

# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

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

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VOLUME II: PART II.

OCTOBER, 1916.

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Printed and Published at the  
Office of the Times of  
Ceylon, Colombo,  
Ceylon.

# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

Abh. = Abhidhānappadipikā, edited by Was-  
kaduwe Subhūti. Colombo, 1865.

A. I. C. = Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon. By  
Dr. E. Müller. 2 vols. London, 1883.

Am. = Amāwatura, edited by H. Jayatilaka.  
Colombo, 1885-86.

Arch. Surv. = Archæological Survey.

A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal.

A. S. C. = Archæological Survey of Ceylon.

A. S. S. I. = Archæological Survey of Southern  
India.

A. S. W. I. = Archæological Survey of Western  
India.

C. B. R. A. S. = Ceylon Branch of the Royal  
Asiatic Society.

C. I. I. or Corp. Inscript. Ind. = Corpus Inscript-  
tionum Indicarum.

Dh. = Dhammapada.

Dv. = Dipavansa.

Ep. Ind. = Epigraphia Indica.

E. S. = Etymologie des Singhalesischen, von  
Wilhelm Geiger. München, 1897.

Ep. Zeyl. = Epigraphia Zeylanica.

Gram. = Grammar or Grammatik.

Hc. = Hemacandra.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

J. or Journ. = Journal.

Jay. = H. Jayatilaka's Elu-Akarādiya.  
Colombo, 1893.

J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
of Great Britain and Ireland.

Lit. = Literally.

L. S. S. = Litteratur und Sprache der  
Singhalesen, von Wilhelm Geiger.  
Strassburg, 1900.

Mg. = Māgadhi.

Mv. = Mahāvansa.

Mv. T. = Mahāvansa Tikā.

M. W. Dict. = Sir Monier Monier-Williams'  
Sanskrit Dictionary. Oxford, 1899.

Or. Soc. = Oriental Society.

P. = Pāli. p. = page. par. = paragraph.

p. p. p. = past participle passive.

Pkt. = Prakrit.

R. A. S. = Royal Asiatic Society.

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East, edited by  
F. Max Müller.

Sinh. = Sinhalese. Skt. = Sanskrit.

T. = George Turnour.

W. = L. C. Wijēsinha, translator of the Mahā-  
vansa.

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19158

# The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

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Vol. II, Colombo, October, 1916. Part II.

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## JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

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

(Continued from Vol. II, Part I, Page 30.)

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### III. INLAND MISSIONS. 1602—1617.

**A**S soon as the members of the Society of Jesus had established themselves in Colombo, an attempt was made to evangelise the interior of the Island, but it was, as we have seen, nipped in the bud, for the Missionaries had to abandon their stations precipitately on the outbreak of the hostilities provoked by Azevedo's disastrous expedition to Kandy in 1603. The Missionaries were, however, biding their time in Colombo till tranquillity was once more restored.

Though the Annual Letters furnish information, both quaint and interesting, concerning the various Mission stations they afterwards opened in Ceylon—*Residences* as they were called—little information can be gathered regarding their organisation. According to the practice prevailing in the Fishery Coast, in every such station one of the Fathers had exclusive charge of the Native Christians and was called the "Father of the Christians"—*Pae dos Christaos*. It was his duty to preach to the heathen, to take charge of those who came to him for baptism, to instruct them in the faith, and to help them in any way he could. He it was who protected their rights before the Civil Tribunals as well as in Ecclesiastical Courts: He visited the

destitute and procured liberty to those who had been reduced to slavery.<sup>95</sup> This office of Father of the Christians was conferred by the King of Portugal,<sup>96</sup> and the Missionary received a certain sum of money destined for his upkeep and the support of the Catechumens till such time as they were baptised.<sup>97</sup>

No Ceylon Missionary, however, is ever referred to as Father of the Christians,<sup>98</sup> though some of them were supported by the State. In 1605 two Missionaries were given an allowance of 120 zeraphins<sup>99</sup> each. Four years later, only 100 zeraphins were paid, besides some "uncultivated lands granted for the purpose by Don Azevedo, but not confirmed by the King." Some of the Missionary stations were maintained by private charity. Matiagama, for instance, was supported by Simon Correa, who gifted a palm grove for the maintenance of the Father, in charge.

By 1605 Azevedo was so far successful on the field as to give the Jesuits the longed-for opportunity of establishing Missions in the outstations. "This year at last," writes Eulitius, "after many reverses and defeats, the enemy's strength is broken and his camps destroyed. The General traverses the Island victoriously, following up the remnants of the Kandian army hidden in woods and mountains—but let this suffice, for I have no leisure to relate the victories of the Portuguese nor is it any business of ours."<sup>100</sup>

Relying, nevertheless, on the security of these victories, the Missions of Chilaw and Caimel were at once resumed. These two towns had given promise of being so fruitful a mission field, that the Provincial of Malabar, who had come to visit the new Mission, would not return until he had succeeded in establishing the Fathers there. Accordingly, he set out with Father, Balthasar Garcia and Lambert Ruiz, laboriously rebuilt the fallen churches, and formally opened the mission. These two Missionaries were especially chosen for the work by the Provincial, on account of their great experience in Missionary work on the neighbouring continent, the mildness and charity with which they dealt with the people, and, above all, for their thorough knowledge of Tamil.

### CHILAW.

The results of their labours fully justified the expectations; for, in a very short time, the people of Chilaw, who had already shown themselves well-disposed and ready to embrace Christianity, placed themselves under instruction. When they had been well grounded in the faith, Father Ruiz determined to celebrate their baptism with impressive solemnity. For this

95. Pyrard de Laval was thus redeemed by the Jesuits (*Travels* I, *Intro.*, p. xxviii)

96. The King of Portugal, as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, had spiritual jurisdiction over all the churches of the East. This is known as the *Padroado*. "*Le Roi de Portugal, en sa qualité de Grand Maître de l'Ordre du Christ, tenait du Saint-Siège pouvoir de juridiction sur toutes les Eglises de l'Orient, dont il était le Patron. C'est du Roi de Portugal que les Pères tenaient la juridiction.*" Besse, *La Mission du Madure*, p. 418.

97. Andrew Lopez. *Breve Relação das Christandades*, 1644.

98. Except the Superior of Manaar. Manaar was organised after the fashion of the Missions of the Fishery Coast.

99. "*Ducenti et quadraginta Xeraphini ex regia pecunia deducuntur pro alendis duobus e nostris qui in residens versantur.*"

"*Certam etiam pecuniam confert victu nostrorum. Singulis centum zeraphinos præter alias terras incultas quas eo titulo donavit. Nondum tamen confirmavit Rex Lusitaniae.*"

About the *zeraphim*, see the interesting remarks of Mr. Codrington in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I, pp. 26 & 28. The following is from Father Besse (*The Examiner*, Bombay, 2nd September, 1911.) "*Xeraphim*: The word in this form represents a silver coin, formerly current at Goa and several Eastern ports, in value somewhat less than 1s. 6d. It varied in Portuguese Currency from 300 to 360 *reis*. The same is said by Linschoten.

At Bombay 1 Xeraphim =	3 larrees
1 larree =	80 reis
1 pice =	80 rais
1 reis =	imaginary.

At Goa, a Cruzado of gold = 12 Xeraphims (Fryer, p. 206.) At Goa, in 1727, a Xeraphim was worth about 16 pence half-penny sterling (A. Ham). Therefore, a Xeraphim was worth about one Rupee."

100. See Vol. II, Pt. I, Appendix II, Jesuit Letters.

purpose the five *Patangatis*,<sup>101</sup> or chief men, were taken to Malwána, the headquarters of the Captain General, where they were baptised with great solemnity, on the feast of our Lady of Victories, in the presence of many Portuguese Officials and Sinhalese Chieftains, who had assembled to pay the customary homage in token of their vassalage. The new converts were loaded with favours and returned to Chilaw in triumph. The rest of the converts were baptised in Chilaw.

Thus, in a short time, the Christian community of Chilaw, which numbered only 7 when the Missionaries arrived, comprised about 500 souls. Four years later, when the Bishop of Cochin paid his diocesan visit, 400 well-instructed Christians—*quam exactissime instructi*—were presented for Confirmation. These converts of Chilaw lived within very easy reach of the church, and the Missionary was, in consequence, enabled to give his whole attention to their proper instruction. The proper instruction of the Christians was, of all, the greatest preoccupation of the Missionaries, and the one most frequently insisted upon. It was considered all the more necessary in the case of converts whose perseverance depended in no small measure on the solidity of the catechetical instruction imparted to them, and those alone who had special aptitude for this work were put in charge of Mission stations.

Accordingly, Catechism classes were given twice a day, to the girls in the morning and in the evening to the boys. Schools were opened in Chilaw, Mádampe and "several other places," and the Pastor records with pride that his parishioners were as well-instructed and devout Christians as one could wish for. The gentiles themselves are said to have conceived such a high opinion of the Christian faith and its purity, that few of them dared to die without baptism, which they believed to be necessary for salvation.

The care of so numerous a flock was found too much for one single Missionary, and in 1609 Father Emmanuel Campellus, one of the priests ejected from Mannar, was sent to assist Father Ruiz. In spite of this relief, the veteran Missionary continued to work so assiduously, that he wore himself out by fatigue. In 1611 he fell so dangerously ill that he had to be brought to Colombo, where he died on the very day of his arrival, 28th December, in the 64th year of his age and 21st of Missionary activity. Father Ruiz was a Belgian by birth, and had worked for several years in India before coming out to the Ceylon Mission.<sup>102</sup> He was one of those early Jesuits who had made the language of the people so peculiarly his own, that he hardly ever used any other. It is said of him that he died praying in Tamil. His place was taken by Father Mathew Fernandez.

The church of Chilaw continued to flourish with wonderful rapidity, and the Annual Letters record the progress year after year. In 1613, a hundred persons, among them an Arachi *nobilitate praecipuus*, were received into the Church, and a year later 200 others are recorded. Among these were the "old women of the ten chief families" who, like most old folk, held out long, unwilling to break away from the life-long associations of their ancestral worship. To meet the requirements of the rapidly increasing congregation, a new church was built, and on the occasion of its inauguration a hundred persons were baptised. When the disturbances of 1617 took place, the people are said to have shown signal attachment to their pastors, whom they vigorously protected from the fury of "the enemy."

101. பட்டங்கட்டி (Pattam Katti), a person invested with authority. (Besse, *op. c.*, p. 360). Cf. "Patabenda, a titled officer or headman." Gunasekara, *Rajavaliya* (English Transl.), p. IX. Also Idem, Sinh. Ed., p. 53: "රජදෙදෙනා එහි පවබැඳුණු නායකයන් . . . හිසෙය" and p. 72: "සෙනරත් රජුතුමාගේ කයා පවබැඳුණු මහරජ රාජ්‍ය කරනු ලැබේ." Of also Pieris (*Cey. Port. Era*, I, p. 501).

102. Besse (*op. c.*), p. 423.

To the parish of Chilaw were attached Mádampe and Monoceram. The Christians of Mádampe were scattered over 12 villages, far from each other. In 1613 there were 200 baptisms, and one of the new converts is described as the son of an influential Brahmin. The young man came for baptism in great state, mounted on an elephant and attended by his kith and kin, who were still pagans. Here, as elsewhere, a school was opened.

During the Father's absence, one of the churches of Mádampe was accidentally burnt down, but the gentiles were so anxious to show that it was no incendiarism of theirs, that they helped the Christians to build a new church. In 1614 the Father in charge of Mádampe is said to have baptised 800 persons. In the same year Father Gaspar d'Abrew, one of the most successful Missionaries of the time, died at Mádampe on his way from Calpetty to Colombo, and was buried there. In spite of these successes, the care of souls was withdrawn from the Jesuits and entrusted to a secular priest.

The church of Monoceram, dedicated to St. Paul, was built on a spot once occupied by a well-known and popular "pagoda." Azevedo seized the temple and its belongings, and gave it over as part of the foundation of the College of Colombo. This pagoda contained a *Lingam*<sup>103</sup> which was forthwith destroyed. Fourteen of the principal inhabitants embraced Christianity, and formed the nucleus of a flourishing Christian community. In 1612 the baptisms administered numbered 110, and in 1617, in spite of the disturbances, 80 converts were gained. Even some of the Brahmin children, formerly in the service of the "pagoda," are said to have been won over to Christianity. To Monoceram was attached the village of Valachéna, which promised to become wholly Christian.

### CAIMEL.

The Mission of Caimel was inaugurated at the same time as Chilaw and was entrusted to Father Balthasar Garcia. Here, as in Chilaw, the Missionary received a warm welcome and gained numerous adherents. The exact number of converts made in the beginning can not be ascertained, though it is said to be greater than that of Chilaw.<sup>104</sup> Four years after its establishment, the Mission of Caimel passed through a severe trial, which put the sincerity of the converts to the test.

A terrible contagion broke out and devastated the whole region. The Father was most assiduous in the care of his stricken flock, and every one of the seventy Christians carried away in a short time met his death fortified by the Sacraments of the Church. The pastor himself fell a victim, and the Rector of Colombo had him brought to the College, sending another in his place, lest the afflicted people be deprived of spiritual assistance at the momentous hour of death.

In spite of the heavy mortality the number of Christians continued to increase, and, in 1610, the congregation amounted to 700 souls. The new converts had not only to be instructed in the principles and practices of Christian faith and morals, but the superstitious habits, interwoven into their social life, and hallowed by the old religion, and endeared by life-long observance, but incompatible with the new faith, had to be rooted out from their hearts. This, naturally enough,

103. *Lingam*. Sk. *linga* = Phallus.

