Iramusu*, *Hemidesmus indicus* Br.

#### "Calamintha."

"Copiosissime crescit apud nos . . . . ."

In the absence of any native name, it is impossible to guess what this plant was. Hermann did not refer to any plant as "Calamintha." There is a Ceylon Calamintha, *C. umbrosa* Benth., but it is an upcountry species which would not be met with by Grimm.

#### "Mentha. Ghonokolla.

"Subtilem atque Camphoreum odorem possidet . . . . ."

Hermann obtained the name Ghonokolla for a species which he described<sup>54</sup> as "*Mentha zeylanica hirsuta camphorata*." This is, no doubt, the species intended by Grimm. It is *Adenosma camphoratum* Hk. f., now known as *Kaha-gona-kola*.

48. Thesaurus Zeylanicus, p. 34.

49. Par. Bat. p. 75.

50. Thesaurus Zeyl. p. 50.

51. Thesaurus Zeylanicus, p. 208.

52. Mus. Zeyl. p. 32.

53. Mus. Zeyl. p. 51.

54. Mus. Zeyl. p. 1.



"*Hyssopus. Welakola.*"

Hermann recorded the name Welakola for several of the plants he collected. One of these he described<sup>55</sup> as "*Hyssopus aquaticus repens foliis crenatis*," and gave the alternative name, Wila. Another is described<sup>56</sup> as "*Hyssopus zeylanicus elegans odore ac sapore Thymi*." On page 51 he described Wila as "*Hyssopus zeylanicus tenellus pratensis*," and Welakola as "*Hyssopus palustris repens foliis crenatis odore Thymi*." Linnaeus regarded the second and fourth of these as the same, and stated<sup>57</sup> "*Inter plantas pictas habetur, cujus caulis inferne Hippurin refert. Folia Gratiolae supra aquam*." The third was *Centranthera procumbens* Benth., Dutusaṭutu S. The others were probably all the same species and, from the figure referred to by Linnaeus, evidently a *Limnophila*.

We have no modern record of the name Welakola. Wila is *Bonnaya veronicaefolia* Spreng., Amba-wila is *Limnophila conferta* Benth., and Lunu-wila is *Herpestes Monnieria* H. B. K.

"*Marrubium. Jackwanassa.*"

Linnaeus cites Grimm for this species. Grimm, no doubt, got his name from Hermann who described it<sup>58</sup> as "*Marrubium zeylanicum odoratum*." It is the well-known Yakwanassa, *Anisomeles ovata* Br.

"*Scilla.*"

"Componuntur ex ea Acetum & Oximel Scilliticum."

This evidently does not refer to any Ceylon plant.

"*Rosmarinus.*"

"Tantum ipsius copiam habemus quantam necessitates nostrae postulant . . . . ."

If so, it must have been imported. Hermann recorded<sup>59</sup> "*Karapindscha. Arbor zeylanica sylvestris odore Rorismarini*." This was Karapincha, *Murraya Koenigii* Spreng.

"*Ruta.*"

The common Rue, *Ruta graveolens* L., is an old introduction into Ceylon, but Grimm's reference is not definite enough to be taken as evidence that it was grown in Ceylon at the time of his visit.

"*Sesamum.*"

" . . . . . Usus familiarissimum habet apud Cingalenses a quibus oleum istud *Schinschilli* nomen obtinet . . . . ."

"*Nymphaea.*"

Hermann collected *Nymphaea Lotus* L. and *Nelumbium speciosum* Willd., both of which he described as species of *Nymphaea*. Grimm does not give any particulars which would indicate which species he had in mind. Burmann<sup>60</sup> attached his medical notes to the second of these, probably correctly.

55. Mus. Zeyl., p. 20.

56. Mus. Zeyl., p. 47.

57. Fl. Zeyl., p. 219.

58. Mus. Zeyl., p. 30.

59. Mus. Zeyl., p. 50.

60. Thes. Zeyl., p. 174.



**"Scabiosa."**

Hermann's species of "Scabiosa" include *Eriocaulon quinquangulare* L., *Hin-kok-mota*; *Wedelia biflora* DC.; *Blainvillea latifolia* DC.; *Vernonia anthelmintica* Willd., *Sanninayan*; etc. Grimm's reference is purely general.

**"Arthemisia."**

Grimm's remarks on this do not show any local knowledge.

**"Matricaria."**

The plant which Hermann collected <sup>61</sup> as "*Matricaria flore pleno magno*," was *Chrysanthemum indicum*, a garden plant.

In addition to the plants already enumerated, which were prescribed for particular diseases, Grimm gave a list of species observed in Ceylon, either wild or in gardens, which could be used medicinally by anyone who had "the requisite knowledge." His names are reproduced below, with possible interpretations based on the descriptions of Hermann's *Musæum Zeylanicum*

- "*Asclepias*" . . . . . *Wara*, *Calotropis gigantea* R. Br.; Kurinnan, *Gymnema lactiferum* R. Br.; Bin-nuga, *Tylophora asthmatica* W. & A.
- "*Auricula Muris*" . . . *Visnu-kranti*, *Evolvulus alsinoides* L. described by Hermann <sup>62</sup> as "*Alsine Zeylanica repens auriculæ muris folio*."
- "*Acetosa*" . . . . . *Acetosa indica* Bont.=*Napiritta*, *Hibiscus furcatus* Roxb., but Grimm's plant may have been *Hibiscus Sabdariffa* L., of which there was a painting in Hermann's collection. <sup>63</sup>
- "*Acetosella*" . . . . . *Oxalis corniculata* L., *Hin-embul-embiliya*.
- "*Asparagus Sylvester*" *Asparagus falcatus* L., *Hatawariya*.
- "*Bardana Minor*" . . . *Bardana* was Burdock, *Arctium Lappa*: it does not grow in Ceylon.
- "*Basilicon*" . . . . . Hermann's *Basilicum zeylanicum* was *Pogostemon Heyneanus* Benth, *Gan-kollan-kola*.
- "*Caryophyllus Hortensis*"
- "*Cystus*" . . . . . Applied by Hermann to *Melastoma malabathricum* L., *Mahabowitiya*; and *Osbeckia* spp.
- "*Conyza*" . . . . . *Vernonia cinerea* Less., *Monara-Kudumbiya*, described by Hermann <sup>64</sup> as *Conyza indica inodora minor*; or *Vernonia zeylanica* Less., *Pupula*, described by Hermann <sup>65</sup> as *Conyza zeylanica odorata*.
- "*Cichoreum*" . . . . . Not grown in Ceylon.
- "*Colocasia*" . . . . . Various species grown in Ceylon.
- "*Curcumæ*" . . . . . *Kaha*, *Curcuma Longa* L.
- "*Dracunculus Minor*" ? *Panu-ala*, *Typhonium trilobatum* Schott.
- "*Dracontium*" . . . . *Kidaran*, *Amorphophallus campanulatus* Bl.
- "*Endivia*" . . . . . *Cichoreum Endivia* Willd.

61. Mus. Zeyl., p. 33.

62. Mus. Zeyl., p. 11.

63. Linnæus, Fl. Zeyl., p. 120.

64. Mus. Zeyl., p. 2.

65. Mus. Zeyl., p. 35.



- "*Filix, cum maxima parte generum ab isto dependentium*,"
- "*Foeniculum*" . . . Fennel ;—*Foeniculum vulgare* Gaertn. ; Dewa duru, S.
- "*Faba, cujus innumerae sunt variae Species*."
- "*Gentianella*" . . . *Gentianella indica* Bont. was supposed to be a species of *Commelinaceae*.<sup>66</sup>
- "*Glycyrrhiza*" . . . Olinda, *Abrus precatorius* L. It is curious that Grimm does not deal fully with this well-known medicinal plant.
- "*Hedera terrestris*" . Hermann's *Hedera terrestris*<sup>67</sup> was *Hydrocotyle asiatica* L., Hingotukola.
- "*Kali*."
- "*Lactuca*" . . . ? *Lactuca Heyneana* DC., not collected by Hermann.
- "*Lingua Cervina*" . . *Drymoglossum heterophyllum* Chr., Maswenna.<sup>68</sup>
- "*Lonchitis*" . . . *Lonchitis aspera zeylanica* = *Nephrolepis cordifolia* Pr.<sup>69</sup>
- "*Arbore e qua Lacca provenit*" . . . Keppitiya, *Croton aromaticus* var. *lacciferus*.
- "*Laser, e qua Assa Foetida provenit*" . Whether the *Laser* of the ancients was *Assafoetida* is disputed. *Assafoetida* is the Sinhalese Perunkayam.
- "*Malva*" . . . This may cover various species of *Sida*, *Hibiscus*, etc. ; but Hermann in *Mus. Zeyl.*<sup>70</sup> applied it only to *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis* L., which he called Waddaghas.
- "*Myrtus Indica*" . . Hermann's "*Myrtus indica odore citri*" is *Eugenia spicata* Lam. ; he gave<sup>71</sup> the Sinhalese names Maranda and Hincubuse, of which only the former is now known.
- "*Nepeta*."
- "*Nasturtium*."
- "*Petroselinum*" . . . Parsley, *Petroselinum sativum* Hoffm., Assamodagam S.
- "*Portulaca*" . . . *Portulaca quadrifida* L., recorded by Hermann<sup>72</sup> as Hingheda (= Hingenda-kola) ; or *Portulaca oleracea* L., Genda-kola.
- "*Pimpinella*" . . . Aniseed, *Pimpinella Anisum* L., not grown in Ceylon.
- "*Persicaria*" . . . Hermann<sup>73</sup> gave "*Polygonum Indicum minus*" for *Alternanthera triandra* Lam., Mukunu-wenna ; it is "*Persicariae folio repens*" of Commelinus.
- "*Ros Solis*" . . . Sundew ; Watessa, *Drosera Burmanni* Vahl ; Kandulesa, *Drosera Indica* L.
- "*Selinum*" . . . ? Caraway.
- "*Semper Vivum*" . . Hermann<sup>74</sup> recorded "*Sedum Zeylanicum spicatum luteum majus*," and "*Sedum spicatum maximum indicum*," but it is not known what he meant.

66. Par. Bat., p. 159.

67. Par. Bat., p. 238.

68. Thea. Zeyl., p. 192 ; and Fl. Zeyl., p. 180.

69. Thea. Zeyl., p. 98.

70. Mus. Zeyl., p. 29.

71. Mus. Zeyl., p. 9.

72. Mus. Zeyl., p. 62.

73. Mus. Zeyl., p. 14.

74. Mus. Zeyl., pp. 43, 63.



"*Triorchis Trifolia*."

"*Verbena Bontii*" . . . *Verbena indica Bontii* is given by Hermann<sup>75</sup> as Karal-hebo; the plants he had under that name were Welkaral-heba, *Pupalia atropurpurea* Moq., and Gas-karal-heba, *Achyranthes aspera* L.

"*Veronica Bontii*" . . . The only "*Veronica*" listed by Hermann<sup>76</sup> is *Dysophylla auricularia* Bl., Hemanilla.

"*Urticae varia genera*." . Hermann<sup>77</sup> described as *Urtica*, Waelkahambiliya, *Tragia involu-crata* L.; and *Fleurya interrupta* Gaud., with the native name Wattukahambiliya.

The medicinal uses of some of the plants in the foregoing list were recorded by Hermann. Of Bin-nuga, he stated, "Phthisicis has radices multum prodesse edocti sumus a Cinghalis: unde syrupis & decoctis expectorantibus adhibemus."<sup>78</sup> Of Visnu-kranti, "Gharandi notat Dysenteriam, cui plurimum confert planta."<sup>79</sup> Gan-kollan-kola was "Specificum in Cephalalgia, Cinghali sacculo indunt ac Capiti imponunt."<sup>80</sup> Hin-bowitiya, *Osbeckia aspera* Bl., "Pulpa fructus usurpatur ad Linguae vitia, quando scilicet dehiscit, inflammatur, & quasi decorticatur."<sup>81</sup> Panu-ala, which he spells Panuwala, was derived by him from Panuwa, "Panuwa vermiculos notat quoscunque ulceribus inhabitantes, quos hujus radices succus enecat."<sup>82</sup> Of *Commelina nudiflora* L., for which he gave the name Diyameneriya, properly that of another species, he wrote, "Succus cum lacte vaccino datus urinam movet."<sup>83</sup> His note on Olinda was "Tota planta dulcissima est sapore, maxima radix, ex qua succum Glycyrrhizæ vix cedentem decoxi; tria aut quatuor grana cum oleo sesami sumpta mortem inferunt praesentem."<sup>84</sup> Keppitiya,—"Hujus radices cortex aromaticus est & purgativus. Datur autem cum lacte."<sup>85</sup> Gas-karal-heba, *Achyranthes aspera* L.,—"Succus cum olei sesami parte anatica sumptus curat Dysenteriam."<sup>86</sup> Of Watessa, Hermann recorded, "Hujus plantæ usus ut in Europa sic in Zeylona decantatus est. Sal hujus plantæ specificum est in obstructionibus Hepatis, Lienis ac Mesenterii."<sup>87</sup>

It is probable that some of the plants enumerated by Grimm, e. g., *Endivia*, *Lactuca*, *Nasturtium*, were European plants grown by the Dutch in gardens in Colombo.

Of the remaining 30 pages, little need be said. They deal with the common chemical compounds obtained from earths. To the mediaeval pharmacist or alchemist, an "earth" was, in general, a particular mineral, which, as Grimm states, obtained its name from its place of origin, or its colour, or some property, real or imagined. Grimm mentions many of the common "earths" of European pharmacy, and then proceeds,—

75. Mus. Zeyl., pp. 1, 20.

76. Mus. Zeyl., p. 29.

77. Mus. Zeyl., pp. 18, 47.

78. Mus. Zeyl., p. 52.

79. L. c., p. 56.

80. L. c., p. 52.

81. L. c., p. 14.

82. L. c., p. 63.

83. L. c., p. 16.

84. L. c., p. 16.

85. L. c., p. 46.

86. L. c., p. 20.

87. L. c., p. 18.



"Istae non nobis desunt in Ceylonia, & libenter omnes illas supradictas negligere possumus; etenim Terra nostra pulcherrima pinguis & adstringens est atque multum Terrae Solaris, Lunar, & pro maxima parte Martialis, in se commixtum habet, omnes qualitates in ea reperiuntur quas ex supradictis exigere possumus, non solum quoad Chirurgicos sed & Medicinales usus."

Grimm described a method of preparing *Spiritus Terrae Ceylonicae* from Ceylon earth, which, at the same distillation, yielded also *Sal Volatile Hermeticum* and *Sal Centrale Fixum*. But he gives no indication of what his Terra Ceylonica was. In his recipes, he prescribes Terra Sigillata Ceylonica, which he does not refer to in the pages which treat of minerals. And in preparing Spirits of Salt he mixes one part of salt with four parts of Terra Nostra Alba Ceylonica.

The local references are very few. He states that Martis Minera occurs abundantly in Ceylon (*Martis Minera qua Territorium nostrum abundantissime refertum est*), and that it is enclosed in a large quantity of Spiritus Mundi. He also records that he has collected Marchasita Sulphuris, evidently, from his account, Iron Pyrites, in abundance around Colombo.

Grimm's reputation, as previously stated, rests on the botanical parts of his work. The rest of it is, at the present day, little more than a source of amusement; it includes scarcely any details of Ceylon natural history worthy of quotation. In presenting this synopsis of Grimm's book to the readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, the writer adapts its final paragraph, "Amicissime tamen vos obsecro ut quae vobis nunc offeruntur eadem jucunde atque benevole [accipere] velitis."





## THE INSCRIPTION AT KITSIRIMEWAN KELANI VIHÁRA.

1. By SIMON DE SILVA, J.P., GATE MUDALIYAR.

**M**Y article on the Inscription at Kitsirimewan Kelani Vihára has called forth a somewhat angry rejoinder of considerable length, bristling with learned quotations of doubtful relevancy, and abounding, I regret to add, in personalities not quite becoming a serious discussion on a historical question. I have no wish to enter into a personal controversy either with my critic or with his collaborator—whose share in the attack, I am not surprised to be told, has consisted in the furnishing of "valuable notes."

While I do not, therefore, propose to notice the sneers and gibes which the article contains in reference to myself, I do most emphatically protest against the doubt which it implies as to the veracity of High Priest Dharmaráma, a man of the highest character and unquestionably the foremost scholar of the day, who has helped even Mr. Bell and Mudaliyar Gunasekara over many a stile and many a ditch.

Apart from the unjustness of the charge it involves, it is an ungrateful return for the substantial assistance which these gentlemen have from time to time received at the hands of the High Priest. As regards myself, I will only say that my remarks in the first instance were offered in no captious spirit, but were prompted by a desire to let much-needed light into a dark corner of Ceylon History, and I shall continue the discussion in the same spirit and with calmness.

I will not pause here to notice the uncalled for and unworthy remarks about "the literary handling" of my article. My language may not be as "virile" as that of my critic—and I cannot say that I regret it—but I hope to make my meaning clear without invoking the aid of "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." If in the course of the following remarks any words should escape me calculated to offend the sensibilities of my critics, I should be heartily sorry.

### Vilgammula Mahá Sámi.

It is pleasing to note at the outset—though the fact is somewhat obscured by an abundance of matter which bears witness to the writer's wealth of information if it does not appreciably help the discussion—that the rejoinder contains important admissions. On the main issue Mr. Bell, I am happy to find, is now in agreement with me.

I wrote: "There can be no doubt that the Vilgammula mentioned in the inscription is identical with the Vilgammula who translated the *Bódhiwansa*."

Mr. Bell has yielded to argument, as a scholar should, and says now that "it may fairly be presumed that the Vilgammula Mahá Himi of the Kelaniya Inscription and the author of the *Etu Bodhiwansa* were one and the same monk."

This admission also renders Mr. Bell's position with regard to the date of the inscription wholly untenable. In his comments on the inscription Mr. Bell and his colleague hazarded the conjecture that "this inscription must have been antedated—and quite probably by exactly a century—the stone mason, through inadvertence, substituting *ata* for *nava* when engraving the date of the Buddhist Era." I maintained that the theory of inadvertence was unsupported, and that the date in the inscription was not wrong.



In his rejoinder Mr. Bell concedes that the theory of inadvertence may be open to question and, therefore, waives it. He yet contends that the antedating may be "disclosed from other sound reasons based on proofs inherent in the text itself." How Mr. Bell proposes to reconcile his argument as to the antedating of the inscription with his admission that Vilgammula of the Inscription was identical with the Vilgammula of the *Bódhiwansa* he alone can explain, for the *Bodhiwansa* was written, as all are agreed, about the middle of the 14th century, and that is the very period to which the inscription refers.

These are the main propositions to which I am committed, and Mr. Bell's rejoinder has only served to establish them. Seeing the futility of his onslaughts on them, he has turned aside and expended a great deal of learning in discussing some side issues which do not affect the principal question. For instance, he has fastened upon my remark that "there was no Vilgammula Théra in the 15th century" and has devoted pages to an attempt to overthrow it.

It is contended that the Vilgammula, who wrote the *Sanne* to the *Súriya Sataka* and who is referred to in the *Vimutti Sangraha* written in the reign of Vikkrama Báhu III, "was the famous monk who lived in the 15th century."

Now Vikkrama Báhu III died in A.C. 1371 and Parákrama Báhu ascended the throne in 1415 A.C. *Vimutti Sangraha* was written in the 18th year of Vikkrama Báhu III by a pupil of Vilgammula Mahá Sthawira. A work like *Vimutti Sangraha* could not have been the production of a young man. If, therefore, at the time it was written its author was, say, 40 years of age, his teacher Vilgammula was probably not less than 55 years. It is surely very unlikely that a man who was 55 years of age in 1370 would have been alive in 1415, the year when Parákrama Báhu VI became King.

Mr. Bell next challenges my statement that the *Vutta Málá* was not written during the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. Without entering into a lengthy discussion on the point, I will mention one little circumstance that should convince any unprejudiced reader of the soundness of my view.

The *Vutta Málá* is a poem written by a monk called Gatára, invoking blessings on a King called Parákrama Báhu who reigned at Dedigama. The first 17 verses are devoted to a description of Dedigama, which is called the chief city and seat of Government of that King. Verses 18 to 30 contain a eulogy of the King, whose mother's name is given as Sumitta. Parákrama Báhu VI, as is well known, reigned at Kótte which was at the time the most magnificent city in Ceylon. If Parákrama Báhu VI was the subject of the poem, is it likely that the poet would have completely ignored his capital, Kótte, and invested a comparatively unimportant town in a remote province with the importance and dignity of the King's capital?

It is also significant that the name of the mother of Parákrama Báhu of the *Vutta Málá* was Sumitta, but the mother of Parákrama Báhu VI was, as is attested by books as well as inscriptions, Sunetra Dévi. My critics attempt to get over these difficulties by suggesting that Dedigama was probably a sub-capital of Parákrama Báhu VI and Sumitta an alternative name of Sunetra. Arguments such as this can be conveniently urged in support of any theory. There is, in fact, not an iota of evidence which goes to show that the King of Dedigama referred to is identical with Parákrama Báhu VI of Kótte.

I have abundant evidence that *Vutta Málá* was not written in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI, but it is not necessary for my present purpose to discuss that question further.



## Text of the Inscription.

I now proceed to compare the two readings in important particulars and to examine Mr. Bell's rejoinder so far as it relates to them.

Line 3, 4 (Bell and Gunasekara's reading.)

ගහනලා කලමබව දන් පරපුරෙන්

"Of the lineage which dwelt at Gangatala Kalambawa." According to this reading Vilgammala Hierarch was "of the lineage which dwelt at Gangatala Kalambawa." It must strike any one as curious that the name of the lineage should have been omitted and the name given of the village where that lineage dwelt. Dharmaráma's reading is ගහනලා කරබවලාන් which, interpreted, means "of the lineage of Gangatala Karambawalán." It is futile to deny that the latter is the more rational reading, especially when it is remembered that Gangatala Karambawalán was the name of the lineage from which Vilgammala Hierarch had sprung.

Mr. Bell's remarks on this point are not easy to follow and partake somewhat of the nature of a quibble. They seem partly to admit the error and partly to justify their reading and are as follows:—

"The editors originally read (as their draft shows) the more tempting ගහනලා කලමබවලාන්, but decided, may be unwisely, to resolve the heavy sesquipedalian into a simpler and intelligible combination of adjective, noun and verb. Dharmaráma's version, taking over the long compound from the colophon of the *Elu Bódhiwansa*, has followed the incorrect spelling with maha උ instead of the *sannaka උ* (වලාන්) of the Inscription."

It is amusing to be told that ගහනලා කලමබවලාන් is a combination of an adjective, noun and verb and, when resolved into its component parts, becomes ගහනලා කලමබවදන්. Now would Mr. Bell be so good as to point out the adjective, noun and verb which form this compound? I must confess that I fail to recognize them and I learn for the first time, with no little surprise, that there are Sinhalese compounds made up of an adjective, noun and verb. But the most extraordinary part of this extraordinary note is the assumption that Dharmaráma, misled by the *Bódhiwansa*, has spelt වලාන් with maha උ instead of the correct *sannaka උ*. Fancy Dharmaráma being misled by the printed *Bódhiwansa* in his spelling of a word which, as any boy of the 4th Standard in a Vernacular School would tell you, is a compound of වල and දන් and should, therefore, be written වලාන්, and not වලාන් as Mr. Bell and his learned colleague would have it.

Line 4, 5 Messrs. Bell and Gunasekara = ශ්‍රීවන්ත

Dharmaráma = සාතින්ත

Mr. Bell says "the wish to bring the epithet of Vilgammala Mahá Théro into line with the *Elu Bódhiwansa* has probably fathered the thought of the reading සාතින්ත, for ශ්‍රීවන්ත are indubitably the four letters on the stone."

With all due deference to Mr. Bell, I repeat that the four letters on the stone are not ශ්‍රීවන්ත, but සාතින්ත. Mr. Bell's reading suffers, besides, from the inherent defect that ශ්‍රීවන්ත is a word which occurs nowhere in the Sinhalese language. It is unthinkable that, at a time when the language was in a state of unusual purity, a word for which there is no respectable authority would have been used in an inscription of a great Vihára. I should be very grateful if Mr. Bell or Mudaliyar Gunasekara would kindly name any standard work in which this word ශ්‍රීවන්ත is to be met with.



Line 6—9. Bell and Gunasekara's version :—

කිත්සිරිමෙ රජයෙ පවත්නන් පරම්පරාවෙන් හා බිඤ්ඤ පරම්පරාවෙන් දස පරම්පරාවක් එක් සන්නිවේදන පැවත ඇත.

**Translation** :—"Which was maintained continuously for ten generations of the lineage which originated with King Kitsiri Mé and that of his relations."

Dharmaráma's version :—

කිත්සිරිමෙ රජයෙ පවත්නු ලබන පරම්පරාවෙන් හා බිඤ්ඤ පරම්පරාවෙන් දස පරම්පරාවක් එක්සන්නිවේදන පැවත ඇත.

**Translation** :—"Which had continued to be in charge of one family of kindred succession and sacerdotal succession for ten generations since the reign of King Kitsiri Mewan of old."

The correctness of Dharmaráma's reading is not seriously questioned by Mr. Bell and should appear to any one free from bias to be self-evident. The other reading, according to which the Vihāra was maintained by a lineage which originated with King Kitsiri Mé *and that of his relations*, is, apart from other considerations, neither plausible nor intelligible.

Line 24, 25. නවකුලක් සත් මහ බොධි කොටුව මුලපවන් කරවා.

**Translation** :—"Having had built seven walls round the great bo-tree."

Seven walls around a bo-tree would have been a singular spectacle and certain to arrest attention, for nowhere else had a bo-tree received so conspicuous a mark of honour, and even the most venerated tree in the Island, that at Anurádhapura, had only one wall around it. If, therefore, seven walls had existed around the bo-tree of the Kitsiri Mé Kelani Vihāra, it is, to say the least, strange that the fact should have found no mention in any of the works which describe the Vihāra, and stranger still that it has not survived in tradition. The walls of the Vihāra were rebuilt only about 500 years ago, but no remains of any such walls have been discovered. Without wasting any more words on the point, I give below the High Priest's reading with my translation; and let the reader judge between the two readings :

නවකුලක් අත්<sup>1</sup>මහ බොධිකොටුව මුලපවන් කරවා.

**Translation** :—"Having built from the foundation an enclosure 79 cubits in circumference round the great bo-tree."

### Concluding Remarks.

The history of this controversy is not without interest. In his Archæological Reports Mr. Bell had propounded the view that Nissanka Alakésvara, who was Prime Minister of Vikrama Báhu III, about the middle of the 14th century, was a Dravidian from India. This view rested on evidence so slender and the Alakésvara family was one of such long-standing in the Island that I and others refused to accept it.

The Kitsirimewan Kelaniya Inscription has since been found to afford evidence conclusively fatal to it. The Inscription, which is dated A. B. 1876 (A. C. 1333) (according to Mr. Bell's reading A. B. 1887 or A. C. 1344) speaks of an Alakésvara who was a descendant in the tenth generation from Nissanka Alakésvara of old. Mr. Bell has attempted to explain this away by suggesting, in the first place, that the inscription had been antedated by a century.

1. අත් and 80½ are misprints.



Here, again, a fresh difficulty confronts him, for he realizes that, "if the Nissanka Alagakkónára of the Kelaniya Inscription was the tenth in the direct line of descent in B. V. 1887, the first member of the family must be carried back 300 years earlier, allotting three generations to a century ;" or, in plainer words, if Nissanka Alakésvara, who admittedly flourished about the middle of the 14th century, was a Dravidian and the founder of the family in Ceylon, there manifestly could not have been his descendant in the tenth generation in 1444.

Mr. Bell, therefore, indulges in a bit of uncommonly bold speculation, and interprets the words "the tenth in succession of the lineage of the great Nissanka Alagakkónára" to mean "the tenth successive member of the Alagakkónára ilk in name (not generation)."

He seeks confirmation of this theory in the *Saddharmaratnākara* which, he says, records that 7 members of this family had lived and died before Parākrama Báhu VI assumed the sovereignty in A. C. 1415. I cannot find any such statement in that work, which mentions only one descendant of the lineage of the Prime Minister Alakésvara, and that is Kumára Alakésvara.

The other names mentioned in the rejoinder are Vira Alakésvara, Vira Báhu Epá, Vijaya Báhu, Tuneyasa, Parākrama Báhu Epá, but these were all members of the Mehenavara (not Alakésvara) family. The first three were related to Nissanka Alakésvara, but in no sense could they be described as "successive members of the Alagakkónára ilk in name."

This is by no means the last of the difficulties in which Mr. Bell has entangled himself by assigning the inscription to the 15th century. Here is another. The inscription was made at the instance of a hierarch named Vilgammula of Gangatala Karambawalan ; but there was no hierarch of that name in the 15th century. An attempt was, therefore, made to identify the Vilgammula of the *Vutta málá* with the Vilgammula of the inscription, but wiser counsels have prevailed and the attempt abandoned.

Here for the present I leave the subject, and I may say, without vanity, that my position so far has not been shaken by my critics.

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## II. By W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, MUDALIYAR.

**I** make no apology for making my contribution to this discussion if only in acknowledgment of a compliment paid to myself by a reference to my name.

According to Messrs. Bell and Gunasekara (*Cey. Antiq.*, Vol. I, Part III), the Inscription is dated 1887 A.B. = 1344 A.C. According to High Priest Dharmaráma's reading, which is put forward by Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, (Vol. II, Part III), it is dated A.B. 1876 = 1333 A.C. The facial difference of date between the two readings is therefore a matter of only 11 years, and if that was all, there perhaps would not have been much controversy.

But Messrs. Bell and Gunasekara, the editors of the Inscription, have advanced a theory that the date 1887 A.B. is a mistake for 1987 A.B., and that the Inscription must be assigned, not to the date it bears, but to the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI, a hundred years later. They say that two of the historical characters appearing in the Inscription belonged, not to the 14th, but to the 15th century, and they assert that the script and style of the Inscription also belong to the latter period. Hence their conclusion that the stone-mason made a bungle of the date.



This bungle unfortunately extends, not to a single letter or a single figure of notation, which would have been conceivable, but to a whole word, substituting in place of ௯ (nine), the word ௮ (eight), quite apart from the copy and entirely from the mason's own resources. It, therefore, becomes a remarkable case of a slip in stone-masonry, rendered still more remarkable by the easy acquiescence of those responsible for the record, who saw nothing very much in a discrepancy of just a hundred years, and set up the mason's work to perpetuate history. Now let us see the grounds on which the contention is put forward. The editors say (Vol. I, Part III):—

"Moreover, in A.C. 1343-4, Nissanka Alakésvara or Alagakkónár had not risen to greatness,—was but starting on his subsequent brilliant career as Prime Minister to successive Kings; and it is he who is referred to in the inscription as the first member of the family."

The crux of the argument arises from the proposition enunciated in the concluding statement in the above passage. Was Alagakkónár, the brilliant Prime Minister of historic fame, the first member of his family in Ceylon? The present inscription speaks of the restoration works at the Kelaniya temple, and says that they were carried out under the patronage of the noble Minister Alagakkónár of the tenth generation in descent from the great Minister Nissanka Alagakkónár come of the distinguished line of Vanchi. Not a word here to identify either the original ancestor or his descendant in the tenth generation with any particular person. Only the descendant in the tenth generation is the person complementarily referred to as the patron of the works, and it is with him and his generation that the Inscription is associated in point of date.

Now, who is this Alagakkónár, this eminent representative of the family in the tenth generation? We find that King Vikrama Báhu III ascended the throne in the year 1357 A.C., and, according to our chronicles, the most striking figure in his reign was Alagakkónár the Great, already a *Prabhurāja* or Viceroy. It will be admitted that Viceroyalty is the highest rung of the ladder in the service of the State, and that before a person could attain to that eminent position, he ought to have served as a trusted servant of the Crown for a considerable part of his life.

Is it, therefore, extravagant to suppose that Alagakkónár must have served as an ordinary Minister for at least twenty years before he became Viceroy? If the supposition is reasonable, then we find that he was easily a Minister thirteen years before, i.e. in 1344 A.C., the date of this Inscription. In that year, according to Ibn Batuta's statement stripped of its trappings, the Dissáwa or governor at Kurunégala was a Conar, who had lately succeeded his father in office, and whom Ibn Batuta took to be the King;<sup>2</sup> and *mirabile dictu*, the editors of the present Inscription themselves inform us that, in 1344, Alagakkónár, the *Prabhurāja*, was a young officer of the Crown, but just "starting on his subsequent brilliant career."

What then is the inevitable conclusion but that the Alagakkónár referred to here in 1344 as the patron of the restoration works at Kelaniya, was the same as the Conar of Ibn Batuta and the Alagakkónár who in 1344 was starting on his subsequent brilliant career as Prime Minister to successive Kings? If the conclusion is sound, then it follows that the date of the Inscription as borne on its face, is perfectly sound, and that the person referred to as Alagakkónár of the tenth generation is the brilliant *Prabhurāja* of that name. But Mr. Bell may ask where is mention made of the other nine generations? To that the answer seems to be that that must be looked for in the same pages of the dim past where this very man's name is enshrouded before he forced his way into the pages of history.

2. Mr. Bell contends that by Conar, Ibn Batuta meant King. In that case, the eminent traveller would never have said that he, the King, was called Conar: because that would be equal to saying that the King was called King.



Another objection had reference to Vilgammula Mahá Swámi. The restoration works referred to had been carried out under his direction, and it was contended by the two editors that there was no definite mention of such a person at this period, and therefore none could have existed. The inference would have been bad in any case; but Mudaliyar de Silva pointed out that, as a matter of fact, there was definite mention. Thereupon, the objection has been withdrawn—at least seemingly so (Vol. II, Part III); and attention is here called to the matter simply to shew how the supports on which the two editors rest their theory disappear one after another.

Now remain the two epigraphical objections to be considered. It is contended that the writing on the Inscription, being small, must belong, not to the 14th, but to the 15th century. It is a contention difficult to understand. One would have thought that the size of letters in an inscription ought to be regulated, not by its era, but by considerations of space and the quantity of matter to be got in. Anyway, it is plain on examination that the script on admitted inscriptions of the 15th century, which Mr. Bell has recommended for comparison, can, with some difficulty, be read by a man of average education at the present day, while the script on this particular Inscription is much harder to read, the form of the letters being a great deal more archaic. This is a point which appeals to the direct evidence of the eyes, and, therefore, admits of no disputation.

The last objection is on the style. What is meant by style here is the inclusion in an inscription of sundry imprecations against disturbers of the endowment, who may be born by such sacrilege as crows and dogs hereafter, and giving the figures of a crow and a dog, to give vividness to the possible consequence. It would seem that this style is frequent in inscriptions of the 15th century, from which Mr. Bell draws the conclusion that it cannot occur in one of the 14th. Of course the deduction is logically unsound, unless we assume as a parallel case that a thing which exists today could not have existed yesterday.

So far, I have dealt with the main point of the controversy, and, I think, it must be now tolerably plain that the Inscription must be assigned to the date it bears on the face of it, viz. A.C. 1344, the first year of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV.<sup>3</sup>

A great many incidental questions have also been raised by Mr. Bell in the course of his argument. Though on some of these he conveys a large amount of valuable information, on some he would seem to be at fault. It is not correct to say, for instance, that Vanchi, the original home of the Alagakkónárs, as we now learn from this Inscription, is the same as Káncí, the ancient capital of Chóla. Vanchi was the capital of Chéra, a different kingdom; and as coming from Vanchi it would appear that the Alagakkónárs were by origin not Chólians, but Chérans, some of whom are said to be the Cochins of the present day.

King Parákrama Báhu VI reigned at Kótte, and he was the son of a Princess named Sunétra Dévi. A Parákrama Báhu appears in the *Vutta Málá* as reigning at Dedigama, and his mother's name was Sumitrá Dévi. Yet, because the names of the two sovereigns are identical, Mr. Bell assumes that they were one and the same person. That the two capitals were different he allows; but as a similar admission cannot be made in favour of two mothers for the same individual, he says that the two royal ladies were one and the same person going by two different names. Such speculations cannot surely be proper material for history!

In an article on Parákrama Báhu VI, published in this Magazine (Vol. I, pp. 48-63), I made an attempt to shew how the history of this period, which certainly has been full of difficulties

3. Compare Lankátīlaka and Gadālādeniya Inscriptions, quoted by Mr. Bell in *Cey. Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 60, foot-note.



always, might be read by a reasonable mind, without the aid of violent assumptions and other extravagancies of thought, and yet to yield a connected view of events in their natural sequence. Mr. Bell, who presumably passed that article as an Editor of this Magazine, disagreed with me in regard to a date, and took care to say so in a foot-note, quoting his authority which I accept with thanks ; but with regard to all the rest of the article, running into some sixteen pages, he allowed it to go out to his readers as a sober study in history.

In the present controversy, however, he, having occasion to refer to it, calls it an ingenious romance. Evidently he has been greatly struck with the new light in which long misunderstood history has been presented. This, however, only by the way. Now to resume. Mr. Bell writes :— "If the Mudaliyar (i.e. Mudaliyar Simon de Silva) wishes to persist in his contention that the *Vutta Málá*, does not belong to the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI, he must be prepared to fly at higher game than the editors of the Kelaniya Inscription, and go in the teeth of internal evidence deduced both from that poem and the *Tisara Sandésaya*."

Yet one part of the internal evidence is that the King was the son of Sumitrá Dévi, who cannot be converted into a son of Sunétrá Dévi without a violent assumption ; and the rest of the internal evidence consists of a number of names of Buddhist Monks who graced the capital of Parákrama Báhu of Dedigama just a year or two before his rival, Parákrama Báhu VI, came to the throne. No wonder if these worthies of the Church continued to live in the latter reign.

The external evidence apparently consists of the opinion of Professor Wickremasinghe that the *Vutta Málá* was written in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI, and the opinion of the late Hon. Mr. James de Alwis that the *Tisara Sandésaya* was produced about the middle of the 15th century. Mr. de Alwis was only a pioneer in these researches, doing his best in the little dim light available in his day. Professor Wickremasinghe expressed his opinion at a time when Parákrama Báhu of Dedigama had not been thought of as a separate entity, and when his personality and fortunes were still confused with those of his supplanter Parákrama Báhu VI. Both these eminent scholars, therefore, can well be excused for assigning the two poems referred to, to the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI, which they did according to the best of their lights.

But now that better light on the subject is available, Mr. Bell has no excuse for perpetuating the confusion. Although he is in good company, it still remains that the evidence in favour of the *Vutta Málá* or of the *Tisara Sandésaya* having been produced in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI is *nil*. *Per contra*, the internal evidence is conclusive, that they were both written in the reign of Parákrama Báhu of Dedigama, according to all indications the Prince who immediately preceded the other.

In explaining the name Sarógáma-Múla, Mr. Bell seems to make out that the compound word *sarógáma* consists in Pali of two single elements *saró* (lake), and *samágama* (fraternity). Mr. Bell has fallen into some confusion here. There is no *samágama* in the case, the two elements of the compound being *saró* (lake), and *gáma* (village), the whole meaning lake-village, i.e. village by the lake.

The translation of the inscription furnished by the two editors is well worth a passing notice. There we find that Vilgammula Maha Himi caused repairs to be effected to the Kit Siri Mewan Kelani Viháraya, which was maintained continuously for ten generations "of the lineage which originated with King Kit Siri Mé and that of his relations." A lineage originating with a King and "that of his relations," is difficult to understand. The meaning of the passage, according to the text, seems to be that the Hierarch named caused repairs to be effected to the



Viháraya "which had come down (with regard to its incumbency) in one line of succession of Kinsmen, agnate (අග්නි) and cognate (බන්ධු), for ten generations, from the reign of Kirtti Sri Méghavarna."

In one place we are informed of seven walls built round the Bó-tree. As the idea is new to me, I looked up the text. There, I regret to say, I find no mention of seven walls. Instead, I find a single wall of seventy-nine cubits mentioned in language which requires some expert knowledge to understand. I give the passage for clearness sake :—නව කුලක් අත් මහෙබාහි කොටුව මුල පටන් කරවා—“having caused the parapet round the great Bó, (which parapet is) seventy-nine cubits (round), to be put up entirely anew.” Here නව කුලක් අත් are the words for seventy-nine cubits; and of these words, the translator entirely omits නව කුලක් (seventy-nine), and in place of the remaining word අත් (cubits), the editors have සත් (seven), thus leading to the seven walls.

One more instance. In the version of the text originally published, Alagakkónár was mentioned in the feminine gender and translated to be his wife. In a second and revised version, he was restored to the masculine gender, but for some reason which I cannot imagine, he is still made, in the translation, to stand for his consort. I have shewn elsewhere how he has been made in one place to be his own ancestor of the 10th generation back, and here he is made to appear in the role of his own spouse. This is really too hard!

These are some of the peculiarities of this short but interesting translation, on which the editors, however, must be given credit for having done their best. Their article, though marred by defects of the kind pointed out, is a valuable contribution to our historical literature. It has already aroused a large amount of interest, and this is bound to lead to very important results. They have, therefore, done a valuable service.

I wish also to mention that, though I have disagreed with these two gentlemen in some respects, it does not follow that I am in full agreement with Mudaliyar Simon de Silva either, or with High Priest Dharmaráma. But between the two translations and the two interpretations, I consider those by the latter two scholars as free from serious blunders, as giving so far the best idea of the substance of the original, and as having the merit of fully preserving the historical value of the Inscription as a record of the fourteenth century. In regard to essentials, therefore, I agree with these two scholars.

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[Note by Ed., "C. A." :—With their Paper on "*Kelani Vihárá and its Inscriptions*," and the Rejoinder to a Critique thereon, accepted for *The Ceylon Antiquary*, Mr. H. C. P. Bell and A. Mendis Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, so far as they are concerned, have closed connection with the subject.

They write :—"The generous offer by the Editors of '*The Ceylon Antiquary*' to permit perusal, prior to publication, of any subsequent contributions by others, in view to inducing possible reply, whilst fully appreciated by us, is courteously declined, with most cordial thanks :  
*Occidit miseros crambe repétita magistros.*" ]



## SOME SINHALESE FOLKLORE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE following notes on old customs, manners, sayings and other lore of Sinhalese villagers of the past were given me by Mr. George Weerakón, late Mudaliyar of the Wellaboda Pattu of the Mátara District, and later a Gamsabháwa President of the Western Province. [He is referred to subsequently as the narrator.]

### FOLKLORE.

As Mátara is celebrated for its learning and Kalutara for the salubrity of its climate, so that there is a saying.—කළුතර ලපදින්නට මාතර ඇතිවෙන්නට (*Kalutara upadin̄at Mátara etiwen̄at*), which may be freely rendered "Try and be born at Kalutara and reared at Mátara,"<sup>1</sup> so were Tumpane and the Morowa Korale noted for simpletons. The stock of anecdotes illustrating this reputation of the two divisions—both of them on the borders of the hill country,—is almost inexhaustible. Here are two.—

(1) **An Attempt to Steal a Well.**—A party of men while on a journey, feeling thirsty, stopped at a house by the wayside to get something to quench their thirst. The grown-up people of the house happened to be away, but a little boy, mistaking it for the pitcher of water, produced for their refreshment a pot full of sweet toddy (*telijja*). The tired travellers soon drained the pot and went on their way, but they were so struck with the excellence of this "water" that they took care before leaving to ascertain the exact position of the well from which they supposed it had been drawn. In the middle of the night there was a great commotion in the village such as is caused by the barking of dogs and the noises of the farm-yard on the arrival of strangers. The neighbours carrying torches and armed with weapons of sorts hurried to the scene of the disturbance, which was found to be the house by the way-side which had that day received the visit of travellers. As they neared it glimpses were caught by some of thieves hurriedly retreating into the darkness—enough, however, to show that they were no other than the visitors of the morning. Further investigation proved that when disturbed they had been busily endeavouring to dig up the well from which they supposed that the sweet water, which had regaled them during the heat of the day, had been drawn.<sup>2</sup> There was plenty of evidence that this was their intention, for there was the trench dug deep round the well but all unfinished, and also coils of very thick rope and the pingo poles, wherewith to carry it away when detached from the soil.

(2) **Everyone Has His Double.**—Our ancestors, they say, were a contented folk. Their wants were few; paddy-field or chena supplied them with all the food they required. These they cultivated themselves and raised both grain and vegetables. The cotton they required for their scanty attire they obtained by sowing the contents of a few pods among the miscellaneous cereals

1. A variant is: කළුතර ලපදින්නට මාතර ඉගෙනෙන්නට ඇත්තම මිදු = To be born at Kalutara and educated at Mátara is the best fate a man can desire.

2. "They called it *limonade* in Rallyhooly.



that occupied the greater part of the chenas. The village tank conveniently dried up just after the harvest and thus provided them with plenty of fish for a time. Just before the approach of the *Kono* (their Christmas) a hunt in the neighbouring forest afforded them venison and other game.

There was only one thing that made it necessary for them to leave their own country and go a travelling, and that was—salt. It was a necessity and it could be obtained at the *lewáys* only; so, but at long intervals, a journey thither was sometimes unavoidable. Between these journeys the salt was stored in vessels made of the outer case of the fruit of the water-melon (*labu-gedi*) which had been properly dried after the removal of the pith, and in this condition resembled huge bottles. The *kaḍe* or boutique was unknown, for this was at a time before the advent of the now ubiquitous Tamby. The earlier Tamby, by the way, did not keep a shop, but was a pedlar, or, as the Sinhalese call him, a trafficker in "the Three and Five" (*tuna-paha*), by which numerical symbol is meant to denote chillies, salt and such wares as I suppose are not beyond the compass or purchasing power of three or five *tuffu* or *challies*.

It happened that the men, then, of a certain village, which may have been in Morowa Korale or in Tumpane (which would involve a journey either to Hambantota or to Puttalam), were about to start on one of these periodical pilgrimages in quest of salt. Everything was ready for the start, and the only difficulty was the route about which, owing to the long periods which elapsed between these journeys, none of them felt very certain. A happy thought, however, occurred to them. They would get a buffalo which had come on the last *tavalam*<sup>3</sup>—from Hambantota or Puttalam, whichever it was—to their country and was still in the village and let it go ahead of their caravan and lead the way. So in this order the caravan started, the *tavalam* cattle following the guide buffalo which was allowed to wander ahead and select its own route, and the salt seekers behind confident in its capacity to select the right one.

Roads, of course, there were none. Thus they wandered up hill and down dale until dusk, when a halt was made not far from a *gammāna* or group of houses. The cattle were relieved of their loads and tethered, and the men busied themselves in making fires and drawing water for the evening meal. Meanwhile, some village urchins, attracted by the new arrivals, made their appearance and straightway ran off "to lisp their sires' return" to their mothers; for "*Eka wage ḡttó kotana neddae*"—"Where are there not people who are alike in feature?" The women did not keep this saying in mind either, for they very soon treated the strangers not as if they were their husbands' doubles, but as if they were their husbands, *in propria persona*.

[*Note*.—I am bound to say that this story does not seem to be intended so much to be an illustration of the stupidity of Morowa Korale or Tumpane bumpkins as to be a satire on the easy morals of the primitive villager of both sexes. The women, though they might have called to mind this saying and so exercised some caution, ignored it and did not see double or rather doubles at a critical moment. As to the conduct of the men, simplicity is hardly the word one would select in describing its chief characteristic. Perhaps it is the children who are held up to ridicule. They should not have been deceived even in the dusk.]

Perhaps some of the readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* can contribute more of these "Gotham" stories if they are so abundant.

I am also indebted to Mr. Weerakón for the following :—

3. Caravan of carriage oxen laden with merchandise.



## LEGENDS OF PLACES.

The section of table-land that now constitutes the Sanitarium of Nuwara Eliya was almost *terra incognita* until the advent of the Englishman. The site of the present town at any rate must have been unknown, for no mention of it or of any spot presenting its peculiar features is made anywhere in ancient Sinhalese literature. Nor have any ruins of religious or secular buildings been found there. The lower ranges of these mountains, however, teem with legends that carry us back to remote ages. The Talagala Oya divides the Pattu of Kotmale (Uda and Pallé Kotmale and Pallé Bulatgama) from that of Walapane. But while the former Pattu is one of the healthiest in the Island, the latter had such a bad reputation on account of its arid climate that, under the ancient sovereigns, it was a sort of Siberia to which obnoxious persons and offenders of all sorts were banished to die.

Sitá Eliya is named after the beautiful consort of Rāma, who was hidden here by her ravisher, Rāvaná, King of Ceylon. Rāvaná Kotté (Great Besses) at Kirinda, in the Hambantota District, was Rāvaná's stronghold.\* After Rāma had besieged Rāvaná for twelve years, finally killing him in battle, he carried Sitá back to his dominions, from a place called Uda Rēkētipé. The explanation of this name is that some great personage, probably a king, kept watch here for game for a *pēya*, thus *rēka-hiṭiya-pēya*.<sup>5</sup>

Another king, fleeing for his life and in disguise, was denied shelter at Wellagiriya by some inhospitable person. But the churlishness of this person cost him his life, and, moreover, brought him to a dreadful death, for he was condemned to be choked with sand, which is plentiful there. Hence the name—*wella* means "sand" and *giriya*, "throat."

Hanguranketa is "the field of hidden gold." Some say that the field was dedicated to the priesthood and hence the name. Strangely enough, it is still widely believed that the founder of a well-known Low-country Sinhalese family who had bought the surrounding land found buried treasure there, and this started the affluence which it has since enjoyed.

The inhabited portion of ancient Kotmale must have been a comparatively small area, and the rest of it—as far as Siripáda Aḍawiya or Adam's Peak—must have been primeval forest. It is now tea estates. Tradition credits Kotmale with having been the site of the residence in the second century B.C. of Ğemunu—and troublous times they were that he lived in. No one knew anything of him beyond the fact that he was the protégé of an ordinary villager, who apparently played the part of Laban to his Jacob. It is said elsewhere of Ğemunu that he had incurred the displeasure of his father and had also quarrelled with his brother. Unlike his model, who had only to mind his father-in-law's sheep, our Jacob did really work hard in paddy-field and distant chena. He also distinguished himself in hunting in the vast forest or in fishing in the dangerous river—the Mahaweliganga, and was a favourite among the village youths, and the village people generally.

There is a story that one day at a villager's house he was entertained to a frugal meal of *alussal* (broken rice made into a sort of pulp). Being apparently very hungry, he was attacking the food "unmethodically," and this attracted the attention of the good woman of the house who seems to have been of a sarcastic turn.

4. "The Great Besses are what is left of this city; the golden twilight seen there of an evening is the reflection of the brazen roofs of the submerged city." A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folklore Notes*, p. 1.

5. These are instances of "folk-etymology." I should rather say that the termination *-pē* meant "a grove" or "shrine," and that *-giriya* meant "a hill" or "mountain," as in Hunnasgiriya, Asgiriya and many instances.



"Son," she remarked, "you should deal with your food in the same way as the Prince Gëmunu would fight the Demalās" (the forces of Elāla).

"In what way?" he inquired.

"You should make small balls of the rice, place them round the plate to cool, and then eat them one after the other."

"But you spoke about fighting," said he, "what about that?"

"Why, instead of subduing one stronghold at a time, our king should dare to meet the combined forces of the enemy at once."

It is said that this suggestion of a country-woman set him thinking and ultimately was acted upon by him, with the result that he defeated the formidable army of Elāla. His hostess, too, was not forgotten by him and was suitably rewarded.

In the possession of a Kotmale family are some heirlooms—gold, silver and brassware—which are believed to be royal gifts—gifts to it from King Gëmunu. The narrator, who has seen these heirlooms himself, remarks that "whether the Rachel of that time had any hand in the bestowal of these gifts it is too delicate a matter to inquire."

#### "BANDANE" OR CHARMS.

In the *Paravi Sandesa* or "Message by a Pigeon," of Toṭagamuwa, reference is made to a *bandane* or charm, whereby he obtained the favour of the god Skanda. That Toṭagamuwa was one of the most celebrated poets of his age is undisputed, though in this unenlightened age few would attribute his erudition to the evil one.

Formerly both gods and demons were amenable to charms, and by their means could be induced not merely to perform extraordinary feats, but also to relieve mankind of every-day drudgery. With their help too, thus procured, the juggler was able to turn sand into sugar, pebbles into rupees, and to make the stone of a mango tree grow, blossom and fructify before your eyes. All these abnormal powers are ascribed to *esbendum* or "eye-charms."

Galgama, of Dondra fame, is said to have had as many demons to serve him as slaves. On account of his unbearable tyranny these unhappy domestic demons formed a project of drowning him in the sea. Fortunately for him, when nearing the sea, the cool air awoke him, and the demons then told him that they were carrying him to Mecca for his devotions. With this answer he was satisfied; and as it was for him apparently an every-day occurrence to be carried to Mecca in this way, he was able to keep the situation well in hand.

Another tradition credits Wettëwa, also a poet, with having been to Mecca, but does not explain how he got there. But it is stated that, possibly *en route*, having been shown a coffin in the air, he bade his attendant unfurl his talipot umbrella, with the result that this coffin, masquerading as an aeroplane, dashed itself first on one wall and then on another, according as the talipot was waved. No doubt, finally, it "nose dived and crashed."

It is curious that, in these two stories, Mahommedanism should be seen to have had some influence on Sinhalese folklore. The narrator asks whether some of the Sinhalese were ever at any time votaries of the Prophet, and remarks that there are Sinhalese still at Colombo who make vows at Dawatagaha Mosque in the Cinnamon Gardens.



Buddhists may resort to gods or demons for help. (See the *Soka salla-sarana suttra*.)

There are *Gewala Yakku* or House Demons, who at one particular house molest the inmates, and at another bestow favours on them. In order to propitiate them and avert evil from the house, their votaries place apart on a shelf or loft for a while the first spoonful of rice or other food before they partake of any of it themselves.

Once upon a time a *kaṭṭāndiyā* or devil-priest had a malignant she-demon attending on his young wife. This demoness, in the guise of a maid-servant, used to attend to all the domestic work, pounding rice, fetching wood and water, etc. One day, in the absence of the *kaṭṭāndiyā*,<sup>6</sup> the demoness put down the bundle of firewood she was carrying, and pretending to be in terrible pain, complained that a thorn had struck in her head while she was collecting the firewood. Her unsuspecting mistress extracted it at once, whereupon the demoness at once resumed her devilish powers which had been long in abeyance owing to the spell (*bandanē*) put upon her, the secret of which was known only to the *kaṭṭāndiyā*. The demoness, thus released from it, instantly pounced on the unfortunate mistress, who happened to be in the family way, and danced a demoniac dance around her, making a *paṇḍuwa* (ball to play with) of the unborn child. This was the ghastly spectacle that met the eyes of the husband as, returning from his journey, he crossed the stile into his compound.

This too, it may be added, was the result of having for a lady help, a domestic demoness.

#### APPENDIX.

*Unlucky Days.*—These are Tuesday, Friday and Saturday. Nothing done on these days will be attended with success. Bathing on Tuesdays, Fridays or Sundays is strictly prohibited. A person who bathes on a Friday or Sunday will never be blessed with sons. If a person is taken ill after bathing on a Tuesday, he will not recover or his recovery will be very tedious and protracted.

*Omens.*—If a person stumbles against something or is interrogated as to his destination at the outset of a journey, he is doomed to meet with disappointment.

If a person, while consulting a *Vedarāla* about a patient, keeps on digging his toe into the ground or scratching his head, the patient will not recover. If the patient is an imaginary one the consequences of bad omens to the person who consults the *Vedarāla* will be very serious, witness the following :—

A certain person who had no faith at all in these omens had a consultation with a *Vedarāla* about an imaginary patient. The *Vedarāla*, judging from the omens, told the man that there was not the slightest hope of the patient's recovery. The man went home in triumph and told his friends what he had done. An hour or two afterwards he went into his garden with his knife to cut a plantain leaf. As the leaf he wanted to cut was beyond his reach, he threw the knife against it, which, on its rebound, came down on his tongue (the man happened to have his mouth open at the time) and cut it through and thus caused his death.

If you sneeze through your right nostril some one is speaking well of you, while the reverse is the case if you sneeze through the left.

The howling of dogs at night is supposed to be due to the presence of ghosts or evil spirits, whose appearance always frightens dogs. If a dog digs the ground with his paw, it is a sure sign that one of the members of the family of the owner will be laid in his grave ere long.

The cawing of a crow sitting on the house-top announces that a message of good news is nigh at hand.

If a crow entering in at one door of a house flies out at the other, some one in the house will have to leave it soon.

6. Or *Kattāndiyā*, the Tamil form being *Kaddādi*.



If a cat is seen washing herself, a guest will arrive in a few hours' time.

Birds of ill-omen are the black crane, <sup>7</sup> the magpie.

If a black crane utters its peculiar cry whilst flying over a house at night, the inmates will hear of the death of a friend or relative at no distant date. If magpies frequent a house the death of some one in the house may be expected; the same if a magpie utters its shrill cry while sitting on the withered branch of a tree in front of a house. <sup>8</sup>

*Folk-phraseology as to Small-pox.*—Buddhists exercise a good deal of reserve when they speak either of small-pox or small-pox patients. Small-pox is never termed *maha leḍa*, the usual term for it, but *maha berikama*.<sup>9</sup> A small-pox patient is never spoken of as *leḍā*, "the patient," but dignified with the title of *unnānse*, a term applied to Buddhist priests and those holding high office. A patient is said to have conquered, *dīnuwā*, instead of recovered. The death of a patient is termed, not *marané* but *apat wima*, "passing away." (*St. Thomas's College Magazine*, 1883.)

7. By the "black crane," I presume, is meant the *kana kōka* of the Sinhalese. See my notes on "Folklore of Animal among Sinhalese and Tamils," *Cey. Antiq.*, Vol. ii, Pt. iv, pp. 236-9, J. P. L.

8. Portents from the magpie, recognised by the Sinhalese, have not been reduced to such precise formulae as in England where we have

"One for sorrow,  
Two for mirth,  
Three for a wedding,  
Four for a birth."

*Query.*—Is it the same magpie? I regret to say that I do not know whether the magpie of Europe is found in the tropical East or not. I have never seen one in Ceylon, so far as I can recollect. J. P. L.

9. *Le.*, when it is spoken of in the abstract, and not as a present and unpleasant reality. This, at least, I take to be the writer's meaning. J. P. L.





## THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By THE REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Continued from Vol. III, Pt. I, Page 35).

### VI.

#### THE MISSION OF JAFNAPATAŌ—1623-1658.

THE Catholic Church in Jaffna has a long and eventful history<sup>152</sup> going back to the early days of the Portuguese conquests; and the Missionaries of the Order of St. Francis rightly claim the honour, as they bore the perils, of planting the Christian faith in the Northern peninsula.

It is true that St. Francis Xavier was brought in frequent contact with Jaffna affairs, and even played therein a role which has disconcerted some writers, but the efforts of the great missionary Saint were frustrated in the fashion already described.<sup>153</sup>

Since his time the Society of Jesus played no part in the toilsome apostolate of Northern Ceylon till the end of 1622, when the pioneer work was fairly over, and the establishment of Portuguese rule held the door open to Portuguese Missionaries. Nevertheless, some writers<sup>154</sup> credited the Jesuits with a Mission in Jaffnapatam before that date, but this statement finds no support from the records of the Society.

Jaffna, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa, are indeed mentioned<sup>155</sup> as part of the missionary field entrusted to the Jesuits in 1602, but no steps were taken, either at that time or at any other prior to 1622, to evangelise those parts of the island; and it is probably the presence and labours of the Jesuits in Mannar that misled these writers into the belief that the Jesuits were in Jaffna before 1622.

Father Melchior Nunez, who visited<sup>156</sup> Ceylon in 1566, has left the following impressions on record:<sup>157</sup>

152. Cf. First Report of the Vicariate Apostolic of Jaffna for the year 1850. (Madras, 1851). The First Centenary of the Dedication of the Jaffna Cathedral; translated from the Tamil by John Henry Wittebron. (Colombo, 1906).

153. *Ceylon Antiquary*, I, pp. 220-221.

154. Courtenay. (*Hist. de Chris. à Ceylan*, p. 231), says that a Jesuit, Anthony de Quadros, accompanied Don Constantine to Jaffna in 1560. But de Couto, who mentions the Bishop and the Franciscans who were with D. Constantine, does not mention any Jesuits (*J. C. B. R. A. S.*, 60, pp. 183, 188.) De Couto names him (Antonio de Quadros) as one of the theologians summoned to the Council held in Goa to discuss whether it was lawful to sell the tooth relic taken in Jaffna, to the king of Pegu, (*ib.*, p. 213.) Courtenay names another Jesuit, John Meschita, as having proceeded to Jaffna in the time of Braganza (p. 238). Again: "*Les Pères de la Compagnie de Jezu qui se trouvaient alors dans ces deux localités (i.e. Mannar and Jaffna) étaient le P. Antoine de Quadros Provincial, les PP. Enríquez, Meschita, Coelho, Souceral, Perez, et les Scholastiques Govea Duran, et Goez*" (p. 239). In 1602, again, Fr. Bonaventure d'Abreu is said to have gone to Jaffna and died there. He was followed by Fr. Joao Maria, and Pero Rebello, who are said to have been entrusted with a mission and a College in Jaffna (*ib.*, 364). All this is from a MS. copy of the *Conquista* (printed copy 566-67), where de Queyroz is probably describing what took place twenty years later. There is some mistake about Fr. d'Abreu, for he did not die in Jaffna, but was Rector of Negapatam in 1619, and was at San Thomé in 1620. See, Besse, *Voyages et Missions du P. A. de Rhodes*. (Lille, 1884), p. 30.

155. *Ceylon Antiquary*, II, p. 4.

156. *ib.* I, p. 225, n. 41; and Plate XIII.

157. The text is somewhat obscure, and I indicate, within brackets, the passages which are of doubtful meaning.



## Jafanapatao.

Having spoken of the Fishery, I must not omit to say something about Jafanapatao. The Viceroy Dom Constantino went there and captured the country; four thousand or more were made Christians,<sup>158</sup> but peace was afterwards made without the least regard<sup>159</sup> to the converts. These Christians are still in Jafanapatao, and are in every respect as pagan as those who were not baptised. This seems a (good) reason to complete the conquest of that country with some good title (*cô algũ justo titulo*) which will not be wanting; and (thus) those Christians will be preserved and the whole island can be converted, and we shall be able to place therein all the Christians of the Fishery<sup>160</sup> and also the Portuguese of Negapatao, and many others who live in Bengala and other places, among pagans, compelled to do so by their poverty.

## Ceilao.

The island of Jafanapatao is connected with Ceilao, in the interior of which (latter) they have begun to make converts in many places, [but there is little progress (in) Trinquinalech (and) Baticalou. In Cota the king of Ceilao (and) the king of Candia embraced Christianity with many of their people, but none of these things fared well.] I do not know whether it is because the climate inclines them to evil, and the inhabitants following their natural inclinations do not deserve to be enlightened, or because till now they have not made use of the means necessary for the conversion of that country. The most convenient means seem to be the conquest of the kingdom of Madune, if this can be done with right, for we have heard on the other hand that Madune has right on his side according to the agreement which existed between the old king of Ceilao and the said Madune his brother, [and that the said Madune several times asked for justice and a (fair) hearing].

Now it may well be that it is because the cause of the king of Ceilao is not quite just that God Our Lord did not give him the victory. [If the king of Ceilao be restored to his kingdom, and the kingdom of Madune subdued, the King of Candia, being already a Christian with some of the chief persons of his kingdom, seeing the good turn of affairs, they will unite like good Christians, or go against him (?).] In whatever way these things be done, the greater part of the island will become Christian. In this way it does not appear to be difficult to accomplish the conversion of those of Batecalou and Triquinamalech and Jafanapatao. Since there are Christians there already we ought to endeavour to look after and instruct them, [and if the king do not allow us to do this, or if there be more just grounds for proceeding against him, war will have to be made, if it be possible to do so].<sup>161</sup>

These proposals only expressed the hopes and convictions of a Missionary on fire with zeal for conversions, who unburdened his impressions freely to a private correspondent. It is needless, therefore, to say that his views did not in any way affect the policy of the Portuguese.

The conquest of Jaffna, which took place more than half a century later, was due to the dread of the Hollanders rather than to any solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the converts of Don Constantine. These converts, however, were not neglected, for the Franciscan Missionaries were gifted with more apostolic hardihood than could be damped by any obstacle, great or small. They penetrated into the kingdom of Jaffna and were labouring<sup>162</sup> with no small success before Portuguese authority was established.

158. "The Bishop of Cochin, with the deputy Provincial of St. Francis, and some friars of his Order, with that zeal that they always had for the things of our religion and increase of our holy Catholic faith began to convert some natives and to baptize with great love and charity." De Couto (*J. C. B. R. A. S.* 60, p. 183). Ferguson "easily sees" in this "one of the causes of the insurrection" (*ib.* p. 198). Whether it was so or not, they were all put to the sword during the rising. (*ib.*)

159. For the terms of the peace, see *ib.* p. 195. Du Jarric, however, says that one of the conditions was: "Qu'il ne molesteroit point aucun de ses vasseaux, qui vouloit se rendre Chrestien, ains les lairroit vivre conformemet aux lois de la foy & Religio Chrestienne, qu'ils auroient receuë." Vol. I. Liv. II, Chap. vii.

160. This was one of the favourite plans of the Portuguese, but it never succeeded.

161. Cochin, 20 January, 1566.

162. De Queyroz, *Conquista*, 538-543. (*Port Era*).



The circumstances that led to and accompanied the conquest of Jaffna are narrated by historians,<sup>163</sup> and call for no recital here. The incidental references found in the Jesuit letters of this period have a pitiful interest, and augured ill for the new conquest, as the Missionaries were themselves to feel keenly enough in the years to come.

The Jesuit Chaplain, who accompanied the invading forces, informs us that in the various encounters the Portuguese put to death a great number of unoffending children, in cold blood, on the plea that, if they were allowed to grow up, they would take it into their adult heads to avenge their ancestors.<sup>164</sup> The Chaplain was powerless against such logic, and the Herodian Massacre of the Innocents was perpetrated.

One thing the Chaplain could do: He could secure their baptism; and this he did. For the Portuguese were never loath to permit it: nay, they themselves, on occasion, piously baptised the children whom they intended to massacre. It was characteristic of the Portuguese officials that, though ever so anxious to make converts, and triumphantly to announce the result to Portugal when they succeeded, they seldom scrupled to ill-treat and despoil the converts afterwards.

Indeed, the Jesuit historian de Queyroz, himself a Portuguese, did not hesitate to write that the atrocities of the Portuguese made the faith they taught hateful to the people. Another Chaplain, Father Soeiro, tells of some of these atrocities. When Louis Teixeira was despatched to the assistance of the beleaguered Oliveira he was accompanied by Fr. Soeiro, who informed the Visitor of the Mission<sup>165</sup> that Teixeira committed cruel barbarities on the way; a sad confirmation of what historians tell of his heartless deeds of blood. But these gruesome episodes must not be exaggerated beyond their due.

When the subjugation of Jaffna was finally achieved, and that kingdom became to all purposes a province of Portuguese Ceylon, the Authorities had leisure to bethink themselves of their responsibilities. To have the Gospel preached to him was the recognised right of every subject of the King of Portugal, and, consequently, it was the avowed duty to supply the Missionaries; and the Governor and the Bishop of Cochin set about to fulfil the duty of their royal master.

Oliveira threw himself heart and soul into the undertaking, lending it all the aid of his position, the influence of his personality, and even his private purse. His efforts were crowned with unparalleled success. He was, it would seem, a man of as great zeal and kindness as he was intrepid in the use of his sword;<sup>166</sup> and he conducted himself with great deference towards the priests, little suspecting that he was thus leaving a future historian an excuse for calling him "priest-ridden to an unusual extent."

With such support from their countrymen, now become the rulers of the land, the Franciscan Missionaries accomplished, on a very large scale, the conversions at which they had laboured, not unsuccessfully, without it. So great was the harvest, and the labourers so few, that it was determined to call in the Jesuits to partake in the work.

The offer was made to the Jesuit Provincial of Malabar, who gladly accepted the invitation to work in such a promising field. Father Pero Rebello, a Professor of Theology of the College of Cochin, was chosen for the task, and set out, alone it would seem, but armed with the following episcopal *provisão* of the Bishop of Cochin, dated 11 November, 1622.

163. Q. Liv. 4, ch. 2. "*Depoys de hum desgraçado successo. Conquista Phelipe Oliveyra Jafanapatão, e apriconia dous Regulos,*" and the following chapters (P. E. II, 124-140).

164. *Ceylon Antiquary*, III. 28.

165. *Ib.*, p. 25. Cf. Q. 536, 831.

166. Was it Oliveira who had obtained the sobriquet of "the god of the sword"? Cf. P. E. II, 136 with Q. 511.



" Dom Frei Sebastião de S. Pedro, by the Grace of God, and of the Holy Church of Rome, Bishop of Cochin, of the Council of the King, etc.

To all to whom these Presents or notice thereof shall come,  
Health in Christ Jesus, Our Lord.

We make known that, considering that the kingdom of Jafnapatão has great need of Ministers and Preachers of the Word of God, for the conversion of the gentiles, who are now all vassals of His Majesty ; and knowing well, both by experience and sight, the care and zeal and assiduity with which the Religious of the Society of Jesus labour for the conversion of the infidels, the earnestness with which they apply themselves to the study of the language of the country in which they are, the ardour with which they catechise the Christians entrusted to their care,—a matter in which they far excel all other Religious in these parts ;—considering, moreover, the obligation We stand under of fulfilling Our own duty and that of His Majesty, and placing before our eyes the fruit that can be gathered in the conversion of the unbelievers of this kingdom, and of others with which they transact business ; We judged it good for the greater Service of God Our Lord, and of His Majesty, and conducive to the propagation of our Holy Catholic Faith to ask the Reverend Father Gaspar Fernandez, Provincial of the Southern Province of the Society of Jesus, to give Us some Religious, who could undertake the conversion of the gentiles, and the preaching of the Evangelical law in the said kingdom of Jafnapatão, and other parts of the island of Ceylon :

And the Father Provincial, considering the great service that would be rendered to God Our Lord and to His Majesty, thought it good to name as Superior and labourer in this Mission Father Pero Rebello, chief Lecturer of the Faculty of Theology in the College of Cochin, a person qualified by virtue and learning and exemplary life.

Wherefore We are pleased to give to the said Father Rebello and to all the Religious who will now or hereafter be sent by the said Provincial or his Successors to the said kingdom of Jafnapatão, Ponta das pedras, Triquelemale, and the country of Batecalou, power to build churches anew in the said places, and to administer the Sacraments in them to all the Christians, to preach and to convert souls, and to fulfil the duties of Our Vicars, as if We were personally present. For this purpose We grant Our powers and authority to the said Father Rebello, and to all other Fathers that will be appointed to those churches by him or by the Provincial, or by the other Prelates of the Society of Jesus, and entrust them all with the work of preaching the Gospel.

And to each and all of them We grant, from this time henceforth, by these Presents, all Our authority in spiritual matters, and the power to absolve from all censures whatever, whether decreed *a Jure* or *ab homine*, and from reserved cases ; and in temporal matters, the power to punish, reprehend, fine, and imprison all those whom they judge guilty, always keeping before their eyes mercy rather than rigor : the power to build churches in Ponta das pedras and in its district, in Triquelemale and in the country of Batecalou, and in the town and *fortaleza* of Japhanapatao, and in all the places, districts and territories of the kingdom, that may be assigned to them by the Capitão Mor Philipe de Olivera—for the districts and places which he assigns to the said Father Rebello and to others of the Society of Jesus for the construction of churches and the ministry of conversions, We Ourselves appoint and will consider as appointed by Us, in such wise that no Religious of any other Order whatsoever, except those of the Society of Jesus, may enter therein.

We also assign to him the duty of evangelising the said kingdom, and desire the said Father Rebello to build churches, and order him to do so, and authorise him to do the same in the islands adjacent to Japhanapatao, and for this purpose We grant him all Our power and authority, notifying the same to the said Sôr Philipe de Oliveira, Capitão Mor of the *fortaleza* and kingdom of Japhanapatao, and to Our Vicar of the Matriz Balthasar Ceitaõ, and to their successors, We order them to receive and welcome the said Father Pero Rebello, and others of the Society, with love and charity, to have every fellowship of love and friendship with them : And that they be the more obliged to it, We declare that it will give Us special pleasure and satisfaction if they treat the said Fathers as faithful and true friends of Ours.

Given from this city of Cochin, under Our signature and the seal of Our Chancellery, on this 11 day of November.

Written by, Pe Conego Anto Teixeira, in the year 1622.



Fr. Rebello, who was received with great kindness, made all arrangements for the new Mission. Oliveira promised to build the Jesuits a *casa* at his expense; and three other Jesuits, Jeronimas Froes, Petrus Joannes, and Gaspar Leal, were sent to Jaffna to form the nucleus of what was destined to be a vast missionary enterprise. The new Missionaries arrived when the tide of conversions was at its flood, and probably witnessed the imposing spectacle<sup>167</sup> of the baptism of Tamil Royalty.

### BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF THE MISSION.

It is disappointing to find no letters extant, describing the beginning and growth of the Mission. The letters of this period, however, though few and far between, give a pretty fair idea of the progress of the work.

The kingdom was parcelled out into thirty-four parishes, each with a church and school in charge of a Father. Of these, the Jesuits manned the churches in the interior, while the sea-board parishes were committed to the care of the Franciscans. Some of these churches were vast in size, imposing in structure and well fitted up.<sup>168</sup>

In 1627 the Jesuits had 10 Residences with 40,812 Christians, to be increased two years later into 16 Residences with 50,000 Christians. There were not always priests enough for all the Residences, and the presence of 'rebels' sometimes prevented the Missionaries from residing continuously. The Wanni district had no church, but a Father visited the scattered Christians from time to time. The shortage of Missionaries obliged them to reduce the number of Residences to 12, and there were seldom more than 15 Jesuits at one time in the Mission.

In the town of Jaffna there was a school with a higher course of 'humanities' attended by about a score of students. The Superior of the Mission resided in Jaffna in charge of the upper school, with another Father to assist in the teaching work, and a Lay Brother for temporal affairs; while a secular priest was employed to look after the lower school. The two Jesuits in Jaffna had, moreover, to preach and hear confessions, and to visit the hospital and prisons in town. They often exerted their influence in favour of the condemned and saved many an unfortunate man from the 'jaws of death'; and when difficulties arose, as was but too frequent in Portuguese forts, between the Captains and the soldiers or between the Captains and the Religious of the other Orders, the Jesuits always intervened to restore peace.

The Jesuit Mission was inaugurated under the most inspiring circumstances, and hopes ran high and the prospect gave promise of making Jaffna a Christian land. The zeal and favour of Oliveira, the conversion of the higher classes, and the favourable attitude of the populace gave the energy of the Missionaries a field white unto harvest; and they soon succeeded in rearing in the Jaffna peninsula a Christian community, the like of which they were seldom privileged to see.

But there are dark spots even in the sun, and the Missionaries perceived that all was not so fair as it seemed. There were those who were but imperfectly instructed, and others baptised *stante pede*, and some were occasionally found to have been 'converted' on motives not free from reproach. Such shortcomings were by no means frequent, and were scarcely avoidable consider-

167. An account of it is given by Q. 566 and sqq. P. E. II. 156.

168. These churches were taken by the Dutch. See Baldaeus, *passim*, and *Ceylon Antiquary*, II. 47 "Portuguese-Dutch churches in Jaffna."



ing the spirit of the times and the extent of the movement. They were certainly not so general as some writers would have us believe. The Jesuit letters which mention these defects leave no room for the round statements and other guess-work<sup>169</sup> of certain writers.

The Jesuits who felt these misgivings soon set to work to remedy the evil. They organised regular and systematic courses of instruction on a very extensive scale, and the neophytes were thoroughly catechised before and after baptism. Schools for secular instruction were attached to every Residence, and catechism classes for the young and the old were held in the churches.

Indeed, religious instruction was so strong a point with the Jesuits that successive Bishops of Cochin, even those who did not see eye to eye with the Jesuits in other affairs considered it a matter deserving of "honourable mention," and sometimes went out of their way, to declare that the Jesuits excelled their *confrères* in that work.

We have, moreover, a very telling testimony on this subject, that of Philip Baldaeus 'servant of Christ, once in Ceylon,' who, open enemy as he was of the "Romish superstition," paid the Jesuits the rare compliment of adopting their methods. He writes :

"The said Xavier appointed everywhere teachers called 'canacappels,' in order to teach the people and the children the first beginnings of religion, such as the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Our Father. The work was carried on with ungrudging energy; but the pity is that many a Romish falsehood was thus taught.

"By and by came the Jesuits, who are in these regions called the Paulites in as much as they were sent by Pope Paul III. They have worked most of all, and in their zeal and prudence and tact in teaching the young and attracting the old, they greatly surpassed the Franciscans and other religious bodies. And I willingly recognise that I liked their method of proceeding, and that I have walked in their footsteps in working at the reformation of all churches and schools of Manar and Jaffnapatam, as long as their teaching did not clash with our own religion and teaching."<sup>170</sup>

And elsewhere he says :

"Here (at Paneteripu) there is a school numbering no less than 600 pupils, whose knowledge in the Christian religion is in a highly advanced state. Wonderful to say, the children knew already in my time to bring forward good reasons in the defence, and in the answering, of objections against the popish errors concerning Purgatory, the Mass, Indulgences and Auricular Confession."<sup>171</sup>

169. Many a historian sought to explain the phenomenal success of the Portuguese missionaries in the kingdom of Jaffna, but none was so keen on a solution as Sir Emerson Tennent, who worked himself into the belief that he had discovered the key to the whole situation. (*Christianity in Ceylon*). "Information," he owns, "is scanty as to the nature of the means adopted by the Portuguese for the introduction and establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ceylon. There is no proof that compulsion was resorted to by them for the extension of their own faith, or violence employed for the extinction of the national superstition" (p. 7-8). But undeterred by the lack of information, he considers himself "warranted in presuming" (p. 8) "even in the absence of evidence more direct" (p. 21) on "probability" (p. 8) and "circumstantial proofs" (21) that the Jesuits adopted "strange expedients"; and on the strength of this powerful piece of imagination, this whilom Colonial Secretary of Ceylon sat in his judgment seat and tried and condemned the missionaries unheard, *en bloc*.

Over against the assertions of Tennent is the testimony of Philip Baldaeus, who speaks from personal knowledge.

The missionaries themselves attributed their success to far other reasons. "That the kingdom of Jafanapatão becomes wholly Christian is due to the prayers of the 600 martyrs of the island of Manar. They were subjects of the king of Jafanapatão, and were martyred in the days when our saintly Father Francis was in the Fishery coast" (A. Lopez, 1627). They also acknowledged that the greatest human means was the devotion and zeal of Oliveira (I. Bruno, 1628). Oliveira's favours were doubtless the most tangible of all the helps which the missionaries received. De Queyroz says (*Conquista*, p. 537. cf. P. E. II, 523) "he cossa certa, q' não poderiao converter tantos infeyes, e cō tanta pressa, se não fora ao grande favor cō q' sempre concorreo." These favours were short-lived, and even Tennent was forced to confess that they were never much (p. 3, 66, and *passim*). Oliveira's favours were succeeded by a tyrannical oppression, which called forth the pathetic protests of the missionaries.

170. *Beschryvinge Van het Machtige Eyland Ceylon*, p. 151. The translations here given were kindly made for me by a countryman of Baldaeus.

171. *Ib.*, p. 164.



Verily, these children must have been well instructed indeed to answer the objections of a Calvinist divine, and the Missionaries may well be pardoned if they sometimes wrote with undisguised pride that the Christian children of Jaffna were "the best instructed in the East." The Jesuits had translated into Tamil various catechetical works, and Fr. Robert Nobili, the veteran Sanskrit scholar and Missionary of Madura, sent to Jaffna in his declining years, spent some time in composing Tamil books for the edification of the young.

As a result of these thoroughgoing methods, the Missionaries were able to speak of the piety and devotion, the fervour and intelligence of their Christians. "They heard Mass, attended the divine offices, and fulfilled their religious duties with exactness and regularity." It also enabled the Jesuits to dispense with the cast-iron rules of Church government which Portuguese ecclesiastics introduced into the country. "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."

It was clear to them that proper instruction of the neophytes and kindness in treating them, were far more efficacious means than any other, to make the Christians live up to their profession ; and one of the Missionaries, writing to the General of the Society, speaks with great insistence on the necessity of sending out to the Mission picked men, who could be depended upon to take pains to learn the language, and to treat the people kindly.

The Missionary, he tells the General, "must treat the people 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 of his Christians, places heavier weights, how can he help them and promote their good ?"

### TRoubles OF THE MISSIONARIES.

The Missionaries, however, were not allowed to do their work in peace, for troubles came upon them in plenty, from within and without the kingdom, from pagans and Christians, and—what was most galling to them,—from the Portuguese officials themselves.

The first of these troubles and their beginning was the terrific cyclone which burst on the first Saturday of Lent, 1627, and raged with unabated fury till late in the afternoon of the next day, carrying havoc and destruction all around. Churches and presbyteries, alike with the dwellings of the poor and the lowly, suffered heavily, and many lives were lost. A Jesuit, Fr. Mexia, saved himself from a watery grave by climbing a tree and remaining a whole day on the tree top.

This heavy visitation shows Oliveira in a most amiable light. His fatherly solicitude for the poor and the needy, his care and anxiety for the distressed and the afflicted, display the nobility of his character.

"The kindness shown by Oliveira during this terrible time," writes Mr. Pieris, translating de Queyroz (529-530) "was in the mouth of everyone. The half naked men and women, who took shelter with them, were provided with clothes by him and his wife from two chests they had, while their son-in-law (Manoel de Mesquita) and the soldiers searched out the children who were missing and restored them to their parents. A cask of wine from Portugal was (on Oliveira's orders) emptied in restoring warmth to those who had been chilled by the water ; and every suffering soul was the subject of their assiduous attention." (*Portuguese Era*, II, 144.)



Oliveira's example and influence went a long way to persuade others to second the Missionaries in their efforts to relieve the destitute ; and the personal discomforts endured in this work of Christian charity brought about his death on 22nd March, 1627.

His death was the beginning of disaster. Indeed, writes Cordara, " the death of Oliveira showed how important it is to have good men at the head of Provinces. During the eight years of his government no disturbance occurred in the kingdom, nor did the neighbouring kings molest the Portuguese in any way ; for, by an equitable administration of justice, he had endeared himself to his subjects, and their love and attachment, as much as his armed forces, kept aggression at bay."

Bereft of this support the Missionaries were hardly able to repair the damaged churches when a heavier affliction was upon them, for " the devil assaulted the Mission with a storm, not of water but of fire, that is to say, a rebellion."

The General, Constantine de Saa de Noronha, built a fort in Batticaloa to prevent the king of Kandy from obtaining supplies and materials of war.<sup>172</sup> The King realised well enough the significance of the move, and determined to distract the General's attention by spreading false rumours of war throughout the kingdom, in order to attack the fort unawares, and to obtain possession of it the more easily.

Alarmed by these false reports Lacarotus de Seixas, the incompetent successor of Oliveira, judged it prudent to confine within the fort the Mudaliyars, Arachies, and other chief men who were reported to have instigated the king of Kandy to take action. Seixas, moreover, had not men enough to enable him to go out to meet the enemy. Accordingly he concentrated his troops within the walls of Jaffna, leaving the rest of the kingdom to its fate.

These measures set the country in an uproar ; but reassuring letters were received from the General. The Jesuit Missionaries stationed in the interior of the kingdom were naturally alarmed at the outlook, and determined to take shelter within the fort like the rest of their countrymen.

But the Superior of the Mission took a very hopeful view of the situation, and instructed his brethren not to stir from their posts, as all the approaches to the kingdom were safely guarded, and there was no reason for fear—*nam quae audierat praescribat*. He rather thought that they would be able to keep the town informed of the machinations from their outposts. Fr. Mathew Fernandez was on his way to Jaffna when the Superior's letter was put into his hands, and, accustomed as he was to prefer the least wishes of his Superior to his own prudence, at once retraced his steps.

Meanwhile Fr. Bernardine Pecci, who was stationed in the frontiers of the kingdom most exposed to the enemy, had to flee for his life under cover of night, for the Kandyan forces had entered the kingdom unopposed and were upon him. After a perilous flight he reached the residence of Fr. Jeronimo Froes, where they were quietly discussing the dangers of the impending war when the Kandyans fell upon them by night. There was just time to slip out of the house, and the two Missionaries tried to make their escape in the darkness.

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172. This account of the rebellion is given in the words of Jesuit writers.



Fr. Froes was comparatively a young man, and, what was more, knew the country thoroughly; but his companion, enfeebled by three days of flight and ignorant of his bearings, fell an easy prey. A hedge stood in his way, and he was overtaken and beheaded. Fr. Froes meanwhile arrived breathless at Jaffna, with torn clothing and mangled body, to give the news of the invasion.

The Kandyans set fire to the church and presbytery, and made their way to Mugamale [? Nugamale], whither Fr. Fernandez had returned on his Superior's orders. He was transpierced with spears and beheaded, and his Residence reduced to ashes. The invading forces then pursued their victorious way, destroying, plundering, and burning all the churches, and carrying away a great quantity of booty. Finally they entrenched themselves under the walls of Jaffna, even setting fire to the church of St. Dominic, while Seixas was forced to look helplessly on.

This state of things lasted 13 days, after which, alarmed by the arrival of the General in Batticaloa, they thought it best to retire. This was the opportunity of Seixas, who sallied out to pursue the retreating foe, "killing many, handling others badly, and forcing them to abandon their booty." The Superior, Fr. Petrus Paulus Godinho, accompanied the Portuguese and had the melancholy satisfaction of coming upon the remains of the murdered Fathers, which were brought to Jaffna.

These two Missionaries are justly reckoned among the martyrs to Obedience. Fr. Pecci<sup>173</sup> belonged to a wealthy and noble Italian family of Etruria, which in the last century gave to the Church the distinguished Pope Leo XIII. He left Rome for Goa in 1602, and worked for several years in the Coromandel coast, and was at one time Superior of Mannar. In the beginning of his Missionary career he is said to have found great difficulty to master the vernaculars; but, by dint of persevering study, he gained such proficiency in Tamil that the *Catalogues* of the Province usually marked "calleling. Malabar" against his name. Towards the end of his life he was smitten with the desire for martyrdom, and begged his Superiors to put him in a place of danger. When the Superiors finally assigned him a post on the frontiers of the kingdom of Jaffna, he had a presentiment of his end. He was 49 years of age at the time of his murder.

"Older than Fr. Pecci but not inferior in virtue" was Fr. Mathew Fernandez.<sup>174</sup> He was born in Cochin and was 64 years old at the time of his murder. His learning was ordinary, says a frank historian of the Society, but his prudence was so rare, his zeal for souls so ardent, that he was held one of the best fitted to work among converts and to win the pagans to the fold of Christ. After many years' labour in the Fishery coast, where he had distinguished himself by his devotion to the Paravers, he was transferred to Ceylon. He was stationed at Chilaw and Colombo, where for a short time he was Rector of the College. Finally he was sent to Jaffna. He is marked as "tenet ling. Malabar."

173. Pecci, Bernardinus de Sena, seu Sennensis, Italus, natus 1579, in India, 1602, post Phil. 3 an theol. operam dedit; Prof. 3 vot. 31 juil. 1615, Callet ling. Malabar; 1610 Triminavas (Or. Choromandel); 1611, S. Thomae, 1619-23 coll. Columb., 1627 Super. Manar. Necatus in odium fidei a copiis regis Kandiensis, 16 Sept. 1628, act. 40—Besse, *Cat.*, p. 29.

Besides the historians of the Society, these two Fathers are mentioned by a host of writers. *Menologe d'Italie*, ii, 317-318. Alegambe, *Mortes illustres*, p. 288, 388. Patignani. *Menol.* 123. Nadasi, *Ann. dier. memorabilium* 168. Dréws, *Fasta*, S. J. 136, 361. Courtenay, *Histoire du Christianisme à Ceylon*, 438-442. Tanner, *Soc. Jesu usque ad sang.* 330. De Queyroz 534. Mgr. Zaleski, *Les martyrs de l'Inde*, 131. *Catalogue des Pères et Frères de la Compagnie de Jésus, qui, dans les fers ou dans les tourments, ont sacrifié leur vie pour leur foi ou leur vocation.*

174. Fernandez, Matthaeus, ex urbe Coccinensi; an. 40, Soc. 33, 2 an. studuit casibus; 3 an. docuit prima rudimenta. Tenet ling. Malabar; in conversione est jam a 21 an; per aliquot menses fuit Super. Columbensis; formatus 12 jul. 1598, 1610 & 1623 Coll. Serrae; Chilao 1611, 1619-20 Colombo; 1627 Jaffna, Martyr occubuit Jaffnapatan 16 Sept. 1628, act. 64. Besse, *Cat.* p. 34. *Menologe de Portugal*, II, 234.



In the midst of these stirring events, the Jesuit Fathers confined in Jaffna spent their time to good purpose, studying Tamil under the direction of the Italian Fr. Bruno, who, like his countrymen Nobili and Beschi, had acquired a perfect mastery of that language. While they were thus engaged they received news of the murder of another Jesuit in a most unexpected quarter. This was Fr. Francis Barbosa,<sup>175</sup> parish priest of the Cardiva.

This was a dependency of Jaffna, and the church had been saved from the depredations of the Kandyans by the industry of the people. It happened that Fr. Barbosa detected some of the servants of his household red-handed in a shameful deed of lust. He remonstrated with the culprits and administered paternal correction. Whereupon, they flew into a passion, and plotted against the life of their Father and pastor.

Choosing a favourable opportunity, they fell upon him and cut his throat. When the news of the crime reached Jaffna the indignant Governor had the youthful criminals arrested and brought to Jaffna. They were tried, and condemned to death in spite of the intercession of the Fathers.

When order was at last restored in the country after these disturbances, the Fathers were able to return to their stations. But this rebellion had far more disastrous results on the work of the Missionaries than on the authority of the Portuguese.

The hope of freeing themselves from the Portuguese yoke was the prospect which the Kandyans held out to the people of Jaffna. It was doubtless a powerful temptation to the new Christians who could not, in those troublesome days, remain faithful to their religion without being subjects of Portugal. Many accordingly threw in their lot with the invaders regardless of the consequences, taking in some cases an assurance that their churches would be spared.

"The Portuguese avenged the injury inflicted on them," writes Cordara, "but the blow dealt to religion could not be easily repaired. Many of the people, disloyal alike to God and King, followed the Kandyans in the hope of ridding themselves of the Portuguese, and joined them in their violent measures against both the State and Religion. The result was that whatever the Franciscans and ourselves had done for so many years for the establishment of the true faith in these parts, seemed to have been destroyed in a few days. This thought cruelly tormented the ministers of God as well as the representatives of the King. They realised that such a critical situation could not be easily remedied; and even if it could, it seemed to them that the fickleness of which the people had just given proof did not augur well for the future, for those whose faith had proved so weak in time of trial could hardly be trusted."

### THE HOLLANDERS.

But the Missionaries did not let themselves be discouraged by these gloomy reflections, and began to rebuild the churches and to bring back the guilty to their duties. This turned out to be an easier matter than they had bargained for.

"The people themselves begged for pardon, alleging that they had not denied their faith in their hearts, and promising henceforth to be loyal subjects. As a consequence the Governor dealt leniently with them, letting them off with a light punishment. The Fathers, on the other hand, endeavoured to give them a more solid foundation in Christian doctrine."

They succeeded so well that things went on as well as before. "The love of revolt had become in their case a means of making greater progress in the path of salvation," writes an optimistic Missionary.

Soon after these events, in 1630, a Portuguese Armada of 12 ships arrived in Jaffna to take in provisions for a cruise along the Coromandel coast. The object of the Armada was to seek out "European heretics," and their search was soon rewarded, for they came upon a ship of the

175. Barbosa, Franciscus, ex oppido Sinfana, dioec. Lamego, an. 23, Soc 74, 1619, 1621 Cocini, 1620 S. Thomae, 1627 Jafanap; 1628 in insula Cardiva, ubi occiditur a suis tribus servis quos de turpibus actibus acriter reprehenderat. Besse. Cat., p. 15. Cordara 27. Nos martyrs, n. 275, Court.



Hollanders and gave battle. The vessel was captured, sacked, and burnt, but the Portuguese lost heavily.

They put into Jaffna a second time with 30 Portuguese less and twice that number wounded, and 17 captured "heretics." The Portuguese *Capitania* had been set on fire by a shot of the enemy, and the wounded were mostly those who had suffered from the fire, including the *Capitão Mor* himself.

"Some were loathsome with bodies half burnt, and already full of worms; for 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."

They were all removed to hospital, and handed over to the care of the Jesuits, "one of our Lay Brothers taking charge of the nursing in spite of the nausea." The Superior took special pains with the wounded, even taking the bold step of borrowing money to supply the necessities which begging had failed to obtain.

The captured Hollanders were attended to by a "neutral" Jesuit, the Frenchman, Berguin, who succeeded in winning to the Catholic faith all save the Captain, who, "being a man of intelligence, did not fail to understand the truth, but his will was rivetted in heresy, and being addicted to good cheer did not think of giving up his obstinacy."

It was not long before the favours of Oliveira gave place to a persecution, which provoked the bitter complaints of the Missionaries.

"The oppression which these Christians have to suffer is incredible," writes a Missionary, "and is much more than what the people of Manar suffer. 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 should find it preferable to be subjects of a pagan king than of his own, on account of the officials who govern and despoil them. The trouble which Our Fathers have on this account is very great, and their labours are frustrated and brought to nought."

This persecution was only a foretaste of a worse fate that was in store for the Catholics of Jaffna. For after about thirty-five years of strenuous labours the mission of Jaffna, Jesuit as well as Franciscan, came to an end, and the Missionaries were driven out of the kingdom when the Portuguese lost the *fortaleza* of Jaffna to the Hollanders on 22nd June, 1658.

The fall of Colombo spelt the downfall of the Portuguese, but they continued to hope against odds.

"God has permitted the Heretics to capture, on the 12th of May, 1656, after a siege of nine months, the town and fortress of Colombo, which the Portuguese held in the island of Ceylon. The vanquished, who are accused of being very negligent in its defence, lose thereby all the trade in cinnamon and precious stones, which are found only in that part of the island. But what is of far greater importance and much more to be regretted, Religion loses heavily, for we had there a College and a Mission, which kept in a state of piety the natives already converted and daily won over more pagans to the Gospel."<sup>176</sup>

There was, however, some hope left; for

"It is rumoured in Goa, and given as certain, that the Zeingala, who is king of that island, is now besieging the conquerors in the same place. The reason is that they did not hand the place over to him, as had been agreed upon at the time when they asked his help to capture it. They had promised that they would reserve to themselves only the freedom of trade, but they kept the town altogether and fortified it as strongly as they could."

<sup>176</sup> *Relation des Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus, dans les Indes Orientales* (Paris, 1659) p. 224.



"On this account that pagan king has asked the Portuguese to join him in the siege. Should this prove successful, the interests of our religion there may revive. What their present plan may be is not known; but one may see in the harbour of Goa a fleet consisting of nine great ships, the smallest of which is as large as the flagship of the Dutch (l'Admiral des Hollandois), and fifty galiots, made like galleys, which do better work than larger ships when there is no storm.

"These heretics have reduced India to a pitiful state, and its happiness depends, chiefly as far as religion is concerned, on the successful issue of this struggle, if they accept the fight at all, for it is believed that they will not."<sup>177</sup>

Meanwhile the Hollanders maintained a successful blockade, and a party of Missionaries, who came to Jaffna on their way to China, was compelled to remain seven long months in Jaffna awaiting a vessel that could take them over to the continent, and only managed to cross over in a "*Calamaron* consisting of four large pieces of timber fastened together. It was rather uncomfortable, but they had to take it for fear of being captured by the Hollanders, who, it was reported, blockaded the ports. The choice of this boat was forced upon them, because with it they could easily cross over avoiding the enemy. They finally reached Negapatam."<sup>178</sup>

The end was but a matter of time, and came after three months of siege, when the hapless Portuguese hoisted the white flag over their last possession in Ceylon.

The story of the fall of Jaffna is told summarily by historians, though the Portuguese held out with the same courage and tenacity that marked the siege of Colombo, and amidst sufferings equally pitiful. Of the labours of the Missionaries during that frightful time there is no record left.

In commemoration of the capture of Jaffna a Dutch Domine wrote on stone "*Lapidibus et gratia Dei cepimus hoc fortacilium*," an inscription more worthy of Calvinistic theology than of Ciceronian Latin, wickedly observes de Queyroz.<sup>179</sup>

But there was truth in the inscription, for it is confessed by the greatest of the Portuguese historians that God gave to the heretics what the Portuguese did not deserve to keep. Even natural phenomena are said to have presaged the coming fall, for a Jesuit, Fr. Telles, testified on oath as follows:<sup>180</sup>

"I, Father Thomas Telles of the Society of Jesus, do certify that, in the year 1657, when I was in the kingdom of Jafanapatao as Vicar of two churches in one of the four Provinces of that Kingdom,—to wit, Pachiapali (where everything is sand and no stone is to be found, though in parts there is very dense forest, where dwell tigers and elephants),—one Sunday in the month of July at midnight, I heard, coming from the direction of the sea, the sound of the discharge of three or four cannon, and of a brisk volley of artillery. This was immediately followed by a rattling so amazing that it appeared to hurl the house into the air.

"At that moment the servants of the house and those who were on guard outside, according to the custom of the Province, and who in consequence of the heat were sleeping in the open air, came rushing up the stairs and inquired from me whether I had seen what had occurred. On my replying that I had heard the noise but had not beheld the cause thereof, as that was already over by the time I opened my window, they told me with considerable terror that, had I beheld it, I would have been struck senseless; for, they explained, it was a cloud of fire which travelled like a flash of lightning from the direction of Candea.

"The following day, the Sacristan, who is there known as Canacapule, informed me that several people had beheld the marvel, and that the cloud had dropped numerous stones over a distance of two leagues. I sent the *meyrinho* of the church to look for some traces of them, and

177. *Ib.* 225-6.

178. *Ib.* p. 147-8.

179. *Q.* 824.

180. *Ib.* *P. E.* II, 589.



he returned with two stones, of which I took one for myself, which I am now leaving in the hands of the Father Joao Cabral. This occurred at a distance of seven leagues from the citadel of Jafnapatao, one year before the same was lost. The which I swear to on the word of a Priest, this sixteenth day of January, 1666."

When the end did come it swept away every sign of the once flourishing Mission. The Missionaries shared the fate of their countrymen, and were shipped off to Batavia, treated with cruelty during the voyage and subsequent captivity. This expulsion and the advent of the Hollanders meant the ruin of the Mission, and the fate of the Catholics of Jaffna must be read between the lines of Baldaeus. An aged Jesuit, Caldeiro, too infirm to move, was left behind to the tender mercies of the Conquerors.

But, "a few weeks after the surrender, a great number of natives, whom the Hollanders enlisted as soldiers, plotted a revolt. The object of the conspiracy was to attack the fort by surprise, and to hand it over to the Portuguese. The plot was discovered and the conspirators arrested. Tortured under the orders of Jacob Van der Rhee, they confessed their guilt, and were done to death.<sup>181</sup> The soldiers of Van der Rhee dragged the aged Jesuit from his bed, under the pretence that he had knowledge of the conspiracy under the seal of Confession, and did not denounce it."

Baldaeus, who owns that the poor old Jesuit was entirely guiltless, illustrates the manner of his death by a drawing (p. 160.)

It is told of the venerable Brother Pedro De Basto, that on one occasion he prayed earnestly to God to avenge the profaned churches and ruined Christians, to which he received answer: "Pedro, pray not so, ask not for their chastisement, but pray rather that they may have the grace to be converted to the Catholic faith," and the Voice went on to assure him that the Hollanders were only an instrument in the hands of God for the punishment of (Portuguese) India, and would, in their time, melt away as salt in the water.<sup>182</sup>

And such indeed it has been. The Portuguese and the Hollanders have passed away, but the faith once planted by the Christian Missionaries was kept alive during the Dutch persecution,<sup>183</sup> to flourish vigorously under British rule.<sup>184</sup>

(To be continued.)

181. "An unfortunate Jesuit, whom sickness had prevented from accompanying his colleagues, on the surrender of the fortress, was beheaded by the Dutch because he had failed to disclose the existence of a plot, to which he had been made privy in the solemn confidence of the Confessional, but was utterly unconnected with the conspirators." Tennent, *op. cit.* p. 40. Cf. Mgr. Zaleski, *op. cit.* 132. Baldaeus, p. 160. According to the illustration given by Baldaeus, Fr. Caldeiro was beheaded: of the rest one was crucified, and the rest hanged. Courtenay. 591. Witterbron p. 2.

182. Courtenay, *Q. Conquista* 830 & Vida do V. Pedro Basto.

183. See Tennent, *op. cit.* pp. 42-46., 66 & *passim*.

The report of the Vicariate Apostolic of Jaffna, under the heading "The Catholics persecuted by the Dutch," has the following: p. 3-4.

"Unfortunately for our religion in Ceylon, to the Catholic Portuguese succeeded in the sovereignty of the island the Protestant Hollanders, and with them at the point of the bayonet, schism and heresy was introduced also, the abettors of which immediately gave rise to a persecution against the professors of the true religion, which proved more fatal than any they had experienced under the native kings.

"The Catholic churches were taken from their lawful possessors, profaned, destroyed, or converted into Protestant chapels. The Catholic monks and priests were banished from the island, with strict prohibition, under pain of death, against harbouring or concealing them, or giving them assistance in any way whatsoever. Catholic meetings for religious purposes were prohibited (*Flakat*. 19 September, 1658. 11 January, 1715).

"Catholic parents were forced to get their children baptized and married by the heretics, and to send them to the Protestant schools and church, and were punished with heavy fines, imprisonment, flogging, and sometimes with barbarous death if they dared to oppose the cruel laws of the persecutors . . . .

(P. 5). From an account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon, collected from the local records, deposited in the Wolfendahl Church, Colombo, which the Rev. J. D. Palm has published in the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Colombo, 1847), we can easily understand what shameful methods were followed by those heretics in order to make proselytes, as well as how these same methods have been always defeated."

The testimony of non-Catholic writers supports this, e.g. the authors quoted by Tennent.

For an account of the labours of Father Vaz in Ceylon during the Dutch persecution, see *Asiatic Register*, Vol. xi, p. 561 & *seq.*; xii, p. 246 & *seq.*, 347 & *seq.*, 417 & *seq.*

184. [How "vigorously" the following figures from the last Census (1911) will best show: The Catholics formed 83 per cent. of the whole Christian population of Ceylon: while as regards the Northern Province, of which the above Paper more particularly treats, the Catholic percentage of the Christian population in 1911 was 84.97 for Jaffna District, 97.14 for Mannar District and 93.33 for Mullaitivu District, or 89.38 for the whole Province.—Ed., *Ceylon Antiquary*.]



## APPENDIX.

## STATISTICS OF THE JAFFNA MISSION.

RESIDENCE.	PATRON.	CHRISTIANS.				NO. OF CHILDREN ATTENDING			
			In 1627	In 1641	In 1644	Catechism.		School.	
						In 1641	In 1644	In 1641	In 1644
1 Changane ... (Chankānai)	Holy Trinity ...	Changane ... Polnaraō ... Cholivaro ...  Total	8500	1245 698 881 <sup>1</sup>  2824	3140	500	477	114	123
2 Vaiticota ... Vatucota ... Batticota ... (Vaddukkodai)	Assumption ...	Vatucota ... Pale ...  2546 <sup>2</sup>	3800	1340 1206  2546 <sup>2</sup>	2624	526	250	30	50
3 Pandetirigu ...	Blessed Virgin of the Kings ... Beatissimae Virginis a Regibus : Nossa Sōea dos Reis. Sometimes given as : Our Lady of Reme- dies	Pandetirigu ... Madagar ... Chilate ... Paribolao ... Cheribolaō ... Magirapeti ...  Total	4800	464 626 395 466 472 257  2680	2627	400	375	60	100
4 Talipule ... (Tellipalai)	SS. Peter and Paul ...	Telipule ... Manituperao ... Mangamao ... Palle ... Cathuven ... Changanturei ...  Total	5400	1773 590 377 231 307 176  3414	4660	669	664	100	200
5 Mailitu ... (Mayliddi)	Our Lady of the Angels ...	Maility ... Vianalaō ... Pallali ... Beach ... Thaiti ... Valatalevarao ...  Total	2590	530 746 536 161 620 157  2750	2985	341	400	54	90
6 Archiveli ... (Achchuveli)	Holy Ghost ...	Barenporavao ... Perenpurnnani ... Cateveni ... Balalai ... Tambale ... Caderipai ... Navercaire ...  Total	4800	178 215 350 314 70 90  1701	2500	444	600	30	50



STATISTICS OF THE JAFFNA MISSION.—*Continued.*

RESIDENCE.	PATRON.	CHRISTIANS.				NO. OF CHILDREN ATTENDING.			
						Catechism.		School.	
7 Pale (Palai)	... Jesus ...	Pulupale ...	2270	720	1637	250	208	22	27
		Pamaqueni ...		350					
		Alipale ...		200					
		Peliapale ...		140					
		Chirepatu ...		220					
		Total		1665					
8 Mogamale (Mugamalai)	... The Saviour All Saints. ...	Quilale	1900	2000	2000	200	200	20	15
9 Tambane (Tambanai)	... The Nativity of Our Lady ...		3800	2500	2614	300	516	30	45
10 Cotandacolam (Kudandakulam)	... St. Michael ...		2000	1600	2538	200	197	—	10
11 Malagam	... St. Ignatius ...				3222	355	500	112	150
		Malagam ...		373					
		Alabati ...		976					
		Ellati ...		763					
		Pugnale Catuven ...		422					
		Total		2534					
12 Cardiva	... Our Lady of Good Voyage (Virginis Bonae Navigationis) ... Also called : Nossa Sôea dos Remedios.	Calapume ...	1400	538	1740	300	227	30	52
		Core ...		500					
		Valanvale ...		350					
		Total		1388					





## KANDYAN MARRIAGES.

BY EDWIN BEVEN.

**B**EFORE local legislation affected Kandyan Marriages, the facts necessary to constitute a regular marriage were the following :

The consent of the respective heads of the families, the countenance and sanction of the relations on both sides to the union, that the parties must be of the same caste and of equal family respectability and rank, and that the degree of relationship between them should be not nearer than first cousins, provided that they were children of brother and sister. The children of brothers or of sisters were not allowed to intermarry. Marriages could be entered into by young men above the age of sixteen, but no restriction in regard to age was imposed on females, provided the consent of parents or guardians was first obtained.

Polygamy, Polyandry and Concubinage were recognised among the Kandyans. A husband could bring as many wives as he pleased to his house without the consent of his first wife, but the wife could not be compelled to take a second husband, nor could she take one without the consent of her husband. As a rule the associated husband was a brother of the first husband, and this connection was popular among the Kandyans as the *paraveni*<sup>1</sup> property, which they were jealous should not leave the family, was thus preserved intact in the family.

Concubinage, if the woman was of the same caste as the man, was of equal force as a legal marriage, and the issue were regarded as legitimate. An alliance formed against the wishes of parents or guardians, or with one of inferior caste, was not considered lawful and the issue was deemed illegitimate.

Divorce required no cause or proceedings. The husband could repudiate his wife at pleasure, and the wife could separate herself from her husband if her parents consented without any fault on the part of her husband. But if there was fault on the part of the husband, the consent of her parents was not necessary for a separation.

It will be seen from the foregoing that there was no record or registration kept by some one in authority either of marriages or divorces ; and in case of litigation, oral evidence was all that could be relied on to establish the status of a person who claimed to be a wife, or to prove the paternity of a child.

It has been said that, under the circumstances that existed at this time, the morality of the Kandyans was that of a poultry yard, and Courts of Law found it well-nigh impossible to decide with certainty questions of inheritance when paternity or legitimacy had to be proved. It was inevitable that this state of things could not continue and that legislation would have to be introduced which would place Kandyan marriages on a more satisfactory footing, particularly in regard to a plurality of spouses and to divorce.

1. [*Paraveni* (corruptly *paravani*) property is private property for which service is not owing to an overlord. D'Oyly's definition is as follows : " *Paravani* land is that which is the private property of an individual proprietor, land long possessed by his family, but so-called also if recently acquired in fee simple."—Ed., *Ceylon Antiquary*.]



Whether Government contemplated a change in the law it is difficult to say, but a huge petition was presented to the Governor purporting to come from the Kandyans, in which they prayed for legislation based on broad grounds of morality and in accord with Western civilization and habits. It is supposed that the petition was got up to please Government, who were reluctant to move in the matter until the initiative was taken by the people themselves.

The result of this Petition and the consequent agitation was the passing of the Ordinance 13 of 1859. The main provisions of the Ordinance are as follows :—

No future marriage shall be valid unless registered and solemnized in the presence of the Registrar of the District nor to which the male party was under 16 years and the female under 12 years ; all existing marriages if contracted according to the laws, institutions and customs in force among the Kandyans were valid ; any marriage during the life of a former husband or wife was void except when the party to the second marriage was divorced or when the first marriage was decreed void. The father of a male under 21 years, not being a widower, and of any female, under 16 years, not being a widow, or a guardian if the father be dead, had authority to consent to or forbid marriages. District Courts were empowered to hear divorce cases. No suit for divorce could be maintained except on grounds of adultery by wife after marriage, or of adultery by husband after marriage accompanied with gross cruelty, or on grounds of complete and continued desertion for the space of five years. The Court could decree dissolution of any existing marriage (unless registered) on proof that the parties to the suit mutually consent to the said dissolution. Polygamy was made punishable.

The preamble to the Ordinance is of great historical importance, and shows the construction which the Government placed on the Convention of 1815 and its obligation thereunder. The preamble says :—

" Whereas it was agreed and established by a Convention signed at Kandy, on the second day of March in the year of Christ, 1815, that the dominion of the Kandyan Provinces was vested in the Sovereign of the British Empire, saving to all classes of people in those Provinces, the safety of their persons and property with their civil rights and immunities according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force amongst them,

" And saving always also to the British Empire, the inherent right of Government to redress grievances, and reform abuses in all instances whatever, particular or general, where such interposition shall become necessary,

" And whereas accordingly, the rights and liabilities of the Kandyans, (as far as they have not been affected by local Ordinances), have always been adjudicated upon by the Courts of law in this Island, in accordance with the laws, institutions, and customs established amongst the Kandyans,

" And whereas the right reserved as above mentioned to the Sovereign has from time to time been exercised by the Sovereign, through the Governors and Councils of this Island, as the circumstances of the people have become changed by the influence of a just Government, the spread of education, and the extension of commerce,

" And whereas the custom of the Kandyans, now considered as the law regulating the contract of marriage, permits a man to have more than one living wife, and a woman to have more than one living husband,

" And whereas this custom is wholly unsuited to the present condition of the Kandyans and is in no way sanctioned by their National Religion ; and whereas such custom is a great hardship and oppression to the industrious classes, and the frequent cause of litigation leading to murders and other crimes,



"And whereas, from the circumstances aforementioned, the marriage custom of the Kandyan is become a grievance and an abuse, within the meaning of the said Convention, and a large and influential portion of the Kandyan people have petitioned for the redress and reform of the same,

And whereas it is expedient, in order to such redress and reform, that Her Most Gracious Majesty should, in accordance with the said Convention, make provision through the Legislature of this Island for the contracting and solemnization of marriages within the said Provinces and for Registration of such marriages, and for the dissolution of such marriages, and for other matters relating to the same,

"Be it therefore enacted," etc.

It was expected that the Ordinance would create a great change in the moral outlook of those residing in the Kandyan Provinces, and that there would be a cessation of the promiscuous alliances that prevailed amongst them. Sir Henry Ward, in his farewell address to the Legislative Council, made shortly after the passing of the Ordinance, said :

"The Kandyan Marriage Ordinance originating with the Kandyans themselves, and carried out by them, as the Government Agent informs me, with an earnestness and intelligence that have never been surpassed, assimilates the institution of marriage in the Central Province to the European type, and works a more radical change in the habits of an Oriental people than law-giver or conqueror ever attempted. There is no part of India at the present day where such a change could be hazarded ; here it is the act of the people themselves, the growth and proof of increasing civilization. It is peculiarly gratifying to me, before my departure from the Island, to have been enabled to take, in conjunction with the Executive Council, the first steps prescribed by the Ordinance for bringing this measure into operation, by proclaiming the first registration districts, and appointing the Registrar."

Now there can be little doubt that the Ordinance by one blow destroyed, or sought to destroy, the habits and customs which had grown with the national life of the Kandyans for about 2,000 years. They were obliged to register their marriages to ensure their validity ; they were restricted to one spouse ; and if they wished to separate by divorce, they had to go to a Court of Law which could grant a decree only on good valid grounds.

These provisions were repugnant to Kandyan habits and modes of thought, and, as a result, they were persistently ignored. Marriages continued to take place in accordance with custom and without registration ; polygamy and polyandry continued, and husband and wife lived apart, if so minded, and took to themselves other spouses.

In the course of a few years the officers of Government stationed in the Kandyan Provinces found (so the Queen's Advocate stated when introducing the Bill in Council) that 4/5 of the children that were born after the Ordinance was passed, were bastards. If matters were allowed to go on as they existed, a legitimate child would be a *rara avis* in the Kandyan country. There was no alternative but to pass an Ordinance amending the Ordinance of 1859, so as to make its provisions more in accord with Kandyan morality and Kandyan ideas as to the obligations of marriage.

Sir Hercules Robinson thus refers to the proposed amendment of the Ordinance in his address to the Legislative Council :

"The amendment of the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance is, I fear, unavoidable. I have directed the reports which have been received from the Agents, Assistant Agents, and District Judges in the Kandyan Provinces, as to the working of these Ordinances, to be printed and laid before you, and, I think, you will find on a perusal of these papers that they disclose a state of things which calls for the early intervention of the Legislature. I find that, in writing on this subject in 1859, Lord Lytton, then Sir E. B. Lytton, addressed to the late Sir Henry Ward the following remark :—



'That the Kandyans should themselves have become weary of their exciting license, and should have solicited from Her Majesty's Government the suppression of customs with which it is usually so difficult and unpopular to interfere, is a circumstance so unexpectedly gratifying that I can only hope you have not over-estimated the force of public opinion among them, which has invited this interference.'

"Experience has, I regret to say, shewn that there was at that time not only no widespread desire among the Kandyans for the change; but in many outlying districts, at some distance from the central capital, they had never even heard of the proposal until after the passing of the Ordinance No. 13 of 1859.

"That measure besides, it is now seen, was in two respects essentially faulty in its conception. If it had merely provided for a system of voluntary registration for the future, no harm at all events would have been done; but it went further, and attempted to regulate the status of all existing unions contracted according to the laws, institutions and customs in force amongst the Kandyans, and provided, as regards future registered marriages, that they could only be dissolved by the tedious and expensive process of a suit for divorce in the District Courts, upon grounds somewhat similar to those prescribed by the English law.

"For such a change the population were wholly unprepared, and the result is stated to be that, in the great majority of cases, the law has been systematically disregarded, whilst in the districts, where through official pressure most marriages have been registered, most evil has been done.

"I would not, however, propose to repeal the existing law, but merely to amend it by providing relief for those who, under the mistaken supposition that they were complying with its provisions, have committed bigamy, and by affording greater facilities for the dissolution of registered marriages in cases in which the parties to them are unable from incompatibility of temper or any other cause, to live happily together.

"We must remember that it is hopeless to attempt to force European usages and opinions in regard to such domestic concerns upon an Eastern people until they are themselves prepared for the adoption of Western views of morality by an actual change of habits. No such change has, I fear, as yet taken place here, nor can we hope for any general change for many years to come.

"Meanwhile it will be a great step in advance, and quite as far as the Kandyans are at present prepared to go, if, having extinguished polygamy, we can only secure such formal record of the formation and dissolution of matrimonial connections as will do away with a fruitful source of uncertainty and litigation as to the rights of inheritance arising from the difficulty of tracing and proving in our Courts, after a lapse of years, by oral evidence alone, the complications of Kandyan alliances."

### THE PRESENT LAW.

The amendment was effected by Ordinance 3 of 1870. Its main provisions are as follows :—

Marriages after the Ordinance comes into operation and since the Ordinance 13 of 1859 was proclaimed shall not be valid unless registered; marriages contracted, according to the laws and customs in force amongst the Kandyans, before the Ordinance 13 of 1859 came into operation, were declared to be valid and the Provincial Registrars or their Assistants were authorised to register them; the grounds for granting a dissolution of marriage were (1) adultery by the wife after marriage; (2) adultery by the husband, coupled with incest or gross cruelty; (3) complete and continued desertion for two years; (4) inability to live happily together, of which actual separation from bed and board for a year shall be the test; and (5) mutual consent. Applications for such dissolution were to be made to the Provincial or Assistant Provincial Registrar, in other words the Government Agent, or his Assistant. When parties to marriages which were declared valid by Ordinance 13 of 1859 from ignorance caused marriages to be registered with other parties without



obtaining divorce, such registration was to be deemed to be a dissolution of the previous existing marriage and the issue were regarded as legitimate. All marriages contracted since the Ordinance 13 of 1859 came into operation, according to the laws and customs in force in Kandy but not registered, were deemed to be good marriage. Children were legitimized by the subsequent marriage of their parents. Polygamy and Polyandry were made illegal.

It will be seen that the amendments were important. Registration of marriages is necessary to ensure their validity. This is not an amendment, but a provision in the old Ordinance which has been retained. It was inevitable that registration could not be dispensed with, for without registration there would be no record of marriages, and the fact of marriage would have to be established by oral evidence.

The main object of a reform in the law of marriages was to obtain reliable evidence of marriages, and the object would be defeated if there was no registration. In all other respects the amendments seek to conciliate Kandyan customs and habits. The numerous grounds for granting a divorce facilitate dissolution of marriages and place the Kandyan almost *in statu quo ante*. Then the provisions legalizing marriages between 1859 and 1870,—which were not registered and legitimatizing the issue of marriages that had been solemnized according to the laws and customs of the Kandyans before 1859 where the parties afterwards contracted other alliances which were registered under the Ordinance of 1859,—minimized the evils which resulted from the working of this Ordinance.

The law that exists now is that which is to be found in the Ordinance of 1870. Parents, though they know what the result of non-registration of marriages would be, still allow their young daughters to live with young men as a preliminary to marriage. If they are suited to each other the marriage is registered. If not, they separate and contract other alliances.

There are two kinds of marriage in the Kandyan Provinces: Marriages in *Binna* and *Diga*.

*Binna* marriage is a contract by which the husband lives in the house of the wife and is supported by her. A *Binna* marriage is of rare occurrence and takes place only where the wife is in affluent circumstances and has few or no brothers. If there are many daughters and the parents desire that one of them should live with her husband in their house, it is generally the youngest daughter that is selected. The others are probably all married when the parents begin to realize that they would wish to have one daughter to look after them and minister to them in their old age, and thus it comes about that the selection is not made when the parents are young and require no assistance.

In a *Diga* marriage the husband brings his wife to his own house.

The consequences, in regard to legal rights, of the two kinds of marriage are not the same. The wives in the one case obtain rights of inheritance, and in the other they are deprived of these rights.

In *Binna* marriages the wife inherits the paternal property equally with her brothers, if she has any, or otherwise solely. In *Diga* marriage the wife forfeits her inheritance. This is the general rule.

But if the father contracts more than one marriage and the daughter who marries in *Diga* is a sole issue of one of these marriages, or if the other issues are also daughters married in *Diga*, she or they succeed to half their father's estate, the issue of the second marriage of the



father taking the other half. Or if the *Diga* married daughter maintains an intimate connection with the father's house, or returns with the husband and settles in *Binna*, or marries a second husband in *Binna*, she shares with the other heirs the inheritance.

There are other exceptions to the general rule, but as this is not a legal treatise they are not referred to. The rule that daughters who marry in *Diga* forfeit their inheritance is a very salutary one, and there is little doubt that it is in consequence of the exclusion of some of the children from their right to inherit that we have not the minute division of property that prevails in the Maritime Provinces. An adaptation of the Kandyan rule and its adoption in the Provinces where the rule of inheritance is under the Ordinance 15 of 1876 will tend to put a stop to the infinitesimal division of property.

The rights of parents to their children's Estate, the rights of children to their mother's Estate, the rights of the spouses to the Estate of their deceased spouses, are all questions which result from marriage, but are too technical to create interest in those unconnected with the legal profession and are, therefore, not dealt with. But there is one right that must be referred to as it is opposed to the other laws prevailing in the Island, and is disapproved by those who look with disfavour on intercourse not based on marriage.

The Kandyan law recognises the right of illegitimate children to the acquired property of the father. A self-made man or one with a command of ready money generally leaves at his death considerable property which he has purchased. The illegitimate child, if there is no legitimate issue, inherits all this property, and, if there are legitimate children, shares with them the property acquired by the father.

The rule applies also to property that may have come to him by Gift, though it be ancestral property, as in the eyes of the law all property that is not inherited is acquired. I am not disposed to agree that this is Kandyan law, but the Supreme Court for the last fifty or sixty years or more has decided in this sense. The text books give no countenance to this view :

Armour says : " In some cases the illegitimate children are even competent to inherit their father's purchased lands, as well as goods and chattels. Thus, if a man of high caste co-habited with a woman of inferior caste or inferior family rank and maintained that woman in his own house, and was attended and assisted by her until his demise, then in case that man died intestate and left not a widow who had been lawfully wedded to him, and left not legitimate issue, his landed property, which he had acquired by purchase, will devolve to his illegitimate issue, the child or children of the said woman of low-caste or inferior family rank."

It will be seen that the right of an illegitimate son to succeed to his father's acquired property is contingent on many events:—

- (1) his mother must have been maintained by his father in his own house,
- (2) it was incumbent on her to have attended on him and assisted him,
- (3) there should be no legitimate issue,
- (4) nor wife to whom he was married.

These conditions ought to be present before the illegitimate son could succeed to his father's property, and even then the property ought to be his purchased property only and not acquired by him, say by gift.

Sawer lays down the law as follows : " But the issue of the low-caste wife can inherit the lands acquired by their father whether by purchase or by gift from strangers."



The conditions laid down by Armour do not find a place in Sawyer, but at the same time Sawyer does not sanction the broad rules laid down by the Supreme Court and referred to by me above.

The *Niti Nighanduwa* (p. 71) has the following: "If the father dies leaving legitimate and illegitimate children, his ancestral lands and movable property will be inherited by the legitimate children, and the illegitimate children will receive a suitable portion of the lands purchased or acquired in any other manner."

Note, it is only a suitable portion that the illegitimate son gets, not the same portion as the legitimate issue. Marshal takes over Sawyer's views.

This question ought to be brought up before the Supreme Court again. The lax views held before the Ordinance of 1859 came into operation as regards concubinage and the rights of illegitimate children ought not to be tolerated now.

As I stated before, the law relating to Kandyan marriages has not been altered since 1870. Perhaps the time has come for some change that will make the Kandyans realize that marriage is a sacred function, that wives have to be treated with respect and consideration, and that they cannot be sent away at the whim of the husband. On the other hand, wives must be taught loyalty to their husbands, and that marriage is a life-long engagement.

Any alteration, however, in the law must not be hastily arrived at. The Kandyans of every Province must be consulted, and such changes introduced as will meet with universal approval.





## Notes & Queries.

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### WHO WAS DUTUGEMUNU'S QUEEN?

By A. H. MUNASINGHE.

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I SHALL be very greatly obliged if any reader of *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* will let me know the name and parentage of the Queen of King Dutugemunu, quoting the title, chapter and page of any book where the required information can be found. We all know that King Dutugemunu had a son, "Prince Saliya" by name, who married a girl of low birth and thus forfeited his right to sit on the throne of Lanka.

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### OLD DUTCH CUSTOM AT BATTICALOA.

By A. C. TUTEIN-NOLTHENIUS.

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A FEW years ago I happened to be at a resthouse in the neighbourhood of Batticaloa, when an old Tamil gentleman arrived, and a little later sat to his breakfast.

Among other things I noticed some small round cakes, covered with sugar and stuffed with currants, which reminded me very much of my boy's days in Holland.

Noticing I took rather a keen interest in the proceedings, the visitor asked me: "Would you care to have a *poffertje*?"

I could hardly believe my ears when he pronounced, and very correctly too, the name of the small cakes, which had just engaged my thoughts.

He told me this name had been used since the days of the Dutch settlement at Batticaloa, three centuries ago, and that these little cakes were still made there in the same manner and fashion, as the Dutch had done long ago, on special occasions.

It happened to be the birthday of one of his grand-children, and they had given him a share of their cakes, to eat on the way.

No true Dutchman can fail to recognise the old-fashioned "*poffertjes*" of the fairs. It was an absolute Dutch custom, to go to the yearly country-fairs, now very few and far between, and eat "*poffertjes*"

It is surprising indeed that this custom, and even the correct old Dutch name, should still linger among the old and well-to-do families at Batticaloa.



## SOME CASTE OBSERVANCES OF THE SINHALESE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

THE following caste observances existed some twenty or twenty-five years ago in the Hapitigam Kórale of the now defunct Negombo District of the Western Province. The Mudaliyar was the late Mr. H. L. Dassanáyaka, a fine specimen of the superior headman of the old-fashioned type, and it is from information given me by him that these notes are compiled. It would be interesting to know to what extent these customs are still observed in the Western Province.

Complimentary offerings to chiefs are of four kinds : *adukku*, *pehídun*, *gaḍageḍijāti* and *peṇum*.

*Adukku* comprises boiled rice, vegetables, curry, meat. *Adukku* may only be brought by Appuhámis, and must be brought in a chatty and not on plates.

*Pehídun* means unboiled food and may be brought by gamarálas, lascoreens, etc.

*Gaḍageḍijāti* means acid fruits of different kinds. These may be brought by anybody.

*Peṇum*. Oranges come under this head. They may be brought by anybody. (I have noted that this word is not in use in the Western Province, but am doubtful whether this is correct.)

Low castes may therefore offer betel, fruit, etc. (which are comprised under *gaḍageḍijāti* or *peṇum*), but they may not cut a coco-nut or other fruit. It must be given whole.

Mudaliyars may not drink water out of vessels belonging to *paḍuwás* or other low-caste people.

*Gamarálas* supply the lascoreens with food. Lascoreens are of two classes, (1) *káriya wasam*, and (2) *hewá-wasam* (soldiers).

Formerly the five low-castes had to attend at weddings, but now only two, viz. the dhobies and *hakuru* (jaggery) people, attend. At a wedding the dhobies must remain on the premises the whole time, whether they have work to do there or not. For them to leave before the end of the festivities would be to "disgrace" the bride.

There are not many people of *hakuru* caste in Hapitigam Kórale, and there is no *hakuru* village there. It is the duty of the *hakuru* people to take pingoes to weddings.

The *paḍuwás* of Hapitigam Kórale are very lazy "because they can eat anywhere," which means, I suppose, that they are indispensable if caste observances are to be properly kept up by the Vellálas.

The *vanniya* caste cut branches of trees for the elephants that are kept or used to be kept by Mudaliyars.

When a lascoreen delivers a message, the person who receives it must stand up out of respect to the Mudaliyar who has sent it, and should provide the messenger with a mat and betel.

The Mudaliyar attributed the prevalence of polyandry to the system of forced service once in existence. In this I could not agree with him.

*Query.* Is *adukku* a Tamil word that has been adopted in Sinhalese?



## YONASABHĀGAVATTHU.

By S. G. P.

IN a 'Note on the *Mahāvansa*' (*Notes and Queries*, I, pp. viii-x) Mr. Ayrton pointed out that *Yonasabhāgavatthu* (Mv. x, 90.) was (1) probably an anachronism, (2) that "there is no reason why we should not translate *Yona* by 'foreigner' and consider that, before the sixth century A.D., there existed a foreign quarter to the West of Anurādhapura." Who were these foreigners he asked, and felt tempted to see in *So naṇ sabhāgavattha*, *So taṇ sabhāgavatthu*, and *Sonnasabhāgavattha* (the variant readings given by Geiger, *Mv.*, P. T. S. 1908, p. 86) "misspellings of *Soṇa* the Tamil form of the word *Yona* as applied to themselves by the Moors."

May not *Yonasabhāgavatthu*—to retain Geiger's reading—be a reference to the Persian settlers in Ceylon? It is well known that, according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, there was a colony of Persians in Ceylon at the beginning of the sixth century.

Cosmas says (*Topographia Christiana*, Montfaucon, <sup>1</sup> 178; Engl. Trans. McCrindle, 118-119): "Even in Taprobane, an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a Church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers."

And again (*Montf.* 337; *McCrind.* 365): "The island (i.e. Taprobane, Sīledība) has also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. But the natives and their kings are heathens." (Cf. Tennent, *Ceylon* i, 562, 566 & sq; *Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 1-4).

Cosmas wrote 535-547, but his journeys took place between 520-525. Thus, there was a colony of Persian Christians in Ceylon in the early part of the sixth century. They had a Presbyter and a Deacon to minister to them, which implies a respectable number of Christians. What more natural than that the foreigners, pastors and flock, should live in a distinct quarter, in a centre of trade such as Anurādhapura then was? It is probable, moreover, that the Persian colony had settled before the sixth century, perhaps much earlier.

There is an allusion to this Persian colony in the following passage, which I give for what it is worth. A Persian hagiographer, Zādoé, describes himself as "prêtre et solitaire, chef du monastère de Saint-Thomas dans le pays de l'Inde, dont le siège est fixé sous le pays des Qatrayé, à Ceylan, l'île noire". (Labourt. *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse*, p. 306; Duval, *La Littérature Syraque*, 154, 159). He also claims to be a contemporary of Mar Yonán, who is said to be a disciple of Mar Augín (Eugene, + 363) the legendary founder of Syrian monasticism, and would thus be of the fifth century at the latest. The Persian settlers in Ceylon were probably Qatrayi, from the Persian Gulf.

<sup>1</sup> Greek text and Latin translation of Fr. Montfaucon reproduced by Migne in his *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Book of Governors* (*Historia monastica* ed. Budge i, p. xlv; Dr. Fortescue, *Lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 43, 110-111; Fra Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 80).



## EXPORTS FROM CEYLON IN 1688.

By HERBERT WHITE, C.C.S. (RETIRED.)

**D**O the Dutch archives give the exports from Ceylon and their value for the year 1688?

In Chap. IX. of his *History of England*, Macaulay, in one of his purple patches, describes "the mighty and opulent Amsterdam renowned throughout the world for. . . . its warehouses filled with the most costly productions of Ceylon and Surinam."

With all due deference to the historian and in spite of Mr. Birrell—who says in one of his essays that if Macaulay came to life again a good many people would be more careful than they are how they write about him,—one cannot help remarking that in the above passage a good deal is left to the imagination.

This is all the more curious because, in a later chapter, Macaulay relates of Charles Montague that he "was said to revel in Tokay from the Imperial cellar and in soups made out of birds' nests brought from the Indian Ocean and costing three guineas apiece."

It will be noticed that, in the first passage, the countries of origin are stated but not the exports; whereas in the second the exports, edible birds' nests, and their value, three guineas each, are stated but the country of origin, "the Indian Ocean," is distinctly vague.

I do not think that the edible birds' nests came from Ceylon, but if they did and do still, they are worth cultivating.

As regards Surinam or Dutch Guiana, Macaulay indirectly lets us know what its productions were. In a later part of Chap. IX., speaking of the landing in England of William of Orange, he says of some of his followers: "Each was attended by a negro brought from the sugar plantations of the coast of Guiana."

Sugar, then, we can gather was one of the products of Surinam, which, by the way, had been ceded by the English to the Dutch in 1677 or only 21 years prior to the date of which Macaulay is writing.

It seems a pertinent question whether the Dutch in that space of time had been able thoroughly to exploit that possession, but perhaps Surinam is not quite within the purview of *The Ceylon Antiquary*.

What were the "most costly productions" of Ceylon, which, with the sugar of Surinam, helped to fill the warehouses of Amsterdam, and why was Ceylon named rather than Batavia, an older and richer settlement of the Dutch and from which Ceylon was administered?

The phrase itself is somewhat ambiguous. Macaulay, doubtless, meant that the Amsterdam godowns were full of very valuable Ceylon produce, but it may also mean that the produce in question had been obtained at the cost of a great expenditure of blood and treasure, which perhaps more nearly corresponds with the facts.

Christoph Schweitzer, in his account of Ceylon (1676-1682), says: "This island Ceylon is not unjustly called the Dutch Soldiers' slaughter house, and when they are commanded thither they reckon themselves going to execution."

Van Imhoff, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, writing in 1740, compared the island to a tulip of fabulous price but no real value. In 1688 the Dutch, who took Galle in 1640 and Colombo not until 1658, had as in the case of Surinam not been very long in occupation of the Colony.

They did not form their own cinnamon plantations until nearly a century after the date of which Macaulay is speaking, and in 1688 had to depend more or less on the good graces of the Kandyan King, with whom they were not on very good terms for their supply of cinnamon.



As to pearls, the fisheries were not very successful during the Dutch occupation ; indeed they are said to have had only four lucrative fisheries during their 150 years' tenure of Ceylon.

They did derive a considerable revenue from elephants and arecanuts, but neither of these would be kept in warehouses in Amsterdam.

Pepper was doubtless stored there, imported with the cinnamon as now, but what else ? The dividend paid by the Dutch East India Company in 1688 was just over 33 per cent.

It would be of great interest to know the relative value of Ceylon and the other Dutch possessions in the East Indies and for us Ceylon folk still more interesting if we had, instead of the Tokay and the edible birds' nests, a list in Macaulay's rolling periods of the "most costly productions" of Ceylon.

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## MOUNT LAVINIA.

By T. PETCH.

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**M**OUNT LAVINIA ! Why Mount Lavinia ? The question is one which is asked by many visitors to Ceylon, but the answers furnished are usually decidedly vague and unconvincing. "It was named after the wife of some Governor" is the explanation generally offered, sometimes with the more precise addition of the name of Sir Edward Barnes. The *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (p. 67) plumps for the latter, stating that the house was built by Sir Edward Barnes and "called after his wife." But Sir Edward Barnes married, in 1823, Maria, daughter of Walter Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, Yorks. (Lewis, *Ceylon in Early British Times*, p. 66).

Mr. John M. Senaveratne has kindly pointed out that the name was in existence prior to Sir Edward Barnes' Governorship. According to Casie Chitty (1834), it originated with Sir Thomas Maitland, who "rendered it (i.e. Galkissa) a place of importance by making it his country residence and erecting a bungalow, called Mount Lavinia." But why should Sir Thomas Maitland choose a name which recalls London suburbanism ? From all accounts, he does not appear to have been of a romantic disposition.

To the same authority, I am also indebted for the information that the crag which gives us the Sinhalese Galkissa was known in Portuguese times, and even later, as *Lihiniya-gala* = rock or cliff of the birds, and for the following confirmatory extract from Pieris, *Portuguese Era*, I, p. 490, note 28 :—

"*Lihiniya-gala* (*Anglice*, Mount Lavinia), by the small bay of Galkissa, when scanning the eight miles of coast, is the first rising ground after leaving Colombo, and forms the Marro or the Hill of Mapane as known to the Portuguese."

But from Lihiniya to Lavinia is a long step, even for those who are credited with paying no attention to vowels and very little to consonants. Moreover, it would seem desirable to have further confirmation of this name. From the earliest period, the "Promontory of the Birds" was at the entrance to Galle Harbour ; and it does not seem possible that the comparatively insignificant rocks at Galkissa could ever have warranted that title.

When so little is certain, further suggestions may be permissible. The purpose of the present note is to call attention to the existence of the word Lavenia as a Sinhalese plant name, or rather as the accepted English version of a Sinhalese plant name.



We go back to the time of Hermann, who collected plants round Colombo in 1672-79, and recorded their native names. Sherard, who edited Hermann's manuscripts, published, in 1704, a description of a plant which he called "*Chrysanthemum Zeylanicum, scrophulariæ aquaticæ folio, Lavenia dictum.*" (Ray. *Hist. Plant.*, III. p. 217). The plant was a Ceylon plant, and he could only have taken the native name from Hermann's records, though, curiously enough, the name is not included in Hermann's *Musæum Zeylanicum*, which was also edited by Sherard.

The scientific name of the plant has undergone several changes. In pre-Linnæan days, it was known as *Eupatoriophalacron*, for the loss of which we may be grateful. Linnæus named it *Verbesina Lavenia*, taking the specific name from Sherard's record. Willdenow, in "*Species Plantarum*, Ed. 4," named it *Lavenia erecta*. It now stands, for reasons which need not be particularised, as *Adenostemma viscosum*.

The next record of the native name is still in manuscript as far as I am aware. In 1882, J. Hoatson contributed to the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society, a paper on "The Sinhalese Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica." He was an Assistant Surgeon in the 1st Ceylon Regiment, and was stationed at Alupota, on the other side of Badulla. There he persuaded the Vedarâlas of Welassa to communicate to him their recipes for medicines, and these, duly translated, constituted his paper. From the recipes he compiled a list of medicinal plants under their Sinhalese names, and among these is *Lavenia mool*, i.e. *Lavenia* root, for which Hoatson supplied the scientific name, *Lavenia erecta*, following Willdenow.

Moon's *Catalogue of the Indigenous and Exotic Plants growing in Ceylon* (1824) does not help us. Moon recorded *Lavenia erecta*, and stated that it grew at Kalutara, but he did not cite a native name for it. That omission is, in some degree, evidence in favour of the supposition that he did not know the plant. In compiling his book, Moon collected the names of all the plants which had been previously recorded for Ceylon, errors included, and of the 1585 species of flowering plants enumerated by him, 754 are previous records. The majority of these names were extracted from Willdenow's *Species Plantarum*, and *Lavenia erecta* is one such. The fact that Moon gave a locality for it cannot be taken as evidence of personal knowledge, for he gave localities for plants which certainly never grew in Ceylon either wild or in gardens.

Some sixty years later, we have another manuscript reference. W. Ferguson, in a letter to Trimen, dated August 11th, 1884, stated: "I once got from Kalutara the *Lavenia erecta* under *Lavenia* as its Sinhalese name." Ferguson suggested that the Sinhalese name was the Latin name adopted from Moon, who was in charge of the Botanic Garden when it was at Kalutara, thereby indicating that he was unaware of any previous record, and of the origin of the Latin name.

We thus have three independent records, two from the Western Province, and one from Uva, of *Lavenia* as the Sinhalese name of *Adenostemma viscosum*. Together they cover a period of about 200 years.

The plant is quite a common one. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that neither in Thwaites' *Enumeratio Plantarum Zeylanicæ* nor in Trimen's *Handbook of the Flora of Ceylon* is any native name recorded for it. That is, neither Thwaites nor Trimen ever met with the native name; and Ferguson only met with it once, though he botanised over the Island for about forty years.

The evidence certainly appears to prove that *Lavenia* is, or was, a recognised Sinhalese name for *Adenostemma viscosum*. But it must be pointed out that though the plant is, to quote Thwaites, "very abundant throughout the Island," it prefers shady localities, and would, therefore, be out of place at Mount Lavinia.



## THE "GAL ALIYA," OR "ROCK ELEPHANT," AT KATUPILANA, TAMANKADUWA.

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

TO the nations of Western Europe being seen but rarely—perchance in an occasional war, or at special Triumphal Processions and Amphitheatre Shows of Ancient Rome—the elephant, save that its physical power and perfect docility when trained were recognised,<sup>1</sup> was usually just "*tetra et immanis bellua*."

As such—"monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens"—it is connected by more than one classical writer with Ceylon, "India's utmost isle, Taprobane":—

*Insula Taprobane gignat tetros elephantos.*

But in the East, from the dawn of history, it has been otherwise.

In India, in Ceylon, and in the Further East the elephant, whether in his native wilds or as tamed to play honoured and invaluable part, not in "war's dread arbitrament" alone but at State Functions of Court and Religious Festivals, and, doubtless, as frequently put to useful labour suited to his immense strength, has been familiar to the Oriental from boyhood: thus has he ever aroused awe (at times culminating in deep reverence) rather than fear unalloyed.

No need to multiply proof for what is truth of universal acceptance in the East. Suffice it to cite but two pertinent instances, attesting the semi-adoration attached to "our lord the elephant" by Orientals.

In Indian mythology we have "the wonderful Elephant Airāvata," the ocean-churned *vahana*, or "vehicle," of Indra, "king of the gods;" whilst Ceylon's Great Chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, gives us the romantic legend of the incomparable Kandula, to whose aid King Duṭṭugemunu owed the capture of Vijita-pura stronghold and the death in single combat of his rival, the Tamil usurper Elāḷa.<sup>2</sup>

From this established reverence for the elephant followed naturally its representation in Art and in Architecture, sacred and secular.

Thus, in *Ceylon ancient art*, we find him reproduced, from very early times, in the ornamental embellishment of structures.

Witness, *inter alia*, the fronting-elephant bosses, in *alto relieve*, lining the off-set "chapels" of the large Dāgabas at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa; the profile bas-reliefs on plinth slabs, &c., of more than one edifice at the latter Capital,<sup>3</sup> and even at the more modern *Siriwardhana-pura*, or Kandy;<sup>4</sup> and, above all, the finely executed elephant figurines passing across the field, with the other three beasts (horse, bull, lion) symbolical of the Four Quarters, on staircase "moonstones" at the earlier Capitals.

So too in *architectural design*,

1. Martial (*De Spectaculis*) XVII, XIX:—Quod plus et supplex elephas te Cmsar adorat.  
Hic modo, qui tauro tam metuendus erat.

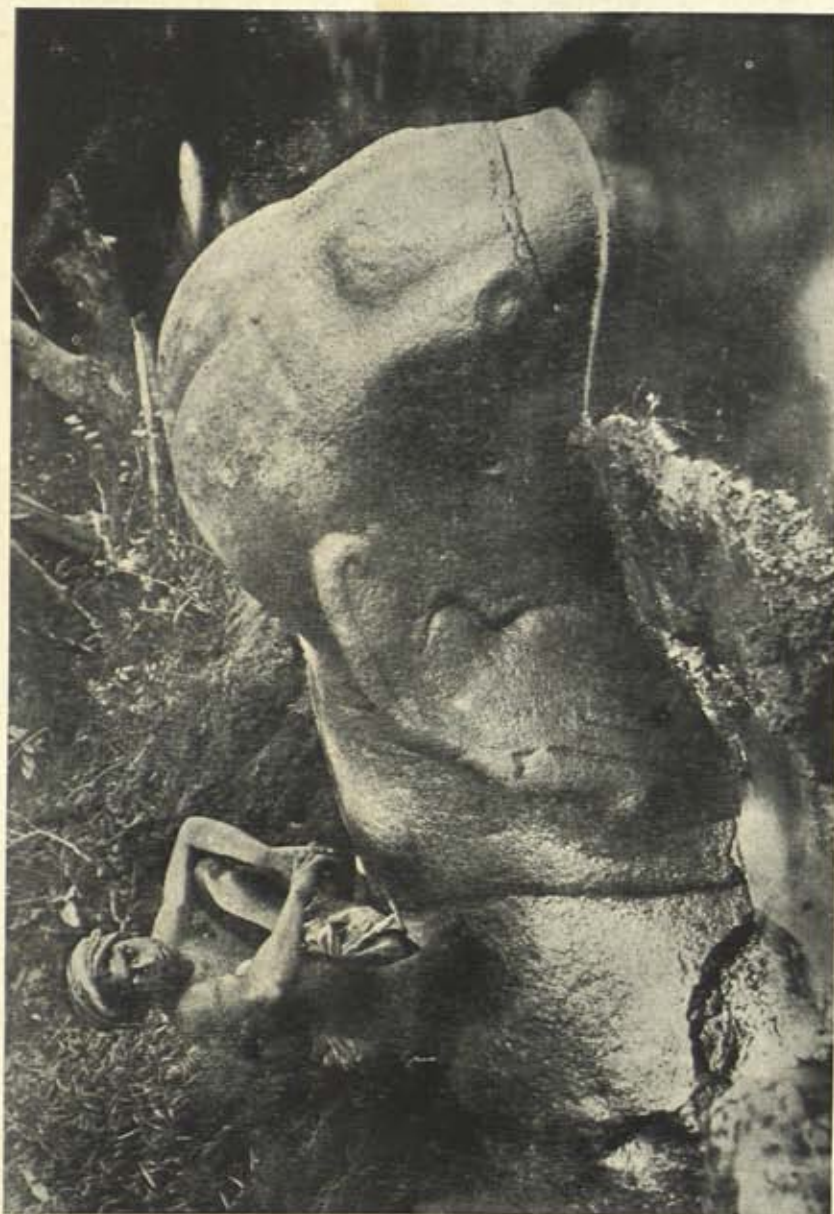
2. *Mahāvamsa*, XXV.

3. See Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1900, p. 8; 1905 p. 4.

4. The pair at the entrance to the Dalado-Māṭigāwa Portico.



**KATUPILANA.**



H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

"GAL-ALIYÁ" OR "ROCK ELEPHANT."

"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.







Full-front elephant relieves, though usually of stucco, were employed to hold up the revetment of the *salapatala maluwa*, or inner paved platform, of Ruwanvêli Dágaba, as well as the stylobates of other structures at Anurádhapura (Jetawanárâma Toluville) and more modern sites, e. g. the warder elephants of the dágaba basement at Gaḍaládeṇiya Viháre, Central Province.

These, and other instances which will readily occur to those acquainted with the "Ruined Cities," are, nevertheless, all of a *stereotyped form of relief-carving* (high, medium, and low) repeated *ad libitum* wherever desired.

Instances of the four "cardinal-point" animals (East, elephant, South, horse, West, bull, North, lion) sculptured in the *full-round* is of very rare occurrence; though the delightful little kneeling figures, surmounting pilasters on guardstone terminals to stairs of sacred buildings at Anurádhapura, go far to redeem the want.

A single specimen of the couchant elephant, in limestone and of no great size, with one of the lion, was unearthed amid the Ruwanvêli Ruins in 1901.<sup>5</sup>

But of the elephant *in his natural environment*, untrammelled by conventional adaptation to sacred edifices, few examples of the sculptor's art seemingly exist in the Island.

Apart from the full-front bas-reliefs, roughly blocked-out, above the *pokuna* at Isurumuniya Temple at Anurádhapura, one such gem of pure *genre* carving may be seen at the ruins, little visited, below the bund of Tisa-vêwa tank.

This "spirited and life-like" piece of low relief sculpture is noticed in the *Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1901* (p. 6), where a photographic reproduction of the scene is given:—

The sloping face of the rock (a breadth of 32 ft. in all) on either side of this strangely cramped, round-back, chamber has been carved into wondrously realistic bas-reliefs in perfect keeping with the *pokuna*. These represent elephants in a lotus-covered tank.

On the rock slope, to the right, three elephants are shown lazily disporting themselves in the water, undisturbed, amid lotuses and fish: on the left the scene is vividly changed—some sudden alarm has roused the elephants; one seems to be scenting danger, the other two are already in full flight.

This absolutely unique piece of carving is, without exception, the most spirited and life-like to be seen anywhere among the ruins of Anurádhapura.

The dark-grey granite "*Gal Áliya*" at Kaṭupilâna, the subject of this Note, holds a position half way between the *alto relieve* figurines on guardstones and the whole-round figure above mentioned.

It is in reality a full-sized elephant sculptured from bed rock, which here fringes the left bank of the Mahávêli-gaṅga river. The pseudo-beast, fronting and in exceptional relief, owing to the perfectly adapted situation and surroundings, its size and its attitude—half submerged with head slightly turned up-stream as though reconnoitering before wading or swimming across the river—looks, from a short distance, very much in the flesh and very much alive.

The isolation of this unlooked for *tour de force* of animal sculpture—just possibly the irresponsible freak of some skilled stone mason—has left it virtually unknown to Europeans. Very rarely, a chance sportsman, or Government Officer,<sup>6</sup> when in the neighbourhood, may have been induced to go out of his way to examine the figure, from curiosity; for it is off the usual track for those desirous of crossing the river to the Moor villages Kaṭuwan-vila and Alincha-potâna, the nearest *toṭapola*, or ferry, being somewhat further down stream.

5. Archaeological Survey, Annual Report 1900, p. 4.

6. The late Mr. W. H. Clark, Assistant Conservator of Forests, North Central Province, first brought the existence of the Kaṭupilâna "Rock Elephant" to the notice of the writer.



Such an opportunity fell to the writer when, as Archæological Commissioner, he was on tour in the Egoḍa Pattuwa of Tamankaḍuwa in 1897, and camped at Muttugalla a few miles off.

A notice of the visit to the "*Gal Aliya*" appears in his Diary of September 23rd :—

*September 23rd.* In the morning [from Muttugalla]  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the *toṭupola*, or ferry, and crossed the river (Mahaweli-gaṅga) to the west side by *oruwa* (canoe).

The nearest village is Kaṭuwan-vila, inhabited by Moors, which lies a short way from the right, or Egoḍa Pattuwa, side of the river.

Then cut our way up-stream along the left bank for a quarter of a mile to some rocks, where the "*Gal Aliya*" or "Rock (-cut) Elephant" is to be seen.

There are, at this point, seven or eight boulders, all more or less small, and close together.

Along the sloping base of one, (which rises S. E. and is about 15ft. above the present high-water level, but falls away at an angle of 45 degrees on the land side) runs a groove, or "set," for wall foundation; and at the south end of the boulder are cut to either side nine shallow steps with mortices for pillars. Evidently a building of some sort stood here—very likely a *Mura-gé*, or "Guard-house," intended to overlook the river.

The "*Gal Aliya*," so called, is carved out of a small rock, which projected into the river slightly, a few feet higher up-stream. The gradual wear of the bank had buried all but the head of the figure. Had the silted earth behind dug out, and found that of the elephant only 6ft. backwards from the head had been carved, and that the animal's back sloped down one foot in three.

The elephant almost directly fronts the stream, facing S.S.E. It is said by the guides to be cut in a kneeling attitude, with its head slightly inclined to the right (i.e. up-stream). The head is wonderfully well carved on the whole, and very true to life, both in its outline conformation and size. Owing to the river being now in flood, all below the eyes and ears is under water.

No inscription could be discovered on the adjoining boulders, to afford some clue to the probable age of this unique example of life-size animal sculpture.

Photographed what showed of the beast with a merry Moor youth (who seemed to "enjoy the ride") on its back; and took some above-water measurements of the head :—

(i) Top of head to furthest part of back (2ft. slope).....	6ft. 0in.
(ii) Back of ear to back of other ear, across forehead. ....	7ft 5in.
(iii) Top of ear to top of other ear, over the skull.....	3ft. 10in.
(iv) Back of ear to eye.....	3ft. 3in.
(v) Ear.....	2ft. 7in.
(vi) Eye socket.....	9in. by 6in.

Ten years later (1907) Mr. H. Storey, the well-known sportsman, published the following fuller account in his "*Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*" (pp. 145—6), together with a reproduction of the photograph taken by the writer in 1897 :—

On the way down the river (Mahaweli-gaṅga) we had the luck to find the water so low that I was able to show Cameron, a perfect view of that extraordinary relic of antiquity known as the "Elephant's Head."

This is such a curiosity that I have no doubt my readers will pardon the digression if I give a short account of it.

On the west bank of the river, at a point nearly opposite Kaṭuwan-vila village (which is on the east bank), are some boulders, some of them in the water, others just on the edge of it.

One of these boulders, just at the water's edge, has been admirably carved into an excellent representation of a life-sized elephant's head and shoulders, trunk curved round towards its side, tusks and all complete.

The river is seldom so low as to uncover more than half of it; but this time it was completely uncovered down to the "pedestal" so as to expose the fore-feet, which are, unfortunately, badly carved, representing the elephant as getting up from the kneeling position.

There are signs on the rocks above it of there having been possibly a small building of some sort, but not a trace of inscription; and absolutely nothing is known of the meaning or origin of this mysterious head. There it has been for centuries, at times buried under the water, but generally half submerged, looking exactly like an elephant having a bath or commencing to wade across the river.



We pulled our canoe right up to it, and examined the whole thing very carefully. I had seen it before, but Cameron had not, and I could hardly tear him away from it, so great was his interest.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archaeological Commissioner, has a photograph of it half submerged, with a native boy sitting on the head, and the life-like illusion is perfect.

Mr. Storey has been good enough to supply a further short Note, which, to some extent, supplements the above interesting description :—

On the occasion when I saw the Kaṭupilāna "elephant," with Mr. H. S. Cameron of "Syston Estate," in 1904, the river was at its lowest and the carving was uncovered to the bottom.

When the whole head is seen, it does not look so well as the upper unsubmerged half of it appears in your photograph. The tusks are not well carved, being also only in relief, and made to curve towards, I think, the right side. The animal is represented as rising from the ground, but the legs and feet are poorly executed ; not at all in proper proportion to the head. Altogether the figure shows up at its best with, say, only about two-thirds of the head above the water.

I noticed sockets cut in the rock above the carving, possibly for supporting some sort of a roof.

These questions naturally cross the mind.

For how many centuries of the Island's history has this silent "monarch of the forest" stood in his wooded seclusion and natural haunts, gazing up river ? How came he to be fashioned and located at a site now so obscure ? What was the true *raison d'être* of this unique sample of fauna sculpture ? Was its creation due to the pure foible of a vain *gal-waduwá*, or does the "Rock Elephant" represent the petrified representation of some erstwhile "Kandula," whose deeds his Royal Master desired thus to perpetuate amid environment so congenial to his living compeers \* ?

Neither rock record, nor palm-leaf chronicle, affords any clue.

The secret of the "*Gal Aliyá* of Kaṭupilāna" remains inscrutable. Will it ever reveal itself ?

*Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit ;  
Quae sese, multis circumlustrantibus undis,  
Mole tenet.*

He standeth like some sea-girt rock,  
Moveless, athwart the waters' shock ;  
And, anchored by his ponderous form,  
Massive, resists the beating storm.

8. See the quaint story in the *Pujavaliya* of King Mit Sen (Mitta Senā, A. D. 455-6) and the brick-and-plaster elephant, which obeyed the Sovereign's behest to bear him on its back to the Palace.





## Literary Register.

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### THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

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

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#### PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from Vol. III, page 66.)

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#### CHAPTER XVI.

*Of the King's Palace,—a Description of it; of his Manner of Life, and of the Queens, his Wives.*

##### Symson.

The King, as has been said, always resides in the Isle of *Male*. His Palace is built with Stone, being a handsome Structure, containing several Apartments, but not according to the Rules of Architecture, and but one Story high. About it are Orchards and Gardens, with Fountains and Basins, wall'd in and pav'd with broad Stones. Those Places are always kept by Persons appointed for that Purpose, because there the King and Queens wash, all others being forbid washing there.

Within the Enclosure of the Palace,<sup>1</sup> which is very large, there are several Apartments, and as many Courts, in the midst of all which is a Well, hemm'd in with white Stone. In one of those Courts are two of the King's Stores, in one of which he keeps his Cannon, and in the other all Sorts of Arms.

At the Entrance into the Palace, is a *Corps de Garde*, with some Peices of Cannon, and Variety of Weapons. The Porch is like a square Tower; on the Top whereof the Musicians play and sing on Festival-Days.

Next is a Guard-Chamber for the Soldiers, and within that a great Hall for the Nobility, Gentry, and Persons of Distinction; for no Person, either Man or Woman of any Quality whatsoever, dares go any farther, except the Servants to the King and Queens, and their Slaves and Attendants.

##### Harris.

The royal Palace is of Stone, one Story high, and has a great many fine Apartments, without the Ornaments of regular Architecture. It is surrounded with Gardens, in which there are great Fountains and Cisterns of Water walled in, and paved with large smooth Stones, and guarded continually to hinder People from washing in them, as being solely reserved for the King and Queen's Use.

The Palace<sup>1</sup> is divided into several Courts, each of which has a Well in the middle, paved with fair white Stones; and in one of these Courts the King has two Magazines, one for Ordnance, and the other for Ammunition.

At the Palace-Gate there's a Guard, with many Pieces of Ordnance, and other Arms. The Portal is made like a square Tower; and on Festival-Days, the Musicians sing and play upon the Top of it.

Passing on from the Gate, you first come to a Hall, where the Soldiers wait, then to another great Hall, where the Noblemen and Gentlemen attend; for none but the Officers of the Household, with the King and Queen's Slaves or Servants, are allowed to go farther.

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1. Pyrard: "le Palais, appellé en leur langue *Gauveyre*; M. Gaduvaru; Cf. Tam, *Gaidigat*, Sin, *gedigé*,



## Symson.

The Floor of those Rooms is rais'd about three Foot above the Ground, and neatly boarded; the raising is because of the Pismires: all the Houses are so, only supposing that the Palace is somewhat better than the rest. The boarded Floor is cover'd all over with a very fine Sort of Mat, made in those Parts of several Colours, wrought in pretty Figures.

The Walls are hung with Silk, richly fring'd. At the End where the King sits, there is another Sort of richer Hanging, and a Place rais'd two Foot above the rest of the Room, cover'd with a Carpet, on which the King sits cross-legg'd, for they use no Chairs.

The Men of Quality, who come to make their Court, sit down in the same Manner all about the Hall, on the Mats. In sitting, they all observe what is due to their Quality,<sup>2</sup> for, those who are of an Inferior Rank continue standing, unless the King, or in his Absence, the great ones command 'em to sit down. The Places next to the King's Seat, are most honourable.

All who come to pay their Respects to the King, wait in the second Hall, as has been said; and sometimes the King sends them *Betele* and Fruit, which is a great Honour. Once a Fortnight the King comes and sits in that Hall among them, either to pass the Time, or talk of Business. Those of the Isle of *Male* go to Court every Day, those of other Islands seldomer, according to their Distance, and, the first Time, must not fail to bring the King a Present, without which no Person whatsoever is admitted to salute him.

By these Presents, it is easily known whether a Man is in Favour or not; for if the King receives it, he is certainly well admitted: but if he does not accept of it, or if he does not speak a Word to the Person who brings him Word that such a Man is arriv'd and salutes him, it is a certain Sign of his being in Disgrace. The King receives Strangers in the first great Hall, where the Guards are.

The King's inner Lodgings and Apartments are also well furnish'd and hung with costly Silks of most lively Colours, and enrich'd with Flowers and Branches of Gold, most delicately wrought; most of them brought from *China*, *Bengale*, *Masulipatan*, and *St. Thomas*, tho' some are made in the *Maldives*. The People use Calicoe-Hangings, sewing together Peices of several Colours, and adorning them with Needle-Work, and they have very fine painted Calicoes from *Bengale*.<sup>3</sup>

Their Beds are Hamacks, hanging in the Air by four Cords, at a Bar or Peice of Timber, supported by two Pillars; the Quilts and Bed-Cloaths are all of Silk and Calicoe, within rich Curtains of Silk, or Cloth of Gold. The Beds of the King and Great Men are all after this Manner, because they are generally shaken and rock'd in them; and they often cause themselves to be rubb'd in Bed, and to be gently patted with both Hands, which they say is good against the Indisposition of the Spleen they are subject to. Most of the King's Servants lie on Cotton Quilts, laid on Boards rais'd on four Pillars four Foot high.

<sup>2</sup> So too under the Sinhalese Kings, e.g. the pillar positions respectively assigned to Ministers at the "Privy Council Chamber," Polonnaruwa. See *Arch. Surv. Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1900, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Pyard: "Il vient aussi de Bengale une maniere de tapisserie de toile peinte dessus et diversifiee de couleurs, ce qui est bien agreable. Ils les appellent *Iader*." Cf. *Hind. Chadar*.

## Harris.

The Floor of these Halls is raised three Feet high from the Ground, to avoid the Ants, being neatly boarded with Wood, and covered with a sort of party-coloured Mats, which they make in these Islands, and which have several Characters, and other Figures wrought upon them.

The Walls are hung with silk Tapestry as well as the Ceiling, which has pretty Fringes hanging about it.

The Noblemen sit down cross-legg'd on the Mats which cover the Floor of the Hall, observing punctually the Order of their Dignities.<sup>2</sup>

The Gentry of the Island of *Male*, and the ordinary Courtiers who are obliged to salute the King every Day after Noon, sit in an outer Hall till his Majesty comes forth. The Gentry of the other Islands come likewise to wait on the King in the same Manner, and always bring Presents along with them; for no one salutes the King without one.

The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with silk Tapestry, and enriched with gold Flowers and Branches of several Colours.

The Beds of the Palaces, and those of the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam, supported by two Pillars, and so the Person is rocked to Sleep. It is usual among the better Sort of People, to make the Servants rub and chafe their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little Slaps, or gentle Blows, with both their Hands, from an Apprehension, that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Spleen.



## Symson.

The King's usual Habit, was a Jerkin of very fine white Calicoe, reaching a little below his Waste, with a white and blew Edging, button'd before with Buttons of massive Gold. Below that he had a Piece of red Taffaty, hanging from his Waste to his Heels. That Taffaty was girt about him with a long and broad Sash of red Silk, with Gold Fringes, and over that a thick Gold Chain, made fast before with a great Clasp, broader than a Man's Hand, of the richest Stones that could be seen. He had also a Knife, after the Fashion of the Country, but curiously wrought. On his Head he had a little scarlet Cap, which is allow'd to none but him. The Cap had Gold Lace on it, and on the Top was a great Gold Button, with some precious Stone, being a Distinction of Royalty; and about the Cap was wrapp'd some red Silk like the Sash, which form'd a Turbant. Tho' the Great Men and Soldiers are fond of wearing long Hair, the King was shav'd every Week. He always went bare-legg'd, like the rest, and only wore on his Feet a Sort of Slippers of gilt Leather, \* brought from *Arabia*, made in the Shape of Sandals, which no other Person in the Kingdom dares to wear, except the Queen and Princesses. Tho' the Princes might have leave to wear them, yet they only make Use of Wooden Sandels \* at Home, leaving that Distinction to the King, tho' he has another which renders him remarkable enough.

When he goes Abroad, a white Umbrella <sup>a</sup> is carry'd over him, being the only Mark of Royalty, and as such allow'd to no other, except Strangers, who, as has been said, may wear and use whatsoever they please. There is always near the King a Page with a Fan; one who carries the King's Sword naked, and a Target; and one with a Box of *Betele* and *Areca*, which the King is always chewing. A Doctor of the Law is also continually close about him, with a Book, reading and putting him in mind of the Law.

The King dines alone, and after the manner, as has been said, of other People, only with some more State; but he is serv'd like the rest in *China* Ware, or Copper Vessels, which are made very handsom in these Islands, Silver and Gold being forbid by the Law.

He goes Abroad but seldom, and diverts himself with his Wives and Women, or else seeing several Handicrafts Work, as Painters, Goldsmiths, Embroiderers, Turners, Cabinet-makers, Armourers, etc., all whom he keeps in his Palace, supplying them with Materials, and paying for their Work. He also work'd himself, saying it was a Sin to be idle; and therefore always endeavour'd to learn, and gave Encouragement to any Stranger that would teach his People any Thing they knew not.

## Harris.

The King is generally clothed in a fine white Robe, or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower with white and blue Edgings, and made fast before with massy gold Buttons. Then he has a Piece of red embroidered Tapestry reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and fastened with a long large Girdle of Silk, fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which their hangs a large Jewel, as big as ones Fist, composed of the finest precious Stones. He wears likewise a Knife, made after the Fashion of the Country, and it is richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cloth of Scarlet, that Cloth being so much esteemed in that Country, that none but the King presumes to wear it. This Cap is laced with Gold, and has on the Top of it a great gold Button, with a precious Stone. The Grandees and Soldiers wear their Hair long, but the King has his Head shaved every Week. His Legs are naked, after the Fashion of the Country, and his Feet is covered with Slippers of gilt Copper, \* imported from *Arabia*, and made like Sandals, which none besides are allowed to wear, but the Queen and the Princes <sup>a</sup> of the Royal Blood.

When the King goes Abroad, the chief Mark of his Dignity is a white Umbrella, <sup>a</sup> which none are allowed to use but Strangers, who may have what they will. Upon the same Occasion he has three Pages near his Person, one carrying a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and a third a Box full of *Betel* and *Arequa*, which he chews every Hour. He is likewise attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his Presence, and puts him in Mind of Religion.

This King does not pursue the Diversion of going Abroad, and Fishing, as his Predecessors were wont to do, but shuts himself up in his Palace, and spends his Time in caressing his Queen, giving Audience to his Courtiers, and seeing a great many Mechanicks and Artificers work; for he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldsmiths, Embroiderers, Cutlers, Joiners, Turners, Armourers, &c., and find them Work: nay, he works frequently with his own Hands, and looks on it as a Sin to be idle. He is a Man of a lively quick Apprehension, and very curious to learn mechanick Trades. He encourages all Strangers that practise Arts unknown to his People, and makes Enquiry after those that excel in their Way.

4. M. *Fai-ran kolu*. Pyrard has "des pentouilles de cuyr d'aure." Harris read *cuir* as *cuiré* and translated wrongly.

5. Harris slurs here. The "Princesses" availed themselves of the privilege, not the "Princes" who used "certain wooden sandals" (M. *marauit kolu*).

6. M. *huds-hai-kolu*; Sin. *huds* "white," and "umbrella."



## Symson.

An hundred Soldiers mount the Guard every Day, and attend the King when he goes Abroad. His going to the Mosque has been already spoken of. It may now be added, that he always goes a-foot, because the Islands are but small, and there are no Horses; but if he will be carry'd, it is on Mens Shoulders.

There is no Pavement in any of the Islands, but all the Streets and Ways are kept extraordinary neat and clean. When the King goes along the Street, one Side is always left clear for him, the People all going over to the other, because he never passes or stands between two Persons, and all Men take special Care not to touch him. The Great Men observe the same in their Islands towards their Inferiors.

It is also to be observ'd, that when they speak to the King, the Queens, their Children, and other Princes of the Blood, and talk of them to others, it is done in Words which serve only for that Purpose, and must not be apply'd to any other; as for instance, of any other Man, they say he is asleep, but of the King, he takes his rest; and that must not be us'd in speaking of any but him.<sup>7</sup>

The King's Wives are clad as I have describ'd the other Women, only more richly, and wearing more Rings, Pendants, Bracelets, Chains, etc. They very rarely go Abroad, and then their Slaves go before, to bid the Men get out of the Way, and only the Women to appear, who come out to them with little Presents of Fruit and Flowers. Four of the prime Women carry over the Queen's Head a Canopy, with Curtains hanging down to the Ground, so that there is no seeing of them.

When with Child, they go bathe themselves in the Sea, like other Women; <sup>8</sup> for it is reckon'd very wholesome. To that Purpose, a little Spot is inclos'd, and hung with Calico, and there the Queens and Ladies wash themselves, and then remove to another House made also on Purpose, where they bathe again in fresh Water.

No Day-light comes into the Chambers of the Queens, Princesses, and great Ladies; but there are many Lamps continually burning. They keep in a Part of the Room behind four or five Partitions of Curtains, which must be lifted up to come at them; but no Man nor Woman whatsoever dares presume to lift up the last at any Time, without coughing first, and telling who they are, and then they are either admitted or dismiss'd.

Both Men and Women have particular Pieces of Silk or Calico, which they wrap about them to lye in at Night.

## Harris.

On a Friday he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, consisting of an hundred Men, and his ordinary Officers, with a complete Band of Musick of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets. After Service is over, he returns with the same Retinue, the Soldiers leaping all the Way at the sound of Musick, and striking their Swords on one another's Bucklers, and that in such a successive Manner as to avoid Confusion. He is likewise attended, in his Return from Church, by all the People of the Island, and regales with a Dinner the *Pandjare*, *Naybes*, *Catibes*, *Moudins*, Gentlemen, and Soldiers. After Dinner he hears Causes, and Administers Justice.

These Islands afford neither Horse nor Beast, and therefore the King walks abroad on Foot, unless he be carried in a Chair upon Slaves Shoulders, which happens but seldom, for he is a brawny strong Man, and chooses rather to go on Foot.

In speaking to the King, or Queen, or Princes of the Royal Blood, and in speaking of them they have peculiar Expressions, that they dare not apply to others; as when they say of another Man, he is asleep, in talking of the King, they say, he takes his Rest.<sup>7</sup>

The Queens wear the same sorts of Habits with the other Maldivan Women, only their Cloaths are richer. The Noblemens Ladies and Daughters are obliged to wait upon them every Evening. And when the Queens go abroad (which happens but very seldom) all the Women in the Island run to meet them in their respective Districts with Presents of Flowers and Fruits, the *She-Slaves* giving Notice at a great Distance before them, for all Men to get out of the Way upon that Occasion. Four great Ladies carry over the Queen's Head a Veil of white Silk, reaching to the Ground, so that she is not seen.

The Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as other Women, <sup>8</sup> such being the Custom of the Country, which they reckon very conducive to Health. For this End they have an Inclosure in the Sea, covered with Cotton-Cloth, and upon the Shore a little House, with a Fresh-water Bath, which they use as they come out of the Sea.

Daylight is never seen in the Queen's Chambers, or those of the Ladies of Quality; for their only Light is Lamps burning continually. The Place of the Room where they usually retire is blocked up with four or five Rows of Tapestry, the innermost of which neither Man or Woman dares to pull up without coughing or hemming first, and telling who they are.

When they undress, they pull off only their Robe, for neither Men nor Women in the Maldives dare to throw off the Cloth that is tied round their Middle,

7. The Sinhalese are similarly precise. "He (ordinary person) sleeps" *M. uddatō*; *sin*, *uiddannawa*; of the Sultan or other great person; *M. arahara-fulu*; *sin*, *etapenawa*, "he slumbers."

8. Harris misses the point: Pyzard, "estant grosees."



## Reviews.

### HAMPI RUINS.

HAMPI RUINS, described and illustrated. By A. H. LONGHURST, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey Department, Southern Circle. 144 pages, 69 plates. Govt. Press, Madras, 1917. Price Rs. 3/- (4s. 6d.)

What Polonnaruwa is to Ceylon, Hampi is to the Madras Presidency, and Mr. Longhurst's admirable book, excellent in every respect and profusely illustrated, renders just that kind of service which one would like to see done in the case of our own ancient capital.

Hampi is a tiny hamlet which grew up around the great Pampápati temple which stands on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra in the Hospet taluk of the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. It is of no importance in itself, but it has given its name to the ruins which lie scattered about it of Vijayanagar, "the City of Victory," the birth-place of the Empire of that name and also of old the capital of its kings. The remains cover some nine square miles, but the fortifications and outposts of the city included a far larger area.

It is a mistake to isolate architecture from its surroundings, because the main points of the physical geography, social progress, and historical development of any country require to be understood by those who would study and comprehend its particular style. The object of Mr. Longhurst's book is, accordingly, not only to give a clear and brief description of the various styles of buildings produced during the Vijayanagar period, but also to consider those influences which have contributed to the formation of each special style. And that object has been achieved by Mr. Longhurst with conspicuous success, and rare insight and scholarship.

The leading influences that may be expected to shape the architecture of any country or people are, as Mr. Longhurst states in his Preface, (1) Locality with regard to its geographical, geological, and climatic conditions; (2) Religion; (3) Social and Political; (4) Historical. Important as all four of these are, the strongest is undoubtedly the influence of religion. In almost all countries and in India and Ceylon in particular, the chief buildings are the outcome of the nation's religious beliefs. Nothing reveals the character of the nation so clearly as its religion, and nothing has more permeating influence upon its architecture. Mr. Longhurst has, therefore, dealt with the influence of religion rather more fully than would at first sight perhaps appear necessary in a small work of this kind.