104. According to Cordara (*Historia Societatis Jesu*, Part VI. Tom 2, p. 73) there were 700 converts in Caimel and somewhat more in Chilaw. *In Ceylano recens erectæ fuerunt aliquot Societatis Residentiæ, Collegio Columbenſi obnoxiatæ. Suam singulæ frugem, Deo adjuvante, protulerunt. Caimeli ethnicoorum septem supra centum ad Christi ovile traducti fuerunt, paulo plures Chilamti . . . plus paucioresve aliibi.*"



constituted the greatest difficulty of the Missionary. "Much time and care is needed to instruct the neophytes, especially to wean them from superstitious habits." Here, too, a flourishing Tamil school was opened, and the intelligence of the children and their marvellous power of memory are said to have evoked the admiration of the Archbishop of Goa.

A hundred converts were received into the Church in 1612, and in 1613 another hundred well-instructed adults were baptised and admitted to the Sacraments. One of the Christian devotions introduced by the Missionaries and destined to become very popular among the people was the devotion to the Holy Cross. Crosses were set up before churches and presbyteries, crosses were carried in procession, and crosses were in great demand for the sick and the dying. In times of drought intercessory processions were organised in honour of the Holy Cross, and on almost all occasions downpours of rain are said to have fallen in answer to their prayers. The people were, in consequence, extremely well-disposed to the new religion and great hopes were entertained of converting the whole town. The people are, moreover, described as "extremely kind and gentle."

The successes of the Mission justified the erection of a more spacious church, and one was accordingly built on a better site, and was decorated with paintings representing the adoration of the Infant Jesus by the Magi. In 1616-1617 the tumults of war are said to have greatly impeded the work of evangelisation; 50 converts were, however, made in the former year and only 15 in the latter. *Hi sane bellorum tumultus Christianae fidei propagationem impedit magnopere.* As was feared by the Missionaries, these churches were destroyed during the tumults of 1617.

#### CARDIVO.

The Island of Cardivo, "lying between Chilaw and Putlam" and "separated from the mainland by a narrow estuary," was evangelised in 1606 at the request of Azevedo. The Missionary was received with great benevolence by the people, "not because they liked the Portuguese, but because they knew they would be safe under the protection of the Father." Three churches were built and the Missionary succeeded in gathering the scattered Christians and those who had taken refuge in the Island. The Island was so thickly wooded that the task of visiting and instructing the neophytes was no easy task, even for two Missionaries.

One of the Fathers brought out a colony of Christians from the Fishery Coast into the Island and also instructed and baptised many of the Islanders. The latter were in such a wild state that they are said to be more like wild beasts than human beings. They spend the week "doing something or other" —*nescio quid agendo*—in the interior of the Island; but on Saturdays they come together to hear Mass on Sunday and listen to the weekly instruction. The Missionary finds it necessary to apologise for this meagre instruction: "This is all that can be done for these poor people, but even they shall sit with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven."

In 1610 two Missionaries were working in this Island, in charge of a congregation amounting to 500 Christians; but, owing to the sterility of the land and other disadvantages, "we have not so many conversions as we hoped for." In that year there was a famine in the Island, as the rice fields had been dried up for three years running. The Fathers came to the rescue with alms collected for the purpose, but as this did not suffice, many of the people betook themselves "to another part of the Island."

At the two sub-stations of Maripo and Nallacali, there were more than 200 Christians, nearly all of whom were already confirmed.

## CALPETTY.

In 1608 Father Gaspar d'Abrew, who had been expelled from the Fishery Coast along with the Missionaries of Manaar, was sent to Ceylon and was stationed "in the Island of Calpetti," where, in a very short time, he succeeded in converting all the inhabitants, except some Moors, and built four churches "at a distance of three or four leagues from each other."

The Island is described as wild and unproductive, and infested with wild beasts. It was uninhabited, except in a few places, and the people were so poor that their only means of subsistence was the wild fruits of the jungle or herbs, or the fish they managed to harpoon. In times of illness, the people were altogether helpless; and the Missionary not only supplied them with medicine, but was often obliged to give them the wherewithal to satisfy their hunger or cover their nakedness.

The Moorish residents of the Island are said to be very faithful to the Portuguese, and very friendly to the Fathers. In 1616, there were twenty baptisms and a new church was built at *Tatai*. On the occasion of the blessing of this new church, 25 Moors and 110 others were received into the fold of the Church, and the event was celebrated with a dramatic performance representing the conversion of Constantine the Great. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1617, the people are said to have protected the Fathers from the fury of the enemy.

## MALWÁNA.

Another Father was stationed at Malwána, the headquarters of the Captain-General. Besides ministering to the household of the General, he was entrusted with the task of investigating into the Antiquities of Ceylon, and had to keep a record of the principal events of the Portuguese *regime* in Ceylon. Owing to these historiographic duties, and because Malwána was not within the district assigned to the Jesuits, his ministrations were confined to the soldiery in Camp. *Exercet sese Pater ille (Antonius Abrew) ordinariis Societatis ministeriis, audit confessiones, concionat, docet pueros, componit discordia.*

He did not, however, neglect the opportunities which his position in the General's camp and the constant intercourse with the Sinhalese gave him. Sometimes he carried on a controversy with the gentiles, and when their difficulties were solved and questions answered, they not infrequently asked for baptism. Those whom he thus succeeded in converting he instructed and sent to the Franciscan Fathers for baptism. He also succeeded in converting several young Princes, three sons of the Kings of Uva, a son of the King of the Seven Corlas, and the son of a certain chieftain unnamed. The Father of Malwána had, moreover, special opportunities for learning Sinhalese, and new Missionaries were occasionally sent to him for instruction in the vernacular. With the aid of their *pundits*, the Fathers translated into Sinhalese some prayers of the church, a Catechism of Christian doctrine, a Life of our Lord and anecdotes of the Saints—*sanctorum virorum nonnullas historias*.

Here, as elsewhere, a school was opened, while regular classes of Christian doctrine were given in the church "both in Sinhalese and Portuguese." The Fathers visited the criminals condemned to death to console and comfort them, and often succeeded in effecting their conversion before the sentence of death was carried out. From information furnished by them to the writers of the Annual Letters, we learn that the Portuguese adopted various methods of carrying out sentence of death. Some were hanged, others were thrown to elephants or to the crocodile of the "Rosapani" River, while recalcitrant soldiers were transfixed with spears. In

the case of those who were converted, the Father assisted at the execution to give the condemned the consolations of religion; and from all that can be gathered, they were executed in the first or the last method.

When the troops took the field the Chaplain accompanied them, and often another was called from the College for the more dangerous expeditions. These chaplains had to undergo the same hardships as the soldiers they ministered to. They said Mass for the Portuguese and Sinhalese Christians, succoured the sick and wounded. When death is at hand, even the hardened soldier bethinks himself of his misdeeds, and, struck by remorse, makes a penitent confession of the *crimina patrata*. While on the march, they sometimes succeed in effecting the conversion of the native soldiers, and, occasionally, converts are found even in the ranks of the captives. Thus a chaplain reports that he once converted six distinguished Lascorins—*existimationis et nominis inter alios praecepit*;— while, on another occasion, a captured spy of the enemy is said to have received the faith most gladly, and to have walked to his doom praising God for the gift of faith.

### MATIAGAMA.

The Mission station of Matiagama, in the Seven Corlas, was opened on the 18th of January, 1610, at the instance of a "Chingála," Simon Correa, who was in command of the native troops and had established himself there. This was the first Mission station in the purely Sinhalese part of the country, and was looked upon as the most important Mission station in the South.

Before calling in the Jesuits, Correa himself exhorted the people of the Seven Corlas to embrace the Christian faith, saying: "It is time to think of the salvation of one's soul: vain is the worship of idols: Christ alone is God whom all men must serve to save their souls."<sup>105</sup> Having thus paved the way, he sent for a Missionary who, after six months of regular instruction, baptised 600 "*optime instructos*," while 300 others were being prepared for baptism.

At this stage the Missionary took ill and had to interrupt his labours, and the prolonged absence of Correa and his men long retarded the building of the new church. But the enterprise was far too important in the eyes of the Missionaries to be long delayed. Another Missionary was despatched and before the church was completed, 49 persons, "sons of Mudaliars and other chieftains," were baptised.

Finally, on the 13th January, 1611, the new church, built at the expense of Correa, who also granted a "palm grove" for the maintenance of the Missionary, was solemnly blessed by the Rector of the College of Colombo. On that day 150 converts were received into the Church, and many others who wished for baptism had to be put off, as they had not been properly instructed.

105. This Apostolic utterance comes from one who has been called the "curse of his countrymen" (Pieris, I. 324) Tennent (*Ceylon*, II, p. 24) mistakes him for a Portuguese. Historians have painted him very black, but the worst that the *Rajavaliya* has to say of him is that "he did evil heedless of the four *dévdas* and the world-eminent Buddhist religion, and committed sin by wanton destruction of animals"; but by the power of the guardian gods of the beautiful Lanka, Simon Kuré Rála finished his earthly career from an inflammatory disorder. (Gunasekara, *Trans.* p. 101, Sinh. p. 72). The Jesuit Letters record one instance of his cruelty, when he ordered some unresisting victims, including women and children, to be cudgelled to death—*matar as paucadas*. Otherwise he is referred to as "a successful Captain of Native troops" who has "deserved well of us (Portuguese)."

The converts of Matiagama were among the most distinguished. A *Bandára*, "that is to say, a Prince," three *Mudeliars* and many *Arachchis* and distinguished *Lascorins* were among these converts. In 1613, another Missionary was sent thither to help the regular Parish priest and "to learn Sinhalese," and within the two years 1615-1616, 380 persons were baptised, among them "six Princes of the blood Royal, many *Mudeliars*, *Arachchis* (*q saõ capitaës*) and headmen of villages.

The Father in charge of Matiagama was often requisitioned to accompany the Military expeditions. On these occasions he often preached to his "men," and "the good became better and the bad gradually improved." When not on the march, he frequently visited the people especially in times of illness.

Small-pox once broke out in this place, and the people were so afraid of this dread disease, that parents abandoned their afflicted children and husbands deserted their wives. "If a gentile meets another stricken with the malady, he raises his hands aloft, worships him from a distance, for they look upon it as a visitation from heaven, and runs for his life." The Father spared no pains in his devotion to the afflicted, and his disinterested charity is said to have had such effect on a Buddhist priest, that he embraced the religion which inspired such heroic charity. Though no baptisms are recorded, the Father is said to have baptised many children *in articulo mortis*.

Here, too, the condemned criminals came under the Missionaries' influence, and many are said to have met their death, after baptism, in very good dispositions. Some of these "eleventh hour" conversions that make for edification are recounted. On one occasion, a condemned criminal was executed in military fashion. When he was transfixed with spears, the man perceived that the five wounds he had received formed a cross. Extending his hands in imitation of the death of Christ on the Cross, he died invoking the holy name.

The two Missionaries of Matiagama are said to have been extremely popular with the Sinhalese, and to have been very high in the esteem of the King of Kandy. This monarch had frequent recourse to these Missionaries when he had business to transact with the Portuguese General or the Viceroy of Goa. "The King of Kandy sends his Ambassadors to the Father with *olas*," and the writer adds "it is only to the Fathers that he sends *olas*."

As a proof of the popularity of the Fathers, it is recorded that Philip Oliveira, Captain of the Seven Corlas, "affirmed with an oath" that the Fathers were more valuable even for the Conquest than any Portuguese official, for the good reason that the Fathers have gained the hearts of the Sinhalese—*por terem os coracoës da gente chingala q' se cõfia da sua verdade bomdade e charidade*—.

### MÁCANDURE.

The success of this Mission to the Sinhalese was so great, that it gave rise to the establishment of a secondary residence at Mácandure, "a place two leagues from Matiagama." Nearly all the inhabitants of Mácandure placed themselves under instruction, and the Father proceeded to build a church for them. This Missionary is said to have been so proficient in Sinhalese, that, when he was at Matiagama, he translated 26 Lives of Saints, and composed an explanation of the Seven Sacraments, besides many other works of great use.

These successes, however, are said to have provoked the anger "of the enemy of mankind" who "stirred up hostilities between the Portuguese and the Sinhalese," with the result that the two Missionaries of Matiagama and Mácandure lost their lives therein.

### THE MARTYRED<sup>106</sup> MISSIONARIES.

The cruel death of the two Missionaries of Matiagama and Mácandure, killed for the faith, was so momentous an event in the history of the Mission, that we have several accounts of it sent to Rome and elsewhere. The story is thus related by Emmanuel Barrada in the Annual Letter of 1617.

"The Missionary of Mácandure, Joannes Metalla, a Portuguese who had built a church there with great labour, thought of baptising his converts with more than usual solemnity, and set out for Colombo to procure the necessary ornaments. On his way thither he paid a visit to Father Ludovicus Mattheus Pelingotti at Matiagama.

These two Fathers, who were working together for the salvation of souls, were not only great friends, but also so alike in their zeal and natural dispositions that they were greatly beloved by the people of the country, both for their kindness and because of their great familiarity with the Sinhalese language. But the Divine Husbandman, wishing to gather from this garden of Ceylon two flowers, or rather fruits—for flowers they were, if we consider their age and fullness of hope, but ripe fruits if we look at their gravity of life and suavity of manners—arranged matters in the following way when they were together at Matiagama.