But the necessity for a brief knowledge of this important subject will become strikingly apparent when the visitor to Hampi finds himself confronted with the profusely sculptured walls and pillars adorning some of the larger temples. To him who knows not the legends of Ráma and Krishna, the different incarnations of Vishnu or the characteristics and attributes of Siva, those wonderful "pictures in stone" can have no meaning. And for what the book omits to do for the convenience of the same visitor, Mr. Longhurst has, as Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey Department, Southern Circle, provided all the monuments worthy of notice with name boards, and he proposes shortly to set up sign-posts at the junctions of all roads throughout the ruins. With this book in hand, therefore, the visitor to Hampi need seek no local guide, for it will direct his way as surely as it will add to and correct his knowledge of the history of the wonderful old city and its people.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.



# PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

ARCHIVES DE L' INDE FRANÇAISE, (No. 33-2<sup>me</sup> Semestre, 1917).

Résumé des Actes de l' Etat Civil de Pondichéry depuis 1676.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY, (Vol. XLVI, Pt. DLXXX).

Krishnaswami Aiyangar (M. R. Ry. S.)—Antiquities of Mahabalipur.

Rangachari (V.)—History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura.

Bhattacharya (D. C.)—Banabhatta's Guru.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES,  
(Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, July, 1917).

Clark (W. E.)—The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions.

Olmstead (A. T.)—The Political Development of Early Babylonia.

Powis Smith (J. M.)—Jewish Religion in the 5th Century B. C.

JOURNAL OF AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, (Vol. 37, Pt. I).

Barton (G. A.)—Ancient Babylonian Expressions of the Religious Spirit.

Casanowicz (M.)—Two Jewish Amulets in the U. S. National Museum.

Dominian (L.)—The Site of Constantinople : A Factor of Historical value.

Hopkins (E. W.)—Indic and Indian Religious Parallels.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, (Vol. III, Pt. II).

Ray (Prof. J. C.)—Textile Industry in Ancient India.

Jayaswal (K. P.)—Chronological Summary in the Puranic Chronicles and the Kaliyuga Era.

Muqtadir (K. S. Abdul) Note on a unique History of Timur.

Halder (Sukumar)—Ho Riddles and Auguries.

MYTHIC SOCIETY JOURNAL, (Bangalore), Vol. VII, No. 4, July, 1917.

Richards (F. J.)—Some Dravidian Affinities and their Sequel.

Sastry (R. Shama)—A few Inscriptions of the Ancient Kings of Anegundi.

Srikantaiya (S.)—The Hoysala Empire.

" " The Lost Cities of Ceylon—a study.

Narasimhachar (R.)—Mādhavāchārya and his younger brothers.

CEYLON NOTES AND QUERIES, (Pt. VIII, Dec., 1916).

Pieris (P. E.) Pandara Malikai.

Senaveratne (John M.)—King Ganatissa

Gunasekara (A. M.)—The Nagas of Ceylon.

Perera (A. A.)—Symbolical Representations.

Bell (H. C. P.)—Inscription at Embekke Dēvāle.

Hewavitarne (C. A.)—Descent of Buddha from Tavatimsa Heaven.

HINDUSTAN REVIEW, (Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 215 and 216, July and August, 1917).

Bose (P. N.)—The Great Problem of India—Will " Home Rule " solve it ?

Chatterjee (A. C.)—Social Ideals in India and China.

Aiyangar (K.)—Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar II.

Gupta (N.)—A Parallel with Difference.

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Nasiri (M. H.)—The Vizarat or Premiership in the History of the Saracens.

Dalal (V. S.)—Origin and Growth of the Caste System in India.

Mitra (S. C.)—Three Folk Songs from Eastern Bengal.

Greenwood (George)—Mono-Metallism vs. Bi-Metallism.



## ORIENTALIA.

### NOTES FROM ORIENTAL EXCHANGES.

By THE EDITORS.

#### The Last Words from the Cross.

According to Professor P. Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, the first two lines of Ps. 22 are corrupt; instead of *eli, eli* we must read *elē-eli*, "to my God," and this should stand at the beginning of the second line, while "my God" at the beginning of the second line should be prefixed to the first. [*Jl. of Am. Or. Soc.*]

#### New Pāli Dictionary.

Professor Jastrow, as Chairman of a Committee of the Directors of the American Oriental Society to consider a number of projects suggested for a proposed American Oriental Series, reports that one of these projects, to which the Society's approval has been given, is the compilation of a Pāli Dictionary. This is, without doubt, a work which is urgently needed and would form a most valuable contribution to Indology.

#### Hindu Sculpture and Architecture.

If the conclusions of the modern psychology of beauty be accepted, writes Professor L. C. Barret of Trinity College, there appear reasons why later Hindu sculpture falls far short of high attainment: the effort to portray the spiritual by violating the laws of matter and by misrepresenting its organised forms is an illogical proceeding, as might be expected from artists who handled a material whose very existence was held to be an illusion. The aims of architecture seem to hold it back from the greatest faults of Hindu sculpture [*Jl. of Am. Or. Soc.*]

#### The Son of Man.

Professor P. Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, says that "son of man" is the common Aramaic term for "man." The original meaning is "son of a man," not a "son of a nobody" (Assyr. *mār lā-māman*). In the Code of Hammurapi *mār amili*, "son of a man," denotes a "full-born man," while *muskinu* is a "free-born man." The primary connotation of the term "son of man" was "gentleman"; afterwards it was employed for "man" in general, and "man" may be used for "one" and "I": "A man cannot do it" may mean "One cannot do it" or "I cannot do it." This was the original meaning of the phrase in the Gospels (cf. Matthew 7, 20; 11, 19). [*Jl. of Am. Or. Soc.*]

#### Isaiah and the Inviolability of Jerusalem.

Does Isaiah teach the inviolability of Jerusalem at Is. 10. 5-15?, asks Professor K. Fullerton of the Oberlin School of Theology, and his answer, summarised, is as follows: The chief problem of anti-Assyrian prophecies is whether Isaiah taught the inviolability of Zion. Is. 10. 5-15 is the key to these prophecies. Vs. 13-15 and vs. 5-7a indicate a contrast between Jahweh's and Assyria's theories of Assyria's conquests. Jahweh's theory: Assyria is his instrument of punishment; Assyria's theory: Assyria conquers in its own power. Vs. 7b-12 indicate a contrast between Jahweh's and Assyria's plans. Jahweh's plan: chastisement, Jerusalem to be ultimately saved; Assyria's plan: destruction. Vs. 7b-12 in their present form are secondary. Conclusion: Isaiah does not teach the inviolability of Jerusalem. [*Jl. of Am. Or. Soc.*]

#### The Harvard Oriental Series.

The purpose and setbacks and progress of this series was the subject of a communication by Professor C. R. Lanman of Harvard University read at the recent annual meeting in Boston of the American Oriental Society, and among those who offered remarks on the paper was Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. The Harvard Oriental Series, founded about 25 years ago by Professor Lanman with the aid of the late Henry Clarke Warren, consists of texts and translations of the literary monuments of ancient India, and of investigations concerning the history and religious antiquities of India. The war is hampering the whole undertaking in the gravest manner, in part because the contributors are scholars of Europe and India, in part because the Oriental printing is done at Oxford and Bombay. In spite of all this, however, 21 volumes are out, 3 nearly finished volumes are held up by the war, and 8 are in press and should be ready in a few weeks—32 in all—while yet others are far advanced in preparation or nearly ready in manuscript.



### Dravidians and Aryans.

In the course of an absorbingly interesting and highly learned article entitled "Some Dravidian Affinities and their Sequel" in the July Journal of the Bangalore Mythic Society, Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S., propounds a startling hypothesis which is subversive of the prestige of the Aryan scriptures and of Indian civilisation generally. *Inter alia*, he seeks to establish the identity of the Dravidians with the Mediterranean Race, which means, in other words, that we are to regard the civilisation of India as of Indian origin and not an alien importation of Rig-Vedic times as is commonly supposed, and that the term "Hinduism" is not the misnomer that current theories make it. In the second place, his hypothesis implies that the multitudinous peoples of India possess far broader and stronger elements of racial unity than the theories accepted hitherto allow, a circumstance that should hearten those who aspire to national unity. Thirdly, Mr. Richards' theory involves kinship between the great mass of Indians and the greatest of all Human Races, the Race which has produced the cultures of Egypt, Assyria and Persia, of Greece, Rome and Arabia, and is the parent of all that is best in Western Europe.

### Flood Control in Ancient Egypt.

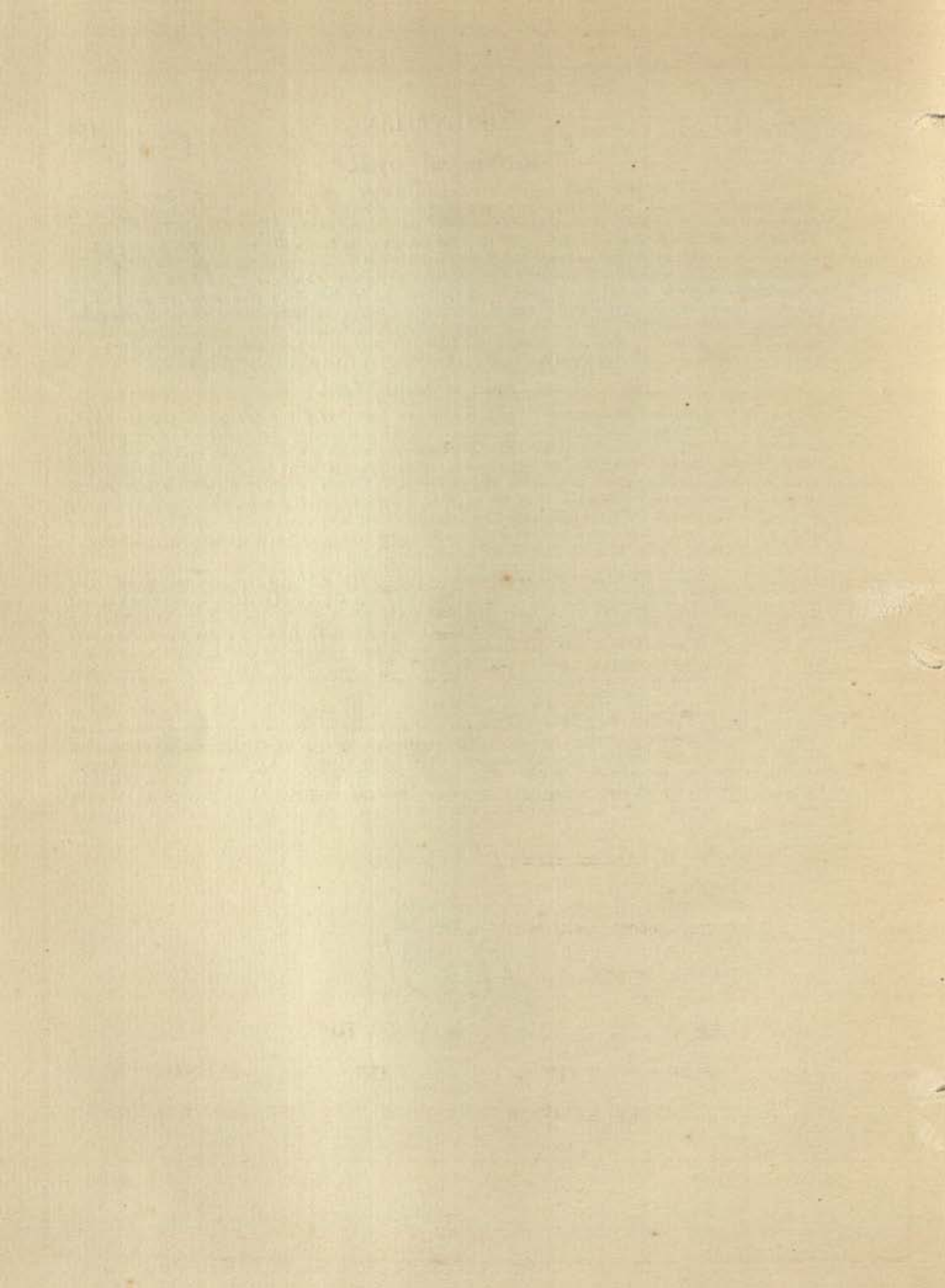
According to Miss Deette Rolfe, in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, the control of the flood water and its fullest utilization have been, throughout her history, the most important questions which Egypt has had to solve, and among the most far-reaching in effect, not only upon the agricultural resources of the country, but also upon the intellectual and social development of her people. In the remote past they occupied the attention of the predynastic kings, and the recent completion of the great Assuan dam is testimony to the importance with which they are regarded by the Engineers of today. A wall painting dating from the First and Second Dynasties depicts the king breaking ground for a new irrigation canal. From the same period we have record of the appointment of a "Manager of the Inundation" as a regular government official. The inscription of King Khety II. at Suït discloses his activities in this line:

"I brought a gift for the city. . . I substituted a channel of 10 cubits. I excavated for it upon arable land. I equipped a gate. . . I sustained the life of the city. . . I supplied water in the highland district. I made a water supply for this city of middle Egypt in the mountain, which had not seen water. . . I made the elevated land a swamp, I caused the water of the Nile to flood over the ancient landmarks. . . I made the arable land. . . water. Every neighbor was supplied with water and every citizen had Nile water to his heart's desire. I gave water to his neighbors and he was content with them."

Since Egypt was primarily an agricultural country, the measure in which this authority was maintained was the measure of the prosperity of the nation. Every lapse in governmental efficiency thus bespoke a corresponding diminution of economic wealth. The Twenty-second Dynasty, for example, was one of declining fortunes, and from it has come the following account which curiously reads like a description of modern Ceylon in flood-time:—"The flood came on, in this whole land; it invaded the two shores as in the beginning. This land was in his power like the sea, there was no dike of the people to withstand its fury. All the people were like birds upon its . . . tempest . . . his . . . suspended . . . like the heavens. All the temples of Thebes were like marshes."









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Part III.

### PLACE-NAMES IN JAFFNA, ENDING IN PÁY. (පාය)

BY S. W. COOMARASWAMY.

THERE are in the Jaffna peninsula a considerable number of place-names ending in *páy* (පාය), which are obviously of Sinhalese origin, *páy* being quite unknown in the Tamil language as a word signifying a station or a place. The only substantive meaning that *páy* admits of in Tamil, or in any other Dravidian language, is a mat or a sail. As a verb, it means to jump, to leap, to spring, to gush or to flow.

Nor does the vocable *páy* occur in the Sinhalese language, but there is a word there that closely resembles it both in form and in function. I mean the word *páya* met with in such Sinhalese names as *Wijayot-páya*, *Gal-páya*, *Lintota-páya*, *Mana-páya*, *Mora-páya*, *Nala-páya*, *Niyangam-páya*, *Tala-páya*, and *Walgam-páya*.

The fact that *páya* occurs in place-names all over the Sinhalese districts, and finds a place in recognised Sinhalese dictionaries, makes it clear that it is not a word coined after the *páy* as found in Jaffna.

The term *páya* means not only a place in general, but also a temple, a palace, or a mansion. It apparently answers to the Sanskrit *pura*, and is perhaps the original of the Sinhalese *pá* (a palace, a mansion) and *pé* (a shrine, a grove).

I am inclined to think that it is a contracted form of *pahaya* (a temple, a palace, a mansion) which Clough says is the Elu form of *prásáda*<sup>1</sup> or *prásádaya* (a temple, a palace, a mansion.)

That the form *páya* is liable to be changed or corrupted into *páy* by the Tamils, is evident from the forms of such words as *vál* වෑල (Sans. *vála*), a tail, *nir* நீர் (Sans. *níra*), water, and from the endings of such Tamilised place-names as *Mayilisiddi*<sup>2</sup> மயிலிசிட்டி (Sin. *Mayilasitiya*

1. Cf. Sans. *Prásáda*.

2. Old spelling of *Mayilisiddi* மயிலிசிட்டி.



or *Mayilahitiya*), *Tampasiddi* தம்பசிட்டு (Sin. *Dambasitiya*), *Pósiddi* போசிட்டு (Sin. *Bositiya*), *Kaḷaisiddi* களைசிட்டு (Sin. *Galasitiya*), *Mallākam* மல்லாகம் (Sin. *Mallāgama*), *Sunnākam* சன்னாகம் (Sin. *Sunnāgama*), *Pannākam* பன்னாகம் (Sin. *Pannāgama*), *Aḷaveddi* அளவெட்டி (Sin. *Alawetiya* or *Ḥlawetiya*), *Karaveddi* கரவெட்டி (Sin. *Karawetiya*), *Ilantaiveddi* இலந்தைவெட்டி (Sin. *Ilandawetiya*), *Uduppiddi* உடுப்பிட்டு (Sin. *Udupitiya*), *Mākaiyappiddi* மாகையப்பிட்டு (Sin. *Māheyapitiya*), *Kadduppiddi* கட்டுப்பிட்டு (Sin. *Katupitiya*), *Mūḷāy* மூளாய் (Sin. *Mullayāya*), *Tunukkāy* துணுக்காய் (Sin. *Dunukeyāya*), *Attāy* அத்தாய் (Sin. *Hattayāya*).

The conjecture that *páy* is a Tamil corruption of the Sinhalese *pé*, is obviously untenable in the face of such Tamilised names as *Mátampai* மாதம்பை (Sin. *Madampé*), *Mayilappai* மயிலப்பை (Sin. *Mayilapé*), *Paluppai* பலுப்பை (Sin. *Paḷupé*) and *Aṭpai* அற்பை (Sin. *Halpé*).

The wrong spelling of *Manippáy* (மானிப்பாய்) as *Manippai*, and of *Sandiruppáy* (சண்டிருப்பாய்) as *Sandiruppai*, seems to be responsible for the etymological deduction in question.

I have not been able to come across a single instance where the final *e* (ඒ) or *é* (ඒ) of Sinhalese place-names, has been changed by the Tamils into *áy* (ஆய்), instead of into *ai* (ஐ).

The Sinhalese ending *gé* or *geya*, of place-names, hardly ever becomes *káy* (காய்) in Tamil, but invariably changes into *kai* (கை), as in the under-mentioned place-names :—*Alukkai* அலுக்கை (Sin. *Alutgé*), *Talankamakkai* தலங்கமக்கை (Sin. *Talangamagé*), *Appiḷākkai* அப்பிலாக்கை (Sin. *Epalagé*), *Vérakkai* வேரக்கை (Sin. *Weheragé*).

I may observe here that, according to the rules of Tamil Grammar, no Tamil or Tamilised word can end in *e* (ஏ); and those Tamil words that end in *é* (ஏ) are not infrequently mispronounced by the masses as if they ended in *ai* (ஐ).

E. G. *Anké* (அங்கே), there, is mispronounced *Ankai* (அங்கை). *Atilé* (அதிலே), in it, is mispronounced *Atilai* (அதிலை). *Atukké* (அதுக்கே), into it, is mispronounced *Atuklai* (அதுக்கை). *Viddé* (விட்டே), to the house, is mispronounced *Viddai* (விட்டை).

The following are a few of the names that end in *páy* :—

(1) *Pattinippáy*. (பத்தினிப்பாய்). This is the name of a small village in the Puneryn Division, noted for an ancient shrine dedicated to the goddess *Pattini* (primarily meaning *the faithful wife*), *Maha Pattini* or *Vira Pattini*, known to the Tamils of Jaffna as *Kannaki Amman* கண்ணகி அம்மன்.

There is little doubt that this name represents the Sinhalese *Pattinipāya*.

(2) *Sandiruppáy* (சண்டிருப்பாய்). The place bearing this name is a prominent village in Valikāmam West. It adjoins the village of *Kantaródai* (Sin. *Kadurugoda*<sup>3</sup>), the site of an ancient Vihāra, the ruins of which are now receiving sympathetic attention.

On the border of *Sandiruppáy* towards *Makaiyappiddi*, there is an ancient *Pattini kóvil* known as '*Ankaṇākkadavai* அங்கனாக்கடவை' (Sin. *Angaṇakadawela*) *Amman kóvil*, and in the village of *Sandiruppáy* itself there is a site called *Putta kovilaḍi* புத்தகோவிலடி (vicinity of the Buddhist temple).

3. Vide *Nam Pota*.



The name *Sanḍiruppáy*<sup>4</sup> is probably a corruption of the Sinhalese *Sandurupáya*<sup>5</sup> or *Handurupáya*, the seat of the Vellála. The village was so called probably in contradistinction to the adjoining village *Makaiyappiddi*, the original inhabitants of which were all *Chándus*, and which was therefore called in olden times *Chanárakkuppam* சாணார்க்குப்பம் (the village of the *Chándus*). Cf. *Handurukanda*, *Handurulabbala*, and *Handuru remunagoda*.

(3) *Kóppáy* (கோப்பாய்). This name is borne by a village in Valikámam East, reputed to have been the seat of a palace during the Tamil regime. The village is also noteworthy for its extensive tract of paddy fields and gardens as well as for the numerical strength of its *Kóvia* inhabitants, as compared with other villages in the peninsula.

The *Kóvias* are the domestic servants of the Vellálas of Jaffna. They were formerly slaves and assisted their masters, not only as domestic servants but also as agricultural labourers along with the *Palla* and *Nalava* slaves. The word *Kóvia* is unknown in Southern India as the name of a caste or tribe.

The author of the "*Yálpána Vaipava Malai*" derives *Kóviyar*<sup>6</sup> (கோவியர்) from *Kóvilár* கோவிலார் 'those of the temple' or temple-servants, but this derivation is not only fanciful but faulty, as it does not fall in with philological laws.

Some others try to identify the name with the Tamil word *Kóviyar* (கோவியர்) derived from the Sanskrit *Gópi*—a cowherdess, but they fail to see that that word means but *women* of the cowherd class, and is not the name of their caste.

There is, however, a recent suggestion that *Kóvi(y)an* (கோவியன்) and the Sinhalese *goví* (a cultivator) are at bottom the same word, and that the name of the conquered Goigama man came to be applied to the respectable but poor Dravidian immigrant of later times who condescended to serve as a slave of the Vellála of Jaffna: hence the employment, in old Tamil deeds of the Dutch period, of the words தமிழ்வுடனிறை (Tamil Indian slave) as attributes of the word *Kóvia*, to distinguish them from the original *Kovias*.

The contiguous villages of *Kóppáy* and *Iruválai* (Sin. Hiru-ēla) have, moreover, been well-known for their connexion with the Vanniya chiefs or princes.

In view of these circumstances, it would not be amiss to conjecture that *Kóppáy* is a Tamil corruption of the Sinhalese *Goypáya*. The long *o* in the name *Kóppáy* is probably due to the influence of the succeeding long *a*, and the elimination of the *y* is easily accounted for by the existence in Tamil of a somewhat similar word to *goy*, viz. *kó* (கோ) meaning a king.

The unpleasantness of sound caused by the presence of two *y*'s (ய்) may have also contributed to the dropping of the first *y* (ய்).

Compare the form *Ūr-kával-turai* ஊர்காவல்துறை (the fortified port of the country), which the Sinhalese *Urá-tota* or *Urá-tara* (the hog ferry), has been made to assume in consequence of the existence at Kayts of the Dutch fort Halmenhiel.

In view of the fact that Jaffna contains a village of the *Pannayá* (Pannákam), a village of the *Hunná* (Chunnákam), and several hamlets named after the *Bamuna*, the *Duraya* and the *Paduwa*, the existence there of Goigama villages should not be a matter of surprise.

4. Corruptly spelt *Sanḍiruppáy* சண்டிரப்பாய்.

5. For the change of *nd* into *nd* compare Sanskrit *Kandara* (a cave) and Tamil *Kaṇḍarai* கண்டரை derived therefrom.

6. The plural form of *Kóviyan*, a man of the *Kóvia* caste.



The etymology that connects Kóppáy with Kónpé is based on the assumption that pé takes the form páy in Tamil.

There is, however, the possibility of Kón-páya being transformed into Kóppáy, as the result of a false idea about its derivation. The Tamilian that mistook the Sinhalese name of the Ceylon oak for the Tamil Kón (கான்)—a variant of kó (a king—would not hesitate to replace kón by kó (கா.) Compare the English sparrow-grass, kickshaws, and battlement.

(4) Mánippáy (மாணிப்பாய்). This is the name of a leading village in Valikámam West, and it has been lately suggested that this name could be the Tamil form of the Sinhalese Mámpe. But this suggestion seems to rest on no better foundation than the conjecture that páy represents the Sinhalese pé. Besides, any amount of etymological turning and twisting could not succeed in producing Máni (மாணி) out of Mám.

It seems more probable that the name is a corruption of the Sin. Mánayipáya or Manipáya. (Mánayi or Mani—a plant, *justicia procumbens*) Cf. Manapaya (in Hir. Hp. and in Wan. Hp.)

(5) Sankarappáy (சங்கரப்பாய்). The place that bears this name is a small land at Tolpuram in Valikámam West. The Sinhalese form of this name is evidently Sangarapáya or Hangarapaya. It is interesting to note here that there are in Jaffna several lands that go by the name of the Buddhist sangha or priesthood.

E. G. Sankarattai சங்கரத்தை (Sin. Hangaruanketha).

Sankattár-vayal சங்கத்தாரவயல் (Tamil rendering of the above Sinhalese name.)

Sankattár-pulam சங்கத்தார்புலம் (pulam—arable land.)

Sankam-pulavu சங்கம்புலவு (pulavu—same as pulam.)

Sankavattai சங்கவத்தை (Sin. Sangawatta.)

Sankalávattai சங்கலாவத்தை (Sin. Sangarawatta.)

(6) Talakkadappáy (தலக்கடப்பாய்). This is the Tamilised form of Sin. Talakada-páya (tala—the palmyra palm, kada—a common ending of place-names.) The land bearing this name is also situated at Tolpuram.

(7) Kináppáy (கிண்ப்பாய்). Sin. Kina-paya ? (kina—a plant, *calophyllum tormentosa*.) Or Gaṇa-páya ? (gaṇa—a priest, ganesa, a plant, *cyperus rotundus*.) This name is borne by a land at Manippáy.

(8) Sálampáy (சாளம்பாய்). Sin. Hēlamba-páya ? (hēlamba—a tree, *Stephegne parviflora*.) This name is borne by three lands in three different villages : namely, Changánai, Alaveddi, and Paláli.

(9) Katirippáy (கதிரிப்பாய்). Sin. Kadurupáya (kaduru—the generic name of several species of dogsbane.) This is the name of a village in Valikámam East.

(10) Kachchappáy (கச்சப்பாய்). Sin. Kachchapáya (kachcha—marshy ground).

(11) Mántappáy (மாந்தப்பாய்). The land bearing this name lies in the vicinity of the site of an ancient Buddhist temple referred to in the Nam Pota as Mivangamu-viháraya,\* in the village of Vímankámam (விமங்காமம்) in Valikámam North.

7. This is now called Puttakerit (the Buddhist temple). The ruins of the Vihara are still there.

8. This name is spelt Minivangamu in a different edition of the Nam Pota, but, judging from the name Vímankámam which is clearly a Sinhalese term in Tamil garb, I think Mivangamu is the more correct form of the Sinhalese name. Mivan easily turns into Viman according to a law of phonetic change known to the Tamil grammarians as Pēi (பே) — Metathesis, III, armbāwe. Thus, Viśī (விசி) a fan, becomes śētrī (சேத்ரி).

It is also noteworthy that the form Viman is meaningful in Tamil, as signifying the legendary hero Bhima or one named after him; hence the preference given to the form Vímankámam.



The land was so called probably after some personage named *Mahánanda*. Compare the Tamil name *Paramántan* (பரமான்டன்) ex Sans. *Paramánanda*.

(12) **Malamandalappáy** (மலமண்டலப்பாய்). This name also refers to an allotment in *Vimankámam*. *Malamandala* apparently means the region inhabited by the *Veddahs* or archers. (*Mala*—a *Veddah*, an archer.) Cf. *Malamaduwa*. The Tamil term மலமண்டலம் *Malai-Maṇḍalam* means the *chera* country, *Malaya*.

(13) **Talappáy** (தலப்பாய்). Sin. *Talapáya* (*tala*—the palmyra palm.) This is also the name of a land at *Vimankámam*.

(14) **Tandalappáy** (தண்டலப்பாய்). Sin. *Tandalapáya* (*taṇḍala*—a plant, the cultivated variety of *colocasia antiquorum*.) The land known by this name is situated at *Taiyiddi* (Sin. *Dehithitiya*) in *Valikámam* North.

(15) **Savankadappáy** (சவங்கடப்பாய்). Sin. *Savankadapáya*. (*Savan*—Buddha as all-knowing *Sarvañña*.) This name too refers to a land at *Taiyiddi*.

(16) **Tonkalappáy** (தொங்கலப்பாய்). Sin. *Tongalapáya* (*tongala*—an end, a point.) This is the name of another land at *Taiyiddi*.

(17) **Tolappáy** (தோலப்பாய்). Sin. *Dólapáya* (*dóla*—the indigo plant.) The land that bears this name is situated at *Urumpiráy* (Sin. *Urumpéruwa* ?)

(18) **Kachchippáy** (கச்சிப்பாய்). Sin. *Kachchipáya*. The land so named is situated in the village of *Sutumalai*, சதுமலை (Sin. *Suduweḷla*.) Cf. *Kachchigala* in *Hambantota* and in *Ratnapura*.

(19) **Iyakkadappáy** (இயக்கடப்பாய்). The place that goes by this name is an allotment in the village of *Chulipuram*, சலிபுரம் (Sin. *Sulupura* ?)

This village not only adjoins what is known as the old castle or town (*Tolpuram* தொல்புரம் ex *tol* தொல்—old, and *puram* புரம்—a castle or town), but contains several lands with equally illustrious names, such as, (1) *Tisaimaḷuvai* திசைமலுவை, which apparently purports to be the *maḷuwa* or courtyard of *Tissa* (*Devánampiya Tissa* ?), (2) *Kótumaḷuvaippiddi* கோதுமலுவைப்பிட்டி. (*Bódhimaḷuwa-pitiya*), (3) *Tiru-adi-nilai* திருஅடிநிலை (*Sri-páda-sthána*. Sacred Foot station) and (4) *Champu-turai* சம்பு (த) துறை (the *jambu* ferry: *champu* சம்பு ex Sans. *jambueugenia jambolana* ; *turai* துறை a ferry). The vicinity abounds in plots of ground designated *Navatkádu* நாவற்காடு (*jambu* grove), and the designation *Champu-turai* does, to our surprise, convey exactly the same meaning as the historic Sinhalese name *Jambukola* (*kole*—a ferry.—Clough).

Comp. the change of *Urátota* into the common Tamil form *Ura-turai* உரதூர (த) துறை.

*Chulipuram* is further notable for the mounds to be seen near about the ferry. One of them is said to be the ruins of a *Vihára*, and a scientific examination of the locality would doubtless lead to interesting results.

The *páya* in question was probably a place of inferior importance as compared with its environs ; hence the name *Yakadapáya* (*yakada*—iron, metaphorically, inferiority<sup>9</sup> as in *Yakada-dévi*—a concubine). Or, was it a place where iron was smelted ?

Comp. *Yakadadutuwewa* (Anurádhapura), *Yakadagoda* (Nuwara Eliya), *Yakadagolla* (Kurunegala), *Yakadapota* (Kurunegala), *Yakadawela* (Galle).

9. Even in Tamil the name of iron serves to convey the meaning of inferiority as in the expression *trumpā-nirmai* இரும்பின் நீர்மை (low state, literally the quality or state of iron) which occurs in *Nisaka Chintamani*—a Jain classic.



## NOTE ON MR. COOMARASWAMY'S PAPER.

By B. HORSBURGH, C.C.S.

When I expressed a hope in my note on Place-Names which appeared in Vol. II, Part III of the *Ceylon Antiquary* (page 174) that my paper might arouse some interest in the matter among the Tamils themselves, I was not aware that the subject of Tamil place-names was already under an investigation extending over several years undertaken by Mr. S. W. Coomaraswamy of the Jaffna Police Office. Mr. Coomaraswamy has been good enough to show me his work so far as it has gone, and I have nothing but admiration for the painstaking thoroughness and wide erudition which it everywhere displays. He readily acceded to my request that he should contribute to the *Ceylon Antiquary* an article on Tamil place-names ending in "páy" (பாய்) and the above paper is the result.

I do not propose to offer any criticism upon it. Compared with Mr. Coomaraswamy I am a mere novice in the subject. He has effectively disposed of my suggestion that the ending "páy" (பாய்) is the Tamil form of the Sinhalese "pé" (පේ), which latter, he says, appears as a Tamil ending only in the form of "pai" (பை). From Father Gnana Prakasar's note (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Part III, page 168) there appear to be cases in which "páy" and "pai" are interchangeable in common talk. These may, of course, be corruptions.

Apart from the merely etymological and philological value of Mr. Coomaraswamy's work I think there is every probability of some solid historical facts emerging from its study. For example, may not Mr. Coomaraswamy's analysis of Champuturai (சம்புத்துறை), called by Sabá-ratna Mudaliyar "Jambalturai" (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Part III, page 170), be taken as identifying that small village near Mathagal on the North coast of the peninsula with Jambukola Pattanam of the *Mahávansa*, from which Ariththa embarked to bring the branch of the Bo-tree? I accept his correction of my interpretation of Jambukola. There can be no doubt that "kola" here means "ferry," and that Champuturai is an exact translation into Tamil of this old Sinhalese place name.





## CEYLON ACCORDING TO DU JARRIC.

Translated from the Original French.

By THE REV. E. GASPARD, S.J.

THE following account of Ceylon, translated<sup>1</sup> from an old and rare work will, I think, be read with interest. It gives a pretty fair idea of the sort of Knowledge possessed of Lanka at the close of the XVI century. Part I of the work from which the extracts are taken is entitled :

"HISTOIRE / DES CHOSES / PLVS MEMORABLES / ADVENVES TANT EZ INDES / Orientales, que autres païs / de la descouuerte des / Portugais, / *En l'establissement & progres de la foy / Chrestienne, & Catholique :* Et principalement de ce que les Religieux / de la Compagnie de IESUS y ont fait, / & enduré pour la mesme fin ; / *Depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusques à l'an 1600.* Le tout recueilly des lettres, & aures (sic) Histoires, qui en ont esté / écrites cy deuant, & mis en ordre par le P. PIERRE DV JARRIC, Tolosain, de la mes-me Compagnie."

"A history of the most remarkable events that took place in the East Indies and other lands discovered by the Portuguese at the time of the establishment and during the propagation of the Christian and Catholic Faith : and in particular of what the Religious of the Society of Jesus have done and suffered for the same cause since their arrival there up to 1600. Compiled and arranged from letters and other works written on the subject by Fr. Peter Du Jarric, of Toulouse, Religious of the same Society."

The whole work is in three volumes 4°. These were published at Bordeaux by S. Millanges, printer to the king, in 1608, 1610, and 1614 respectively. The title of all the three parts is that given above, with the exception of the date showing the period covered by each. The first part (699 pp., 1542-1600) was dedicated to Henry IV ; the second (699 pp., 1542-1600) to "the most Christian King of France and Navarre, Louis XIII ;" the third (1067 pp., 1600-1610) to the Queen Regent, Mother of the King. Besides the above edition 4°, three editions 8vo. were published, the first (of the first two parts) at Arras by Gilles Bauduyn in 1611, the second at Paris in 1615, and the third at Arras in 1628 also by Gilles Bauduyn. A Latin translation was made by M. Martino Martinez and published at Cologne in 1615 by Peter Hinningij. It was dedicated to D. Henry Coffraeus Erklensis. A Polish translation of the same seems to have been published at Cracow in 1628.

### The Author.

The author, Pierre Du Jarric, was a French Jesuit, born at Toulouse in 1566. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1582, was Professor of Philosophy and Moral Theology at Bordeaux for a great many years and died at Saintes, 2 March, 1617. Besides this history, he left several other valuable works bearing mostly on the propagation of the faith in the heathen countries. In his dedication to Henry IV, Du Jarric says he thought he was doing well to employ the little spare time he had in relating the successes of the Missionaries. In the *Menology* we read that this undertaking was meant to make up for his not being able to go overseas to plant the Faith.

1. The translations are as literal as possible. I have not hesitated to follow the original closely, keeping the writer's own phrases and structure of sentences, whenever this was feasible. The following notes are by Father S. G. Perera, S.J.



Though we cannot expect in a historian of the early XVII century the application of such critical methods as we are accustomed to in the twentieth, yet one is struck by the discriminating care with which Du Jarric sifted the sources, and, as he puts it, "endeavoured to advance nothing for which he had not found a proof in books, letters, and other perfectly reliable sources." He knew the several works that had been written before him about the East Indies, and the establishment of the Faith therein by authors like Maffee<sup>2</sup> (up to 1557), Tursellin<sup>3</sup> (up to 1552), d'Acosta<sup>4</sup> (up to 1567), as well as the many letters and "relations" sent home by the Missionaries in India. "The first," he says, "were deficient in many respects, and the latter, besides being written in Latin and other languages, were too numerous to be read by the public."

There came to Du Jarric's hands a Spanish work written by the Jesuit, Louis de Guzman,<sup>5</sup> entitled *A history of the Missions founded by the Religious of the Society of Jesus to establish the Faith in the East Indies, China and Japan*. This work he undertook to render in French. Not satisfied with a mere translation, Du Jarric compared Guzman with other historians and found him wanting. He himself tells us in the preface to the first volume of his work how he abandoned his project and started a history of his own.

"As I was proceeding," he says, "with the translation of Guzman"—he completed four books—"I was perusing other books treating of the same subject. I found that Guzman was far from complete. I was, besides, not satisfied with some parts of his work. I wrote to him on the subject, but either because my letter miscarried or because he himself had died, I got no answer. I then communicated with Fr. Fernand Guerreiro,<sup>6</sup> a man well versed in history, who had himself written three or four volumes in Portuguese on the events that took place in the East Indies from 1599, the year at which Guzman's history ended. He elucidated my doubts and promised to send me books and memoirs on the subject, advising me at the same time to undertake a fresh relation rather than translate Guzman."

"Shortly afterwards, Fr. Guerreiro sent me some valuable notes about Guzman's history from the pen of the Italian Jesuit, Albert Laertius,<sup>7</sup> now Provincial in India, a man who had acquired great experience, having spent many years there, and who was an eyewitness of many facts related in this history. Through the same Fr. Guerreiro I also came by a *Life of St. Francis Xavier* in ten books written by the Portuguese Jesuit, Jean de Lucena,<sup>8</sup> as well as other works containing the history of the Indies since 1600, compiled by Guerreiro himself from the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries in those lands. He promised, moreover, to let me have all he would publish on the subject year after year. At present I have already got the documents up to 1606. I resolved then to follow the advice of the Portuguese Jesuit."

"While retaining Guzman's order, I rather relied on Lucena because he was in a better position to get at the truth. He had at his disposal the authentic documents concerning the life of St. Francis Xavier as well as the manuscripts of the letters sent by the Missionaries. Besides, he could easily get first-hand information from those who came home every year from India, which opportunity he shows to have turned to good account. Some people were somewhat anxious to see in the press the four books I had already translated from Guzman: they lost nothing by waiting."

2. Joannis Petri Maffei, Bergomatis e Societate Jesu, Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI. Item, ex India Epistolarum eodem interprete.

3. Tursellini (Torsellini) Horace—De Vita Francisci Xaveri—Francisci Xaveri Epistolarum Lib. IV.

4. Emmanuel d'Acosta—Historia rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque Christi Domini MDLXVIII.

5. Louis de Guzman—"Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, para predicar el santo Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japon."

6. Ferdinand Guerreiro—Relação Annal das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus na India e Japão. 2º. . . nas partes da India Oriental, e no Brasil. 3º. . . nas partes da India Oriental, 4º. . . e em algumas outras da Conquista deste Reyno.

7. Alberto Laertius. Came to India 1590, Master of Novices, Rector of Salsette, Vice Provincial, Provincial (Malabar) in which capacity he visited the Ceylon Mission. For some of his letters relating to Ceylon see *Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. II. 7-19.

8. Juan de Lucena—Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus.



Summing up the manner in which he set about his task, Du Jarric adds: "In order to make the work as worthy as in me lay, I have perused all the Annals, Letters, Memoirs, both public and private, I could secure, as well as the most famous historians of our days, in particular Osorius<sup>9</sup> and Maffee." The last lines of his preface are those quoted already, in which he assures his readers that he has related no fact that is not borne out by trustworthy documents.

In the preface to part III of the first edition of the *History* (1600-1610, published 1614), Du Jarric informs the reader that that part relates the events up to 1610, but that it is not quite complete on some points, owing to the fact that some documents have not reached him yet—another interesting proof that Du Jarric took a very serious view of historical research.

The history, therefore, may be said to be based on Guzman and Lucena up to 1600 (parts I and II) and on Guerreiro for the remaining decade (part III), and to have been written in the light of first-hand documents and corroborated by the testimony of the best historians of the time.<sup>10</sup> No doubt, ancient historians had not at their disposal all the opportunities we have nowadays; yet we must not deny them a certain amount of critical sense in their methods.

The extracts given below are translations of those passages of Du Jarric's *History* which relate directly to Ceylon.

#### Volume I, Livre I, Chapitre II.

*Description des Indes Orien- / tales, & de la route que maintenant on tient / pour y aller depuis le Portugal.*

... Apres auoir doublé ce Cap. (de Commori), l'on trouue aussi vne Isle tres-belle & riche, nommée Ceilan, si proche de la terre ferme, qu'on l'estime auoir esté autrefois conjointe avec le dit Cap, comme se dit de la Sicile avec l'Italie. Ceste Isle est fort plantureuse, & contient plusieurs Royaumes, desquels le plus proche de la terre ferme est celuy de Jafanapatan, ou les Portugais ont fait de grands exploits de guerre, comme nous dirons cy apres. Ils ont vne forteresse située en vne petite Isle nommée Manar, qui appartenoit jadis audit Royaume: mais s'estans rendus maistres d'iceluy, ils ont retenu tant seulement ceste Isle, pour l'assurance de la pesche des perles, laquelle se fait tout aupres de Manar, entre l'Isle de Ceilan, & la coste de la pescherie, qui est en la terre ferme du costé du cap de Commori; là ou suiaint tousiours le riuage de la mer, l'on commence de rechef à monter vers le Nort. . . .

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

*Description of the East Indies and of the route taken now to reach it from Portugal.*

... After doubling this cape (Cape Commorin) there is found also a very beautiful and rich island, called Ceilan, so close to the continent, that it is thought to have been formerly connected with the said Cape, as it is said of Sicily with (regard to) Italy. This island is very fertile, and has several kingdoms, of which the nearest to the continent is that of Jafanapatan, where the Portuguese accomplished great deeds of war, as we shall relate hereafter. They have a fortress in a small island called Manar, which formerly belonged to the said kingdom; but when they had become masters of the latter, they kept only this island to secure the pearl fishery which is held very near Manar, between the island of Ceilan and the Fishery coast, which is on the continent by the side of Cape Commorin. . . .

9. Hieronimi Osorii, Lusitani, Silvensis Episcopi, De rebus Emmanvelis Regis Lusitanae invictissimi, virtute and auspicio gestis, Libri duodecim; ad Clarissimum, Sanctissimumque Principem Henricum, S. R. E. Cardinalem, Regis ejus Filium.

10. In the course of his work Du Jarric refers to other writers also.



## Vol. I, Livre I, Chapitre X.

*Les habitants de l'isle de Manar / s'estans conuertis à la Foy Chrestienne, sont griefuement persecutez de leur Roy, & ce que le P. Xauier fit en leur faueur.*

La cognoissance de la Loy diuine s'alloit espandant de plus en plus, non seulement en la terre ferme des costes de mer de la Pescherie & de Trauancor, mais encore parmy les Isles prochaines : & pareillement le bruit & la renommée du P. François Xauier, & des choses merueilleuses, que Dieu faisoit par son moyen. Qui fut cause, que les habitants de l'Isle de Manar l'enuoyerent prier, de vouloir aller vers eux, pour leur enseigner la loy du vray Dieu, & le chemin du ciel, comme ils disoient. Ceste Isle de Manar est située bien pres de la pointe la plus Septentrionale de l' Isle de Ceilan, du costé du Leuât. Elle estoit subiette au Roy de Jafanapatan, qui est l'un des Royaumes de ladite Isle de Ceilan. Le P. Xauier ayant receu ces lettres des Manariens, leur enuoya vn des Prestres, qui l'aydoient à la coste de la Pescherie, voulant par apres les aller visiter luy mesme en personne. Car il ne pouuoit pas lors s'y transporter, a cause que ceux de Trauancor estoient pour en la plus grande ferueur de leur conuersion. Ce Prestre estant arriué à l'Isle de Manar, fut receu comme si c'eust esté vn Ange du ciel, de sorte qu'il endoctrina & baptisa vne grande multitude de peuple, faisant vn profit merueilleux, & tel qu'on eust sceu desirer de tout autre ; Mais le Roy de Jafnapatā, duquel ils estoient vassaux, sçachant cela, fut grandement indigné contre eux pour ceste cause, car il estoit ouuertemēt ennemy des Chrestiens, bien qu'il fit semblant d'estre amy des Portugais, de façon qu'il assembla vne troupe de soldats, & les enuoya à l'Isle de Manar, avec commandement de mettre à mort tous ceux, qui se diroient Chrestiens, sans faire aucune difference de qualité de personnes, ny de sexe, ny d'age, si qu'il y eust iusques à six cents, comptant hommes, femmes, & petits enfans, qui furent massacrez pour la Foy de Iesus-Christ. La plus grand part d'iceux furent tuez en vn lieu, qui estoit anciennement nommé Patin : mais depuis on le nomme la ville des Martyrs, à cause du martyre de ses habitans. Le Tyran non content de cela, comme la cruauté est ordinaire suyvie de crainte & desfiance, il se va doubter que son frere germain, auquel pour estre l'ainé appartenoit le Royaume, de droict, qu'il luy tenoit neantmoins vsurpé, ne s'allast joindre avec le reste des habitans de l'Isle de Manar, & qu'à l'ayde d'iceux, & des Portu-

## Vol. I, Bk. I, Chap. X.

*The inhabitants of the isle of Manar, being converted to the Christian faith, are cruelly persecuted by their King. What Fr. Xavier did on their behalf.*

The knowledge of the law of God was spreading more and more, not only on the mainland along the sea coast of the Fishery and of Travancor, but also among the neighbouring islands : and the renown and fame of Fr. Francis Xavier and of the marvels which God wrought through him (spread) likewise. This was the reason why the inhabitants of the isle of Manar sent for him and begged him to come over to them to teach them, as they said, the law of the true God and the way to heaven. This isle of Manar lies very close to the most Northerly point of Ceilan, on the East.<sup>11</sup> It was under the rule of the King of Jafanapatan, which is one of the Kingdoms of the said island of Ceilan. On receiving the letters of the people of Manar, Fr. Xavier sent them one of the priests who were helping him in the Fishery coast,<sup>12</sup> himself intending to go and visit them later on in person. For he was unable just then to cross over as those of Travancor were then in the first fervour of their conversion. When this priest arrived in the isle of Manar, he was welcomed, as if he had been an angel of heaven so that he instructed and baptised a great multitude of people, achieving wonderful results, such as could have been expected from any other. But the King of Jafanapatan, whose subjects they were, heard of it and was thereby greatly incensed against them, for he was an open enemy of the Christians, though pretending to be friendly with the Portuguese ; so much so that he assembled a troop of soldiers and sent them to the isle of Manar, with orders to put to death all who should declare themselves Christians, without any distinction of person, age or sex. Thus there were throughout the island as many as six hundred, men, women, and little children, who were put to death for the faith of Jesus Christ. Most of these were killed in a place which was formerly called Patin, but which has been styled since the town of the martyrs, on account of the martyrdom of the inhabitants. As cruelty is, as a rule, accompanied by fear and diffidence, the Tyrant, not satisfied with this, began to suspect that his own brother to whom the Kingdom belonged by right as the eldest, which he (the King) had, nevertheless, usurped from him, would band himself with the rest of the inhabitants of the isle of Manar, and would try with their

<sup>11</sup> On the East of India.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Ceylon Antiquary*, I, 220, De Queiroz, *Conquista* 192.



gais il ne vint à recouurer son estat, il le fit chercher par tout, afin de le mettre à mort. Ce pauvre Prince aduertie de cela, tasche d' euader la furie de son frere, & avec quelques vns de sa suite, passe à la terre ferme, qui est joignant le cap de Commorin d'où il s'alla rendre à Goa, pour se mettre sous la protection & sauuegarde des Portugais, ayant faict plus de deux cens lieues de chemin à pied. En fin s'estant rendu à la ville de Goa, il fut honorablemēt receu, & traicté des Portugais, qui luy donnerent bonne esperance de recouurer son Royaume. Et quelque temps apres, il se rendit Chrestien avec quelques autres, qui l'auoiēt suiuy. Mais quant au recouurement du Royaume, nous en parlerons plus amplement au second liure. Reprenās donc le fil de nostre histoire, le P. Xavier entendant la cruauté, de laquelle auoit vsé le Roy de Jafanapatan, à l'endroit des Chrestiens de Manar, & voyant que cela pouuoit apporter vn grand prejudice à la Foy Chrestienne, si on laissoit impuny vn tel forfait, se delibera d'aller trouuer le Gouverneur Martin Alfonse de Sosa, qui estoit lors à Cambaya, pour le supplier de vouloir chastier l'outruidance & meschanceté de ce Tyran, inique vsurpateur du Royaume, & cruel persecuteur des Chrestiens. Car il estimoit cela estre conuenable, pour le seruice de Dieu, afin que les autres vassaux, tant de cestui-cy, que des autres Princes Infideles, ne fussent pas destournez de receuoir la Foy Chrestienne, de peur d'endurer semblables cruautéz; & que les Rois de ces contrées entendissent, qu'il y auoit des gens en l'Inde, pour defendre les Chrestiens, & pour venger les torts & injures, qu'on leur feroit . . . . .

Arriué qu'il fut à Cambaya, il traicte avec le Gouverneur des affaires, pour lesquels il estoit venu là. Et bien que la chose fut de consequence; car il s'agissoit de faire la guerre à vn Roy, ce qui dependoit de l'aduis des Capitaines, & autres qui estoient du conseil de guerre, lesquels n'auoient pas encore accoustumé de desgainer l'espée, pour le fait de la Religion; si est-ce qu'il obtint ce qu'il demandoit. Car le Gouverneur le despescha incontinent, & luy bailla des lettres adressées aux Capitaines de Nagapatan, & de la coste de la Pescherie, ausquels il commandoit d'armer & equipper en bref vne grosse flotte, tant des nauires & soldats, qui estoient là, que de ceux, qu'ils pourroient ramasser d'ailleurs commodément; qu'apres auoir assemblé toutes les forces qu'ils pourroient, ils s'al- & lassent ietter a l'impourueu sur le Royaume de Jafanapatan, & fissent en sorte que ce tyran fut pour le moins fait prisonnier, pour estre mis entre

help and that of the Portuguese to regain the throne. He had him searched for everywhere with the intention of putting him to death. The unhappy Prince, warned of this, tried to escape the fury of his brother, and with some of his retinue passed over to the continent and landed not far from cape Commorin. Thence he went to Goa on foot, a journey of more than 200 leagues, in order to seek the protection and safeguard of the Portuguese. Finally having reached the town of Goa, he was honourably received and treated by the Portuguese, who gave him fair hopes of recovering his Kingdom. Shortly afterwards, he became a Christian with some others who had followed him. As for the recovery of the Kingdom, we shall speak of it at greater length in the second Book. To take up the thread of our narrative: Fr. Xavier, on hearing of the cruelty with which the King of Jafanapatan had treated the Christians of Manar, and realising that such a wicked act, if left unpunished, would be greatly prejudicial to the Christian faith, resolved to go and see the Governor, Martin Alfonse de Sosa, then at Cambaya, and entreat him to punish the presumption and wickedness of that Tyrant, who had so unjustly usurped the throne and cruelly persecuted the Christians. This was a necessary measure, he thought, in the interests of the service of God, lest the other subjects of this King as well as those of the other Idolatrous Princes, should be deterred from embracing the Christian faith, for fear of similar cruel treatment, and that the Kings of these lands might understand that the Christians had in India protectors and avengers of their wrongs and ill-treatment.

On reaching Cambaya, he (Xavier) treated with the Governor of the matters that had brought him there. Though it was a matter of consequence, for it meant going to war with a King, and this depended on the opinion of the Captains and other members of the war council who were not yet accustomed to draw the sword for the sake of religion, yet the request was granted. The Governor, then and there, despatched him with letters addressed to the Captains of Negapatan and the Fishery coast, giving them orders to arm and fit out without delay a strong fleet of all the ships and soldiers that were there as well as of those they could conveniently get together from other parts. After getting together all the forces that could be had, they were to fall unawares upon the Kingdom of Jafanapatan, and at least capture the Tyrant and hand him over to Fr. Xavier who would deal with him as he wished. For the Father, seeing how greatly roused the



les mains du P. Xauier : afin qu'il en disposast à sa volonté. Car le Pere voyant le Gouverneur fort irrité contre luy tascha d'adoucir sa cholere, & le pria de vouloir tant seulement commander qu'on le print, s'il estoit possible, vif : car il desiroit plus luy donner la vie de l'ame par le moyen de la Foy, que luy faire perdre celle du corps avec vne mort ignominieuse, ainsi qu'il meritoit. Ayant eu si bonne depesche, il s'en retourne a Cochîn fort content, d'où il escriuit au Roy de Portugal, par Michel Vaz, qui n'estoit pas encore parti, tout ce qu'il auoit moyenné avec le Gouverneur. Il enuoya pareillement les lettres dudit Gouverneur à ceux à qui elles s'adressoient, pour donner ordre, que le flotte s'equipat au plustost, & s'estant arrêté en ce port depuis le 27. Ianuier de l'an 1545, iusques au mois d'Auril de la mesme année ; il s'embarqua lors dans vn nauire qui prenoit la route de Ceilan, avec le P. François Mansilla, pour de la passer au port de Nagapatan, situé en la terre ferme ; vis à vis l'isle de Manar, ou le Gouverneur auoit donné le rendez-vous de la flotte.

Arriué qu'il fut à l'isle de Ceilan, il sceut plus asseurément la verité d'un cas merueilleux, qu'on luy auoit raconté estant à Cochîn ; adueni en vn certain Royaume de ladite isle, tandis qu'il faisoit le voyage de Cambaya. Ce fut que le fils aîné d'un Roy de ceste isle (duquel on ne sçait pas d'assurance le nom) traictant de se rendre Chrestian, à la persuasion d'un marchand Portugais, qui trafiquoit là, comme cecy vint aux oreilles du Roy son pere, il le fit aussi tost massacrer. Le marchât qui l'auoit instruit tascha de recouurer son corps, & l'enterra avec grande deuotion, le tenât en son coeur pour vray martyr : car bien qu'il n'eust pas receu le baptesme de l'eau, toutes-

Governor was against the King of Jafanapatan, had tried to soften down his anger and had asked him to give orders that the King be only taken alive, if possible, for he wished rather to give him the life of the soul by means of Faith, than to make him lose that of the body by the shameful death he deserved. Being entrusted with such a mission, Xavier went back to Cochîn quite pleased. From there he wrote to the King of Portugal, through Michael Vaz, who had not yet left, informing him of all that had been settled with the Governor. At the same time he despatched to those to whom they were addressed, the letters of the said Governor giving the order that the fleet be got ready without delay. Having remained at that port from 27 January, 1545, to April of the same year, he (Xavier) embarked with Fr. Francis Mansilla in a ship bound for Ceilan, with the intention of crossing over thence to Negapatan, a port situated on the mainland opposite the isle of Manar, where the Governor had ordered the fleet to muster.

On reaching the island of Ceilan, Xavier received confirmation of the truth of a marvellous event that had been related to him while he was at Cochîn, and which had happened in a certain Kingdom of the said island while he was on his way to Cambaya. It was this.<sup>13</sup> The eldest son of a King of that island (whose (the King's) name is not known for sure),<sup>14</sup> having been persuaded by a Portuguese merchant, who was trading there, was thinking of becoming a Christian. When this came to the ears of his father, he had him at once put to death. The merchant who had instructed him tried to recover the body and buried it with great devotion, considering

13. *Ceylon Antiquary*, I, 219-221. This and the preceding are referred to by almost every writer of the period, and is found in all Biographies of St. Francis Xavier. See "Three Christian Princes of Kotte" in *The Aloysian*, (St. Aloysius' College Magazine, 1916) p. 95 sqq.

14. It was generally thought that these Princes were sons of the king of Jaffna. De Queiroz, who gives the name of the merchant as Louis Coelho, says they were sons of the king of Kandy (*Cong.* 193). But the letters of the two princes, Don Juan and Don Louis, and of the merchant, Andre de Sousa, published by Cross (*St. Franc. Xav.*, 297-298) settle the matter beyond doubt. For Don Juan, writing to the Queen of Portugal (15 Oct. 1545) Ms. Torr. do Tomb. Gav. ant. 20 m. 7, no 28) asks for certain favours (1) the kingdom of Jaffna for himself, (2) and the 'territories of his defunct brother' for Don Louis. Whence it follows that "the territories of the defunct brother" was not Jaffna. De Sousa, writes to Don Enrique (15 Nov. 1545 Ms. T. do T. Gav. ant. 10, m 7) (1) that the conversion of the princes was effected with the aid of two Franciscan Friars, (2) that, when the king tried to put them to death, he took refuge in a Church, with 40 or 50 Portuguese and many Christians. This shows that the event took place in Kotte and not in Jaffna. De Sousa, moreover, writing to the King of Portugal (20 Dec. 1545. T. do T. Gav. ant. 2 m. 6, n. 12) says: "cette île de Jafanapatan 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 dévoués du seigneur légitime. Récemment, pour mettre le comble à ses péchés, il a fait mourir sept cents 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 entier à la foi chrétienne." Cross, p. 285. And again "Depuis... arrivèrent de Ceylan les frayres 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." *Ib.* p. 286 This settles the matter against Jaffna and Kandy. The princes were of the house and lineage of Kotte. (*Ol. Portuguese Era.* 1. 99, 101, 479.)



fois il sçauit qu'on pouuoit estre aussi baptizé en son sang. Il semble que nostre Seigneur voulut tesmoigner par vn fait extraordinaire, qu'il ne se trompoit pas, en l'opinion qu'il auoit du martyre de ce Prince. Car il aduint que sur le sepulture d'iceluy, parut miraculeusemēt vne croix de sa mesme longueur, si bien formée, qu'on eut dit, qu'elle auoit esté faite à dessein par la main d'un bon maistre. Quelques Gentils, & Sarrazins qu'il y auoit là, voyans le signal sacré de nostre Redemption, duquel ils sont ennemis iurez, aussi bien que les heretiques de ce temps, s'efforcèrent de l'effacer, de dessus le tombeau comblans de terre ce qui s'estoit enfoncé en forme de croix. Mais c'estoit en vain; car par deux ou trois fois ils y ietterēt de la terre dessus, & elle s'enfonçoit tousiours au mesme endroit que deuant, & faisoit paroistre la croix sur le sepulture du martyr, tout ainsi qu'elle auoit esté veüe au commencement. Outre ce il apparut au mesme temps vne autre croix au ciel rouge comme le feu. Ce qui fit esmeruiller tellement les Payens & Idolatres, que plusieurs d'iceux esmeus par tels prodiges embrasserent la foy Chrestienne, de laquelle ils voyoiēt le signal & la marque paroistre tant au ciel qu'en la terre. La chose alla bien si auant, que les vns preschoient aux autres la loy, qu'ils n'entendoient pas encore, & se faisoient predicateurs, n'estans pas Catechumenes. Entre autres il y eut le second fils du Roy, auquel apres la mort de son aîné appartenoit la succession du Royaume. Ce genereux Prince faisant plus d'estat du salut de son ame, que des thresors & couronnes Royales, esmeu par ces prodiges se rengea volontairement a la loy de Iesus Christ, & receut secrettement le baptesme. Mais se craignant que le Roy son Pere en fut aduertey, & qu'à ceste occasion il se fit massacrer, comme il n'auoit pas espargné son aîné, pria ce Portugais, qui auoit instruit & enterré son frere le martyr, de le tirer secrettement de l'isle, & le mener à Goa, ou il eut moyen de viure en bon Chrestien. Ce que l'autre luy promit, & l'executa fort fidelement. Le P. Xavier parla en chemin à ce Prince, comme il escrit en vne lettre dattée de Cochim, de l'an 1545, qu'il enuoya à Rome, où il adiouste qu'il esperoit, que ce Royaume seroit en brief conuertey à nostre Seigneur: parce que le peuple auoit esté fort esmeu par ces prodiges, & que la succession du Royaume venoit à ce Prince, qui auoit esté baptizé vn peu auparauant. Il en y a qui escriuent que ce fut à la suasion de sa tante, la soeur du Roy, qu'il se rendit Chrestien: laquelle gagna aussi son fils à Iesus Christ, & que tous deux se retirerent à Goa. Ce qui peut bien estre, mais ce que

him in his heart as a true martyr. For though he (the Prince) had not received the baptism of water he (the merchant) knew that there was besides a baptism of blood. Our Lord, as it seems, wished to testify by an extraordinary event that he was right in his opinion concerning the martyrdom of that Prince: for it happened that there appeared miraculously over his grave a cross of the same length (as the grave) so well formed that one would have said it had been made on purpose by a master hand. Some Pagans and Saracens of that place, seeing the sacred sign of our Redemption, of which they were sworn enemies, just like the heretics of our days, endeavoured to obliterate it by heaping earth on the tomb which had sunk in the form of a cross. But it was in vain; for two or three times they covered it with earth, and each time it opened on the same spot as before and showed the cross over the martyr's grave just as it had been seen at first. Besides this, there appeared at the same time another cross red as fire in the sky. The Pagans and Idolators were so struck by these marvels that several of them embraced the Christian faith, of which they saw the sign and mark appearing both in the heavens and upon earth. Things went so far that some preached to others the law which they themselves did not yet understand, and not being even Catechumens became preachers. Among others, there was the second son of the King, who, since the death of his elder brother, was heir to the Kingdom. This high souled Prince, moved by these prodigies and setting higher value on the salvation of his soul than on treasures and royal crowns, embraced the law of Jesus Christ of his own accord, and received baptism secretly. But fearing lest his father should come to know of it, and put him to death for it, just as he had not spared his elder brother, he asked the Portuguese, who had instructed and buried his elder brother, to take him away secretly from the island to Goa, where he could lead a good Christian life. This the merchant promised and carried out faithfully. Fr. Xavier (met and) spoke with this Prince on the way, as he writes in a letter sent to Rome from Cochim in 1545. In that same letter he added that he hoped that Kingdom would soon be converted to Our Lord, as the people had been greatly moved by the prodigies, and because the succession to the Kingdom fell to the Prince who had been baptised shortly before. Some writers say that it was on the persuasion of his aunt, the King's sister, that he became a Christian, and that she won her own son to Christ, and that both retired to Goa. That



j'en ay dit a esté tiré des lettres du P. Xavier, lequel ayant cogneu par le rapport mesme de ce Prince que ce qu'on luy auoit dit à Cochîn estoit veritable, hasta son voyage de Nagapatan, à fin que la flotte contre le Roy de Jafanapatam, fut au plustost preste, estimant que si celuy là estoit vne fois bien chastié, cest autre Roy de Ceilan, qui estoit son voisin, auroit crainte, & n'oseroit persecuter ses vassaux qui desiroient tant se rendre Chrestiens.

Mais auant que traicter du succez de cest affairs, ie raconteray ce qui luy aduint pendant le voyage, qu'il fit de Cochîn à l'Isle de Ceilan. Le Pilote du nauire, dans lequel il s'embarqua, estoit vn homme fort desbordé en ses moeurs, & là mesmes auoit les principales occasiōs de son malheur, qui n'estoient pas vne seule, mais plusieurs. Le Pere s'apperceuant de la vie de cest homme, taschoit de l'accoster, & s'en alloit souuent au timon du nauire, ou il se tenoit, pour deuiser avec luy des choses de son art, laissant tousiours aller quelque parole, qui luy touchoit au coeur, sans toutesfois en faire semblât, & se gardant bien de venir aux matieres, qui le pouuoient ennuyer; le Pilote voyant la grande douceur, & debonnaireté du Pere, cōmence à se descourir à luy, & luy dit qu'il estoit vn grand pecheur, & voudroit bien se reconcilier avec Dieu par le moyen d'une bonne confession, s'il luy plaisoit l'entendre si tost qu'ils seroient arriuez au port. Le Pere luy respōd, qu'il en estoit bien content; cependāt l'entretien avec de bons & saints propos. Or cōme ils eurent abordé, le Pilote sembloit ne se souuenir plus de ce, qu'il auoit promis, remettant sa confession de iour à autre, & fuyant tant qu'il pouuoit la presence du Pere. Mais vn iour comme il se pourmenoit le long du bord de la mer, tenant les yeux ficez au ciel, selon sa coustume, ils se vont rencontrer tous deux par cas fortuit, ou plustost par prouidēce diuine; le Pilote voyant qu'il ne se pouuoit plus cacher, ny fuyr le Pere, qui desia l'auoit apperceu, luy dit comme par ieu; Et bien, mon Pere, quand me voulez-vous ouir de confession? le Pere avec vne face riante luy respond en ces termes, IESUS, dit-il, mon bon amy, quand ie vous veux ouir? tout maintenant, si vous voulez, & icy mesme, s'il vous semble nous promenans tous deux sur ceste riue: & soudain qu'il eust dit cela, se met à faire le signe de la Croix, pour commencer la confession; Le Pilote faisant de nécessité vertu poursuit, disant le *Confiteor*, bien qu'au commencement il se trouua tout troublé, & comme vn homme prins au pied leué, qui ne sçait bonnement ce qu'il fait; toutesfois

may be true,<sup>15</sup> but what I have said is taken from the letters of Fr. Xavier. Having heard from the Prince himself that what he was told at Cochîn was true, Xavier hastened to Negapatan to the end that the fleet against the King of Jafanapatan be got ready as soon as possible. He thought that, if this King was once well punished, that other King of Ceilan who was his neighbour would be afraid, and would not dare to persecute his subjects who were so anxious to become Christians.

But before relating the success of this enterprise, I shall give an account of what happened during Xavier's voyage from Cochîn to the island of Ceilan. The pilot of the ship on which he embarked was a man of very loose morals, and he had with him the principal causes of his miserable life, who were not one but many. The Father, seeing what manner of life this man led, tried to enter into conversation with him, and often went towards the helm where he was to speak of the topics relating to his art. Without seeming to do it, he used always to drop a word which went to his heart, carefully avoiding, however, the subjects that would annoy him. The pilot, seeing the great kindness and goodness of the Father, began to open his heart to him, and told him that he was a great sinner, and would fain be reconciled with God by means of a good confession, if he would be pleased to hear it, when they reach the port. The Father replied that he would be only too glad, and, meanwhile, had good and wholesome talks with him.

On reaching land, the pilot did not seem to remember any more what he had promised, postponing his confession from day to day, and avoiding the Father as much as he could. But, one day, as the Father was walking along the seashore with his eyes fixed on heaven, as was his wont, the two met by chance, or rather Divine Providence brought them face to face. The pilot, seeing that he could not hide nor escape the Father who had already seen him, told him as if in jest. "Well, Father, when will you hear my confession?" The Father with a smile on his face replied thus: "Jesus," he said, "When do I wish to hear you? At this very moment, if you like, and here itself, if you think fit, while walking together along the shore." And as soon as he had said this, he at once made the sign of the Cross to begin the confession. The pilot, making a virtue of necessity, went on to say the *Confiteor*, although at first he was quite put out, and felt like a man taken off his

<sup>15</sup> Don Juan speaks of his mother's conversion as imminent. She was privy to the flight. It is not clear whether these princes were brothers or consins. 'Brother,' 'son' probably represent the Sinhalese 'ajja,' 'mali,' and 'puta,' which may mean 'brother or cousin, son or nephew.'



ayant aduancé quelque pas, il reuint à soy, & tout changé en son ame print courage; de facon que ce qu'il auoit commencé quasi par contrainte, ou par honte, il le continué avec bonne volonté, & deuotion. Le Pere cognoissant cela, le mene vn vn petite chappelle, qui estoit là bien pres du riuage, (car les Portugais, qui trafiquoient d'ordinaire en ce port, y auoient basti vn hermitage pour prier Dieu) estans là tous deux seuls, le Pere, qui d'autrefois l'auoit ouy plaindre que les genoux luy faisoient mal, luy agence vne natte, qu'il trouue la, & le fait asseoir dessus, ne pretendait pour lors autre chose, sinon qu'il eust douleur & contrition de ses pechez; laquelle de là à peu il conçeut si grande, qu'il ne pouuoit poursuyure sa confession, pour l'abondance des larmes & sanglots, qu'il tiroit du plus profond du coeur. S'estant donc ietté des deux genoux en terre, il battoit rudement sa poitrine, & demandoit pardon à Dieu de tant de pechez, qu'il auoit commis. Mais desirant faire vne confession generale de toute sa vie, il pria le Pere de luy donner quelques iours de terme, pour s'y preparer, durant lesquels il fit plusieurs actes de penitence & satisfactiō, & entre autres osta d'aupres de soy les occasions, qui le faisoient tresbucher, & de là en auant s'adonna de telle sorte à la vertu, & nommée-ment à la frequentation des Sacremēs de la Confession & Communion, qu'arriuant à la fin de ses iours, bien muni d'iceux, & du diuin secours, il partit de ce monde fort consolé, pour auoir mené vne vie exemplaire apres ce changement: lequel il attribuoit apres Dieu à la douceur, de laquelle le P. Xauier auoit vsé en son endroit, s'accommodant à son infirmité. Mais reuenons à l'apprest de la flotte.

Pendant que le Pere s'arresta en Ceilan, l'armée nauale fut de tout point équipée, pour aller attaquer le Roy de Jafanapatan. Mais sur le point, qu'elle deuoit partir, voilà qu'un nauiere du Roy de Portugal, venant du Pegu, chargé de grandes richesses, fut ietté par la tempeste sur la coste de Jafanapatan. Et parce que le Roy s'en estoit saisi, & de tout ce qu'il y auoit dedans, à fin de le pouoir recouurer, on iugea qu'il n'estoit pas tēps de luy faire la guerre. A ceste cause tout l'appareil d'icelle fut réduit à neant. Le Pere voyant cela, bien qu'il fut marry de ce que ce meschant tyran n'auoit pas esté puny selon ses demerites: toutesfoi se conformant à là volonté & prouidence de Dieu, il print en gré tout ce qu'il en dispoit. Mais quelque temps apres, Dieu chastia ce Roy, & ses successeurs, imitans ses cruantez, ainsi que nous verrons au deuxiesme liure.

feet, who does not know what he is about. However, having gone a few steps, he recovered himself, and, being quite changed in his soul, took courage, so that what he had begun under constraint, as it were, and through shame, he continued willingly and with devotion. The Father, knowing this, took him to a little chapel near the shore (for the Portuguese who used to trade in that place had put up there a little Oratory in which they could worship God). The two being alone there, the Father who had heard him complain that his knees were sore, spread him a mat which he found there, and made him sit on it, as he was for the moment only bent on exciting in him sorrow and contrition for his sins. Very soon his contrition was so intense, that he could not proceed with his confession on account of the abundant tears and deep drawn sobs. Falling on his knees on the ground, he struck his breast violently, asking God to pardon him for the many sins he had committed. But wishing to make a general confession of his whole life, he asked the Father for a few days to prepare himself for it. Meanwhile, he performed many acts of penance and reparation, and, among other things, he removed from him the causes which led to his falls. Thenceforth, he applied himself so much to the practice of virtue, and particularly to the reception of the sacraments of Confession and Communion, that, when he reached the end of his life, he departed from this world fortified by these Sacraments and the divine help, and full of consolation that he had from the time of his conversion led an exemplary life. After God he attributed this change to the kindness which Fr. Xavier had shown him by adapting himself to his weakness. But, let us return to the preparation of the fleet.

While the Father was in Ceilan, the fleet against the King of Jafanapatan had been completely manned and equipped. But, as it was on the point of sailing, a ship of the King of Portugal, coming from Pegu laden with a rich cargo, was thrown on the coast of Jafanapatan by a storm. The King had seized the ship with all its freight. In order to recover these, they thought that it was unseasonable to wage war on the King. For this reason all these preparations came to nought. Seeing this, the Father was indeed vexed that the wicked tyrant had not been punished as he deserved; yet submitting to the will and Providence of God he accepted with resignation what God had disposed. But shortly afterwards, as we shall relate in the second Book, God punished this King and his successors who imitated him in his cruelty."



## Vol. I, Livre I, Chapitre XVIII.

..... (Le P. Xavier) passe en l'Isle de Ceilan.

..... Expedié qu'il eut les affaires de la Côte, il voulut, auant que retourner à Goa, passer à l'Isle de Ceilā, pour vn affaire d'importāce, duquel nous traicterons bien tost. Il vint donc surgir au port de Gale, ou il trouua vn Portugais, nommé Michel Fernandez, si griefue-ment malade qu'on estimoit ne deuoir pas viure long temps. Le Pere le visita, & le consola avec plusieurs bons propos qu'il luy tint; & finalement il luy dit qu'il ne se contristat point, pour crainte de la mort: car il auoit bonne esperance de sa santé; & qu'à ceste fin il alloit dire la Messe pour luy, & le recommanderoit à N. Seigneur. La Messe finie, il s'en retourne pour voir comment se portoit le malade, & trouue qu'il ne faisoit que sortir d'un grief accident, qui luy auoit duré desia vingt & quatre heures, & rendoit sa maladie beaucoup plus dangereuse: mais à l'instant que le Pere eust acheué la Messe, il en fut deliuré, & guarit tout aussi tost, comme le mesme Fernandez a déposé & iuré, lors qu'on en fit les informations. Mais la principale cause, qui le fit passer à ceste Isle de Ceilan, fut le desir, qu'il auoit, de recueillir le fruit du sang des martyrs, qui deux ans auparauant y auoit esté espandu. Et d'autant que le droict que pretendoient au Royaume les deux Princes, qui furent baptisez à Goa, estoit finy par leur mort, (car ils decederent tous deux là mesme pendant ce temps) l'esperance aussi qu'on auoit d'y planter la Foy par leur moyen fut perduë. Ce neâtmoins le Pere resolut d'aller trouuer le Roy qui auoit fait tuer les martyrs pour luy persuader de permettre que la foy Chrestienne fut publiée en son Royaume, & de l'embrasser luy mesme, esperant qu'il le feroit à tout le moins pour s'asseurer de son Estat. Car il n'auoit rien à craindre, s'il contractoit paix, & alliance avec les Portugais. Nostre Seigneur donna si bonne yssuë au dessein du Pere, que ce Roy barbare, bien qu'il fut memoratif & piqué, de ce que le Gouverneur des Indes Martin Alfonse de Sosa luy auoit voulu faire la guerre, pour le debouter du Royaume, qu'il possedoit, afin d'y establir l'un de ces deux Princes: toutesfois il ne receut pas seulement le Pere Xauier avec tres-grand honneur & humanité, mais encore luy presta l'oreille, pour l'ouyr discourir des mysteres de la foy Chrestienne. Brief il pleust à Dieu communiquer vne telle grace au Predicateur pour les declarer, & à l'auditeur pour les escouter, que le Roy promit de se faire Chrestien,

## Vol. I, Bk. I, Chap. XVIII.

(Father Xavier) visits the island of Ceilan.

Having expedited the affairs of the (Fishery) Coast, Xavier resolved to cross over to the island of Ceilan before returning to Goa in order to settle an important matter of which we shall speak presently. He landed at the port of Gale, where he found a Portuguese named Michael Fernandez so grievously ill that it was thought that he had not long to live. The Father visited him and consoled him with many kind words, and told him not to lose courage or fear death; for he had good hopes for his health, and was going to say Mass for him and recommend him to Our Lord. When Mass was over, he went to see how the patient was getting on, and found that he had just got over a serious crisis, which had lasted for twenty four hours and had greatly aggravated his illness. At the very moment that the Father had finished his Mass, the trouble disappeared and he was cured instantly as the same Fernandez deposed on oath when they took information on the subject. The principal reason that had prompted his visit to that island of Ceilan, however, was the desire to reap the fruit of the martyrs' blood which had been shed two years before. As the right which the two Princes baptised at Goa had to the Kingdom had ceased with their death (for meanwhile they had both died at Goa), the hope that was entertained of planting the faith there through their means was lost also. In spite of it, however, the Father determined to go and see the King who had put the martyrs to death,<sup>18</sup> in order to persuade him to allow the Christian faith to be taught in his Kingdom and to embrace it himself. He hoped that the King would grant his request at least to safeguard his Kingdom. For he had nothing to fear, if he made peace and allied himself with the Portuguese. Our Lord crowned the Father's plans with success. For though that barbarous King remembered and resented that Martin Alfonsus de Sousa, the Governor of India, had intended to make war on him, in order to expel him from his Kingdom and place one of the two Princes therein, yet, he not only received Father Xavier with very great marks of honour and courtesy, but even listened to his exposition of the mysteries of the Christian faith. In short, it pleased God to grant such a grace to the Preacher to expound those mysteries, and to the listener to accept them, that the King promised to become a Christian, and also to do his best to get the whole Kingdom to follow his

18. The king who put the martyrs of Manar to death is the king of Jaffna. The martyr-prince was put to death by the king of Kotte.



& de tascher aussi que tout son Royaume le suivit ; offrant pour ostage de sa parole, de mettre sondit Royaume entre les mains du Roy de Portugal, se rēdant son vassal, & luy payer le tribut qu'on aduiserait, sans demander pour tout cela au Gouverneur des Indes, que deux choses : l'une qu'il fit avec luy une bōne paix & alliāce, cōme avec les autres, qui s'estoient rendus vassaux de la Couronne de Portugal ; l'autre que pour empescher les reuoltes ou mutineries, qui se pourroient ensuivre du changement de religiō, il luy enuoyat une compagnie de soldats Portugais, ausquels il payeroit la souldie, selon que ledit Gouverneur ordonneroit. Le Pere ayant si bien manié cest affaire, tout ioyeux de voir un si beau commencement de victoire contre Satan en ce Royaume, prend tout aussi tost la route vers Goa, menant quant & soy l'Ambassadeur dudit Roy, pour traicter de cest accord avec le Gouverneur de l'Inde, qui estoit encore lors D. Jean de Castro. Le Roy susdict bailla lettres de creance à son Ambassadeur, esquelles il luy dōnoit tout pouuoir, & s'obligeoit de tenir pour fait, tout ce que luy & le Pere accorderoiēt en son nō. Ayant donc prins congé du Roy, il s'embarqua avec l'Ambassadeur & arriua heureusement à Goa, le 20. de Mars l'an 1548.

example. In proof of his promise he offered to place his Kingdom in the hands of the King of Portugal as his vassal, and pay him whatever tribute they would ask. In return he would ask the Governor of India two things and nothing more.<sup>17</sup> One of these was that he should make a firm peace and alliance with him as with the others who had become vassals of the Crown of Portugal. The other that, in order to prevent revolt and mutiny that might result from his change of religion, he should send him a company of Portuguese soldiers who would be paid by him as determined by the Governor. The Father, having negotiated the affair so successfully, left at once for Goa, full of joy at seeing such fair promise of victory over Satan in that Kingdom. He took with him an Ambassador of the King, who was sent to settle the matter with the Governor of India, D. John de Castro. The King gave credentials to the Ambassador giving him full authority, and undertook to ratify whatever the Ambassador and the Father would grant in his name. Xavier bade farewell to the King, embarked with the Ambassador and reached Goa safely on the 20th March, 1548.

(To be continued.)

17. This refers to the king of Kandy. The writer has mixed up the different kings. About the historicity of this alleged visit see *Ceylon Antiquary* :—I 221-222.





# "SISSIYĀNU SISSIA PARAMPARĀWA"\*

## AND OTHER LAWS RELATING TO BUDDHIST PRIESTS IN CEYLON.

By G. W. WOODHOUSE, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

THIS dissertation is based on some notes collected by me, while employed as magistrate and judge in different parts of Ceylon, for the purpose some day of compiling a more pretentious work on Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law, a subject which, so far as this Colony is concerned, has not engaged the attention of writers.

It should be observed that the Common Law of the country is the Roman-Dutch Law, a legacy left us by our Dutch predecessors. There are certain local laws applicable to certain sections of the community; e.g., the Thesawalamai, to the Tamil inhabitants of the Jaffna Peninsula; the Kandyan Law, to the Sinhalese of what are known as the Kandyan Provinces; and the Code of Muhammedan Law, to the Mussulman population scattered all over the Island. Besides these there are portions of the English Law specially introduced; and, in addition, the Ordinances passed by the local legislature.

The following authorities have been consulted in the preparation of this article:—

Appeal Court Reports (1907—1909)	A. C. R.	Coplestone's <i>Buddhism</i> (1892)	Coplestone
Armour's Grammar of Kandyan Law (1871)	Armour	Hardy's <i>Eastern Monachism</i> (1860)	Hardy
Austin's Appeal Reports (1862)	Austin	Lorenz's Reports (1856—1859)	Lor.
Beven & Siebel's Reports (1877)	B. & S.	Wijesinghe's translation of the <i>Mahāvansa</i> (1909)	
Bertolacci's <i>Ceylon</i> (1817)	Bertolacci	Marshall's Judgments (1839)	Marshall
Browne's Reports (1890—1897)	Br.	New Law Reports	N. L. R.
Ceylon Law Reports (1890—1897)	C. L. R.	Ceylon Ordinances	Ord.
Minutes of the Supreme Court sitting collectively	Coll.	Matara Cases	Matara

This dissertation will be confined exclusively to the Laws and Customs relating to priests of the Orthodox Buddhist Church. Heterodox Buddhism, which confuses with pure Buddhism the worship of gods and demons (*Kapūism*) and of the heavenly bodies (*Grahaism*) and other superstitions, will only be alluded to when necessary for the elucidation of the subject in hand. Similarly, only passing reference will be made to other branches of Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law, like the Constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the law of Temple Property, Statutory Trustees, and Temple Ceremonial and Worship.

\* Being a Dissertation for the Degree of Master of Laws of the University of Cambridge, by George William Woodhouse, M. A. (St. John's College, Cantab. Math. Trip. 1880); Barrister-at-Law, Middle Temple (1916); Campbell-Foster Prizeman in Criminal Law; first (aeq.) in the first class with a certificate of Honour in the Bar Final Examination before Hilary Term, 1911; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society (C. B.); Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute; and of His Majesty's Civil Service in Ceylon, Justice of the Peace and District Judge, Kurunegala.



The Buddhist Church in Ceylon, whether Orthodox or Heterodox, is, in the eye of the law, a voluntary association ; or, to be more correct, a quasi-corporation. Its constitution is based in some measure upon the statute law, but mostly upon usage, which has acquired the force of law, and upon judicial decisions.

In early times, and indeed until the Kandyan kingdom was ceded to the British Crown in 1815 A. D., the Kandyan king was the head of the Buddhist Church, both spiritual and temporal. And startling though the proposition might appear, at the present time the King of England is the head of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon. By Buddhist precept, the duties of king and priest were made co-ordinate. The king was enjoined to practise the "the ten virtues," which included the observance of the ordinances of Buddha, charity to the brethren, and the endowment of temples. And the priests were directed to "respectfully entreat and admonish the king not to depart from the prescribed duties of a sovereign." (Bertolacci, *pp.* 460 *et seq.*). Hence it is we find the king often intervening in the internal administration of the Church, and even teaching its precepts. For instance, Kāsyapa V (A.D. 919-929) "purged the religion by enforcing the rules of discipline and appointed new priests to fill up the vacancies in the *viḥāres*."<sup>1</sup> (*Mahāvansa*, lii, p. 65) ; and Séna IV (A.D. 961-964) took his seat in the Brazen Palace "and expounded the *Suttanta* in the presence of the brethren." (*Ibid.*, liv, p. 70). No priest could be ordained or property gifted to the Church except with the approval and sanction of the sovereign.

No less powerful was the influence of the Church over the State. Wealth and learning centred round the Church ; and the priests were not slow in making a weak or superstitious sovereign feel their power. The king's coronation was not complete until he was anointed at the Ruvanvāli Dāgaba, a custom which began in the reign of Séna II (*circa* 866 A.D.). The election of the king depended to a great extent upon the vote of the prelates of the Church ; and kings were known to surrender their royal insignia to the monks and receive them back, and even invest them, at least for a time, with all the prerogatives of the throne. (*Mahāvansa*, XXXIX, 3 *et seq.*). There are not wanting instances where the monks even punished the king for disregarding their authority ; for example, "they inflicted on Hatthadātha (A. D. 654-663) the 'inversion of the bowl,' which takes away from a layman the privilege of putting alms-food in a monk's bowl." (*Ibid.*, xlv, p. 29, v, 35 ; Coplestone, p. 384).

During the Malabar conquests, when the persecution of Buddhists had ended, Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side, and the king found it to his interest to be patron of the Buddhist Church. Witness, for example, the revival of Buddhism in the reign of Kirti Sri (1753 A. D.) referred to below.

In the Maritime Provinces, which came under the influence of the Portuguese and the Dutch, first Roman Catholicism and afterwards Protestantism, were thrust upon the people ; and Buddhism received a temporary check. But in 1796, when the British acquired these provinces by conquest, liberty of conscience and the free exercise of religious worship were insured to all persons.

The Kandyan Provinces, however, were not ceded to the British until 1815 ; and, by the Kandyan Convention of that year, "the religion of Buddha professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces is declared inviolable, and the rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected."

Although Lord Bathurst, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, was of opinion that this undertaking on the part of Great Britain simply implied that "the Boodho religion should not be abolished or obstructed," and Earl Grey, in 1847, thought that all it meant was that "the Buddhists should be free to celebrate their religious rites and to hold all the places and property devoted to their worship, without molestation from the new sovereign or any one else," yet in the practical working of the Convention, the British Sovereign succeeded to all the rights and

1. *Viḥāre* (Sansk. *vi-hāri*, to walk about) was originally the hall or cloister where the Buddhist priests lived and walked in meditation. The word is now applied to the building dedicated to the memory of Buddha, and set apart for the offerings of flowers and food. Adjoining the *viḥāre* is the image-house (*pīṭima-ge*). Outside it are one or more *dāgobas* where some relic of Buddha is enshrined. Near it is usually a sacred bo-tree with the *bo-malucca* and *sripatul-ge*. A little way off is the *paṇsala*, the residence of the priests, and by it the *baṇa sāludā*, where the scriptures are read.



obligations of the Kandyan king in respect of the Buddhist Church. The *Daladā Dhātu*, or Sacred Tooth, was placed in the custody of an Agent of Government; and the appointment and dismissal of priests, and the control of other domestic matters of the Buddhist Church were vested in the Governor.