On Tuesday, the 6th of December, 1616, there came to Matiagama fifty Ceylonese soldiers, called Lascorins, from the city of Kandy. They did not hide their hostile intentions, and the inhabitants were somewhat alarmed by their unexpected appearance. Four of these soldiers made their way to the residence of the Fathers, and by their kind words, persuaded the servant at the door to call Father Pelingotti, pretending that they had good news to tell the Father and were bearers of a letter for him from Captain Francis de Silva.—This Captain had been appointed by the General of the Island, Nuno Alvarez Pereira, to take the place of Philip de Oliveira, administrator of the Seven Corlas, who was giving chase to the rebel Baretto.

Thereupon Father Pelingotti came out with Father Metalla to hear, as they thought, the news of some victory. The Father soon perceived that the pretended messenger was a cheat; for, as soon as the Father asked him about the victory, the man replied that his companions who were coming would describe it in detail. These companions came forward immediately, fully armed, and began to cause an uproar, and, forming bands, guarded every possible way of escape. The rest crowded round the Fathers on all sides, thirsting for their lives. Father Pelingotti, taken by surprise, asked the spokesman what those armed crowds meant.

Whereupon the messenger gave the signal, and the massacre began. A spear flung at Father Pelingotti ran him through the abdomen. As he fell he made a sign to his companion, Father Metalla, to escape, and raised his eyes to heaven in prayer; then dragging himself to the foot of a Cross, he grasped it as best he could and gave up his happy soul to his Creator. Thus the ardent Missionary received the reward of his virtue, which he had always desired; for I heard from Father Nicholas Levanto that it was Father Pelingotti's constant prayer to lay down his life for God. Father Ludovicus Mattheus Pelingotti was an Italian, born in 'Castro' Sorbolongi in the diocese "Fori Sempronensis." He died full of merits in the 39th year of his age, having spent 14 years in the Society. *Consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa.*

106. "Martyr" and "martyrdom" are here used in the popular sense. The Church does not recognise these "martyrs."

Meanwhile, Father Metalla tried to make his way to the house of Philip de Oliveira, but was overtaken by two soldiers, who thrust a lance into his body. Then raising his eyes to heaven and extending his hands in prayer, he boldly faced his murderers, ready to receive further wounds, from which he fell dead. Father Joannes Metalla was born in the town of Bomjardin, and was 32 years old, of which 17 were spent in the Society.

These two confessed the name of Jesus unto blood, and the barbarous people, in carrying out the designs of heaven, put their bodies together at the foot of the Cross that those who were so united in life might not be separated in death. Their heads were cut off, fixed to spears, which were planted, one before the older temple and the other before the new. Such was the happy end of the two Fathers who, in order to spread the Christian faith, gave up their lives to the Redeemer, rendering blood for blood.

A young man, servant of the Fathers, was an eyewitness to this spectacle, so agreeable to God and His angels. His life, too, was threatened by the barbarians, who gave him chase, but, as he left them the keys of the house and the church, they were delayed long enough for him to make his escape, for fear added wings to his feet. With these keys the soldiers entered the church and presbytery, and destroyed everything, committing barbarous turpitudes, which showed them to be declared enemies of the faith; for they took hold of a Crucifix which was in the room of Father Pelingotti, and bringing it out, they broke the cross, wrested the image from it, broke its arms and legs, cut off the nose and mouth, shamefully disfigured the right cheek, and threw the truncated image, which they had so irreverently treated, on the dead bodies of the Fathers.

The bodies were afterwards found, and the Crucifix is still preserved. This murder, so glorious to us, so baneful to the enemy, was the beginning of the disturbances.

### THE REASONS FOR THE MURDER.

I shall now relate briefly the reasons for the murder as given by its perpetrators. There were many other Portuguese whom it would have been easier to attack, many other towns better suited for the overthrow of the Portuguese; but they chose to lay hands on the Fathers, that, frightened by the atrocity of the deed, the supporters of the rebellion might never put themselves in the power of the Portuguese or trust their treaties or think they could live safe under Portuguese law, and also to stir the people of Matiagama from ever giving up the fight—*ad bellum nunquam sedandum*.

It is also reported that they killed the Fathers in revenge for the death<sup>107</sup> of three Buddhist priests, executed by the Portuguese in the previous month. These *Changataras* of Kandy came to Alicur Corla and the adjoining villages, exciting the people against the Fathers, deploring the numerous conversions to Christianity, and calling upon the people to return to the worship of their idols and to give them alms for the decoration of the shrine of Kandy. The poor and uncultured people were so moved by their clamours, that they freely gave what they had; the farmer gave his scythe, and others who had no money gave up the implements of their trade.

When the General Nuno Alvarez Pereira was informed of this and of the tumult secretly caused by the priests, he was so indignant that he ordered them to be thrown in chains; and it was pretty well known that the chief of them was thrown, *de more*, to that devourer of dead bodies,

107. *Ob necem trium sacerdotum*. From what follows it would seem that only one was put to death.

the alligator of the Rosapani river—*crocodilo Rasapani fluvii cadaverum helluoni*—The other two were taken by Philip de Oliveira as slaves, and Father Pelingotti was attempting to instruct and convert them. In the opinion of many, this attempt to convert their priests gave great offence to the people, and made them conceive great hostility to the Fathers, and gave occasion to this murder.

Last of all, a report current among the soldiers would have it that the Fathers were put to death in hatred of the faith; for it is said that they were killed because they moved freely among the people, preaching Christianity in Sinhalese and winning many souls. In fact, as the conversions made by them increased daily, some said the Fathers were murdered to avenge the honour of the idols, which clearly show that the Fathers were put to death for their religion. This is also borne out by the fact, that the fury of the enemies was wholly directed against churches which they completely destroyed by fire and sword and attacks of elephants. The soldiers of the country are, moreover, so hostile to the Missionaries, that many people are inclined to think that the Fathers gained the palm of martyrdom.

The esteem in which the Fathers were held is so great that their relics were diligently sought for. Many people carry about them handkerchiefs stained in their blood; others treasure their finger nails or hair. Portions of their garments and the mutilated Crucifix are preserved with great honour in the College of Colombo. Their bodies were interred with great veneration till they can be transferred to the College with due solemnity. This excruciating event and the whole course of the warfare will be described in another letter,<sup>108</sup> that this Annual letter may not be too long."

These two Missionaries are commemorated in the Menologies of the Society—in the Italian and Portuguese Menologies respectively—on the 6th of December :

#### FATHER LOUIS MATHEW PELINGOTTI.

"On the sixth day of December in the year 1616 there died in the Island of Ceylon Father Louis Mathew Pelingotti, massacred by the Kandians. He was born in the village of Sorbolongo near de Fossombrone in the States of the Church. His parents had to earn their bread by labour, and he himself had to do the same in his early years, but he managed to find means for study. He opened a school in the country and when he was 23 years old, he was entrusted with the education of some children of noble parentage in Rome; and when on the point of entering a more brilliant career, he made a generous act of self-renunciation and embraced the religious life. Two years afterwards he was found worthy to preach the Gospel to the barbarous tribes of Ceylon. This was at the time when the Society of Jesus was just gaining a foothold in that country, thanks to the zeal of the Portuguese Governor, Jerome Azevedo, brother of Blessed Ignatius.

In a short time, new Christian Communities were founded inland, and Father Pelingotti was engaged in the work of instructing the neophytes of Matigama when, late in the year 1616, there suddenly occurred a rising among the idolators, who had been secretly instigated by their Priests to take up arms to expel the Portuguese and stamp out the Christian faith. Taken unawares by fifty natives, who had come ostensibly to bring him a message of peace, the intrepid Missionary was run through with a lance and thus received the reward of eleven years of labour and victories over Satan. Dripping with blood, he dragged himself to the foot of a cross, and the barbarous people gave him the death-blow. His head was placed on a spear at the gates of the temple to intimidate the followers of Christ, and to serve as a trophy for the gods and the Priests. Father Pelingotti was 38 years old and had spent 13 years in the Society: " *Menolog. Itali.* Vol. 2, pp. 591—592.

108. This letter is translated elsewhere, "Historical Records, S. J."

## FATHER JOHN METALLA.

"On the sixth day of December, 1616, Father John Metalla died a glorious death for the faith, massacred by the Sinhalese of Kandy in Ceylon. He went out to India at the age of 18 and was not 32 years old when he obtained the martyr's palm. He and his companions were entrusted with the care of the two important districts of Matiagama and Mácandure.

The Christian community was then flourishing, and the holy life of the two servants of God so gained the veneration and confidence of the idolatrous King of Kandy, that he made them his intermediaries between himself and the Vicefoy of Goa; but a band of Sinhalese, inspired by hatred and a desire for revenge against those two deadly foes of their idols, bound themselves by oath to take their lives. Four of these idolaters, approaching Father Metalla, ran him through with their lances, severed the head from the body, and, taking it as a trophy to the temple of their gods, burnt it to ashes." *Menolog. Portug.* Vol. 2, p. 503.

(To be continued)

## APPENDIX.

## Jesuit Letters, 1610—1617.

*Translated from the Original Portuguese and Latin.*

1610.

## THE COLLEGE OF COLOMBO AND ITS RESIDENCES.

[LETTER OF Franc Cagnola, DATED 9TH DECEMBER, 1610.]

IN the Island of Ceylon, formerly called Taprobane, there are twelve members of the Society; seven stationed in the six Residences and five working in the College of Colombo. Two of the latter are engaged in teaching the boys to read, write and sing, besides giving classes of Latin. They labour successfully in educating and training the young, and the people of Colombo fully acknowledge this and often thank us, for they see the great progress made by their children in virtue and knowledge within the last six or seven years, viz., since our arrival here. On Sundays and feast days many come to hear our sermons, and show singular devotion in receiving the Sacraments of Confession and Communion in our Church. On the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, which is the titular feast of our church, a drama was staged to the great appreciation of all.

In the hospital, our Fathers tend the invalid soldiers with great charity. Many enemies were reconciled and some very deadly feuds in particular were peacefully settled with the favour of God and the no small assistance of the aggrieved party. Omitting many other labours of this nature, I turn to the Residences.

Two Fathers were stationed at Malwána for the greater part of the year. As it is the usual residence of the General, Don Hieronimo d'Azevedo, it is of great importance and very useful that some of ours should abide there. Their sermons do great good, and it happens not infrequently that soldiers are struck by remorse during a sermon and confess their sins immediately to the Father. The children are taught letters in the school, and Christian doctrine is imparted to them in the church, both in their mother tongue and in Portuguese. The Fathers also visit those who are condemned to death and strengthen them to face death by torture<sup>109</sup> (?) or from the elephants with courage and resignation. Among others, some gentiles thus condemned to death embraced the Christian faith to our great joy, and, regenerated at the sacred font, they passed to eternal life from

109. "Qui capitis damnati ad supplicium deducuntur vel elephantibus objiciuntur."



the torture. There was one who lost courage at the sight of the elephant and begged the Father, who was present, "to save him."<sup>110</sup> The Father obtained a respite for him and, after instruction and baptism, a lenient form of death was substituted, which he exchanged for his eternal home, dying with the name of Jesus on his lips.

On the feast of St. John, the son of a Chieftain—*filius cujusdam reguli*—was baptised, the General himself being sponsor. He is now attending our College in Colombo.

One of the Fathers is almost entirely occupied in perfecting his knowledge of Sinhalese, which can be better done here than anywhere else. He has already translated into that language some prayers, a Catechism, the principal events of our Lord's life, and some anecdotes of the Saints. As the Father is often in familiar conversation with the Brahamins,<sup>111</sup> well versed in their law, he profits by the occasion to discuss religion with them. He solves their doubts, answers their questions, and refutes their errors and figments: in this way, some have been brought to abandon their false religion and to accept the truths of the Gospel. But, as this district belongs to the Franciscans, the Father, like another Paul, preaches Jesus Christ and leaves baptism to others.

When the General goes out to explore the country or to inspect places, he takes our Fathers with him. Recently, some lascorins, who came to meet the General, were persuaded by him to embrace the Christian faith. Some five or six persons, of name and importance, were thus baptised. As for the others, we have to proceed slowly till the whole Island comes under the sway of the Portuguese. They are all very easy to convert.<sup>112</sup> Would that the light of the Gospel illumined all who are benighted by blind superstition.

The Father in charge of the church of Caimel has the care of about 700 souls. The pestilence that prevailed last year carried many away and reduced the number of Christians; but many others have been baptised since, and the number of converts increases daily. The Father's chief endeavour is to purify them from their former vices by salutary instructions, and to wean them from all faith and attachment to idols and superstitious ceremonies, which they have not yet completely laid aside. All those who are found fit for them are admitted to confession and communion.

Two of ours cultivate the vineyard of Chilaw to which Monoceram and Mádampe are attached. In Chilaw there are about 500 Christians, nearly all of whom were converted within the last two years. As they live close to each other, they receive more attention from the Fathers, who are thus able to work more for their advancement and with greater success. Instructions in Christian doctrine are given daily, in the morning to the girls, to the boys in the evening. These instructions do great good and give us great hope for the future. The same is done in all other Residences and, therefore, it is unnecessary for me to speak of each one in particular.

We wrote last year that the famous idol of Monoceram was completely overthrown and the infamous stone shattered which, according to the blind credulity of the gentiles, had sprung up from the earth, just as it was, raising itself two cubits above the ground. They maintained that it could not be removed thence, without bringing down punishment on anyone who dared to lay hands on it. But as it had been publicly overthrown from the accustomed shrine and demolished, people despise it, and the wiles of the Brahamins are exposed. The church of St. Paul is built near this idol, and in front of it a Cross was erected in commemoration of the event.