The position was embarrassing. It seemed anomalous that a Christian government should have part in the control of the internal affairs of what was, at that time at least, considered an idolatrous and immoral faith. That the representative of a Christian Queen should have the custody of Buddhist temples and should claim the right to appoint and dismiss the priests of such temples, was obnoxious to those who belonged to the Christian faith. A means was, therefore, sought to sever the connection. With a view to this the local Legislature passed an Ordinance, to which Queen Victoria refused her assent. The object was partially achieved, however, by means of a Despatch from the Secretary of State, which forbade the Governor to make appointments. Chief Priests were to be elected by the priests of the respective temples; Basnáyaka Nilames by the Ratamahatmayas and Korálas of the District<sup>2</sup> in which the temples were situated; and the Diyawadana Nilame by the Basnáyakas and Ratamahatmayas of certain districts. The Governor was authorised to issue "an instrument, which, while avoiding altogether the form of an appointment, productive as it is of false notions, should simply profess to be a recognition by Government of the title of the party."

This Despatch was held by CREASY, C. J., and the other judges of the Supreme Court in *Attadāsi Terunnanse vs. Sumangala Unnanse*, (S. C. Civ. Min., 7. July, 1871), upon the authority of *Cameron vs. Kyte*, (1835) 3 Knapp, 332, and *Jephson vs. Riera*, (1835) *ibid.*, 130, to be operative for the purpose without an Order in Council or an Act of Parliament.

The immediate effect of this Despatch was that the *Daladā Dhātu* was made over to the Diyawadana Nilame and the Chief Priests of the Malwatta and Asgiriya establishments, with the condition, however, that if it "is ever found to be used for other than religious purposes, the Government would immediately resume possession of it"; and the annual allowance of £300 to the priests of the Malwatta and Asgiriya Vihāres was commuted by a grant of Crown lands yielding an annual income of a like sum.

It would seem, however, that this Despatch of 1852, which was obviously only meant to satisfy the scruples of a part of the Christian community of the Colony, which had taken offence at a Christian Government concerning itself with the appointment of priests of Buddhist temples, did no more than delegate certain prerogatives, which the British Sovereign succeeded to from the Kandyan King, into other hands, to be resumed whenever it was found necessary to do so. The King, in fact, is still, as he obviously must be, the head of the Buddhist Church. The final decision in all matters, not purely domestic or doctrinal, lies with him. The appointment of a priest is nothing; his dismissal is everything, and the King has not renounced his right of dismissal.

"But," says CREASY, C. J., in the judgment referred to above, "though we hold that the Crown has given up its power of appointment to this High Priesthood, it by no means follows that we are to hold that the Crown has given up the power of removal. There are no words in

2. A Ratamahatmaya is the chief native headman of the *pattu* or division of a district in the Kandyan Provinces. A Korála is the headman next in rank.

It should be observed that there are lay incumbents of certain temples. These are persons, who manage and administer the temporal concerns and who may exercise supervision over the spiritual affairs of such temple. For instance, the Diyawadana Nilame is the chief lay incumbent of the *Daladā Málígāwa* or the Temple of the Sacred Tooth in Kandy. This office, it should be remembered, is distinct from that of the *Diyawadana Nilame*, whose duty it was to superintend the Kandyan king's bath and dress His Majesty's hair. (Davy, 163). Both officers, however, had to do with water (*diya*), for, one of the functions of the highest dignitary of the *Daladā Málígāwa* is to water the sacred Bo-tree (*Srimaha Bhodínwahansae*) at Anurādhapura.

The officer second in rank to the Diyawadana Nilame, of the *Daladā Málígāwa* at Kandy is the *Kāriyakaravārale*, whose appointment rests with the Diyawadana Nilame, and whose duty it is to attend to all the business matters of the *Málígāwa*.

The *Basnáyake Nilame* is the chief lay incumbent of a *Dēwāle*, which is a temple of the Heterodox Church. In Kandy there are four of these, who are chiefs respectively of the *Nátā*, the *Mahā-vishnu*, the *Katragam* and the *Pattini Dēwāles*.

Both the offices of Diyawadana Nilame and Basnáyake Nilame are governed now by the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance.



Sir John Pakington's Despatch that express or that necessarily imply such intention. Nor is the possession of such a power of removal by the Crown open to the same religious objections, which have been raised respecting the Crown's right of appointment and which produced the abandonment of the Crown's right of appointment. It may often happen for political causes, or for reasons connected with the social good order of the Island, and this District in particular, that the Government may desire to remove a mischievous or dishonest or incapable person from an office, which puts him in command of monies contributed by the public, and which gives him also considerable influence. If the Government dismisses such a person, and leaves it to his co-religionists to choose another, it does not exhibit anything like the spectacle, which appears to have shocked the Christian Memorialists of 1852, the spectacle of the representative of a Christian Queen creating a heathen High Priest."

In the meantime a large number of temples were neglected and temple property frittered away by the ignorant people who had charge of them. The truth is that the strong hand of the king being removed, there was no properly organised system to take its place. In consequence of the Despatch above mentioned, of course, the local Government ceased to take any active interest in the affairs of the Buddhist Church.

It was therefore found necessary to pass what is known as the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance, No. 1 of 1889. It is in respect of this Ordinance that the Buddhist Church is a corporation. By the provisions of the Ordinance the law recognises as a corporation any temple, its movable and immovable property and the revenues therefrom, together with the *Sanghika* offerings made to it; it empowers the election of trustees, who have the right to control and manage such property, and who can sue and be sued; and it creates a domestic tribunal called a District Committee to supervise the trustees, administer temple property, and, to that end, make rules. But, apart from this Ordinance, the Buddhist Church, not being an established Church, is not a juristic entity, and, therefore, has no existence apart from its individual members.

The Customary Law is for the most part derived from the Buddhist Scriptures (*Tripitaka*) and from rules and institutions, which have acquired the force of law by inveterate custom and usage.

The rule as to customary law, which has not been determined by judicial decision, is that it must be specially pleaded and established by evidence. (*Dharmapāla Unnānse vs. Samana Unnānse*, (1907) 3 Bal., 260).

The Canon Law is derived principally from the rules and regulations laid down in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, from principles evolved from the Buddhist Scriptures, and from practices, which have by long usage become part of the law.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* is divided into five sections:— (1) *Pārājikā*, and (2) *Pācitti*, which deal with crimes and misdemeanours of priests; (3) *Maha Vagga*, and (4) *Calla Vagga*, which contain the civil and ecclesiastical code giving the rules as to ordination, the ceremony of *vas*, etc.; and (5) *Parivāra Pāṭa*, a recapitulation of the above in catechetical form.

It remains, before proceeding to discuss the law itself, to consider how much of the law as stated above is administered by the Civil Courts of the Colony. There are no decisions bearing directly on Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law; but from decisions of cases referring to other religious bodies, it is clear that our Civil Courts will not interfere in matters purely ecclesiastical, but will only give relief where a claim to property or civil right is involved. What is a matter which is purely ecclesiastical, is for the Court to decide on the facts of each case.

MARSHALL, C. J., who delivered the judgment of the Supreme Court in D.C. Kalutara, 12,348, (1835) (Marshall, 656, § 7), where a Mohammedan Mosque claiming the exclusive right by immemorial custom of celebrating the *Nómba* and *Hadji Perenals*, claimed damages against another Mosque for celebrating those festivals and appropriating the gifts and votive offerings given by those who attended, said: "It is very possible that the Mohammedan worship may have been scandalized, and the religious veneration due to the ancient Mosque of Marandhan abated by the irregular practices and arrogant assumption of the Priests officiating at the rival



Mosque of Molliamulle. But the law does not recognize these as civil injuries for which compensation can be claimed in a Court of Justice. These are matters purely ecclesiastical; and a remedy for the abuse complained of, if obtainable at all, must be sought for in ecclesiastical censure and penance."

Similarly in *Aysa Oemma vs. Sago Abdul Lebbe*, (1867) Ram. (1863-68), 240, the Supreme Court following *K. vs. Coleridge*, 8 B. & A., p. 806, held that the mode of burying the dead is purely a matter for ecclesiastical cognizance, and, therefore, not a matter for decision by the Civil Courts. Compare also to the same effect *Kurukel vs. Kurukel*, (1892) 1 S. C. R., 354; *Mohammadu Lebbe vs. Kareem*, (1893) 1 N. L. R., 351; and *Nuku Lebbe vs. Thamby*, (1913) 16 N. L. R., 94.

It must be remembered, however, that, though there are Buddhist Ecclesiastical Courts, they have not the power to enforce their decrees. These decrees are given effect to by the Civil Courts in the same way as the awards of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties; but the Civil Courts will, if necessary, go behind these decrees to see that they are not vitiated by irregularities in procedure, *Sumangala Unnanse vs. Dhamma Rakkhita*, (1908) 11 N. L. R., 360.

### THE PRIESTHOOD.

In Ceylon, Buddhist priests,<sup>3</sup> though they profess and propagate substantially the same doctrines, belong to one or other of three chief sects (*Nikāya*) or Societies (*Samāgam*), namely,—

- (1) The *Siam Nikāya*, or Siamese Sect;
- (2) The *Amarapura Nikāya*, or Burmese Sect; and
- (3) The *Rāmanya Nikāya*, or Rangoon Sect.

From the time that King Devānampiya Tissa was converted to Buddhism by Mahinda Thera, until the beginning of the last century, Buddhism was the state religion of the country. But successive Malabar invasions and the introduction of Hinduism by the conquerors, threatened the foundations of the Church; so much so that, when King Kirti Sri came to the throne (1753 A. D.)<sup>4</sup> the scarcity of priests was such that there was not a sufficient number of them to ordain the *Sāmanéras* and make them *Upasampadā*. A mission was sent by Kirti Sri to the King of Siam and thirteen ordained priests procured. These were installed in the Malwatta Vihāre with Welliwitte Unnanse, styled *Sangha Rājā*, at their head. These formed the nucleus of the present *Siam Nikāya*.

Certain innovations made by the King and the new college of priests were obnoxious to the more orthodox Buddhists. For instance, the priesthood was reserved for the *Goivanse* or agricultural caste; ordinations were to take place nowhere but in Kandy; and, what displeased them most and was doubtless introduced in deference to the King, who was himself a Hindu, Hindu superstitions, with the worship of Hindu deities and demons, were introduced into the temples. So, in 1802 A. D., one Ambagahapitiya, a *Sāmanera* of the *Halāgama* caste, with five other novices, proceeded to Burma, where it is claimed that Buddhism still exists in its pristine purity, and became ordained there. These came back to Ceylon and formed the *Amarapura Nikāya*.

3. In Heterodox Buddhism, no sanctity attaches to the office of priest which is purely hereditary or self-constituted.

A *Kapurala* is the chief priest who ministers at a *déwale*, other than a *Pattini déwale*. The office is confined only to those of the *Golgama* or the *Patti* caste and descends through the male line. The *Kapurala* of a *Pattini déwale* is merely an assistant to the principal priest or priestess called the *Pattinihāmi*, who appoints him. The office of *Pattinihāmi* is hereditary and can only be held by persons of the Brahmin caste; and a *Pattinihāmi* has greater powers in the management of a *Pattini déwale* than his or her *Kapurala* or assistant.

On failure of succession to either of the offices of *Kapurala* of a *déwale* and *Pattinihāmi* of a *Pattini déwale*, the *Bandhyake Nilame* or other chief incumbent, with the concurrence of the congregation, can appoint a suitable person to succeed. (Per MARSHALL, C. J., *D. C. Kalutara*, 540, (1835) Marshall, 653, ss. 5, 6, Cf. *Silva Kapurala vs. Silva Pattinihāmi*, (1879) 2 S. C., 39.

There are three classes of priests in a *Pattini déwale*:—(1) *Kapurala*; (2) *Anumetrāla*; (3) *Batwadanaṛāla*.

The priest in Demonism is called a *Yakadara*, *Yakdessa*, or *Kattadiya*. He has to be master of charms, invocations and incantations, which are essential to his vocation.

The priest of Grahaism is called a *Bali Edura* and has to know astrology, the various incantations useful for his office, and modelling in clay.

4. [A. D. 1747 is the usually accepted date, Ed., C. A.]



Later on, in about 1864 A. D., was founded the *Rāmanya Nikāya*, which is simply an offshoot of the Amarapura Sect, with this difference that the members of the former take stricter vows of poverty and humility.

These Sects or Societies have again been subdivided. It is not quite certain when or how the *Siam Nikāya* was split up into the two great Colleges of Malwatta and Asgiriya, each with its own High Priest (*Mahā Nāyaka*) and his Deputy (*Anu Nāyaka*).

The *Amarapura Nikāya* has four sub-divisions:—(1) The College founded by Ambagahapitiya abovementioned; (2) That of Dhammakanda; (3) That of Deundera (Dondra); and (4) The *Mātara Nikāya*, which had its birth in recent times.

It is settled law that a priest of one of these *Nikāyas* may not succeed to the rights and privileges of a priest of another *Nikāya*, or be presented to the incumbency of a temple of another *Nikāya*.

The point was decided in *The Crown vs. Rambukwella Unnānse*, (Coll. Court of Appeal, in *D. C. Kandy*, 8,950, (1838) Austin, 40). At that time the Crown exercised the right of appointing the incumbent of a temple. The temple in question was the property of the *Siam Nikāya*; and though the Kandyan King had granted lands for the use of the temple, there was no Royal *Sannas*<sup>5</sup> or Grant, and, therefore, the temple was *Sanghika*. The question for the Court was, whether a pupil of the founder, who had adopted the *Amarapura* faith, was eligible to the office of Chief Priest of the temple. The Court held that the Crown, while it was not limited to the selection of a pupil of the founder, had still the right only to appoint a priest belonging to the Asgiriya College and professing the doctrine of the *Siam Nikāya*, for the reason that at the founding of the temple there was only the *Siam Nikāya* established in this country, the King was Siamese, and the founder of the temple Siamese, and, therefore, "it would be acting *contra formam doni*. . . . . to allow the property to pass into the hands of persons who cannot but be deemed to profess an heretical faith by the Siamese Buddhists."

In *Dhammadāsa vs. Sōbita*, (1853) Ram. 1843-55, 42, the contest was between two pupils of the same priest, one of whom had seceded to the Amarapura Sect. CARR, C. J., held that, as the temple was intended by the donor to be held by a priest of the Siam Sect, the defendant when he seceded to the Amarapura Sect, forfeited any right he might have had from his tutor, the late incumbent.

As between the members of the sub-divisions of the chief *Nikāyas*, however, no such disability exists, provided they are sub-divisions of the same *Nikāya*.

The authority for this proposition is *Panghna Ratna Unnānse vs. Ratnapāla Unnānse*, (1884) 6 S.C.C., 109. The plaintiff had been robed by his tutor, Balaharuwe, incumbent of a temple depending on the College of Malwatta, which, as stated above, is a sub-sect of the *Siam*

5. A *Sannas* is a Royal Grant often engraved on a plate of copper or other metal.

Below is the translation of a *Sannas*, by which the Vihāre at Kelaniya, after its restoration, in 1779 A. D. by King Kirti Sri Rāja Sinha, was conferred on Māpitigama Buddharakkhita Unnānse:—

"Hail! His Renowned, Excellent, Heroic, and Mighty Majesty Kirti Sri Rāja Sinha, the Great King, whose fame fills not only his own, but all other countries, having ascended the throne of Lanka the prosperous, the four corners of which he has brought under the single canopy of his sway, his star being in the ascendant and his thoughts directed to the propagation of the creed of the Omniscient One, Who is adored by the Brahmans, Gods, Demi-gods, Sages and Men, having heard of the neglected state of the Dāgaba of Kelaniya whither the Enlightened One, being invited by Manināyana, Supreme King of the Nāgas, came attended by his five hundred saints (just-conquering priests) through the heavens, and, sitting on the gem-studded throne in the middle of the Jewel Hall, and having partaken of the ambrosia offered by the Chief Nāgas, expounded His Dharma unto Brahmans, Gods, Demi-gods and Nāgas, did without delay grant thousands of money to Māpitigama Buddharakkhita Unnānse and order him to restore the sacred Dāgaba, which the said priest rebuilt with 550,000 bricks to the height of 40 cubits, plastering it with 500 ammunams of lime, and enclosing the same with a parapet wall; and beside it, he built an image of Buddha, refulgent in all the beauty of the ten great proportions of measurement (?); and over it a beautiful canopy, and against it a flight of steps hewn in stone, he placed; and the excellency of the work being reported to the King by the priests, His Majesty doth hereby give unto Buddharakkhita, the Priest, for the excellent work he hath done, this *sthāne* (establishment) for ever, so that he and after him one of his pupils the most worthy and the most learned in the holy *Vinaya* and *Dharma*, in succession, shall ever preserve this holy place, and to that end His Majesty doth order and command that twelve ammunams of paddy shall be given unto them out of the produce of the fields of Manināyana; and that this copper *Sannas* be engraven and granted. Know Ye therefore that by order and command of His Majesty, who like Indra sitteth on the Golden Throne ornamented with the Nine Gems, this copper *Sannas* is engraved, given and granted on this Sunday, in the Month of Navan, in the Year named Wikari, One thousand Seven hundred and One of the Saka Era, at Siriwardhanapura."



*Nikāya*. When the time arrived for plaintiff's ordination, Balaharuwe was unable to attend owing to illness, and so procured a priest of the rival College of Asgiriya, which is also of the *Siam Nikāya*, to present him. The question was, whether at the death of Balaharuwe, plaintiff was entitled to succeed. The Court held that he had. The decision was a correct one, because these Colleges not only profess and propagate the same doctrines, but also observe the same rules of ritual and ceremonial.

The word *Sangha* is a generic term, which applies to the whole community of the priesthood, as distinguished from *Gana*, which is a semi-association consisting of only two or three priests. From *Sangha* is derived the word *sanghika*, which means appertaining to the whole community of priests as distinguished from *puḍgalika*, that which belongs to an individual priest. But *Sangha* is also specifically applied to mean a Chapter, which, having regard to the number of *upasampā* or ordained priests that go to constitute it, has the right to perform certain official acts. It should be observed, however, that the official acts of such a Chapter would be void and of non-effect if, in its constitution, there be a priest subject to the *manatta* or the *parivāsa* discipline, or has committed an offence deserving *mūlaya*, *palikassana*, *mānatta*, or *abbhāna*.

A *Sangha* of twenty or more priests may perform any official act whatever; one of ten or more, but under twenty, all official acts, save the *abbhāna*; one of five or more but under ten, all official acts, save the *upasampā* ordination and the *abbhāna*; and one of four, all save the *upasampā* ordination, *pavāra* and *abbhāna*.

Buddhist ecclesiastical persons (*Pabbajjā*) are either *Sāmanera* (Novice) or *Upasampadā* (Priest); and a Buddhist priest may be an incumbent, or resident, or itinerating (*āgantuge*). An incumbent, as the name implies, has charge of a *vihāra* and controls the rites and ceremonies within it. A resident priest has no charge; he simply lives in the *pansala* in the *vihāra* premises and assists in the services. He is entitled to maintenance from the temple property and is subordinate to the incumbent priest. And lastly, the *āgantuge* has no permanent residence, but goes from temple to temple, where he is provided with food, and sometimes assists in the services or acts for an incumbent, who is absent from his temple by reason of illness or other cause.

A candidate for the priesthood has to begin by residing with his tutor for a period of three years. At this time he is called *Pandulasa*, as distinguished from *Gōlayā*, which term includes also lay-pupils.

The term of probation is intended to give the novice an opportunity of seeing for himself the manner of life he would have to lead and the duties he would have to perform. It also affords the tutor the means of judging for himself whether the pupil is physically and morally fit for the life he has chosen. At the end of that time, if the pupil elects to enter the priesthood and is of the proper age (which is not less than eight years), and has obtained the permission of his parents, and if the tutor is satisfied that he is in every respect fit to be a priest, he is permitted to shave his head and put on the yellow robe. He then declares his trust in the *Tun Sarana* (the Three Refuges) and promises to keep the *Dasa Sil* (the Ten Obligations). The Novice has now entered upon his novitiate; he is called *Sāmanera*.

It should be observed here that it is a mistake to suppose that a *Sāmanera* novice has been admitted to an order of the Buddhist priesthood. There is only one order of the priesthood and that is the *Upasampadā*. Writers, like Pridham, Davy, and Tennent, have fallen into the error, probably by the association in their mind of the orders of bishops, priests and deacons in the Christian Church, of speaking of the Buddhist clergy as divided into two orders. The *Sāmanera* is still a candidate or novice and goes through no form of admission, except when he becomes *Upasampadā*. He requires no other permission to shave his head and wear the yellow robe than that of his tutor.



It should also be noted that though the *Sāmanera* does not belong to an order of the priesthood, the fact of robing confers on him a certain status; he becomes the *sissia*, or sacerdotal pupil, of his tutor, from which fact flows certain important rights, which will appear when we come to consider the law of spiritual succession.

The Courts have held that a *Sāmanera* has all the rights and privileges of an *Upasampadā* priest, except in the matter of discipline and government, and can be invested with or succeed to the incumbency of a *vihāre*.

See Hardy, 18.—There is no direct authority for the proposition; and it must be assumed that it is only true, in the absence of a properly ordained priest, who has better right. In *D. C. Galle*, 29,058, S. C. Civ. Min., Oct. 4, 1870, CREASY, C. J., supported this view of the law on the ground that he could not find in the books any rule against a *Sāmanera*, if the sole resident priest, acting as incumbent of a temple. In *Dhammajoty Unnānse, vs. Sarānanda Unnānse*, (1881) 5 S. C. C., 8, DIAS J., said, "With regard to the first question, (namely, Can a *Sāmanera* be invested with the incumbency of a *vihāre*?) there is a large quantity of evidence founded on Buddhistical writings, and though the learned men, who were examined, are not agreed as to the meaning of certain words and expressions in the books, they all agree that, according to practice and usage, *Sāmanera* priests have held and are holding incumbencies like the one in question. Independently of this practice, the very words *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa* seem to support the usage deposed to by the witnesses. The meaning of these words is "from pupil to pupil," and all that is necessary to constitute pupilage is the robing of the pupil, when he becomes *Sāmanera*, or attains the first step in the priesthood. (See *Dhammajoty Unnānse vs. Paranātale* (1881) 4 S. C. C., 121). There is nothing in the words themselves to justify the limitation of the pupil's rights or denying him the right of succession until he is ordained an *upasampadā* priest."

Ordination is the ceremony whereby a *Sāmanera* is admitted to the rights and privileges of the priesthood and becomes *Upasampadā*.<sup>6</sup>

Previous to his ordination the candidate has to pass a strict and searching examination on the Buddhist Scriptures and on the duties of a priest. The examination and the ordination take place at the *Wesak*, namely the second quarter of the moon in May-June, and on three succeeding quarters or *uposatha* days.

To constitute a valid ordination there are five requisites, namely—

(1) The candidate must be of full age, that is to say, at least 20 years from the time of his conception. Doubts having arisen as to whether Kumāra Kasyapa was of full age at his ordination, the matter was referred, as stated in the *Mahā Vagga*, to Buddha himself. "Priests," said he, "whenever the first thought or perception is produced in the womb of the mother, then there is *jāti* (birth). Priests, I permit *upasampadā* to be given twenty years after the conception in the womb."

The candidate, though of full age, must not be subject to any physical infirmity or to any social or political disability by reason of his having infringed any rule of the moral code or any law he is subject to.

(2) He should be able to recite the *Natti Wākya* without any mistake.

(3) Also the three *Anusawana Wākya*.

(4) The ordination must be performed within a complete *simāwa*, or sacred enclosure.

(5) Each of the priests, who form the Chapter for the purpose of the ordination, must stand exactly two cubits and a half from the one next to him.

<sup>6</sup> *Upasampadā* priests are entitled to certain designations according to the period which has elapsed after their ordination:—

(1) *Nayaka Unnānse*, a priest who has been not more than five years ordained and is still under the supervision and guidance of his spiritual tutor;

(2) *Majjhima Unnānse*, a priest who has been more than five and less than ten years ordained;

(3) *Thera*, or *Terunnānse* (Sav. *Sthavira*, elder) a priest of more than ten years standing.



Should any of these particulars be not observed, the ordination is bad ; and a person so ordained, if he still claims to be *upasampadā*, is termed *sangwasa theneka* (association-thief).

Pupilage forms an important factor in the organization of the Buddhist priesthood. It is primarily intended, of course, for the education and spiritual advancement of junior priests ; but, as stated above, it is also the means of providing successors to incumbencies, which are held under the rules of spiritual succession.

Pupils are either (1) *Sāmanera Saddhiwihārika*, that is, a pupil of a spiritual superior, (*Upādāya*) who made him *Sāmanera* ; or (2) *Upasampadā Saddhiwihārika*, that is, a pupil of an *Upādāya* who ordained him *Upasampadā*.

The preceptor of a priest is called his *Āchāriyā*, and the pupil is known as the preceptor's *Antewāsika*. The relation of the preceptor to the pupil is the same as that between the superior and his co-resident, that is, the former is *in statu parentis* to the latter, and between them there must be mutual respect and honour.

The state of pupilage is established by the applicant approaching his preceptor with his robe removed from his shoulder, and prostrating himself at the preceptor's feet, saying as he kneels : " Lord, be thou my *Upādāya* ; " whereupon the preceptor indicates his approval and assent. This receiving of a pupil by his preceptor is called " the giving of *Nissaya* or proximity."

There are four classes of *Antewāsika*, namely,

(1) *Pabbajjantewāsika*, a pupil, whom his preceptor has instructed into the *Sāmanera* and made *prawarjja*, that is to say, pure, divested of sin ;

(2) *Upasampadantewāsika*, a pupil, whom his preceptor has advanced to the *upasampadā* order, although he may previously have been a *Sāmanera* pupil of another preceptor ;

(3) *Nipantawāsika*, a pupil, who has for five years or more diligently attended and served his preceptor from esteem and veneration, although he may have been ordained *upasampadā* by some other preceptor ; and

(4) *Dhammantewāsika*, a pupil, who attaches himself to a preceptor for the purpose of acquiring religious knowledge, although he may have been previously under other tutors.

A priest of less than ten years standing, who has proved himself unwise and incompetent is precluded from being a preceptor and receiving pupils.

It has been held by the Courts that to constitute pupilage for the purpose of spiritual succession, robing, obedience and ordination, or any two of them, are sufficient.

In *Dhammajoty Unnānse vs. Paranātale*, (1881) 4 S. C. C., 121, it was held that instruction without robing or presentation for ordination was insufficient to constitute pupilage. It should be observed that persons who never intend to be priests are also instructed in the temples. In fact, in early times the *pansala* was the only school in which children received their education. The High Priest of Adam's Peak, in his evidence in that case, stated that " pupils, who have been merely taught by an incumbent, would not succeed under *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa* . . . . . robing is enough to constitute pupilage, but there must be robing or presentation for ordination to constitute pupilage."

In 1913, the question arose in *Dhammajoti vs. Sōbita*, (16 N. L. R. 408), where, upon the evidence again of the High Priest of Adam's Peak, the Court held specifically that robing, obedience and ordination, or any two of them, would be sufficient to constitute pupilage. In that case on the authority of *Dhammaratna Unnānse vs. Samangala Unnānse*, (1910) 14 N. L. R., 400, was also held the further proposition that a priest may be a pupil of more than one preceptor, and he may succeed any or all of them.

A priest may be suspended from his pupilage for one or more of the following reasons :—

(1) Want of affection ; or (2) Absence of attachment ; or (3) Want of respect, for the preceptor ; (4) If the pupil does not command honour or respect ; (5) If the pupil neglect his studies.



A preceptor may expel his pupil by sign or word, such as, "Return not to thy place;" "Take thy bowl away;" "I have no need of thee;" or "Thou art forbidden."

Under our procedure, a preceptor priest may not be appointed guardian over his minor pupil or curator over his property. The proper person to be so appointed is the minor's nearest adult relation. *Upānanda Terunnānse vs. Devamitta Unnānse*, (1895) 1 N. L. R., 36.

Buddhist priests are governed, in the same manner as laymen, by the ordinary law of the land, except where the legislature has interposed to make special provision for them; but in ecclesiastical matters they are governed by Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law, which is administered by the Ecclesiastical Courts.

A priest is entitled to maintenance from the viháre revenues until he resigns or is disrobed. *Per CARR, C. J., in D. C. Kandy (South), 14,049 (1844) Austin, 57.*

In early times, as set forth in the *Nissaya*, which is recited at his ordination, a priest was expected to sustain himself upon the alms he collected; to clothe himself with cast-away clothes;

7. During the Kandyan regime, Ecclesiastical Courts derived their authority from the Crown. There were three Courts, namely, the *King's Court*, the highest judicial tribunal in the land presided over by the King, who exercised both original and appellate jurisdiction; the *Mahā Sangha Sabha*, the highest ecclesiastical court, which consisted of not less than twenty *Theras*, presided over by the *Sangha Rājā*, or Chief Buddhistical Dignitary; and the *Sangha Sabha*, or Court of the Chapter, which, as explained above, consists of the requisite number of ordained priests to deal with the particular matters submitted for its decision.

At the present time there are only the two ecclesiastical courts, the King's Court for ecclesiastical causes having been abolished.

As stated above, the decisions of these courts have no more force than the award of voluntary arbitration. But when ecclesiastical courts have exclusive jurisdiction to give a final decision on any matter, our Courts of Law will, on proof thereof and in the absence of fraud or irregularity, enforce such decision against the party losing. (*Cf. Bishop of Natal, vs. Gladstone*, (1886) L. R. 3 Eq., 49).

Ecclesiastical Courts have exclusive jurisdiction (1) to enforce the internal discipline of the clergy; (2) to suspend or dismiss from office or disrobe and expel from the priesthood any member of the clergy for any crime or misdemeanour; (3) to reprimand the clergy or laity for committing minor ecclesiastical offences or omitting to perform their proper duties or services; (4) to appoint a successor to a vacant incumbency, where the ordinary line of succession fails, or where the appointment made by the *Mahā Nāyaka* or other Chief Priest is disputed.

It would appear from *Attadassi Unnānse vs. Sumangala Unnānse* referred to above, that the right to dismiss a priest from office is not exclusive, but exercised concurrently with the Crown.

Parties appear in ecclesiastical courts either in person or by duly authorised agents.

The citation should be under the hand of the High Priest or the members comprising the court, and should state (1) the name of the party charged; (2) the date and place of hearing; (3) the nature and subject matter of the cause; (4) the name of the complainant.

The *Pattimokkha* summarises the procedure to be adopted in the trial of causes thus:—(1) The subject should be investigated in the presence of the parties; (2) the investigation should be with deliberation; (3) the law should be laid down with precision, that is, free from error; (4) a sentence should be agreed upon; (5) the sentence should be delivered by the majority of the court; (6) the sentence should be compatible with the enormity of the offence; and (7) the sentence should be three times proposed before it is agreed to.

The offences, which the clergy may be guilty of, are crimes and misdemeanours, and include *Parājikā* and *Pācettiya*. A *Parājikā* offence is one upon the commission of which an *upasampadā* priest becomes liable to permanent expulsion and a *samanera* novice to exclusion from receiving *upasampadā* ordination. *Pācettiya* is a minor offence or misdemeanour, which, according to the gravity of the circumstances of each case, involves *pabbajantiya kamma* (temporary suspension), *manatta dāna* (penance), forfeiture, or confession and absolution.

*Parājikā* crimes are four in number. (*vide* Gogerley's Translation, 1839), viz.,

(1) *Methuna Dhamma parājikā*, an offence against the vows of celibacy and chastity. "Any priest, who has engaged to live according to the precepts delivered to the priesthood, who has not confessed his weakness and left the precepts (*i. e.*, returned to lay life) *si cum brutis adeo coire dedit*, he is *parājikā* (overcome) and excluded."

Compare this passage in the *Kammaraḍḍha*, or *Liter de Officiis Sacerdotum Budicorum*, published by F. Spiegel at Bonn in 1841:—

"Sacerdotum, qui *upasampadam* accepit, cum femina coire dedit atque adeo cum brutis. Qui sacerdos cum femina coitum fecit, non amplius sacerdos erit, non Sakyaputrae assela, sicut vir aliquis deciso capite amplius vivere non potest ita sacerdos postquam cum femina coitum habuit, non amplius sacerdos erit, non Sakyaputrae assela."

(2) *Adinna dāna parājikā*, the taking of that which is not given to him: in other words, the commission of theft.

(3) *Manussa Wiggahā parājikā*, the taking of human life, or the compassing thereof, either by aiding and abetting, or instigating, or approving of such an act.

(4) *Uttari manussa dhamma parājikā*, the assumption of superhuman powers, or claiming intentionally to be perfect.

It should be observed here that a *samanera*, who is guilty of any of the following crimes, is liable to be expelled and cannot attain the order of *upasampadā*, namely, (1) If he destroy life, (2) If he take that which is not given to him, (3) If he be incontinent, (4) If he tell lies, (5) If he use intoxicants, (6) If he speak ill of Buddha, (7) or of his doctrines, (8) or of his priests; (9) If he be heterodox; (10) If he debauch a priestess.

*Pācettiya* misdemeanours are two-hundred and twenty-seven in number and are enumerated in the *Pattimokkha*.



to live at the foot of a tree ; and to cure all his ills with the urine of horned cattle ; but, with the advance of time, was added the *Atiréka Lábho*, which permitted a priest to partake of food, whether offered at the temple by grateful devotees or served in the houses of the disciples ; to wear robes made of linen, hemp, woollen, and even silk ; to dwell in caves, temples and houses ; and to use ghee, butter, oil, honey and sugar.

But he is entitled to that maintenance only so long as he officiates at the religious services of the *vihāre*. *Sumangala Unnānse v. Piadasse Unnānse*, (1884) 6 S. C. C., 92.

He does not forfeit this right, however, if he lives, without any intention of abandoning such right, in a *pansala* other than the one belonging to such *vihāre*. *Ratnajoti Unnānse v. Terunnānse*, (1896) 1 Matara, 220. Compare also *Sri Sumana Anunāyaka Unnānse v. Appuhamy*, D. C. Kandy, 20,156. S. C. Civ. Min., Oct. 29, 1912.

And a priest, who has been expelled from the priesthood for the commission of any *pārājikā* crime, may not claim the four priestly necessities from the statutory trustee or the incumbent of the *vihāre*. (PER HUTCHINSON, C. J. in *Terunnānse v. Abeyanāike*, (1908) 1 Matara, 21).

The right to an incumbency is regulated (1) by the *Sannas*, or Grant, whereby the incumbency was created ; (2) by appointment by a duly constituted Chapter ; (3) by the rules, which govern spiritual succession. These will be dealt with in detail later.

A Buddhist priest, who is not entitled to property worth Rs. 50 or more, other than his wearing apparel and the subject matter of the action, may sue or defend *in forma pauperis*, except where the action is for damages arising from libel or slander. (Civ. Pro. Code, Ord. No. 2 of 1889, §§441 to 455. PER ROWE, C.J., in *Ratnapāla Unnānse v. Révata Unnānse*, (1858) 3 Lor., 67. Cf. *Révata Unnānse v. Peherambey Unnānse*, (1862) B. & S. 119). But where he sues *qua* incumbent of the *vihāre*, in respect of which the action is brought, and not of any other temple, and where the temple owns property to the value of Rs. 50 or more, he may not sue *in forma pauperis*. (PER CREASY, C.J., in *Révata Unnānse v. Jayawickrama*, (1872) Ram., 1872-76, 13).

A priest may bring an action to be declared the rightful incumbent of a *vihāre* against persons disputing his right, without making the statutory trustee a party thereto ; but he cannot sue mere trespassers for the recovery of lands belonging to the *vihāre* and for wrongful ejectment therefrom ; such an action is only maintainable by the trustees. PER BONSER, C.J., in *Attadāsi Unnānse v. Piyadāsi Unnānse*, (1900) 1 Br., 164. Cf. *Dewa Sri Terunnānse v. Ratnapāla Terunnānse*, (1902) 3 Br., 146.

The right to sue for an incumbency is not purely an ecclesiastical matter, and can be entertained by the Civil Courts. (PER LAYARD, C.J., in *Sumangala Unnānse v. Medankara Unnānse*, D. C. Kurunegala, 1,946, S. C. Civ. Min., July 21, 1903). His Lordship having compared *Kurukal v. Kurukal*, 1 S. C. R., 354, with *Supramanian Ayer v. Changrappillai*, 2 N. L. R., 30, held that "the case fell within the principle of the latter, and that, inasmuch as the plaintiff claims the emoluments (Rs. 100 *per annum*) of the office of priest, and the right of occupation of the lands, a civil element enters into the claim, and in accordance with LORD CRANWORTH'S judgment in *Forbes v. Eden*, L. R., 1 S. C. Ap., 568, the Courts have jurisdiction to inquire into the claim."

A priest is entitled to be declared an incumbent *de facto* of a *vihāre*, provided that his right thereto is superior to the party or parties litigating with him and that the incumbent *de jure* does not intervene or otherwise assert his title to such incumbency.



In *Sōbīta Unnānse v. Ratnapāla Unnānse*, (1861) B. & S., 32, plaintiff, as executor of the will of Panewe Dissankera Unnānse, who was incumbent of the Kandedeniya Vihāre, sought to recover a certain land which was in the possession of the defendant. It was proved at the trial that the land was granted to the Vihāre by the Kandyan king upon a royal *sannas*. The defendant claimed the land upon a conveyance from the deceased testator. It was held in appeal that the land could not be claimed by either party, as it was not property personal to the deceased but the property of the Vihāre, of which he was incumbent, but, as it was proved that the plaintiff was, at the time of action, the officiating priest of that temple, the Court decided that judgment be entered for him in that capacity. CREASY, C. J., in the course of judgment, remarked, "We have been strongly inclined to non-suit the plaintiff on the maxim *in pari delicto potior est conditio possidentis*; but, on the other hand, there is the maxim *interest reipublicae ut finis sit litium*; and, on the whole, we think it best not to make another action necessary, but to place at once the possession of the property where it is clear it ought to be, that is, in the hands of the officiating priest. We do not adjudicate the plaintiff to be officiating *de jure*, but only *de facto*. If the defendant, or any other persons, have conflicting claims to the priesthood (as has been suggested), this judgment is not to prejudice those claims, which have not been investigated in the present action."

In *D. C. Galle*, 22,912, S. C. Civ. Min., 1 Oct., 1867, the plaintiff proved that the land in claim belonged to a temple, of which the rightful incumbent was Dopey Unnānse, a third party to the action; but the plaintiff at the same time proved that he (plaintiff) was the senior resident priest and in charge of the incumbency until such time as it pleased Dopey Unnānse to claim it. The Court held that plaintiff had a right to "official" possession of the land until Dopey Unnānse chose to assert his superior title.

A Buddhist priest is exempt from the performance of manual labour on public thoroughfares and from the payment of taxes in commutation of such labour. Ord. No. 10 of 1861, § 49.

He is also privileged from serving as an assessor or juror at Criminal Sessions; and is immune from arrest for civil debt while performing the functions of his office. Ord. No. 15 of 1898, § 255. Ord. No. 2 of 1889, § 298.

But he is not exempt from giving evidence in judicial proceedings either civil or criminal. PER MARSHALL, C. J., in *D. C. (Crim.) Ambalangoda*, 41, S. C. Min., June 10, 1865.

The chief duties of a priest are,—

- (1) reading and expounding of *bana*, or the sacred scriptures;
- (2) preaching on texts taken from the scriptures;
- (3) expounding the doctrines of Buddha;
- (4) performing *pirit* when called upon to do so;

*Pirit* is a service held in private houses without intermission day or night for seven successive days, at which the *piruwena pota*, or manual of exorcism is recited with certain attendant ceremonies. This service is intended to ward off demon and other evil influences and bring prosperity to the house.

- (5) receiving the offerings of the devout;
- (6) administering the sacraments of the *pan-sil* and *ata-sil*, the five and the eight precepts, on *pohoya days*, which are the days of the four quarters of the moon.

Buddhist priests are prohibited by Buddha from joining funeral processions. But it is laid down in the *Pālimuttaka* that they may visit the house of mourning or the place of burial, to meditate on the uncertainty of life and the instability of mundane things.

Dismissal from the priesthood implies the loss of all rights and privileges appertaining to the office:



One Navasseghawatte Terunnāse, the incumbent of a temple owning extensive lands, was found guilty of *pārājikā* by a convocation of priests and expelled his incumbency. Held, that by that fact he became divested of any right he had to the property of the temple. (PER CREASY, C. J., in *D. C. Galle*, 29,056, S. C. Civ. Min., 4 Oct., 1870).

Similarly, if a priest is disrobed or disrobes himself, he loses all the rights and privileges of his office and of his status as a priest.

In *Sóbata Terunnāse v. Siddatte Terunnāse*, (1867) Ram. (1863-68), 280, LAWSON, D. J., held that if a priest becomes a layman, he loses all connection with his tutor, and if re-ordained, becomes, to all intents and purposes, the pupil of the new tutor, in whose name he is presented for re-ordination, and that the pupils of the latter, and not those of the former, are entitled to succeed him, if he leaves no pupils of his own. The Supreme Court set aside the judgment on other grounds, but the statement of the law, as will appear later on, is incorrect. Although it is correct to say that the priest loses his rights and privileges, the status of any pupils he had before he disrobed is in no way affected. The first line of pupils will succeed exactly as if the priest who disrobed had died.

Disrobement is the ceremony whereby a priest is deprived of the sanctity of his priesthood by the removal of his yellow robes. And this cannot be done without the sanction of a legally constituted Chapter.

"By an express ordinance of Buddha, his disciples are permitted to retire from the priesthood under certain circumstances, such as, their inability to remain continent; impatience of restraint; a wish to enter upon worldly engagements; the love of parents or friends; or doubts as to the truth of the system propounded by Buddha. This permission would, however, open the way for the practice of all kinds of evil, as the priest might do wrong under the supposition that, if detected, he had only to declare that he had renounced the obligations; by which means he would be saved from the penalty that must otherwise be enforced and his character preserved. But to prevent these perversions, it is ordained that no priest be allowed to throw off the robe, without the express permission had and obtained from a legal Chapter." (Hardy, 46).

The act of disrobing must be deliberate and with the express intention of resigning the priesthood, to make it irrevocable. "The forcible taking off of the robes by violence or by prison authorities, if unfortunately a Buddhist priest should be sentenced to imprisonment, would not (I think) involve the extinction of his priestly character." (Per BROWNE, A. J., in *Sumana Unnāse v. Ratnapāla Unnāse*, *D. C. Kandy*, 11,039, S. C. Civ. Min., 26 June, 1898. Cf. also *Gooneratne Terunnāse v. Ratnapāla Terunnāse*, (1899) 1 Matara, 227).

(To be Concluded).





## AN OLD TAMIL POEM ON A CHRISTIAN SHRINE.

By the REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

ONE of the earliest Christian works in Tamil composed by a Ceylonese is the *Santiágu Maiyór Ammánai*, a poem in honour of Saint James the Great of Kiláli. Ammánai is a form of popular verse in distichs, originally sung by females with a game of balls called Ammánai, but later employed mostly for relating stories, lives of heroes, &c.

The *Santiágu Maiyór Ammánai* is divided into fifty-five sections each headed by one or more *Viruttam*, a species of quatrain in various forms. The work was in MS until 1894, when it was printed for the first time by Mr. S. Tambimutto-pillai at the "Atchuvely Gnana-prakasa Press," Jaffna.

Of the author of the *Ammánai*, all that is at present known is contained in the 'Podup-páiyiram' or 'General Preface' contributed by one of his pupils. The most interesting passages in it are quoted below :—

இலங்காபுரியிருக்கும் யாழ்ப்பாணராச்சியத்தில்  
துலங்குமெண்ணல் பதிக்குந் துங்கமுடிபோலுயர்ந்த  
வல்லிக்கிராமத்தில் வளர்ந்த திருநகராம்  
தெல்லிக்கிராமமெனுஞ் சீர்சிறந்த பேருரில்  
அம்புலியெங்கும் அரியமறைநடத்தும்  
கொம்பாளுய தேசேசுக் கூட்டத்தினுள்ளருந்  
காரிருன்போல்வந்த கனபகையை நீக்கிவளர்  
பேர்சுவாங்குமவாலாம் பேரின்பசந்யாசிகையால்  
கல்லின்மேற்கல்லாய்க் கனகமுடிமூன்றுவைத்து  
அல்லலுறுபாலம் அவிழ்க்கப் பிணிக்கவாம்  
பெற்றசிட்ட பேதருவும் பேர்பெரியபாவுணவும்  
உற்றமறைக்காய் மரித்த உண்மைமுகார்திரத்தால்  
கட்டியகோயில் தன்னிற் கர்த்தன் திருவருளால்  
சிட்டஞானஸ்நானம் சீருலவவேதரித்தோன்

ஆரியர் கோத்திரத்தோன் அன்புநெறி நீதியுள்ளோன்  
சீரிய பேதரென்போன் சிந்தைமிகக்கொண்டாடி

ஆண்டாயிரமும் அதுதாமம் ஆறேழும்  
மீண்டும் ஓர் அஞ்சம் விளங்கவே சென்றவந்நான்  
கார்த்திகை மார்கழியாங் காணும் இருமாதத்தில்  
சீர்த்தியுள்ள செந்தமிழாற் கிளத்தினார் இக்கதையை.



This may be rendered literally in prose thus :—"This story was told with joy of heart in select Tamil metre within the space of the two months November and December of the year one thousand six hundred and six-times-seven-plus-five (i.e. 1647), by the learned Pedro of the race of Aryas, an affable and righteous man, who happily received holy baptism, by the grace of God, in the church erected, with three golden spires setting stone above stone, in honour of the martyrdom of Saint Peter gifted with power to bind and loosen the bonds of dire sin, and of the renowned Paul,—by the hand of the blessed Religious named Suwám Caruwál who prospers, having thwarted the great enemy hovering like blinding darkness, a priest of the Order of the *Companha de Jesus* which propagates holy Religion the world over ;—in the famous town called Telli-Kirámmam, a holy city in Valli-Kirámmam eminent, as an exalted tower, among the eight-times-four splendid divisions of the kingdom of Jaffna, Ceylon."

The poet was baptised in the church of Saints Peter and Paul erected by the Jesuit Father Suwám Caruwál, we are told. In another passage of the General Preface, not quoted above, this same Father is said to have ordered Pedro to compose the Ammánai. And when we turn to Father Besse's *Catalogus Operariorum Soc. Jesu qui in Insula Ceylana aliquando laboraverunt*, we find João Carvalho labouring in Jaffna between 1639 and 1652, a sufficient evidence for the possibility of the fact that Pedro composed his work at the instance of this priest.

Born in Lisbon in 1603 João Carvalho entered the Society of Jesus (then called *Companha de Jesus*) when sixteen years old, in Cochín, where he remained until 1634 when he was sent to Manar. Later, he was Vice-Rector of the house of the Society in Negapatam and then (in 1639?) Superior in Manar. From here he was sent to Jaffna at the head of the Jesuit establishments. He was well versed in Tamil and seems to have been in Jaffna until 1652 when, sent to Colombo as the Rector of the College there, "he was detained in hard captivity." In 1655 he was still in prison.<sup>1</sup>

The details about Tellipalai and its parish church are of some interest. Like all Tamil pundits, the author of the 'General Preface' also seems to have revelled in finding fanciful etymologies for place-names. He turns what is evidently a Sinhalese name—Waligama—into Valli-Kirámmam, the village of Valli, and to suit the exigencies of rhyme makes Tellipalai read Telli-Kirámmam. The allusion to the thirty-two parishes of Jaffna is interesting, as also the description of the church of Tellipalai as having been 'erected with three golden spires,' which probably refers to the shape of the façade.

Baldæus who, we may presume, saw the Portuguese church intact and tried to reproduce its details, gives a picture of it in his *Description of Ceylon* and says : "The province of Belligamme has 14 churches, the chief whereof is Telepole, a large structure, with a double row of pillars ; the house thereunto belonging is the work of Jesuits beautified with a pleasant garden, handsome courts and most delicious vineyards, affording most sorts of Indian fruits and water'd with several springs."<sup>2</sup>

Nothing of this church now remains except some foundations, scarcely visible above soil, and two pillars which are still *in situ* included in the walls of the modern church of the American Mission. The old church ran West to East. The present one is North to South. When Claudius Buchanan visited the old church in 1806 it was in a good state of preservation. In his *Christian Researches* (p. 91) he says : "Mr. Palm [of the London Society] has taken possession of the old Protestant church of Tilly-pally. By reference to the history, I found it

1. Cf. *Appendix ad Catalog. Miss. Madur. pro Anno 1912*.

2. *A Description of Ceylon*, Engl. Transl., p. 800.



was the church in which Baldæus himself preached (as he himself mentions) to a congregation of two thousand natives ; for, a view of the church is given in his work." Ten years later the American Mission was entrusted with it when the Ceylon Government made a ground plan of the church and church-house to be drawn. The Revd. Mr. J. H. Dickson, the present incumbent of the Tellipalai station, was good enough to shew me this plan. Its agreement with Baldæus' picture is remarkable. Mr. Dickson informed me that some sixty-five years ago the old church was damaged by a fire accident and that the present church was subsequently erected on a part of the old foundations. Two walls of the old church-house are still seen included in a smaller building now used as a boys' English school. The compound South East of the junction of the roads near the present church occupied by Revd. Mr. Vellupillai, pastor, American Mission, is still called *Curusady*, "near the cross." I believe it was the place where the large cross, often to be seen in front of Catholic churches, was planted. In Baldæus' pictures of the Portuguese churches in Jaffna, the pedestals of these crosses seem in most cases, to be represented without the superstructure. Probably, the Dutch did not approve the idea of solitary crosses in the court-yard of churches.

That Tellipalai was, from an ecclesiastical view-point, "eminent as an exalted tower" among the thirty-two parishes is testified to by the Jesuit letters of those times. Father Andrew Lopez in his Annual Report of 1644 calls it "the principal Residence of the kingdom of Jaffnapatam." "The patrons of the church : St. Peter and St. Paul, 4,660 Christians, 664 children, 200 at school."<sup>3</sup> In the time of Baldæus it was still an important centre of Christianity. He says : "In the year 1665, we had above 1,000 schoolboys, among whom were 480 who could answer all the questions relating to the chief points of our Religion. I have sometimes had no less than 2,000 auditors in this church."<sup>4</sup>

Coming now to the subject matter of the poem, it is meant, as already remarked, to be a panegyric on St. James of Kilali, a little village on the Jaffna lagoon about seven miles east of Chavakachchery. The life of the Saint (as derived from the New Testament and legendary lore) is told in the first part of the work, sections 2 to 40, and the second part deals with the miracles said to have been wrought by his intercession, especially the great victory of Clavijo given to Ramiro I when the Saint appeared on the battlefield as a horseman mounted on a white charger fighting for the Spaniards against the hated Moors (sections 41 to 54.)

Of the church at Kilali itself and its surroundings just a few details are given in the opening and last sections of the book. In the former the poet says :

பாண்டிச்செய்தனிற்பரதர்கள் கோத்திரத்தோர்  
வேண்டு சந்தியோகு கதை விருத்தப்பாவாய் உரைத்தார்  
வேறும் இதுவன்றி வேண்டும் பெரியோர்கள்  
கூறினார் மெத்தக் குறிப்பான காரியங்கள்  
ஆனதெல்லாம் கற்றுணர்ந்து அற்புத்தியோடுலகர்  
தானறிய விக்ஞையைச் சாற்றுகிறேன் கேட்டருளீர்.  
லாம்பரிமேல் ஏறி மகிமைச்சுவடனின்  
நாம்பணியநீதி நடந்து சந்தியாகுவுக்கு  
எச்சரிக்கையாக விலங்கிய யாழ்ப்பாணமதில்  
பச்சிலைப்பள்ளியெனும் பற்றிற் கிழாலியிலே  
கொம்பாஞ்ஞ தேசேசுக் கூட்டத்தினுள்ளவர்கள்  
நம்பிச்சமைத்துவைத்த நல்லாலயத்திருந்து

3. *A short Account of the Missions, &c.*, translated by Fr. Besse, S.J., Trichinopoly.

4. *Loc. cit.*, p. 809.



ஆருந்தமத்தேடி அஞ்சலிக்க வாழ்வர்க்குத்  
தேதும் அனந்த நாவம் செய்தேயிருப்பதுமெய் ;  
செய்நலத்தினுற்கோடி செனங்களிங்கே வாரூர்கள்  
ஐயமற விங்குவந்தோர் ஆசையுற்றுக் கேட்பதற்கு

துங்கக்கவிதை செய்யத்தூணிந்தேனே அம்மாண.

The following is a translation of the above : "Gentle readers, the descendants of the Parathar living in Pándik-karai have composed the story of the worshipful Santiago in the *Viruttam* metre. And many other learned people have also written important notices on the same subject. Having made a study of all these works, I am relating this story for the sake of the public at large in a manner that will be easily understood. Santiago, who, mounted on a bounding steed and wearing a glorious coat of armour, protects us his worshippers, works indeed innumerable miracles for the comfort of all those who go to honour him in the excellent church reverently built for him by the faith of the members of the Companhia de Jesus at Kiláli in Pachilaipaly Pattu of illustrious Jaffna. Crores of people are coming here on account of the wonders wrought in this place. I have endeavoured to recount this choice story to satisfy the desire of those who hopefully flock to this place" (pp. 6, 7).

From the other reference at the end of the poem, we learn that the church of St. James was in the மேற்குத்தேரு 'western street' of Kiláli (p. 112).

Concerning the church of Kiláli as a place of pilgrimage in those times, other contemporary evidence is not wanting. The Jesuit letters testify to it. In the Annual Letter of 1640 we read : "At Quilale there is the church of the Holy Cross under the invocation of Santiago. Christians and pagans go there on pilgrimage."<sup>5</sup>

Kiláli keeps its renown as a place of pilgrimage down to the present day. Up to the beginning of the last century the church—a shadow of its former self—was in charge of a community of Paravar, today represented by a single woman on the spot,—Innésam, the wife of one Vaitiámpillai, Registrar of Marriages. Query : How and when did the Paravar settle down in Kiláli ? I am inclined to surmise that, already in 1647, Paravar were connected with this church, from the fact that the author of the *Ammánaí* was asked to compose a work similar to the one used by the Paravar of Pándik-karai. However this may be, all traditional accounts converge towards the fact that an ever decreasing community of Paravar have, from time immemorial, been in charge of the little church of St. James whose statue and its model, together with a golden hat and sword to be put on the statue, were always in their possession until the early days of the British rule.

Writing about Kiláli in the *Spolia Zeylanica* for November, 1907, Mr. J. P. Lewis observed : "During the time of the Dutch the [Portuguese] church was destroyed, but it is said that about 100 years ago, during the early years of the British occupation, a box was dug up here by Samerasekara Mudaliyar alias Don Louis Poothar, who acted as guide to the British forces on an expedition into the Vanni which contained this image [represented as a mounted warrior] a representation of it cut in a piece of wood and a gold hat belonging to the image, all of which are still preserved . . . Samerasekara Mudaliyar rebuilt the church and founded the pilgrimage which has gone on now for five generations."<sup>6</sup>

5. Very Revd. Father L. Besse, S.J., of Trichinopoly laid me under great obligation some years ago by sending me copious extracts from the letters of Jesuits from Ceylon, which are now being given to the public in extenso through *The Ceylon Antiquary* by Father S. G. Perera, S.J.

6. *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, Part XVII, p. 68.



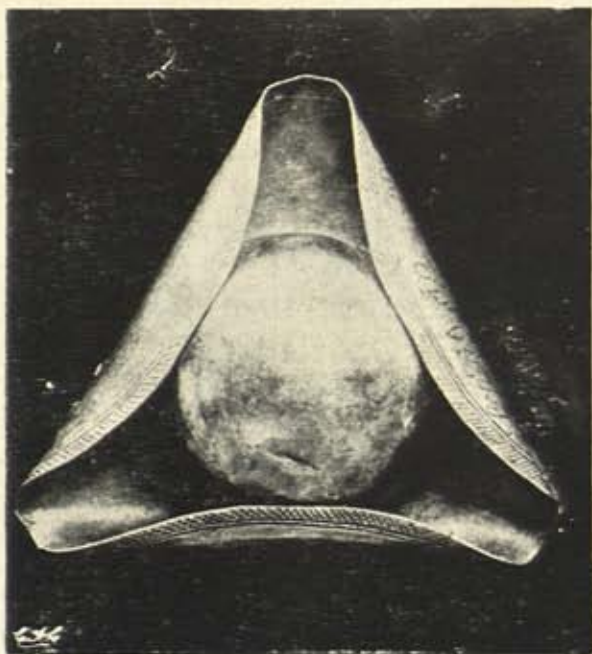
**ST. JAMES, (KILALI)**



The Model of the Image.

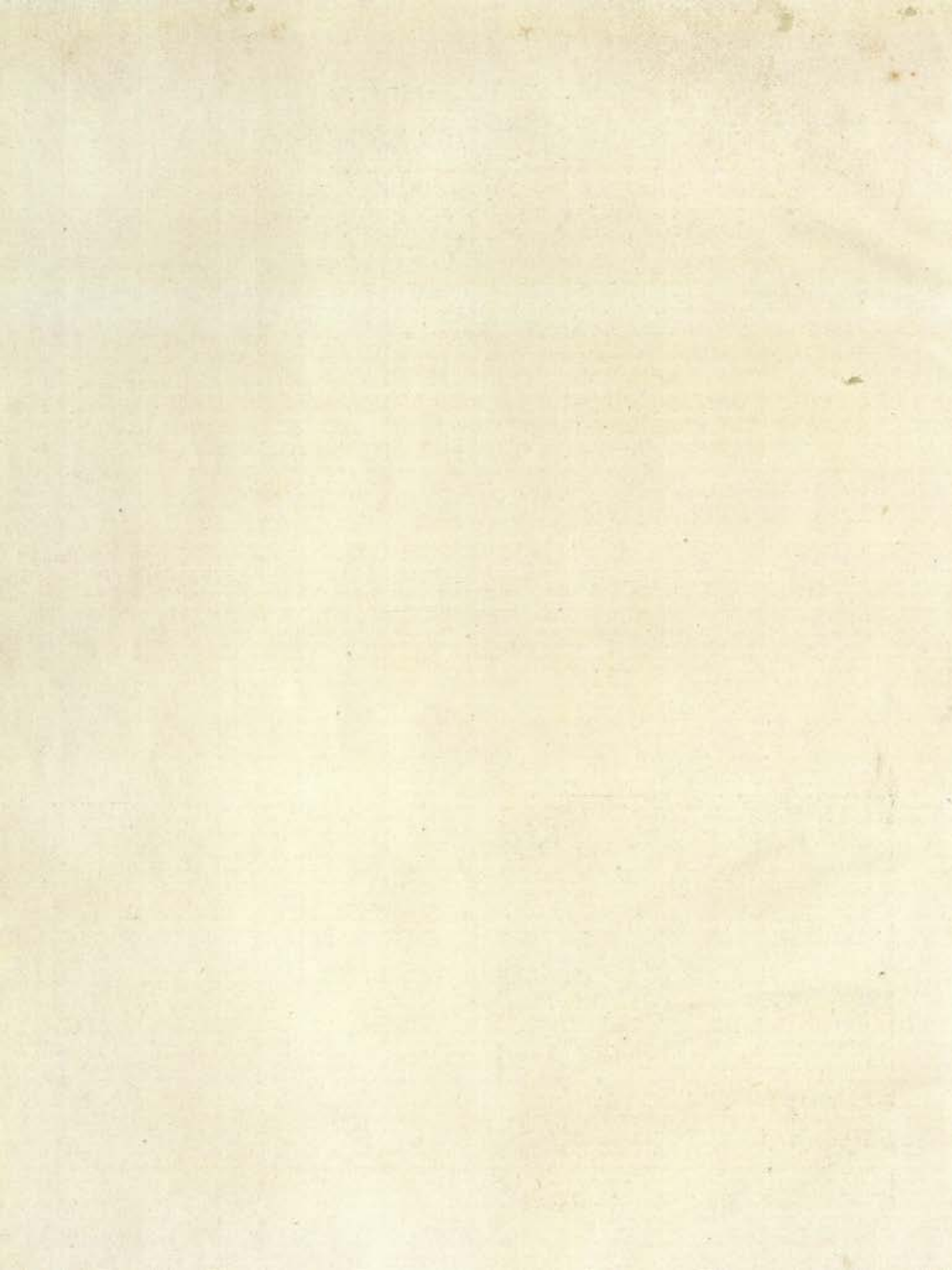


The Gold Hat.



"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.







The second church existed before the time of Samerasekara (born circa 1748 ?) in the form of a shed under the care of the Paravar. The tradition concerning the box containing the image, etc., having been dug up is indeed extant, but the discovery is attributed to a Paravar named Soris who also erected the second shed-church in early Dutch days. This Soris and his sons Swám, Deógo and Yakkóvu are said to have been captured by the ubiquitous Kárkónan (a Dutch detective, they say, of whom similar stories are related in other Christian villages also) one Christmas night, while they were at their devotions in their little church, taken to Jaffna, and then released. A modest stone edifice was subsequently erected with the sum of a thousand Rix-dollars—so says tradition—sent as a votive offering by a Burgher lady of Trincomalee, once of Jaffna town. This was about the year 1740, say the church records. Samerasekara Mudaliyar, better known as Poothanáráchy (he is named Swám, not Don Louis in the church registers) is himself said to have worshipped in this church while on his way to the Vanni. Other accounts, too, shew that a church existed and kept its fame as a place of pilgrimage before the Mudaliyar's time.

If we may believe the tradition handed down in the Samerasekara family (today, the Sandrasegras of the Jaffna town) Poothanáráchy went with an expedition which had for its mission the capturing of a Vannichi to whom he pledged his word, swearing over a pot containing a live cobra (Mark this ancient custom), that he would see her well treated and who was then taken in a palanquin to the Jaffna fort with manacles of gold and detained as captive. Does this refer to the Vannichi Maria Sembáttai who was taken prisoner by the Dutch (in 1782 ?) and detained in the fort of Colombo ?<sup>7</sup> If so Poothanáráchy would certainly have found a little church at Kiláli when, on his way to the Vanni, he made his halt in the rest-house hard by.

The present church of Kiláli, of course, is a modern structure due to the munificence of the Sandrasegra family, who have identified themselves with this church ever since the famous expedition of Poothanáráchy who is said to have vowed devotion to St. James in gratitude for a miraculous protection accorded to him on that perilous journey. This church possesses the only car in connexion with a Catholic church in Ceylon. It is said to have been presented by Nicholas Mudaliyar Sandrasegra. Casie Chitty notes its presence there in 1834.<sup>8</sup>

The objects said to have been found in a box are now in the possession of the same family. The gold sword was lost ; but a new article was furnished by the Sandrasegras. Photos of the model of image and of the hat, very slightly enlarged, are attached to this paper. I am indebted to Mrs. H. Vanniasingham and to Mrs. Gertrude Francis for lending me the hat and the model to be photographed. An old *ola* in the possession of the man who married the last individual of the Parava community in Kiláli says the representation of the image of Santiago cut on wood was one of many similar representations sent out by the Portuguese home authorities with a view to having statues made accordingly and placed in all the churches named after that Saint. How far is this true ? It is certainly noteworthy that the image of St. James at Kiláli (not of "clay or pottery" as Mr. Lewis wrote, but of wood) is an *exact* copy of this model except for the head dress. In the image the head is left bare, for receiving, no doubt, the golden hat provided for it. The model is worth examining. The wood used does not seem to be Ceylon produce. The painting and the excellent gilding suggest—at least to a lay mind—a European origin.

7. See Tennent's *Ceylon* (5th Edition) Vol. II, p. 500.

8. *Ceylon Gazetteer*, p. 142.



Of the hat of St. James Mr. Lewis wrote : " It is of the three-cornered shape characteristic of the middle of the eighteenth century, with a Portuguese inscription giving the name, I presume, of the donor : ' Servo do Santiago Mayor, Ls. Ferras ' (or Ferrar ?) the meaning of the description being that he was a servant of St. James the Great. It is a curious instance of the survival of the Portuguese language among a Tamil caste. It weighs  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, the length of each side of the brim is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches and the diameter of the crown nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch."

Another suggestion for the reading of the name would be Ferrão. I do not see why this inscription should be " a curious instance of the survival of the Portuguese language among a Tamil caste." I am informed, on good authority, that the three-cornered hat was in vogue in Europe—in France, at any rate—in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> Why could not the offering of this hat have been made by a *Portuguese* when the church of St. James at Kiláli was at the height of its glory ? Taking the image, its model and the hat together, it seems difficult to believe that these objects of art were supplied from outside to an obscure community of Christians during a time when Catholicism was proscribed and more or less persecuted.

On the other hand, it looks more likely that the local community of Christians succeeded in hiding away these objects when the Dutch took possession of their church and began to use them as the persecuting policy of Government relaxed and it was possible to erect places of worship for themselves.

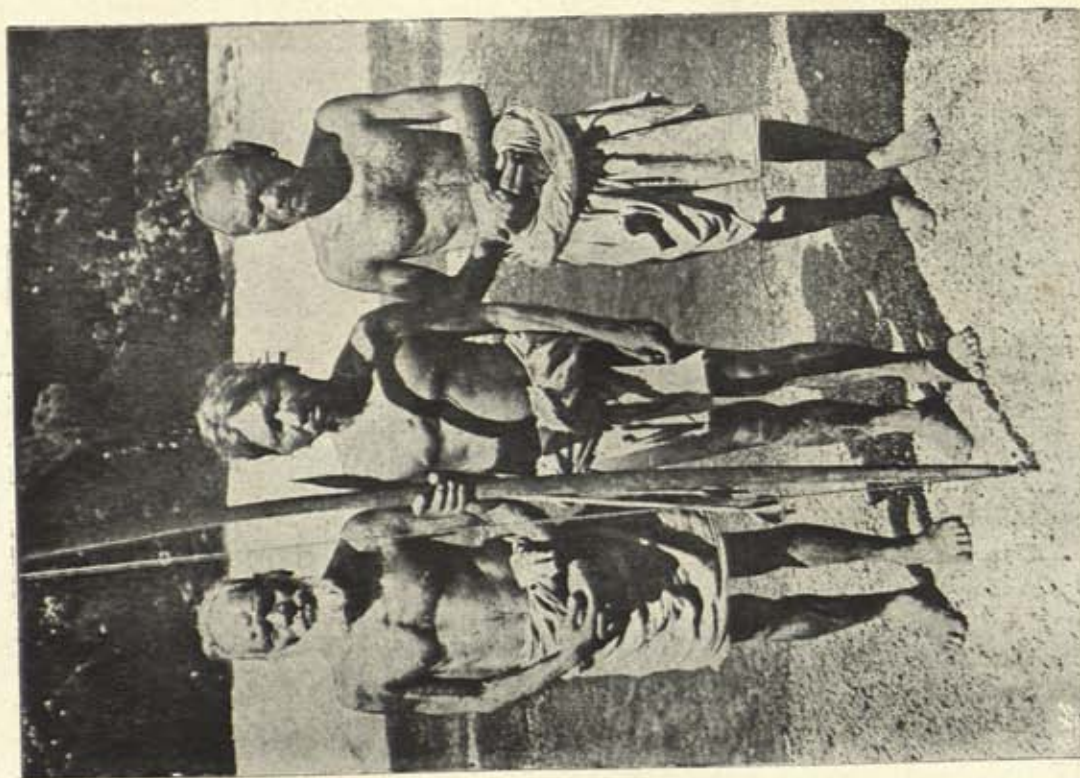
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9. See also Lacy's *Dramatic Costumes* for instances of this, p. 174, &c.

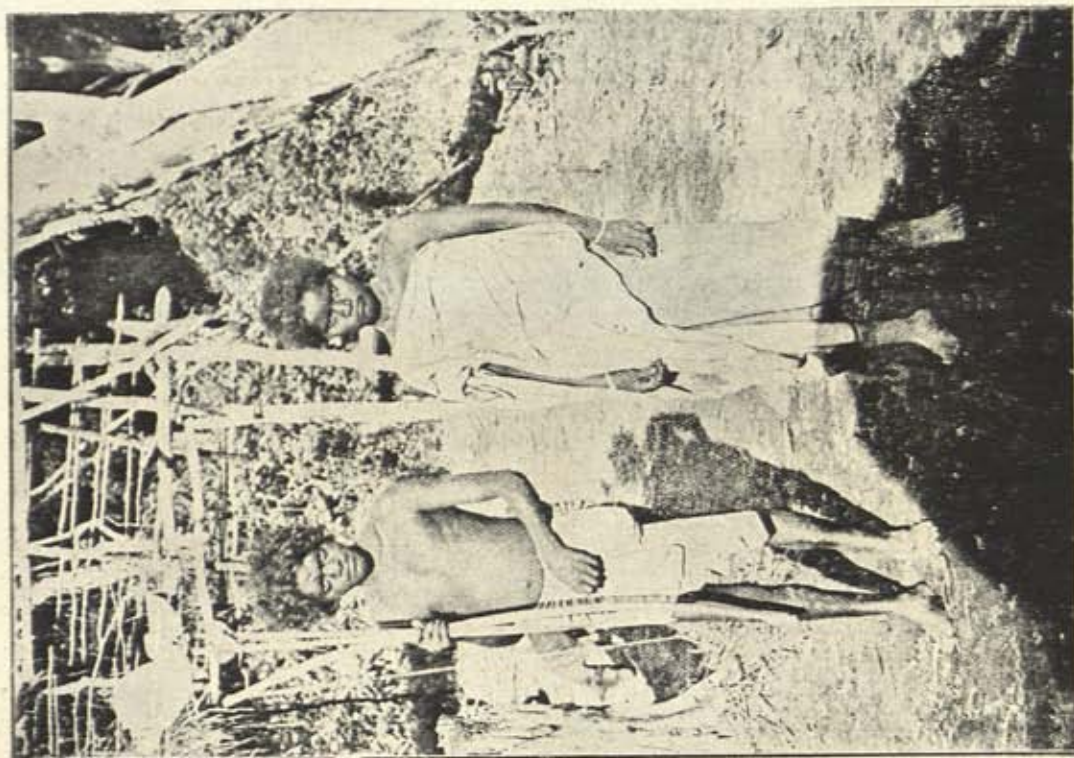




**KOHOMBALEWA.**



*H. G. P. Bell  
photograph.*

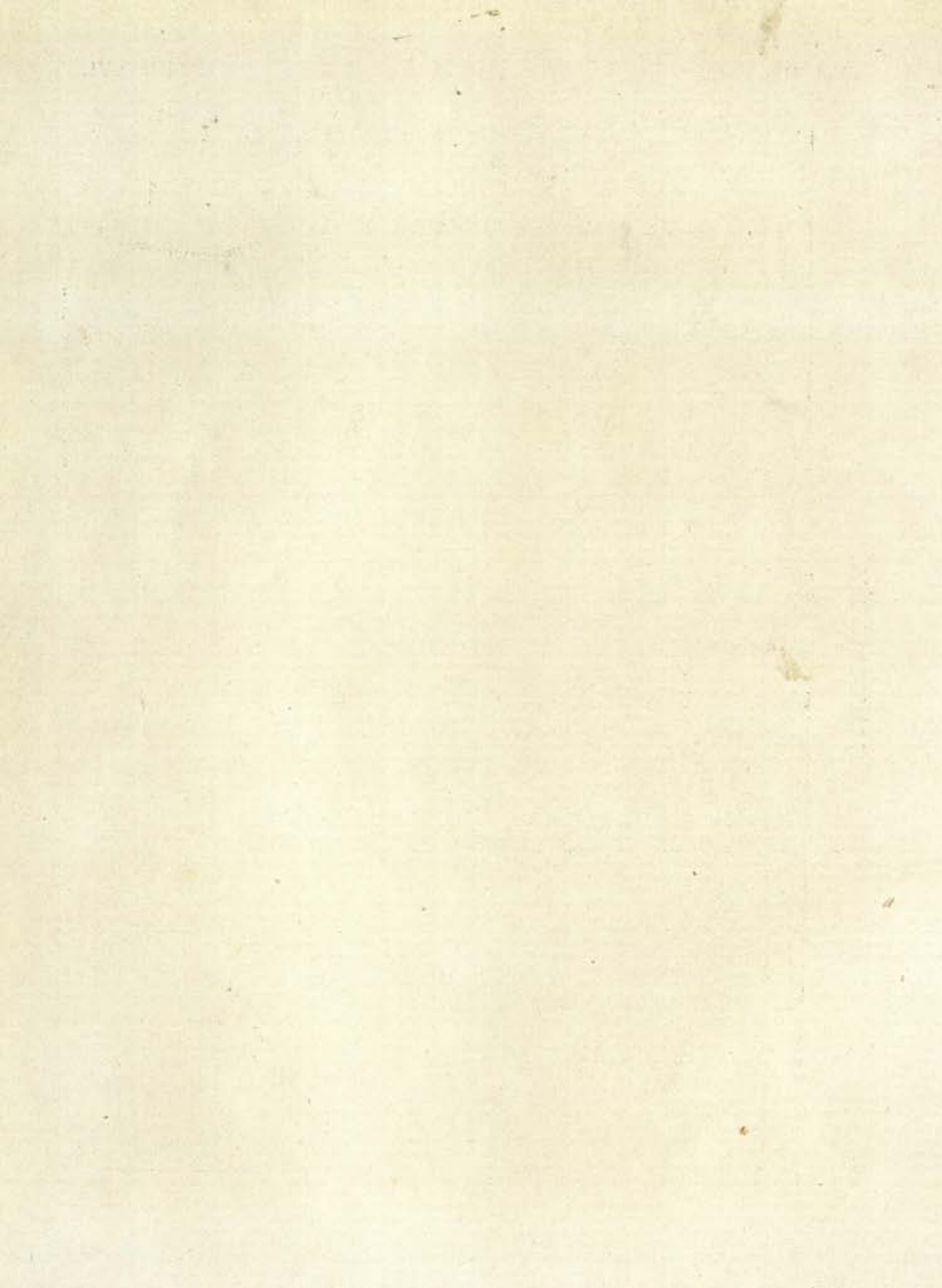


*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.*

**Vedda' Boy and Girl.**

**Vedda' Headmen.**







## ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE EGODA PATTUWA, TAMANKADUWA.

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

THE *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, 1897*, (pp. 6-11) contains a synopsis (followed by a few pages of matter dealing very briefly with the several sites explored) of important "Circuit Work" carried out between August 4th, and October 12th, 1897, almost entirely in Tamankaḍuwa, until then an unworked field of archæology:—

A very successful tour, on foot, of nine weeks' duration was accomplished during August, September, and October, in the course of which nearly the whole of the vast district of Tamankaḍuwa, 1,000 square miles in area, was explored to its uttermost confines. Unseasonable rains in August and September somewhat incommoded exploration, and hampered the march in the Egoḍa Pattuwa, across the Mahāveli-gaṅga, where numerous streams rapidly become unfordable from sudden freshets.

Starting on August 16th from Aḷut-oṃya on the Dambulla-Trincomalee road, the expedition proceeded south-east through Divulan-kaḍawala, Minneriya, Tōpavēwa (the site of the ancient Capital, Poḷonnaruwa), Dāstoṭa (where the Mahāveli-gaṅga was crossed), Yakkurē, and Hori-vila, to Kuḍā Ulpata at the foot of Dimbulā-gala, the modern "Gunners' Quoin" Hill.

Nearly a week was spent in the examination of the caves and ruins occurring on the slopes of this boldly prominent hill.

To the east and south-east of Dimbulā-gala lies the "*Vēḍi-raṭa*" of Tamankaḍuwa, a wild waste uninhabited save by a few scattered groups of poverty-stricken, ill-nourished *Gam Vēddō* ("hamlet Vēddās"). The furthest of these changeable Vēddā hamlets, Kohombalēwa, is placed on the right bank of the Mādara-oṃya, at the extreme south-eastern corner of the North-Central Province, about 20 miles beyond the Mahāveli-gaṅga and nearly 100 from Anurādhapura.

Turning north, homewards, from this limit (September 17th) down the Mādara-oṃya, through Bellan-wala, and Gini-damana (Vēddā settlements), and Hevan-piṭiya, to Mutu-galla, the Mahāveli-gaṅga was recrossed at Kanda-kādu. The rest of the journey lay north-west *via* Hungā-vila, Paṅgurāpa, and Palliya-goḍella (all inhabited by Moors of the Marakkala Division of the Mēḍa Pattuwa), through Kumbuk-konnāmalē, Mi-gas-vēwa, Wādigē-vēwa (Sinhalese villages of Kalāgam Pattuwa), and Nika-vēwa (*pāṇu*), until the Trincomalee high road was reached again at Kantalāy (October 6th).

Many places of considerable archæological interest have been mapped and examined as the outcome of this long circuit, and valuable additions made to the existing list of the inscriptions of the Island.

This Circuit, so far as it covered work done in the *trans-flumen*, or Egoḍa, Pattuwa to East of the Mahāveli-gaṅga river, is further expanded in this Paper.

The Tamankaḍuwa tour commenced at Mora-kanda, near Aḷut-oṃya, on August 14th; between which date and August 26th, working down the *pin-pāra* from Aḷut-oṃya to Minneriya, the following places were explored:—Puliyān-kaḍawala, Kawduḷu-vēwa, Mēḍiri-giriya, Ratmalē, Nāgala-kanda, and Minneriya.

Four days were given to Poḷonnaruwa, including an excursion to the large abandoned tank Dumbutūḷu-vēwa, four to five miles south.

On September 1st, the Archæological Commissioner crossed the Mahāveli-gaṅga into the Egoḍa Pattuwa, having from Dāstoṭa ("*Sahassatiṭṭha*" of the *Mahāvaṇsa*) visited "*Kaliṅga Nuwara*"—the island site up-stream at which, in the 13th century, Parākrama Bāhu II. convened the whole of the Buddhist Clergy of the Island to a "Feast of Ordination."

The Diary record of the tour's subsequent course is given below:—

Camping for two days at Yakkurē and Hori-vila, ruins and caves at Duvē-gala, Bō-vela-mulla, Pālu-gam Vehera, Koṭa-Vehera-gala and Gal-kanda were visited.



## DUWÉ-GALA.

A solitary rock between Handa-pān-vila and Bēndiyā-vila (five miles from Yakkurē round the vil), with remains about it of an ancient monastery, now known as "*Alut-gam-vehera*."

The sites of buildings show that cut-stone was utilised. The ruined *dāgaba* (breached) must have been originally somewhat large, and had both raised inner-platform (*sala-patala-maṭuwa*) mounted by flights of steps at the cardinal points, and outer procession-path (*piṭa-maga*).

## Caves.

About fifty yards south-west of the *dāgaba* stand a couple of boulder rocks, sloping at an angle of 45° to form two caves beneath their sides.

Only one cave is of interest. Signs of its occupation are afforded by an *addhōna-gala* (stone basin) and a curious cupped stone-lamp-post, semi-octagonal in shaft.

Cave No. 1. To right of Cave No. 2. A fissure splits this cave vertically. On its brow is cut backwards (i.e. from right to left) a single-line inscription of 11 *aksharas*, in the later form of "Cave character,"<sup>1</sup> supplemented by a very interesting diagram carved at right angles, representing a primitive ship, which may be intended to explain the denomination "*Barata*" applied to the occupier of the shelter.

There is also a rock inscription of three lines on the top of the boulder, referring to the construction of the *vihāra*, and the grant of tanks and land thereto, by a king styled "*Lajaka Tisa*."<sup>1</sup>

## BO-VELA-MULLA.

Half a mile south of Yakkurē village. A diminutive shrine in ruins, on 2ft. pillar stumps, which shows above ground a stone door-sill and a *Nāga doraṭu-pāla* guardstone. Ten yards in front are two small jungle-covered mounds, with oblong altar-slabs exposed.

## PĀLU-GAM VEHERA.

These ruins lie close to the path Northwards from Yakkurē to Hori-vila, on that side of Handa-pān-vila. They consist of six or seven buildings—a small, but somewhat complete group.

It comprises (i) portico entrance to monastery; (ii) *vihāre*, where is lying a headless *hiṭi-piṭimayak* of the Buddha; (iii) breached *dāgaba*, to left front; (iv) pillared building, to right front, which had columns ornamented with lotus-bosses on rectangular head and base and eight-sided shaft between; (v) another pillared ruin behind the *dāgaba*; (vi, vii) two other short-pillar sites near the *vihāre*.

"*Pālu-gam Vehera*" is not more than a mile in a bee line from "*Alut-gam Vehera*" (Duwé-gala); and the villagers say that traces exist of a causeway and road connecting them.

Between Yakkurē and Hori-vila the path skirts Handa-pān-vila and Bēndiyā-vila, enters tall forest (called *Dadāné*), and crosses two *kotali*, or branches, of the *Mahāveli-ganga*—the larger, *Gangāra-kotaliya*, too deep to ford now—and *Ānanda-potāna*.

Hori-vila is a village of Tamils, where the present Udayār (headman) lives.

## KOTA-VEHERA-GALA.

This low rounded rock is about a quarter of a mile from Hori-vila. On it are the ruins of two *dāgabas*—the smaller, squat (*koṭa*) and breached, used now-a-days as a Trigonometrical-point; the other, larger and apparently untampered with, has leading up to it rock-cut steps half buried under brick and earth debris.

Beyond the greater *dāgaba*, on the eastern slope of the rock, is carved a bold inscription, of which four lines are well preserved except the name at the beginning. This record was partly covered by earth, and had to be cleaned. It is a grant by "*Tisa Rāja* son of (*Gama*) ṇi *Abaya*."<sup>1</sup>

To left of this inscription a flight of broadish steps, shallowly cut in the rock, descends east.

Some fifteen yards south-west, stands a boulder on which is engraved a second, and less ancient, inscription in five lines, worn and moss-covered. It specifies donations in *karshāpaṇas* (coins) for the maintenance of the Monastery.<sup>1</sup>

## GAL-KANDA.

A small hill, about two miles from Hori-vila, with three caves just below the "Trig: station" on the highest point. One has a single-line inscription of 18 letters in *Brāhma lipi* writing, only 7ft. above the floor.<sup>1</sup>

1. See *infra* Appendix: Inscriptions (pp. 204-215.)



**ARALA-GAM-VILA.**



Dagaba.



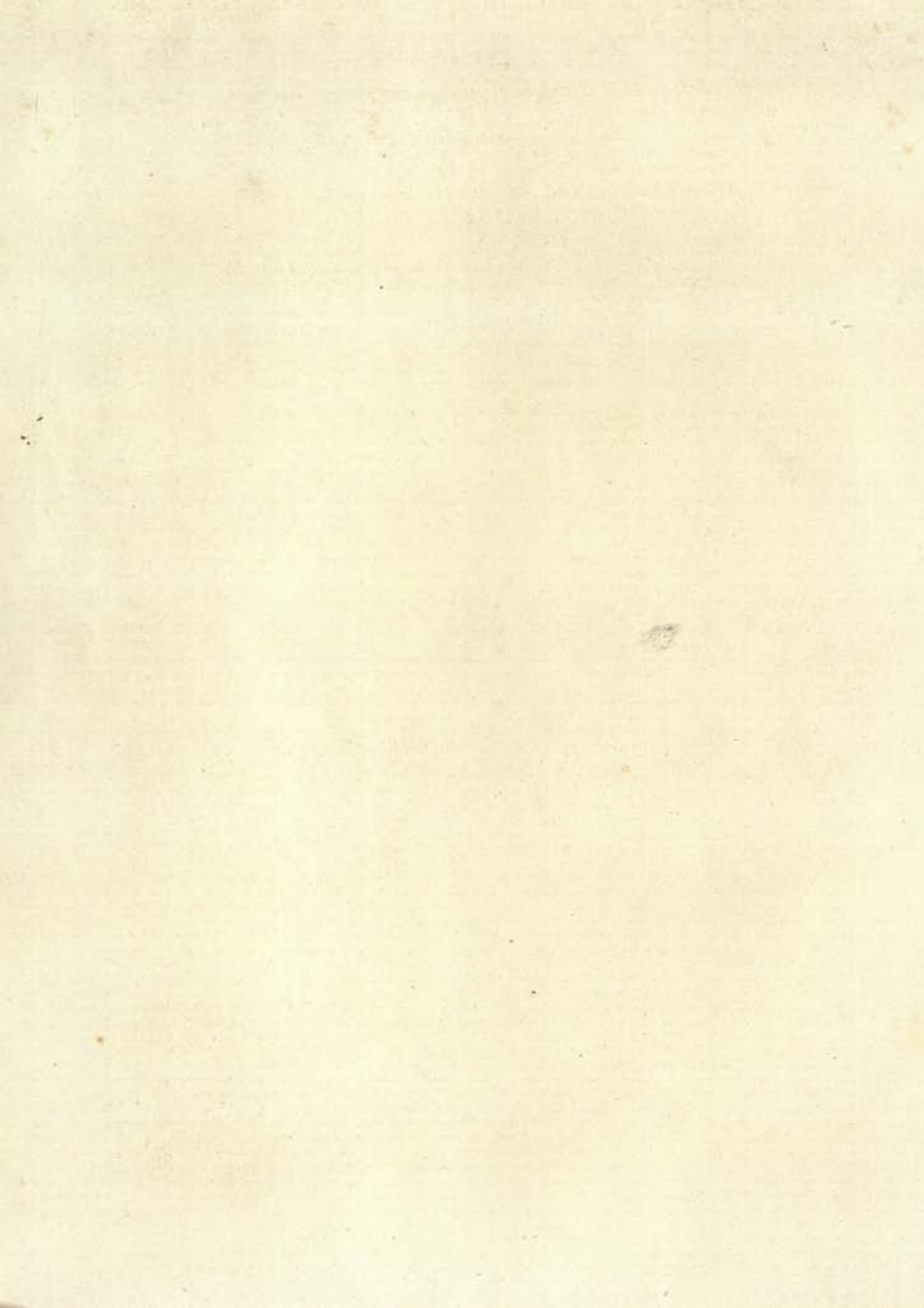
H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.

**KONATTE-GODA-GALA.**

Vedda Drawings.







## DIMBULĀ-GALA.

[The antiquities of Dimbulā-gala, or "Gunners' Quoin" hill, and its environs, examined between September 3rd and 8th, 1897, have already been dealt with.]<sup>2</sup>

## ARALA-GAM-VILA.

*September 9th.* Start from Kuḍā Ulpata for Arala-gam-vila by way of Kosgaha Ulpata, bidding farewell to the historical Dimbulā-gala. A hot march for the baggage coolies. The path runs, except for one small wooded patch, almost entirely over open country (*daman*, &c.).—Alakana-goḍa, Damāne-Ulpata, Ḥalan-damana-gala, Yakun-ḥle-vela, Goḍat-mulle-vela and Millatte-vela—before Arala-gam-vila forest is entered. This extends (Arala-gam-vila tank excepted) uninterruptedly to the Mādara-oya at Kohombalēwa.

Arala-gam-vila is a breached *pāla-veṇwa* (abandoned tank), covered by short grass and *ikiri* (thistle), with, near the *ēla* (stream), some *ramba* grass. The path strikes the *vila* at a breach in the bund in which there is an ancient *horowwa*, or sluice, with silt-trap (*bisokoṭuwa*).

A stick-and-leaf hut had been put up on the bank of the *ēla* near a pool by the *Paṭaḥendā*, or Chief Headman of the Tamankaḍuwa Vēddās and a few of his men from Kohombalēwa, the nearest of the Vēddā hamlets, 5 miles further South-East.

In the afternoon had a preliminary look at the Arala-gam-vila ruins, which adjoin the path on to Kohombalēwa. There is a completely ruined *dāgaba*, and trees have invaded the mound.<sup>3</sup>

*September 10th-12th.* Spent in further examination of the *dāgaba* and its adjunct ruins; and in visiting, under Vēddā guidance, from Aralagam-vila some caves (without inscriptions) and a *dāgaba* at another site.

A huge tree surmounts the Arala-gam-vila *dāgaba* mound, still some 20 ft. and upwards in height, which occupies the centre of a brick-revetted *maṭuwa*, or platform, 48 ft. square.

Around the foot of the *dāgaba* lie several stone slabs, of different shapes and sizes—oblong, square and circular—the most noticeable being a large 9 ft. altar-slab on short supports (*gal-enda* "stone bed" so termed) to north; a second slab, moulded, 8 ft. 4 in. by 5 ft. 6 in. (divided into four partitions separated by raised cruciform bands)<sup>4</sup> on the west; and the circular top of what may possibly once have been the original massive stone *chatra* (6 ft. 5 in. in diameter) of the *dāgaba*, subsequently utilised for a flower-offering slab upside down, so as to expose the central square mortice which took the shaft tenon.<sup>5</sup>

Within the encircling *prākārāya* boundary of stones, 118 ft. four-square, at the south-west corner stood formerly a building of twenty pillars: a long, low, helix-end balustrade half buried, marks its entrance on the east.

Just below the *maṭuwa*, to south, is a ruin, whose purpose an "ablution-slab" shaped like a "Jews-harp" sufficiently explains to the initiated.

Still further south, once existed a structure (? the *vihāre*) on twenty-four large scapped pillars; and on the west are signs of other building sites, some with *gal-wangedi* (lit. "stone-rice-mortars")—the quaint term applied by the natives at this day to these mortised supports for tenons of wooden pillars.

All these point to the existence here in old days of a Monastery somewhat large and important.

## Dagaba.

This *dāgaba* had manifestly been broken into.

Removal of the loose debris from a tunnel sunk diagonally by despoilers long ago, exposed a cella. This held a broken *karaṇḍuwa* ("relic casket") of burnt clay, containing a large gold coin of Vijaya Bāhu I. (A.D. 1065-1120) and some tiny flakes of gold-leaf. Round this *karaṇḍuwa*, inside the "relic chamber," besides a few clay saucer lamps, four terracotta lamp-stands had been placed, with an iron rod at each corner to support the covering slab. These stands had fallen, and all but one were in pieces.<sup>6</sup>

2. For Papers on Dimbulā-gala, see *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, pp. 1-12, 69-79.

3. Plate XVII.

4. Similar slabs have been met with at other sites by the Archaeological Survey. Mr. H. Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*, 1909, p. 658) has figured (Fig. 274) such an "altar slab for flower offerings" with its cruciform bands, found at a ruined monastery in forest near Vammiyadi tank in S. E. Ceylon.

The circular tenoned slabs like stone *chatra* tops, occasionally to be seen, are popularly called *haka-pēru* "potters'-wheels."

5. The *karaṇḍuwa*, gold coin, and other contents, are now in the Colombo Museum.



In shape the cella was a hollow 2 ft. cube, constructed of brick and originally covered with a stone slab 6 in. thick. Its sides were built vertically of seven courses of bricks, and a niche (arched by two bricks aslant, 10 in. by 8 in. to soffit), was let into their middle.

The top of the chamber lay some ten feet below the mound's present summit. Excavation carried down six or seven feet to granite-and-quartz rubble revealed no other cellas.

### VERA-GODA-GALA.

*September 11th.* With three Veddā guides, made my way under last night's full moon to Véra-goda-gala, and was lucky enough to "bag" a she-bear en route by the aid of a *daḍa migonek*, or "hunting-buffalo."<sup>6</sup>

The site is one of those low reaches of bare rock rising to little height, not uncommon in Taman-kaḍuwa and elsewhere, so greatly favoured by Buddhist monks of old for the location of their monasteries.

The ruins are few. A dilapidated dāgaba mound, and two grass-covered sites of buildings, one on either side of a *gal-wala*, seem about all that is left of the ancient temple (which dates from the 4th century A.D.) except some of its adjuncts—altar-slabs for flowers, *gal-waṇṇeḍi*, casual moonstone, &c.

But the real interest and importance, both historically and epigraphically, of Véra-goda-gala lies in its inscriptions, despite these having been very greatly damaged by ignorant and reckless treasure-hunters—the curse of the Ceylon Archaeologist—"firing" the flat rock in the hope of securing treasure.

The records belong to the time of the Sinhalese kings *Buddhadāsa* (A. D. 341-370) and *Mahānāma* (A. D. 412-434): and, being the sole inscriptions of those reigns yet discovered, great indeed is "the pity of it" that the whole series has not escaped the insensate maltreatment of vandals.

What remains is insufficient to make much connected sense; but the regnal year, 20th, of both kings has, by luck, survived in two of the inscriptions.<sup>7</sup>

*September 13th.* On to Kohombalēwa. The path, under forest trees the whole way, crosses the *vē-kandu*, or bunds, of three ancient tanks (whose very names are lost), besides the *Hin-ēla* which falls into the Mādara-oya at the present Veddā hamlet, now placed on the right bank.

It is in reality misnamed, and of comparatively recent occupation; for it stood originally at Kohombalēva-ēba, a pool some little distance from the left bank. The *Paṭabendā* lives here<sup>8</sup>; and there are altogether 42 inhabitants (names taken down)—15 males, 14 females and 13 children. One or two families have gone into the jungle, and only return periodically. Dwellings (bark-walled) are naturally very poor: the only cultivation round the hovels is represented by a few plantain trees.

Juwan, a Low-Country man, has been here for some years; and, lately, one Carolis of Mātara—another of these unprincipled "Scourges of the Veddō"—has taken the *Paṭabendā's* daughter to wife.

### TAMBALA-GAMA-DAMANA.

In the afternoon, three miles Northwards along the path to Bellan-wala, to inspect some caves called *Tambala-gama-Damana gal-geval*. On the way caught in a sharp thunderstorm.

The caves proved disappointing. They lie, in a small cluster of rocks, under two adjoining boulders, rough-hewn at a steep angle. Both have "drip-lines" above the mouth, but no writing. These caves and rocks are occupied by bears, and more than one had left as we climbed up the short ascent to the caves—the Veddās yelling fiendishly the while—for their footprints were fresh in the damp earth after the storm which fell on us.<sup>9</sup>

### ARAN-GODA-GALA.

*September 14th.* To explore caves at Aran-goda-gala (really in the Eastern Province), with the *Paṭabendā* as guide. He is a comical, but rather foul-mouthed, little fellow, who has not been improved in manners or talk, by a "free visit" to Colombo at Government expense a few years ago in connection with a Veddā murder case from Kohombalēwa. Traverse forest and jungle for the two miles up to the rock, crossing and recrossing a small *ēla*.

Aran-goda-gala is a rock of no great elevation, rising south-east.<sup>10</sup> On the highest point there is a low mound, once a dāgaba: near it (west) a stone-built ruin and two curious rock "marks" like long sandals, which the *Paṭabendā* dubbed "Māra's steps."

6. See "Times of Ceylon" Christmas Number, 1917. "Bear Shooting in Ceylon."

7. Plate XVI. From left to right, the Koralays (Second Headman), *Paṭabendā* (Chief Headman) with bow, *Adikāri* (Third Headman.) The boy and girl were a son and daughter of the *Paṭabendā*.

8. The following hills and rocks lie eastward, from North to South, at the approximate distances as given by the Veddās at Aran-goda-gala:—*Nēnda-gala* (8 miles), *Hikgaha-talēva* (3), *Gōnda-gala* (4), *Hikgaha-gala* (2½), *Omuni-gala* (5), *Kamburā-gala* (12), *Dand-gala* (12), *Kandegama-kanda* (10).



## Caves.

Below, among smaller rocks, occurs a boulder with *kaṭāre*-browed cave, facing S. S. W.

*Cave No. 1.* A large cave. Inside, the back of the rock is covered with many quaint figures and designs, drawn in white ashes by *Veḍḍās* who have sheltered in the cave. Among these, are rough delineations, most primitively executed, of (i) man, (ii) woman, (iii) monkey, (iv) deer, (v) lotus or sun, (vi) centipede or leaf, (vii) bow with arrow fitted; besides (viii) "geometrical patterns," (ix) flowers, and (x) a large unintelligible drawing, possibly intended to represent a tract of paddy fields with *néraval* (ridges) and water-channels.

These unique "pictographs" of unsophisticated art—*ars casum simulat*—were photographed.<sup>9</sup>

*Cave No. 2.* East of the *dāgaba*, is a second cave beneath the *gal-pota* itself, 46' by 16' and but 8 ft. 6 in. high. It faces S. S.E., and has been well scooped out in bowl-like shape.

Neither cave seems to bear any inscription.

Returning we had a surprise. We ran "bang up against" a *tani aliya*, or "rogue elephant,"—that "*corruptio optimi pessima*"—known to the *Veḍḍās* to be infesting the neighbourhood. He stood confronting us less than a dozen yards away in the only narrow path through the close-set jungle. Had nothing but my shot-gun, and a couple of soft-lead ball cartridges (for bears) with me; but as the brute showed no inclination to move, risked a shot at his head. It did about as much damage as a pea from a pea-shooter striking the human face; but fortunately "stung him up" enough to decide on retreating—let it be confessed frankly, to the general relief!—but sulkily, and without undignified hurry. Presumably our "safety" must have lain "in numbers;" for we were eight in all. On sight of the elephant the Tamil coolies stood not for a moment on the order of their going: each made, wisely, for the nearest tree! The plucky little *Paṭabēṇḍā* alone "stuck to me." The rogue, he said afterwards in his broken Sinhalese, had been awaiting us, and that we were well out of ("*yantan bērunā*") the encounter.

Heavy rain from 5 to 8 p.m.

September 15th. Guided by the *Paṭabēṇḍā* and other *Veḍḍō*, off early to explore *Kandegama-kanda*.

This elongated hill lies some eight to ten miles nearly south of *Kohombalēwa*, and about the same distance west of *Omuna-kanda* in the Eastern Province. *Kandegama-kanda* now belongs to the Eastern Province; but the *Paṭabēṇḍā* asserts that up to "the good old days" of his father *Kummā Paṭabēṇḍā*, the *Kohombalēwa Veḍḍās* "cut" *bāmbāra-wada* (rock-bee hives) there, until some greedy minor-headman over the border got the hill included in the Eastern Province. The rent for wax is said to be annually sold at Batticaloa, and these North Central Province *Veḍḍās* are prosecuted if they take the hives.<sup>10</sup>

As the hill was too far from *Kohombalēwa* to complete work and return the same day, we started in "light marching order," prepared to put up for the night with such shelter as the rock caves might afford.

## KONATTE-GODA-GALA.

In order to copy an inscription reported at a small rock called *Konatte-goḍa-gala*, a *détour* was made, first along the path to *Arala-gam-vila* as far as the "*paraṇa-gama*," the former hamlet of *Kohombalēwa*; then through forest, and *daman*, &c., cutting a track part of the way, for six miles (slightly S. of W.) to the rock.

The only cave, under a boulder, is small; but has a *kaṭāre* with a "Cave-character" inscription below it, in one line. This has weathered and is not fully legible.<sup>11</sup>

At this cave, too, as at *Aran-goḍa-gala*, the roof is covered with ash-figures drawn by *Veḍḍās*, who have so whiled away wet days when "lodging" here.<sup>9</sup>

Photographed the cave, showing the inscription above the "drip-line" and the drawings behind inside, with *Muttuwā Paṭabēṇḍā* in the fore-ground.<sup>11</sup>

9. Cf. Plate XVII. The Plate shows the "ash drawings" at *Konatte-goḍa-gala* as typical of these quaint "pictographs."

"The tale is as old as the Eden Tree—and new as the new-cut tooth—

For each man knows, ere his lip-thatch grows, he is master of Art and Truth."

For similar drawings made by *Veḍḍās* of *Sītala Wanniya* and noticed by Dr. Seligmann, see *The Veḍḍās 1911*, pp. 318-321. Plates LVI-LXI; and Still (*Journ. C.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, No. 63, 1910, pp. 84, 87-8, Plates) for others at *Tantri-malai*.

10. As the result of representations made to the Government by the Archaeological Commissioner, the question of disputed boundaries between the North Central, and Eastern, Provinces was finally settled in 1905, after due enquiry. The village of *Kalu-kele-eba*, 2 miles only from *Yakure* (N. C. P.) but 20 from *Batticaloa* (E. P.), was allotted to *Tamankaduwa*, the limits of which on the South East were again as of old, made to cover *Kandegama-kanda*. See *Arch. Survey Annual Report, 1905*, pp. 22-3.

11. Plate XVIII. For an amusing incident at this cave, see *Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. II, p. 113, footnote 20.



## KANDEGAMA-KANDA.

Thence on six or seven miles to Kandegama-kanda, breakfasting *al fresco* at *Miyā-kavāpu-goḍa*, a reach of flattish rock about two miles from the hill range. From here the path shortly enters forest, descending amidst broken rock (*gala-piṭa-gala*), to a spring and its streamlet; where it crosses the high earthen bund—whence the name, *Paskanda-ulpata*—of some large ancient tank, long abandoned, the present boundary of Tamankaḍuwa.<sup>12</sup> Thereafter it skirts round Kandegama-kanda about half way, a mile or so from the *de-gala* (dip in the hill) which divides it from the more Easterly portion.

This Western part of the Kande-gama-kanda range is by the Vēddās called Ulabale-gala and Hēne-heḷa.

## Caves.

The caves lie close to the path, at foot of the scarp, among large boulders and rocks, recalling *Riti-gala*, *Dimbulā-gala*, &c. They have traces of ruined sites on their front. It would have involved a hunt of several days to ascertain how many caves in all there are— if more there be—and, as time presses and weather is doubtful, prolonged search was hardly worthwhile.

Those known are four, three in one bunch, under massive boulders (two of which adjoin), with the fourth cave behind them thirty yards higher.

Passed the night in the loftiest Cave (No. 1) making a jungle-stick bed on which to spread my rug, &c. The coolies made shift in the adjoining Cave No. 2, keeping a fire alight to scare any bears who might seek to share our rock dormitory. Heavy rain from 5 p.m. till 9, (from which we were well sheltered by the overhang and drip-ledge, which kept the caves as "dry as a bone"); later the moon shone out brightly.

September 16th. All up at daybreak and at work, in order to get back to Kohombalēwa, if possible, before the inevitable afternoon rain descended on us.

Had temporary ladders made to examine the inscriptions of Caves Nos. 1, 2, 3 closely, as they are carved high up; that of Cave No. 4 is legible from below.

The Vēddās were directed, meanwhile, to explore boulders, &c., along the North-West cliff; but declared, on return, that they had found no caves with brow "drip-lines." They probably did not care to "investigate" too carefully, for fear of bears who revel in these caves during rains.

Cave No. 1. Spacious: 44ft. by 25ft. and nearly 50ft. to the *kaṭārama*; faces S. S. E. Owing to its exceptional height the only inscription, of nearly twenty letters, is cut vertically—the sole instance in my experience—on the rock face at one side of the cave, at a height of 15ft. from the floor.<sup>1</sup>

There is another, and longer, record partly encircling flat-topped rock, two to three feet high, just in front of this cave.<sup>1</sup>

Cave No. 2. Even more extensive: 55ft. by 28ft. but only 15 to 20 feet in height to the "drip-line" fronts N. N. W., lying on the other side of the same boulder as No. 1. Inscription in two lines, of between thirty and forty letters.<sup>1</sup>

Cave No. 3. Somewhat smaller cave: under a boulder to north of that forming Caves Nos. 1, 2. It measures 30ft. by 22ft.; and at the west end has a record which is far too abraded to yield any meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Cave No. 4. This cave lies to west of the others, and higher up the hill slope. It was clearly the most important of the batch; for its *kaṭāre* is carried along the south and east brows, and on the latter is cut a fine inscription of 54 letters, boldly incised, with two special symbols at the end.<sup>12</sup>

After a scratch breakfast, along the range Eastwards to that part of Kandegama-kanda beyond the dip (*de-gala*), known as Kitul-vinna, Kotta-gala and Arave-gala. It has a grand rock scarp, on which in two places are at present hanging no less than thirty-one *bāmbara wada*.

A stiff climb among, and over, rocks for about a third of a mile along the hill side, a very steep ascent to the cliff itself, and a further fifty yards scramble hugging it, brings one to Cave No. 5, once used as their *vihāre* by the hermit monks.

## Vihare Cave.

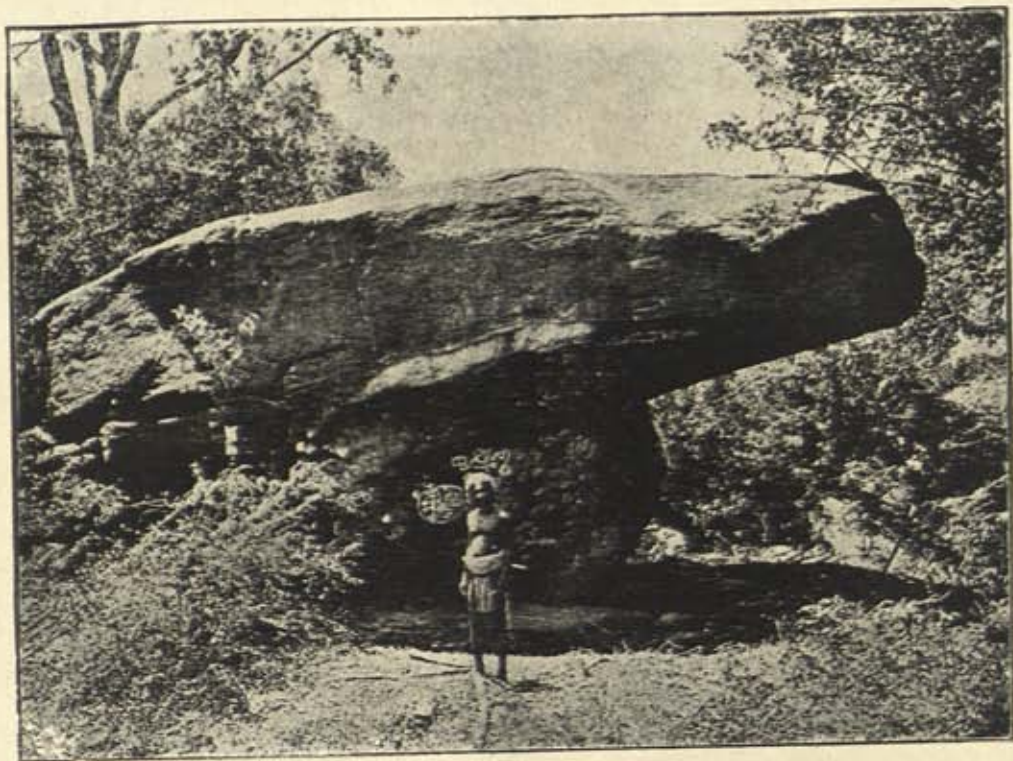
It is situated beneath the perpendicular cliff, 200 yards or so to right (N. W.) of the highest *bāmbaru-heḷa*.<sup>13</sup>

12. The *Potabenda*, walking ahead, was here bitten by a viper (*Aneistrodon Hymnale*, Sin. *kunu-katued*); which he called "pingiti." He treated the matter very lightly—only applying *chunam* to the wound as of little moment; but said that he would suffer to some extent for a day or two.

13. Plate XVIII.



**KONATTE-GODA-GALA.**



Cave.



*H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.*

*"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone Block.*

**KANDE-GAMA-KANDA.**

Cave Vihare.







The *vihāre* was brick-walled, and in ground plan and elevation very closely follows that of *Cave No. 2* at Kosgaha Ulpata (Dimbulā-gala). A frontage to S. E. of 46ft.—with doorway, 4ft. wide, between a pair of windows (one only survives), 2ft. 2in., by 1ft., placed half way on either hand—and side walls 19ft. to left and about 10ft. on right, provided ample space within for a gigantic *seṭa-piṭimayak*, or recumbent figure, of the Buddha, 35ft. in length, fashioned of brick and plaster. The forehead and chest of the image have been deliberately broken into by treasure-hunters.

The greater part of the *vihāre* wall remains standing, and its section (two bricks at top with gentle batter on both faces) is of archaic type, familiarised by the "Gallery" wall at Sigiri-gala. The rock roof shows signs of tool-work.

Between the *vihāre*'s side walls and the rock itself were subsidiary shrines, also walled in. That to right hand (facing i. e. proper left), once had an *ot-piṭimayak* (sedent image), now broken.

When all our work was done, it was 3 p.m. and before us lay a tramp of some 10 miles with rain already beginning to fall. First to the Mādara-oya; down it nearly a mile; then through forest and *daman*<sup>14</sup> to the path from Kohombalēwa to Omana. Blinding thunderstorm broke, leaving us all like "half-drowned rats," before camp was reached.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the coolies had gone ahead the whole way down the comparatively dry river bed of the river, the water in which was a stream, of little width and no great depth, along one or the other bank for the most part. At about 9 or 10 p.m. the camp was startled by the roar of a torrent up-stream, and within a few minutes "a wall of water" dashed past, 7ft. deep (as measured next morning)—so unexpectedly that the coolies, camping in the river, lost their cooking pots. Of such are Ceylon "bores"!

### BELLAN-WALA.

*September 18th.* Through wild country on the further (Eastern Province) side of the Mādara-oya for some 12 miles Northwards; then crossed the river to the west bank at Bellan-wala; where we camped for a day or two.

Tamankaḍuwa Veddō had a small hamlet here formerly, but have migrated to Kottanne-wala, a mile from the Mādara-oya.

### NELU-GALA.

*September 20th.* Recrossing the river (Mādara-oya) and four or five "feeder," streams, visited Nelu-gala rock. The path lay through *eliyas* and *daman* and some patches of forest.

This extensive rock is situated over the Eastern Province boundary. It rises very gradually eastwards to no great height; but spreads well out, seemingly covering nearly half a mile in all.

The rock has two main high points, with a lower reach between: on the bare surface are small boulders scattered everywhere in fantastic shapes.

Before reaching the dip, the rock, under its brow at the east end, forms four cave shelters in one continuous line. Two have "drip-lines," but no inscriptions.

Less than a hundred yards from these caves towards the more northerly summit, upon the flat rock is cut a long inscription of 18 lines, the greater part of which is in good preservation. In this record the old name of the rock and its *Vihāre* ("*Ahali Pavata Vihāre*") occurs five or six times. The Royal donor was "the great king Tissa, son of the great king Nāga," which, with every probability, fixes the record as belonging either to Bhātiya Tissa II. (A.D. 141-165) or Kaniṭṭha Tissa (A.D. 165-193) sons of Mahallaka Nāga (A.D. 135-141).

There are said to be five ruined *dāgabas* on this "far-flung" rock: the largest a mound, 300ft. in circumference, is on the Northerly summit. Everywhere the rock is covered with ancient sites of buildings—stone-built walls, altar-slabs (one like that at Arala-gam-vila lies close to the inscription),\* and the like.

Got back to camp just in time to escape heavy rain. Distance 12 miles out and back.

14. En route, we passed at Kalita-gala-vela, a small rock-placed encampment (three *talpat* shelters only) of Veddās, who accustomed to "fold their tents like the Arabs and as silently steal away," had suddenly deserted Kohombalēwa for a time.

15. *Temichecha kukulāta ettala neṭa.* Veddās rarely laugh; but the *Patabendā*, still standing in the rain, could not restrain his mirth at being silly advised to "change his clothes before he caught cold"—his whole costume (consisting of a crupper (Sin. *amuda gahḍā*)!

"Poor naked wretches, whereso'er you are,  
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,  
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,  
Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you  
From seasons such as these?"



### DAVA-GALLE-GALA.

September 21st. Turn homewards (still "a far cry") from Bellan-wala, through Kottane-wala the present Veddā hamlet, (where a Pillaiyār, or Ganesha, stone, and moulded block altar, under a tree were photographed), Gini-damana (another Veddā settlement), and Hevan-pitiya to Mutu-galla.

On the way, go off the path to visit Dava-galle-gala, a sausage-shaped rock about 100ft. high, with six caves, dāgaba, &c. The caves vary in size from 15ft. to 28ft. in width, except one. Cave No. 3, has remains of walling.

Cave No. 1 lies 20 yards north of a ruined dāgaba mound (badly gutted for treasure), and has stone steps to its west. Beyond are remains of a ruin with entrance on the east.

Cave No. 4 fronts east, and is an elongated cavern 78ft. by 16ft.; the roof roughly chiselled. This cave alone bears writing—a "Cave character" inscription in one line, and part of a second record.<sup>1</sup>

Near Cave No. 6 there is sunk in the rock what the natives consider a "treasure-hole"—a cylindrical hole with wider circular top, like those noticeable at Halmilla-gala (Vilachchiya Koralé) and elsewhere.<sup>1a</sup>

### VÁVÉ-VILA.

This *vila*, or swamp, is situated one-third of a mile south of the path from Kottanne-wala to Gini-damana and Hevan-pitiya.

It is curious for its "hot-water pond"—a pool of clear water, about 20ft. by 15ft. Tested today, it appeared to be only 1ft. deep with 2ft. bottom of hard silt. The pool lies in the middle of the *vila*, surrounded by a fern-like shrub, called by the natives from its dried appearance *parañḍella* (Sin. *parañḍala*), with a few trees dotted about. The soil seems whitish sand.

The water of other pools in the *vila*, not fifty yards distant, was almost cool to the touch; whereas my hand could not at all comfortably bear the temperature of the hot-pool, then exposed to the midday sun.

Took a bottle for analysis, to be compared with that of the well-known Kinniyai "hot-springs."<sup>1</sup>

### GINI-DAMANA.

At Gini-damana there is a small tank with a neat cluster of Veddā houses, five in all. Their headman is styled *Adikāri*.

### HEWAN-PITIYA.

Large *vila* and village of Tamils of the Dhoby caste. The cart road from Mahāgan-toṭa ferry to Batticaloa District passes through Manam-pitiya, Karapola, and Hewan-pitiya.

### MUTU-GALLA.

September 22nd-25th. Cut off from the village by its fields, which lie between the tank and *vila*, is situated a low hill, or rather three congeries of rocks and boulders.

These together form the "Mutu-galla Rocks" and are separately named (i) Muvada-gala, (ii) Kóvil-gala, (iii) Káven-gala. Despite their apparent insignificance they abound in Caves, and furnish a surprising number of inscriptions.

Starting from the South end and working Northwards:—

#### (i) Muvada-gala.

This group lies to South of the other two.

A low patch of rock with gradual slopes. Only one Cave (No. 1), under a boulder; but that has an inscription.<sup>1</sup>

16. These rock-cut holes, resembling in plan and section a "tall-bat case" without its cover, differ entirely from the smooth cup-like holes, called *ikówa* by the Sinhalese, and, not infrequently to be seen, which are smaller and have the "upper edges carefully rounded." Mr. Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 231-4) suggests that the smaller cups may be medicine cucibles: of the larger, some he considers may be paddy-pounding receptacles, some treasure holes, others hand-worked oil mills.

As a fourth theory, it is possible that they may be relics of Hindú worship at the sites i.e. *arphas* or sockets for *lingam*. The existence of four socket-holes for pillars of a square shelter over one such cylindrical-hole at Halmilla-gala. Vihāre (N. C. P.), agrees with all the theories, except treasure-holes.

In Nuwarakalaviya, examples were noticed by the Archaeological Survey at Nāgadarana-gama, Halmilla-gala, Panikkan-kulama, and Mahā Horavilla-vewa. The diameter of the outer ring varies from 2ft. to 2ft 6 in. (in one case is an extra ring, 3 ft.) by 2 in. to 3 in. in depth, and the central cylinder, 10½ to 11 in. in diameter by 1 ft. to 1 ft. 3 in. deep.

17. See *Manual North-Central-Province*, 1899 (Ievers) pp. 3, 4, for a brief reference to this thermal spring. Mr. R. W. Ievers, as Government Agent, had already sent a bottle of the Vávè water to Colombo for examination. It was "pronounced to have no medicinal value." Much information regarding Ceylon "hot-springs" appeared in the Press some years back.



### Dágaba.

Slightly north, on a separate outcrop, is a large but not high dágaba mound, which was probably rifled years ago; for on its slopes are shed its *kota*, or pinnacle, and a circular *chatra*-head-type of altar (like that at Arala-gam-vila),<sup>1</sup> both of stone, as well as a round slab with bossed-centre within counter sunk depression and a spout to carry off liquid offerings—a not unfamiliar form of altar.

The outline of the dágaba's square platform is still clear in places, and shows flights of steps on the north and west faces: to south it was evidently connected with buildings erected on a rectangular site.

Near the dágaba on the horizontal rock, is to be seen the right half only of a 9th or 10th, century inscription, once engraved within a frame.<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere, at the Mutu-galla rocks are remains of three or four other weathered Rock inscriptions of the 5th to 9th century period, of which but two (both quite short) are legible throughout.<sup>1</sup>

### (ii) Kóvil-gala.

About a hundred yards to North of Muwada-gala.

This cluster of rocks is so heavily wooded that no idea of the number, or intricacy, of its boulders can be formed until it is explored.

It contains at least thirteen cave-shelters with "drip-ledges" above their mouths, beside other ordinary caves—the latter all formed by the natural slope of boulders; none are artificially improved by scooping or by cut *kaṭāre* drips.

The numerous caves of Kóvil-gala may be most conveniently "toured" in the following order:—

*Caves Nos. 2. 3.* The first two. These lie one above the other nearly, but under separate boulders, isolated, at the southern extremity of the group. Cave No. 2, has two inscriptions; No. 3 one.<sup>1</sup>

From these to the remainder of the caves (except one which lies off the line) the path is fairly direct and almost level. Just before reaching them a stone-banked site in ruins is passed to right; plain, small guard-stones point to its former entrance.

The path then bends to right, before striking Cave No. 4; which is under its own boulder, and has a short inscription, defective at the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

Straight on, stands a huge elongated boulder. Beneath its northern corner there is a tiny shelter (Cave No. 5); and, at the south end another (Cave No. 6), high and shallow, with a single-line inscription.<sup>1</sup>

Between these two caves a circular basin has been chiselled in the flat rock.

Passing Cave No. 5 and zig-zagging for 20 or 30 yards, one reaches Cave No. 7. This contains a longish record in one line, noticeable for its erratic carving.<sup>1</sup>

At back of the same boulder, but on a slightly lower level, is a second Cave (No. 8). It has an inscription of one line.<sup>1</sup>

From here the path to the further caves is very narrow and tortuous.

An ascent of 15 yards brings one to Cave No. 9.

This was the *Vihāre* cave, as judged by the remains of brick and plastered walling, and its being the highest placed of all. The fine lookont Eastwards across the *vila*, well justified the appropriate name the cave was given of old—*Manapa-dasane Leṇe*, "Cave Delightful" (*lit.* "Heart-rejoicing.") The inscription in this cave contains 29 *aksharas* carved in one line, with a symbol to left.<sup>1</sup>

Passing through the cave, whose roof is very low at back, and a smaller natural cavern adjoining it, first a descent and then another ascent have to be "negotiated."

Sharply skirting the base of the chief rock (which has a Trig-pile on it and a curious fissure with a tall and straight *rukātana* tree), Cave No. 10 is gained.

A fine cave, lofty and long, which was doubtless the *Pansala*, or residence of the monks: it bears no inscription whatever. The villagers formerly used it as a "*Pattini Dēvalé*;" but have now transferred this goddess' shrine to the village.

Again descending to more boulders—leaving the main rock for the nonce—comes Cave No. 11 with *kaṭārama* and inscription. The cave is so silted up that the letters are not to be read except in a prone position.<sup>1</sup>



Beyond this again, rather to west, under a separate but contiguous boulder, is *Cave No. 12*, which has no writing.

Hence, return is made to the long rock with the Trig-pile. Following it gradually upwards, and keeping, as before, the rock wall to left hand, for 30 yards or so, there supervenes *Cave No. 13*; a lofty cavern with a rock floor, perched high like *Cave No. 9*. Many feet up but still below the *kaṭāre* is cut a single-line inscription *reversed* (i. e. from right to left), a "conceit" met with not infrequently in the case of *Cave Epigraphs*.<sup>1</sup>

Thence descent lands one at an arm of the *vila*.

Keeping to the line of rocks Southwards until near *Muvada-gala*, and then rising some 40 yards, the last *Cave (No. 14)* of this group is reached. It has a line inscription, in which there are mistakes.<sup>1</sup>

### (iii) *Kāven-gala*.

A cluster of lesser rocks; also wooded. A ruined *dāgaba* crowns the top-most point. Like *Muvada-gala*, this group too has but a single *Cave (No. 15.)*

It occurs about 20 yards from the *vila* arm at the southern end of *Kāven-gala*, and owns a one-line inscription.<sup>1</sup>

### KATUPILĀNA.

[A description has appeared of the unique *Gal Aliyā*, or "Rock Elephant," carved from a boulder on the left marge of the *Mahāveli-gaṅga* at *Kaṭupilāna*, near *Kaṭuwan-vila* village and about two miles from *Mutu-galla* (Commissioner's *Diary of September 23rd*).]<sup>18</sup>

### NOCHI-POTĀNA.

*September 24th*. One and a half mile from *Galegama*, and by "shortest cut" nearly 4 miles from *Mutu-galla* *via* *Alincha-potāna* (Moor village) and its aggravating *kotali*, or branches, of the *Mahāveli-gaṅga*.

Here is an inscribed pillar, finely preserved, but fallen. The pillar was found to be intact practically (only a portion of the *kalasa* head and abacus broken off), but almost buried. It took a dozen men, using stout poles and strong *vambadam* *vel* (elephant-noosing creeper), three hours to raise the pillar to a vertical position.

The characters are unusually clear on the whole, and there was no difficulty in reading the *biruda* of the kingly grantor of this *sthamba sannasa* and the regnal date—*Abhā Salamewan*, 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.<sup>1</sup>

### KANDA-KĀDU.<sup>19</sup>

*September 26th*. From *Mutu-galla* to *Kanda-kādu*, intending to loop up the "Circuit" by working through *Tirukana-mōdu*, *Mā-vila*, *Vellē*, *Komanāchchiya* and *Kuriñchāmane*, before crossing the *Mahāveli-gaṅga* again into the "*Marakkala Pattuwa*" (*Mēda Pattuwa*).

Decided, with much regret, to abandon further advance northwards, upon the strong remonstrance of the local natives that the river would rapidly become impassable, the North-East rains obviously having set in.

The subsequent wet march homewards took the Archæological Commissioner through part of the *Mēda* and *Kalāgam Pattu* of *Tamankaḍuwa*.

Crossing the *Mahāveli-gaṅga* to *Huṅgā-vila*<sup>20</sup> the route passed through *Paṅgurāna*, *Palliya-goḍella*, *Mi-gas-vēwa*, *Wādigē-vēwa*, and *Nika-vēwa*, before the high road was struck at *Kantalāy* (October 6th).

Thence he found his way back to *Anurādhapura* ultimately on October 12th, making *Horowwa-potāna* (*Anurādhapura-Trincomalee Road*) by way of the isolated and little known village of *Ānolandēwa*, situated at the North East corner of *Nuwarakalāviya*, and *Paraṅgi-wādiya*.

18. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 144-7.

19. Four inscriptions, which the Archæological Commissioner was unable to examine in 1897, owing to stress of weather, were copied in 1903 by A.P. Siriwardhana, Head Overseer of the A. S. Department, at a rock called *Tōni-gala* about a mile from *Kanda-kādu*, and at *Mā-vila*. See *infra* Appendix: Inscriptions, pp. 214-5.

20. The half-dozen rock inscriptions, *cis-flumen*, at *Miṇ-vila*, do not belong to the *Egoda Pattuwa*, and are worthy of separate treatment; as is that at *Nelu-gala* of the Eastern Province.



## APPENDIX.

## I. VEDDÁS OF TAMANKADUWA.

Mr. Godwin de Livera, who succeeded the late Mr. Gabriel Jayawardana as Revenue Officer of Tamankaḍuwa, has kindly furnished the latest particulars regarding the Vēddā villages of his Division. The 1897 hamlets of Damáne-Ulpata and Kohombaléwa no longer exist.

## 1. EGODA PATTUWA.

The Egoḍa Pattuwa Vēddás are in a bad way now (1917). They have only their chenas to depend on ; but, on account of bad seasons, have hardly got any return for some time.

Owing to the Dried Meat Ordinance, they cannot get money, once so easily obtainable by the sale of venison and pork in a dried form.

This Ordinance does not make any exception in the case of dried meat : three Vēddás, found in possession of dried *talagoya* (iguana) flesh, were sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

This primitive race is sadly in need of something being done to ameliorate their condition,—and promptly—if they are not to sink still lower.

## Kanda-kādu Tulāna, No. 80.

Two Vēddā villages, (1) *Ilanda-mōdu*, (2) *Kanda-kādu*.

1. *Ilanda-mōdu*. Abandoned at the time of the last Census. The occupants went to the Batticaloa District (Eastern Province), but returned about three years ago to their old *gaṇ-goḍa*, 2 miles from *Má-vila*.

There are five families living in a neat little hamlet, where lime trees, plantains, pumpkins and manioc are found in abundance. They speak Tamil only.

2. *Kanda-kādu*. North of Mutu-galla. The number of families is thirteen in all. Of these, four families have gone to *Vēli-kanda*, 3 miles from the old *gaṇ-goḍa* ; the rest have migrated to *Alwána-kotaliya*, Eastern Province.

## Mutu-galla Tulāna, No. 81.

There are no Vēddā villages in this Tulāna.

## Má-kuppé Tulāna, No. 82.

1. *Gal-wala*, or *Kal-madu*. Tamil and Sinhalese speaking Vēddás.

2. *Má-kuppé*. Only two Vēddā families here.

3. *Wellana* (*Bellana*)-*wala*. Sinhalese speaking Vēddás. Four families remaining out of six ; two gone to *Gini-damana*.

## Karapola Tulāna, No. 83.

The only Vēddā village is *Gini-damana*. It is a moveable village ; wherever their new *chēna* is, there are the Vēddás in temporary huts, and that site is "*Gini-damana*."

## Mannam-pitiya Tulāna, No. 84.

1. *Geṭamune*. On the edge of Mannam-pitiya-vila. Six families.

2. *Kosgaha-Ulpata*. Three families.

3. *Damáne-Ulpata*. Now abandoned : its Vēddás have moved to *Kadiran-kotaliya-ēla*, Úva Province.

*Kosgaha-Ulpata* and *Damáne-Ulpata* are shifting villages. In 1910 the former was at the foot of "Gunner's Quoin" (*Dimbulá-gala*) ; the next year it was a mile away in a *chēna* ; after that it was three miles away ; and, within that radius, it travelled from *chēna* to *chēna*.

These Vēddás have not abandoned the *Dévālē*. Annually they go there and perform their ceremonies.



**Hori-vila Tulana. No. 85.**

1. *Gal-kulam.* Half a mile from Hori-vila. Three families.
2. *Kuḍa-Ulpata.* This hamlet, occupied in 1897, was abandoned at the time of the Census; but this year (1917) three families from Kosgaha-Ulpata have reoccupied the old *gaṇ-goḍa*.
3. *Malliya-tivu.* Two miles south of Hori-vila. Two families.
4. *Bendiyā-vila.* Two families migrated from *Kohombalewa*, when it was abandoned at the time of the Census.
5. *Yakkurē.* Four genuine Vēddā families; the rest are mixed.
6. *Kaḷu-kēḷe-eba.* A shifting village.

In regard to the rest of Tamankaḍuwa :—

**2. MEDA PATTUWA.**

*Dāstoṭa* is a Sinhalese village with inhabitants of Vēddā extraction.

**3. SINHALA PATTUWA.**

The Vēddā villages are *Rota-vēwa* and *Gallinda*. They seem to thrive.

**II. INSCRIPTIONS.**

The Archæological Commissioner's tour of 1897 in Tamankaḍuwa added largely to the tale of lithic inscriptions secured by the Archæological Survey of Ceylon.

More than fifty inscriptions (Cave, Rock, and Pillar), all hitherto unrecorded, were copied. Of these far the majority belong to the Egoḍa Pattuwa, or that portion of the North Central Province which lies across the Mahāvēli-gaṇga and marches with the Eastern Province.

**1. DUWE-GALA.**

Two inscriptions—one at a boulder cave, the other on the surface of the rock above.

**No. 1.**

Above the brow of Cave No. 1. This *pratilōma*, or "reversed-writing," record of 11 *aksharas* is inscribed in that older form of B. C. "Cave character" in which the *ra* is wavy and the palatal *ṣa* stroke bent over and drawn down level with the foot of the letter. *Le* of *leṇa* is the only letter not reversed from right to left.<sup>21</sup>

The quaint outline diagram, (1ft. 10in. by 1ft. 7in.) carved to right of the record, depicts a barque, high of prow and stern, with mast, yard, shrouds, and a pronged device at the mast-head. It seems to illustrate the epithet *Barata*,<sup>22</sup> and to connect the Buddhist eremite with the continent of India.

*Text.*

Ba ra ta Ṣa ga Ra ki ta ṣa le ṇe

*Translation.*

Cave of Saṅgha Rakhita of Bhārata (India).

21. Plate XX, Duwe-gala No. 1.

22. *Barata*: Not uncommon in Cave Inscriptions. Mr. Parker translates "royal messenger:" here the "ship" design may well imply that the monk came from India (*Barata* = *Bhārata*).



**DUWÉ-GALA.**

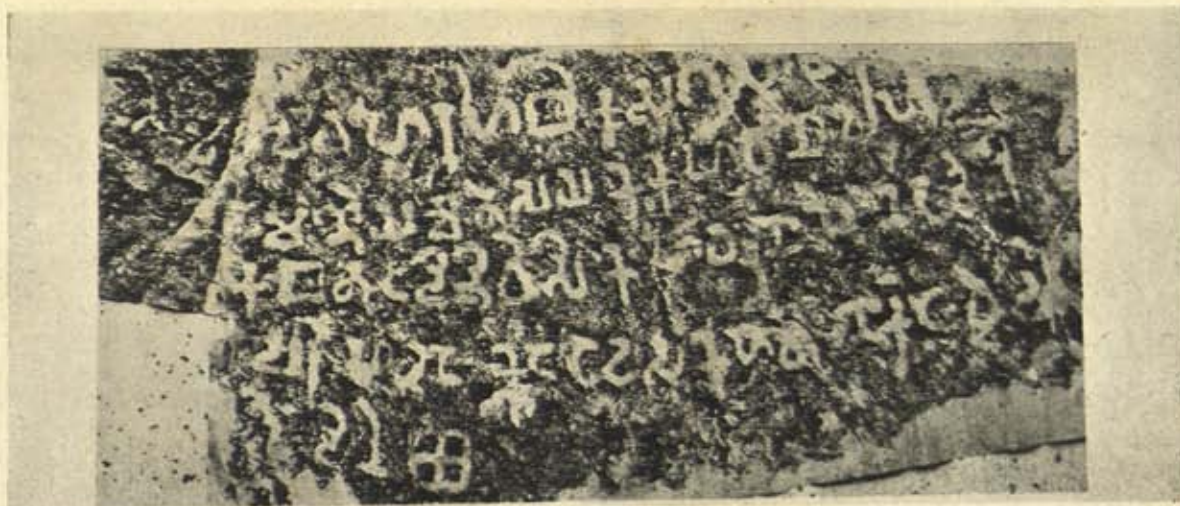
No. 2.



**KOTA-VEHERA-GALA.**



Inscription No. 1.



H. C. P. Bell  
photograph.

Inscription No. 2.

"Times of Ceylon"  
half-tone block.







No. 2.<sup>23</sup>

Cut, in three lines, upon the top of the boulder beneath which Cave No. 1 lies.

A Temple-grant, made by a king styled "**Lajaka Tisa**."

This is doubtless the ruler of that name—the writing is of the same period—responsible for the Rock inscription discovered by the Archaeological Survey at *Kudā-Arambēdda-hinna* below the Western slopes of Riṭi-gala, (*Annual Report*, 1893, p. 9), whom Mr. Wickremasinghe (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I. 149), making *Laja* (P. *Lajja*, *Lañja*) equivalent to *Leṃaṇi* (P. *Lamba-kanna*), proposes to identify with King Vasabha (A.D. 66-110).

With the exception of letters here and there, the present inscription is well preserved.

## Text.

1. Si (dham) **Lajaka Tisa Raje** Gotagataka Tisa Terahaṭa Vihara kuṭu.<sup>24</sup>
2. Vihara-viya cha Panita-kaṭiya <sup>25</sup> cha Niku-vilika cha kaṭiḥa <sup>25</sup>
3. do(pa)ti me Viha (ra) hi dine

## Translation.

Hail! King **Lajaka Tissa**,<sup>26</sup> having constructed the Vihāra for the Thera Tissa of Gotagata, granted at this Vihāra the two revenues of (the tanks) Vihāra-veṇa and Panita-kaṭiya with Niku-vila and (its) kaṭiya.

## 2. GAL-KANDA.

One-line record, in early *Brāhma lipi* writing.

## Text.

Pa ru ma ka Ve la pu ta Ṣa ba A ka ṣva<sup>26</sup> le ṇe ṣa ga ṣa

## Translation.

Cave of Ṣabā, Chief Disciple, son of the Chief Vélā, (bestowed on) the Community.

## 3. KOTA-VEHERA-GALA.

Two Rock records.<sup>27</sup>

## No. 1.

This inscription, in six lines (of which the last two were less clearly incised than the other four and are not legible at the end), has weathered in places.

It may be assigned, provisionally, to **Mahā Dāthiya Mahā Naga** (A.D. 9-21) a grandson of **Mahā Chula Mahā Tissa** (B.C. 76-62), himself the nephew and successor of King **Watta Gāmani Abhaya** (B. C. 104-76).

## Text.

1. (Sidham **Gama**)ni **Rajaha** putaha **Tisa** Ra(ja)
2. ( . . . . . ) Viha(rahi) va(sa)ka Aḷi niyate
3. Aḷi (na) makahi aṭa kariha bumi
4. **Naka Raje** dini **Tisa Viharahi**
5. Uvasaka <sup>28</sup> Bamaha
6. me karahi. . . . .

23. Plate XIX, Duwe-gala No. 2.

24. Kuṭu for kotu.

25. Kaṭi = kaṭi, "glebe."

26. To the foot of the palatal ṣa is tacked on some letter, which is apparently va or ya. If the word be *Akasa*, it may = *Agasaw* (*Agasāvaka*) "chief disciple:" if *Akasya*, perhaps = *Agastya* (name).

27. Plate XIX, Kota-Vehera-gala Nos. 2, 3.

28. Uvasaka for Upasaka.



## Translation.

Hail! King Nāga gifted to the Tissa Vihāra, in the name of Ali, eight *karishas* of land assigned by Ali, who dwelt at the Vihāra (built by) King Tissa, nephew (*lit.* son) of (Gamani) Abhaya. The Brāhman lay-devotee had this (record) carved (*lit.* made this) . . . . .

## No. 2.

Five lines. Inscription of the Third or Fourth Centuries A.D.

No donor's name given. At end a symbol, found elsewhere (e.g. Pālu Mekichchēwa, Vilēvēwa)—square intersected by two cross lines, possibly indicative of *pādas* or "quarters" of the *kahavaṇa*.

## Text.

1. Si(dha)m Me Viharahi biku sagahāṭa
2. maṇiya me tisayaka kahavaṇa<sup>20</sup> laha
3. ka bataṭa<sup>21</sup> dini visi kahavaṇa pināṭa dini
4. parihana nakuṭaṭa<sup>21</sup> dasa kahavaṇa koṭu vēdani<sup>22</sup>
5. dini

## Translation.

Hail! (For alms) to the Community of Bhikkhus at this Vihāra, distribution was made (*lit.* measured out) thus—for ticket-rice, 30 *karshāpaṇas* were taken and given; for charity, 20 *karshāpaṇas*; for cremation obsequies, 10 *karshāpaṇas*.

## 4. DIMBULĀ-GALA.

[For the Inscriptions of Dimbulā-gala and its environs see *The Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, pp. 1-12: 69-70.]

## 5. VĒRA-GODA-GALA.

There are remains of four inscriptions on the flat surface of the rock upon which rises the ruined dāgaba, now but a mound, of the ancient temple—two cut close together, the other two singly.

The letters, which were rather shallowly incised, have suffered from the elements: to this has been added senseless destruction wrought by treasure-seekers. No translation of the records as a whole is possible, therefore, from such fragmentary texts.

Fortunately, the names and regnal years of two of the most illustrious and pious of Sinhalese Kings, Buddhadasa and Mahanama—of whom no other lithic records are known—have survived in Nos. 1, 2.<sup>23</sup>

The spelling of these epigraphs, (as too commonly noticeable in ancient inscriptions), is very erratic—dentals and cerebrals being employed promiscuously, with the loosest use of vowels.

20. *Kahāvaṇa*. Mr. H. W. Codrington kindly furnishes valuable particulars:—The *kahāvaṇa*, *kahāpaṇa* or *karshāpaṇa* was originally divided into *pādas* (quarters) and *maṇakas* (1 *kahāvaṇa* = 4 *pādas* = 20 *maṇakas*). It was coined of gold, silver, and even possibly copper, up to the Fifth Century at least (*Buddhaghōṣa*). After the disuse of *purāṇas*, or oldlings the term *kahāvaṇa* seems to have been used for standard current coin; as were *mazuras*, *mazas* later. The so-called "Lankāwara" coin of the Polonnaruwa Kings was a gold *kahāpaṇa* (Sinh. *kahāvaṇuwa*) and identical with the *kalāṇḍa* of gold. (See *Ceylon Antiquary*, I. p. 230).

21. *Lahāṭa* bat: = Pali, *salāḍa* *batṭam* "ticket rice" (*Epig. Zey.* I. p. 25).

22. *Parihana* *nakuṭaṭa*: Taken as = *parihana* *nakuṭa-kṛitya*, the modern *Ara-maṅgalyaya*, the last inauspicious ceremony, or cremation ritual.

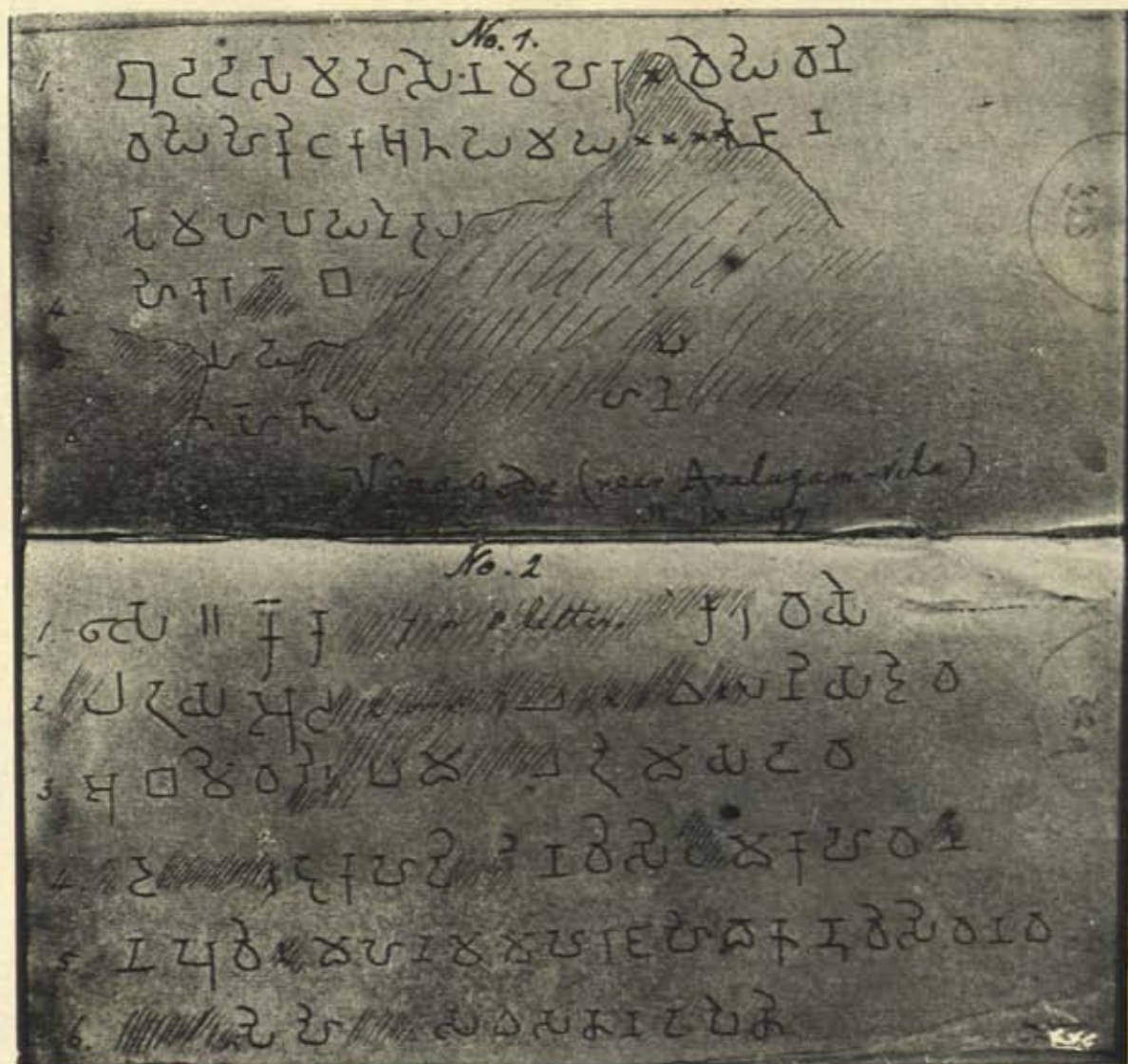
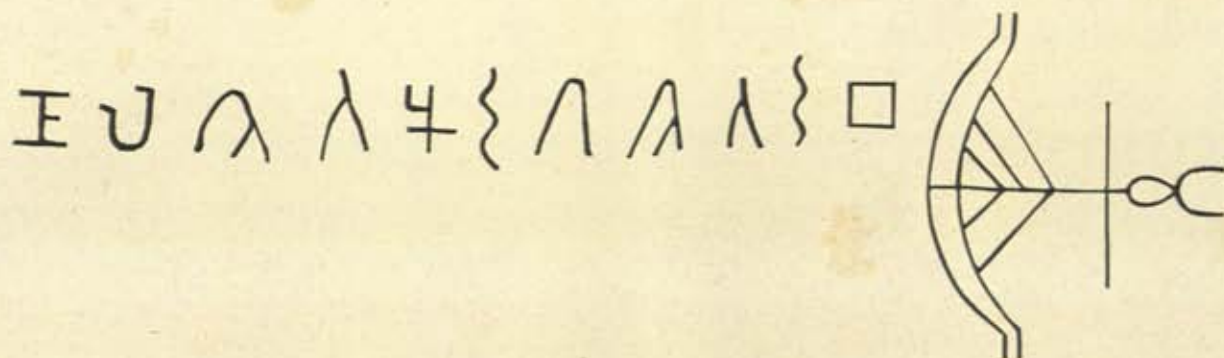
23. *Vēdani*: A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar, suggests = P. *vedāṇa*, quoting *bhātṭe vedāṇā dāna* "boiled rice taken and given."

24. Plate XX, Vēra-goda-gala, Nos. 1, 2. The inscriptions being cut on flat rock could not be photographed profitably. The Archl. Survey Overseer in 1903 did not get as far as Vēragoda-gala to secure "squeeze." The "eye-copies" made by Mr. Bell in 1897 have, therefore, *fast de mieux* been reproduced by photography.



## DUWÉ-GALA.

No. 1.

H. C. P. Bell  
photograph."Times of Ceylon"  
Antique block.

## VÉRA-GODA-GALA.

Nos. 1, 2.







## No. 1.

This record is dated in the twentieth year of "the great king **Budadasa (Buddhadāsa) Mahā Sēna**"—his fuller title, which does not appear in the *Mahāwaṇsa* or other Histories—who reigned from A.D. 341-370.

"This monarch," says the old Chronicle, "a mine of virtue and an ocean of riches, exemplified to the people, in his own person, the conduct of the Bōdhisattas; and entertained for mankind at large the compassion that a parent feels for his children."

## Text.

1. **Budadasa Maha Sena Maha Ra** (ja) visi vani
2. vasihi Kīṭaka atasa<sup>34</sup> masa . . . . . raja na
3. (sa) maha pasani<sup>35</sup> Dala(da) . . . . . ka . . . . .
4. hi kara . . . ba . . . . .
5. . . yasa . . . . . pa . . . . .
6. . . (ga) hotu . . . . . gani . . . . .

## Translation.

In the Solar month of Kāṭaka of the twentieth year of the great king **Buddhadasa Mahā Sēna** . . . . . the very delightful Tooth-Relic . . . . .

## No. 2.

Fifty, the inscription which follows belongs to the twentieth year of "the great king **Puviya Mahanāma**" (A.D. 412-434), younger son of **Buddhadāsa**, who succeeded his elder brother **Upa Tissa** on the throne.

"Devoted to deeds of charity and piety," as the *Mahāwaṇsa* relates, "(he) repaired dilapidated Vihāras; and was a constant contributor towards the maintenance of religion"—perhaps in just contrition for his brother's murder, which gave him the crown.

It was during **Mahanāma's** reign that the learned monk **Buddhaghosa**, the author of the "*Visuddhi-magga*" and Pāli translation of the Sinhalese *Aṭṭha-kathā*, visited Ceylon.

## Text.

1. Se<sup>36</sup> Koka . . . . . karavaye
2. Ladaya a(sa) . . . . . niya Deva
3. Aba mi va(herahi) ma . . . . . dimayaṭa va . . . . .
4. . . da . . . . . daka-paṭi . . . (di)na visi (da)ma<sup>37</sup> kahavaṇa . .
5. (di) na Puvi(ya) Mahanāma Maha Rajahi otunu<sup>37</sup> visi vana va
6. sihi Savasa tanaṭa peti<sup>38</sup>

34. Kīṭaka (sic. for Kāṭaka) atasa masa: "The Solar month Kāṭaka" (= July-August, when the Sun (Ravi) is in the Zodiacal sign Cancer (Karkatāka-raviya). Gunasekara Mudaliyar agrees that atasa may be derived from *saptasava* synonym for the Sun. Pasani: Sin. prasanna.

35. Se: for Sī = Siddham.

36. Dama kahavasa: Mr. Codrington's happy conjecture that this, like mala kahavasa (Vera-gala inscription, 4th Century), may have been a coin with a "wreath" (Pāli, dāman) as part of the design, such as were the Roman issues of the period is supported by the use of pushpa (coin with floral reverse, Ep. Ind. IV. 58) and the vardha (boar emblem) or pagoda.

37. The rock appears to read okunu, for otunu = (correctly) otunu.

38. Savasa: Taken (in agreement with Gunasekara Mudaliyar) as = either Pāli, sabbasa "of all" or sahasasa "dwelling together," i.e. either the General Meeting-place or the Habitation of the monks. Peti (for Pitti): = pidi "bestowed."

The object of making these grants at the place of Assembly is clearly explained in a Tamil inscription of Parantaka I (10th century):—*Id-dharmam rakattpar sabhatpar*. "The Assembly Members shall protect this gift."

This finale to Temple-grants was in vogue during the Fifth-Ninth Centuries. For a variant form see *infra* p. 213 which approximates to the Ridi Vihāre inscription endings quoted by Mr. Parker, (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 530): where he reads *Sivisa tanata*, and translates "at the tom-tom-beating place."



*Translation.*

Hail ! . . . . . having made . . . . . Déva Abhaya at this Vihāra bestowed the water revenue of . . . . . (and) gave 20 *dama karshāpaṇas* in the twentieth year since the inauguration of the great King Mahānāma the Elder. Granted at the Assembly Site.

## No. 3.

Once four lines of writing, hardly anything of which is now legible. The ending, (*Savasa*) *tanaṭa piti*, was the same as that which closed Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 4.

## No. 4.

Three lines, very disjointed and incomplete now, on slab pieces, loosened by fire from the rock-bed.

A grant of *karshāpaṇas* (line 2) to the same Vihāra (line 1) in the (illegible) year (line 3) of some king, made at the Assembly Site (line 3).

## 6. KONATTE-GODA-GALA.

In addition to numerous ash-drawn "pictographs"<sup>39</sup> limned by Vēddās on the rock-face inside this boulder cave, there is an inscription, in two lines, cut below the *kaṭāre* (drip line). It is no longer legible throughout.

The *ra* appears in the unflexed type, and the writing generally is not of the oldest B. C. form of "Cave character."

*Text.*

1. A ba ya ṣa da na Ka ( . . . ) re Ga mi ka U da ya ha ba ta ya
2. U ( . . ) ga re Vā jhi rá ya le ṇe ṣa ga ṣa

*Translation.*

Gift of Abhaya. Cave of U ( . . ) gara Vājirā, brother of the villager Ka ( . . . . ) ra Udaya, (bestowed on) the Community.

## 7. KANDE-GAMA-KANDA.

All the inscriptions discovered at this hill are engraved in *Brāhmī lipi*, dating back to B. C. centuries. The cup-shaped *ma*, peculiar to Ceylon, is used throughout, as is the "digama" palatal *ṣa*; but both forms, straight (No. 2) and wavy (Nos. 3, 4), of the *ra* occur. The vertical stroke of *ya* is clearly detached from its semi-circular bottom.

*Rock.*

A record in three lines now imperfect incised in "Cave writing" on the top of low-lying rock in front of Cave No. 1.

The want of the words (*Gapati* excepted) of the first line, necessarily renders full translation impossible.

*Text.*

1. . . . . Ga pa ti . . . . .
2. pa ha na ma ( . . . ) Ṣa ga pu ta Chu ni ka Ti ṣa ha
3. Wā ne Pi ḍa pa ti ka Ti ṣa ha cha ṣa ga ṣa



*Translation.*

(Cave) of Chunika Tissa son of ( . . . ) Śaga named . . . . . and of the *Wanawāsa* Mendicant-monk Tissa, (bestowed on) the Community.

**Cave No. 1.**

Owing to the exceptional loftiness of this Cavern, the inscription was cut, *vertically* in one line, somewhat high up, on the side rock-wall to the right.

This special arrangement makes the letters read like perpendicular Chinese script.

*Text.*

Pa ru ma ka Di ga Ti śa pu ta Pa ru ma ka Gu ta śa le ñe

*Translation.*

Cave of the Chief Gupta, son of the Chief Digha Tissa, (bestowed on the Community).

**Cave No. 2.**

Cut below the *kaṭārama* line of a high-roofed cave.

*Text.*

1. Pa ru ma ka Śo na pu ta Pa ru ma ka Ku da la Ti śa ha le ñe
2. Pa ru ma ka Na chi ta ha cha pa ra ve ni ba ka

*Translation.*

Cave of the Chief Kudala Tissa, son of the Chief Sóna, and the inherited share (of land) of the Chief Náchita, (are bestowed on the Community).

**Cave No. 3.**

Only a few letters legible ; insufficient to give meaning.

**Cave No. 4.**

A perfectly preserved inscription of 54 *aksharas*, firmly carved, in one horizontal line partly round the wide-circling brow of the cave. Not a single letter is abraded in this lengthy record.

Two curious *maṅgala* symbols<sup>40</sup> follow the writing, which is engraved in the boldest B. C. type of *Bráhmī lipi*.

*Text.*<sup>41</sup>

Ti śa A ya ha pu ta Ma ha A ya ha A ya ka Ga mi ka Ma ha Ti śa  
ma ru ma ka na Ga mi ka Ti śa ha le ñe a ga ta a na ga ta cha tu di śa  
śa ga śa pa ti ta pi te

*Translation.*

Cave of the villager Tissa, grandson of the villager Mahá Tissa, the Noble, (son of) Mahá Aya son of Tissa Aya, assigned and granted to Buddhist monks of the four quarters, present and absent, (i.e. the whole Community).

40. The first symbol is very like the pentagon (formed by interlaced sprawling triangles) among the *Masons Diagrams*, Kurna Temple, Egypt, figured by Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 644 Fig. 273, No. 7. The second symbol—two large circles ares slightly cutting each other—is a crude *Vesica Piscis*.

41. This inscription may be compared with those (*Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 451-2: 77, *Ritigala*, 78, *Nuwara-gala*, 79, *Kotadema-hela*) in which a *Maha Tisa Aya* appears as of royal blood, and son of (a) *Gamani Tisa Maha Raja* or (b) of *Dama Raja*.

The epithet *aya* = Sans. *arya* (frequently occurring in these Cave records) is applied to royalty in Indian inscriptions. Cf. *Katak*, Nos. 1, 2; *Nasik* No. 15 (*maha-áiraha* = *mahdrya*, of King Pulumayi.)



## 8. NELU-GALA.

This long, and comparatively well-preserved, Rock inscription, of eighteen lines, belongs to the Eastern Province, <sup>42</sup> not to Tamankaḍuwa.

It deals with the dedication to the "Ahali Pavata Maha Vihara—a name repeated half-a-dozen times in the record—of tanks, fields, and other benefactions, by one or other of the Kings Bhātiya Tissa II. (A. D. 141-165) or his younger brother Kanittha Tissa, (A. D. 165-197) both sons of Mahallaka Nāga, (A. D. 135-141) whom they followed on the throne in succession.

The name of the Royal donor is given in line 15 :—(Naka) Maha Rajaha puta Tisa Maha Raja.

## 9. DAVA-GALLE-GALA.

Two short, single-line, epigraphs, over the mouth of one of the half-dozen caves under boulders at this site.

Both are in "Cave character" of early type; neither is complete now.

## (i) Text.

(Pa) ru ma ka Ṣa ba ti ka ṣa (Di) ga ka ṣa na Bu ja ṣa cha ṣa ga ṣa

## Translation.

(Cave) of (the two persons) the Chief Ṣabatika (and) Dighaka, and of Buja, (bestowed on) the Community.

## (ii) Text.

(Pa ru ma) ka Maha Ti ṣa ha

## Translation.

(Cave) of the Chief Mahā Tissa, (bestowed on the Community).

## 9. NOCHI-POTANA.

The writing, on a fallen pillar was copied by the Archaeological Commissioner personally in 1897, and again (independently) in 1903 by his trained Head Overseer (A. P. Siriwardhana).

From a good estampage taken by the latter and sent to England, Mr. Wickremasinghe edited the record, with a Plate, in 1912 (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*. II pp. 5-8).

The contents of the inscription which is legible almost throughout are similar to most pillar epigraphs of the period.

It is a record of the 10th century, and refers itself to "the 7th day, dark half, of (the month) Navan, in the second (regal) year" (*devanne Navaye ava sata wak dasas*) of a King styled "Abha Salamewan" (lines 1-3).

The present-day name of the neighbouring village, Galegama, occurs in the archaic form "Gelgamu" (line 6).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Text and translation of this long record of the Eastern Province are not given. In any case an estampage (not available) is essential to its due editing.

<sup>43</sup> Mr. Wickremasinghe has misread the regal date as "(no) vavanne Vepe" (9th, year; Wap). The two independent "eye copies" made from the pillar, and the "squeeze" itself as reproduced in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, (II, p. 7) leave no room for doubt as to the true version.

He further reads in the inscription "Helgamu," and other names, of which some are capable of different renderings.

The particular King "Abha Salamewan," the grantor of the *sannasa* may be Udaya I (A. D. 901-912) or Kāṣyapa V (A. D. 929-937): Mr. Wickremasinghe prefers the former—perhaps rightly.



## 10. MUTU-GALLA.

The Cave records of this cluster of honey-combed boulders belong to much the same early (B. C.) period and script as those of Kandegama-kanda. The zig-zag *ra* is alone used.

On the other hand the Rock inscriptions are of varying ages, from the Second to the Ninth Century, A. D.

## (i.) Muvada-gala.

## Cave No. 1.

*Text.*

Ga pa ti Ka ba ra Ma jhi ma ha pu ta Şi va ha cha le ne şa ga şa

*Translation.*

Cave of the householder Kabara Majhima and of (his) son Şiva, (bestowed on) the Community.

## (ii.) Kovil-gala.

## Cave No. 2.

Two inscriptions—the second in smaller letters.

*Text.*

(i) Ga pa ti Ti şa pu ta şa u pa şa ka Şi da ta şa le ne

*Translation.*

Cave of the lay-devotee Siddhartha, son of the householder Tissa.

*Text.*

(ii) Ga mi ka Pu na jhi ta ya u pa si ka U pa li ya le ne şa ga şa

*Translation.*

Cave of the female lay-devotee Upali, daughter of the villager Puna, (bestowed on) the Community.

## Cave No. 3.

The letters preceding *lene* are too worn for reliable reading.

*Text.*

. . . . . le ne şa ga şa

*Translation.*

Cave of . . . . . (bestowed on) the Community.

## Cave No. 4.

*Text.*

(A) ya Şi va ha le ne

*Translation.*

Cave of the (Noble) Siva, (bestowed on) the Community.

## Cave No. 6.

*Text.*

Pa ru ma ka U ti jhi ta ya A ba Şo na ya le ne

*Translation.*

Cave of Abá Sona, daughter of the Chief Utiya.



**Cave No. 7.***Text.*

The initial *ša* of the first *śagaśa*, cut awkwardly above the other letters, coalesces with *le*.  
 Da na A śa le Ti ra ha li ta na le ñe śa ga śa a ga ta a na ga ta cha tu di śa śa ga śa

*Translation.*

The cave of (the two persons) Asala and Tirahalita, a gift to the Community—the Buddhist monks of the four quarters, present and absent.

**Cave No. 8.***Text.*

Pa ru ma ka Chu ḍa śa jha ya U pa śa ka Na ga ya le ñe

*Translation.*

Cave of the female lay-devotee Nāga, wife of the Chief Chuḍa.

**Cave No. 9.**

The Vihāré Cave. Letters of bold type.

A loop-like *maṅgala*, emblem or monogram, precedes the writing.

*Text.*

A śe Ma ga śa le ñe ma na pa da śa ne na ma a ga ta a na ga ta cha tu di śa  
 śa ga śa

*Translation.*

Cave called "Delightful" (*lit.* "Heart-rejoicing") of Assa Māgha, (bestowed on) the Community of the four quarters, present and absent.

**Cave No. 11.**

This awkwardly situated record of 32 *aksharas* is slightly the longest (Cave No. 7 has 30 letters, No. 9 has 29) of the inscriptions at the Mutu-galla caves. It can only be read now by lying on one's side. The omission of *chatu diśa* is unusual in a full epigraph.

*Text.*

To ḍi ka ṭa ṇa Ga mi ka Śi va pu ta Ga mi ka Śo na ha le ñe a ga ta a na ga ta  
 śa ga śa dá ne

*Translation.*

Cave of the villager Śona, son of the householder Śiva of Tondikaṭaṇa—a gift to the Community, present and absent.

**Cave No. 13.**

The inscription, cut *backwards* from right to left (*pratilōma*), in one line. Genitives in *ša* and *ha* are both used.

*Text.*

Ba ta<sup>44</sup> Da ta śa le ñe śa ga śa Ga pa ti Śu ma (na) ha

*Translation.*

Cave of Bhātiya Datta, (and) of the householder Śumana, (bestowed on) the Community.

44. Bata: Mr. Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*), translates "workman."



**Cave No. 14.**

An inscription in 24 characters, of which the orthography is irregular: the words *agata anagata* are combined into *agatanagatana*, and *chatu* is spelt *chadu*.

*Text.*

Ba ta <sup>44</sup> Šo na ha le ne a ga ta na ga ta na cha du di ša ša ga ša ni ya te

*Translation.*

Cave of Bhātiya Sóna assigned to the Community of the four quarters, present and absent.

(iii.) **Káven-gala.**

**Cave No. 15.**

Ti ša Ra ki ta pu ta Pa ru ma ka Na ga di ri ša le ne

*Translation.*

Cave of the Chief Nágadiri, son of Tissa Rakhita, (bestowed on the Community).

There are at least six Rock inscriptions at different points on the Mutu-galla rocks. All too abraded to translate, except two.

**Rock Inscriptions.**

**No. 1.**

Grant by some "Tisa Raja," son of a King whose name, with that of the temple, has disappeared from the rock. The occurrence of *kubura* (twice) and *díní*, shows that certain rice fields were gifted.

The age, judged by the writing, is about the Second Century A. D.

**Nos. 2, 3.**

Two short single-line records; of the same period.

*Text.*

1. Na ka Te ra ha pa te <sup>45</sup>

2. Si<sup>46</sup> Na ka Se na Te ra ha pa ha te <sup>45</sup>

*Translation.*

Dwelling of the Thera Nága.

Hail! Dwelling of the Thera Nága Sena.

**Nos. 4, 5.**

A couple of line-records of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries A. D.

No. 4: very weathered. It ends with *díní* followed by *Sevisa tenaṭa pati*—a variant of the ending of the inscriptions of king Mahánáma's time quoted above. <sup>46</sup>

No. 5: imperfect. Appears to end with the old names of the Vihára, its *vila*, and rock site:—*Aba (ra) da gala Viru-vila Chidayaha Vihara*.

45. *Pate*; *photo*: Taken as = *pada* "dwelling." Cf. *supra*, p. 79. Kosgaha Ulpata.

46. See *supra*, p. 207.



## No. 6.

The right-hand terminations only of an Eighth or Ninth Century inscription of four lines. The writing is neatly cut within a frame, on the flattish rock below the ruined dagaba. The word "*Vihāre*" is clear, but no connected sense can be made from this section.

The gradual transformation, by this period, of most of the Sinhalese characters into the modern rounded forms, whilst others still continue to retain the vertical type, is well marked in this epigraph.

[The Head Overseer of the Archæological Survey, when out on duty in 1903 taking "squeezes" and additional "eye-copies" of the inscriptions examined five years previously by the Archæological Commissioner himself, was able to add to the Tamankaḍuwa collection four records—three found at *Tōni-gala* near Kanda-kāḍu, the fourth at *Gal-kāni-gala* close to Mā-vila.

The last inscription and two of *Tōni-gala* are here edited, tentatively, from the transcripts made by A. P. Siriwardhana.]

## 11. KANDA-KĀDU.

*Tōni-gala.*

About a mile from Kanda-kāḍu. Two rocks, side by side, with a *gal-wala* (rock water-hole) between them.

## No. 1.

On the more Easterly rock. A long single-line inscription of 55 *aksharas* in "Cave script" and style, of early B. C. type, in which the palatal *ṣa* and both forms of *ra*, wavy and straight, are employed, whilst the *ma* is more angular than usual.

At the end of the line is engraved a symbol like an ornamental "clip."

*Text.*

Pa ru ma ka Ma la ṣa pu te Pa ru ma ka Na ma ra Pa ru ma ka Na ma ra ṣa pu te  
Pa ru ma<sup>47</sup> ka Na ga ha ba ta ṣa Ku mi a ga ta a na ga ta cha tu du ṣa sa ga sa ni ya te

*Translation.*

(This site) was assigned by Kumi, brother of the Chief Nāga, son of the Chief Namara—(him) the Chief Namara, son of the Chief Mala.

## No. 2.

Upon the same rock is also carved a record in five lines, not now perfect, of the Second Century A.D. Perhaps a private, not a royal, dedication.

*Text.*

1. Samarapatiya vaviya.
2. Chita Nakaraka Viharahiya.
3. (ni) ya (te) . . . . .
4. pacha avanaka vasaha . . . . .
5. (da) sa paka divasa

<sup>47</sup> The *ma* of *Parumaka*, before the second *Namara*, was forgotten by the stone-mason and subsequently inserted below *ka*. *Dusa* is occasionally found instead of the correct *dīsa*.



*Translation.*

The tank of Samarapati (dedicated to) the **Chita Nagara Vihāra** .. .. . in the fifth year (*lit.* year which has come to the fifth) .. .. . and the tenth day.

## No. 3.

The neighbouring (Westerly) rock bears a very unusual, if not unique, inscription of six lines, cut in firm letters, which is still for the most part in good preservation. It is inscribed in a form of writing so far, it is believed, unrecorded for Ceylon.

The script, which is of the "button-at-top" type, resembles in this respect certain Indian grants.<sup>48</sup> It belongs to the period Fifth to Seventh Centuries A. D. ; but differs from the untidy tantalising character of that "dark age" in two distinct features, *viz.* (a) the majority of the *aksharas* are indented, whilst (b) nearly all have a small open circular top, giving the straight vertical *ra* the semblance of the knob-headed "hat-pin" affected by European ladies, the *ka* that of a dagger with cross haft-guard curled slightly downwards, the *va* a fat pear-like form, and the *ma* somewhat the look of an "English loaf." Some consonants (e. g. *tt*) are united one above the other.<sup>49</sup>

The name "*Tissa*" may be legible in line 1 ; but what precedes it cannot now be read. The end of line 2 is worn away, or should, in combination with the first six letters (*raka Viharahī*) of line 3, furnish the appellation of the temple then located at this site.

## 12. MA-VILA.

*Gal-kāni-gala.*

An inscription of the Second Century, in two lines, on a rock known as *Gal-kāni-gala*, a quarter of a mile from *Mā-vila* village.

The record is worn away at the commencement and end ; but sufficient remains to attach it to **Gaja Bāhu I** (A.D. 113-135), son of **Vankanāsika Tissa** (A.D. 110-113.)

*Text.*

1. .. .. . **Tisa Rajaha** puta **Gamani Aba Ra(ja)** .. .. .
2. do-pati biku (sagahaṭa dine).

*Translation.*

King **Gamani Abhaya** son of .. .. . **Tissa** (granted to the Community of) **Bhikkhus** the two revenues of .. .. .

48. For "box-head" and "button-top" grants see *Ep. Ind.* III, No. 16, p. 142 ; No. 36, p. 258 ; V, No. 8, p. 37 ; VI, No. 2, p. 12. The vicarious copy of this peculiar text does not inspire sufficient confidence for a translation to be offered.



## HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.\*

### III. THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH IN GALLE.

(Extract from a letter of Simão de Figueiredo, dated 1 December, 1643.<sup>1</sup>)

Translated from the Original Portuguese.

By the REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

THIS is the place to speak of the *Casa* which the Society has in the *fortaleza* of Gale, subject to the College of Colombo; but as it shared the same fate as the *fortaleza*, an account of the present state of the *fortaleza* will show how it fared with our *Casa*.

It is now more than three years since the *fortaleza* of Gale was taken by the perfidious Hollanders. At the time the State of India was as if abandoned and helpless, without anyone to come to its rescue and protect it in its dire need. In this juncture God led hither the illustrious Senhor, Joao de Sylva de Tello, Conde de Aveiros, to be Viceroy,<sup>2</sup> and inspired him to come to the assistance of Ceylon by appointing Don Philip Mascarenhas Captain General of Ceylon. By means of his wealth and with the ability with which God endowed him, he preserved Ceylon which, had it fallen into other hands, would have been completely lost. As soon as this *fidalgó* entered Ceylon he 'put the bit' on the Hollanders so effectively, that he did not let them take a single foot of ground outside the walls of Gale.

Some of his rivals found fault with him for not retaking the harbour of Gale; but in the opinion of those who consider the matter impartially, there is little ground for the accusation. For had he determined to retake Gale he would no doubt have wrested it from the enemy, but at the cost of as many Portuguese lives as it cost the Hollanders to take it from us, and the force which we have in Ceylon for the defence of the island by land and sea would have been reduced by 900 Portuguese. It is clear that our forces would have been weakened to such an extent that we would infallibly have lost the *fortaleza* of Gale once more, not to speak of the city of Colombo and the other territories which we held. It would be quite otherwise if we put off our intention of retaking Gale at a time when our Lord the King was unable to send the necessary help, as he was engaged in securing the safety of the kingdom of Portugal.

When this is accomplished His Majesty will come to the aid of India not as to some useless and foreign affair but as to an heritage of his and of his ancestors. In this way we shall easily be able to compel the heretics to betake themselves to their country. And if we establish

\* Continued from Vol. III, page 82.

1. *Annuæ Litt. Prov. Malabar*, fol. 511-512. The events recounted in this letter are somewhat differently narrated by de Queyros, *Conquista*, pp. 715-718, translated extracts of which will be found in *The Portuguese Era* II, 328-331.

2. See, *Conq.* p. 704 (*Port. Era*, II, 305-6).



in Candia a goodly Portuguese town, and other towns of less importance in other parts of the island as well, we shall be able to extinguish Sinhalese rebellions completely, or at least to compel them to remain in the maritime parts which are so obedient; for it will then not be always necessary to bring armies as we had hitherto to do, to the great expense of the king's revenues. Armies are now necessary because the native enemies are masters of the highlands whence they easily descend on the lowlands, and, when they like, retreat to their homes with little loss, where they are safe, being well protected by mountains and spacious forests which lie between their land and ours.

Though the faithless Hollanders have no land outside Gale, the abundance of cinnamon in that port obliges them to maintain in that fortress 500 or 600 Europeans and many natives (*pretos*) at very great cost. This same motive made them break the truce which they had once proclaimed. This they did with great treachery, pretending to go to Goa to settle it, though as a matter of fact they went there only to break it. For before leaving they had arranged that the Sinhalese should be ready to come down from Candia and fall upon our army of Manicavare by the 20th or 25th of May, by which time they would have returned from Goa after putting an end to the truce. They themselves were simultaneously to attack our army of a sudden at Matara near Gale, and destroy it. Afterwards they could fall upon Colombo, one party by land and the other by sea, and thus carry it without fail.

Having made this agreement, and having put an end to the peace at Goa, the perfidious Hollanders marched out of Gale at the same time as the Sinhalese started from Candia to carry out the plan they had agreed upon. In the district of Gale there were no religious of the Society to give the Captain Mor of the camp, Antonio de Mota Galvao, such warning as in cases of this kind we are wont to give to the Captains and Viceroys of India, to get ready against the enemy. But in our absence this duty was fulfilled by one of our servants, an overseer (*olheiro*) of one of the villages belonging to the College, and situated near Gale.

As soon as this young man saw the hostile army of 400 Hollanders and many Moors on the march, he ran with great haste to the place in which our army was. They were at the time hearing Mass. Arriving there almost speechless, and breathless with running, he knelt down at the feet of the Captain Dissáva of Matara, Sebastiao de Horta, and told him that the enemy was marching thither in battle array, and asked him to prepare our men to meet them. Thereupon the Dissáva informed the Capitao Mor who was near the altar on which Mass was being said. Antonio de Mota Galvao was not disturbed by the news, and sent a trustworthy Captain to ascertain the truth of the report. He confirmed the news given by the young man.

Orders were immediately given to sound the alarm. All were to take up arms and be ready for battle. The Dissáva, like the intrepid knight that he was, asked the van as a favour; but the Captain Mor, as if distrusting one who wished to have the first place on this occasion, ordered the Dissáva to remain at a certain place with three Companies of Portuguese and the natives he had in charge, and press on the native forces of the enemy, preventing them from coming behind our army and attacking us in the rear. The Dissáva took the allotted post. The valiant Capitao Mor chose for himself the first line of the vanguard.

Although the number of ours was not more than eleven Companies of 25 soldiers each, leaving aside the three which remained with the Dissáva, the Capitao Mor with 8 Companies went out to meet the enemy with whom he fought for the space of an hour with muskets. The quantity of smoke emitted by the muskets was so great that one did not see anything more than



the feet of the others. There was so much confusion, being so near, that they had recourse to their lances and swords for the space of one good hour, during which there died 17 of ours, among them five ensigns and one Captain. Of the enemy also many were killed, and it was difficult to know on which side the victory was.

The Capitao Mor encouraged our men, reminding them of the Justice, the King and the Faith for which they fought. Thereupon they all fell upon the enemy like lions, with so much valour that one single Portuguese, who was not yet 28 years old, attacked four armed Hollanders single-handed; and, raising up his musket, called upon them in the name of the King of Portugal to lay down their arms and yield. They obeyed and gave up their arms; and he, removing the linstock (*? o murraõ da serpe*), took them alive to the Capitao Mor. Similar exploits were done by other Portuguese; as a result of which the enemy fled, leaving on the field 200 Hollanders killed, and about 30 prisoners. When they reached Gale 40 *andores* were brought out to carry 40 wounded. Our men took 300 muskets and many lances, 3 standards, 6 drums, and all kinds of other arms which the Europeans and natives (*brancos e pretos*) carried, for, to save themselves, they got rid of all they had.