The enemy of mankind, who had so long held his tyrannical sway from that idol, as from a citadel, has been put to the rout by this celestial standard. Formerly the wicked hell-hound had such complete mastery over this place, that nobody dared to pass by it even in broad daylight. Women who dared to pass that way were said to be corrupted by demons, or hung up on trees, or were stripped of their clothes, or had some such indecent freak played upon them; but now, after the erection of the Cross, wonderful to say, all these spectres and impurities have ceased altogether. The way is safe now, and people pass the spot unmolested, day and night, free from all fear.

In the Island of Cardivo there are two of ours in charge of three churches with about 500 Christians. They labour there with great difficulty this year, not only because the region is so sterile and the climate severe, but also on account of the difficulties arising from the wars, which

110. *Ut salutis suae consuleret.*

111. "Brachmani," meaning Buddhists.

112. *Omnes sunt valde ad Christi fidem amplectendam faciles atque propensi.*

prevented them from reaping the fruit they hoped for. Moreover, the people had not the wherewithal to sustain life, the paddy fields having dried up from the excessive heat for the last 3 years. Many were thus driven to seek a sustenance in another part of the Island where there was rain, and other things in plenty.

Ceylon has such a wonderful variety of climate that, while one part of the Island is overwhelmed with rain and everything seems drowned in floods, in another part the sun not only burns up and scorches the trees, but even dries up the wells and tanks. Although the Fathers helped their Christians with alms collected from other places, many of them have betaken to the interior of the Island, and thus the pastors are unable to tend their flock. As this drought prevails elsewhere also, it is not surprising that the progress of conversions is so slow. In spite of it, however, nearly 500 baptisms are recorded for the year.

FRANC. CAGNOLA.

Nonis, Dec., 1610.  
(fol. 195-196.)

1611.

## THE COLLEGE OF COLOMBO.

[LETTER OF Christopher Joan, DATED DECEMBER, 1611.]

The information sent to us from Ceylon for this year's Annual Letter has not reached us; probably, the letters were lost in a shipwreck. We know, however, that things are proceeding well in that Island. Many people have been baptised, and the Fathers are busily engaged in preaching, catechising and hearing confessions.

A new Residence was lately established in a place called Matiagama, in that part of the Island which is called the Seven Corlas, at the earnest request of Simon Correa, the successful Commander of the Native forces, and administrator of that district, who has deserved well of us. Before sending for the priest, he exhorted the people of Matiagama and the leading men of the Seven Corlas to embrace the Christian faith, saying that it was time to think of the salvation of one's soul, that the worship of idols was a vain superstition, and that Christ alone was God whom all men must serve to save their souls. When they had been thus prepared, the Father arrived and worked so diligently that, in six months, about 600 people placed themselves under instruction and were baptised. Another 300 were being prepared for baptism, when the Father took ill and had to interrupt his work. As soon as he is restored to health, he will return to the work. We know nothing about the number of converts made by the other Missionaries.

This year the General made an expedition to the Kingdom of Kandy, which alone would not submit its neck to the Portuguese yoke.<sup>113</sup> He attacked some of their defences, in particular the fort of Ballane, took their capital and set it on fire, and killed many of the enemy. Finally, he returned to Colombo, leaving behind the necessary garrisons. Father Jeronymus Gomez, Rector of the College of Colombo, and Father Ludovicus Mattheus Pelingotti, who are both greatly esteemed by the General, accompanied this expedition.

CHRISTOPHER JOAN.

v. Kal., Dec., 1611.  
(fol. 215.)

1612.

## THE CASA OF CEYLON AND ITS RESIDENCES.

[LETTER OF Pedro Francisco, DATED 2ND DECEMBER, 1612.]

From this *Casa* we have not yet received the usual report of the good work done by ours during the year. I shall, therefore, narrate a few things gleaned from private letters.

*The Residences of Caimel, Chilaw and Calpetti.*

The number of adults baptised in this Island is about 700, and, were it not for the wars, it would have been much greater, and we hope it will be so in the future. In Caimel, more than one hundred persons were baptised. The Christians of this place are very well looked after,

113. Quod solum suis cervicibus lusitanorum jugum recusat.

and are thoroughly instructed in the faith. They showed special devotion to the holy Cross, and, recently, they set up one in a place formerly occupied by a *pagoda*,<sup>114</sup> known among the villagers as the god of rain. The Cross was carried in procession for about a mile, on the shoulders of the chief men, followed by a crowd of people and dancers and musicians, as is the custom in this country. Four years ago the *pagoda* was destroyed, and it happened that a drought prevailed ever since. As the crops failed, their *changataras*, that is to say, their sorcerers, in whom they place great trust, gave out that the calamity would last till the *pagoda* of the god of rain was restored. But three days after the erection of the Cross, Our Lord deigned to send rain in abundance and the crops almost doubled, to the great joy of the farmers. On two other occasions, the children went in procession to the Cross and prayed for rain, as the seedlings were perishing for want of rain. The Lord was pleased to hear their prayers, sending each time a good downpour within two or three days.

The Father has opened a school in which the children are taught Tamil, which is the ordinary language of the maritime parts. The schoolboys learn not only the prayers but even the chapters (on Christian doctrine) with the questions and answers; and they repeat them in the church on Sundays, a practice which is as agreeable to the people as it is profitable for the knowledge of the faith. The Bishop of Malacca, who was elected Archbishop of Goa, paid a visit to this church on his way. He heard the boys discussing with great eagerness and assurance, and greatly admired the intelligence of those children of not more than 6 or 7 years of age, who, though unable to read, knew the Catechism by heart from beginning to end. The performance given on the feast of the church, to the delight and edification of all, was another proof of their intelligence.

In Chilaw there are two Fathers in charge of three churches. One of the churches is in Mádampe, at a distance of 2 leagues, and another in Monoceram, a village belonging to the College. Here 100 persons were baptised, among them some Brahamin boys, formerly in the service of the *pagoda*.

More difficult is the work of the Father stationed in the Island of Calpetty, in charge of 4 churches, at a distance of 3 or 4 leagues from each other. The country is so wild and unproductive, that it is not inhabited except by wild beasts. There are wild elephants roaming about in herds of 80 or 100, besides buffaloes, tigers and other animals. In those parts which are inhabited the people are so poor, that they live on the wild fruits of the forest or on the fish they manage to harpoon—*o peixe q̃ a fisga pescaõ*—or on herbs. The Father helps them as much as he can, especially in time of illness. Thus he has given "*paõ da China*"<sup>115</sup> to some 35 people, and supplied them with rice during their illness. He has also supplied clothing to 90 people. Nearly as many have been converted and a whole village of pagans and Moors has promised to become Christians.

#### Matiagama.

This Residence was begun on 18th June, 1610, to meet a need and at the instance of Simon Correa, a native Chief, who intended to make a settlement there, in order to have at hand a body of troops with which to attack the enemy's territory and come to our assistance when we are attacked. The church was begun with great zeal, but its progress was more slow than we expected; for Simon Correa and his men went with our army to make an inroad into Úva and Baticaloa where they were detained for 2 months. The Father, however, was not idle in his new Residence. He baptised 49 persons, among them the sons of *Mudeliars*, and other chieftains who have gone to the wars whence they returned victorious. The Father catechises them in the best possible way.

The church was finished on 13th January, 1611, and the Rector of Colombo went there with another Father to sing the first Mass. On the previous day a beautiful Cross was planted with the accustomed ceremonies. On that day 150 men were baptised. Many others, who asked for baptism, had to be put off, as they had not been properly instructed for want of

114. "Pagoda" is used in a very indeterminate sense for deities, temples, sects, etc. Buddhist *Vihāras*, *Pansalas* and *Pitimas* as well as Hindu temples and gods and even sects are called Pagodas.

115. Probably quinine. The knowledge of the virtues of the bark (of Cinchona) was disseminated throughout Europe by members of the Jesuit Brotherhood, whence it was also generally known as the Jesuits' bark." Ency. Brit. *sub voce*. Whether it was in general use at this time, 1612, is uncertain.

time. Those baptised were principal Captains and native soldiers. There were, besides, a *Bandára*, that is to say, a Prince, three *Mudeliars*; many *Arachis* and other distinguished Lascorins. Some women and children were baptised since, making a total of 400 in all. Were it not for the wars, which are raging fiercely now, there would be more. Many thousands are ready to embrace Christianity. We hope that they will soon realise their wishes and our own and be received into the fold of Christ. The Father, meanwhile, does not cease to do what he can, as may be gathered from the following letter addressed to the Rector of Colombo.

I give instructions as usual and am already making great progress in the art of explaining our faith. I find the Neophytes make great advance in the knowledge of the faith, so much so that when I, in explaining confession, spoke of the wickedness of sin and the pains of hell, they made up their minds to make their confession, which nearly all of them did with such good sense and purpose, that I assure your Reverence I was greatly pleased. They are very much attached to the faith and are thoroughly weaned from the errors of their pagodas, which they destroy with great zeal. They brought me three or four small ones of metal.

I brought here, from Malwána, an old man of about 70 years of age, who was teacher of Sinhalese there, and I had many discussions with him. Though he said he wanted to be a Christian, he had great faith in his fables. I asked him one day to explain to me all about his religion and his Buddha. He replied that he would be a fool to give a stick into the hands of one who wished to hit him on the head. I then told him that I was glad to learn that his religion was good for nothing else except to do him harm. I had great ado to show him that the guilt of the sins we commit is our own and not God's who gave us an unruly will, as the old man thought. He was also convinced that it was unjust of God to make a man be born of low caste, and that such a man could reasonably complain of God, attributing to Him, besides the differences in life, the weal and woe of each person. I tried to show him the truth, making use of the comparison of the members of the human body, as St. Paul did. The old man was so confused by it that he did not know what to say. He seems to me to be making progress in the knowledge of the faith, though he does not cease to think that his Buddha was a great saint. What they relate of Buddha is very similar to what is said of Barlaam and Josaphat.<sup>116</sup> The old man was finally converted and took Simon Correa for his Godfather. With his help I have already translated 26 Lives of Saints, a Catechism, the Passion of our Lord, an explanation of the Seven Sacraments, and many other things which I hope will be of great use.

I must not forget to mention a clear case of predestination of a child. I had baptised the son of an *Adigar* of this place. He had another son, of about 4 or 5 years of age, whom he did not let me baptise. The child took ill and his elder brother informed me of it. I then went to the house, but as I did not think the case serious, and as his father did not consent to his baptism, I left him. On the next day I went to Caimel for confession and the Father kept me there for 3 days. When I returned I found the *Adigar* in great anxiety, for the child was dying and had been so for a night and a day already. He consented to the child's baptism, which I administered at once, giving him the name of Lawrence, as it was the octave of that Saint. In a quarter of an hour the child expired, as if he had only waited for the grace of baptism. The father of the child wanted to cremate the body, as is their custom, but I, with the school-children who sang the prayers in Sinhalese, took the body to church where it was buried. The people were quite pleased at it, especially the women, who had never seen this mode of burial.

These are the matters of edification that occurred to me when writing to your Reverence about this Province of Malabar.

Let us hope that it will go on improving for the honour and Glory of God.

I commend myself to your Reverence's Holy Sacrifices,

PEDRO FRANCISCO.

Cochin, 2nd December, 1612,  
(fol. 298-300.)

<sup>116</sup>. See note 76, Vol. II, Pt. I.

1613.

## THE COLLEGE OF COLOMBO AND ITS RESIDENCES.

[LETTER OF Em. Barçada, DATED DECEMBER, 1613.]

In the Island of Taprobana, now called Ceylon, our Fathers are busily engaged in the exercises of the sacred ministry. Their sermons have great effect on the people, of whom many have abandoned their evil habits and lead better lives.

The death occurred of Father Lambertus Ruiz, a man distinguished for holiness of life and for his strenuous labours in the Lord's vineyard. Would that his insatiable desire for the conversion of souls were revived in us according to the fable of transmigration believed in this country. The story of his virtuous life and labours for the conversion of souls is too long to be told here. I will, therefore, record only a few facts about him.

The Father was a Belgian by birth, a native of Colomby in Gelderen.<sup>117</sup> He came out to India when still a novice; and, when he had gone through his full course of studies, was professor of the four vows. He died on the 28th of December, 1611, in the 62nd year of his age and 34th of religious life, 21 of which were spent not less laboriously than successfully in the conversion of souls. In order to win souls to Christ the more easily, he made a very close study of Tamil, which he afterwards taught with great care and accuracy.

He brought a great many people into the fold of Christ. Once, in the coast of Travancore, he came to know that the pagan king was coming with an armed force to compel a whole village of Neophytes to revert to paganism, but he forestalled the king and baptised them all in one day. In him were found the simplicity of the dove and angelic purity. Although he entered the Society rather late in life, after having been in the service of Cardinal Perugini, he had led a singularly innocent life, an innocence which he retained unsullied to the very end, though he was exposed to great danger during the nine years he spent in Marava without a companion, as he himself related to some Fathers who, after his death, revealed it to us.

On his death-bed he expressed himself very happy to die on the feast of the Innocents. It was indeed becoming that he who had imitated their innocence on earth should go to heaven on their feast day. His spirit of poverty was remarkable, and he treated with disdain the things of this world which fascinate men so much. He was so humble, that he used to say that he was never so troubled as when he was Superior of Negapatam. He was, however, ever ready to accept any work at the slightest wish of his Superiors.

When he was at Chilaw the Bishop of Cochin, seeing his advanced age and hard work, wanted to write to his Superior to remove him to Colombo for rest, but the old man dissuaded the Bishop, saying that he was content to remain where his Superiors had placed him. Not long after this he was taken grievously ill, and as the malady seemed likely to prove fatal, he was brought to Colombo. He arrived on the feast of the holy Innocents, received Viaticum and died, praying in Tamil.

The Missionaries of the different outstation Residences came to Colombo for the renovation of vows, went through the spiritual exercises, and strengthened themselves by prayer to labour more effectually in the Lord's vineyard. After the renovation, at which the Provincial was present, the Fathers returned to their posts.

The vineyard of Christ entrusted to our care is in a flourishing condition and yields abundant fruit. This year there were 470 baptisms. The divine offices are sung in our church and the services are attended by a great concourse of people. Confessions and communions are so numerous that we can not keep count of them. On several occasions we effected the restoration of ill-gotten money and many enemies have been reconciled.

One of ours is occupied with the wounded soldiers in hospital. He not only ministers to their spiritual necessities, but even succours their bodily infirmities, and thus they entertain a very high regard for ours. The church ornaments were improved and new ones added. Our house was rendered more commodious and a new wing was added, connecting it with the College for our convenience.

The new church is building and the Father Provincial and the General were present at the laying of the first stone, which took place on Whit Sunday. A large crowd of townsmen and

soldiers witnessed the ceremony, and the military band added not a little to the pomp. The edifice is well situated in a frequented part of the town and though we are badly off for means, we hope, with the help of God, to bring it to a completion soon. A certain lady, well disposed to the Society, has devoted the proceeds of her estate to the work.<sup>118</sup>

The General Hieronymus d'Azevedo, who has deserved so well of us, not only granted us a village; but, on his promotion to the Viceroyalty of India, gave us a great part of his furniture, thus improving our temporal affairs; nor did he omit to send us provisions and gifts regularly every year.

### The Residences.

All our churches here are situated in the maritime districts facing the Fishery Coast, and consequently, the Sinhalese who live around, owing to the frequent intercourse with the Tamils, easily understand Tamil. Thus it happened that some of our Fathers, who were driven here by a storm,<sup>119</sup> received a great welcome from the people on account of their knowledge of Tamil.

The Father in charge of Caimel is making good progress, and has hopes of still better results in the near future. The people are kind and well-disposed to us. When they came to hear that the Father, who was formerly with them, was on board a ship passing by, they swam to it to see him and kiss his hands.

In this parish there are 500 souls fit to be admitted to the Sacraments. A hundred adults were recently baptised. The feast of the church was celebrated with great splendour. A "representation" of the Creation of the world and the incarnation of Christ gave great pleasure to the people and was much admired by the gentiles.<sup>120</sup> As the church was too small for the increasing congregation, a more commodious church was built on a better site, and an excellent picture, depicting the Magi adoring the Infant Jesus, was placed above the altar.

The Christians of Chilaw, who live very near each other, make steady progress in the knowledge and practice of the faith. A hundred souls were recently baptised, among them an Arachi of noble birth.

At Monoceram the Father exerts himself very zealously for the welfare of souls, and leaves no stone unturned to win more souls to Christ. One of the Christians of this place, a man of great influence and zeal, is very keen on destroying idols. He dug up four idols which had lain buried since the conquest of the Island.

One of these was a huge idol of the god *Perumal*, celebrated throughout the Island. It was of bronze and represents the god astride on a peacock which held a writhing snake in its beak. The figure bore many crowns on its head and had four hands from which it was hurling as many thunderbolts. Let us hope that the destruction of idols will root out idolatry from the hearts of these people.

At Madampe there were 200 baptisms this year, due to the Father's labour and industry. The most distinguished of these converts was the son of a wealthy and influential Brahamin who ruled twelve villages. Though the father was a pagan, he accompanied his son to church when he came thither for baptism in great state, mounted on an elephant and attended by a train of soldiers, as if in triumph over idolatry. The Neophyte was received by the Missionary and regenerated at the sacred font, while his father waited outside the church in the darkness of heathenism.

Many others are being instructed daily. Schools have been opened in many places and the children are taught the rudiments of the faith. A pagan boy, of about fifteen years of age, who frequented our school formed so high an esteem of the Christian religion that, on his father's death, he, with fifteen others, became Christians. The church was found too small to accommodate the crowd of worshippers, and another church was built on a different site. One day, during the Father's absence, the old church was accidentally burnt down, but the gentiles, fearing that they might be suspected of incendiarism, helped the Christians to build the new church. Mass is already being celebrated in the Sacristy.

118. Mercia Ruiz (Rodriguez?).

119. The "*procella*" here spoken of is, probably, the trouble with the Bishop of Cochin, which ended in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Fishery Coast, to be recalled 15 years later.

120. "*Præmæ mundi originis Christianæ incarnationis actio.*" It is difficult to imagine what kind of "actio" it was.

Matiagama gives promise of being a very fruitful Mission field. A great many, who would be Christians, are kept back by the tumults of war. The Father of this station accompanied the troops on their expedition to Kandy, and assiduously ministered to the soldiers. He was ever ready to hear confessions and was of great help to the Portuguese, rendering various offices of charity to the unfortunate. By his frequent admonitions the good became better and the bad began to mend their evil ways. Many enemies were reconciled and thirteen conversions are recorded.

Nine of these converts were criminals condemned to death, who died in singularly good dispositions. Two of them, father and son, at the time of death, loudly acknowledged the grace of conversion vouchsafed to them, and having thanked the Father affectionately, they fell wounded by spears—the method of punishing soldiers most in vogue—invoking the holy name of Jesus with their last breath. One of them, remarking that the five wounds he received were disposed in the form of a Cross, extended his hands to imitate Christ and thus died.

After the expedition the Father returned to Matiagama and baptised 30 Neophytes. Another Father is now stationed there to learn Sinhalese. The people are in so great terror of small-pox (? *bullularum morbus*) that they flee from it as from a plague. Parents abandon their afflicted children and husbands desert their wives. If a gentile sees anyone stricken with the malady, he raises his hands aloft in worship from a distance and runs away, for they look upon it as a visitation from God.

The people are, therefore, in great admiration of the Father who sedulously visits the afflicted. These visits are not always fruitless, for he has an opportunity of baptising children who die of the disease. A gentile priest, skilled in the law, once watched the Father paying his usual round of visits, and was so much struck by the Father's kindness towards the suffering, to whom he himself felt a great aversion, that he abandoned his idols and placed himself under instruction.

#### The Residence of Malwána and the Mission to the Soldiers (*Missio Castrensis*.)

The General of Zeilan, Don Hieronymus d'Azevedo, who has deserved so well of us, keeps two of our Fathers with him. This year he twice marched against Kandy, which is the Capital of the whole Island, and on both occasions he took with him the Rector of the College of Colombo. [The concluding part of this letter has already appeared here. See Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 10]

EM. BARRADA.

VIII. Kal. Dec., 1613.

(fol. 305-307.)

1615.

#### THE COLLEGE OF COLOMBO AND ITS RESIDENCES.

[LETTER OF M. Barrada, DATED 20TH NOVEMBER, 1615.]

As the notes sent to us for the Annual Letter have not yet reached us, owing to the monsoon, or were lost on the way, I shall relate briefly what I have learnt from private letters.

First of all, Father Gaspar d'Abrew, a native of Valenca do Minho, died on the 22nd of December, 1614, at the age of 66 years, of which 36 were spent in the Society and 29 in the Fishery Coast, with great edification and good example. He was especially remarkable for his humility, from which arose his great submissiveness and obedience to his Superiors. I can testify, as an eyewitness, that no novice was ever so obedient to his novice masters as Father Abrew to what Holy Obedience enjoined him. This is borne out also by Father Goncalo Fernandez and Manoel d'Almeida, who were his companions for many years in the Fishery Coast.

He was a very zealous Missionary and loved his Christians so much, that Father Goncalo Fernandez has often heard him say that he never felt so much affection for his kindred as for his Christians. It was for this reason that he was beloved not only by his Christians,—who showed their affection for him by giving 4,000 cruzados for his ransom<sup>121</sup> when he was a captive,—but even by the very gentiles. The Maravars, so well known for their cruelty and robberies, esteemed him so much, that they gave their children the name of Gaspar, out of respect for the Father.

121. Vide L. Besse, S. J. "La Mission du Madure." *Historique de ses Pangous* (Trichy) p. 409, 423.

This good Father converted the whole Island of Calpetty, except three or four pagan families and some Moors, and he built four churches. When he was in the Fishery Coast, he often went from door to door, begging alms from the rich people, for the support of the orphans of whom, in fact, he supported a great many.

When the Fishery Coast was lost,<sup>122</sup> he took it so much to heart that he neither ate nor slept, and to save his life he was sent, at his request, to the Mission of Ceylon, for he felt the troubles of the Christians more than his own. He was such a rare example of virtue that his death was keenly felt throughout the whole Province, the more so as he died out of the College on his way from Calpetty to Colombo. He was buried at Mádampe, where there was one of our Fathers, but the place is being taken from us; for the "lord" of the village has obtained an order from the Bishop of Cochin, giving over the church to a secular priest. The Father at once obeyed it, giving up the church, to the great regret of the Christians baptised by him, and even of the gentiles. The people accompanied him a long way.

In the previous year he had baptised 800 souls, as is stated in one of his letters. In the two months he afterwards spent in Chilaw, he baptised 200 more, thus bringing the number of people he baptised to a thousand. Among them were the old women of the ten chief families, who had made up their minds to die in the faith of their ancestors, so that when their grandchildren fell ill they might take care of them, giving them to eat according to their custom (?) The Father came to know of this, by chance, from the entreaties a certain man made to him to baptise his wife, who kept on postponing her baptism. Finally, by the grace of God, all of them entered the fold of Christ by the gate of baptism, one following another like good sheep.

There is no other news of Ceylon, except the generous gift of Simon Correa, who built a Church at Matiagama at his cost. He has given a fine coconut plantation (*palmar*) sufficient for the support of a priest. This he gifted to the Society during his life.

On behalf of the Provincial

M. BARRADA.

Cochin, 20th November, 1615.  
(fol. 319-320)

1616.

### COLLEGE OF COLOMBO.

[LETTER OF M. Barrada, DATED 10TH DECEMBER, 1616.]

The information for the Annual Letter sent last year from Ceylon, which is now the chief Mission in charge of this Province, did not reach us, as the letters were despatched in a ship of General Manoel Mascarenhas Homem bound for Mombaca, where they were lost with the rest of the cargo, the passengers alone being rescued. Even this year we received news only from the two Fathers of Matiagama. From these letters we may gather what is being done in the other Residences.

During these two years 380 persons were baptised. The majority of the converts were of good birth, six of them being of the blood royal, though poor. There were also many *Mudeliars*, *Arachis*, that is to say, Captains, and headmen of villages. One was a very important person, a Captain who came from Kandy, and to whom the General stood Godfather. He was named after his Godfather, who made him a *Mudeliar*. Besides these were many children who died soon after baptism.

The parents of a dying child, both pagans, asked the Father to baptise him and "send him to heaven," which was done. On the same day a headman—*hu'maioral*—110 years old, entered the Church Militant along with his son aged 60. Two months after receiving baptism the old man entered, as we hope, the Church Triumphant in heaven. One of the Fathers was called to the bedside of another old man of 70. Though very ill, and at death's door, he listened to the Father's instructions with great attention and intelligence. When he had been duly catechised he was baptised, to the great delight both of himself and the Father. In his last moments he asked the Father for a Cross. The Father thereupon fixed one to the wall and, the old man who, up to this time, was scarcely able to speak, then spoke out aloud, to the astonishment of all. He was named Pascoal, because this took place on Easterday. On the next day he went to heaven.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-418.



A certain *jouge* was converted in a most remarkable manner. He was a stranger, and had been the chief of 500 other *jouges*. He had travelled over many lands and had studied the teachings of many sects "of Pagodas," and came to this Island to do penance. He spent several years of penitential life without obtaining peace of conscience in any of the sects. Once he made a vigorous penance, keeping strict fast for nine days and praying for light to find out the true path of salvation.

At the end of these penitential exercises he had a dream, or ecstasy, at a time when he was not accustomed to sleep. He seemed, in his vision, to be surrounded on all sides by the sea. On an elevated place there stood a Crucifix, surrounded by many Portuguese, as in a procession he had formerly seen in Pegu. Seeing himself in this danger, he raised his eyes to the Crucifix, which beckoned him to approach. Then the image on the Cross seemed to tell him that salvation was to be obtained at the foot of the Cross and there only. The next day he came to our church and asked for baptism, which the Father gave him after a course of instruction. He received the Sacrament with great consolation and has a special devotion to the Holy Cross.

A woman who was grievously ill betook herself to the Cross, and, sticking nine lighted candles on each of the three trees that were by the Cross, prayed devoutly for health, which the Lord deigned to give.

The Fathers are building another church at a place two leagues from Matiagama. The church is progressing, and the chief men of the neighbouring villages have already promised to become Christians, and with them many others will come over. The first fruits of this Mission are already gathered in heaven. A little child of six months, who was in danger of death, was brought by its mother, a gentile, for baptism. The child was baptised and is now in heaven. Two other children, baptised under the same circumstances, recovered soon after baptism. This has raised our religion very high in the opinion of the gentiles, for they had performed many ceremonies and offered many sacrifices to the demons for the cure of their children without success.

The Father who accompanied our army in an expedition to Kandy baptised 6 Sinhalese captured alive, to the great satisfaction of the Portuguese. They were afterwards executed, and one of them in particular was so grateful, that he thanked God that he was not killed the previous day; for then he would have had no opportunity of embracing the true faith.