At this same time the Sinhalese came down from Candia, according to the arrangement already described, to attack the Portuguese unawares in their camp at Manicravare, proclaiming that Antonio de Mota Galvao was killed and his camp destroyed. They did not, however, find the Portuguese asleep; for, under the command of Joao Alvares Bretaõ, a vigilant *cavalheiro*, they were on the watch and so prepared for action, that the enemy did not dare to cut through them nor even to make an assault.

The Captain General, Don Philip Mascarenhas, knowing that the Sinhalese were descending, set out immediately for Malwána to be ready to assist where the need was greatest. Arrived at that place he heard confused reports of what took place at Gale. The Sinhalese also coming to know of the same, immediately withdrew to their territory whence they had descended.

The Captain sent a detachment to reinforce Antonio de Mota Galvao, with orders to advance nearer to Gale and draw up his army within a cannon shot from the *fortaleza*. This was accordingly done, and in this way the perfidious heretics were reduced to straits, in danger of famine and misery, in consequence of which many came over to us, and being reconciled to the Faith by our Fathers, were sent to the camp of Manicravare in the service of our Lord the King, whom may God protect.

The Hollander, Captain Pedro Barel, who went to Goa to break the peace, seeing the ill-success of his men, felt so disconsolate on his return from Paleacate, that a few days after his arrival, he was found dead one morning without any other infirmity than a melancholy due to the failure of his plans.

To show that God Our Lord was with us against this enemy, who for the last 40 years . . . . .<sup>3</sup>, there came to Goa, not long after the departure of the aforesaid Pedro Barel from that city, a ship of the Hollanders, well provided with artillery and all the wealth which their Company had in the kingdom of Persia, valued at several thousands of cruzados, which must already have been applied to cover the expenses of the Armada of our Lord the King.<sup>4</sup>

3. The text (three words) not very clear.

4. \* Sercheyl' (7) *Comp.* p. 704, P. E. II, 305-6.



## PILAMA TALAWUWÉ,<sup>1</sup> MAHÁ ADIGÁR: HIS POLITICAL INTRIGUES, 1798-1803.

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

THE numerous authorities on the history of Ceylon from 1798 to 1803, while setting forth, often in great detail, many facts which indicate the policy of the Kandyan Court at that time, show considerable diversity of opinion regarding both the nature of the policy as a whole, and the parties responsible for that policy. It is, accordingly, proposed to examine here the various details, and to enquire which of the rival hypotheses most adequately covers the facts.

The death of King Rájádhi Rája Siṅha, about the middle of the year 1798,<sup>2</sup> may be taken as the first of a series of events which led to the expedition and massacre of 1803. The King, like so many of the latter day rulers of Kandy, died without issue, and even without nominating a successor. In such cases, the office of selecting a successor devolved upon the King's Ministers, the chief of whom was the First Adigár, who, if a person of any ability, no doubt swayed the councils of the rest.<sup>3</sup>

In this particular instance, the First Adigár, Pilama Talawuwé, was a Chief of consummate craft, great influence, and far reaching ambition, and "having obtained the interest of the electors, raised to the throne, to the prejudice of the near relations of the King, a young Malabar,"<sup>4</sup> named Kannasámy, aged 18, himself related to the royal family.<sup>5</sup> According to usage, he was proposed to the Chiefs and the people, was in due form acknowledged, and ascended the throne as Śrī Vikrama Rája Siṅha, becoming known to history as the last of the "oldest dynasty in the world."<sup>6</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Adigár's ultimate object was to secure the sovereignty for himself; and, although it is not clear what prevented him from immediately assuming it, it is not difficult to imagine a combination of powerful enemies, who had first to be removed before so decisive a step could be taken. "The Queen and all the relations of the former King were thrown into prison. The second Adigár,<sup>7</sup> a man of an integrity rare in the court of Candy, was beheaded on account of his attachment to the family of his late sovereign."<sup>8</sup> "Damagomoowa Dissave," and the King's uncle "Gampola Naiké," were assassinated or executed,<sup>9</sup> while the members of the Royal Family, who could escape, fled to British territory. Among these was Muttusámy, brother of one of the Queens Dowager, who was placed under the protection of the Commandant and Collector of Jaffna, Colonel Barbut.<sup>10</sup>

Other obstacles must, however, have still stood in the way of the Adigár's ambitions; for, in February, 1799, he commenced his series of attempts to enlist the help of the British Government in establishing him on the throne. Lord Valentia<sup>11</sup> gives a detailed—and, it must be

1. This transliteration is adopted as being that of the Adigár's usual signature on *zittu*, &c., see Codrington, *Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen*, page 14. The authorities give almost every variant from "Pillemi Thellaw" (De Meuron) to "Pilimi Talawa" (Marshall). Pilama Talawwa is a village in Yatinuwara, (in the vicinity of the 65th milestone on the Colombo-Kandy road)—hence the locative termination. The Adigár also had the names of Wijayasundara Rájakaruná Seneviratna Abhayakón Pandita Mudiyanse (Codrington, *D'Oyly's Diary*, page lxx, cf. Laurie II. 728).

2. Codrington, from his collection of Sinhalese mnemonic verses, and a Kurunegala *ola*, fixes the date as Wednesday, July 26th.

3. Cordiner i 133. 4. Cordiner ii 160. 5. For pedigree see Codrington's *D'Oyly's Diary* after p. 289. 6. Arunachalam Census Report 1901, I 13. 7. Arawuwáwala see Davy 312 and index to *D'Oyly's Diary*, p. iv. Cordiner ii 180 and Lord Valentia i 279. 8. Davy 312. 9. Cordiner i 327, ii 160. 10. i 280-296.



admitted, somewhat wearisome—account of as many as twelve separate interviews at Avissawella or Sítawaka, from February, 1799, to March 6th, 1800, between the Adigár and the British representatives, Governor North, Mr. Boyd, Acting Secretary to Government, and, in one case, the Mahá Mudaliyár.

This account, compiled from "the most authentic sources," and corroborated by Cordiner,<sup>12</sup> as well as by Mr. North's own correspondence,<sup>13</sup> makes the Adigár's policy fairly clear.

It appears that the Adigár commenced the negotiations by making to the Governor "a direct request to assist him in taking away the life of the King, and placing himself on the throne, on which conditions he would make the English masters of the country."<sup>14</sup> But this "proposal so horrible to the feelings of a virtuous mind was rejected with indignation." The Adigár then asked that the British should take possession of the country and place him at the head of it, but this also the Governor declined to do, as the English had no claim to the country and no complaint against the King. Mr. North, however, added that, if the King thought that his person would be safer in Colombo, he would be hospitably received there, while the Adigár could govern the country in the King's name, with the help of a British garrison in Kandy. This was the farthest Mr. North was prepared to go, in spite of the Adigár's numerous attempts to persuade him to take action more in accordance with his schemes.

Finally, it was settled that General MacDowall should proceed to Kandy as Ambassador to the King, as intended some time previously.<sup>15</sup> Nominally, his mission had for its purpose the arranging of a Treaty between the two Governments, but probably the actual object was to ascertain the real state of affairs in Kandy, and, should these be propitious, to propose that the King should either take refuge in British territory, if his life were really in danger, or that he should have a guard of British troops in Kandy. The Adigár's interest in the Embassy was confined to the possibility of using the British troops to back his claims, once he got them safely into Kandy.

Throughout the negotiations, the Adigár represents the King, doubtless correctly, as being strongly anti-British, assigning, as one cause of His Majesty's displeasure, the harbouring by the British of the other claimants to the throne.<sup>16</sup> He frequently refers to the fact that his influence with the King is no longer what it was, and represents Kandy as being torn by civil dissension. He also complains greatly of Malabar influence at the Court.

The Embassy eventually left Colombo on March 8th, 1800, and the General arrived in Kandy on April 9th. But most of the troops, which were so important a part of the Embassy, were left behind at Ruwanwella, only two companies of Malays, and two of Sepoys, out of a total of 1,164 men, being taken to Kandy. The authorities do not agree as to whether this reduction was due only to the bad condition of the roads,<sup>17</sup> or to obstructions intentionally put in their way by the Adigár. If the latter view be correct, we can see the operation of some force opposed to the Adigár; either the King himself or the King's party, of which we shall hear later. The Adigár possibly found that the introduction of all the troops into Kandy would get him into serious trouble with the King, and adopted the expedient of taking them by "the most difficult and intricate paths"<sup>18</sup> in order to compel the reduction of the force. Be that as it may, the Adigár's chief interest in the Embassy—the massing of the whole body of troops in Kandy—had now disappeared, and his scheming at Sítawaka made of no avail. In these circumstances, it was not to be expected that the Embassy would be a success.

12. II 160 ff. 13. Wellesley MSS Ceylon Weekly Literary Register Vol. II. 14. Cordiner II 160. 15. C. L. R. II 277.  
16. *Ibid.* 270, 278. 17. Cordiner II 292 does not give any reason for leaving the troops behind. 18. Percival 280.



In addition to this, the General ascertained that the political situation in Kandy differed considerably from the construction made of it upon information supplied by the Adigár.<sup>19</sup> He found the "Adigaar's power great but not to the degree we first imagined. He and the Dissawe of Leuk (Lewuké) hate each other cordially." There was no inclination at the Court "to let us garrison the Capital, and Dessave of Leuk does not think it necessary we should protect King except against external enemies." The troops were "not to enter their territories without being called for." Mr. North's fear that the King's life was actually in danger was also probably not very well founded,<sup>20</sup> and it seems likely that the King was beginning to show, as he afterwards fully demonstrated, that he was neither a "puppet" <sup>21</sup> nor an "ideot."<sup>22</sup>

In these circumstances, the General doubtless found it advisable to amend the proposed Treaty, an amendment which would explain the difference between the text of the Treaty given by Lord Valentia,<sup>23</sup> and that found in Cordiner.<sup>24</sup> On this assumption, Lord Valentia's version would be the draft as it stood before the General went to Kandy, and Cordiner's would be the Treaty as proposed to the Court of Kandy. Lord Valentia's text provides for the immediate reception in His Majesty's territories of seven or eight hundred men, while Cordiner's version merely states that the Governor "promises to send troops. . . whenever they may be deemed necessary . . . to ensure the safety of his Candian Majesty's throne."

In any case, the Treaty which was proposed was rejected by the Kandyans, and, as their counter Treaty was not acceptable to the British, the General and the troops returned to Colombo, arriving early in May.

For the next two years, various overtures passed between the two Governments; but came to nought, as the Kandyans wanted an establishment on the sea coast.<sup>25</sup>

In the course of these overtures, we hear definitely, though quite incidentally, of the King's party in Kandy. "But the Dessauve Lenke, and the Chief Priest of Candy, who were favourites of the King, and supposed to be enemies of the Adigar, declined all overtures."<sup>26</sup> Writing from Galle, on July 1st, 1800, Mr. North says that the Adigár is losing credit at Kandy.<sup>27</sup> The King must have been asserting himself, for the members of his own party were none too loyal at this time. By January, 1801, Mr. North could write that there was "scarcely a man that has not made direct overtures to me."<sup>28</sup> It seems reasonable, therefore, to look for the motive power of the King's party to the King himself, with his strong anti-British feelings and entire absence of any intention to oblige them by vacating his throne, or delegating his power to the Adigár.

Although the Adigár's scheme, as outlined at Sitáwaka had come to nought, very likely owing to the action of the King himself, the Adigár still appears to have retained sufficient power in Kandy to enable him to proceed to his next alternative, namely, to provoke hostilities between the two Governments by some deliberately unfriendly act. In the course of these hostilities, the British troops would, no doubt, be able to depose the King, and the Governor would naturally turn to the Adigár, the ally of the British, to take his place. The Adigár could then rely upon the climate, or on any adventitious circumstances, to rid himself of the British after his power had been established by their aid.

Several attempts to bring about hostilities seem to have been made by the Adigár before he finally hit upon the real *casus belli*—the spoliation of the arecanuts and cattle belonging to

19. C. L. R. II 287. 20. Mr. North seems to have realized the possibility of this: Cordiner II 160. 21. Cordiner II 160. 22. Philalethes 153 bases this epithet on Cordiner's description, but adds that "other accounts are less in unison with such a supposition." The *Mahawamsa* calls him "a firm man." Wijesinha's Translation, p. 476. 23. I 479. 24. II 316. 25. Cordiner II 163. 26. *loc. cit.* 27. C. L. R. II 295. 28. *Ibid* 300.



some Puttalam merchants, British subjects, while they were trading in Kandyan territory. No satisfaction for this outrage was forthcoming, in spite of patient efforts by the Governor to arrive at a peaceable settlement: the only alternative was to seek indemnification by force of arms.<sup>29</sup> Two divisions left for the invasion of the Kandyan territory, one from Colombo on January 31st, 1803, consisting of "the flower of the Ceylon army"<sup>30</sup> under General MacDowall, and the other from Trincomalee on February 4th, under Colonel Barbut. These Divisions, having experienced only the feeblest resistance *en route*, met on the heights round Kandy on February 29th, and occupied the town, which they found entirely deserted, there being "not a living creature to be seen, but a few pariah dogs."<sup>31</sup>

Major Johnston's dictum that "one of their (the Kandyans') maxims is, seldom to press closely an enemy marching into their country"<sup>32</sup> may be correct; but the Kandyans' treatment of the Colombo Division went further than non-resistance. "The headmen declared that they had received orders from the King to treat the English troops with kindness, and supply them with every accommodation in their power."<sup>33</sup> This extraordinary attitude towards the troops of a hostile invading power was probably due to the Adigár's desire to remain on good terms with the British, and his wish that the expeditionary force should be as strong as possible when it reached Kandy, so that it might be able to afford him the maximum of assistance in his designs. The slight resistance experienced at the Fort of Gīrihāgama<sup>34</sup> was possibly due to the action of some authority independent of, or opposed to, the Adigár.

The occupation of Kandy by the British troops was the first step in the Adigár's new scheme; but, in regard to the second step, his expected summons to assume the Kingship or chief power, he was doomed to disappointment. The British Command adhered to the pronouncement of March 4th, 1800, namely that the Adigár would be regarded as the instigator of any aggression, and that he could not look to the British for protection. Sending for Muttusāmy from Minneriya, it adopted him as King in opposition both to the King and the Adigár.<sup>35</sup>

The Adigár's proved complicity in the affair of the Puttalam merchants, and the King's failure to indemnify them, due largely, no doubt, to the Adigár's influence, made Colonel Barbut's suggestion of the adoption of Muttusāmy appear to be the best course; but it seems likely that it drove the Adigár to join the anti-British party in Kandy, and to support the King in operations against the invaders. It was rumoured, and, indeed, is very probable, that an attempt to capture Muttusāmy on his way to Kandy was meditated by the Adigár, but that it was prevented by a strong reinforcement of the Prince's escort.<sup>36</sup> About this time (middle of March, 1803) "parties of banditti hovered continually round our outposts . . . fired on guards and sentries during the night" and put stragglers to death "in a most barbarous and shocking manner."<sup>37</sup> By a "deceitful correspondence"<sup>38</sup> with the General, the Adigár induced him to send an expedition to Hangurankēta on March 13th, with the ostensible object of capturing the late King; the real intention probably being to weaken the British troops as much as possible, preparatory to ejecting them from Kandy. The losses experienced on this march, and the exhaustion of the survivors entitle the ruse to be called successful. Inroads were also made into British territory, one under Lewuké Disāwa, the object being still further to harass the invaders, but they were beaten off successfully, and without much difficulty.<sup>39</sup>

29. The original documents are given by Percival, 2nd Edition 420 ff.

30. Major Johnston's *Narrative*, p. 25.

31. Cordiner ii 180.

32. *Narrative* 6.

33. Cordiner ii 174.

34. Cordiner ii 177.

35. *Ibid* 184.

36. 186.

37. 188.

38. 188.

39. 193-195.



In spite, however, of the Adigár's natural opposition to the British at this time, he does not seem to have abandoned his scheme of obtaining their assistance to place him on the throne. On March 26th, the Mahá Mudaliyár in Colombo received two letters from him, asking that his power be established. In reply, he was informed that, provided the safety of the late King's person be secured by putting him in the hands of the British, and the Province of the Wanní be ceded to Muttusámy, and that of Seven Kóralés and territory for a road across the country, to the British, peace would be restored.<sup>40</sup> Following up this correspondence, the Second Adigár, who was of the First Adigár's party, came into Kandy on March 28th, and conferred with the General on the proposed settlement.<sup>41</sup> By this time, the British authorities had found that the adoption of Muttusámy had been a mistake, and that he commanded no influence in the Kandyan districts. They were also possibly influenced by the statement that Muttusámy, so far from bearing a "character for humanity and politeness, as well as discretion and dignity,"<sup>42</sup> and being an eminently suitable candidate for the Kingship, had undergone a public punishment for fraud, and was legally disqualified.<sup>43</sup>

They accordingly entered into the following agreement, discarding Muttusámy in favour of the Adigár. It was agreed that the late King be delivered over to the care of the British; that the Adigár be invested with the supreme authority in Kandy, under the title of "Ootoon Komarayan" (Utum Kumárayá); that he should pay annually 30,000 rix dollars to Muttusámy, who should hold his Court in Jaffna, that Fort MacDowall, with the surrounding district, the road to Trincomalee and the province of Seven Kórales should be ceded to the British; and that a cessation of arms should immediately take place between the contracting parties.<sup>44</sup>

This questionable step of the British authorities would appear to mark a material advance in the Adigár's policy; but we shall find that his schemes do not progress beyond this point, and that the terms of the Agreement never came into force.

Some slight knowledge, at least, of the Adigár's treachery would, no doubt, have come to the ears of his opponents, and would enable the King to consolidate his supporters by uniting their enmity to the Adigár with his, and, probably, their, anti-British feelings. The proposed Truce, for example, was not adhered to by the other Chiefs. "They collected the inhabitants from all quarters, invaded various provinces subject to the British, erected batteries, and committed depredations."<sup>45</sup> In the neighbourhood of Kandy, however, the Adigár seems still to have been sufficiently powerful to have the agreed cessation of arms adhered to. Though he advanced to within three miles of Kandy on April 2nd, with a large force—for what object it cannot be determined—the expectations of the garrison that the truce would hold good, were, for the time, fulfilled.<sup>46</sup>

In accordance with the suggestion that the Adigár's influence was beginning to wane at this time, and, no doubt, with a view to consolidating his resources against his enemies, he asked for an interview with the Governor to arrange a definitive Treaty of Peace. This interview took place at Damadeniya from May 1st to 3rd, when the agreement of March 28th was signed and sealed, Colonel Barbut, who had come from Kandy with 300 Malays to pay his respects to the Governor, undertaking to obtain Muttusámy's consent.<sup>47</sup> A further glimpse of the Adigár's resourcefulness is afforded by the statement that "it has since been proved that he meditated to make Mr. North a prisoner";<sup>48</sup> from which intention he was turned aside by the presence

40. 190.

41. 190.

42. 180.

43. Lord Valentia i. 208.

44. Cordiner ii. 190.

45. *Ibid* 190.

46. 199.

47. 201.

48. 201.



of Colonel Barbut's Malays. The Adigár probably expected that, if he returned to Kandy as the captor of the Governor, his influence would become sufficient to enable him to crush opposition, while he would also be able to dictate terms to the troops. On the failure of this project, he seems to have been fully alive to the difficulties in the way of executing the Articles of the Treaty. As of assistance, therefore, in view of the fact that Colonel Barbut, Commandant of Kandy, was laid up with fever, he asked that General MacDowall, who had left Kandy on April 1st, should return there at an early date.<sup>49</sup>

On his return to Kandy, the Adigár probably found the opposition even more difficult to deal with than he expected, and he wrote that he was unable to meet the General as arranged, without the King's permission. About this time, too, there is evidence that the Adigár's treasonable intercourse with the British was becoming known to his enemies. A confidential message came to the British in Kandy from Lewuké Disáwa that the Adigár was a perfidious villain who had deceived the whole world, that no confidence could be placed in him, and that the Second Adigár had quarrelled with him.<sup>50</sup> It seems doubtful, however, whether the full details of the Convention of May 3rd, or of his previous perfidy, ever became known to the King, as he still retained his office, some of his influence, and his head. But his power, as the protector (for his own ends) of the British in Kandy seems to have been subordinated to the anti-British feeling of his opponents, and the doom of the garrison approached rapidly.

On June 13th, Major Davie, on whom the command of the Kandy garrison had devolved on the death of Colonel Barbut, received a letter from the Adigár stating that he was in disgrace with the King owing to his endeavours to serve the British, and asking him to undertake another expedition to Hangurankēta to capture the King.<sup>51</sup> This time, this may have been a *bona fide* suggestion, as the capture of the King was the only means of preventing the total failure of the Adigár's scheme; or it may have been a suggestion put forward, on behalf of the King's party, still further to weaken the garrison, as it had done on a previous occasion. But Major Davie declined to comply with it, either because he suspected the sincerity of the Adigár, or because the troops were too exhausted to undertake the expedition.

The Adigár, however, seems still to have wished to help the British as far as he could. On June 23rd, he warned Major Davie by an *ola* of the impending attack on the garrison; again stating that he had lost the King's confidence, and incurred his displeasure.<sup>52</sup> But he seems still to have retained his office as General, for it was with him that Major Davie, on capitulating after ten<sup>53</sup> hours fighting, arranged the terms of Capitulation, the Articles being written on *olas* signed by, and exchanged between, Major Davie and the Adigár. These terms were favourable to the British, allowing the evacuation of Kandy with their arms, agreeing that the Adigár should take care of the sick and wounded, and allowing Muttusámy to accompany them.<sup>54</sup>

It is difficult to say whether the Adigár was sincere in the offer of these terms. On the one hand, he might have considered it good policy to do what he could to help the troops, in the hope of assistance from the British in the future; but again it is suggested that he disliked the British and was treacherously disposed towards them, and was merely waiting for a suitable opportunity to avenge himself on them for their failure to support his ambitions more readily;<sup>55</sup> or again, he may have been obliged to act with the King's party, and may have been following out instructions in enticing the troops out of Kandy with terms which he had no intention of fulfilling.

49. 202. 50. 201. 51. 205. 52. 208. 53. Davy says "about seven hours." 513. Barnsley (Johnston 135, Marshall 245) says "from a little before daylight till 2 p. m." Cordiner ii 208-9 puts this 4 a. m. to 2 p. m.—10 hours.  
54. Cordiner ii 120. 55. Marshall 107.



The first hypothesis would appear to be the best, for several reasons. The Adigár had always shown the greatest persistence in the scheme of British interference, and apparently continued to hope for its success for at least a year after the massacre;<sup>56</sup> after the set-back of the adoption of Muttusámy, the British had again come round to his support; and had gratified his wishes almost as fully as he could have wished; in the hope of future favours, he had little reason to alienate the British by a cold-blooded and irrational massacre.

This view is borne out by Dr. Davy's account of the massacre, and incidental references by other authorities. Davy<sup>57</sup> mentions the conference about the terms of the Capitulation, without naming the contracting parties, and represents the King as taking energetic measures immediately after it to annul the conditions agreed upon. The surrender of Muttusámy is first demanded: after having him executed the King orders the Adigár and "Malawa" Disáwa to follow the English and put them to death. "The minister (that is, the Adigár) objected to the order, remarking, "It is highly improper for those who have submitted to be put to death." "What! (said the enraged King) are you siding with the English again?" The minister then left the royal presence, observing, "Since he urges the measure, what can we do?"—He made another attempt to dissuade the King, by means of a favourite, who went in and represented the impropriety of such proceedings. On this second application the King became furious, and starting from his seat, cried aloud, "Why am I not obeyed?" The order now was too soon obeyed," and the European troops who left Kandy were, with a few exceptions, put to death with clubs and knives, while the 120 sick in hospital were thrown into a deep pit prepared to receive them.

Cordiner's statement that "four headmen came up to Major Davie, and informed him that the King had been greatly enraged at the Adigár for allowing the garrison to leave Candy,"<sup>58</sup> and the record in *D'Oyly's Diary* that the Adigár "wrote Information to the King requesting Directions, (about some 10 or 12 attendants who had begged for mercy) who ordered them all to be shot"<sup>59</sup> bear out Davy's narrative in representing the King as the authority who gave the orders for the massacre.

It would thus appear, from a consideration of all the available details, that the Adigár remained pro-British almost throughout, more, of course, owing to anticipated assistance from them in his schemes, than from any genuine feeling on his part. The above rehearsal of the facts, so far as we know them, would also seem to support the definite conclusion that not the Adigár, but the King, was responsible for the Kandyan massacre of 1803—a conclusion which has an important bearing on the reading of later history, as may be shown at another time.

The future history of the Adigár is outside the scope of this enquiry, but it may be noted that it is reported that he regained his influence while the King was ill with smallpox in 1805;<sup>60</sup> that he successfully suppressed an insurrection resulting from the appointment of two Disáwas to Seven Kóralés in 1806, that later he again incurred the King's displeasure, and was deprived of all his offices, and then, being detected in an attempt to assassinate the King, and to incite rebellion, was tried for high treason and beheaded<sup>61</sup> in 1811.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, the King prevailed in the end, proving too strong for his cunning and powerful Minister, a result quite in accordance with the above reading of his character, and with his later history.

56. Cordiner ii 258.

57. 315 ff.

58. Cordiner ii 211.

59. *Diary*, p. 42.

60. Cordiner ii 258-9.

61. Marshall 133-134.

62. Most of the authorities give this date as 1812, but *D'Oyly's Diary* of November 12th, 1811, shows that "Pallegampabe Adikaram" (i.e. the First Adigár) was beheaded before that date (p. 60).



## Notes & Queries.

### A SUPERSTITION CONCERNING THE LOTUS.

By BOTANICUS.

THE following incident was recently related to me by a well-known planter :

When on a sporting trip in the Southern Province, he observed that the flowers of the Lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum* Willd., the Sinhalese Nelun) in that district were of a deeper colour than those which grow in the neighbourhood of Colombo, and, wishing to obtain some plants, he offered a "santusum" to any one who would go into the water and pull them up. But to his surprise, all the camp followers and the village men in the vicinity declined the offer, giving as a reason that no man could gather them,—they could only be gathered by a woman. In accordance with their statement, they fetched a woman from the nearest village, who waded in without any demur and brought out the desired plants.

Can any of the readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* furnish an explanation of the belief that the Lotus must be gathered only by women? Is it universally held in Ceylon?

NOTE ON THE ABOVE BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

There is a belief in other districts, notably in the Sabaragamuwa Province, that the Lotus flower plucked by a woman retains for a long time its fragrance and richness of colour, while that plucked by a man fades and shrivels up in a few hours.

I do not know the "reason for the faith" in this particular case, but I trust it will be forthcoming.

As of interest in this connection, I might mention the popular belief that when a maiden, who is in love, embraces an *amaranth*, or looks at a *tilaka*, or touches with the tip of her foot an *asoka*, they burst into bloom. Classical Oriental literature is full of references to this belief.

Here's a passage from Act Second of *Karpūra-Manjari*,<sup>1</sup> a Drama by the Poet Rājasēkhara (about 900 A. D.) :—

Vichakshana : (addressing Karpūra-Manjari) : My dear, now do as the Queen directed.

King : But man ! What's this ?

Jester : Just you keep behind the tamāla bush and you'll find out.

Vichakshana : Here's the amaranth.

[*Karpūra-Manjari puts her arms around it.*]

King : This lovely maiden, whose swelling breasts are ample as a water-jar, by her impetuous, close embrace, hath made the young amaranth tree to blossom with such a profusion of flowers that a veritable procession of swarms of bees has already arrived here !

Jester : Ah see, ah see, the mighty jugglery. For the amaranth tree, young though it is, just now close enfolded in her tender arms, all on a sudden shoots forth a multitude of flowers,—Love's arrows, as it were.

King : Yes, not one whit less is the power<sup>2</sup> of longing.

Vichakshana : Here is the tilaka tree.

[*Karpūra-Manjari stands a good while looking at it with sidelong glances.*]

King : Piercing, restless, and just touched with jet-black collyrium, and having ever as their ready helper the Five-arrowed God [Cupid] who bears the flowery shafts,—such are her eyes ; and when with

1. See C. R. Lanman's translation, *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. IV, pp 259-261.

2. "Precisely such is the power." The tree's longing (and the girl's?) must have been so powerful as to produce this magic effect.



them upon the tilak tree the fawn-eyed girl a sudden onset makes, then it stands as if thrilled with delight, its crown all bristling with masses of clustering blossoms.

**Vichakshana :** And here's the asoka tree.

[*Karpūra-Manjari makes as if she were giving it a dainty kick.*]

**King :**

No sooner had the maid, whose face is fair  
As is the radiance of the dapple moon,  
In graceful play, to the asoka given,  
With (rosy) foot whose (jewelled) anklets rang,  
A (dainty) touch,—than in an instant burst  
Forth into blossom, e'en from every spray  
In all its crown, a gorgeous show of flowers—  
A sight for all the denizens of heaven !

**Jester :** Say, man, do you know the reason why the Queen didn't satisfy the longings of the trees herself ?

**King :** I suppose of course you know ?

**Jester :** I'll tell, if the King won't get wrathful.

**King :** What occasion is there for anger ? Unseal your tongue and speak.

**Jester :** Although in this world comeliness of person does maintain the attractiveness of doting matrons, nevertheless, methinks, it is in youth's tenderest prime that Lakshmi (*or Loveliness personified*) manifests herself as presiding deity.

**King :** I catch your drift ;<sup>3</sup> and, what's more, have something to say on that point myself. In spite of the fact that very young maidens,<sup>4</sup> by reason of their eager curiosity,<sup>5</sup> are a bit fickle-minded, nevertheless, it is with them,—their breasts just budding into view,—that the mystery of the Dolphin-bannered [God of Love] doth abide.

**Jester :** Yes, even trees blossom out with the mystery of the beauty of form ; but they know not the mystery of love. <sup>6</sup>

## CEYLON ARTISTS—HIPPOLYTE SILVAF— P. P. VAN HOUTON.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

**P**ERHAPS some old resident could supply particulars about Hippolyte Silvaf, the artist who flourished in the 'Thirties and 'Forties of last century. I should be glad to know the dates and places of his birth and death, his parentage, etc. Mr. John Lane, the well-known publisher of the Bodley Head, Vigo Street, W. C., is preparing a list of European artists who have worked in India and Ceylon down to the year 1850, and Silvaf's name should certainly be included. There were some references to him in the *Ceylon Observer* some years ago, and Mr. Donald Ferguson wrote on the subject which was discussed also in one of the morning papers, which, I do not remember.

Mr. Lane refers to "a lithograph of a Sergeant in the Ceylon Rifles by W. H." and asks "For whom do these initials stand ?" (*Notes and Queries* for September, 1917). To this query I am unable to give an answer and, as he does not give the date or approximate period, it is difficult to find one. There is a possibility that these initials may denote Dr. W. Hoffmeister, the author of *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India*, published in 1848, but I do not know whether he was an amateur artist. Perhaps your readers may suggest some other solution of the question.

I should also be glad of any information about "P. P. Van Houton" who was the artist who made the sketch "A Front View of the Wesleyan Mission House and Premises, Colombo, with Representations of Ceylonese Costume and Modes of Conveyance," which forms the frontispiece of the Rev. W. M. Harvard's *Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Wesleyan Mission to Ceylon and India*, published in 1823.

<sup>3</sup> "Understood is your intention—I see what you mean," namely, that the Queen is a trifle *passée* as compared with this tender bud, Karpūra-Manjari.

<sup>4</sup> Like Karpūra-Manjari, as contrasted with the oldish Queen.

<sup>5</sup> Which is still unrestrained by the experiences and the sophistications of life.

<sup>6</sup> A staid matron like the Queen may continue to bear lovely children, as the trees bear lovely blossoms ; but she no longer knows the keenness of youthful passion.



## AN ATTEMPT TO STEAL A WELL.

By THE REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

IT is curious to note that the folk story of "An Attempt to Steal a Well" <sup>1</sup> found among the Sinhalese is also related in connection with a village in Jaffna—Elálai, in the Valikámam North Division. The Tamil version is identical with the Sinhalese in every detail. The people of Elálai are often alluded to as கிணறுகாரிகள் 'Carriers of a well.'

The word "Adukku." I think there is no doubt that *Adukku* is a Tamil word adopted in Sinhalese. It is from a purely Tamilian root *aḍu* expressing the idea of 'nearness.' <sup>2</sup> *Adukku* as a verb means 'to pile one upon another.' *Adukku Chaddy* is a common compound meaning a number of chatties for keeping provisions ready dressed, which are either placed one upon another, in a sort of hoop (called *Urti*) suspended from the roof of the house, or at the end of a pole carried on the shoulder. The transition of meaning from the vessels which contained to the provisions themselves is readily accounted for.

I am not aware of a Sanskrit root yielding the same meaning.

## DUTUGEMUNU'S QUEEN.

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

IT may not be easy to help Mr. A. H. Munasinghe, (Query: *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, p. 138) to "the name and parentage of the Queen of King Dutugemunu," by "quoting the title, chapter, and page of any book"; but he can easily help himself—if he has not already done so—to the traditional "parentage" at least.

Unlike the Biblical Jacob's long servitude with his uncle Laban for the hands of his daughters, Leah and Rachel, Dutugemunu, the disinherited outcast, (*teste* T. B. Pohath, *Monthly Literary Register*, 1895, III, 283), found such favour in the eyes of his prospective father-in-law, Úrupēllé Gammēhé of Kotmalé, for whom he tended cattle and tilled land with extraordinary zeal and success, that the Gammēhé himself desired "to make him his son-in-law." The elder of the Gammēhé's "two daughters of matchless beauty"—both unnamed—scorned to marry the "vagrant"; but the younger girl readily yielded filial obedience.

The marriage was celebrated promptly; and Dutugemunu continued to work for his father-in-law, until discovered by Ministers of the Realm, who, after decking the Prince out richly, escorted him back to the Capital to assume the Sovereignty of Ceylon.

Whether his lowly wife accompanied Prince Dutugemunu from Kotmalé to share the throne, and became the mother of "the Royal Prince Sáli" of romantic story, Mr. Pohath leaves to imagination.

Perhaps Mr. Munasinghe may be able to glean further particulars, including the name of this traditional wife of King Dutugemunu from the "*Vira-sūriya-gedara*" descendants of the said Úrupēllé Gammēhé who, according to Mr. Pohath, "still speak in the proudest terms of the past."

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, Pt II, p. 110.

2. See Pope's *Lexicon to the Nāladīyār* s. v. *Adu*.



## DHŪMARAKKHA-MOUNTAIN.

By HARRY STOREY.

IN Prof. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa* we find in Chap. X. v. 44 to 47 as follows:—  
 "With a great host Pandukābhaya marched from thence to the further shore of the Ganga towards the Dola-mountain. Here he sojourned four years. When his uncles heard that he was there they marched thither, leaving the King behind, to do battle with him. When they had made a fort near the Dhūmarakkha-mountain they fought a battle with their nephew. But the nephew pursued the uncles to this side of the river, and, having defeated them in flight, he held their fortified camp for two years."

Alluding to the above in a footnote Prof. Geiger says of the "Ganga":—"I.e. *Mahāganga* now Mahaweliganga. *Pāragangā* means, from the standpoint of the narrator (at Anurādhapura), the right, *Oragangā* 'this side,' the left bank of the Mahaweliganga. As to the Dolapabbata (now Dolagal-wela) see Appendix C."

Turning to Appendix C we read on p. 289: "As a base of further operations P. chooses a region on the right bank of the Mahāganga (Mahaweliganga) the Dola-mountain. This name survives in that of the village Dolagal-wela in the Bintenne district, twenty miles to the north of the place so named which is now called Alutnuwara."

Missing one paragraph we read further:

"In the meantime P's uncles have also completed their preparations. They march against the rebels and entrench themselves on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain. Its position is clearly shown in the *Mahāvamsa*.<sup>1</sup> We must look for it on the left bank of the Mahaweliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. The chief object of the uncles was evidently to prevent P. from crossing the river."

The Dola-mountain Prof. Geiger has located correctly. It is known to the local Veddās as Dolagala at the present time, and they had formerly a temporary settlement there, now abandoned.

He makes an extraordinary mistake, however, in locating Dhūmarakkha-mountain. There is nothing whatever in his own translation to justify his locating it on the left bank of the river—in fact it is unmistakably described as on the right bank of the river. His own footnote states that 'this side' means the left bank and 'that side' means the right bank. That being so, if Pandukābhaya pursued his uncles to 'this' side of the river, it stands to reason that he originally fought them on 'that' side of the river and pursued them until they had fled across it, to 'this' side.

If Prof. Geiger had possessed any personal knowledge of the locality he would have seen no possibility of doubting the location of Dhūmarakkha-mountain and the Kacchaka-ford (this latter, however, he locates correctly as the present *Māgamtota* on the road from *Polonnaruwa* (*Topawewa*) to *Egodapattu* due east).

There is no place on 'this' or W. bank of the Ganga in any way corresponding with the description of Dhūmarakkha-mountain and its surroundings; but, on 'that' or the east side of the Ganga, the mountain now known as Gunner's Quoin or, locally, *Dimbulāgalakanda*, anciently *Dumbulagala*, exactly corresponds with the description. Gunner's Quoin lies about 10 miles N. of Dolagala.

At its very base, between it and the Ganga, including the Kacchaka-ford, (*Māgamtota*) lies the great swamp, marsh, pond or lake known locally as *Gangala-wila* or *Manampitiya-wila*. The whole locality, mountain, 'pond' and ford, alluded to in Chap. X (vv. 53, 57, 58, 59) clearly describe the present surroundings of Gunner's Quoin, and there can be very little doubt that *Māgamtota* (Kacchaka-ford) has been the principal ford over the Ganga for untold centuries.

The reason for this ford is that, for a great many miles to the north of it, on both banks of the river, lie the great chain of *wilas* or swamps rendering approach to the river very difficult at any time other than the dry season. *Māgamtota* lies clear of the last of the great swamps, southward, on the W. bank, namely *Diwulani-wila* and, on crossing the river, there is a considerable stretch of 'high' land between *Gangala-wila* to the S. and the next *wila* (*Hewampitiya*) to the north.

There are, and were, other fords of course but the one described is the 'great' ford.

1. Chap. X. vv. 53, 57, 58: "Nāw a yakkhini named *Caṇḍi*, who dwelt on the Dhūmarakkha-mountain near the pond (called) *Tumbariyāgana*, used to wander about in the form of a male. . . . And plunging into the Mahāganga and climbing forth again to the shore she did seven times around the Dhūmarakkha-mountain; and yet three times more she circled round the pond and plunged yet again in the Ganga near the Kacchaka-ford."



# NOTES ON THE "MAHĀVANSA."

By JOHN M. SENAVARATNE.

## I. "UJĀTĪKO ELĀRO."

**UJĀTĪKO** Elāro nāma Damilo (Ch. 21, v. 13) is the earliest reference which the *Mahāvansa* makes to Dutthagāmani's redoubtable foe, and Professor Geiger translates the words by "a Damila of noble descent, named Elāra."

This translation is, of course, not indefensible, but it does not seem to represent what the author sought to convey. *Uju* really means "straight-forwardness, honesty, uprightness," and *ujātīko* would, I submit, be better rendered as "of upright disposition."<sup>1</sup>

And this in effect is exactly what the author of the *Mahāvansa* seeks to impress in all his references to Elāra. For did not the latter rule, for 44 years, "with even justice towards friend and foe?" (v. 14). What else but his uprightness, his strict sense of justice, his straight dealing is illustrated in the stories of the bell and the cow, the snake and the bird, the car accident on the way to the Cetiya-mountain (vv. 15-26)? And was not Elāra's possession of miraculous power as instanced in the story of the old woman and the unwonted rain (vv. 27-33) "because he freed himself from the guilt of walking in the path of evil" (v. 34), that is, because he was wont to walk straight (*ujum gacchati*)?

Note the use of *uju* in the following: (a) *Ujubhāvo*—straightness, uprightness, (*Attanagālvansa*, 216); (b) *Ujugato*—walking straight, of upright life (*Dhammapada*, 20; Fausboll, *Ten Jātakas*, 110); *Ujupaṭipanno*—living uprightly (Alwis, *Introd. to Kachchāyana's Pali Grammar*, 77). And the Sinhalese translation of the passage in question (in Sumangala and Nānissara's edition) is සර්ව ධර්ම ඉති—"of straight-forward character or disposition."

Professor Geiger's translation of *ujātīko* by "of noble descent" may not be impossible have been the result of a desire to distinguish Elāra from the "two Damilas, Sena and Guttaka, sons of a freighter who brought horses hither," who immediately preceded Elāra to Ceylon and whose names occur in the paragraph just above that from which the words at the head of this note are quoted.

Professor Emil Schmidt's translation of the word in dispute (*ujātīko*) is "a man of the famous tribe of the Uju,"<sup>2</sup> but this appears scarcely tenable. Who were the Uju, if there were any such, how were they "famous," and what do we know of them in authentic history?

## II. "PUPPHABHERIM."

Geiger makes what appears to be a loose rendering, if not a curious mistake, in his English version of this word at Ch. xxxiv. 61.

The passage in the original Pali reads:

*Divasassa ca tikkhattum buddhupatthānam āgamā  
dvikkhattum pupphabherim ca niyatam so akārayi.*

Geiger translates this: "Three times a day he went to do homage to the Buddha and he commanded (them to give) twice (a day) continually (the offering known as) the 'flower-drum.'"

"Flower-drum" can signify only one of three things: either a drum full of flowers, or a drum shaped like a flower, or the drum (cf. ear-drum) of the flower, if botanists know of such. But these things are not—at least we have never heard of them.

What the king (Bhātikābhaya) commanded in this case was, not that anything should be given but that something should be done at the offering of the flowers, viz., that the drum should be beaten (as it is today at the temples nearly 2,000 years later).

The passage would, therefore, be more closely translated thus: "Three times a day he went to do homage to the Buddha and he commanded that the drum be beaten twice a day, continually, at the offering of the flowers."

And this is exactly how the Sinhalese translators construe it.

ඒ තෙමීම නියතකොට දෙවරක් මල්පුජාසෙවි සෙර ඇසිරි  
ē temēma niyatakoṭa devarak mal pūjāyehi bera āsiravi

Geiger would appear to have been misled by the *pupphapūjam* of the *Tikā* which has: "*divasassa divisu vāresu niyatam pupphapūjam ca akārayi.*"

1. Cf. Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma, for 1914-15, p. 33, note 1.

2. *Harnworth's History of the World*, Vol. IV, p. 1,373. See also Bennett (Ceylon) who translates similarly.



## Literary Register.

### THE MALDIVE ISLANDS : 1602-1607.

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

#### PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from page 151.)

#### CHAPTER XVII.

*Of the Revenues of the King, Money, Traffic, and Commerce of the Maldives ; and of the Merchandise imported and exported.*

##### Symson.

The King's Revenue<sup>1</sup> consists in his Demenses, to which many Islands belong, and in the Duties the Subjects pay of the Growth of the Country, being the Fifth of all Grain sow'd. Part of the Coco-Nuts and Limons is also due ; but that is compounded for the whole Year, at a certain Quantity of Honey<sup>2</sup> or fruit. Besides these Duties, the King taxes them according to their Means, in a Quantity of Cords made of the Coco-Tree, of the little Shells I have mention'd, call'd *Boly*, and of dry Fish in those Islands where most is taken ; for no Money is paid in Taxes any otherwise than in buying of Employments, or leave to wear some particular Ornaments. He also obliges the People every Year to furnish him such a Quantity of Calico, he finding the Cotton ; and this serves for his Soldiers, to whom he gives new Calico three Times a Year, besides their Pay.

He has also a Revenue out of Merchandise ; for all Ships that touch there, apply first to him, giving an Account of their Cargo, and he agrees with them for what he will take, which is commonly the best Part, at a certain Price ; then the People buy at a set Rate, which is above the King's ; and then the King sends his

##### Harris.

As for the King's Revenue,<sup>1</sup> he has many Islands which are Crown-Lands, besides a fifth Part of all the Grain and Fruits of the Country, and a Tax on dried Fish, Shells called *Bely* and Cords of Cocons, which he lays upon them according to their Circumstances ; for he has no Taxes paid him in Money, abating what is paid as a Purchase for Titles and Offices, or for Licences to wear fine Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every Year as much Cotton-Cloth as cloaths his Soldiers ; for he gives them Cloaths as well as Pay.

This Revenue is further enlarged by his Claim to the Goods imported by Shipping for a Ship no sooner arrives, than the Owners repair to him, and give him an Account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleases, at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take them of him again at what Price he

1. Each Atol is bound to pay yearly a certain portion of its produce.  
2. Pyrard has "du miel," meaning jaggery, or palm-sugar.



Commodities to be dispos'd of throughout the Islands among the richest Men, at what Price he pleases, tho' they have no need of them; receiving from them, in Exchange, such Goods as he has Occasion for, at half the Value. He also often sends Abroad Ships laden with such Commodities as his Islands afford; for which Reason there is no ascertaining of his Revenue, because it rises and falls according as Things happen.

The King, besides these Revenues, has some other Profits; as for Instance, all that is found on the Sea-shore, belongs to him, and no Man dares keep it, but must take up, and carry it to him, whether it be any Thing from Ships cast away, or Ambergrease, which they call *Gomen*,<sup>3</sup> and whereof more comes upon those Islands, than to any other Part of India; and whosoever should happen to keep any, would have his Hand cut off. There is also a Nut, as big as a Man's Head, which the Sea sometimes throws up, and somewhat resembles two Melons clinging together. They call it *Tavarcarré*,<sup>4</sup> and believe it comes from Trees growing under the Water. The Portugueses call it the *Maldivy Coco-Nut*; it is extraordinary medicinal, and bears a great Price. There is also a Fishery of black Coral,<sup>5</sup> which belongs to the King, who keeps Men for that Purpose.

There is but one Sort of Coin of the Kingdom, which is of Silver, being the Pieces they call *Larins*,<sup>6</sup> worth about eight Pence, as has been said before. They are long and double, with the King's Name in Arabick Characters on them. All foreign Coins of Gold and Silver go for their Weight, but other Sorts are quite rejected; and it is to be observ'd, that not only in the *Maldivy Islands*, but generally throughout all India, Silver bears a better Price than in Europe, and Gold less. For small Change, they use the little Shells I have before-mention'd, call'd *Bolyes*.

There is a great Trade at the *Maldivy Islands*, and they are much resorted to by the Merchants of *Malabar*, *Barcelor*, *Onor*, *Bacalar*, *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Tananor*, *Cochin*, *Coilam*, *Cael*, *Guzerette*, *Cambaya*, *Suratte*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, *Bengale*, *St. Thomas*, *Masulipatam*, *Ceylon*, and *Sumatra*. The Commodities they export from thence are first, several Sorts of Goods coming

pleases, by way of Exchange, for such Things as he wants; and often fits out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country.

All Wrecks found on the Sea-Shore are immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares keep them; that same is done with Ambergrease, called by the *Maldives Gomen*,<sup>3</sup> which is more plentiful here than in any Part of the Indies, and which is so narrowly looked after, that whoever appropriates it to his own Use loses a Hand. In a Word, whatever the Sea casts upon the Shore is the King's, particularly a sort of Sea-nuts, called *Tanacarré*,<sup>4</sup> as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow on Trees under Water. The Portugueses call them *Cocoas* of the *Maldives*. They are used in Physick, and very dear.

Their Money is Silver only, and but of one sort, called *Larins*.<sup>6</sup> However, all Gold and Silver is current here by Weight, as it is all over the Indies. Before they take it, it is tried in the Fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that Purpose. There is a sort of Metal called *Cabin*,<sup>5</sup> resembling Tin, much esteemed in the Indies, but not current there. Iron-money passes no where in the Indies but in the Dominions of the Prince that coined it. Having but one sort of Coin, they are forced to cut it, by which they lose a twelfth Part. Instead of small Coins they use sometimes Shells, 12,000 of which make a *Larin*, and a *Larin* is worth about eight Sols, being long, like one's Finger, and folded: the King's Name is set upon those Folds in Arabick Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all imported from abroad, but in their own Markets they often barter one Thing for another.

The *Maldives* are well frequented with Merchants, and the Commodities they send abroad are chiefly the *Cocoas*, with which they load above one hundred Ships yearly. Of this the Cordage is made that serves all the Ships of Arabia, *Malabar*, and all the Indies. They make also Oil and Honey<sup>2</sup> of that Tree, and by weaving the leaves of the Tree make Sails.

3. Pyrard differentiates between crude ambergis (*M. gomen*) and purified ambergis (*M. ma-naharu*). He writes "l'ambergris, qu'ils appellent *gomen*, et estant préparé *manuere*." See footnote 4. *Hak: Soc. Pyrard* I. 228. *Ambergis*.

4. Pyrard: *Tavarcarré* *M. ides karhi* "the hard (shell) nut." This is the *Coco-de-mer*, or Sea coconut, *Lodoicea Seychellarum*, termed from mistake as to its habitat *Cocos Maldivica*. Like many other products, the Seacoconut was prescribed as a remedy for all manner of ailments in former days. See *Hak: Soc. Pyrard* I. 230-1.

5. *M. cabin*.

6. *M. larin*: See the full note in *Hak: Soc. Pyrard* I. 232-5 regarding the *larin*. The elongated silver *larin* is obsolete at the *Maldives*: the name has passed to circular coins, both of copper and amalgam, called *bada* (big) *lari* and *kuda lari*—25 of the former and 100 of the latter going to a rupee. The most modern coins are neatly minted. A gold *mosur* was struck by Sultan Hassan Nuruddin (A. D. 1778-99, but is not in circulation. *Caltis* (Pyrard).



from the Coco-Tree, which grows naturally there, without cultivating; as Cardage, wherewith all the Ships of India are rigg'd; the Coco-Nuts, wherewith above an hundred Ships, are laded every Year for divers Parts, as also the Oil and the Honey of the same Tree, and Sails made of its leaves; but Cordage is the greatest Trade.

There is another Sort of Wealth in the Maldivy Islands, being a Sort of small Shells, as big as the End of a Man's Finger, all white, very smooth and glossy, which are found only twice a Month, that is, three Days before, and three Days after the New and Full Moon, and there is not one to be found at any other Time. The Women pick them up on the Sands and Shoals, going up to their Middles in the Water. They are call'd *Bolya*, and an immense Quantity of them is exported to all Parts; insomuch that I have seen 30 or 40 Ships Laden with them in a Year, without any other Cargo. They are put up in little Baskets, made of the Coco-Tree Leaves, lin'd with Cloth made of the same Leaves, that the Shells may not drop out, and each Basket contains 12,000 of them.<sup>7</sup>

The Maldivy Islands have also a most plentiful Fishery [of all kinds] as has been said, not only to serve themselves abundantly, but to send vast Quantities abroad, dry'd; and it is much valu'd throughout all India, and more particularly at Sumatra.

There is also a considerable Trade to many Parts of India, of the Maldivy Tortoise-Shells,<sup>8</sup> which are much valu'd, as being uncommon; for that Sort is only found there, and in the Philippine Islands, being very beautiful, smooth, black, and full of fine natural Figures. Most of them are sent to Cambaya, where they make of them Womens Bracelets, Cases, and Trunks, curiously adorn'd with Silver.

The Maldivians also have a considerable Trade of Mats, which they make curiously of Several Colours, with Variety of Figures, and the Rushes are very fine. They are much valu'd by the Portuguese and Indians, so that the Trade of them is considerable.<sup>10</sup> They also make fine Calicoes and Silks, but commonly not above three Yards long, being as much as serves to wrap about them, and others for Garments and Turbants.<sup>11</sup> Thus the Maldivy Islands are much resorted to by several Nations, on Account of the Commodities here mention'd.

They vend also little Shells, that contain a Creature in them of the Bigness of the End of one's little Fingers white, very smooth, and glittering.<sup>9</sup> They fish for them but twice a Month, three Days before and three Days after the new Moon, and so before and after the Full-Moon, The Women gather them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea, standing up to their Middle in Water. These go only to Bengal; the inhabitants of which esteem them so much that I have seen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity, bound thither. Though in Bengal they have enough of other Metals, yet these Shells pass there as Money, and the King and Noblemen hoard up prodigious Quantities of them, accounting them there Treasure. They give twenty Measures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12,000.<sup>8</sup>

They have, besides these, a sort of Tortoise-shell, called *Cambe*,<sup>9</sup> which is black and smooth, and has many natural Figures; it is found no where but there and in the Philippines, and goes off best in Cambaya.

Here they make fine Reed-mats,<sup>10</sup> and Cloths of Cotton and Silk.<sup>11</sup>

7. Pyrard:—"On les appelle Boly." The cowry (*Cypræa moneta*). M. bold. Cf. Sin. bella, bel. Couries are discussed in a long footnote to Hak: Soc: Pyrard I, 236-241.

8. M. kotta. They are still so tied up with coconut leaves.

9. M. kahabu: Sin. kamba. See Bell Report, pp. 85-105.

10. M. tudu kuna: made in Suvadiva Atol from a rush (three colours adopted,—black yellow brown, and white—and same line the world over, and have justly obtained unqualified commendation (Bell, Report 28).

11. Two or three qualities of cotton cloth are woven chiefly in Málomadu (Eda-furbi Island) Addu, and Suvadiva Atolls; though occasionally made elsewhere for private use. The dyes employed are excellent, particularly the red and chocolate which are extracted from a root M. akt (*Morinda citrifolia*). The black dye is obtained by boiling gall-nuts and rusty iron together in coco-nut water, (Bell, loc. cit. p. 88).



The Imports are Rice, white Calicoes, raw Silk, and Cotton; Oil made of a Sort of odoriferous Grain, which serves for no other Use but to anoint the Body after Bathing; *Areca* to chew with *Betele*; Iron, Steel, Spice, *China*-Ware, and all other Things they have not: and yet all those Things are there cheap, because of the great Quantities imported by the many Ships resorting thither. Gold and Silver is also imported, which is never carry'd thence again; for they will not give Strangers the least of it on any Account, but lay it up in Treasure, and make Ornaments for their Wives.

In Exchange the Merchants import some Cotton and Silk-Cloths, a sort of Oil, *Arac*, Iron, Steel, Pieces of Porcelane, and, in short, all the Necessaries of Life; yet every thing is cheap, because of the Number and Frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver which they never send out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treasure.





## Reviews.

### SINHALESE FOLKLORE NOTES.

SINHALESE FOLKLORE NOTES by ARTHUR A. PERERA, Advocate. 79 pages. British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay, 1917.

THIS is an excellent book, so far as it goes. The Sinhalese beliefs, customs and stories in the present collection were contributed by the writer to the *Indian Antiquary* fourteen years ago in a series of articles under the title of "Glimpses of Sinhalese Social Life." They are now offered, amplified and rearranged, to the student of folklore in Ceylon, as a basis for further research. The writer has adopted the scheme of classification in the Folklore Society's Hand Book of folklore.

### PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM AT CALCUTTA by J. COGGIN BROWN, M.Sc., F.G.S. 155 pages, 10 plates. Government Central Press, Simla, 1917. Rs. 1-8 or 2s. 4d.

The compilation of this catalogue was undertaken at the wish of Sir John Marshall, Director-general of Archaeology in India, in whose charge the collections now rest, and *pari passu* with its preparation the implements themselves have been systematically arranged and labelled in the Museum, after having lain for many years in disorder and neglect. The arrangement adopted by Mr. Brown is primarily chronological and secondarily geographical. Chronologically, he has divided the collections into the following four groups, which are now universally recognised as important stages or eras of culture in the early development of the human race: (1) the Palæolithic or Rude Stone Age, (2) the Neolithic or Polished Stone Age, (3) the Copper Age, and (4) Early Iron Age Antiquities.

### OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

We have also received the following publications, fuller references to which will be made in the next issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary* :—

THE PALLAVAS by Dr. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL. 87 pages, 3 plates. Pondicherry, 1917. Rs. 2/.

PARAMARTHA DHARMA MAKARANDA or the Sermons on Abhidharma, by ABHIDHAMMIKA MEDHANANDA THERO. Part I. 159 Pages. Colombo, 1917.

MAHĀNIDDESA. Vol. I. (Pali Text Society). Edited by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN and E. J. THOMAS. 254 pages. London, 1916.

SUTTA-NIPĀTA COMMENTARY II being Paramattha-jotika II, 2, (Pali Text Society). Edited by Helmer Smith. Vol. II Mahāvagga Atthakavagga, Parāyanavagga. Pages 381 to 608. London, 1917.

THE DAULATABAD PLATES OF JAGADĒKAMALLA, A.D. 1017. (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 2). Calcutta, 1917. One Rupee.

Report of the Superintendent, (Mr. Taw Sein Ko), ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA, for the year ending 31st March, 1917. 54 pages. Rangoon, 1917. One Rupee (1s.-6d.).

Annual Report of the Superintendent (Mr. V. Natesa Aiyar) of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, FRONTIER CIRCLE, for 1916-17. 36 pages. Peshawar, 1917. 5 pence.

Annual Report of the Superintendent (Mr. A. H. Longhurst) of the ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, SOUTHERN CIRCLE, MADRAS, for 1916-17. 38 pages, 30 plates. Madras, 1917. Rs. 1/12 (2s.-6d.).

Annual Report of the Superintendent (Mr. G. Yazdani) of the Archaeological Department of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions for 1915-16. 30 pages, 10 plates. Calcutta, 1917.



## PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

## JOURNAL OF AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY (September, 1917).

- Hirth (F.) Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia.  
 Schellema (J. F.) Arabs and Turks.

## JOURNAL OF THE IRANIAN ASSOCIATION (October, November, 1917).

- Govindacharya (Svamin A.) The Esotericism of Holy Fire.  
 De Harlez (Baron C.) History of the World according to Zoroastrianism.  
 Widgery (A. G.) Aspects of Orthodox Christianity.

## AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES (October, 1917).

- Luckenbill (D. D.) The Temple Women of the Code of Hammurabi.  
 Godbey (A. H.) The "Rab-Sitirte."  
 Maynard (J. A.) Studies in Religious Texts from Assur.

## INDIAN ANTIQUARY, (May and June, 1917).

- Ambedkar (B. R.) Castes in India.  
 Rangachari (V.) History of the Kalk Kingdom of Madura.  
 Stein (Sir Aurel) A 3rd journey of exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16.  
 Majumdar (N.) A Haraha Stone Inscription.

## HINDUSTAN REVIEW (September to December, 1917).

- Banerjee (J. C.) Social Life in the Pauranic Age.  
 Mitra (S. C.) "Festival of Cold Food" in Bengal and China.  
 Metta (V. B.) India and the Indians.  
 Yaseen (G.) War Work and Eastern Women.  
 Samadder (Prof. J.) Ancient Geography of India.

## MYTHIC SOCIETY JOURNAL (Bangalore). Vol. VIII, No. 1.

- Campbell (R. H.) The Wild Tribes of the Vizagapatam Hills.  
 Narasimhachar (R.) Sringeri.  
 Sankara Aiyar (K. G.) Age of the third Tamil Sangam.  
 Srikanthaya (S.) The Hoysala Empire.  
 Vaidyanatha Ayyar (R. S.) The Ancient Indian Navy.

## JOURNAL OF BOMBAY ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY (Vol. X, No. 8).

- Saldanha (J. A.) Kanarian-Konkani Communities in Bombay.  
 Manani (R. P.) Folklore of Bombay Wells.  
 " " Water-Worship in India and Western Countries.  
 Mitra (S. C.) The uncanny cat in Asiatic and European Folk-beliefs.  
 Mehta (S. S.) "Janoi" "Navajyot"—Sacred Thread.

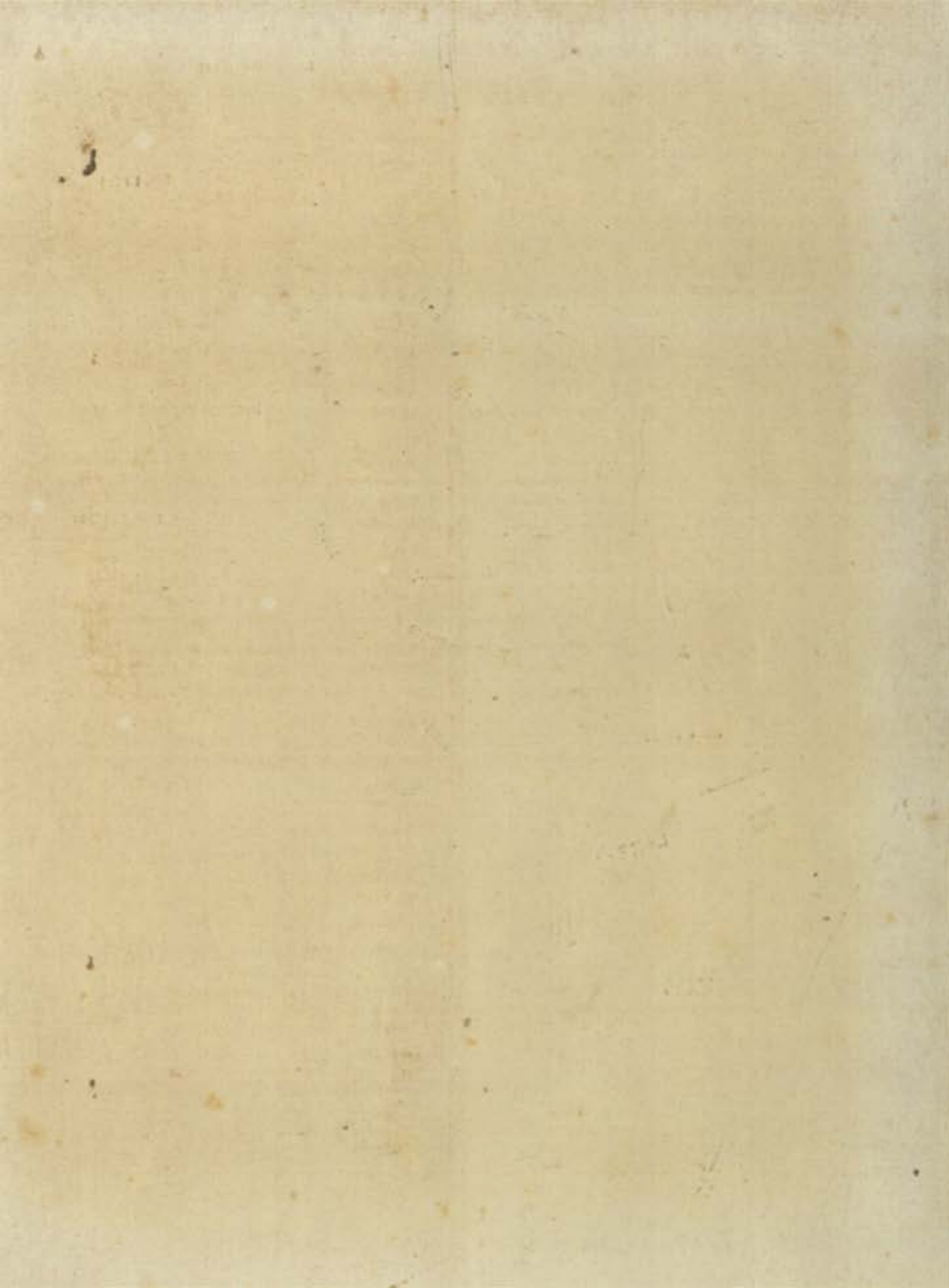
## JOURNAL OF CEYLON BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (Vol. XXIV, No. 68).

- Harward (J.) Fra Mauro's Map.  
 De Silva (W. A.) Popular Poetry of the Sinhalese.  
 Senaveratne (John M.) China-Sinhalese relations in the Early and Middle Ages.  
 " " Notes on the Chinese references to Ceylon.  
 Giles (Lionel) "Account of Ceylon" by Ming Shih.  
 Pieris (Paul E.) Nagas and Buddhist remains in Jaffna (Vol. XXVI, No. 70).

## BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY JOURNAL (September, 1917).

- Jackson (V. H.) Hsien Tsang's Route in South Bihar.  
 Caldwell (K. S.) Chemical Analysis of Silajit.  
 Banerji (K. D.) The Bhanja Dynasty of Orissa.  
 Horne (E. A.) First English Factory in Patna.  
 Anderson (C. W.) Prehistoric Stone Implements in Singhbhum District.  
 Roy (S. C.) Social Organisation of the Bihars.  
 Bose (J. L.) Club Life in Ancient India.







# PLAN

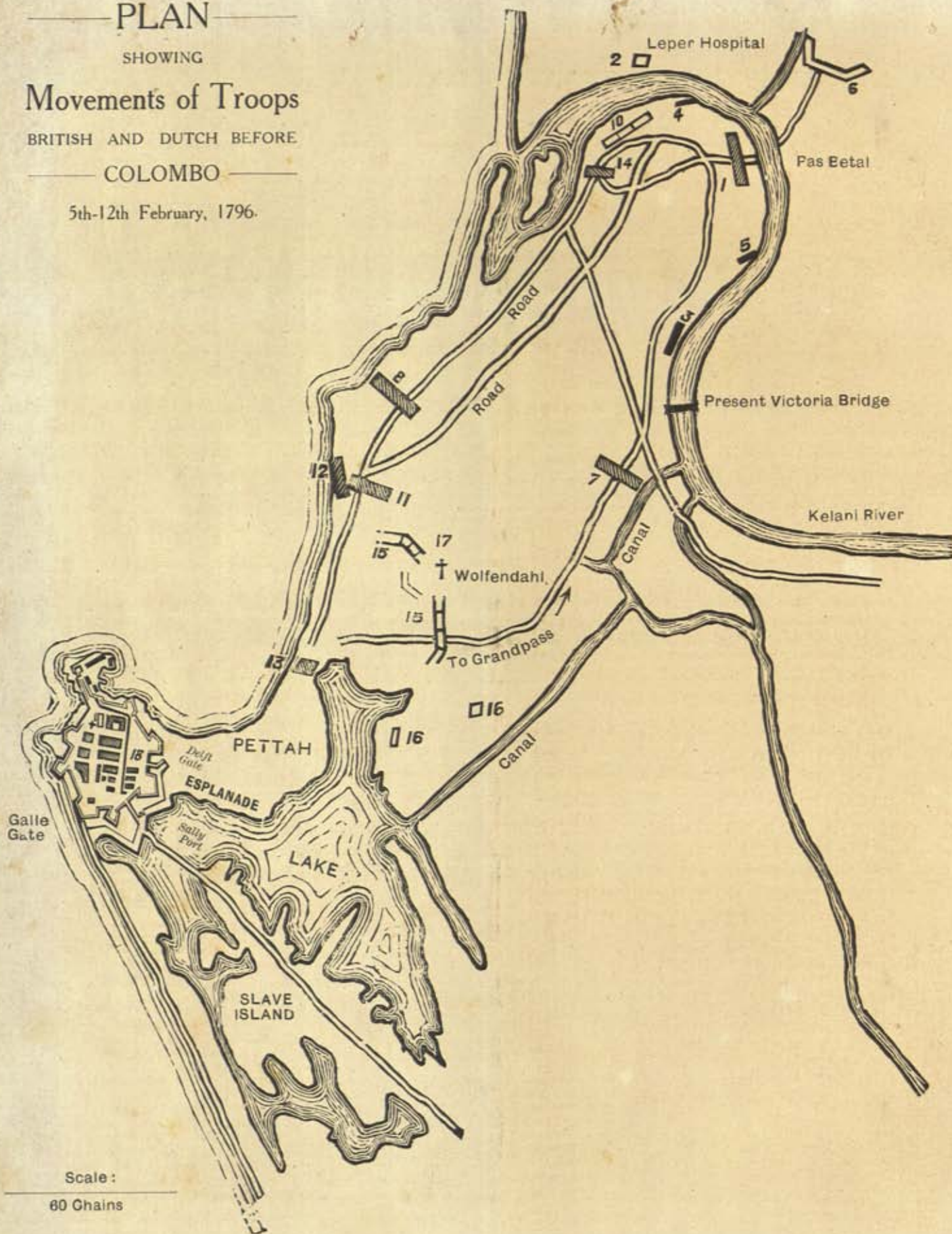
SHOWING

## Movements of Troops

BRITISH AND DUTCH BEFORE

COLOMBO

5th-12th February, 1796.





# The Ceylon

or

## Literary

Published

Vol. III.

April

### THE BRITISH OCCUPATION TIME PROVINCES OF

By L. J. B. TUNNICLIFFE

**A**LTHOUGH nearly all the necessary material for the history of the occupation of Ceylon by the British, in form,<sup>1</sup> no attempt appears to have been made. The history of that change of Government is of some interest, details, which have been insufficiently explained, the Dutch defence of Colombo, while others are the payment of pensions by the British, for some time lately of the Dutch Service,—it is time that the material referred to consists of:—

(1) "A Collection of Notes on the Attitude of the French of Monsieur de la Thombe (*Voyage* &c.)"

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*. The principal item is Tombe's account, but the appendix, containing the Secretary, is the really valuable part of the publication.

2. This, and indeed the whole article, was written before the "Angelbeek" in the *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union*, Volume 1, 1861.

3. The original in French is in the B. A. S. Library. The shows that the "*Voyage*" was "*pendant les années 1805, 1807, 1808*" de la Thombe, as used by many of the authorities. Tennent (*History of the Ceylon Rifles*), said to be Captain H. Suckling, (*Ceylon Rifles*) was "*Ancien Capitaine-Adjoint du Génie employé par l'Etat-Major Général de l'Armée d'Inde*," "*le de Ceylon*," which would have been so valuable to investigate.



information being "given to me at Batavia and in  
 k employed there, who had formed part of the

een the Dutch and British Commanders, found  
 in the Secretariat, Colombo, and forming by far

*Reminiscences*, valuable as Welsh was with the  
 ing a commission in the 9th battalion of Native

l account of the operations in question, written

on" by Julian James Cotton, I.C.S., reprinted  
 3.<sup>9</sup>

mas Number, 1915, of the *Times of Ceylon*  
 argely compiled," as the writer says, from the

the British occupation is very closely bound up  
 e first place, note the salient points in the latter.<sup>10</sup>

95 led to the colonial problem involving Ceylon,  
 of Orange being the first Hereditary Stadtholder,  
 te did not, however, remain long in agreement  
 Independence, the Stadtholder sympathised with  
 the revolted colonies. In 1781, war broke out  
 disputed question as to whether neutral ships  
 Stadtholder and the Court remained *pro-*  
 " party were neutralised. In 1781, Dutch com-  
 peace was concluded with England.<sup>10a</sup>

ensed the patriot party that the fall of the House  
 ussia was obliged to interfere on behalf of his  
 tes, being patched up in 1785. But Prussia had  
 died, and the Stadtholder, who had been driven  
 vere compelled, much against their will, to ally  
 e "old and lawful Government system of the  
 General and the Hereditary Stadtholder at the

e French Republic, established at the French  
 United Provinces. On December 28th, 1794,

A. Lorenz; this is given in the *Ceylon Weekly Literary Register*

ember 12, 1790, and we lose the assistance of the correspondence  
 of Galle, where he became Fort Adjutant.

Vog, who knows Mr. Cotton personally, kindly allowed me  
 and "Pichegru" Vol. XIX and cf. R. G. Anthonisz "Johan

captured by the British from the Dutch on January 31st, 1781.  
 1781. In 1781, it was ceded by the French to the British, who,



General Pichegru, during a severe frost, invaded and storming the island of Bommel. He crossed the English troops under the Duke of York, at Amsterdam on January 20th, and soon occupied at Helder, being captured by the French Hussars.

The Stadtholder fled to England, and thence by the Republican party to bring it into line with the accompanying offices were abolished; a new creation was called the Batavian Republic.

Although he was thus deprived of his office, the Stadtholder does not appear to have had any intention of restoring the Batavian Republic. As the simplest way of preventing the expedient of using British troops to reinforce the Batavian Republic, the Batavian Republic protect them against their common enemies, the French.

In the case of Ceylon, the orders from the British Command preserved in his letter of 7th February, 1795.<sup>12</sup>

"Noble and Most Honoured Confidant, I am deemed it necessary to address you this communication, and elsewhere in the Colony under your authority, and also to admit that the British ships might safely anchor the warships, frigates, on behalf of His Majesty of Great Britain; and you belonging to a Power that is in friendship and alliance with the British, to prevent the Colony from being invaded by the French. Wherefore, Noble and Most Honoured, I commit you to God's holy protection, and remain, Sir, your obedient servant."

Kew, 7th February, 1795."

The indefiniteness of these instructions to the British Command, is apparently put to the test, and admitted. No orders are made on the relation of the British troops were to be at the disposal of the British Command on their own initiative. The phrase "who come

12. Anthonisz's "Report on Dutch Records," p. 136, 15. 16. March 17th, 1800, Ceylon was retained for the British. Boulger had the choice of Java or Ceylon, and the Addison Ministry chose the former. It was anything but an appendage of India, while Java might be the same. It was, no doubt, what settled the decision in favour of Ceylon. Cf. Perceval's *Ceylon Manual*, 1812-13, p. 45. It would appear that the British were very reluctant that the British should not refer to Lord Malmesbury's *Diary and Correspondence*, was the chief subject of dispute during the negotiations at Lisle. *peut jamais consentir à céder à l'Angleterre Ceylon et Trincomalee, qui sont possessions qui servent à rendre l'Angleterre maîtresse de l'Inde*. — M. Perceval. It was also proposed that the British should cede Ceylon, with the condition, *Wellington MSS. O.L.R.W. II. 128*. The copy of a petition of the Batavian Republic, published by Mr. A. E. Boulton in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, the cession to the British of this "large and fruitful Island" with trade, "added to which is the fact that in it is found the finest and Trincomalee, a Bay the equal of which is hardly known, in which which is of such importance to the English, that it assures their defend their possessions... with much ease and good success against what was the reason that induced the Batavian Republic to agree to



be supposed to do so whether the Dutch Command

why the Stadtholder could not express himself  
be directed not only against foreign invasion, but  
latter, there could be no better precaution than a  
troops, who had nothing in common with the  
orders for the disposition and control of these  
rise, as we shall see, to different interpretations

the Stadtholder, and to the orders of the Home  
a force to Trincomalee, consisting of the 72nd  
rd, with two battalions of Sepoys and a detach-  
es were under the command of Colonel James  
officer, well-known, and at that time, much liked  
pellation of 'Old Row.'"<sup>14</sup> The naval forces  
armament arrived off Trincomalee on August

was despatched to Colombo in His Majesty's ship  
h, to "the Honourable J. P. Van Angelbeck,  
al situation. This letter notifies the Governor  
forwarded through the Secretary of State, "will  
d Hobart to contain the orders of the Stadtholder  
e protection of His Majesty of England. He  
g possession of the settlements by the British,  
ed to the Dutch at a general Peace,"<sup>15</sup> which

In the meantime, the Officers Commanding  
ders to cultivate the friendship and good will of  
His Majesty's disposition to grant them all the  
with the general interests of the Empire, be  
not to be infringed, nor are fresh taxes or duties  
made for defraying the expense of the internal  
ternal trade, and trade with other possessions of  
s as the subjects of the most favoured nation.  
'left in the full and free possession of their  
known," and the Dutch troops are "to be taken  
h they are now employed."

up "the several Colonies and Settlements upon  
the British Forces have the King's "express com-  
measure which, being the result of your disregard  
r you responsible for the consequences."

o be addressed to the Officers Commanding the  
the course of action decided upon, is asked for,



and accommodation is offered in Captain Gardiner's house, which may wish to send.

Governor Angelbeek<sup>17</sup> replies to this. He states that he and the Members of Council adhere faithfully "to the old and lawful Government, with the States General and the Hereditary States of 1787," and that "we still acknowledge the forts are, however, well provided for a vigorous want of the supply which has been offered. But the Government of Madras will now return the friendly quantity of eight hundred Europeans." Of these, 200 in Negombo and Kalutara, and 200 in Matara. "Being destitute of money, and therefore unable to pay the Government will charge itself with the payment, to be in."

"But respecting the proposition of Lordship of his Britannic Majesty, I am obliged to answer, keep them for our superiors, and not to resign the Highness the Prince of Orange on which his Lordship least mention thereof, as you will see by the copy for the protection of Ceylon against the French Settlements, for "we are, thank God, able to devote them to our care, especially if the English Government troops, and that his Majesty's ships please to use the harbours."

Governor Angelbeek feels confident that he does not "doubt but that this my just desire," says Fornbauer, Commandant of Trincomalee, to the Ostensburg, and sends "the junior merchant Frater Martensz" to make "an exact inventory" of cargo.

According to the actual wording of the letter. There is no mention of British protection, or of cession. He has apparently made a somewhat sweeping deduction. "receive troops and warships" orders . . . for putting into the hands of His Majesty." Doubtless, His Lordship thought that the letter does not provide that the British Governor; that the numbers of the troops and ships are within the discretion of Governor Angelbeek, though the British Command; that a Power which was transferred into another country was obviously to be the Stadtholder's letter did amount to what he said.

He might also have added that the phrase "invaded" implied a certain power of initiative to the Dutch, as the Governor held, were sufficient.

17. The spelling of this name varies between "Angel" and "Angelbeek" being only their own. All the letters in the copy are by an old, and apparently authentic MS. of Burnand's *Memoir*, which has been badly reprinted in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, Monthly, III, 1887. "Angelbeek" is favoured by Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*, pp. 1, 2. Burial Ground, and is found as the signature to the Capitulation. P. H. de Vos agrees that this is the correct spelling.

18. *R.A.S.J.* 205-2.



British reinforcements should be sent; that the war was aimed against internal Jacobinism, and it was the elements that were required. But, in the absence of reinforcements, it seems to be a *non sequitur*, and he would have relied on the broader issue, namely, that as Stadtholder, he was entitled to act against the Dutch Stadtholder, he was prepared to do so pacifi-

Hobart's letter, and the promised orders to Trincomalee were duly forwarded to Trincomalee, but here, owing to the action of the Dutch. This officer seems to have regarded the decision. On August 1st, he sends a "Note" to

Hoffmann, saying that he has news of the British at Negapatam, and that they are publicly stating that the Commodore should assure him that his ship will be allowed to enter "Bumenbaay," in accordance with the subject of the Governor's instructions about Trincomalee, received from Colombo.

In reply to this note from H. M. S. "Suffolk" the Commodore states that matters have already been explained to Major Fornbauer's orders have been delivered to the friends of the United Provinces, to protect their allies, but that they have instructions to the purposes of protection.

On August 2nd, <sup>21</sup> accepting the explanation of the Commodore. He, however, finds that the order to receive reinforcements, in that it is signed by the Governor only, and not by the majority of the Members of Council. He states that the interval can be employed in making arrangements. He states that he has orders to advise the Commodore and to ask for the necessary assistance, and

In Stuart's reply, <sup>22</sup> on the same day, again from the Commodore, the reception of the 300 men was Governor's orders accepted by them, although it was "by no means a declaration." They add that Major Fornbauer's original instructions, and that they hereby require the Commodore or his refusal will be considered as a declaration

of war, and Bellon to protest formally "contre le" and Council notify the withdrawal of the forces. They have resolved "to defend with the forces we



have the forts and establishments which have been made to make themselves masters thereof." <sup>24</sup> But their last word, and preparations are made for a

The British troops landed two miles from as the Garrison apparently thought the strong ground on the evening of the 18th August, open the 26th, a practicable breach had been complete to surrender, but demanded inadmissible terms. A few minutes the white flag was displayed, the the garrison was to be allowed to march out Colours flying to the Glacis, where they will Prisoners of War, the officers keeping their to its owners, but all public property was to officers and men—185 Dutch, 84 Swiss, 136 120 others. <sup>25</sup>

Fort Ostenburg, commanding the entrance the terms being similar to those offered in the case of 8 Artillerymen, 69 of the Régiment de Meuron

The British casualties during the siege wounded, <sup>26</sup> many of them being caused by a fight out with creases at night, killed or wounded guns and effected their retreat into the Fort. <sup>27</sup> been greater, the Régiment de Meuron alone lost H. S. de Meuron-Motiers, which was stationed in

From Trincomalee, the British proceeded to Batticaloa, with a garrison of 39 Europeans and on September 27th, Point Pedro was taken, and on the British became masters of Mullaitivu and Ma

In the meantime, the Government at correspondence with the Governor of Colombo, Madras. In their letter of September 22nd, <sup>28</sup> signed by the last two being Members of Council, the Madras Government been driven to the alternative of occupying the the failure of the Dutch Government to acquiesce in the arrangements suggested in place of them.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Haafner, apparently a German, who was at one time travelled widely in the East, while he condemns Governor van An as he did, eulogises Forbauer for refusing to carry out the Government's order, refusing to carry out the orders of Angelbeck, made a forced to yield to the superiority of their forces. I am sorry at the officer. It would have been well if he had then been Governor of (C. L. R. W. V. 118).

<sup>26</sup> H. W. M. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Marshall 26, without.

<sup>28</sup> An exact copy of the original of this Capitulation is given at points of interest, this document settles the spelling of Colonel St Colombo, nor "Stewart" as in Percival.

<sup>29</sup> Cotton 18, H. W. M. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Vide Capitulation of Fort Ostenburg, R.A.S.J. XX.

<sup>31</sup> Marshall 68.

<sup>32</sup> Percival 2nd Ed. 64-5.

<sup>33</sup> Cotton 18, H. W. M. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Vide letter of Colonel Stuart to Governor of Fort

Esquire mentioned is, no doubt, the collector who later gave

Servant

<sup>35</sup> H. W. M. 7.



the reduction of the Dutch Settlements by  
 bart's letter of July 7th, making it perfectly  
 e control. As an additional inducement to the  
 e information that the Count de Meuron had  
 causing a considerable diminution of the force  
 ment de Meuron being part of the Colombo

by Charles Daniel de Meuron, a Swiss, who  
 French Minister of War, to form a Regiment  
 9 Hope. De Meuron was born at St. Sulpice  
 when he was 17, and was three times wounded  
 American War. In 1781<sup>40</sup> he made with the  
 "regiment" and in 1782, we hear of the Regiment  
 the "Hermione," in time to help to recapture  
 received its baptism of fire at Cuddalore in  
 a short time, being sent later to the Cape, where  
 duels among the officers, and desertions from

turned to Ceylon, where it saw active service  
 against the Kandyans.<sup>42</sup> About this time,<sup>43</sup>  
 and gave his Regiment in charge to his brother,  
 Regiment as Colonel Commandant in April, 1787.  
 Charles Daniel writes to "*Mon Cher Frère—En  
 avec lequel j'avois fait la capitulation pour  
 resolution de le retirer de l'armée Hollandoire  
 ce de sa Majesté Britannique qui a donné sa  
 et qui a garanti la conservation de la Consti-*

the military authorities in India, and Colonel Hugh  
 Ceylon, was sent by the War Office to Neuchatel  
 on.<sup>46</sup> A provisional agreement was signed at  
 ed by General Dundas, head of the Indian Army,  
 ould at once proceed to India to superintend  
 ft Europe for Madras to conclude the necessary  
 tember 6th, and at Madras on September 24th.<sup>48</sup>

40. H. W. M. 5 gives the date of this Capitulation as May 1778.  
 R.A.S.J. 395.

41. Cotton 12, H. W. M. 5-7.  
*Literary Register, Monthly*, IV 192, quoting an "*Essai Historique  
 de Meuron, Colonel Propriétaire du Régiment, d'après les documents  
 de H. Wolfrath et Cie; 1895*" states that Colonel Charles Daniel  
 e Regiment before leaving. Cotton 13 says the transfer took

42. A. Beachcroft informs me that there is a Goudelour in the  
 which would lie on an overland route from Tellicherry to  
 6th. (R.A.S.J. 403) and in Madras on September 24th. (H.W.M.  
 nd wrote the letter there on some intermediate date. The  
 W.M. 0 48. R.A.S.J. 403. 47. Cotton

49. Instruct Governor North by their letter of 18th May, 1788,  
 n Ceylon, £5,000 in view of his great and meritorious service  
 ubl, refers to the negotiation of the transfer of the Regiment



The main facts of the transfer were the letter of September 22nd, delivered probably by the Regiment, writing to the Magistrates of Neuchâtel *Parlementaire*,<sup>50</sup> bringing a representative of the Governor that the Régiment de Meuron had performed its duty in virtue of an engagement entered into by the Governor of the coast of Coromandel had written by the Governor to notify him of the change."<sup>51</sup>

Whether or not it be the case that Colonel Meuron was actively engaged in preparing for the defence of the colony with supreme arbitrary power during an illness, there has been very little delay in attending to the proposed Convention between Governor Angelbeek and Major Meuron. Colonel Pierre Frederic de Meuron, who was given a certificate as to his conduct as Commandant of the Régiment, Resolution of the Regency of 13th October, 1795, and freed from its oath. It stated that he had always conducted himself in a praiseworthy manner as a man of honour and of irreproachable conduct.

The date of embarkation of the Régiment de Meuron, Frederic himself, as the day of the signing of the Convention, Angelbeek's letter of November 12th<sup>52</sup> infers that he was to start for Tuticorin on that date, the arrangements for the Régiment de Meuron were to go to Tuticorin in the *La Fidèle*, a vessel belonging to a Frenchman. The Régiment de Meuron had been chosen Deputies of French India to the Assembly of the Régiment. They arrived shortly before with a passport, under the name of the two mentioned by Tombe, as bringing "which were nearly all purchased by the Governor." The *Grutaaf* had already been despatched to Tuticorin there, under the superintendence of Captain Zuelf.