The confidence with which the gentiles, not only of the conquered territories but even of the enemies' kingdom, treat the Fathers is really remarkable. When the subjects of the King of Kandy come down into our Province, the first thing they do is to visit the Fathers. Even the King of Kandy, when he had done some business with the Portuguese, as he had on four occasions, sends his Ambassadors to the Fathers with *olas*, and it is only to the Fathers that he sends *olas*. In fact Philip de Oliveira, Captain of the Seven Corlas, used to say, with an oath, that the two Fathers of Matiagama were not only useful for conversions, but were also more valuable even for the conquest than he himself or any other Captain; for the Fathers have gained the hearts of the Sinhalese by their sincerity, goodness and kindness.

At Caimel, during the first six months of last year, 50 persons were converted and baptised. We know nothing further, on account of the change of vicars.

In the College of Colombo there died this year Father Ferdinandus Gomez, a Portuguese, spiritual Coadjutor, aged 40, having spent 18 years in the Society and 10 in the Mission. He was a man of great edification and sweetness of disposition, and had brought many Christians to a virtuous life. He converted many gentiles and built two fine churches.

M. BARRADA.

10 Dec., 1616.

(fol. 332-333.)

1617.

### THE COLLEGE OF COLOMBO IN THE ISLAND OF CEYLON AND THE RESIDENCES ANNEXED THERETO.

[LETTER OF Emmanuel Barrada, DATED 15TH DECEMBER, 1617.]

In this College there are eleven priests and a lay brother in charge of the household. Owing to frequent disturbances in the Island, they had to undergo various vicissitudes and had no small occasion for suffering. The tumults of war that broke out on the 6th of December brought pain and grief to those labouring for the welfare of souls; but, before narrating them, I shall give an account of the notable events of the different Residences in the usual order.

In Morotto, which was entrusted to our care, 15 baptisms were administered, and now there are only 7 or 8 gentiles left.

In the Island of Calpetty, our Fathers are in charge of 3 churches, and twenty persons were baptised. Here there are few gentiles but many Moors. The latter are so loyal to the Portuguese and so faithful to the Fathers, that they not only defended them in time of war, but even saved their property from being destroyed by the enemy. They appreciate the friendship of the Portuguese and earnestly invite the Fathers to return.

In Monoceram, there were 80 conversions. Many others who wished to follow their example were prevented by the tumults of war from carrying out their good desires. The inhabitants of Valachéna, which is close to Monoceram, have all promised to become Christians as soon as the church we are building is completed.

At Chilaw, 300 well-instructed persons increased the number of the faithful. When the war broke out, the Christians placed sentries to warn them of any danger that threatened their Pastor or the Father of Calpetty. In this way, they saved the Fathers from the incursions of robbers and from attacks of the enemy. When at last, they heard that the enemy was coming, they actually carried the boats on their shoulders to put them to sea and secure the escape of the Fathers.

On the occasion of the blessing of the new church, 100 persons embraced the faith, their baptism being celebrated with great splendour. The festivities on the occasion were such as to attract the gentiles. A performance was given in honour of the newly baptised, representing the baptism of Constantine the Great, and it contributed not a little to increase the esteem of the Sacrament.

A little boy of Caimel saw his father, a great devotee of idols, making preparations for a sacrifice and straightway informed the Father who, thereupon, paid the man a visit and tactfully—*satis prudenter*—destroyed the preparation. In this place 15 conversions increased the number of the faithful, and now there are very few who still adhere to their superstitions.

The churches in these places, which were splendid as regards size and decoration, were all destroyed by fire and sword without mercy. These wars, alas, are a great hindrance to the propagation of the faith.

[*Here follows the account of the murder of Fathers Pelingotti and Metalla given elsewhere.*]

I add a few facts worthy of note, narrated by the Father who is stationed at the General's camp of Malwána.

A gentile, 70 years old, was so hostile to Christianity, that no amount of preaching or persuasion could lead him to embrace it. One day, when he was on a journey, he was attacked by an infuriated elephant. The animal raised him aloft with its trunk and threw him down, breaking his arm. This wound brought about the salvation of his soul, for, at the point of death, he begged for baptism, saying; "I see very clearly that God has punished me for my tergiversation." Thus acknowledging his fault, he was baptised and died that very night, begging pardon for his sins.

Another gentile, condemned to death for some crime, asked for baptism, saying that his crime had turned out to be the means of saving his soul. He was baptised and went to meet his Saviour.

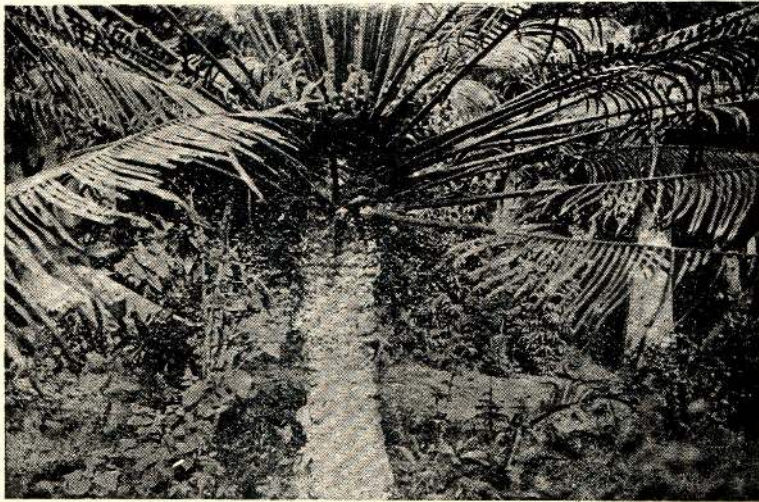
A splendid Crucifix and a silver pyx for the blessed Sacrament have been obtained for the College of Colombo. The bigger church we are building is just roofed, and were it not for the wars, it would have been finished by this time.

EMMANUEL BARRADA.

15 Dec., 1617,

(fol. 344-346.)

**RELIC OF AN ANCIENT WORLD.**



*Photo by Rev. Fr. Le Goc, O.M.I.*

**THE CEYLON "MADU-GAHA."**

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

*[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]*

## THE MADU-GAHA.

### OR A LINK WITH THE PAST.

By the REV. FATHER M. J. LE GOC, O.M.I., Ph. D. (ROME), M.A. (CANTAB), B. Sc. (LONDON),  
FELLOW OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

WHEN I was asked to write a few lines\* for the *Ceylon Antiquary*, I felt rather diffident, as the rich treasures of old Lanka are quite unfamiliar to me.

To my knowledge, however, Ceylon possesses a relic of an ancient world, a scion of a noble ancestry, which forms a rare link with the past, which evokes the history of another age, but whose significance is not sufficiently known generally : I mean the *Cycas* or *Madu-Gaha*.

This plant may well be considered as a relic ; for its present distribution is rather limited, ranging only from Japan to Australia. In Europe it is tended with motherly care in the hot-houses of the best Botanic Gardens. But its ancestors once occupied the whole surface of the earth and formed the dominant vegetation of the Mesozoic age.

The description of a plant that is so popular in this country is sufficiently known and need not be extensive. This plant is characterized by a columnar stem with a terminal crown of large palm-like leaves, often used for decorative purposes. On the apex of the stem may be seen an elongated fusiform cone, the male strobilus ; while on different plants are produced clusters of conspicuous sporophylls bearing naked ovules as large as a hen's egg.

On the old trunks there is left an armour of leaf bases alternating with the bases of scale leaves ; for true leaves and scale leaves are produced in succession. Although it is stated in books that true leaves appear every other year, nature in Ceylon behaves differently ; for leaves are given out at least three times a year, no doubt owing to exceptionally favourable climatic conditions. The young leaflets are spirally coiled, in a circinate vernation, imitating a feature that seemed to be restricted to Ferns.

The anatomy of the leaves is interesting and reveals the presence of both centripetal and centrifugal xylem in the bundles. If we consider the fact that centripetal xylem is characteristic of primitive plants, while the xylem of the modern plants is centrifugal, *Cycas* can claim the privilege of being an intermediate stage in the transformation of the old wood into the new wood.

It is also interesting to note that such a type of wood was found in some of the higher plants of the Palaeozoic age, such for instance as *Lygnopteris*, a plant belonging to the Carboniferous period. In this respect *Cycas* may, therefore, trace its origin to a very ancient ancestry.

\* [We owe an apology to Father Le Goc for the delay of over one year in the publication of this short but very important Note. It was intended for the very first number of the *Ceylon Antiquary* and was handed to us some time in June, 1915 ; but it was mislaid. It was, however, recovered a few weeks ago by a happy accident and we hasten to publish it, more especially as our readers will agree that the "N. B." included in the article is an important contribution which, though briefly stated, throws for the first time considerable light on a question connected with the fertilisation of plants and stimulus to growth. The Note deals with an aspect not treated of in the paper on the same subject.—*Observations on the Centripetal and Centrifugal Xylems in the Petioles of Cycads*.—which Father Le Goc read before the British Association at Birmingham in 1913, and we understand he is pursuing his researches in the same connection. We hope, as a result of these, to see at an early date still further light thrown on this interesting subject.—Ed. C.A.]

### Reproduction.

By its method of reproduction *Cycas* also forms an intermediary stage in the series of plants. The naked, large ovules are borne on structures called sporophylls that still resemble leaves, reminding us of the sporophylls of primitive plants like *Selaginellas* and *Lycopods*. Such an arrangement is far behind the cone of a *Pinus* and especially the ovaries of the modern plants. But what is less known is the internal structure of these ovules.

Their peculiarities are : a single integument containing an inner and outer fleshy layer separated by a stony layer, all of which receive an abundant supply of vascular bundles ; a pollen chamber formed at a later stage inside the nucellus, a large endosperm belonging to the gametophyte generation and enclosing several well characterized archegonia, a structure which is proper to *Liverworts*, *Mosses*, *Ferns*, *Selaginellas*.

In this respect *Cycas* appears once more to be primitive and fits in well with a group of plants belonging to an ancient age, the palæozoic, and known under the name of *Cycadofilicales*—on account of their resemblance both to the *Ferns* and the *Cycads*.

The male organs are borne on a cone called a strobilus and offer also many primitive characters. The sporangia appear in groups which are not unlike the sori found on the leaves of *Ferns*. But what is still more to the point is the germination of the microspores or pollen grains. These are probably carried by the wind to the ovules where they enter through the micropyle and pass inside the pollen chamber of the nucellus. Here they germinate, produce a pothallus cell, a stalk cell and two ciliated swimming gametes ; the fertilization is therefore brought about, not by means of a pollen tube as in the higher plants, but by the swimming of the ciliated gametes as in the *Mosses*, the *Ferns* and the primitive plants.

N. B.—The present writer has lately come across some interesting facts in connection with the fertilization of *Cycads*. It is well known that, in Colombo, the ovules of *Cycas* do not reach their full development but thrive only for a time and die at an early age. The reason is not far to seek ; for there are no male cones to be seen in Colombo or in the neighbourhood. But in Peradeniya the ovules of *Cycas Rumphii* are fully developed, although no male cone of the same species is to be found in the Gardens.

The explanation was given by the material supplied from Peradeniya Gardens. The ovules contained fully germinated pollen grains, which, by their introduction, had no doubt stimulated the growth of the ovules. These pollen grains were foreign, belonging to different species or genera, and although they had germinated, they had not strictly fertilized the eggs of *Cycas Rumphii* ; for no embryo was found in any of the fully grown up ovules.

This also throws light on the fact that no ovule of *Cycas Rumphii* has been seen germinating in Peradeniya, because these ovules had not reached the stage of true seeds which imply a developed embryo.

### The Age of Cycads.

We have seen that *Cycas* offers many primitive characters, that it fills a gap in the series of plants, that it forms a link with the past. It now remains to be shown that it is a relic of another age, a scion of a noble ancestry that once occupied a world very different from our own—in the Middle Ages in the history of living organisms, in the Mesozoic Era, which has also been called the "Age of Cycads."

We must not picture to ourselves the Mesozoic Era as inhabited by the same plants or animals which now brighten the surface of our planet. The flowering plants that now rejoice

our sight were not ; the trees like the coco-nut, the jak and the mango that supply us with their fruits had not come into existence : the grass on which the grazing animals now feed, did not cover with a green mantle the soil of our meadows ; neither was there any man to reign as a king amidst the creatures of those days, nor any of the domestic animals to obey him as his servants. Even the birds that fill the woods and the gardens with the music of their songs and the humming insects that make honey out of the flowers had not yet visited this earth.

The Meozoic Era, both in its flora and fauna, was a different world from ours. It was the age when crocodile-like creatures, only far larger in size, crawled in marshy swamps, bathed in sunshine, in quest of amphibians that ventured out of the rivers and lakes, when monster-like reptiles put on wings and attempted to take their flight into the air.

It was also the age of Gymnosperms, among which Cycad-like plants formed the dominant trees covering and protecting with their shade a ground flora made of Ferns, Lycopods and Horse-tails. No doubt these Ferns and Lycopods gave a shelter to the reptiles, while the Cycads and their kinds provided delicious fruits for the gigantic and long-necked Diplodocus.

Thus Cycas belongs truly to another world than ours, forms an interesting and living link with the past, so that the possession of this relic of another age is not one of the smallest treasures of Ceylon.



## SOME NOTES ON ARCHÆOLOGICAL MATTERS

IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE.

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

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**S**OME notes that I made while Government Agent of the Northern Province in 1903-4, during the course of my peregrinations in the Jaffna District and on "the Skirts of the Wanny," are here presented to the *Ceylon Antiquary*.

On the 23rd July, 1903, I visited the ruins of the Portuguese fort on the shore opposite Fort Hammenhiel, and about three quarters of a mile west of the Rest-house. My last visit had been made twenty years before, when I was Office Assistant to the Government Agent, now Sir William Twynam. So far as I could recollect, they were in much the same state on this second visit as they were in at the first, probably a little more dilapidated.

There is a vaulted chamber on the east side of the fort, with the greater part of the roof intact, but on this last occasion an *itti* tree (*ficus retusa*) had begun to twine its roots about the stone masonry of the roof, a circumstance which was ominous for its future.

I came across a description of this fort in the "Colombo Journal" of 27th July, 1832, written by a contributor who signs himself "Penn," whom from internal evidence I am inclined to identify as Simon Casie Chitty, Mudaliyar, the compiler of the "Ceylon Gazetteer," which was published in 1834. According to him it was called "Fort Eyrie," a name which even in his time was "known to few." Nowadays this name is quite unknown in the neighbourhood, and as it is neither Portuguese nor Dutch nor English, but has an American smack about it, and the sole authority for its former use is this writer, I am wondering whether it ever existed as a name for this remote fort on a Jaffna Island. The local name for the site of the ruins is "Urundi," which I take to signify "(the place where) the village used to be," but if I am wrong in this interpretation perhaps some Tamil scholar will set me right. Or can "Eyrie" be a corruption of "Urundi" or *vice versa*?

The "Colombo Journal" correspondent thinks that, though "we have no way to ascertain when it was erected," it was "most probably about 1669 (when the Jaffna fort was built), it being thought necessary for the protection of the port as well as to keep in awe the inhabitants of the islands."

His description gives us a good idea of its plan and situation:—



"On the north shore of the beautiful and secure Port of Kayts . . . placed to command the entrance of the Port and, by its cross fire with the guns of Fort Halmanhiel, check the advance of any threatening stranger, it doubtless was considered a stronghold of considerable importance in its time,—now little is visible save the bare walls. The port is formed by an opening about half-a-mile broad between two islands, named by the Dutch Amsterdam<sup>1</sup> and Leyden,<sup>2</sup> connecting Jaffna Lake with the sea, and being the only safe anchorage in both monsoons from Trincomale to Ramisseram, is much frequented by country craft and vessels, and would consequently in insecure times require extensive fortifications. It is difficult to trace the plan of Fort Eyrie—enough, however, remains to shew it was a square of about 130 feet with four circular bastions, having walls of great thickness, bomb-proof in various places, and gateways in the east and west curtains. The sea washes the north face, the remains of a glacis are visible to the west, and the south face was protected by an outwork extending in a half-moon from bastion to bastion, and commanding the plain to the rear . . . Halmanhiel, which stands perched on a rock in mid-passage, is still in good repair, having been occupied as a state prison, whilst Fort Eyrie . . . is but a green mound and shattered ruin."

Before leaving this Leyden of the East, which is now known to the Survey Department as Velanai (from the principal village on it), I went to see the ruins of another old Dutch or Portuguese building in the neighbourhood of the last-named village. The name of the place shows what once stood there, "Kopparattadi," "the Place of the Tower." The "tower" is now but a heap of stones. But it existed in 1832, and a villager who appeared on the spot told me that he remembered a tower there "thirty years ago." Probably the only description of it in existence is the one given by "Penn" in the pages of the "Colombo Journal" of 6th January, 1832, which is as follows:—

"The path leads to the south-east, through a range of highly cultivated fields interspersed with thick groves of palmirah, for about six miles, and leaving the point and ferry of Arraley (long, low, and desolate, bearing evident marks of frequent inroads from the lake), to the left, it approaches a natural tank of considerable size, on the south bank of which, enveloped with groves of margosa trees, stands the building now described.

"This is a tower of fifty feet high and fifteen square, with walls of great thickness constructed with uncut coral. The interior has been divided into three compartments, the lowest of which was entered by an arched door, in the Saxon style, on the north face of the building. A narrow flight of stone steps, commencing at this door, ascends across the east face of the demi-arched door of the second compartment, and thence, proceeding across the south front, attains the Gothic arched entrance of the upper storey, and again continuing up the west face, finishing on the top of the tower, which being terraced, has a parapet about two feet high. The only window is a square one in the upper compartment facing the east, the two lower rooms having had no light except what was afforded by their doors, and there does not appear to have been any internal communication from one floor to another.

"Both exterior and interior have been coated with chunam, a great part of which has broken off from the effects of the weather, and the undermining roots of the *ala* or banyan, so destructive to all buildings where it is allowed to vegetate. The lower part is fast crumbling down, the steps are not ascendable, and the whole appears many years left to snakes and bats, its only occupants. It is evident pigeons were kept there, the outside of the building having a considerable number of small holes pierced in it, with the remains of palmirah perches projecting from each.

"On the further design of the building all conjectures are fruitless—the oldest inhabitants know nothing. It cannot have been meant for defence—from the communication being external the rooms could hardly be intended for residence, although the upper was light and cool, but

1. Karaitivu.

2. The island on which Kayts stands.

the terrace would be delightful in the cool of the evening, not only to invigorate the frame exhausted by the heat of the day, but also for the view which, extending over the adjacent country of lakes and islands from the fort at Kaits to Jaffna, would be wide and beautiful.

"It may have been intended for a signal post from the fort of Jaffna to those at Kaits."

I should judge, from this description, that the tower must have been of Portuguese or Dutch origin:—probably the former, in spite of the "arched door in the Saxon style on the north face," and the "Gothic-arched entrance of the upper storey." In the days when it was written, every round-arched window or door was described as "Saxon," and every pointed arch as "Gothic." Both Portuguese and Dutch used round arches in Ceylon, and either might have harked back for once to the pointed arch. The Delft Fort, built by the Portuguese, is in its interior quite mediæval in appearance.

The local tradition is that this tower was built in the time of one of the native potentates of the country—in this case the princess named "Aliyarasani," the same who is connected by tradition with Kutiraimalai. The site is said to be private property, but it must have been Crown originally. Had anyone taken an interest in it ninety or a hundred years ago, both the site and the building might have been preserved—the latter would have been of considerable interest from a historical point of view. But when "Penn" saw it, it was undergoing the same fate that the Kayts Fort and the Chankánai Church are now experiencing, and becoming the prey of the banyan tribe, and unless this is stopped they will, like it, become mere heaps of stones.

A temple of a very humble type now occupies a portion of the site, and there is a small tank close by which is called "Mukundai,"<sup>3</sup> the exact meaning of which name I do not know. Appropriately enough, the place is said to be haunted.

We will now cross over the Kayts harbour or straits to "Amsterdam," and drive through this island, carefully cultivated and prosperous in appearance, and over the two-mile-long Punnalai causeway into the road which goes round the coast of the Peninsula to Point Pedro and some two or three miles beyond it. Here, at the end of the coast road, is situated a village called Vallipuram, —a name which seems to imply that it was once something more than a village. This is confirmed by tradition, for it is said to be the site of a city, long ago buried in the sand heaps. Certainly the appearance of the supposed site is peculiar. It is strewn with what, at first sight, appear to be masses of coral rock, but on examination it is found that the seeming rocks are not rocks at all, but are formed of a species of cement which breaks into pieces on being struck. The extent of the sand heaps containing these masses of broken cement blocks is said to be three miles in length, from north-west to south-east, and one mile in width. At one spot there is a dense heap of broken pots, tiles, etc., showing that there must have been a settlement of potters there.

A large Vishnu temple is situated among the sand heaps. There are only four Vishnu temples in the Peninsula, the others being at Vannarponnai, Punnalai, and Malvil near Iyakachchi in Pachchilaipali. This one is of comparatively recent establishment and is still being built. The Brahmin priest told me that there are the remains of a brick wall running between the temple and the sea north and south (rather, north-west and south-east), and ocular demonstration was given to this statement by the digging up of some broken bricks out of the sand. An image of Buddha was unearthed close to this temple, 50 yards north-east of it. It remained in the lumber room of

3. Cf. "Urundai."

**IMAGES OF BUDDHA IN JAFFNA.**



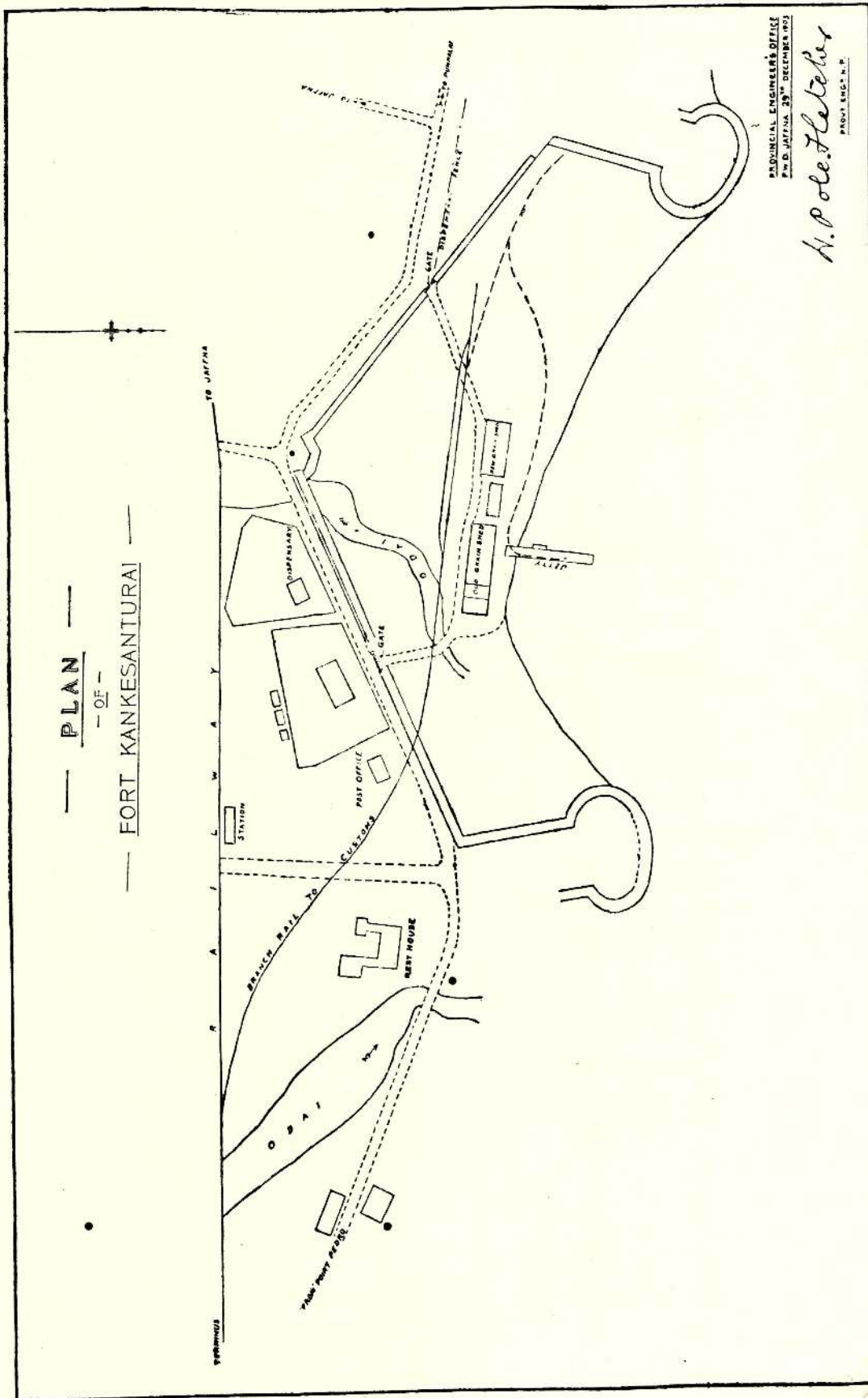
I. THE CHUNNAKAM BUDDHA IN THE OLD PARK, JAFFNA.



II. THE VALDIPURAM BUDDHA IN THE OLD PARK, JAFFNA.

*"Traces of Ceylon," half-tone block.*





PLAN OF FORT.



the temple for years until, in 1902, I asked the Manager of the temple to hand it over to me which, with praiseworthy public spirit, he did.

Its subsequent history may be related here. It was set up in the Old Park at Jaffna, under one of the two or three *bó*-trees that are to be found there, and near another standing figure of Buddha, which was some time later dug up at Chunnakam, and placed under another of the *bó*-trees. In 1906, the Vallipuram Buddha was presented by Governor Sir Henry Blake to the King of Siam, who was particularly anxious to have it, as it was supposed to be of an archaic type. The Chunnakam Buddha still remains in the Old Park, recently removed to a new position under another *bó*-tree, as the one under which it was first placed has died. An inscribed stone at its feet records where it was found and when it was first brought to the Old Park. For illustrations of these Buddha images, see Plate X.

During this visit to Vallipuram I heard that the Police Vidáne was in possession of a gold coin that had been found there. I obtained this coin, which had been discovered in 1890, and sent it to Mr. Bell for identification. It turned out to be the Iraka or Daraka Sinhalese coin of very debased gold. Curiously enough, shortly afterwards I received from the Very Rev. E. Vorländer, O.M.I., four copper coins that had recently been dug up at Pandatteruppu, at the extreme west of the Peninsula, as this is in the eastern part of it. They were in a pot which was unfortunately shattered to pieces. They proved to be of Queen Lilávati (12th-13th century, A. D.)

The Buddha image and Iraka coin may have something to do with the "buried city" at Vallipuram, and the finding of these images and in a less degree of the coins in the Peninsula is so much evidence that the Peninsula was at one time a Sinhalese district. Several images of Buddha have also been found in the Mannar District, and out of the drain inside the Fort gateway there was disinterred in Mr. Denham's time a stone with—for modern Mannar, where there are no Buddhists—the strange device of the two *hansa* with interlocked necks, a Buddhist emblem. I annex a photograph of it taken by Mr. John Scott, C.C.S. (Plate XI.)