Although there were rumours among the Régiment de Meuron, the seventh company, then the sixth, with part of the Régiment de Meuron on the *La Fidèle*. The Governor watched the Régiment de Meuron with surprise. Next day, the first of the Régiment de Meuron being drunk, and the band under the command of the Régiment de Meuron through the town to the strains of "Mars, tout de population."<sup>53</sup>

There seem to have been many desertions from the Régiment de Meuron. Vaugine<sup>54</sup> being accused of being at the head of the desertions. He appears to have been successful at Galle, for on

49. R.A.S.J. 402-4. Cotton (18) does not seem to be correct in height when word arrived that Charles Daniel de Meuron had arrived of October, 1795, but the investment cannot be dated before 8th

50. Tombe (R.A.S.J. 372) states that Major Agnew came to the Régiment de Meuron (p. 370) refers to this, possibly both "L'Heroine" and "Parliamentaire."

51. Cotton 18, H.W.M. 7.

52. H.W.M. 8.

53. Tombe R.A.S.J. 389.

54. Tombe R.A.S.J. 372. C.

55. H.W.M. 8 Oct. Cotton 17.

56. This is probably the Major Vaugine of Tombe's account.



the proprietary Colonel, Charles Daniel, and *spectable père*.<sup>60</sup> Pierre Frederic accompanied as Brigadier-General, to settle the disaffection of officials. At the head of the Committee of bringing the Island to tranquillity, and laying the ground. Frederic North, the first Civil Governor.<sup>61</sup> He about the end of January, 1799,<sup>62</sup> returned to Ceylon on 12th, 1812.<sup>63</sup>

the troops remaining to the Dutch were "fully loss of the 500 men of the Régiment de Meuron, a serious blow to the Dutch Command. The 13th, 1795,<sup>64</sup> claim that Colonel de Meuron had permanently consigned to the Dutch under the 25th article that the Dutch Government is dissolved "as it is in the Netherlands." "In the meantime, we wish as such you acknowledge us by your letter of which may have been made to retain the peace to be unsuccessful."<sup>65</sup>

Meuron to the British does not appear to have Lord Hobart seems to have hoped in his letter of 1795 to have decided the Dutch to remove the Galle which did not at all have the desired effect in inducing the Dutch to accept British protection and control." On the contrary, the Régiment . . . we are, however, not destitute of troops to us, and if we are at last crushed by a British force in the reflection that we have done all that we can for their honour and their duty to every other

Dutch Command apparently had not the slightest suggestion to deliver over the settlements still to do so on February 15th, 1796, is a difficult point to find.

Letter of October 13th, in reply to Lord Hobart's opinion of the Dutch. It explains that the demands are much further "than the Stadtholder's instructions, the responsibility for the hitch in the reception of Major Fornbauer, as the Governor was quite in order alone. "Major Fornbauer should then, without

<sup>60</sup> Wellesley MSS. *Ceylon Literary Register, Weekly*, II, 125, & *Hotel Champagne* about December 9th, 1799 (C.L.R., II 146) but *Quarterly*, 1799 (North's Despatch of 18th February, 1799, para 112.) *Journal*, note 12) gives the number of the Dutch garrison on 15th as 500 Sepoys, and 281 seamen.

<sup>61</sup> This was the fashion in those days for professional fire-eaters to shift their religion "comme on changea sa chemise."



hesitation, have complied with its contents, and refusal to his account." Surprise is, however, at orders from Colombo was not accepted, "in which have been adjusted within a few days."

Even if it be assumed that the British at Trincomalee, what reason could justify the conditional liberal offers were made for the admittance of British that of superior force?

The papers do not show that any reply have seen satisfactorily answered by pointing out by Pichegru would have justified a declaration of the Stadtholder's relations with the British, and colonies under protection, to be returned to reconstituted; that even this suggestion was waived by Governor that auxiliary forces should be accepted. Fournbauer were extremely suspicious, and were at Fort of Trincomalee; that the possibility of an attack by the Jacobins among the Dutch declaring for the French action necessary; that the summons to, and assault, while further proposals for the reception of troops finally, that the Dutch received most favourable terms, of all the Capitulations.

We now return to the point at which was a stubborn resistance was apparently contemplated. The following gives a detailed account of preparations made apparently were actively carried on. With the exception of the case of Governor van Angelbeek, there is no indication, however, of the preparations, or of any intention other than

Meantime, the British troops were advancing after the occupation of Mannar and Mullaitivu on part of the troops, consisting of 3 European and 500 the coast of India, "as they arrived."<sup>68</sup> By the time with Ceylon troops seem to have been effected, 52nd, 72nd, 73rd, and 77th Regiments, and the 3rd

The expedition left Ramiseraam about January in large open boats, which coasted along by Aripo, Kandy to dine and sleep. About the beginning of February and the works found to have been abandoned without land, the heavy articles being left to be conveyed in the Kelani River without resistance, the advance guard on the 8th, and the main body on the 9th.<sup>71</sup>

68. R.A.S.J. 366-374.  
R.A.S.J. facing p. 413.

69. Welsh R.A.S.J. 412.  
71. Welsh, R.A.S.J. 412-3.



continued defile capable of being easily defended General Stewart"<sup>73</sup> and his officers were greatly with Captain Lamotte had been sent out of Colombo on, but he had orders to retire as the enemy came Kaimelle River, or Maha Oya, but was ordered that the Kandyans were marching in great force

to oppose the crossing of the Kelani River, everything in her power to render their resistance and ran in such a direction as nearly to cut off country which immediately presented itself to our contemplation, and that dispositions were made. At 11 p.m. on the 5th Major Vaugine with menadiers and two companies of Malays took post at stationed posts all along the river, and sentries at Portman were posted at the Leper Hospital a quarter of a league farther up the river, Tavel's men up at the ferry, the officer in the verandah in the trees.<sup>74</sup>

was ordered to return to the Fort with one company of Captain Légrevisse a copy of his instructions, to that position, and went to Mutwal, where he got from their ships.

was ordered to send another detachment of Malays to turn, received one officer, a corporal, and an were stationed on the right and left of the troops at Grandpass, which reported that the enemy were

maintained till the 8th evening, Captain Légrevisse remain in the position he occupied. Meantime, the giment withdrew to Grandpass with a strong rock near the mouth of the river.<sup>75</sup>

meanwhile, given pause to the British troops on under Major Petrie had arrived there on the 9th. But the landing on the south side of the river puts down this delay to the preparations which were made of crossing the river under the enemy's fire of the six four-pounders mentioned by Tombe.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Colonel on 25th May, 1796 on which date a proclamation was issued by General Jervis in a letter of 17th June, 1796 (ibid.)

<sup>74</sup> the various positions taken up by the opposing forces. on plan facing R.A.S.J. 413. <sup>75</sup> R.A.S.J. 380.



The problem was, however, solved by Captain Légrevisse received orders to retire to Mutwal. That, too, was, however, soon abandoned. Submersibles into the water, and the gunners retiring towards the easily defended crossing was left unguarded. Petrie, crossed at noon on February 11th, being forced to retreat.

Meantime, the Dutch continued to fall back. He was ordered to withdraw to Kortebaum, and made being obstructed by abatis. He took up his position at the entrance to the wood leading to Kortebaum, as his position had been. He and Vogle received orders to go to "Carvate Br". The Dutch cannonade on the Mutwal side, after communicating with the British.

On the Mutwal shore an attack was, however, repulsed. A Frenchman, late Lieutenant-Colonel of the Luxembourg, the Fort of his own accord with two companies of the British army at Kortebaum. These two officers appear to have been killed. British army about daybreak on the 12th, but were repulsed. Colonel Raymond was mortally wounded and a military funeral, presumably by the British.<sup>81</sup>

As Captain Mittenmann refused to surrender, the British left flank could not be turned as the command party had to fall back on Kortebaum, where Captain Mittenmann the sea in the rear, and the wood on his left flank. He attacked the detachments under Captains Légrevisse and Kayman's Gate, having been deserted by the Dutch. Two points of contact of the opposing forces.

The Pettah and the environs, including Kortebaum, on the night of the 12th, in spite of the fact that Captain Mittenmann's Gate, consisting of three companies of the British under Captains Thirback and Hoyer, and a detachment at the avenues, and the artillery and Captain Légrevisse's battery. Shortly afterwards, Lieutenant-Colonel Mittenmann but the British were allowed to assemble in force. The Dutch troops.<sup>82</sup>

At midday on the 11th, an English corvette appeared in the bay, but the Fort allowed it to approach without firing. It was then stationed at Kortebaum, withdrew his troops from possible broadsides from the vessel. Apparently the Dutch vessels in the harbour, and MM. Honlin and her and were immediately put in the mainguard force.

81. R.A.S.J. 380, 381, 413.

83. Tembe R.A.S.J. 382, Perival ib 409.

82. This must be

84. To







The *Epaminondas* took the National troops, 47 men, while the *Anna* took the Wurtembergers. These ships were escorted by the Frigate *Bonaparte* but reached Madras on the 12th March, while the

The British occupation of the Maritime Provinces of Colombo and all its dependencies was included in the terms of the capitulation. The Dutch troops were to be allowed to remain on the same terms, namely the surrender provisions, and all other effects belonging to the Dutch &c. Many conditions, very favourable to the British, were allowed the servants of the Dutch East India Company, two years in arrear, and, during this time, they were to retain their property, the funds of the Orphan House, and the expenses of transportation were to be borne by the Dutch. Their proper pay pending their transfer. All the property of the Company, including Governor van Angelbeek, and required for the purposes of Article 3, were to be allowed to continue in their functions, and to receive the same as before. They were to be allowed to follow their employment and all pending civil suits were to be decided by the British within twelve months. We may also note that the Maritime Provinces being restored to the Dutch.

The motives for the Capitulation are inadequately explained by Tombe giving contrary accounts of it. The dissensions and insubordination among the garrison and many of its members. "The Governor, M. van Amstel, of moderate principles and a mild disposition. Many republicans of the Jacobin party; they declaimed against the Government and wished to place in the Government his son, who was a republican. The violence of this party had gone to an alarming length, and their opponents, and several respectable gentlemen, had not the sudden arrival of the English to their fury, had not the sudden arrival of the English to their fury, had not the sudden arrival of the English impending destruction."<sup>91</sup>

This division of opinion produced a state of confusion which made defence impossible. "The old Governor has been in that he was in constant danger of his life from their violence, the place to the last, but such was the state of insubordination by any means induce the Dutch troops, and in part to the enemy." The Governor was consequently obliged to leave the state of total insubordination, the violence of the massacre. "On the Capitulation being made, the Dutch fired into it with an intent to kill him, crying aloud to the English."<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> *Ib.* 385-8.

<sup>92a</sup> A report from the first British Commandant of Galle, Ceylon, dated 28th February, 1796, is printed in *Ceylon Literary Register*. It mentions the prisoners of war and of public buildings, a report on the state of the island of Matara.

<sup>93b</sup> See note 110, showing that the subsistence was allowed.

<sup>94</sup> Percival, *R.A.S.J.*, 409.

<sup>95</sup> *Ib.* 410.



for various reasons.<sup>88</sup> On Percival's own showing by the British, "began to vent the most bitter as the author of the disgrace," so that their order of the Fort. Further, if the Governor was as set out, it would be natural to suppose that the island, would have supported him in spite of other information, evidently the Governor himself, is biassed. Doubtless, Jacobinism did exist to some extent in Colombo, and of talk of a Jacobin Club from a letter of November, 1795.<sup>89</sup> But it is quite likely that the object of the movement in order to minimise his own

information in Java from Dutch officers who were to have been a treasonable act on the part of Governor. The intention back to the time of the transfer of views with Major Agnew suspicious, and appears to have been permitted to leave. He calls the measures of inactivity at the failure to fire on the British ships on the inactivity of the Dutch garrison in allowing the

as reported by Tombe himself, together with the facts set out the conclusions he draws. The Dutch letter of September 22nd, shows that Tombe's statement is without foundation. He does not explain how he prevented from leaving Colombo, if its propriety were much too elaborate and detailed to bear out. As far as these details are concerned, there is no reason to adhere to their decision of October 13th to

asked why no effort was apparently made to move from Negombo to Colombo, or the naturally strong considerations, suggested by incidental remarks by him, and some reply to this query—the presence of the Dutch North of the Kelani, and the presence of British troops, any force sent out from Colombo to meet the

force was sent out from Colombo with a few Malay troops to Oya to Negombo, and then to Colombo, on receipt of intelligence with the enemy "in great force." He suggests no attachment being caught between the British and the

<sup>88</sup> The only instance in which Percival can be shown to be mistaken is in his statement. Generally considered in spite of the fact that he is frequently mistaken, that it is inadvisable to rely overmuch on his uncorroborated

<sup>89</sup> 274, 277, 281, &c.



The possibility of the British landing troops from the ships in the rear of any force thrown out from Colombo is definitely noted by the authorities. Percival states that the Dutch gave this possibility as an excuse for abandoning their excellent position at the Kelani, but he finds it unconvincing. "They said they were afraid of troops being landed from the ships between them and the Fort of Colombo, and thus cutting off their retreat. But those who are acquainted with the situation of the country will look upon this as a very poor palliation of their cowardice, as even supposing we had attempted to land troops between them and the Fort, a secure retreat was opened to them by the thick wood on the left, through which from our not knowing the ground it would have been dangerous and improper for us to pursue them."<sup>99</sup>

But Tombe supports the theory of the landing of an intercepting force from the ships. On February 6th, Major Vaugine left the post at the ferry, and "went to Mutwal, where he had learnt that the enemy wished to effect a landing."<sup>100</sup> As it thus seems that the fear of interception did actually exist, it is quite possible that the reason given by the Dutch for their retreat was *bona fide*, and that this was the reason for the abandonment of the posts at the river, the overturning of the guns into the water, and the gradual withdrawal of all the troops into the Town. It may be noted that instructions issued to Captain Légrevisse on 9th February definitely provided for a tactical withdrawal of his troops, possibly in relation to the movements of the British ships. The whole account given by Tombe reads as one of genuine tactical arrangements, and not of a mere "semblance" of a defence.

But there still remains the criticism made by Tombe on the British being allowed to assemble in force at Korteboom under the very eyes of all the troops. Tombe apparently infers that the Dutch should have issued from Kayman's Gate, and prevented the enemy from assembling so near the Capital, and possibly wishes this to be taken as another instance of the Governor's alleged treason. But if this is the intention, the effect is somewhat detracted from by Tombe's account just before of how the British drove back the detachments of Captains Mittemann and Légrevisse, adding that "it was very fortunate for them that the enemy was contented to take up its position at Courteboom,"<sup>101</sup> and thereby inferring that the British were strong enough to advance even nearer to the Fort than Korteboom.

This leaves remaining as the only definite allegation against Governor Angelbeek, Tombe's statements about the numerous failures to fire on British ships. There seem to have been three or four instances of this: in the case of "L'Heroine," apparently in the beginning of February, which passed and repassed within range of the guns of the Flag battery, which could have sunk her or made her strike her colours but for the fact that the Governor forbade firing without his orders, and sent no orders;<sup>102</sup> in the case of the offer of the Dutchman, Backer, Captain of the French corsair "Le Jupiter," to capture two British brigs, and bring them in before nightfall, but whose offer was refused;<sup>103</sup> in the case of the English corvette at midday on February 11th, which came very near land to examine and sound the bay, and which appeared to be ready to fire upon Captain Légrevisse's troops, but which was not fired upon by the Fort;<sup>104</sup> and in that of the English frigate upon which MM. Honline Pabst, and Kuyper fired, and, in consequence were immediately put into the main guard.<sup>105</sup>

It is possible enough that the Dutch Governor had thought of capitulation by the 11th and hence did not fire on the corvette or the frigate, but it is difficult to explain the failure

99. *R.A.S.J.* 408.103. *Ib.* 377-8.100. *R.A.S.J.* 379.104. *Ib.* 381.101. *R.A.S.J.* 383.105. *Ibid.*102. *Ib.* 376.



to fire on the "L'Heroine," or the non-acceptance of the apparently good offer for the capture of the brigs. Tombe deduces that the Governor had, for some time, intended to surrender to the British, but the dispositions of 5th to 12th February would, if the interception theory and the *bona fides* of the manœuvres be admitted, seem to point to the fact that a defence was contemplated up to the 11th or 12th, if not later.

The fact is, that Tombe's theory is better supported by Percival's details than by his own. The signing of the Capitulation and the sudden introduction of the British troops into the Fort without the knowledge of the garrison; the reproaches vented by the Dutch garrison against the Governor as the author of the disgrace; the attack on his house, and the firing into it with intent to kill him; the cry that he had betrayed them and sold them to the English, all point to there being a substratum of truth in Tombe's account. But Tombe's details do not bear out the theory that the Governor had intended to capitulate for some time before the British arrived before Colombo.

These details, in fact, point to capitulation being thought of on some date after February 10th, and it was, no doubt, the conference with Major Agnew which definitely decided the Governor on his course of action. It is difficult to say at whose instance the conference was held. Tombe (*R.A.S.J.* 384) says that "on February 14th . . . Major Agnew . . . came with a flag of truce to Kayman's Gate," from which we might infer that it was Major Agnew who took the initiative in the matter. But the Capitulation itself indicates that Governor van Angelbeek proposed the terms, while Major Agnew amended them where necessary. Possibly Major Agnew's mission on the 14th, was to inform the Governor that the British Command was prepared to consider terms of Capitulation and to make generous allowances in view of the British relations with the Stadtholder.

By this time, the Governor had probably realised the hopelessness of a defence, and the easy terms finally allowed by the British would make plain the advantages of capitulation. As Welsh says (*R. A. S. J.* 414) "Without a chance of relief, it would have been madness to have held out: and by an early capitulation, private property was not only preserved, but all the different public servants obtained pensions from our Government."<sup>106a</sup>

In addition to these considerations, the political views of the Governor possibly had some influence on his final decision. Although, on October 13th, 1795, he had announced his intention to defend Colombo against an army which was supposed to have come in the interests of the Stadtholder, there is no indication that he ever swerved from his allegiance to the Prince, or that he was one of the Governors who "could attend to no orders from him dated at Hampton Court." If this be so, and if Jacobinism were assuming alarming proportions in the Garrison, it would be obvious to the Governor that Colombo, while it might be saved for the Batavian Republic, would be lost to the Stadtholder, and thus a resistance, which would cost the garrison dear, would fail, even if successful, in bringing about a state of affairs satisfactory to the Governor as a supporter of the Stadtholder.

Against this view, it may be urged that these considerations would have occurred to Governor van Angelbeek long before the investment of Colombo, and that, if they had any weight with him at the time of the signing of the Capitulation, it is surprising that he did not surrender some time before. Tombe, indeed, alleges that the Governor intended to surrender

<sup>106a</sup>, Wellesley MSS C.L.R. II 239 gives a sum of 1538 star pagodas, or about £231 expended per month on account of "Dutch prisoners who reside and are paid," while the *Jaffna Diary* of October, 1795, shows that many of Dutch clergy and civil servants drew pensions from the British Government, equivalent to two-thirds of their salaries when these were over 5 rix dollar a month, and to the full salaries when below.



all along, and that the preparations for defence were a mere blind. We have, however, seen reason to disagree with this conclusion, and it is likely that the Governor's anti-Jacobin feelings were, at least for a time, more than counteracted by his annoyance at the action of the British and his original decision to resist them. But, taken with the military situation as it developed, and the advantageous terms of capitulation, his feeling that, in any case, he was defending Colombo for the Jacobins, would not be of negligible effect.

The authorities show that he took precautions to prevent the Jacobins interfering with the capitulation, and that his decision was extremely unpopular with the Jacobins, who, by this time, apparently included most of the troops. In their disappointment, they called him "traitor" both at the time, and later to M. Tombe. But the term does not appear, in any way, to have been deserved. Governor van Angelbeek owed no allegiance to the Batavian Republic, and had no reason to love the Jacobins and their methods, while he had the Stadtholder's instructions to treat the British as "in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses."

The questions as to whether Colombo and the remaining Dutch settlements were ceded to the British in trust for the Stadtholder, and whether the British incurred any liability to restore them to the Dutch, are of some importance, especially as the authorities are not in agreement on these points.

On the one hand, we have Welsh's statement that "the whole of their possessions. . . were ceded to us by capitulation in trust for the Prince of Orange, and the fort was instantly taken possession of by our troops in his name."<sup>107</sup> Later history, also, shows that a strong presumption,<sup>108</sup> that Ceylon would be restored to the Dutch, existed in the minds of both the British officials, and of the Dutch inhabitants, for several years after the Capitulation. The Capitulation itself had a special proviso "should these Districts be restored to the Dutch" in one of its Articles.<sup>109</sup>

On the other hand, we have Lord Hobart's definite denial in Parliament, on May 5th, 1802, of "what had been stated by Lord Carlisle that it was in the name and in trust for the Prince of Orange that we got possession of the Dutch Colonies. We took them by force of arms. Almost all the Dutch Governors replied to the letters of the Prince of Orange that they could attend to no orders from him dated at Hampton Court."<sup>110</sup> The last sentence was probably intended to except Ceylon, but the rest of the statement would seem to apply to it. In fact, the resemblance, almost to the point of identity, of the phrases of Lord Carlisle and Welsh, would suggest the inference that Lord Hobart was refuting the same source of information.

Now, it cannot be denied that Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras at the time of the Capitulation, and kept, no doubt, in close touch with events in Ceylon through reports which Colonel Stuart or Major Agnew must have sent him, must be regarded as a more reliable authority than a subordinate officer of the Army. It may also be noted that Welsh is wrong, in any case, in his statement that "the whole" of the settlements were ceded in trust for the Stadtholder, as it is clear from what precedes that it could not be applied to the cases of Trincomalee, Jaffna, or the other posts in the North.

107. *R.A.S.J.* 413.

108. *Wellesley MSS—C.L.W.R.* II 2:9, 287, &c

109. Article 6th.

110. *Annual Register*, 1802. Debate on Compensation to the House of Orange, quoted in the late Mr. Sueter's *MSS.*



In Lord Hobart's denial, we have, no doubt, the authentic official statement of the facts, while Welsh's statement may possibly have been based on rumours as to the arrangements, which were founded on the correspondence between Lord Hobart and Governor van Angelbeek of July, 1795. These rumours, together with the fact that, in the first instance and in the renewed offer of 22nd September, it was proposed that the British should occupy Ceylon on the condition that it be restored to the Dutch when the Constitution of 1787 was re-established, would easily account for the presumption mentioned, that the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon were to revert to the Dutch.

It is also to be noted that the Capitulation of Colombo makes no mention of the fact that the Fort was taken possession of in the name of, or in trust for the Prince of Orange, though, possibly, in view of the rumours mentioned, the phrase "should these Districts be restored to the Dutch" was inserted in Article 6th.

Thus, it would appear that the British incurred no obligations to restore the Maritime Provinces to the Dutch under any conditions. Lord Hobart's offer of September 22nd, 1795, repeating the terms of his letter of July 7th, was rejected by Governor van Angelbeek's letter of October 13th, and was thereby rendered void and of no effect. The Capitulation of Colombo contains no reference to any such understanding, and we have Lord Hobart's definite denial of its existence.

Summing up, we may say that neither of the rival theories of Percival and Tombe appears to be acceptable. They are both based on evidence which cannot, by any means, be called disinterested, but, while Percival's theory is demonstrably erroneous, Tombe's, though considerably exaggerated, contains some elements of what appears to be the truth. Doubtless the "moderate principles" of the Governor ultimately played at least some part in his decision, and it is possible enough that he attempted to clear himself of any suspicions of disloyalty by laying the blame on the insubordination of the Jacobins.<sup>111</sup>

But the dominating feature of the situation seems to have been the strength of the British forces, both by land and sea, and the consequent hopelessness of the defence. This consideration was supplemented by generous terms of capitulation, and by the Governor's own political views, while it was the totality of these which decided the Governor to withdraw from the position taken up in his letter of 13th October, 1795, and to agree to sign the Capitulation of February 15th, 1796.<sup>112</sup>

111. Tombe (*R.A.S.J.* 386) says that "subsequently the Governor himself was so horrified at his own treason that he blew out his brains." But the "subsequently" was September, 1799, and Cordiner, who (1136) describes the Governor's funeral on 3rd September, makes no mention of his mode of death. If it were for shame of his treason it would probably have happened nearer the events, and Cordiner would, in all probability, have mentioned it. Mr. Anthonisz says: "We may now state that there is absolutely no foundation for the story of the suicide, but that, on the contrary, all the circumstances show that van Angelbeek died a natural death" (*"Johan Gerard van Angelbeek,"* p. 6).

112. Mr. Anthonisz says: "It seems to us, taking all the circumstances into account, that there was a good deal of misunderstanding between the highest Dutch authorities and the military. The latter were apparently kept in ignorance of the policy which governed the policy of the former. If treachery is to account for the surrender, we fear the charge must be transferred from the shoulders of Governor van Angelbeek to those of some higher powers working behind him. We have said that he was in a dilemma. Was he to hold the island for the Bonapartist Government of Holland, to whom he owed no allegiance, or was he to declare for the Prince of Orange who represented the States General of the Netherlands?" (*Ibid.* p. 4). If, as seems likely, "misunderstanding between the highest Dutch authorities and the military" can explain the attitude of the garrison towards the Governor after the surrender, Percival's hypothesis of Jacobin violence is still further discredited. As regards the responsibility of the higher powers for the surrender, it must be noted that van Angelbeek, in October, definitely decided to defend Colombo against the British, in spite of the tenor of the Stadtholder letter of February 7th, 1795. But Major Agnew doubtless made use of the Governor's "dilemma" among his other arguments on 14th February, 1796.



## NOTES ON ACCOMPANYING PLAN OF COLOMBO.

The plan is based on that given by Cordiner (i 40). The other details are taken partly from Welsh's Plan (*R.A.S.J.* facing p. 413), and partly Tombe's description. The latter details in the plan are only approximate. The key is as follows:—

1. Major Vaugine with 5 companies on 5th February. On 6th, posts were stationed all along the river, and sentries on the two banks. At 3 p.m. Major Vaugine returned to the Fort with 2 companies. Captain Légrevisse took command of the 3 remaining companies, and Captain Mittemann took his place as Company Commander. This force apparently remained here till 9th, when Captain Légrevisse was ordered to retire to Mutwal. (Tombe, *R.A.S.J.* 379-380.)

2. Leper Hospital—Lt. Portmann posted here with 12 men on 6th, presumably withdrawn before the 8th. (*ibid.*)

3. Tavel's Company on 6th near here (*ibid.*)

4 and 5. Dutch guns placed near here 7th. The sites given by Welsh are farther from Pas Betal, but, if they "commanded the passages" as Percival says (*R.A.S.J.* 408), it is likely they were nearer the ferry. Welsh mentions 12 guns (*R.A.S.J.* plan map facing 413), Tombe 6 (*ib.* 380). They were overturned into the water by Sub-Lt. Delville on 10th evening (381).

6. British advance guard on 8th, consisting of 77th, 7th and 8th Sepoys under Major Petrie; joined by the rest of the army on the 9th (Welsh's Plan.)

7. Captain Winkelmann of the Wurtemberg Regiment withdrew near here, possibly from position 1, on 9th (*ib.* 380.)

8. Captain Légrevisse on 9th evening at Mutwal.

9. Captain Légrevisse on 10th "at the entrance of the wood leading to Colombo" (*ib.* 380.)

10. British on 11th, advance guard crossing the Kelani at noon, the rest in the evening (Welsh's Plan) Tombe puts this on 10th evening (*R.A.S.J.* 381.)

11. Approximate position of Captain Légrevisse on 10th evening (381.)

12. Approximate position of Captain Mittemann on 10th or 11th "at the entrance to the wood leading to Mutwal" (381.)

13. Captain Légrevisse 11th evening near here (*ibid.*)

14. Attack on British flank corps by Lt.-Col. Raymond and Captain Légrevisse on 12th 3 a.m., repulsed by Captain Barbut.

15. The British on night of 12th, the Dutch detachments having been driven back to Kayman's Gate by a vigorous attack (383.)

16. British outposts.

17. British Headquarters near Wolfendaal Church.

18. The Delft Gate, to defend which Captain Légrevisse retired from Kayman's Gate at noon on 12th (Tombe, *ib.* 384.)



# INTUITION AND REASON IN RELIGION.

## AN ESSAY ON THE TRUE ORGAN OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

By W. T. STACE, C.C.S.

THAT religious knowledge can be attained by intuition, by a direct apprehension of the truth, which is in some sense higher than the indirect and laborious methods of reason, is an assumption which has been made from time to time from a very early date in the history of religious and philosophical thought. It goes back, in Europe, at the very least to the time of the Neo-Platonists. It is essential to the teaching of the majority of the mystics. It permeates much of the religious literature of India. In comparatively recent times it has been advocated even by such philosophers as Jacobi and Schelling.

It comes, therefore, as no surprise to us to find this ancient idea reappearing at the present day. From a Ceylon newspaper I quote the following :—"Man has higher faculties than the intellect. . . . The intuition is one of these faculties." And again, "Mere reason is not in itself the foundation for my own beliefs. . . . The spirit of man is like a captain who sets his course for the haven of truth. . . . The winds of reason will carry him along. Yet still it may be a wandering course, and if the winds be adverse he may never reach the haven. So, too, we cannot always attain the truth by the help of reason. But to the modern mariner there are other forces besides the wind ; steam will carry him straight, without deviation or delay, to the haven ; and, in this, steam is like the intuition." <sup>1</sup>

These are common views. And yet they need to be challenged ; challenged not in the interests of materialism or of what is (wrongly) called "rationalism," but in the interests of religion itself. Apart from the question of the existence of spiritual intuition, I believe, what is far more important, that if it exists, it is of little or no value as an organ of religion, and indeed that the claims made for it constitute a disastrous and fatal attack upon our spiritual knowledge and upon the foundations of all religion.

Now the words which I have quoted are so completely representative of the general body of intuitionist thought, they so fairly sum up the claims which have been made for the intuition, in all ages, that they may well be taken as a starting point for a general discussion of the subject. Those claims are as follows :—Firstly, there exists in man a power of spiritual intuition which is distinct from reason. Secondly, this intuition is, in some sense, higher than reason. Thirdly, it yields certainly to those beliefs to which it leads us, whereas reason is variable and uncertain, (like shifting winds.) Fourthly, it is a species of direct perception, whereas reason reaches its results only by indirect inference. And fifthly, it is capable of apprehending religious truth.

1. Mr. F. G. Pearce in the "Buddhist" of August 11th and 18th, 1917.



Now our knowledge in everyday matters comes to us in two ways. On a fine day I know that the sun is in the sky because I see it there. On a cloudy day, though I cannot see the sun, I know that it is behind the clouds, because my watch tells me that it is ten o'clock and I know that by that time the sun has risen, and also because I see the light around me and know that so bright a light can only come from the sun. In the first case my knowledge comes to me from perception; in the second case it comes from reason or inference. Or again, I know that the planet Jupiter exists because I see it. That is perception. The discoverer of the planet Neptune ascertained that it existed, before he or anyone else had ever seen it, because he observed certain aberrations in the movements of other heavenly bodies, which could only be accounted for by the attraction of an unseen planet. That was reason or inference.

Perception then differs from reason, in that it apprehends things directly or immediately, whereas reason apprehends them indirectly or mediately, through a middle term. The typical case of perception is simply that I see Y. The typical case of reason is that I see X, and knowing that the presence of X is always a mark of the presence of Y, I infer that, because X is present Y must be present also. X is here the middle term. Perception, then, has the character of immediacy, reason the character of mediacy.<sup>2</sup>

Now whatever else may be said of the so-called spiritual intuition, it is at least clear that it is conceived by its advocates as an immediate, and not a mediate, process of consciousness. It is perception, not inference. It is a direct apprehension of its object, whereas reason always apprehends its object through a middle term. And however spiritual it may be in other respects, in respect of its essential character, that of immediacy, it is closely akin to physical sensation. It differs from physical sensation, in that its objects are spiritual, whereas the objects of physical sensation are themselves always physical.

One other point will, no doubt, be admitted by the intuitionist. Spiritual intuition is not, like physical sensation, performed by a bodily organ. It is the eye by which we see, the ear by which we hear, the tongue by which we taste, and so on. But spiritual intuition cannot be thus associated with any special sense-organ. To assert the opposite would, indeed, be to commit ourselves to the crassest materialism. For physical organs can perceive only physical objects. Indeed I know of no way of defining the term "physical objects" except by saying that they are whatever is perceived by the physical senses. And bearing in mind that an object does not cease to be material by becoming rarified or less gross, we see that, supposing we possessed (as some people assert), a sixth physical sense, capable of apprehending things far too rarified for the ordinary senses to detect, such things would still be in the fullest sense physical. And so also, if the so-called spiritual intuition were associated with a physical sense-organ, its objects must needs be physical too. And when we consider that its objects are supposed to be such realities as God and the soul, it is clear that this assumption would involve us in materialism.

Now immediately we ask the question whether such a power of non-physical intuition does actually exist, the intuitionist is ready with an instant, and, as he thinks, annihilating reply. If, he says, a man born blind should deny the existence of sight, it would be impossible to convince him of it. If he should challenge you to describe it to him, you could do nothing but

<sup>2</sup> For the benefit of any philosophical student who chances to read this paper I would say here that I have, throughout this article, made no distinction between "reason" and "understanding," but have used the word reason as a generic term including both. No doubt "reason," in the narrow sense, is a form of immediacy inasmuch as it is the merging of all mediation. But it is not the blatant immediacy of sense-perception in which there is no mediation to be merged. And all that is necessary for the purpose of my argument here is to distinguish between such blatant immediacy and the mediate character of intellectual activity. I have therefore, sought to avoid confusing the minds of non-technical readers with unnecessary technical distinctions.



answer that it is impossible to describe sight to a person who cannot see, because sight cannot be described in terms of hearing, smell, touch, or taste. And it is as foolish, says the intuitionist, for us to disbelieve in his intuition as it would be for a blind man to disbelieve in sight. And it is as impossible for him to describe his intuition to us, as it would be for us to describe sight to a man born blind. If the blind man says, "How do you know that there is such a thing as the sun?", you can reply simply that you see it there, and that is an end of the matter. And so, if we question any statement made about God or other divine matters by the intuitionist, he can similarly reply with a lofty and disdainful refusal to discuss matters at all.

In this way the intuitionist seeks to put himself outside the reach of reason altogether, and above criticism. No matter what we say, he can meet every objection beforehand by simply pointing out that all argument is futile against the evidence of his direct perception. Can the blind man by any argument convince me that I do not see the sun? And can we by any argument prove that the intuitionist does not directly perceive God, the soul, immortality, reincarnation, or whatever else he claims to be able to intuit?

On this I offer the following observations. The argument depends for its force upon the distinction between mediate and immediate apprehension of an object, between perception and reason. Perception, or immediate apprehension of an object, is always incommunicable. I see the sun. But if anyone, either because he is blind or for any other reason, cannot see the sun, I cannot communicate my vision to him. Ideas we can always impart. We cannot impart perceptions. Now this means that the only judge of each man's perceptions is himself. I am the only person who knows whether I see or what I see. If a man asserts that he has the sensation of seeing a ghost, I cannot possibly contradict him. I may try to prove that he is drunk or suffers from hallucinations, but I have no ground for asserting that he has not the sensation of seeing a ghost. Whether a man's sensations correspond to the facts may be a matter for argument. It is open to others to deny it. But it is not open to anyone to deny that he has the sensations. But this contention cuts both ways. For neither is it open to anyone to assert that another man has sensations if he himself denies it. I cannot contradict my ghost-seeing friend about his sensations. But neither can he contradict me about mine. He cannot tell me that I see a ghost, if I myself am unconscious of it. Each individual is the sole judge of what sensations or perceptions he has. And this must necessarily be true, not only of physical perception, but of all perception, and therefore of spiritual intuition. For it is true of all immediate apprehension *as such*. All immediate apprehension, just because it is immediate, is incommunicable, and whether it is physical or super-physical can make no difference. Each individual, therefore, is the sole judge of whether or not he possesses spiritual intuition. And if it is true that, in the nature of the case, I cannot dispute a man's statement that he has spiritual intuition, it is equally true that he cannot dispute my statement that I have none.

There cannot, therefore, be any ground for alleging, as the intuitionist often does, that religious intuition is a power possessed, in a more or less unevolved condition, by all men. He cannot allege this, unless all men themselves assert that they possess intuition, unless all men are themselves conscious of it. And that this is so nobody will pretend. The intuitionist cannot logically assert intuition of anybody but himself. If there is a large body of men who, though they are conscious of religious thoughts, impulses, and feelings, are yet unconscious of any special "faculty" of immediate religious perception, the only rational conclusion is that they do not possess it. And it can hardly be doubted that the majority of religious-thinking men belong to this class.



Now it does not in any way affect these conclusions to argue that the unconsciousness of spiritual intuition displayed by the majority of mankind might be accounted for by the backward state of its evolution in them. If I meet a being who is conscious of only four physical senses and knows nothing of sight, I might, if I were an experienced biologist, detect the rudimentary beginnings of an eye, and thence predict that he would some day see. I can have no grounds for making a similar prediction about the evolution of spiritual intuition in man. For spiritual intuition has no physical organ of which I can detect the beginnings. There are only two possible grounds upon which we could ever predict the evolution of a new power of perception in man. One ground is physical, and the other is psychological. One is the existence of a rudimentary *organ* of perception, the other is the existence of a rudimentary *consciousness* of perception. One is if I detect (in the case of sight) the beginnings of an eye; the other is if I know that the organism is conscious of the beginnings of sight, i.e., that it already dimly sees. So, too, there could only be two possible grounds for alleging that all men possess a more or less unevolved power of spiritual intuition. One would be to detect the rudimentary organs of such intuition. But we cannot detect any, and they admittedly do not exist. The other would be if all men were themselves actually conscious of a dim spiritual intuition. But they are not. Therefore there are no grounds for the allegation. And if it be urged that the hypothesis of an unevolved intuition in all men accounts for man's unconsciousness of it, the answer is that this unconsciousness is much more simply accounted for by supposing that he does not possess it. To allege a power of perception in men which they themselves, the only possible judges, are not aware of, and then to account for their unawareness by saying that the power is still only partially evolved in them, is simply a gratuitous and groundless assertion of dogmatism.

The utmost that the intuitionist can assert, therefore, with any show of reason or any foundation in positive evidence, is that he himself and a few other exceptional beings possess a power of spiritual intuition. In that case they must be a superior order of beings. Their minds are different from ours in their fundamental structures. They are not really human at all. They are superhuman. They are a new species in nature. Whence has this species come? How have they been evolved? Who are their ancestors in the evolutionary series? There is a break here in the chain of evolution. There is a break in the continuity of the series. Where is the missing link?

If anyone, in spite of this cold and uncomfortable isolation in which his claim places him, and in spite of the fact that he has no answer to the pertinent questions just framed, still persists that he has the power of spiritual intuition, then, remembering the principle that each man is the sole judge of his own perceptions, we cannot absolutely refute him, we cannot categorically deny his claim. We are bound to admit that if he had such a power, it would be as inconceivable to us as sight is to a man born blind, and that he could as little prove its reality as we could prove the reality of sight to a person not endowed with it. We can, however, ask, whether it is not more likely that he is an incompetent psychologist, incapable of accurate mental self-analysis, who has mistaken some other quite ordinary mental process for a true intuition, than that his mind is really differently constructed from other people's minds. The likelihood of such a mistake is evident. It may arise simply from the fact that a man has a foggy and confused mind. He has an idea, perhaps, that God is one. The psychological origins of this idea may be both complicated and obscure. It may have arisen in part from many things which he has read and heard and now forgotten, and in part from the confused gropings of his own reason. He cannot remember how he reached the idea. He has forgotten even that



it was reached by a gradual process at all. He can give no account of it. He thinks the idea is simply *there*. Hence he mistakes it for an immediate perception.

There is not merely the possibility of such mistakes. It can be shown positively that to mistake inference and reasoning for perception is a constant and normal mental illusion. And a psychological explanation of this can be given. It occurs regularly in the sphere of ordinary physical knowledge, and it is still more likely to happen in the sphere of religious thought, where the mental processes involved are so much more complicated and difficult to analyse. Confining ourselves for the moment, however, to the merely physical sphere, suppose a man says, "I saw that the mountains were far away." He imagines that he has actually perceived the distance. But, as a matter of fact, he has done no such thing. On the contrary he has judged the distance by a complicated process of reasoning. As Berkeley pointed out long ago, it is impossible to perceive distance, because it is "a line placed endwise to the eye," and you cannot see a line so placed. You judge that the mountains are far away because they look small, and you know that if they were close they would tower over you, or because they appear blue through a clear atmosphere, and you know that this is a sign of great distance, or because you see a large number of objects between you and the mountains which you know occupy a great deal of space. In most cases all these reasons and probably others co-operate in forming your judgment of distance. What you imagined, therefore, to be a case of pure perception turns out on close analysis to be a most complicated piece of reasoning. Again, you say, "I saw my brother." But, as a matter of fact, you saw no such thing. All you really saw was "a certain coloured surface."<sup>1</sup> Only by a complex series of inferences do you arrive at the conclusion that the sensation of the coloured surface is due to the presence of your brother. Here again you have mistaken inference for perception.

In all cases where reasoning is mistaken for perception, the error is due to the same general cause. Perception, it is to be remembered, knows its object immediately, whereas reason knows its object mediately, or through a middle term. Now if the middle term in a process of inference somehow gets dropped out or forgotten, then it will seem to us that we know the object directly, without the aid of a middle term. In other words we shall probably mistake our reasoning for a perception. Perception sees its object face to face. Reason sees it through another object. And if that other object is not noticed or is in any way suppressed, we naturally imagine that we are face to face with the final object, that is, we think we have perceived it. This is exactly what has occurred in the examples we have given above. And if it is so easy to overlook the middle terms in the simplest conscious processes of daily life, how much more easy will it be to do so in the vast and difficult mental processes concerned with such objects as God and the soul?

The suppression of the middle term may occur in any of several ways. In the first place it may be mere forgetfulness. Memory retains the conclusion only, the middle terms being forgotten. But more frequently the middle term was never directly present to consciousness at all. This is the case in all judgments of distance. Here it is not that we forget the various inferences by which we came to the conclusion that, for example, the mountains are far away, but that we were never conscious of them at all. Our reason in such cases works subconsciously. And if a man by subconscious reasoning comes to the conclusion, say, that God is one, he does not see the middle terms; he does not know they exist. It appears to him that

1. This instance is given in J. S. Mill's "Logic," Book 4, Chap. 1.



his idea is present immediately to him, has simply burst in upon his mind suddenly and without any antecedents. It appears to be simply *there*. He concludes that it is a direct intuition.

There can be no doubt that the assertors of spiritual intuition have simply made this mistake. They have mistaken inferences for intuitions because they have failed to notice the middle terms.<sup>4</sup> And the cure for all this is to develop the power of psychological self-analysis. Most people are incorrigibly bad psychologists. They have not the faintest idea of what goes on in their own minds. They never study their mental processes, and are incompetent to analyse them. When they become less incompetent psychologists, we shall probably hear no more of spiritual intuition.

When we meet with unexplained facts in nature, it is a first principle in science that we ought not to presume new forces and natural laws to explain them, until it is proved that they cannot be explained by already known laws and forces. We must eliminate the possibility of all known causes before we assume an unknown cause. Suppose we wish to explain the ascent of a balloon into the sky. To argue that gravity draws bodies towards the earth, and that, therefore, there must be an unknown law of repulsion from the earth, which specially applies to balloons, would be the device of a thoroughly undisciplined mind. For the ascent of the balloon can, on the contrary, be shown to be itself simply a case of the action of gravity. The air is heavier (i.e., shows greater gravitation), volume for volume, than the balloon, which is consequently forced upwards. Again, it would be quite unscientific to assume the existence of the unknown ether of space, unless it had first been shown that the transmission of light and heat through space could not be accounted for by other agencies already known to science. And yet these are precisely the unsound methods adopted in psychology by the intuitionists. The facts to be explained are certain psychic phenomena. Some minds appear to reach conclusions immediately, and without the natural processes of inference. It is incumbent on the psychologist here first to rule out all known laws of thought before he assumes new laws. He is bound to show that the facts cannot be explained by ordinary organs of consciousness, before he posits the existence of new organs. But the given facts can easily be explained by the already well-known phenomena of subconsciousness. This, however, is too ordinary and hum-drum an explanation for those whose chief mental characteristic is an insatiable thirst for the marvellous. Ignoring the fundamental canons of sound science, neglecting first to eliminate the possibility of explanation by ordinary laws, they must needs rush to the unknown and unexplored, and rashly introduce new laws, new faculties, new and unheard of organs of thought. And this, I say, deserves the strong condemnation of every man who cares for the advance of knowledge, who values honest, patient, and cautious thinking, even if slow and laborious, rather than the easy, showy, and pretentious, but fundamentally unsound, speculations of thaumaturgists and theosophists. Of those who explain their psychic experiences by a newly-evolved and abnormal intuition we can legitimately demand to know whether they have first eliminated the possibility of explanation by normal means. And we have proved that they have not done so. For the facts can be fully explained by well-known laws of psychology. We are entitled to conclude that their theories are hasty and illicit. We are entitled to deny the evidence of their intuition.

There is one other consideration, which affects both the question of the existence of intuition and the question of its value which I cannot altogether omit here. It is in reality the most important thing that I have to say on the subject, the only thing I really care about.

<sup>4</sup> We sometimes say that we know a thing "instinctively." This simply means that our reasons, i.e., the middle terms, are so deeply submerged in the subconscious, that we have not as yet been able to draw them up to the surface of consciousness. Women's so-called "intuition" is of the same kind.



Nevertheless I shall refer to it only briefly, because it involves philosophical ideas which I have not the space to explain in detail. It is this. To speak of perceiving divine things, of perceiving God, for example, by intuition, is in reality to degrade God and all things divine practically to the level of things of sense, almost to the level of matter. Pressed to its logical conclusion it involves us in a kind of materialism. For whether by the physical senses, or by any other kind of perception, however spiritual we may allege it to be, nothing can be perceived except things of sense. They may be things of sense which we can in some way regard as super-physical. They may not be gross matter. But they are, nevertheless, things of sense. For a thing of sense means simply that which can be immediately apprehended, perceived, in fact *sensed*. To apprehend an object immediately means that the object is, so to speak, *there*, that it is *present* somewhere, that it *exists*, that it is a *thing*. Now God does not exist,<sup>5</sup> and God is not a thing. If he were, he would not be God. He is what lies *behind* existences and things. He is the final explanation of them. If he were himself an existent thing, he would himself stand in need of explanation, and so would not be the ultimate reality. The supreme realities do not exist. Existence is a category too low for them. Now you cannot perceive what does not exist. Therefore you cannot perceive God, however "spiritual" the intuition you may attempt to use for the purpose. To put the same thought in another way, 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. God, the infinite, cannot therefore be particular, and cannot be perceived. 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 foundations 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 of men who cannot understand absolute abstract truth, and for whom symbols and metaphors are a paramount necessity. They think that to deny the existence of God is the same as to deny his reality, whereas in truth the exact opposite is the case, i.e., to assert God's existence is to deny his reality. To these we must use symbolical and metaphorical expressions, and say that God exists. But anyone who would rise to absolute philosophical truth must realise that this *is* merely a metaphor. In the same way we often use such expressions as "to see God." This is a metaphorical way of expressing an unusually vivid consciousness of God. To take it literally would involve our supposing that God is a material thing, perceptible to the physical senses. And this is exactly the mistake which the intuitionist makes, except that he does not go quite so far as to think that God can be seen by the physical eye. He thinks, however, that God can be seen by a sort of super-physical sight. He thinks, in fact, that God is a sort of super-physical matter.

Anyone who really understands Plato will understand this. Plato said that what is ultimately real is not particular things, which are perceived by the senses, but concepts or general ideas. In trying to explain this he used a great many metaphorical expressions, because he knew that the vulgar mind cannot understand abstract thought, but needs images and symbols to help it.<sup>6</sup> He said, for example, that the ideas are archetypal, and that the things which we

<sup>5</sup> Let those who would cavil at such expressions beware lest in attacking what they do not understand, they unwittingly undermine the very thing they would prop up. For the *idea* is expressed in this and the following paragraphs as essential to every system of idealism, the one universal philosophy passed on from age to age, through Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel. And this idealism 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.

<sup>6</sup> And in consequence of this those who do not understand him invariably mistake him for a mystic.



perceive with our senses were moulded into poor copies of the ideas out of a primordial, formless, and chaotic matter. Of course Plato did not mean that the ideas actually exist anywhere. They are not to be found floating about in the sky, for example. Nor are they the ideas of any particular existent mind, for to suppose that they are your ideas or my ideas would be to reduce the whole theory to manifest nonsense. Obviously your ideas and my ideas are not the explanation of the external world, nor are things of sense copies of them. Nor did Plato mean that there ever was an actual moment of time when the chaotic and formless matter (itself a myth or symbol) was taken hold of by somebody and made into copies of the ideas. Plato was only trying to express, what is the burden of idealistic philosophy everywhere, that the truth of things is thought, that thought alone has full reality, and that the world of sense has truth only in so far as thought is in it, only in so far as it is the product of thought. To suppose that the ideas exist would be to miss the whole significance of Plato's philosophy, and in fact to reduce it to nonsense. To imagine that the ideas can be perceived, either by physical organs or by spiritual intuition, would be to degrade them to the level of things of sense. And using the word idea in the Platonic sense, God is the supreme idea. And those who claim that they perceive, for example, that God is one, by spiritual intuition, do most fatally attack idealism and religion. They degrade God to a thing of sense. Logically their end is materialism.

At this point we may leave the question whether a special spiritual intuition exists, and pass to the equally important question what would be the value of such an intuitive power as an organ of religious knowledge, if it did exist. The intuitionist, usually, it appears, thinks that intuition is "higher than reason." Reason, he informs us, is like the wind which blows at random in any direction. Reason is variable and mutable. Intuition is certain and unchangeable. Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that a special power of spiritual intuition does exist in man. Let us consider what its value would be, and whether it could in any sense be considered higher and more certain than reason.

It is easy to see why the intuitionists make this claim. Direct apprehension, perception, they think, must always be more sure than a mediate process of inference. That I actually see a thing present before me,—that, surely, is irrefutable evidence of its truth. Philosophers may argue about God. But their arguments may easily be fallacious. They may prove his reality. But their proofs may be invalid. But if we could actually see God, not indeed by the physical eye, but by some inner and spiritual eye, would not that be better than any argument?

To the vulgar mind this is conclusive. Nevertheless it is wrong. What it, at bottom, means, is that the thing we can feel, or touch, or see, is the real thing. And this is simply the attitude of materialism. And the fact that the claim is made on behalf of a superphysical sense simply means that it is a super-physical materialism. The fundamental meaning of materialism is not so much that matter is reality as that whatever is *there*, whatever is perceived as immediately present to us, is reality. It is only because the common opinion is that the only thing which is thus immediately present to us is matter, that materialism has become identified with the doctrine that matter is reality.

We will waive this, however, and pass to other considerations. When the intuitionist supposes that a perception of God is necessarily more convincing than a thought of God he is clearly arguing by analogy from the physical senses. It is better to feel a sovereign in my pocket with my fingers than to argue that it must be there because I put it there an hour ago. For there may be a hole in my pocket through which it has slipped out. My reasoning may be wrong, but my senses cannot be. And so with divine things, the evidence of non-physical



intuition must, it is thought, be better than any process of reasoning. It is essential to realise that the intuitionist's contention is an argument by analogy from the physical senses. From reflection on the physical senses he derives his basic assumption, which is, that immediate apprehension is surer than mediate inference. If this is true in physical perception, he argues, it will be equally true in spiritual perception. If then we can show that it is *not* true even in physical perception, the bottom will be knocked out of the intuitionist's case.

Now so far is it from being true that physical perception is more certain than reason, that it can, on the contrary, easily be shown that without reason perception has no validity at all, and that even in the commonest affairs of daily life it is reason which gives to perception any reality which it possesses. We can go further and say that without reason any intelligible perception would be impossible. Let us explain these points in detail.

According to the common view, reason and perception work, as it were, in water-tight compartments. Perception, it is thought, is a complete mental process in which reason plays no part. We first perceive a thing, and then reason about it. I see a house. That is perception. I infer that it must have been built by somebody. That is reason. Now it has already been shown that much of what is usually taken for perception is really inference. The so-called perception of distance is entirely inference. But at any rate, it will be said, the mere knowledge of the physical presence of an object is pure perception. To see that the mountains are far away may require reason. But to see that they are mountains requires none. Even this, however, is incorrect. Suppose I see a house. This, you might think, is a pure act of sight. But, as a matter of fact, what I actually see is not a house at all. It is the sensation of an object which occupies space, has certain colours, and so on. I cannot recognize this object as a house without a series of comparisons. I have seen other houses before. And because this object resembles them, I infer that it must be a house. This is an act of reasoning. Further, I only know that it resembles other houses because I see windows, roof, doors, chimneys, etc. And I only recognize these as windows, doors, etc., because I have seen others before. Reason again. That what I call my perception of the house is largely a matter of inference is proved by another fact. When I come close to it, it may quite possibly turn out that it is not a house at all, but a mirage. Now in such a case it is not my powers of perception which have misled me. It is my faulty process of inference. I reasoned "Such and such sensations in the eye can only be caused by the presence of a house." And my argument was bad, because there was another alternative which I ignored and forgot to eliminate, namely, that the same sensations might be caused by certain conditions of temperature and atmosphere. What applies to a house, of course, applies equally to all objects. We could not recognize any object in the world without the aid of reason. It is, of course, true that it is surer to feel a sovereign in my pocket than to argue about it. But here, too, I could not know the coin as such unless I reasoned. I argue that the thing in my pocket must be a sovereign because it feels like other sovereigns. And in this case there is an additional piece of inference. Unless my sense of touch is quite abnormally developed, I could not tell that the object which I feel in my pocket is a sovereign, unless I knew that one had previously been put there. I reason thus, "I put a sovereign in my pocket this morning, and I have put nothing else in my pocket. What I feel there has the same shape, size, and feel, and must, therefore, be that sovereign."

What has been said by no means exhausts the matter, nor does it give a complete idea of how deeply reason is embedded in perception. It is clear, however, that without reason no object in the universe could be recognized. You could not recognize your own brother. You



could not even tell that he is a man. Without reason the universe would not be for us a universe at all. It would be an unintelligible sea of shifting images and meaningless sensations, a hopeless jumble of disconnected and floating phantasmagoria.

It is, in fact, reason which introduces order into the world, and makes it possible for us to regard the universe as a cosmos and not as a chaos. For it is the systematic and rational connection of all things, it is the vast and all-embracing network of relationships in which all things lie, which makes the universe a cosmos. And this systematic connection the senses cannot give us. All the senses can give us is sensations. The *order* among sensations, their relations among each other, everything that renders them intelligible or sane, is the result, not of immediate apprehension, but of intellectual activity. The senses supply us only with the raw material of a world. And this raw material has to be worked up by the reason.

In illustration of these truths we may refer briefly to the distinction between real perceptions and hallucinations. I may really see a house, or I may have a hallucination of a house. The sensations involved are in both cases exactly the same, and may be equally distinct and vivid. What then is the difference? The plain man's explanation would, no doubt, be that in the one case there is a real house outside my mind of which my idea is a copy, whereas in the other case it is not so. But how can I possibly know anything about things outside my mind? My perception of the house is an idea *in* my mind. How can I get outside my mind to compare its ideas with things outside? If it were the case that my perception is a copy of something outside, I could not possibly know it, because I cannot perceive what is outside. I can only perceive my perception. This is so obvious that the majority of people cannot be made to understand it. The truth that there is nothing outside mind, outside thought, is so simple that people think it cannot be true. Just as the one thing a new-born baby cannot see is its own head. The fact is that people confuse the idea of a thing being outside the body with the idea of its being outside the mind. When I see two billiard balls, I see that one is outside the other. They do not occupy the same space, but different spaces. So also I perceive that the house and my body are two separate objects which do not occupy the same space, but different spaces. I see that one is outside the other, that the house is outside my body. But this is quite a different thing from saying that the house is outside thought. I cannot see my mind in one place and the house in another, and perceive that they occupy different spaces. For mind is obviously not in space at all. Thought does not occupy space. If it did, it would be measurable. It would be possible, for example, to ascertain how long, how broad, and how high, one's idea of evolution is! The house, then, is not outside mind. On the contrary it is inside. That is just what I mean when I say that I perceive it. I mean that it is inside my consciousness. I perceive things as outside my body, but not as outside my mind. At any rate it will be clear that it is absurd to talk of my idea being a copy of something outside my mind. I can compare a photograph of a house with the house itself, and say that it is like or unlike, because both the photograph and the house are objects occupying space. I can first look at one and then at the other. But I cannot first look at my perception of the house and then at the house as it is in itself. I cannot perceive the house as a different thing from my perception of it. I cannot perceive anything except my perception.

So that the plain man's explanation of the difference between real perception and hallucination will not bear examination. A better account of the matter would be to say that in real perception the idea is correlated, in a special way, with nervous excitations which are themselves caused by light waves, or other external stimuli, whereas in hallucination no such relation-



ship can be traced. And this is obviously true so far as it goes. It is, however, only a very small part of the truth. Mere relationship to external stimuli is not in itself enough to differentiate reality from hallucination. Many more relationships are required. In fact, what is required is that a percept, in order to be real, should be systematically related to all other percepts in existence. The house which I see in sane life is related, by links of causation, space, time, etc., to every other object in the universe. The house which I see in a dream or hallucination is not so related. The universe is one systematic whole. Every part of it is related to every other part. For a percept to be real means that it has a definite place in this vast web of relationships. The mental image which I call a house has a definite and rational connection with every other image which enters my mind during my sane and waking moments. With dreams and hallucinations this is not so. Dream-images are indeed vaguely connected with other images in the same dream, but they are not rationally connected. There is no system among them. In waking life I know that, if I drop a heavy body from my hand, it will fall to the ground. But in a dream it may or may not do so. It may quite possibly ascend into the sky. Among dream-images there is no uniformity, no law, no system. Their relations are chaotic. And they are not intelligibly related to percepts outside the same dream at all. I can trace a connection between what I did yesterday and the results of that action which accrue to me today. I can, as a rule, trace no connection between last night's dream and tomorrow's. Cases of dreams recurring, or of one dream continuing during several nights, are indeed not uncommon. But that there is any such rational and systematic connection among dream-images as there is among the images which we call real perceptions will not be pretended. Not only can I, in real life, see how what I did yesterday is related to what I do today, but we can trace the connection between what happened in the time of Julius Cæsar and what is happening now. The image in my mind when I actually see a house is in no way more vivid or distinct than are the images in a hallucination. But an image is real when it is an intelligible part of the cosmos. It is hallucination when it is part of a chaos. To say that a thing is real means that it belongs to the one and only series of images which is a cosmos. To say that it is hallucination means that it belongs to any one of an infinite number of chaotic series.

The test of reality, then, is rational connection, that is, the connection which *reason* finds in things. That real percepts are related to external stimuli is but a particular case of this. It shows us merely one of the infinite number of relationships which are necessary to make an image real.

We have, then, in every real image, two elements, sensation and rationality. *And that which distinguishes reality from hallucinations and dreams is the rationality.* The sensation is the same in both. The mere fact that you perceive a thing does not make it real. It is reason which makes it real. And this gives us the clue to the complete answer to the intuitionist's idea that intuition is higher than reason, that a perception of God by an inner sense would be more real than a knowledge of God based on reason. For what is true of the physical senses in this connection would be equally true of the supposed super-physical intuition. It is true of all perception, of all immediate apprehension as such. That a thing is immediately apprehended, and nothing more, gives it no claim to reality. A something more is required, namely, that it should be rational. In the physical world reality may be defined as rational sensation. And similarly a bare intuition of spiritual things would not give us knowledge of them as realities. To gain that we must have a rational intuition. Just as it is reason, and not sensation, which lends reality to physical things, so it would be reason and not intuition which would lend reality to spiritual things. Even if it were possible to perceive God, reason would be required to assure us of the reality of the percept. Otherwise it might be a spiritual hallucination.



And not only this. Even an illusory perception of God would be impossible without reason. For into any intelligible perception at all, illusory or otherwise, reason enters as an ingredient, as we have already shown. If I have an hallucination or a dream of toads and frogs, which have no being in reality, I must have in my mind the concepts by which alone I can recognize them as toads and frogs. I must argue that these are toads and frogs because they resemble others that I have seen before. Even the wildest madman cannot be wholly destitute of reason. For no perception at all is possible without it. All that the senses could give us, without reason, would be unintelligible disconnected sensations and phantasms. And just as even an hallucination is not possible without reason, so even an illusory intuition of God would be impossible without it. If then a spiritual intuition exists, we may affirm two things about it, that it is reason which makes it possible at all, and that it is reason which gives it any reality it has. Every perception, every intuition, must be brought before the bar of reason before it can be known as real, before it can possess any intelligible meaning for our minds. Reason appears thus as the presupposition of all intuition on the one hand, and as the judge of all intuition on the other. How then can intuition be said, in any sense, to be higher than reason? Was not Plato right, after all, when he said that ideas, thought, concepts, reason, are what is real in things? Intuition, whether physical or super-physical, cannot be higher than reason, for reason is its judge, and, in a sense, its creator. What, then, is the value of spiritual intuition, supposing that it exists, as an organ of religious knowledge? The answer is that, without reason, it would have the same value in the sphere of religious knowledge as the senses, unaided by reason, would have in the sphere of physical science; and how much that is may easily be ascertained by asking ourselves how much physical science is known to the brutes, who have the same sense organs as ourselves.

The supremacy of reason over all other modes of knowledge is well illustrated in the old controversy, now happily obsolete, between reason and authority. By authority was meant usually the authority of the Bible considered as the inspired word of God, or sometimes the authority of the Church considered as a divinely guided body. If, 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 the Church. For these are divinely inspired and cannot lie, whereas human reason may easily err. The answer to this is very obvious. The Bible and the Church could have no authority except that which reason had itself bestowed on them. There must have been some reason for accepting them as divinely inspired in the first instance. It was human reason which accepted them as divine, and which judged their credentials. Even those who said that a doctrine must be believed *because* it is taught in the Bible, were giving a reason for their belief. Even if one should hear the voice of God speaking direct to one in the garden, the authority of that voice could not supercede the authority of reason, for one must have a reason for believing that it is the voice of God, and for believing that God is all-truthful.

And so it is with intuition. The writer whom I have quoted himself uses significant words when he says that intuition is a thing "apart from reason but not contrary to it." In other words, if an intuition were contrary to reason, we could not believe it. If reason and intuition come into conflict, then it is intuition which must give way. What is this but an admission that the last word lies with reason, that intuition must appear before the bar of reason and be judged by it, that reason is a higher authority than intuition? And even if anyone were to deny the supremacy of reason, he must give a reason, for doing so, thereby refuting his own denial. Reason is the one thing in the world that you cannot deny. You can deny the validity of perceptions, but not of reason. You can ask the reason of everything else in the world. But



you cannot ask the reason of reason. You can challenge everything in the world to justify itself by reason. But you cannot challenge reason to justify itself by anything except itself. How then can anything be higher than reason?

And yet to make reason the supreme organ of spiritual knowledge means to many people, I am well aware, something not far short of scepticism, or at best a cold, unemotional, undevotional, "merely" intellectual outlook. Was there ever a more fatal and sorry misunderstanding? As if reason were in any way antagonistic to devotion and emotion! As if to be religious it were necessary first to be unreasonable! As if to be reasonable were the same as to be sceptical! What sort of faith can those persons have who openly throw mud at religion by supposing this? Probably the popular bias against reason in religion is due to the fact that some persons who attack religion insolently arrogate to themselves the name "rationalists."

But the real truth is the very opposite of this. So far is it from being true that reason is antagonistic to religion, that, on the contrary, the whole religious impulse of man springs from his rational nature. This is not to say that reason is the whole of religion, or that it ought to take the place of devotion. What it means is that devotion is only necessary because man is a rational being, and that the primary necessity which man feels for religion, the fundamental religious impulse, which afterwards flowers in devotion, springs from reason. For it is reason alone which impels him to rise from finite things towards the infinite. Reason is indeed the faculty of the infinite. Let us explain this.

Intuition apprehends its object immediately, reason mediately. This means that intuition rests satisfied with the object immediately presented to it, but reason seeks to pass beyond it. Suppose I see a star. As far as perception is concerned, that is an end of the matter. Perception is satisfied with simply seeing it. It is reason which asks what is the cause of the star, and what in general are its relations to other things in the world. It is reason which seeks to pass beyond each thing presented to it to that which is its explanation. But when we thus ask the reason of an object, we find that its explanation can only lie in another object. And reason does not rest satisfied with that other object, but immediately asks the explanation of it. This it finds in a third object, of which again it proceeds to ask the explanation. In this way we get an infinite series. And it is the essential character of reason that nowhere in this endless series of finite objects does it find a final resting-place, but for ever pushes onward to the next. In other words, reason can never find satisfaction in any finite object. Only in the infinite can it rest finally satisfied. And the infinite which it demands is not a mere endless series of finites, nor is it something which is merely mechanically infinite like time or space, which indeed are not true infinities at all, but only endless aggregates of finitudes. That alone in which reason can finally halt and rest must be an infinite which is self-determined, which needs nothing outside and beyond itself to explain it. Reason cannot find the final explanation of objects, in that which itself stands in need of explanation such as space or time, or in that which refers it to something else by which it is to be understood, but only in the self-contained.<sup>7</sup> It is thus in reason that we find the roots of that hunger for the infinite which is the very essence of all religion. It is his reason which first impels man to seek God.

7. What is the nature of this self-contained infinite is a question which I have specially avoided discussing in this paper, because it does not come within the scope of my argument. It is important to note, too, that the infinite series to which reason at first leads us, as shown in this paragraph is obviously a mere endless line leading nowhere. It is as hopeless to expect to find God by retracing the steps of an endless chain of causes as to imagine that one could reach him by proceeding infinitely far in space or time. The true infinite can only be reached by transcending this spurious infinite of endless finitudes. To explain how this is possible would involve the distinction between "reason" and "understanding." And the whole question is too technical and difficult for treatment in a popular article like the present. All I am now attempting to show is that reason is essentially the impulse to seek the infinite and therefore the root of all religious aspiration. How that impulse can be satisfied is another question.



It is well that those who seek to belittle reason and to exalt above it some species of mere perception should realise these facts. It is well, too, that they should understand that never till the world's end could any form of intuition give to man the impulse towards the infinite, and so form the basis of religion. The very essence of reason is to pass from the finite to the infinite. Intuition possesses no such inner necessity for ever driving it on from the immediately presented object to that which lies beyond. On the contrary, the very essence of intuition is that it seizes only the immediate object, and remains in it. And that which is immediately presented in intuition is of necessity the finite, the particular, the thing that is *there*. To exalt intuition or aught else above reason is, therefore, to attack the very basis of religion, the foundation of man's spiritual nature. To suppress reason is to suppress the divine part of man. To deify perception, whether physical or super-physical, is to deify his lower nature.

Reason, then, is the true organ of religious *knowledge*. This is not quite the same as saying that it is the true organ of religion. Man cannot, of course, use his reason as an organ of religious *feeling*. But the only point in this connection on which I wish to lay emphasis here is this. In all matters, religious or otherwise, knowledge must precede feeling. It need not be complete knowledge. It may quite well be very imperfect. But without *some* knowledge of a thing, you cannot have any feeling about it at all. To be totally ignorant of a thing means simply to be unconscious of it. Knowledge, therefore, is prior to feeling. You must have some religious knowledge before you can have any religious feeling. And as reason is the organ of religious knowledge, it may properly be called also the basis of all religion.

When we say that reason is the true organ of spiritual knowledge, at once the objection will be raised that of all things in the world human reason is the most fallible, and that the variety of contradictory conclusions to which it has led philosophers and even theologians is notorious. The answer is that reason is not fallible, but, on the contrary, infallible. It is human unreason which leads us to wrong and contradictory conclusions, not human reason. Let us take a simple illustration of this. From the fact that all philosophers are men it follows that some men are philosophers. But it does not follow that all men are philosophers. All A is B, therefore some B is A, is correctly reasoned. But if in place of this I say "All A is B, therefore all B is A," I am guilty of false reasoning. My conclusion that all men are philosophers, or that all B is A, is a mistake which is due, not to my reason, but, on the contrary, to my lack of it. I have gone wrong, not because I have followed reason, but because I have not followed it. And so in the higher branches of knowledge, and in particular in religion and philosophy, we make mistakes not because reason is fallible, but because we are not wholly reasonable. A completely rational being could never be wrong. It is because we have in our natures so much of the irrational, because all kinds of impulses, desires, feelings, and mere stupidities, cloud and obscure human reason, that philosophers and religious thinkers come to such different and contradictory conclusions. You cannot father upon reason all the mistakes that you make because you cannot or will not reason properly. If you come to a false conclusion because you reason badly, that is not the fault of reason; it is your fault.

There is, of course, a truth behind the objection which we are considering. When people say that reason is fallible, or that it is variable like the wind, they are, of course, talking nonsense. For reason is the one thing that never varies and never errs. What they no doubt mean, however, is that it is very difficult to reason properly. If we follow reason it can never lead us astray. But to follow it is the most difficult of all mental tasks, just because we have so much of unreason in us. When we make reason the organ of religious knowledge, therefore, there is no disputing the fact



that we are choosing a very thorny path. But does anybody suppose that the noblest fruits of religious consciousness are to be gathered without difficulty, to be enjoyed for the asking? Is it not a mere truism to say that everything that is worth having in the world can be attained only after struggle and labour and defeat and manifold backslidings and mistakes? And is it not probable that this will be doubly true when the object of our desires is the supreme attainment, the knowledge of God? No doubt in its battle for truth reason suffers many defeats and many wounds. But to quote the words of Hegel "the wounds of reason can be healed only by a deeper reason." To shrink from the struggle, to fly for refuge to some wonder-working intuition, which promises to give us the results without the effort, this is mere cowardice. And to prescribe this course for our wounds is to prescribe a quack medicine. The whole history of the world is but a long struggle for spiritual truth. And the struggle must go on. There is no way round. There is no way but the long and arduous road of reason.

Let it not be supposed that we are here in conflict with any theory of revelation or authority held by religious men. We are not. If a man says "I believe so and so because the Church says so, and I know that what the Church says is true," he is not really denying reason nor repudiating its authority, though he may imagine that he is. For he has, on the contrary, given a reason for his beliefs. The only question is whether it is a good or a bad reason. There is no doubt that, whether unconsciously or not, he is himself using reason as the organ of religious knowledge. Whether or not he is using it correctly is another question, and one which we need not discuss here.

One or two other objections to intuition as an organ of spiritual knowledge may be briefly noted. The first is that intuition is incommunicable. This, as we have already seen, is a disadvantage inherent in all immediate perception. No man can communicate his vision to another, whereas reason is a universal language of all men.

Secondly, intuition contains in itself no test of its own accuracy. Suppose that people have contradictory intuitions of God. Suppose that one man intuits God as one, while another intuits him as two. Who is to decide which is right? Of course the real answer is that reason would have to be brought in to decide. But on the assumption that intuition is the supreme organ of religious knowledge it is not permissible to introduce reason to settle its differences. If reason must be called in to judge between two intuitions, it is obvious that reason is a higher authority than intuition, and is itself the final organ of spiritual knowledge. And if it be urged that, as a matter of fact, such a conflict of intuitions could not occur, the answer is that, although it may be the case that nobody has ever intuited God as two, though the particular example of conflict here given may never have arisen, yet it can hardly be doubted that other and just as serious conflicts do continually arise between doctrines which are all equally claimed as intuitions. Seeing that the various teachings of the Neo-Platonists, the Christian mystics, the Theosophists, and many of the Indian Schools of thought, are all claimed as direct intuitions, and that these authorities by no means agree as to divine truth, can it seriously be alleged that a conflict of intuitions is impossible?

Another most serious charge that we have to bring against intuition is that, if we admit it, we throw away one of our most valuable spiritual treasures, our freedom. We deliver ourselves over, bound hand and foot, to anyone who chooses to claim an intuition which we have not got, and cannot contradict. As his vision is incommunicable, he cannot make us see it, and we must simply accept it blindly on his word, thereby surrendering our judgments and enslaving our



intellects. If anyone chooses to assert that God is a block of wood, and that he knows this by intuition, we are at his mercy if once we have admitted his power of intuition. No doubt it is true that no one is likely to make such an assertion, but that does not in the least affect the principle involved, which is that by admitting intuition we give up our own souls. And even if this were no objection, how are we to know whose claim to intuition is true and whose is false? How are we to distinguish between the seer and the charlatan? We have no means of checking the statements of either. He who appeals to reason appeals to an open court. All men may see and judge for themselves whether his doctrines be true. But he who appeals to intuition acts in secret, and there is no way of checking his doings.

Moreover, we resent a doctrine which really amounts to a claim on the part of a few persons to be superior beings in the sense that they are above criticism, above the necessity of justifying their statements before the common bar of reason. We do not assert that all men are equal. But we do assert that all men must be judged by the same standard, and that the law of reason is a law for all and not merely for some. True superiority can never be resented, except by the foolish and vain. But in order to recognize superiority in a man at all we must see that he is higher than we are according to the same standard. He must be more good than we are, not outside our moral values. He must be more reasonable than we are, not outside reason altogether. We resent it, too, because it is an attempt to take a short cut. The path of religion is a hard and laborious one, and the fruits are not to be enjoyed by those who have not earned them. There is no short cut. There is no royal road to the truth. There is no road save the old road wherein humanity has toiled and laboured all these centuries, the road of stern, hard, laborious, and prolonged mental effort.





## CASUAL OBSERVATIONS IN EGODA PATTUWA, TAMANKADUWA.

By HARRY STOREY.

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WHEN Mr. H. C. P. Bell commenced his articles on 'Archæological Research in Egoda Pattuwa, Tamankaduwa,'<sup>1</sup> he wrote to me suggesting that I should write some notes, supplementary to his observations, knowing that I had wandered over a considerable portion of that district during several shooting trips in past years.

I can hardly call my notes 'supplementary' to Mr. Bell's careful researches; they are merely the rather casual observations of a sportsman entirely wanting in the technical knowledge of an archæologist.

The country around that truly magnificent mass of forest-covered rock known as *Dimbulāgalakanda* has always fascinated me and I have read Mr. Bell's notes on the mountain itself with very great interest.

That this mountain, with its several monasteries, was, in past centuries, the centre of a very large and populous district there can be no possible doubt.

The country north, east and south of it, for many miles,—though now a wilderness, uninhabited except for a few scattered temporary hamlets of Veddās,—contains the remains of very many tanks and irrigation channels throughout the blocks of forest and open 'parks'—the latter, undoubtedly owing their existence to the marked poorness of the soil, and intensive *chena* cultivation during past centuries and to this day, extending over many thousands of acres in the shape of gently undulating plains of short and rather scanty grass on poor sandy, gritty soil, interspersed with various sized blocks of forest.

There are slab rocks of all sorts and sizes scattered over the country, and small rocky hills, in many directions, rising above the surrounding forest.

On practically all of these rocks, and hills, are to be found remains of temples or shrines in the shape of *dāgabas*, caves or buildings, and, as Mr. Bell has told us, many inscriptions of more or less interest.

Though this part of the country, extending over a vast area inclusive of part of the Eastern and Uva Provinces, is now solely inhabited by a few Veddās, there can be no doubt that, in ancient times, the greater part of the inhabitants, whether aborigines or aliens, were more or less civilized farmers and cultivators; and I have always held the opinion that the vast majority of the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon were ordinary cultivators, villagers and town-dwellers, not so advanced, certainly, as their eventual conquerors; whilst the forest-dwelling Veddās were then, as now, the hunting caste who preferred primitive life in the jungle to the more civilized life of the villages.

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1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, Pt. III, pp. 193-215.



I say this because, if we take into consideration the vast areas of apparent wilderness which, when explored, show that they contain, almost everywhere, the remains of ancient occupation and large areas of former cultivation, it will be at once seen that, when Ceylon was at the zenith of its prosperity, there were very, very few blocks of uncultivated land of considerable extent to be found in which any but a comparatively small number of jungle-dwelling Veddas could have found refuge and hunting ground.

Now that Mr. Bell has completed his series of articles on this extremely interesting country I find, on referring to my shooting diaries, that, somewhat to my surprise and pleasure, I have seen and noted a few archæological remains that have escaped his keen observation.

Probably Mr. Bell demanded inscriptions more than anything else, so that the local Veddas confined their guidance to the rocks and ruins where they knew inscriptions were in evidence, neglecting those which they knew were wanting in such records.

It is this latter class of ruins that I have mainly come in contact with during my travels, and I have found some of them to be of considerable interest.

I note that the principal places have been ably dealt with by Mr. Bell and will now endeavour to describe some minor ruins that have escaped his notice; but it must be remembered that my notes are simply the result of the casual observations of a sportsman, without any technical knowledge.

About 3 miles N. E. of *Kosgaha-ulpota* (alias *Maha-ulpota*), bordering the plains known as *Alakannagoda*, there is a low ridge of rock outcrop about a mile in length, running from N. W. to S. E., backed almost in its entirety on the East by jungle and facing the open plains on the West.

This ridge contains a curiously placed rock water-hole at which I have had some very interesting experiences. About a quarter of a mile N. W. of this hole there is a break in the ridge, at a low point, through which, almost without a doubt, an ancient pathway passed, as shown by the worn and polished state of the rock.

Between this break and the water-hole I came upon the remains of several small buildings on a flattish part of the rock.

One building had very evidently been an *ambalama*, circular in plan, and the low dry-built outer wall is still in evidence, containing at intervals roughly shaped blocks of stone socketed to receive wooden pillars for the support of the roof.

Several of these stones are still in their proper places, others lie close by, having rolled out of the wall.

Near this building is a portion of straight dry walling.

The buildings have nothing of a religious character about them and may possibly have been rest-houses on an ancient highway.

Passing through the break in the ridge referred to, a faint track proceeds through a series of plains, to the N. E., known as *Gónandamana*, finally turning eastward into jungle and eventually leading to the plain *Māpotāna* bordering the *Māduru Oya*.

In thick jungle some little distance South of this track there is an outcrop of rocks known as *Nelumbuhitānagala*, containing several water-holes.

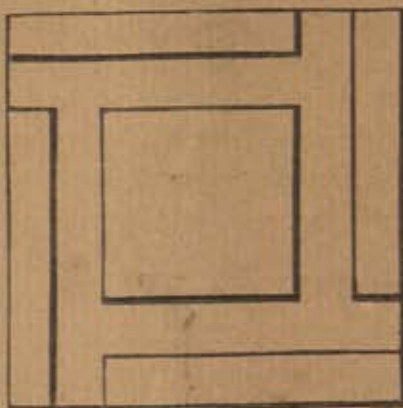
On one of these rocks I came upon the ruins of what must have been originally a very neat little temple with some interesting points about it.



The main ruin is the usual shapeless heap of earth, bricks, and stones, but flights of approach steps are still visible and three of the four altars (of the 'four quarters') are still *in situ*, though I saw no figures of Buddha, broken or otherwise.

In looking around I came upon two stone slabs of a type that I have never seen in any other ruins.

Each slab is about four feet square by about four inches thick, and, on one surface, are cut wide shallow grooves of the form as shown in the appended sketch:—



The grooves are six inches wide by one inch deep. The square central boss is about two feet square (22" x 25" to be exact.)

I saw two of these slabs only, lying about, but there are probably more under the mound of earth and stones.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell thinks they may form a modified *swastika* design.

I did not find any inscription, nor were the Veddas aware of any.

Leading from the mound of rock, on which the temple stood, to a small hollow, under a rock about 30 yards away, which had probably been a *pokuna* or bathing tank, is a pathway neatly paved with stone and defined by a border of raised stones on both sides.

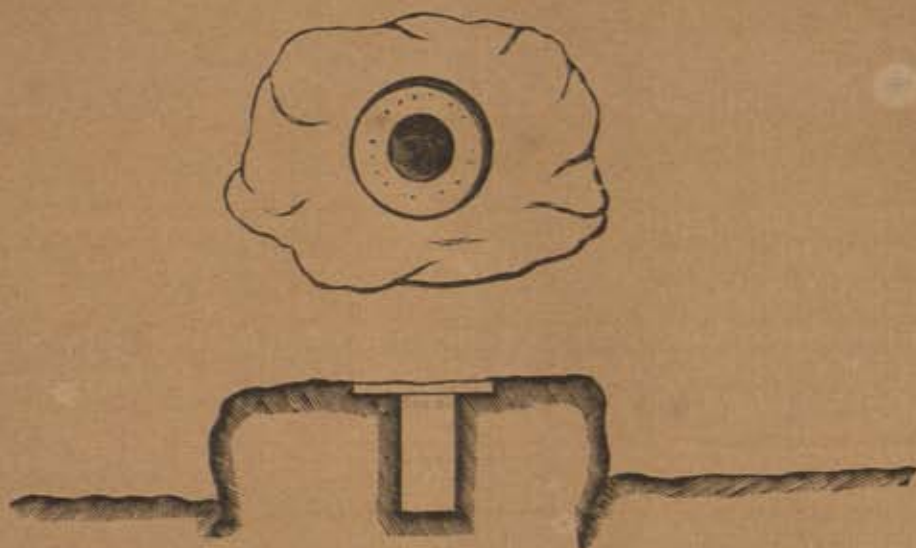
This pathway, on its way to the *pokuna*, crosses a shallow dry watercourse by means of a rough, but unusually arranged, stone foot-bridge as per sketch:—



This overlapping arrangement of the 'tread' stones is evidently unique, as Mr. Bell informs me that he has never seen this type of bridge elsewhere.



As a further matter of interest at this remote ruin, once possibly the centre of a thriving community, there lies a small boulder, at the foot of the temple rock, in which is cut one of those not uncommon cylindrical holes surrounded by a shallow countersunk circle, which, I am strongly inclined to believe, were 'mortars' for pounding paddy or any other article that required pounding. I append a sketch plan and vertical section :—



The countersunk outer circle is 25 in. diameter by half-an-inch deep; the cylinder is 11 in. internal diameter by 12 in. deep, and is well and clearly cut as are all others of this type that I have seen.

I must admit, however, that, in only one case have I found such a 'mortar' showing unmistakable signs of use, and that was in the case of a similar one cut in a small boulder lying in a plain in the Northern Province at the site of an ancient village.

In this latter case the sides of the cylinder were much worn by abrasion of the pounder, and the countersunk hollow, around the cylinder, was not circular but followed roughly the contour of the shape of the top of the boulder.

In another case, in the N. W. P., I found one cut on a large rock outcrop at one end of the bund of an abandoned tank.

Here the outer circle was 24 in. diameter by  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. deep, whilst the cylinder was only about 6 in. diameter by over 2 ft. in depth!

Whatever their shape, size or depth, I am of opinion that they were all for pounding purposes, the countersunk circle being for the purpose of catching and confining any material forced out by the pounder. I have seen others, on detached small boulders as well as on big rocks, in various parts of the country.

Proceeding now to another part of this interesting tract of country I find myself able to add something to Mr. Bell's notes on *Vera-goda-gala* (C.A., Vol. III., Part III.)

Wandering amongst the shapeless heaps of earth, broken stones and bricks at that place I discovered a fine stone altar which contained, on a slightly raised circular disc in the centre, the Tamil letters  $\cup \sqcup$ , thus conclusively showing Tamil occupation of this Sinhalese site.



Ancient history, however, tells us that the country bordering the *Mahaweli-ganga* was, on several occasions, held by the Tamils for very many years.

This rock outcrop lies not more than 10 miles east of the *ganga*.

In the immediate neighbourhood of *Vera-goda-gala* there is a natural curiosity which was evidently not shown to Mr. Bell by his attendant Veddas.

At the S. E. corner of the rock a path enters the jungle, and, about 100 yards in, the path crosses a small shallow 'jungle drain.'

On the left of the path and about 10 ft. from the 'jungle drain,' there is a shallow circular hollow about 6 ft. diameter by not more than 9 in. deep, and, extraordinary as it may seem, this hollow, throughout the dry season, is full of clear water!

There is no bubbling spring; the bottom is not soft mud, for I have walked through it to see if there is a 'sink'; nor does it overflow, and, moreover, the 'jungle drain' 10 ft. away lies at a lower level than the hollow.

The ground around, during the dry season, is ploughed into mud by the many animals that come to drink, even including elephants and buffaloes, but there the water remains, clean and clear, always just brimful!

More extraordinary still, as the wet season approaches, this pool dries up completely!

When the watercourse at its side is a running stream, the tiny pool is merely a slight undistinguishable dry hollow!

This I can vouch for personally, even if I had felt inclined to disbelieve the habitually truthful Veddas. I have seen this pool full of water, and used it for my camp supply, many times during the dry water-hole season when all the country around was a parched desert.

I have also seen it dry and unnoticeable during a wet November with water everywhere!

What is the scientific explanation of this curiosity?

According to the Veddas it is a *keula*.

Again referring to Mr. Bell's paper in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Part III., I note his reference to the so-called hot-spring at *Vave*.

I visited this spring, which is situated in the rather swampy 'head' of an abandoned tank, in the early morning and found all the pools stone cold.

Mr. Bell remarks that he visited this place during the heat of the day and found the water very hot under the heat of the sun.

I noticed that, whilst most of the other pools were narrow and much sheltered by reed and grass growth, the supposed hot-spring was so situated as to be fully exposed to the sun almost all day, which would amply account for the water getting unbearably hot.

There is a whitish, probably alkaline, deposit around the edges, and I noted that animals apparently did not drink at these pools as I found no tracks leading to the water.

Reverting to *Vera-goda-gala*; a mile or two almost due south of the rock, but only reachable by a path some miles west of it, I have more than once visited a very interesting rock outcrop, rising some 150 ft. above the surrounding jungle, known to the Veddas as *Kem-mat-gala*.



In the thick jungle, through which the track lay for some two miles, I passed the bunds of one or two small tanks, buried in forest, and, at one point, mounds of stone and brick with broken pillars lying about.

The view from the top of this rock, which rises up in the shape of two peaks separated by a small valley in the rock itself, is superb.

I have stood on the top of the highest point of *Dimbulāgalakanda* and seen the wonderful view visible therefrom, but, somehow, the view from a peak of rock, not far removed above the tops of the vast 'sea' of forest, as in this case, seems to me much more impressive.

Immediately west, and appearing very close, were the vast ranges of the Matale East and Kelebokka, Knuckles and Medamahanuwara Mountains.

South, and quite close, was *Dolagala* (the Dola Mountain of the *Mahāvansa*).

South-east I perceived, some miles away, *Omunagala* and other rocky hills, and, 8 or 10 miles away to the N.-W., arose the vast mass of *Dimbulāgalakanda*.

The view evidently deeply impressed even the Veddas, for, one of them, gazing around, remarked that "it was like being on an island in a great sea surrounded by a wall of hills."

On the highest summit of the rock I found the shapeless remains of a small earth, brick and stone-built *Dāgaba*.

There are several curious water-holes on the rock, one in particular being recessed in the vertical face of a part of the rock facing the small valley between the two peaks.

Following this vertical face until just under the highest summit I found a small series of caves, of which one had formed a *Vihāre*, whilst the others had been dwelling-places. There was nothing in the *Vihāre* but remains of small earth-and-plaster images.

There were remains of outer walls at all the caves, and, in front of the *Vihāre* cave, some little distance away, on a flat-rock surface overlooking a declivity steep enough to be called a precipice, and commanding a glorious view, was a large altar slab, squared and smoothed as to upper surface but left rough below, being set level by means of stones placed underneath.

There were the usual drip-ledges above the caves but no sign of inscriptions.

The name of this rock is peculiar, *Kem-mat-gala*, and I have noticed in the first part of the *Mahāvansa* that many place-names therein still exist recognizable to this day; as for instance *Dola-gala*, (*Dola-pabbata*) and others.

If we refer to *Mahāvansa*, Part I, Chapter XXX, V. 10, wherein *Dutthagāmani* marched down the *Mahāwelīganga* fighting and overcoming the alien Tamils settled as conquerors in that part of the country, we find that after overcoming Tamils at *Mahiyangana* and *Ambatitthaka* (which latter place Geiger locates as a ford near Bintenne) he further overcame seven Tamil chiefs in one day and established peace; then giving over all the booty to his troops, by reason of which the place was called *Khemārāma*.

It may be a wild 'shot' but both place and name approximately fit as it is on the line of former river valley settlements!

From the summit of this great rock I perceived, about one and a half miles to the N.W., a still mightier outcrop rising in a vast mass above the jungle.

This the Veddas named *Hitāgala* but none of them had ever visited it.



After spending a night at *Kem-mat-gala* we made our way, the next morning, to *Hitāgala* through the forest, passing on the way over some slab-rock containing some fragmentary remains.

Arrived at our destination we found a fairly gently sloping rock on the S. E. side rising to an absolutely perpendicular precipice of fully 150 ft. deep at the west side, and the ridge of the rock sloped down from N. E. to S. W.

At the summit I found the remains of a small *Dāgaba* ; another half way down the ridge ; and another at the lowest point of the ridge.

Under a steep part of the eastern slope we found a cave which looked as if it had been artificially cut ; as the entrance was about a semi-circle being very like, but much larger than, the cave at the remarkable ruins known as *Medirigiri* 6 miles N. E. of *Diwulankadawela* village.

The entrance was 6 or 7 feet high with the usual drip-ledge cut above it, but I could not find any inscription.

The cave runs back about 20 ft. dwindling down to nothing at the inner end, and the floor was deep in bat 'guano' which may have hidden something of interest but there was nothing visible.

One curious point, however—the whole inside of the cave had been plastered and there were patches of the plaster still adhering here and there.

There were other indistinguishable remains of buildings in the surrounding forest and on neighbouring slab rocks, so that this monastery must have been one of some importance.

I have no doubt further careful search might reveal some inscriptions.

This completes my small series of notes and observations on minor ruins that have not been visited by Mr. Bell. It is possible that, in the future, I may be able to add further matter concerning other districts.

As a sportsman I have enjoyed great shooting in this wild district (bears and leopards mostly as deer are unaccountably scarce in this grand park country), and I have a genuine liking for my somewhat unwashed Vedda friends ; but, alas ! most of my best trackers are dead and gone. The old Vedda strain is now rapidly dying out and those left are a very mixed lot, mostly eaten up by dirt and diseases—the pity of it !



## SISSIYĀNU SISSIYA PARAMPARĀWA

## AND OTHER LAWS RELATING TO BUDDHIST PRIESTS IN CEYLON.

By GEORGE WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

(Concluded from Vol. III, Part III, p. 186.)

## INHERITANCE OR SUCCESSION.

WE come now to what is perhaps the most abstruse part of the Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law as it exists in Ceylon, namely, the law of Succession as it applies to priests.

At the foundation of the Order, a priest of Buddha, when he took the robe, was expected to resign all worldly wealth. All that he could possess were the *ata-pirikara* (the eight articles), namely, the three robes *uttara sanggaya*, *antarawāsakaya* and *sanghātiya*, a girdle for the loins, the *pātaraya* or alms-bowl, the *kadaketta* or razor, a needle for repairing his robes and a *perahankada* or cloth a cubit square to strain his water with. All things else belonged to the Chapter. "This entire abnegation of earthly possessions, however, seems not less difficult to put into practice in Ceylon than elsewhere. And, accordingly, the Courts furnish numerous instances of priests laying claim to property in their own right, or at least with a very slender colouring of any title on the part of temples, to veil their own claims." (Marshall, 649, § 1.)

The truth is that the priestly vow of poverty is now wholly ignored. It came about in this way, namely, that, while the individual priest was prohibited from owning property, the community was not, with the result that the property was held by individual priests for and on behalf of temples and sacred shrines. Where supervision was slack, the step from possessor as trustee or manager to possessor as owner was as easy as it was natural. And the Courts have accepted the position that a Buddhist priest may own property both movable and immovable in his own right.

In considering the question of inheritance, therefore, we have to view it under two heads, (1) Temporal Succession, and (2) Spiritual Succession.

## Temporal Succession.

By the Common Law, a priest can in general acquire and inherit property both movable and immovable from any source whatever, and has right to deal with it in the same manner as a layman, and transmit it to his temporal representatives notwithstanding his priestly office.

In *D. C. Karunegala*, 10,674, S. C. Civ. Min., 1 Dec., 1854, it was held that "the rule is not general that a priest cannot acquire or inherit land, and that to take the robe is to resign all worldly wealth; because a priest may at all times acquire land from anyone by gift, bequest or purchase, or may inherit his brother's or sister's estate."

A priest sought to appeal *in forma pauperis*; but it was proved that he had certain deeds of lands in his favour, and there was nothing *ex facie* to shew that the lands were conveyed to him in trust for any temple. Held, that, "as no trust did appear, the applicant should be considered as proprietor to all intents and purposes." (*Per* MARSHALL, C. J., *D. C. Matara*, 32, (1835) Morgan, 66, §§ 282, 283; Marshall, 5).



In *D. C. Ambalangoda*, 21, (1837) Morgan 136, § 458, JEREMIE, J., held that "the vow of poverty taken by a Buddhist priest, according to the precepts of his religion, may be a reason for declining altogether to assume possession of property; but it can be none for refusing to fulfil all the obligations of a legatee if he accepts the legacy."

In *Sumena Unnanse vs. Kiriya*, C. R. Kegalle, 2,743, (1863) Sol. R. 10, the Supreme Court declined to enter into the religious scruples of Buddhist priests. "If a Buddhist priest chooses to trade, he may be amenable to his immediate superiors, but in the Courts of this Island, he is a layman."

SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE, late Acting Chief Justice of Ceylon, when he was District Judge of Kandy, endeavoured in *Appuhamy vs. Ratnapala Unnanse*, D. C. Kandy, 59,921, S. C. Civ. Min., 22 Dec., 1874, to lay down the broad principle that, "all the property, which a priest acquires during his incumbency, is acquired for his vihare and does not belong to himself individually and absolutely." He said, "I think I not only affirm an undoubted rule of Kandyan Law, but also a rule, which may prevent and check mal-administration of office by priests and the improper and fraudulent secularisation of temple property." But the Supreme Court refused to accept that view of the law; and the decision was affirmed on the ground that the "property in dispute was purchased by the deceased priest with temple funds derived from the revenues of the vihare, of which he was incumbent." Had the funds been proved to have been derived from any other source, the property would have been held not to be that of the vihare.

It follows then that on the death of a priest, if he has left no will, his property of whatever description devolves on his temporal representatives and not on his spiritual successors.

A priest having died, one of his pupils sued the defendant on a promissory note and a bond executed in favour of the deceased priest. Two parties intervened, one, who claimed to be another pupil, and the other, the brother and heir-at-law of the deceased. As there was nothing on the face of the documents to shew that the instruments sued on were trust property, the Court held that the intestate's heir-at-law was entitled to recover. (*Per* CLARENCE and DIAS, J. J., D. C. Kandy, 67,849, (1877) Ram. 1877, 182.

CLARENCE and DIAS, J. J., appear to have gone away from this position in *Ratnapala Unnanse vs. Sego Abdul Cader*, (1882) 5 S. C. C., 61, which was an action on a bond, where they held that "anything, which he (the incumbent of a vihare) saves out of the revenues and dies possessed of passes to his legal representatives." It is submitted that this ruling is not only in conflict with the judgment quoted above, which appears to have been cited to their lordships, but is wrong in principle. Any balance of temple revenues left after defraying the expenses of the temple and the priests in charge, is temple property and should, on the death of the incumbent, go to the spiritual successor. But if the bond did not on the face of it shew that the money invested was *Sanghika* or temple property, and there was no extraneous evidence as to where the funds came from, the inference would be that the money was personal to the priest, that is *pudgalika*; in which case the judgment would have been right. (*Cf.* *Siddharta Terunnanse vs. Don Lewis*, (1882) 5 S. C. C., 89, and *Punchi Mahatmaya vs. Kumarihamy*, (1885) 7 S. C. C., 84).

In *re Indajoti Terunnanse*, (1899) 3 N. L. R., 380, LAWRIE, A. C. J., in remitting the case to the lower Court for further trial, remarked, "By our law, the pupils of a Buddhist priest are not his heirs; they have no right of succession *ab intestato* to the private property of the deceased over which he had disposing power at the date of his death. If a Buddhist priest be the incumbent of a vihare held by pupillary succession, the incumbency on his death passes by law to the priest or priests, who are next in the line of succession. Prior to the passing of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance, the endowments of a vihare passed to the pupil, who succeeded to the incumbency; now, these are vested in a trustee, and the endowments do not fall under the grant of administration *ab intestato*. So far as I know, the pupils of a Buddhist priest were never recognized as his heirs to the exclusion of or rank with his next of kin; if there was any disposition to treat pupils as his heirs it was corrected by Ordinance No. 15 of 1876, which limits succession of unmarried persons to their kinsmen; and if there be no heirs, the estate escheats to the Crown. In this case, . . . lands, to which he succeeded, and lands and books and medicine, which he bought with his own money, go to his next of kin; while lands and other property bought and paid for out of the income of the vihare should go to the trustee for the use of the incumbents of the vihare."

It should be remembered, however, that under the Kandyan Law, which applies to what are known as the Kandyan Provinces, a priest inherits nothing from his parents.

A son becoming a priest, thereby loses all right of inheritance in the property of his parents, because to take the robe is to resign all worldly wealth. (Sawers, 7; Marshall, 337, § 77).



If the mother die intestate, leaving two sons, one of them a layman and the other a priest, the former will succeed to the possession of the mother's landed property, and the right of the sacerdotal son to a share thereof will remain in abeyance. (Armour, 84). That is, if and until such time as he disrobes himself or otherwise reverts to the lay life.

A son, however, will not forfeit his right to his father's or mother's estate, if he be the only child; neither will he forfeit his right to succeed to his father's estate, if the father died before the son entered the priesthood. And if the father being himself a priest receive assistance and support from his sacerdotal son during his last illness till the time of his death, the son succeeds to his father's estate.

Armour, 51, 52, 84.

The rule does not affect property gifted or conveyed by the father or mother to the son, who is a priest.

Armour, 51.

There is no rule against a priest inheriting property from collaterals.

Armour, 52.

If a man become a priest and revert to the lay estate before his father dies, and is received by the father into the family house (*mul-gedara*); or if, the father being dead, he throws off his robes at the request of his brothers, he is thereby reinstated in the position of heir to his father's estate.

Armour, 52; Sawers, 7.

But should he throw off his robes after his father's death, at the request only of one of several brothers, without the consent of the other brothers, that brother alone must provide for the *sivurala* (the priest who has thrown off his robes) out of his share of the property solely.

Sawers, 7.

A priest, who from caprice disrobes himself or is disrobed for some violation of the rules of his Order, has the right to be maintained out of the estate of his parents.

Sawers, 7; Marshall, 337, § 77. This rule shews the good sense of the Kandyan lawmakers. If no such rule existed, an ex-priest would be dependent for his maintenance on the general community or upon his wits, both of which would be undesirable.

A Buddhist priest is at liberty, whether under the Common Law or under the Kandyan Law, to dispose of his private property by deed *inter vivos* or by will.

As regards voluntary conveyances, however, there is this difference between the Common Law and the Kandyan Law: whereas by the Common Law such a deed is irrevocable, except under very rare circumstances, *e. g.*, ingratitude and cruelty by the donee towards the donor, under the Kandyan Law, it is always revocable, in the lifetime of the donor, with rare exceptions, *e. g.*, when the gift is for past consideration. (Modder's Kandyan Law, p. 174).

Written deeds and wills were scarcely heard of before the reign of Kirti Sri. All that was necessary was a promise, sometimes in writing, but generally in spoken words, with an imprecation calling down a curse on the head of the grantor, if he departed from his promise. Sometimes a token (*ketta*) was handed to the donee, which reminds one of the "seisin of the rod" in the transfer of copyholds in England by surrender and admittance, and of the quaint formalities, which were observed when entering upon a contract in the early history of most nations. Marshall quotes an instance of a donor, who gave one of his teeth to the donee as a token of his promise. (Marshall, 317, § 43).

The deed very often contained nothing more than the signature or initial of the donor on a blank talipot leaf. These practices were resorted to, of course, because there were but few persons, who could write. Since the Ordinance No. 7 of 1840, however, wills and deeds affecting land have to be executed before a notary and attested by two witnesses; but a private will may be executed in the presence of five witnesses, and a deed may be executed in the presence of a District Judge or Commissioner of Requests.



A priest may not, however, dispose of temple property by will or by deed. In those cases where the priest is still trustee of the temple, he may lease or mortgage temple lands for and on behalf of the temple, but not otherwise.

By section 3 of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance, the Governor may, with the consent of the Executive Council, specially exempt vihāres from the operation of that Ordinance.

The above rule will have to be taken as not without exception, for, as will appear later, a priest could by deed or will settle the succession, which, however, must be in accordance with the rules of succession applicable to the particular vihāre.

### Spiritual Succession.

Spiritual succession is the succession, according to certain prescribed rules, by one priest to the spiritual office and duties of another, together with the rights and obligations of such office.

Prior to the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1905, such succession was also to the property, whether movable or immovable, appertaining to the vihāre; but since then such property vests in the statutory trustee, except, of course, where in terms of section 3 of the said Ordinance the Governor has exempted the vihāre from the incidence of that Ordinance.

The rules of temporal succession, as shewn above, are easily ascertained. They are governed by the law of the community to which the particular priest belongs. If he is a Kandyan Sinhalese he would inherit according to the Kandyan Law, and his private property would devolve on his heirs-at-law, according to the same law. And where no customary law applies, the Common Law of the land, namely, the Roman-Dutch Law, would apply.

But when we come to deal with Spiritual Succession, we are confronted with quite a different state of affairs. To form a right conception of the nature and force of the rules which obtain in this department of the law, it would seem that the Hindu Law has to be resorted to; not to the Hindu Law as it exists at the present day, but the Hindu Law as it existed about the time Buddhism was introduced into this Island, that is to say, about the first century before Christ, at which period the Laws of Manu, or, at any rate, the form in which we have them now, were comparatively recent.

Buddhism filtered into Ceylon through Bihar, a province of India, in the heart of a Hindu country, and, however divergent the doctrines of Buddha may be from those of Hinduism, it cannot be denied that Buddhist institutions have their roots deep down in Hindu usages, customs and modes of thought.

SIR JOHN BUDD PHEAR, C. J., in his judgment in *Rathanapala Unnanse vs. Kewitiagala Unnanse*, (1879) 2 S. C. C., 26, draws attention to the many features which are in common between the Sinhalese vihāre and the Indian *math*.

Now, at the period we are considering, the idea of "inheritance" in the sense of a succession to the rights and duties of another occurring at the other's death was wholly unknown to the law of India. There is no mention of such inheritance in the Laws of Manu. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the all-important topic of Hindu Law is the joint-family; and where there is a joint-family, there can be no inheritance. The individual died; but the family continued; and what property there was belonged to the family and not the individual.

Then there appears not to have been any such thing as private property in land. There was temporary occupation of land for the purpose of tillage, lasting for a longer or shorter period. But not a word appears in the Laws of Manu about ownership; that is, ownership in the sense we use it now. Where ancient writers spoke of "ownership," they meant rather "managership." The fact is that property belonged to the family itself; that is to say, it was corporate. No living being was owner; but certain persons were managers for the family.

Always it was the father of the family who was manager. As long as he lived, his will was absolute and his commands indisputable.

After his death, says the author of the Laws of Manu, "the sons being assembled may divide among themselves in equal shares the paternal estate; for they have no power over it while the parents live; or, the eldest son alone may take the whole of the paternal estate; the others shall live under him just as they lived under the father." *Manu*, IX. v. 104.

The partition referred to here did not at that time mean the division of property, but the separation of the members of the family; for, the family gods, the ancestral home, goods and chattels, pasture and arable lands are all declared impartible. (*Manu*, IX. 219; *Mitakshara*, I. iv. 26.)



It should be remembered, however, that at a very early time in the development of the Hindu Law, the right was recognised of the individual member of a family to what he earned by his own exertion and talent. Compare the *peculium* in Roman Law, the *terra comparata* in the Teutonic and the *questum* in the Old English Law.

Religious endowments are perhaps as old as the Hindu Law itself. There are in fine two ways of creating such an endowment :—(1) the property is given directly to an idol, whose dignity or worship is to be preserved. There is nothing absurd or impossible in such an endowment. In the Middle Ages, gifts were made to the Deity, to Jesus Christ, and to dead saints. After all an idol is as much a real person as a corporation. Where property was given to an idol, a manager (*shebait*) was appointed ; (2) the property is given to some person or persons with directions as to the objects to which the property should be applied. The founder may retain in his family the right to appoint successive managers or he may direct some other manner in which they should be appointed.

The rules as to Civil Law change with the march of events ; but the rules as to Ecclesiastical Law and endowments change but slowly. As regards the Hindu *Math*, which is the prototype of Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions, property dedicated to the temple is vested in the priest or *Sanyāsi*, who is the incumbent of the temple, for the purpose of the maintenance of the temple and its services, including his own support ; and, on his death, passes by a peculiar rule of succession to an heir, who is his selected pupil, and who need not be the persons who by the general law succeed to his secular property.

When we come to consider the law of priestly succession in Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law, these facts would be of use to shew how these rules should be interpreted.

An incumbency becomes vacant on (1) the death, (2) the resignation, (3) the deprivation of office, or (4) the disrobement of the incumbent.

In most cases the incumbent in the presence, and with the consent, of the resident priests of a temple, indicates who his successor or successors shall be. And this may be done in writing or otherwise. But the appointment must always be in conformity with the rules of succession, whatever they are, that are applicable to the particular vihare. (D. C. Kurunegala, 15,051, *Gunaratna Unnanse vs. Mirahagoda Unnanse* ; *Sumangala Unnanse vs. Sobita Unnanse*, (1883) 5 S.C.C., 235 ; *Dhammajoti Unnanse vs. Sobita Unnanse*, (1913) 16 N. L. R. 408).

The second case cited above is also authority for the proposition that a deed of gift testamentary in its character and to take effect *in futuro*, appointing a successor to an incumbency, is revocable ; but a deed of gift *inter vivos* immediately transferring the right to an incumbency is irrevocable.

See also *Sobita Unnanse vs. Gunaratna Nyāka Unnanse*, D. C. Kurunegala, 1579, S. C. Civ. Min., Nov., 1871.

And a priest who is deprived of his incumbency, and *semble*, if he resign or disrobe, cannot transfer his right to another until he is restored.

D. C. Kandy, 523, (1834) Austin, 7.

But an incumbent may not by deed or will transfer his right to the incumbency to a stranger to the exclusion of the direct line of succession.

This statement of the law would appear to be in conflict with the opinion given by the Priests of the Malwatta College in *Eriminne Unnanse vs. Senabowa Unnanse*, Govt. Agent's Court, Kurunegala, 366, S. C. Civ. Min., Oct. 21, 1833. There it was maintained that "the original proprietor priest may transfer his right to any other person he may choose, passing by his own pupils."

The statement was, however, a *gratias dictum* and is probably true of only an "original proprietor priest," that is, of a priest who himself founds a vihare and installs himself as incumbent of it without defining the mode of succession to the vihare.

But the rule cannot possibly hold in the case of a vihare, the succession to which is by the rule of pupillary succession, for such a disposition would be contrary to the very essence of the rule. (*Gunaratna Unnanse vs. Mirahagoda Unnanse*, q. v. supra).

If A, the incumbent of a vihare, have three pupils, B1, B2 and B3, and several co-pupils, C1, C2, &c., he may select one of his pupils, say B3, as being most fit to succeed him and appoint him his successor. That would be in perfect accord with the rules of pupillary succession which will be dealt with presently. He would be justified in doing so on the ground that B1 and B2 are not suitable to have the management of



the temple. Or, he may appoint all three pupils to succeed him as incumbents; in that case, there would be a sort of committee of management. The co-pupils would still reside at the *panśala* and they would be entitled to their monastic necessities of alms, robes, residence and diet, but they would have no voice in the government or management of the monastery. In other words, the joint-family continues.

Where a member of the joint-committee dies, his pupil does not succeed him and take his place in the management of the temple. It being a joint-tenancy where one joint-tenant dies, the management goes to the survivors; and on the death of the last survivor, the whole management goes to the senior pupil of the last survivor, unless he has settled the succession in some other way by will or deed. (*Cf. Sommitara Unnāse vs. Sobita Unnāse*, D. C. Kandy, 55,629, S. C. Civ. Min., June 25, 1875).

It is not even open to A to pass over his pupils and appoint one of his co-pupils. (*Wellewa Nāyaka Unnāse vs. Kehelwatugoda Unnāse*, (1874) 3 G.R., 66).

But assume that the incumbent priest is satisfied that not one of his pupils is fit to be manager of the vihare, it is not apparent how he can appoint a suitable successor. Possibly the matter would be submitted to the Chapter, which, upon proof that the pupils are not competent, would appoint some suitable person possibly from among the present incumbent's co-pupils or their pupils. And such an appointment provided there is no fraud or collusion, would not be disallowed by the Courts. Or, the incumbent might with the consent of the rest of the clergy, robe a suitable candidate and have him ordained for the express purpose of succeeding him.

The rules governing the right of spiritual succession apply equally to the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon as well as to the Kandyan Provinces.

In *Sangharatna Unnāse vs. Weerasekara*, (1903) 6 N.L.R., 313, it was contended that a different rule of succession applied to temples situated in the Maritime Provinces from that which governs temples in the Kandyan Provinces; but LAYARD, C. J., and WENDELL, J., overruled the contention because there was no authority to support it. On the contrary, in an earlier case *Weligama Dhammajoti Unnāse vs. Sarananda Unnāse*, (5 S. C. C., 8) which was a claim to temple property situated in Matara, a town in the Maritime Provinces, the Court followed the rule as laid down by PHEAR, C. J., in *Rathanapala Unnāse vs. Kewittigala Unnāse*, (1879) 2 S. C. C., 260 which was a case from the Kandyan Provinces, thus clearly shewing that there is no distinction between the rules which obtain in the Kandyan and in the Maritime Provinces respectively.

It is always the terms of the original dedication of a vihare which govern the mode of succession to an incumbency.

It is undoubtedly open to a person, who at his own expense founds and endows a vihare, to make express provision by deed or otherwise regulating the succession to the incumbency of the institution (*Dharmapala Unnāse vs. Samana Unnāse*, (1910) 2 C. L. R., 83. *Cf. also Rathanapala Unnāse vs. Kewittigala Unnāse*, (1879) 2 S. C. C., 26, and *Sangharatna Unnāse vs. Weerasekara*, (1903) 6 N.L.R., 313.)

But if at the original dedication no provision be made regulating the mode of succession to the incumbency, then the general rule of *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa*, or pupillary succession, applies, and the dedicators or grantors cease to have any right or control over it.

*Dhammajoti Unnāse vs. Sarananda Unnāse*, (1881) 5 S. C. C., 8; *Rathanapala Unnāse vs. Kewittigala Unnāse*, (1879) 2 S. C. C., 26).

Similarly succession to property dedicated in *sanghika* is also governed by the general rule.

*Dhammajoti Unnāse vs. Sarananda Unnāse*, (q. v. supra).

The general rule of succession is the *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa*.

The words *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa* literally mean "the descent from pupil to pupil in succession or order." In early times the rule was that the preceptor chose one or more of his pupils to succeed him; and if he failed to do so, the vihare became *sanghika*, and the election of the new incumbent vested with the Chapter. At the present time, however, if A the incumbent of a temple die leaving a pupil B, B succeeds by process of law; and if B die leaving a pupil C, C succeeds; and so on.

*In re Indajoti Terunnāse*, (1899) 3 N. L. R., 380.

A pupil, who is not in robes at the time of the death of his tutor, does not regain his rights to succeed his tutor by assuming robes after his tutor's death. (*Jaspitiya Unnāse vs. Senogama Unnāse*, (1863) B. & S., 151).



Suppose, however, that A has two pupils, B and B1, of whom B is the senior; that is, ordained *uposampada* before B1. Then if A die "intestate," that is, without nominating his successor, B being the senior pupil will succeed. A Buddhist priest, if asked who succeeds, would say that both pupils succeed, except that B will be the chief (*pradhānaya*), which would probably be more correct, in view of the fact that a priest's "family" is like the Hindu joint-family, and its property is corporate.

If, however, though B was robed first but B1 was ordained *uposampada* before B, then B1 will be the senior pupil by reason of his ordination and take precedence accordingly. And if neither of them has been ordained, then as there is no rule against a *samanera* succeeding his tutor, the pupil who was first robed will take precedence and succeed his tutor.

It should be remembered that the incumbent, like the father or eldest son of a Hindu family, is simply *primus inter pares*; all the members of the "family" have equal rights, but the chief has the management of the temple and its affairs.

Assume now that B having succeeded to the incumbency dies leaving his pupil C and co-pupil B1; who succeeds? It would seem that, though the decisions on the point are conflicting, the proper person to take is C. The rule then is:—

If an incumbent of a *vihāra* die leaving pupils and also fellow-pupils, the senior pupil succeeds in preference to any of the fellow-pupils.

*Wellewa Nāyaka Unnānse vs. Kehelwatagoda Unnānse*, (1874) 3 *Gren.* 66.

But if he leave no pupils, the senior fellow-pupil succeeds, provided he is in the line of pupillary succession to the *vihāra*.

The tendency of the earlier decisions was to give the rule of *sisseyanu sissia paramparawa* some elasticity, and not restrict it only to the pupils of the deceased incumbent but comprehend the fellow-pupils of the deceased incumbent or the pupils of an institution with which he stood in intimate relation. (Per PHEAR, C. J., in *Rathanapala Unnānse vs. Kewitigala Unnānse*, (1879) 2 S. C. C., 26).

So far back as in 1857, ROWE, C. J., and TEMPLE, J., in *re Polwatte Janā Nande Terunnānse*, (2 *Lor.*, 143) held that if an incumbent die leaving no pupils, his senior co-pupil will succeed to the incumbency.

In recent years, however, the tendency has been to adhere more to the literal meaning of the words of the rule and to confine the succession to the descending line alone, to the exclusion of both the ascending and collateral lines. (Per DIAS, J., in *Dhammajoty Unnānse vs. Paranātale*, (1881) 4 S. C. C., 121).

The question was fully gone into by LAWRIE, A. C. J., in *Samana Terunnānse vs. Kandappahamy*, (1893) 3 C. L. R., 14, and the learned judge would seem to rule that if A was incumbent and died leaving two pupils B and B1, B would as senior pupil succeed him; and if B died leaving no pupil, then B1 being in the direct line of succession from A the original incumbent, he would succeed B. But on the other hand, if A was tutor of B and B1, but was never incumbent of the particular *vihāra* to which B is inducted, say by election of the Chapter, then, upon the death of B, neither his tutor A nor his co-pupil B1 (both being strangers to the line of succession to that *vihāra*) would succeed; but the *vihāra* would become *sanghika*. That appears to me to be the correct exposition of the law. It was never intended, and I do not believe it was ever the practice, to bring in the co-pupils of a deceased incumbent, unless their common tutor had himself been the incumbent; and it is certain that the rule did not embrace the "pupils of an institution with which he (the deceased incumbent) stood in intimate relation." On the other hand, it is clear from the mass of evidence we have of priests learned in Buddhistical Law, who have given evidence in the Courts, that where the co-pupils of a deceased incumbent are themselves pupils of the incumbent next before the deceased, the senior of them succeeds in the absence of pupils of the last incumbent.

It follows, therefore, that a tutor cannot succeed his pupil except in certain events; but the next senior pupil of the tutor will succeed, if the tutor had himself been incumbent of that *vihāra*.

About the middle of the last century the Courts favoured a doctrine known as the *Guru Paramparawa*, the succession of a tutor to his pupil. In *D. C. Kandy (South)* 11,170, (1844) *Austin*, 46, the Court examined a large number of priests as to the law of succession to an incumbency, where the incumbent died leaving no pupil. They were unanimously of opinion that the deceased incumbent's tutor succeeded; and judgment was given accordingly; but the case never came up in appeal to the Supreme Court.

On the strength of that case CLARENCE and DIAS, J. J., held in *Dhammajoty Unnānse vs. Sarnande Unnānse*, (1881) 5 S. C. C., 8, that on the death of an incumbent without leaving a pupil, his tutor succeeded to the *vihāra*. If the *vihāra* was held by the *sisseyanu sissia paramparawa* that decision would be clearly wrong. By that rule the tutor would have been the incumbent and the pupil have had during his tutor's life only the expectancy of succession if he survived.



*Guru paramparāwa* is a recognised rule of sacerdotal succession, but it only means that when one line is exhausted you have to go up the line through the tutors always being incumbents of the vihare, until you can find the nearest living collateral pupil to the last incumbent to take the inheritance.

To return to our example, if A is the first incumbent, and he dies leaving two pupils B and B1, then B being the senior pupil succeeds. B dies leaving two pupils, C and C1. C succeeds. C dies, leaving a pupil D, who succeeds. D has no pupil. If at the death of D, C1 is also dead, then you go along the ascending line till you come to A. Then his other pupil B1 being alive would succeed. But if B1 is also dead, you may not go beyond A to A's tutor and select A's co-pupil, if he is alive, because A's tutor and his co-pupils are all strangers to the line of succession to that vihare.

*Guru paramparāwa* further gives the tutor priest the right to succeed his pupil if the tutor in his lifetime induct the pupil as incumbent, and the latter for any of the reasons given above ceases to be incumbent without appointing a successor.

If a priest be pupil of two tutors, incumbents of two different vihares, at the death of the tutors, he will succeed both of them.

E.g., T, an incumbent of a vihare, robes a pupil P. Afterwards T1, incumbent of another vihare, with the approval and consent of T, presents P for ordination with the express intention that P shall succeed him (T1) in his incumbency. Then on the death of T and T1, P will succeed to both incumbencies. If, however, after T has robed P, P is dismissed for any of the causes referred to above, or if P goes away without the consent of T, and afterwards becomes the pupil of T1, though he may succeed T1, he may not succeed T. (*Dhammaratana Unnanse vs. Sumangala Unnanse*, (1910) 14 N. L. R., 400).

If the pupil of a tutor priest die, or disrobe, or secede from the *Nikāya*, or be expelled during the lifetime of the tutor, leaving a pupil, then that pupil will succeed the tutor priest at his death.

E.g., if A have a pupil B, and B die before he succeeds A, leaving his tutor A and his pupil C, then at the death of A, C will succeed to the incumbency. (*Dhammaratana Unnanse vs. Sumangala Unnanse*, (1910) 14 N. L. R., 400).

Any other rule of succession than the *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa*, is an exception to the general rule, the burden of proving which rests on the party who seeks to establish any right by it.

*Eriminne Unnanse vs. Senabowe Unnanse*, Agent's Court, Kurunegala, 366, S. C. Civ., Min. 21 Oct., 1833.

The *Sivuru Paramparāwa* (also called *Gnāti Sissiya Paramparāwa*; and in the Kandyan Provinces the *Pewidi Paramparāwa*) is an exception to the general rule.

The *Sivuru Paramparāwa* takes place when the present incumbent ordains a blood-relation to succeed him, and the latter in his turn ordains another blood-relation to succeed him, the succession always being confined to a blood-relation of the incumbent last in office.

It will be observed that, whereas in the *sissiyānu sissia paramparāwa*, a stranger may succeed so long as he is the sacerdotal pupil of the last incumbent, in the *sivuru paramparāwa* the pupil who succeeds must also be a blood-relation of the last incumbent.

Instances of vihares subject to this mode of succession are not rare. Reference is made in the Service Tenures Commissioner's Report for 1870, at page 9, to the ancient monastery of Ridi Vihare, where the head of the monastery has, from its foundation, been a member of the Tibbotuwāwe family. This is the most important of the numerous private livings in Ceylon.

When one of these vihares becomes vacant before one of the family, to whom it belongs, has been ordained, here, as in England, a temporary incumbent is put in, who generally serves as tutor to the young heir until he is ready for ordination.



It is competent for the incumbent of a vihare subject to the *sivuru paramparāwa* to appoint by deed or will a layman to succeed him in the incumbency, provided he has no pupil that is a blood-relation and provided that the layman he appoints is his blood-relation.

But in the case of a vihare subject only to the *sisseyānu sissia paramparāwa*, such an appointment would be void.

In 1828, in *Dantura Unnāse vs. The Government of Ceylon*, regarding the vihare of Malagane in the Seven Korales, the two leading colleges of Malwatta and Asgiriya were called upon to define the terms of the *sisseyānu paramparāwa* and the *sivuru paramparāwa*.

The following are the opinions of the two Colleges :—

#### OF THE MALWATTA COLLEGE :—

*Sissiya Paramparāwa*.—The lands, vihares, &c., belonging to Bhikshoo (or Upasampada priest) will, although he had (so many as) five pupils devolve solely to the pupil to whom an absolute gift was made thereof, and that pupil alone of the said donee will afterwards succeed thereto who received a regular gift of the same from him. The uninterrupted succession of pupils in this manner is termed *sissiya paramparāwa*.

Should the priest, the original proprietor, declare his bequest common to all his five pupils, they will all become entitled thereto, and one of them being elected to the superiority, the other four may participate in the benefits. The said superior being dead, the next in rank will succeed to the superiority and along with the rest (of the survivors) will enjoy the benefit and have the power to make a gift in favour of any other person. But the original proprietor priest may transfer his right to any other person he may choose, passing by his own pupils. In the event of the original proprietor dying intestate, the priests who happen to be assembled at his death become entitled in common. Things which belonged equally to two priests devolve wholly to the survivor.

*Sivuru Paramparāwa*.—The priest who was the original proprietor ordaining a relation to the priesthood and bestowing his property on him, and the latter in like manner ordaining a relation and making a gift in his favour, the ordaining of relations for the succession in this manner is termed *sivuru paramparāwa*. However, the practice has also subsisted of a priest who had himself failed to appoint a relation to the succession, authorising another to ordain a relation to the priesthood and deliver up the property to him.

(Signed) Kandegedara Mahanaike Unnāse and  
nine other priests of Malwatta Vihare.

#### OF THE ASGIRIYA COLLEGE :—

Whereas a King or a King's Minister, or other person in authority, or any other donor erected a Vihare, and by an inscription upon a rock, or upon a plate of copper or other substance recorded the dedication thereof, stating that for the purpose of the sacred offices being performed thereat, the superiority has been vested in such a priest and his pupils and sub-pupils in successive generations, accordingly such rights being uninterruptedly maintained by the Maba Terunnāse mentioned in the record and by his pupils and by their pupils in succession, this is termed *sissia paramparāwa*. This succession ceases when, in consequence of a priest in possession having forfeited his right by treason, by infringement of the Doctrine, or by other fault, or by leaving no pupils to succeed him, another priest obtains the gift, this is the nature of *sissia paramparāwa*; the practice has also subsisted for any priest in such a station to ordain a relation to the priesthood, and having duly qualified him thereto, to bestow on him, as his pupil, according to the rules of the Buddhist religion the Vihare, &c., which has been in his possession. When this order of succession existed some time, the term *sivuru paramparāwa* is applied thereto by some people; but still it is in fact the *sissia paramparāwa*. This succession all ceases in the event of a duly qualified person not being in existence (at the demise of the incumbent) or some other cause occurring to interrupt the succession. *Paramparāwa* signifies uninterrupted succession, like the links of a chain; when interruption and vacancy occur there is no succession.

These opinions, I have quoted *in extenso*, because there has probably been no single case in our Courts referring to Buddhist sacerdotal succession where these opinions have not been quoted. Making allowance for the peculiarly-involved and ambiguous language used by the priests and the infirmities of translation into English from Sinhalese, these opinions, except in matters which are purely *obiter*, contain a fairly accurate statement of the rules under consideration.



In *Eriminne Unnanse v. Senabawe Unnanse*, (1832) Van., Appendix, D, these opinions were submitted to an assembly of the principal Sinhalese Chiefs, who were unanimously of opinion that on the question of a layman succeeding to a temple, the opinion of the Malwatta College was more correct, viz., that it is necessary to be a priest to succeed to a temple under the *sassa paramparawa*, and that it is only under the *sivaru paramparawa* that a layman can succeed to a temple on condition of afterwards becoming a priest.

On failure of the line of pupillary successors, the temple becomes *sanghika* and the new appointment is made by the *Sangha* or Chapter of the College to which the particular temple belongs.

Originally the priests, who were assembled at the death of the last incumbent became entitled in common. (Cf. Opinion of the Malwatta Priests stated above).

That was a relic also of Hindu custom. In the Hindu family it is the son who attends to the last rites of the dead and sets fire to the funeral pyre. When an incumbent has pupils, the pupils, being in the place of his sons, would attend to the last rites; but, if he have no pupils, those persons that perform the acts which his pupils would have performed, will have the same rights as his pupils, if he had any, to succeed to the incumbency. Some writers have interpreted it to mean that the temple became *sanghika*, that is reverts to the whole body of priests in common. (Per LAWRIE, A. C. J., *Samana Terannanse vs. Kandappahamy*, (1893) 3 C. L. R., 14).

The rule now is that the Chapter of the College or Vihare to which the particular temple is affiliated has the right to appoint the successor. Very often the appointment is made by the Maha Nayaka without reference to the Chapter; for in matters of that sort, the Chapter invariably agrees with the Maha Nayaka. But where there is likely to be a dispute, he refers it to the Chapter, and the appointment is made by the Chapter. (*D. C. Kandy*, 17,069, (1841) Austin, 84).

But in no case does the appointment revert to the original grantors or dedicators of the Vihare.

*Dharmapala Unnanse vs. Medagama Samana Unnanse*, (1910) 2 C. L. R., 83.

The choice of the original founders or their successors who are the *dhayakayas* of the temple has sometimes been accepted by the judicial tribunals as an indication of the rule of succession that applies to a particular incumbency or to support an appointment duly made by the Chapter; but any pretension on the part of the *dhayakayas* to appoint a successor to an incumbency has been always vigorously opposed by the Courts.

Cf. *Dhammajoty Unnanse vs. Saranande Unnanse*, (1881) 5 S. C. C., 8; *Rathanapala Unnanse vs. Kewitiagala Unnanse*, (1879) 2 S. C. C., 26.





## Notes & Queries.

### VILLAGE DOGS OF THE WANNI AND NORTH CENTRAL PROVINCE.

By H. R. FREEMAN, C.C.S.

MR. H. C. P. Bell, finding that I have made a collection of names of village dogs, has asked me to write a Note on Dogs.

Perhaps it is not generally known that most village dogs (ordinarily regarded as 'pariahs' or outcasts) have definite names. If a dog has no name, he or she is addressed by the villagers as *ballā* or *belli*, in a tone which goes to the understanding and answers all the purposes of an actual name.

For want of time to develop derivations, I give a few names in the hope that some fancier of village dogs will supply better ones and, especially, suggest their origin. This country is notoriously vague as to the origin of names, speaking generally.

*Kadiyā* (large black ant) and *Debarā* (wasp) are very common; *Dimiyā* (large red ant) and *Bambarā* not so common: dogs with these names do not appear to be more inclined to bite than others. *Kukkā* and *Kikkī* are everywhere to be found: *Buriyā* and *buradi* (from *buranawā*) are not so frequent: *Bulā* is common and is perhaps from *buranawā* (to bark) or, possibly from the English *bull dog*: *Kamaya* (Anglicé 'come here' pronounced quickly), is common; so are *Tommiyā* and *Tommi*: these last two and other civilized names such as *Rosie*, *Luciya*, *Tiger*, *Robo* and *Roba* (for Robber or Robert), *Piliyan*, *Jema*, *Papy* (for "puppy"), *Tinkā*, *Hunter*, *White*, *Misiya*, *Brown*, *Wiskiya*, *Johnia*, *Ready*, *Rover*, *Jane*, *Nellie*, *Opisara* (officer) *Dassi* (for Daisy) *Laidon* (for "lie down") are met with in the most remote villages.

*Piyan* is met with now and again: dogs of this name move about from village to village and travel considerable distances like peons or messengers; dogs of this habit have a pleasant wayfaring manner.

A few other attractive and suggestive names are *Bima*, *Kavisiya*, *Kankaniyā*, *Sangiliyā*, *Viduliyā*, *Dadoriyā*, *Polisiyā*, *Tipā*, *Kappiliyā*, *Randeni*, *Rāja*, *Brampi*, *Juwānis*.

It is noted that though some Low-Country names of men occur in dogs' names, the names of Kandyan Sinhalese do not, for instance, there is no dog called *Appuhāmi* or *Ukku Bandā*.

The origin of the following will be interesting:—*Batiyā*, *Bataniyā*, *Kangā*, *Malayā*, *Dinurimā*, *Dupiyā*, *Bahitā*, (? "biter") *Tipon*, *Babarayā*, *Betharayā*, *Gurubā*, *Pewo*, *Tupiniyā*, (? *Tumpaneyā*, i.e. fool), *Polkari*.

Other names of interest are *Vaira* and *Daimā* (hunting dogs) *Saibu*, *Kai*, *Bransa*, *Yakadi*, *Nariyā*, *Motoriyā*, *Kurabi*, *Ponni*, *Karupa*, *Rusiya*, *Singā*, *Surā*, *Sadayā*, *Williā*, *Kohombi*, *Waikunfa*.

'Kadappuli' (vagabond, vagrant) a Tamil word, is adopted by the Sinhalese, for wandering dogs.



## PLACE-NAMES IN JAFFNA.

By the REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

IN his very learned article on place-names in Jaffna<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. W. Coomaraswamy suggests that the name Chulipuram may be from the Sinh. *Sulu-pura*. I wish to throw out another suggestion which, to my mind, seems more likely.

Mr. Coomaraswamy notes that Chulipuram adjoins Tol-puram and that in the former village is to be found what "is said to be the ruins of a *vihāra*." I suggest that Chulipuram is the Sinh. *Sula-vēra* and that Tol-puram stands for *Tala-vēra*, meaning the small *vihāra* and the great *vihāra* respectively.

The contraction *vēra* from *vehera* (for *vihāra*) is not uncommon in old Sinhalese usage. Cf., for instance, the Polonnaruwa Galpota inscription.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Coomaraswamy himself gives an instance of *vēra* for *vihāra* in *Vērak-kai*.<sup>3</sup> We have other instances probably in *Vērak-kādu*, ruins of extensive buildings popularly said to have been owned by the Wannichis, in Meesalai, Tenmarādchy division; in *Vēra-vilān*, near Pulōly, Vadamarādchy division and in *Vēra-vil* in the mainland.

In these names where *vēra* occurs as the first member of the compound, the *ē* long is kept intact. But where *vēra* becomes second member in the compound the *ē* long runs the risk of being shortened, especially when the Tamil final consonant *m* (*ṁ*) is tacked to the end, as it happens, almost invariably with foreign words. Compare Tamil *kamam* from Sinh. *gama*.<sup>4</sup> An example of this is perhaps Chuddi-puram, the name of an allotment near Kodikāmam. Old notarial documents have Chiddi-vēram, which seems to be the Sinh. *Sitiyē-vēra* corrupted first into Chiddi-vēram and subsequently into Chuddi-puram. I can see no traces of a *puram* (town) in this obscure locality. Its sole renown is in the Amman temple which may well have taken the place of an older *vihāra*.

Nor is there the likelihood of Tol-puram and Chulī-puram having ever been such important towns as to have been dignified with the title of *puram*. The compound Tol-puram, again, would be an awkward hybrid if we take the second member as a Sinhalese word (*pura*) or even as the Sanscrit *puram*, *tol* being a purely Tamilian word meaning 'old.' If, on the other hand, we take both Chulī-puram and Tol-puram as corrupted Sinhalese compounds, the distinction once made between two adjoining *vihāras* as *sula* and *tula* becomes intelligible and most natural.

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 181.

2. *Epigr. Zeyl* Vol. II, p. 93.

3. *Ceylon Antiquary*, *ibid.*, p. 158.

4. But long *m* converts itself into *ṁ* (*ṁ*) in Tamil, e.g. *Māid* becomes *Māiṁ*.



## SOME NOTES FROM THE MOROWA KÓRALE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

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*The Wild Bread-fruit Tree.*—At Beralapanátara in Morowa Kórale in March, 1898, I noticed a young *del* tree on the bank of a stream, which from the shape of its leaves I thought was the cultivated variety such as is grown in gardens and is not indigenous. The Vidāne Árachchi, however, told me that it was not, but that it was a wild bread-fruit tree—the indigenous variety—and that wild bread-fruit trees, when young, had leaves of the same shape as the cultivated tree, i.e. with marked indentations, and that as they grow older the leaves assume a different shape, viz. that of the leaves of the wild *del* which are quite different from that of the leaves of the *del* tree proper. I mention this because I saw that there had been a question in one of the newspapers as to whether there was any truth in the statement that wild bread-fruit trees when young had leaves of the same shape as the cultivated variety, and that the reply was in the negative.

*The Wild Jak Tree.*—I was also assured that there are two varieties of *jak* tree, one of which is found growing wild and the other not. The former is indigenous, the latter not. If true, this is a fact not known to scientists. Dr. Trimen says there is only one, and he recognises one variety only of cashew nut, which he says was introduced into the Island by the Portuguese. The Sinhalese, however, say that there are two, one indigenous and so described (*me-rafa*), and the other not. In fact, where there are two varieties of the same tree, as in the case of the bread-fruit, *jak* and cashew trees, one indigenous and the other introduced from a foreign country, they are distinguished by the adjectives *mera* and *era* respectively ('this country,' 'that country'). But in ordinary parlance the first adjective is dispensed with and the second reduced to '*rafa*' merely. Hence '*rafa del*,' etc. This is certainly an explanation which satisfactorily accounts for the use of the prefix '*rafa*' in speaking of certain plants which otherwise seems a meaningless adjective.

I saw several of these wild *jak* trees in the Apeṛakka forest on May 26th, 1898. I also saw a young wild bread-fruit tree which might easily have been taken for the cultivated variety.

*Mederipitiya.*—The river and forest scenery here is very fine. This is the Gindura river that comes out three or four miles north of Galle. Up here it is perfectly clear water. I passed near some places with names which show that a petty king had at one time resided in this neighbourhood, e.g. Māligāṭenna. About twenty yards from the bank I saw a large *jak* tree growing in virgin forest. (1st March, 1898).

*Bamboo Forest.*—The arcades of bamboo through which one passes along the river bank are very pretty, but the atmosphere under them is that of a furnace. I had never seen anything like this jungle of wild bamboo before. This is the river that runs through Beverley and Campden Hill estates. (2nd March, 1898.)



*Sinha-rāja-adirwiya*.—This forest is situated on the borders of the Hinidum Pattu (Galle), Morowa Kōrale (Mafara), Kukul Kōrale (Ratnapura), and Kalutara District. "An old man, formerly Police Officer, told me that it contained calamander trees, and that in the time of Mr. Hume (1878), he had sent him some of the seeds through the Hinidum Pattu Mudaliyar." (1st March, 1898). Some villagers, I may add, promised to bring me some plants but did not do so.

*Ramalakanda*.—This wooded height, "it is said, contains an old recumbent statue of Buddha. The people say that all sorts of vegetables grow there, but that it is no use attempting to carry them away; they spoil if removed."

*Morawa Kōrale*.—The "Ceylon Observer" still persists in its misspelling of this name, but the "Times of Ceylon" of the same date and the local Planters' Association take care to spell it correctly. See the annexed extracts:—

*Morawakkorale P. A.*—We must say that the Morawak Kōrale planters are the most long-suffering of any in the island. ("Ceylon Observer," October 9th, 1916.)

The meeting ended with thanks to the Chair—M. S. Ferling, Chairman & Hon. Secretary Morawakorale P. A.

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## "DUGGANĀ UNNĀNSĒLĀ."

By R. J. PEREIRA.

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FOOTNOTE No. 8 on p. 273 of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. ii, Part iv, says: "Moladanda Batwadana Nilame was married to an Arāwē Duggannā Unnānsē," which, I think, is not in accordance with facts. According to Lawrie (*Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 67), "An Arāwē Lady, Duggannā Unnānsē, had three sons and three daughters. The eldest daughter married Moladandē Batwadana Nilamē." The mistake, however, crept into p. 601 of Vol. ii; when I pointed this out to him, Sir Archibald Lawrie rectified it in his revised copy of the *Gazetteer*, which he intended to have printed in London with diacritical marks over the native terms.

I may add that, about forty years ago, the late Wēgodāpola Basnāyaka Nilamē—an authority on Kandyan Law—told me, and I made a note of it at the time: "The Law required that, when a king died, his Duggannā Unnānsēlā (mistresses) should become the mistresses of his successor, or of a member or members of the royal family. If they married one of their own rank, or otherwise degraded themselves, they lost their status and rank, and no one would accord them the respect due to them as such."

Most of the Duggannā Unnānsēlā were the pick of the daughters of chiefs of high rank; and it was considered an honour to the family, when the choice fell on them.



## ANKYLOS AND HOOK.

By the REV. A. CLOSSET, S.J.

THERE has recently been, in the "*Times of Ceylon*," a controversy regarding the correct transliteration of the word *ankylostomiasis*. Undue emphasis should not be laid on the fact that the same word spelt in one way in a living tongue and in a different way in a dead language, has an inaccurate transliteration in the living tongue, because it differs from the spelling of the word in the dead language. A good number of words passed directly from Eastern languages into Western vernacular languages and retained there the correct spelling, whereas it was altered in the classical language. For instance, in Greek, the word *kudn*, gen., *kanos*, dog, is written with a *k*. It would be incorrect to say that *kuon* passed into French by softening the initial letter into the sibilant *ch* and became *chien*.

We leave aside on purpose the Latin form *canis*, dog, because we hold, contrary to the theory of the Kikeronians, that in Latin, the letter *c* followed by *e*, *i* and even in some words by *u*, was sibilant. (It would lead us too far to give the reasons for the statement). Sanscrit *swan*, dog, passed into some vernacular languages of the West, among them the Old Romance tongue, with the soft pronunciation, and also into Greek, but by hardening the sibilant. For words passing from dead languages into vernacular tongues, too much stress should not for another reason be put on the difference of spellings. To insist on the correct transliteration of a word whose spelling is recognised by authors would, logically, require the suppression of three-fourths of the words from all the languages. For instance, it is certain that *ankylos*, from its earliest age, has been written with a *k*.

If, for that reason, we condemn the spelling *anehylos*, which is recognised by authors, *a fortiori* must we condemn the spelling *hook*, *angle*, and dozens of other words which come from the same root as *ankylos*; for, in some of those words, there is a difference not only in one letter, but in all the letters; some of those words are not even recognisable. The consequence would be that all those words should be practically suppressed from the languages and we should revert to the primitive tongue, where there were no specific names of things, but where words applying to specific categories of things were used.

We have to show that *ankylos* and *hook*, though so differently pronounced and spelt, have originally the same root. We differ from dictionaries which give to the base *ank*, as first meaning, *bend*, thence, *hook*. It is the reverse. The first meaning of *ank* is *piercing* or *sharp point*, thence anything ending in a point, sharp or blunt as, for example, the finger, thence a thing bent at any *angle*, and thence finally a curved thing. Such is the genealogy of the word.

Both *ankylos* and *hook* originated in the old Dravidian stock. By old Dravidian stock I mean the common stock of words from which Sinhalese and the Dravidian Languages sprang. The original form was *an*, with the meaning *piercing*. It is not to be found in Sanscrit. The nearest approach to it is *agra*, *summit*, *point*. We find it in its pure or almost pure form in the Sinhalese verb අනව්වා, *annawā* or අනව්වා, *aninawā*, to *pierce*; in Elu අන, *an*, *horn*; in its Elu negative form හන, *han*, which stands for *a-an*, *blunt*, i. e., *not sharp*; in Tamil அன, *ani*, *nail*, *sharp point*, in Sinhalese අන, *ana*, *nail*, etc. In compound words, we find it in the Vedda word *ambara*, *deer*, *buffalo*, *sambur*; it stands for *an*, *horns* and *bara*, *wearing*; from it Sanscrit borrowed its word *Sangbarah*; we find it also in the Tamil அம்பு, *ambu*, *arrow*, which stands for *an-wu*, i. e., *that has a sharp point*.



The Elu regularly formed the substantive by adding to the base *an* the suffix *ak* or *ka*, thence *anka*. It dropped the nasalisation and became *qan*, *aka* or *ak*, as it does in *Lanka*, which is *Laka* in Elu. From it, modern Sinhalese formed its word *qan*, *anga*, horn.

It was at this stage of formation that Sanscrit borrowed it to form its verb, with its derivatives, *ank*, to note, to mark, to make a line. In Sanscrit, the idea of point is kept in the word *angkura*, anything that grows into a point, arrow. *Angkura* is composed of *ank*, point, and the Tamil *u. r.* *ura* or *u. r. ura*, ulla, being, having. The Sanscrit *anguli*, finger, has the same etymology.

To come to Western Languages, we find the base *ank* or *ak* in the Greek *ake*, point; *ankulos*, hooked; *ankos*, bend; in the Latin *uncus*, hook; *acus*, needle; *aquila*, (ak-ulla), eagle; in the French *aigu*, sharp; *aiguille*, needle; *anguille*, eel; all words composed of *ak* or *ank* and *ulla*, lit. that has a point or points, sharp or blunt; *angle* has the same etymology and *ankulos* too. Hook is written *hoc* in Anglo-Saxon, *haak* in Dutch and *haken* in German. It manifestly is the base *ak*, to which Gothic gutturalising has added the aspirate *h*. We find it in contemporary Sinhalese in the shape of *wed*, *hak*, hook. The old, old base *ak*, after many centuries of exile under an inclement sky, returned at last to sunny Lanka, unfortunately, it may be forgiven it, with a Teutonic head-gear.

## ROBERT KNOX AND THE ENGLISH-MAN'S TREE.

By JAMES RYAN.

I have to thank Mr. Herbert White for his courteous correction (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. ) of a slipshod ascription of the "Englishman's Tree" at Cottiar to Robert Knox himself, whereas he was never within 10 miles of the place. My edition of Knox's *Relation* was passed through the Press during my absence in Italy and I had no opportunity of correcting the proofs, except that of the Preface, where, as Mr. White points out, the error is repeated. Several faults in the Index require correction, but I am glad that, in thanking Mr. White, I am able to take the opportunity to draw the attention of your readers to a more interesting omission.

Not only did Knox add to his own copy of the *Relation* the portrait and the autobiographical matter reprinted in my edition but he made sundry notes in the text, which should have been also reproduced but were omitted by an oversight of the publishers. These are as follows:—It must be noted that the paginal and linear references are to the original edition, the pagination being marginally noted in the Maclehose reprint.

MARGINALIA by ROBERT KNOX in his Private Copy.

P. 152. Writing of the little girl whom he had adopted, the child of a fellow captive by a Sinhalese woman, he says:

"This girl was 7 year old (when) I came away: I had her 3 years old and by a written Will left here all y<sup>e</sup> I was possessed of thare = w<sup>ch</sup> after some little trouble and producing my Will before y<sup>e</sup> Adigar who had pressed house and all for y<sup>e</sup> King, it was all restored again for ye Child—all this was told me by y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen y<sup>e</sup> escaped from bondage and came home to England four years after me—which were 3 men, viz., Ralph Knight, "W<sup>o</sup> Day and Tho. Kirby."



[These men lived with Knox and Roger Gould at Lagundeniya and their descendants still live there and are proud of their ancestry. Day's branch call themselves De Appu, and had a feudal duty of carrying fresh milk daily to Rāja Sinha's Palace at Nilambe, no light task as the mileage is considerable and the Pusselawa climate not one of the best for milk transport. Mr. Denham in his (1911) Census Report mentions that the descendants of the unlucky Naucars de Lanerolle, a co-captive of Knox's in 1672 and later, were still to the fore in 1889 and have promoted themselves from Counts to Dukes under such names as "Duky" or "Dorkiedoe" "La Nerolle De Ley (DeLaisne) Franse Mohottige Don Samuel Appuhami."]

P. 155. R. K. says the Englishman who accompanied him and Gould but whom they could not trust owing to the incompleteness of his bachelordom was Knight.

"This was Ralph Knight who afterwards ran away and died in England."

P. 140. "Then did I offer repeated prayers to my God Psalm ye 30 and 11 and 12th. Thou hast turned me from my Morning (sic) into dancing, thou hast put of my sackcloth and girded me with gladnesse to ye end that my glory may sing praise to the (sic) &c."

P. 107. "Doon a dook gotta, a saying to a man in Anger whom they want not : it is take from me what you gave me."

P. 60. On Raja Sinho's "poysoning his son" : "so to note—only concealing him, giving out he was dead."

P. 55. After correcting the printer's error "45" for "55" he adds a note on the statements in the text *re* "Military Service" very difficult to decipher "by listing soldiers who are only raiding his gonnoys or (?) forendry who hold land and y<sup>t</sup> never but when ye King goes himself in person in ye field."

P. 46. Again of Raja Sinho "Poysoning of his son proves false for since he hath reigned King."

P. 14. Of the Jak tree "the wood of this tree is excellent and durable timber."

On the Title page is the sprawly MS. inscription by his nephew (?)

*"Liber olim Knox Ward Armigeri*

*Clarencieux Armorum Rex* (which should, of course, be genitive also, to wit "Regis"). R

Apropos of the Knox escutcheon he writes :

This ye Knox' Armes was sent me from Edingburg in Scotland by Mr. Henry Knox, Bookseller thare in Letter dated ye 29 Aprill, 1703."

Knox's handwriting is fairly legible and is typical of the Cromwellian time, but his e's are difficult to decipher—"ZEILON" which he prints for CEYLON looks like "Zolone"—This final "e" may sometimes be a flourish but it occurs in the word "one" which is indistinguishable from "on." The letters still glisten with the yet adherent sand which he used instead of blotting paper as is done in Italy to this day.

[Note on the above by Mr. J. P. Lewis : The following extract from *List of Inscriptions*, &c., referring to a stone which I had erected at Lagundeniya to commemorate the connection of Knox and his companions with the place is of interest here—the stone is on the side of the high road]:—



In a letter addressed to the English authorities at Madras by the Dutch Governor, Rykloff van Goens, dated Colombo, October 22, 1669, it is stated that Robert Knox and the three men named below were "in a village beyond Candy named Legundeniya." "We learn from Knox's narrative that after having endured their enforced residence at Legundeniya for three years (1667-1670 probably), he and his three companions took 'French leave' and went off whither they pleased. Knox and Rutland settled at Eladetta, where they were joined by Gold and Knight," ("Robert Knox," by D. W. Ferguson, p. 22 note.) "Day had a half-caste son, Peter, who was 16 years of age in 1683. He was probably therefore born at Legundeniya." (*ibid.*, p. 36.) There is said to be a family called De Appu in the village of Pupuressa near Legundeniya descended from William Day, but the compiler has not succeeded in coming across a member of it. Legundeniya is in the Kandukara Pahala korale of the Uda palata division of the Kandy District, about 5 miles from Gampola. The site of the compound in which, according to tradition, Knox lived is now called Nittamaluwa. It is on the road from Pupuressa to Pussetenna estate, near the summit of a conical patana-covered mountain, from which are visible, on the west Adam's Peak, Raxsawa, and Ambuluwawa; on the east Hantane and the road from Peradeniya to Deltota; on the south Pussellawa. The place is approached on all four sides by "passes," which seems to have been the reason why it was selected for the residence of Knox and his companions. The tradition as to the site came from the late Arachchi of the village, who belongs to the Hunkiripatiyage family, which supplied milk to the king. There are said to be descendants of Knox's companions living in the neighbourhood. Their family name is "Nasindeniyegedera." The inscription is as follows:—

HERE LIVED  
A.D. 1667-1670  
ROBERT KNOX  
JOHN LOVELAND  
JOHN BERRY  
WILLIAM DAY  
Erected 1908.  
J. P. L.





## 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 234.)

CHAPTER XVIII, which gives interesting details of the history of the Maldives during the latter half of the Sixteenth Century, is done but scant justice to by Symons, and entirely ignored by Harris.

The former's inadequate summary appears below, supplemented by desirable footnotes drawn from Pyrard's Narrative itself, as well as from other sources, mainly Portuguese authorities quoted in Appendix B to Vol. II of the *Hakluyt Society's* English edition of Pyrard's *Voyage*.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

*Curiosity of the Maldivé King—His Genealogy—Political Changes at the Islands—  
The King's Wives, and other Matters.*

#### SYMONS.

I had the good Fortune to be much at Court, the King and Queens being very much pleas'd with my Company, because having, as I said before, made it my Business to learn the Language, they took great Delight in hearing me give an Account of the Affairs of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The King enquir'd about the Court of France, and all other Particulars; but his greatest Delight was to be inform'd about Sea-Affairs and Shipping, as manag'd by Europeans.<sup>2</sup>

The Queens frequently made me acquaint them with the Manners and Customs of European Ladies; but their most constant Discourse was about Love;<sup>3</sup> and they were amaz'd to hear that so great a Monarch as the King of France had but one Wife, and that the Wives in Europe had no Gallants, and were allow'd so much Liberty in going Abroad, and conversing in Company, as I inform'd them.

This Discourse made me acceptable at the Palace, where either the King or Queens had always Questions to ask me; and having made it my Business at first to learn the Language, I was able to satisfy their Curiosity which gain'd me much Favour; and consequently, my long Stay in those Islands was render'd the more easy, because I was plentifully provided with all Necessaries.<sup>4</sup>

The present Kings of the Maldivé Islands, are not of the ancient Royal Family, but descended from a Catibe, or Mahometan Priest, the true line being excluded after this Manner.

1. This sentence is gratuitously foisted upon Pyrard here. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, I. p. 210.

2. Pyrard belauded his country so fulsomely that the Sultan enquired whether the French were "the Franki or Franqui (*Faringi*) spoken of in the Indies"—a term which Pyrard states that he subsequently learnt signified "all the Western people."

3. Pyrard:—"car elles ne desiroient parler ny ouyr d'autres discours que d'amour."

4. Here again Symons improvises. He omits a quaint paragraph, wherein Pyrard dwells on the Sultan's unfeigned disgust, as a Muhammadan on the one hand, at European scarlet cloth, brushes, &c., of pig's bristles and seals-skins; coupled, on the other, with his great admiration for the science of navigation, charts and instruments of European nations.



When the *Portugueses* were at the Height of their Power in India, the King of the *Maldives*, who was of the ancient Royal Family, being hard press'd by a near Kinsman, who was in Rebellicon against him, fled with his Wife, and some few of his Household, to *Cochin*, where he became a Christian, together with his Wife, and Part of his Followers, and sent back the rest who would not be baptiz'd; whereupon his Competitor was immediately receiv'd as King.<sup>5</sup>

The Christian King sent over to demand of his Subjects to pay him the usual Tribute, threatening, in Case of Refusal, to attack them with *Portuguese* Forces; which accordingly, upon their rejecting of him, was done by those Forces; but he went not over himself. The *Portugueses* return'd the first Time with Loss; but coming again the next Year, with a greater Power, they defeated and kill'd the Usurper, erected a Fort in the Island of *Male*,<sup>6</sup> and subdu'd many of the others.

After this, having assembled the prime Men, they acquainted them, that it was not their Design to oppress, or oblige them to change their Religion, but only to compel them to own and pay Tribute to their lawful King; which being agreed to, the *Portugueses* left the Government to the Natives, only on Condition they should not hold any Councils without admitting the prime Christians who were to remain in the Fort.<sup>7</sup>

I have heard those Natives declare that the Islands were never so happy in all Respects, as during that Time of Subordination to the *Portugueses*, which continu'd about ten Years.

However, the *Southern* Islands never submitted, a *Catibe* from whom the present King is descended, raising Forces there, and maintaining himself, 'till being strengthen'd by the Accession of some *Malabar* Pyrates, he surpriz'd the Fort in the Island of *Male*, putting to the Sword 300 *Portugueses* there were in it, and taking the Native who govern'd as Vice-Roy.<sup>8</sup>

Thus the *Catibe* made himself King, and left the Crown to his Successors. But to prevent a perpetual War, he came to an Accommodation with the *Portugueses*, by which he oblig'd himself to pay a yearly Pension to the Christian King, as was perform'd many Years after.<sup>9</sup>

I have before mention'd something of the Currents about these Islands, which are violently strong, and set one Way six Months together. If a Ship happens to be at the *North-End* of the Islands, when they set *Eastward*, it will be carry'd by them to the *Indian Coast*; but if it happens to be to the *Southward* of *Ceylon*, it will then be drove as far as *Sumatra*, which is 500 Leagues. Again, if a Vessel should be so carry'd away towards the latter End of the Season,<sup>10</sup> so that the contrary Currents setting *Westward*, come on before it has reach'd any Land, it must then drive quite back again; and thus many belonging to the Islands, frequently perish, because having no Store of Provisions Abroad, the Men are all starv'd before they can reach any other Land. If the Currents carry them to the *Westward*, they have no Place nearer to touch at, than the Coast of *Arabia*, which is much more remote than *Sumatra*.

I one Day saw a Vessel that had been forc'd away from the Islands by the Currents, and upon the Change of the Season was drove back again; but most of the Men in it were dead; and those who surviv'd, had nothing but the Skin left upon their Bones, through Extremity of Want.

5. The *Maldivian* name of this "Christian King," son of a Sultan Yusuf, was *Hasan Durbia Farud*. He would seem to have "submitted to conversion as a means of gaining Portuguese support," and was baptised by St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies, in 1557, under the name of Don Manuel. His successful rival, Ali, became Sultan at the Maldives, but was slain by the Portuguese when they took Male a few years after.

Don Manoel subsequently resided at Goa, and married a Portuguese lady Dona Francisca, sister of Antonio Teixeira de Macedo, by whom he had three sons Don Francisco (killed in a brawl at Lisbon), Don João died prior to 1666, and Don Pedro.

The second son Don João succeeded his father as titular sovereign of the Maldives about 1683. He was, in turn, followed by his son Don Philippe; upon whose importunity a third Portuguese expedition was despatched against the Islands in 1682, but failed to capture Male. (See Plate. *Hak Soc. Pyrard* II, Appendix B. p. 511.)

The last Christian King of the Maldives was Don Luis de Sousa, who rebelled against the Viceroy, and died as a prisoner on the voyage to Europe in 1686.

6. This Fort, such as it is, still exists. See Christopher's description of it in 1635. *Trans. Bombay Geo. Soc.* I, 57) and Bell (Report 1887, p. )

7. Symons is too vague. The Islands were governed by a Native Regent, who was subject to the control of the Portuguese Commandant at Male. *Maldivian Records* style this man *André André* (i. e. *Andreas André*). "The Portuguese in this way ruled the Islands in peace for upwards of ten years."

8. The fuller story of the long struggle should be read in Pyrard's *Voyage* (covering pp. 166-177 of the 1679, 4to, Edition) or *Hak Soc. Pyrard* I, 244-257.

This successful rebellion lasted some eight years. The "Catibe" (M. Kattib), Muhammad Bedu Takuru-fanu, was the elder of two brothers "of low estate," the younger being named Hassan Kilege-fanu. They jointly captured Male, and ruled the Islands together amicably for twenty-five years, until the death of Hassan. The elder brother married the widow of the usurper Sultan, Ali, and the younger brother his daughter.

The Sultan of Pyrard's captivity (1603-1607), named Ibrahim, was the only son of Muhammad Bedu Takuru-fanu.

9. The Portuguese Records do not state the terms of the Treaty between the Portuguese and the Maldivian Sultan *de facto*. Pyrard says the Christian King gave a third of his pen- to the Portuguese. This third was 500 bahars of coin. See *Hak Soc. Pyrard* I, 251.

10. Pyrard has:—"Et si le malheur veut que ces tempêtes les emportent, la fin des Mensons ou Saisons (quand le courant les emporte, ils appellent cela *behigues*.)"

*Behigue*: M. *behigen gas* (Sin. *behigana gas*), "sailing with wind and current," the old English "spooning along before the sea."



Tho' it do not properly belong to the *Maldivy* Islands, it will not be improper to observe, that I have there seen *Indian Ships*, which carry'd 2000 Persons, Men, Women, and Children; for many of the *Indians* take all their Families along with them to Sea.<sup>11</sup>

They do not make so many Decks to their Ships, nor do they carry their Water in Casks, <sup>12</sup> as we do; but make two wooden Cisterns, one on each Side the main Mast, with only two Holes, <sup>13</sup> as in Wells, to draw the Water. This Way holds more Water, and takes up less Room than ours; but on the other Hand, is not so safe, because if any Accident happens, they lose all their Water at once; whereas, if any of our Casks happen to fail, it is probable the rest may hold good.<sup>14</sup>

Others, instead of Casks, make Use of Jars, some of which contain above a Pipe, made in the Kingdom of *Martavam* the best glaz'd and handsomest that I have seen, and the Water always keeps sweet in them.<sup>15</sup>

The rest of the Chapter (omitted by Symons) is taken up with two revolts against Rulers of the *Maldives*, and an account of the reigning Sultán's unscrupulous marital vagaries; touching which the garrulous and plain-spoken French captive does not mince matters.

Sultán Ibráhim appears (*teste* Pyrard) to have combined the uxorious propensities of His Christian Majesty Henry VIII of England with the cruel lust of David King of Palestine.<sup>16</sup>

Neglecting his "chief queen, because she was very prolific," the Sultán, at the instigation of an adulterous wife, attempted with his own hand to kill her husband, a well-to-do Pilot, "in order to get this woman, who had three daughters, as fair as herself all married to princes and great lords."

This masterful matron proved herself a veritable "Messalina," <sup>17</sup> and hard to be rid of; for "she would not by any means consent to quit" the Sultán, when, tiring of her, he "became enamoured of" his nephew's wife, a lady "of noble birth, young and beautiful." He forcibly married the latter, much against her will, after she had made an abortive attempt to escape from *Málé* with her husband, who "for sorrow" at the iniquitous bereavement pined and died ere long.<sup>18</sup>

Not content with this scandalous and heartless action, the Sultán again became "violently enamoured"—this time of a "Basheta," the wife of a Bengal merchant who lived near the Royal Palace, and "compelled her to separate from her husband whom he threatened to cast into the sea," should he not consent to leave her.

Nathless all the queens seem to have consoled themselves, for enforced seclusion in the Royal Harem, in their own way, each according to fancy.<sup>19</sup>

11. Symons condenses and distorts a long paragraph of Pyrard:—

"A voir seulement le mast de ce vaisseau, (qui se perdit à l'île de *Gouradou*) le le ingeois le plus grand que l'eusse jamais vu. Car ce mast estoit plus long & plus gros que ceux des Carques de Portugal. Le Roy des *Maldives* fit faire une loge expresse de la longueur de ce mast pour le conserver par admiration. Le vis aussi le bout d'un autre mast & une hune beaucoup plus grande que celles de Portugal. Ce qui me fait croire qu'aux Indes il se fait de plus grands vaisseaux & de meilleure matiere qu'en Portugal, ny me en qu'en tout le reste du monde. Les plus grands navires viennent de la coste d'Arabie, de Perse & de Mogor. & il s'en voit ou il y a iufqu'à deux mille personnes dedans; les Indiens apportent la pluspart tout leur mesnage sur la mer avec eux."

12. Pyrard:—"dans des pippes & dans des vases, comme nous faisons."

13. Pyrard:—"il n'y a que des trous a puiser de l'eau comme dans vn puits."

14. Pyrard puts it differently:—"ce qui nous arrive pas, car si c'est vn coup de canon, tout ce qu'il peut faire c'est de perdre une pippe ou deux; ou s'il y en a quelqu'une mauvaïse, elles ne le sont pas toutes."

15. *Martabane*. In Pegu: see authorities quoted in *Hak. Soc. Pyrard* I, p. 269. The *Maldivians* still use such big jars, the smaller called *rumba*, the larger *metaben*.

16. Pyrard touches the spot:—"il n'auoit pas une facon d'estre vn iour si valeureux que son pere; comme de fait, ainsi que l'ay peu reconnoistre, son humeur n'estoit n'estoit portee à la guerre, mais seulement aux lettres, aux sciences & manufactures, et il estoit fort odonné aux femmes, ce qui n'estoit pas estrange: n ce pays là."

17. Pyrard:—"quia la verite estoit la plus belle du monde; car elle s'addonnoit indifferemment a toutes sortes d'hommes, esclaves & autres."

18. Pyrard:—"Celle Dame estoit bien noble, le & belle, ce qui fut cause que le Roy s'en amouracha ainsi, mais elle mal fut que son mary ne la vouloit pas quitter, ny elle ne recoro moins son mary; car elle ne desiroit aucunement d'estre Reine, mais elle aimoit mieux sa premiere condition & la liberté. Pour la ieune Dame ce fut bien aussi contre sa volonte, ainsi qu'elle monstra bien depuis, m'aysant jamais porte d'amour a ce Roy, mais ayant tousiours eu d'autres amis."

19. Pyrard:—"Mais les Reines ne soucioient pas beaucoup de ce que le Roy ne les alloit point voir: Car elles ne manquoient pas d'amis, qui les visitoient quand il leur plaisoit. . . . toutefoils ils ne font pas de conscience parmy eux de faire mortir le fruit au ventre de la femme, estimans qu'ils sont aussi heureux de cette sorte, que s'ils venoient au monde."



## CEYLON ANTIQUITIES.

### EXTRACTS FROM DIARIES OF GOVERNMENT AGENTS.

**T**HANKS to the courtesy and kindness of His Excellency Mr. R. E. Stubbs, Officer Administering the Government of Ceylon, the Editors of the *Ceylon Antiquary* are enabled, as from the present issue, to present to their readers a new and permanent feature of interest. The Government has, by letter dated 9th February, 1918, been good enough to promise to forward to us from time to time extracts from the Diaries of the Government Agents and of the Assistant Government Agents which appear to be of archæological interest, and a first instalment of two such extracts appears below :—

#### KUDARAMPODDA MALAI AND RUINS.

*Extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, E.P., for the month of December, 1917.*

December 4th. Out early in the rain with the D.I.E., and went along the Rugam bund and through the jungle to Kudarampodda madu, the end of the proposed extension scheme. The cost is estimated at over 3½ lacs, and as under 2,000 acres would be brought under cultivation the scheme was abandoned. Crossed the madu to the rock hill opposite to search for some inscription<sup>1</sup> that Mr. Bell wanted me to copy. The south side of the rock is all overgrown with jungle, and there may be caves here which we could not find. On the top of the rock are the remains of a vihare and a pokuna and dagaba. Found several socket stones, a good number of dressed stones, a large slab (probably an offering stone) and one guard stone. Elephants frequently visit the spot, and have apparently amused themselves by dragging some of the stones about. Found no inscriptions or carved stones. Found a broken brick 9½ inches wide by 2½ inches deep, but could not say what its length was. Several perfect radial bricks belonging to the dagaba were found, and several broken tiles, but nothing that would give a clue to the age of the buildings. There are rough steps cut in the rock on each side. One set of steps leads to a sheer precipice, so that probably a ladder was used, as there is no sign of any built ascent. A very interesting place and, like all old Sinhalese ruins, most picturesquely situated.

#### SELAWA VIHARE.<sup>2</sup>

*Extract from the Diary of the Assistant Government Agent, Kegalle, for January, 1918.*

Walked 7 miles to Polgasdeniya via Selawa and Lemmatagama. Visited the old rock vihare at Selawa. It is very well kept and I congratulated the Incumbent Priest who appears to spend more on the buildings than he obtains from the temple revenues. There is a rock carved Sannas here granted by Sri Wickrama Rāja Sinha.

1. [Rugam. An imperfect "eye-copy" of the rock inscription in question was communicated to the *Ceylon Asiatic Society* by Mr. E. Holland of the Public Works Department in 1870. The Plate opposite p. xxvii of the *Proceedings*—Ed. *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

2. [Selawa. For a full account of Selawa Vihare (in the Tunpalāta Division, Paṭṭakuru Kōralē), see Bell, *Archæol. Survey, Kegalle Report*, S. P. XIX, 1892, p. 54. The text, transcript, and translation of the rock inscription of B. V. 2349 (A. D. 1865-66), are given on pp. 89, 90.—Ed. *Ceylon Antiquary*.]



# Reviews.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Fuller references to the following publications sent to us will be made in a subsequent issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary* :—

PALLAVA ANTIQUITIES by G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL Vol. II, 32 pages, 8 plates. Pondicherry, 1918. Annas 12.

REVUE HISTORIQUE DE L'INDE FRANÇAISE. Premier Volume, 1916-17. Pages 341 to 448, 3 plates. Pondicherry, 1918. Rs. 2/-.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA : Annual Report for 1915-16, Part I by SIR JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E., Litt. D., M.A., F.S.A., 49 pages, 5 plates. Calcutta, 1917. Rs. 2/-.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA : Annual Report for 1913-14 by Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., Litt. D., M.A., F.S.A., 311 pages, 72 plates. Calcutta, 1917. Rs. 20/-.

SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS : Tamil Inscriptions of Rájarája, Rajendra-Chola, and others in the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur. Vol. II, Parts I to V :—

Vol. II, Part I : *Inscriptions on the Walls of the Central Shrine*. Edited and translated by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D., 1 to 120 pages, 4 plates. Madras, 1891. Rs. 4/-.

Vol. II, Pt. II : *Inscriptions on the Walls of the Enclosure*. By E. Hultzsch, Ph. D., 121 to 248 pages, 4 plates. Madras, 1892. Rs. 5/-.

Vol. II, Pt. III : *Supplement to the First and Second Volumes*. By E. Hultzsch, Ph. D., 249 to 394 pages, 8 plates. Madras, 1895. Rs. 4/-.

Vol. II, Pt. IV : *Other Inscriptions of the Temple*. By Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A. 395 to 500 pages. Madras, 1913. Rs. 1/6.

Vol. II, Pt. V : *Pallava Copper-plate Grants from Velurpalayam and Tandantottam*. By Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sashtri, B.A. 501 to 586 pages, 2 plates (with Introd. and Index). Madras, 1917. Rs. 2/4.

## PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

MYTHIC SOCIETY JOURNAL (Bangalore) — Vol. 8, No. 2, January, 1918.

Srikantaiya (S.) — Life in the Hoysala Period.

Subbiah (Dr. A. V.) — The Rájaguru and Rájāsakti.

Vaidyanatha Ayyar (R.S.) — Eugenics and Basis of the Caste System.

Goodwill (Rev. F.) — Some Forts of the Mysore.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY (Vol. 37, Pt. 3, October, 1917).

Olmstead (A. T.) — Tiglath-Pileser I and his Wars.

Bender (H. H.) — On the Naturalistic Background of the 'Frog-hymn,' Rig-Veda 7, 103.

Laufer (Berthold) — The Vigesimal and Decimal Systems in the Ainu Numerals.

Kohler (K.) — The Sabbath and Festivals in the Exilic and Exilic Times.

Lybyer (A. H.) — The Legends of Evliya Effendi.

Schoff (W. H.) — Navigation to the Far East under the Roman Empire.



## AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES (January 1918.)

- Albright (W.F.)—Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology.  
 Ranston (H.)—Ecclesiastes and Theognis.  
 Langdon (S.)—The Toledo Collection of Conciform Tablets.

## THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW (February, 1918).

- Metta (V. B.)—India's Duty.  
 Venkataramani (K. S.)—The Task before Mr. Montagu.  
 Gajra (T. C. D.)—The Gurukula at Hardwar.  
 Oza (K. L.)—Inhalation of Ether : an Anæsthetic safer than Chloroform.

## JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY (December, 1917).

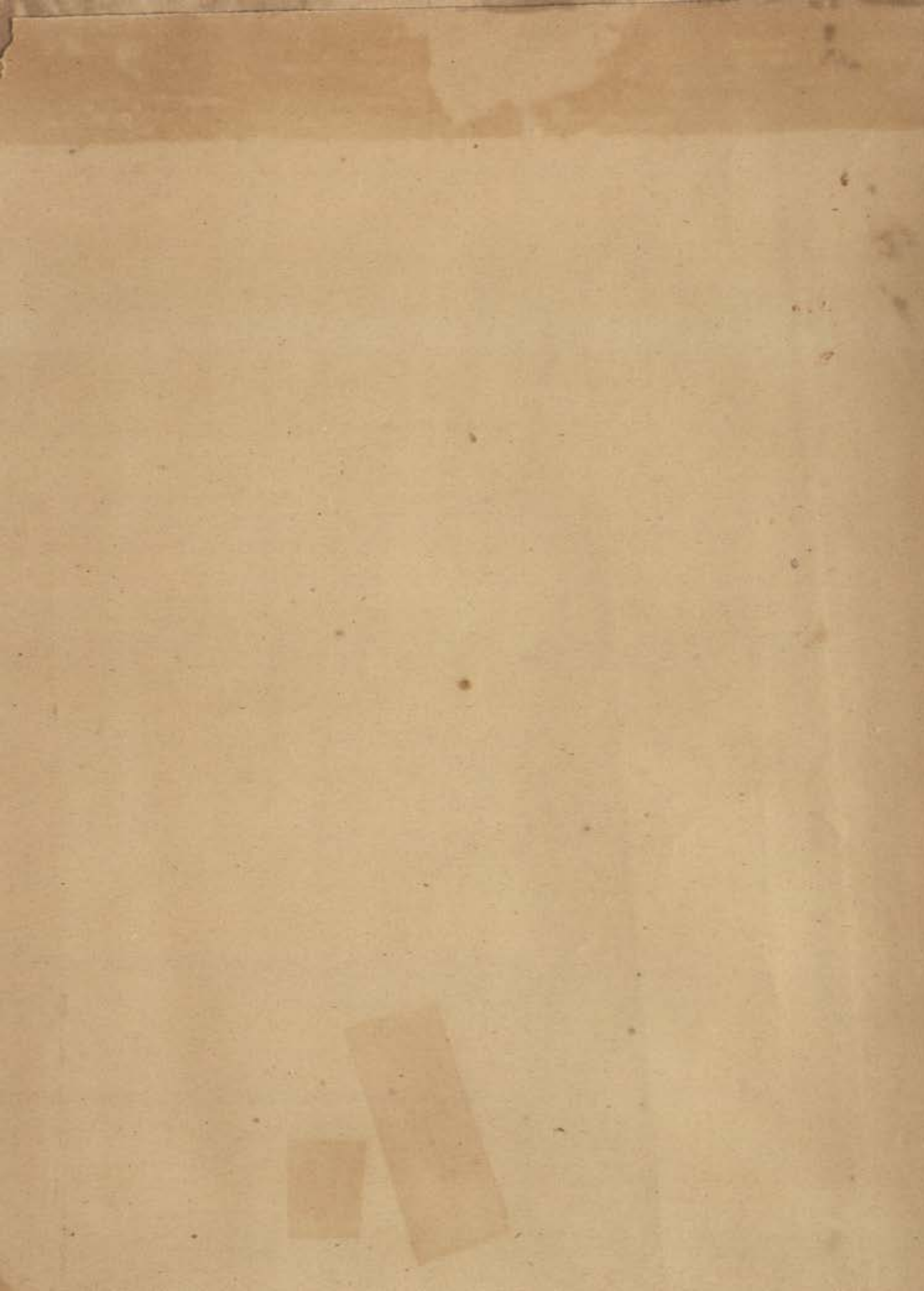
- Jayaswal (K. P.)—Hathi-gumpha Inscription of the Emperor Khāra-vela (B.C. 173-160).  
 Banerji (R. D.)—Note on the Hathi-gumpha Inscription.  
 Shastri (M. H. P.)—The Tezpur Rock Inscription.  
 Maharaja Bahadur—An account of the Maithil Marriage.  
 Roy (S. C.)—Kinship Organization of the Birhor.  
 Smith (V. A.)—Nepal, Tirhut, and Tibet.

## THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY (April, July, August, 1917).

- Krishnaswami Aiyangar (S.)—The Antiquities of Mahabalipur.  
 Rangachari (V.)—History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura.  
 Stein (Sir Aurel)—A 3rd Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16.  
 Jayaswal (K.P.)—The Historical Position of Kalki and his Identification with Yasodharman.  
 Venkatasubbiah (Dr. A.)—The Kadamba Prakrit Inscription of Malavalli.  
 Kane (P.V.)—Outlines of the History of Alamkara Literature.  
 [Index to Vol. XLV (1916) of the *Indian Antiquary*.]









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