On the way here from Punnalai we passed Kánkésanturai and the ruins of its Portuguese fort. The two bastions, running into the sea, are pounded by the breakers of the North-east monsoon, and are gradually succumbing to them—though they are very substantially built, and their disintegration is but a gradual process. It is supposed that the fort was begun by the Portuguese but never finished, as they abandoned the site for Jaffna. The walls, which certainly have an unfinished appearance, now enclose the Customs premises, and opposite the eastern bastion is the new Rest-house. A plan of the fort is annexed (Plate XII).

There are the ruins of an old Dutch fort at Pass Beshuter or "Biscooter" which is situated at Koyilvayal, about three miles from Elephant Pass, on the old road from Iyakachchi to Mullaittivu. I visited this place on 23rd June, 1904. The fort is a complete ruin and so is the Rest-house which stood in the middle of it. It is a case of ruin upon ruin. All that remains of the fort is a portion of two bastions at opposite angles, each with a vaulted chamber. They appear to have been blasted. The floor and foundations of the Rest-house show that at one time it was a large building, and was afterwards reduced in size. The verandah pillars were still standing. The Rest-house was dismantled a good many years before I saw it. In the time of Mr. Dyke, this part of the Peninsula—Mullipattu—was of greater importance than it has been for many years, now that it is out of the beaten path and at the back of beyond. What it chiefly wants is roads. It is possible to get from Elephant Pass to Pass Beshuter by this route in dry

weather only, as this part of the country is under water during the rains—the lagoon extends over it.

There was another of these small forts at Pass Pyl, on the coast of Vadamarachchi East, some three miles north-east of Pass Beshuter. It was pulled down many years ago and the materials used for the construction of an obelisk to serve as a beacon to mariners. The forts at Elephant Pass or "Pass Elephant," as it used to be called, and at Poonaryn have been turned into Rest-houses. Both are picturesque and one at least is a cool retreat. It is shown in Plate XI. with the lagoon in the background.

At Nellore (Nallúr), which is a suburb of Jaffna, is the site of the palace of the former Tamil Rájás. It is known as "Sangili Toppu," which name is derived from that of the last king, which was Sangili. On this land is a tank called Yamunéri, which was constructed by the Tamil kings "for the use of their families," so I was told. The explanation of the meaning of the name given me by the Maniagar of Jaffna (now Adigar) was curious. It is said to be derived from the fact that water was brought from the river Jumna, a branch of the Ganges, with a view to the hallowing of the tank. The correct version of the name, it was asserted, was "Jumna-nati," meaning Jumna river. I can not accept this, at any rate as regards the termination, which I have no doubt is simply the word "éri," one of the ordinary Tamil words for a tank, (written by old Anglo-Indian writers "yary.")

The buildings of the palace were destroyed by the Portuguese. The Dutch seem to have built a Government House on the site, and the entrance gateway remains—a large semi-circular arched doorway, surmounted by a brick pediment and gable of an unmistakeably Dutch type, but sometimes, on account of its position, claimed as a portion of the remains of the palace of the Tamil kings.<sup>4</sup> It was at this "Government House" of the Dutch that the "Seventy-two Orders" were signed in the year 1704 on the 25th of June, at Jaffna "city of the Master of the Guitar, in the Government Garden at Nellore," by John Andercone, Secretary.

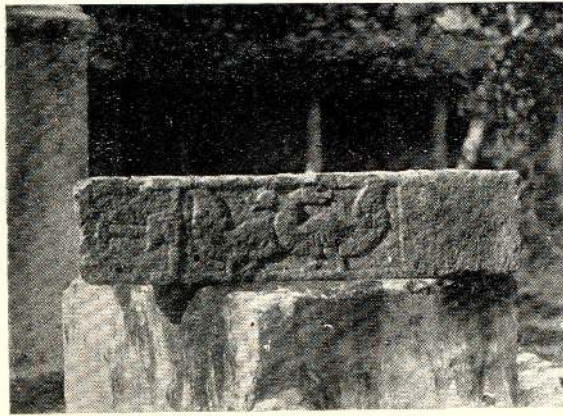
There used to be a large temple in front of the palace called Sattanatar Kóvil, used by the members of the Royal family. It was destroyed by the Portuguese. A new Kandaswámi temple has been erected on the spot.

We will now leave the Jaffna Peninsula for a while and migrate to that of Mannar, in search of further traces of the Portuguese. At Iluppaikadavai there is a colony of Portuguese and Dutch descendants, and that part of the village in which they reside is known as "Parankikáman." They speak no language but Tamil, but they bear European surnames, as for instance, Leander, Otto, Spek, Barbut and, strange to say, MacIntyre, which in this case is not a name derived from the American Mission, as many English and Scotch names borne by Tamils in the northern Province are. The first was that of the Kama Vidáne, who had nothing distinctive about his appearance beyond "mutton chop" whiskers and a dark blue coat edged with broad braid, which I took to be a sort of survival from the days when headmen wore uniforms, duly prescribed by regulation. There were thirty or forty of these people.<sup>5</sup> The Nochchimoddai Áru, which rises in Kilakkumulai South near Vavuniya, falls into the sea a mile north of

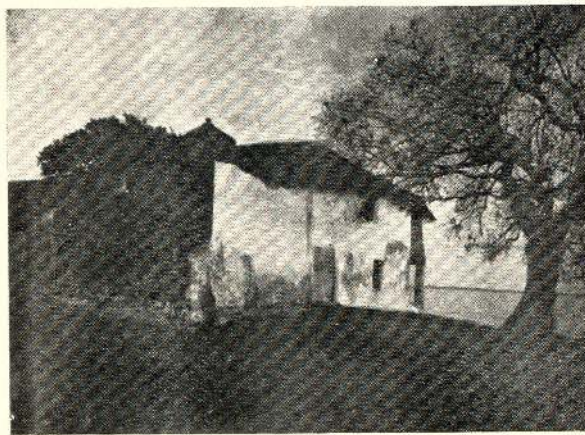
4. As for instance by Mr. S. Kathiresu in his "Handbook to the Jaffna Peninsula," published in 1905, and by a correspondent of the "Ceylon Observer" calling himself "Lover of Antiquities" in a letter dated March 11th, 1907. The former says: At "Sangili toppu" is found a gateway still intact which is all that remains of a palace, etc., built by the first King of Jaffna." (p. 50; see also p. 70.) The other writer remarks of the "Old Brick Arch": "It was built of bricks and mortar several hundred years ago. . . . Any lover of antiquities, passing by the arch, will be struck with the design and beauty of it." "Lover of Antiquities" deserves much credit for being anxious for its preservation. With this object, before I left Jaffna in 1906, I prevailed on Government to sanction the acquisition of the site in order that certain necessary repairs to the structure might be carried out to prevent its certain collapse.

5. This was in October, 1903.

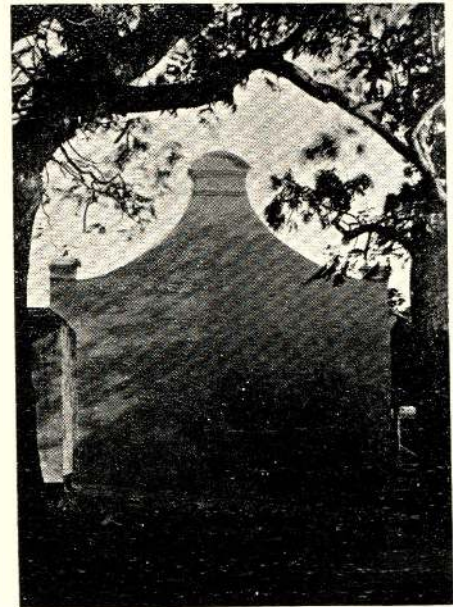




III. STONE FOUND IN MANNAR FORT.



IV. ELEPHANT PASS FORT AND REST-HOUSE.



*Photos by Mr. John Scott, C.C.S.*

*"Times of Ceylon," half-tone blocks.*

V. DUTCH GABLE AT KĀRISAI. VI. DUTCH GABLE WITHIN MANNAR FORT.



Iluppakadavai, and is here known as the Paranki Aru. Now "Paranki" in Southern India and Ceylon = "Portugee."

Further south at the next stage, Mantota, close to the Rest-house, are the diminutive remains of a Portuguese church, and they are still used as a way-side oratory. Some years ago, when Mr. E. M. Byrde was Assistant Government Agent, they seem to have been more extensive and to have included a stone, inscribed with a date, which has disappeared.

Kárisal, in Mannar Island, has nothing of its old importance to show but the ruins of a fine old church.<sup>6</sup> It possesses a good example of a Dutch gable (See illustration—Plate XI—for which also I am indebted to Mr. John Scott, C.C.S.)

It is hardly likely that anyone now living has seen a Portuguese deed that was executed in Ceylon. By this time probably such documents have all perished. But at Karisal or "Carselle," as it used to be called, in 1747 or nearly a century after the Portuguese had left the Northern Province, a Portuguese deed was produced to the Dutch authorities by a man named Antoni Moraes in support of his claim to a coconut tope there. On 19th April, 1803, Mr. George Lusignan, the Agent of Revenue, was inquiring, *inter alia*, into the title to this land, but it was stated that the deed was then missing. Yet it is possible that there may be some Portuguese deeds still in existence, because in 1896-7 several forged deeds purporting to be Portuguese were produced in support of claims in the Hambantota District, and a genuine deed may have served as the model on which they were framed.

So far we have dealt with inanimate and material antiquities, but during this period 1902-6 I came across some in the Jaffna District belonging to the living world. At Tayaddi, for instance, a mile and a half inland from Kánkésanturai, the Police Vidáne told me that his father, whom he had succeeded in office, was still living at the age of 115 years, and that his age could be proved from his horoscope. It was on 25th July, 1903, that I saw this old man, who was quite able to walk. He told me that his age was 104 or 105, and that his horoscope was lost, but that he knew what his age was from some one else's horoscope who was born in the same year. He said that he remembered the Kandyan War. I asked him how he could have known anything about it in Jaffna, and he replied that it was because coolies from Jaffna were employed by the British Army. The last Kandyan War was in 1815, and he said that he was 14 or 15 at the time. This would make him 103 or 104. Now it is quite correct that Jaffna coolies were employed by the British Army in the war of 1803, and probably in the war of 1815 as well. From this explanation of his and from the fact that the statements of himself and of his son, his own being the more moderate, did not exactly agree, I am inclined to accept his as correct.

One day (20th December, 1903) when I happened to be at Chankánai, there occurred the funeral of a man said to be 110 years old, who had left a son aged 90. About the same time a man died in the Island of Delft who was also said to be 110. In 1902 the Maniagar of Delft registered the death of an old man named Perumaiyanar Visuvanatar, who had been to Mátales with horses in the time of Captain Nolan, and was already married at the time he went; that must have been about eighty years before, as Captain Nolan left Delft in 1824. An old woman of the same place executed a dowry deed in 1810. She brought it to the Maniyagar for examination in 1903.<sup>7</sup>

6. 'Mannar' by W. J. S. Boake, C.C.S.

7. See "Notes on Delft" by the present writer in Journal R. A. S. (C. B.) Vol. xxi., p. 341.

## NOTES ON MARRIAGE AND ITS ATTENDANT CUSTOMS.

### PARTICULARLY AMONG THE LOW-COUNTRY SINHALESE.

By C. A. GALPIN.

**H**AVELOCK ELLIS<sup>1</sup> defines marriage as "sexual union, involving the cohabitation, temporary or permanent, of two or more persons, and having for one of its chief ends, the production and care of off-spring;" but many Western minds associate marriage with a form or ceremony performed by a Minister of Religion without which, in their opinion, marriage does not exist.

In order fully to appreciate other customs, it must be allowed that the former is a more accurate definition of marriage, while the latter represents only a narrow interpretation of the term; and, while in some communities the essentials appear to be inseparably bound up with a priestly ceremony, this is really only a growth and a superstructure and is additional to the actual "marriage" as defined in the opening sentence.

Havelock Ellis continues: "There was no special religious ceremony either in the East or the West earlier than the sixth century," since when, in the West, the religious ceremony has evolved and is now a religious-cum-legal ceremony, the Minister of Religion—in most religions—performing both functions, in his dual capacity of Priest and Officer of the State.

Marriage, presumably accompanied by some religious rites, is, however, mentioned in the early pages of the *Mahāvansa*<sup>2</sup> where we read:

"That same Nāga Mahodara was, then (5th-6th century B.C.) a king, gifted with miraculous power, in a Nāga kingdom in the ocean, that covered half a thousand yojanas. His younger sister had been given in marriage to the Nāga-king on the Kannāvaddhamāna mountain."

It is not proposed here to enter into a consideration of marriage either from a biological or historical aspect.<sup>3</sup> Observers speaking with authority have contributed a fund of information on this most interesting subject, and we will content ourselves with the consideration of some marriage customs observable among the Low-country Sinhalese.

Customs such as those surrounding the marriage ceremony in Ceylon, although having a common basis, in many cases have become localised. Thus, the customs prevalent on the West coast differ in several instances from those observable in the Mátara District, which again differ from Up-country practices. In view of the limitation of space it is not proposed to deal here with Up-country, or more correctly Kandyan, customs: these must be considered outside the scope of the present Notes, though I have included, in an Appendix, some interesting extracts from D'Oyly's Notes on Kandyan Law.

1. "Sex in relation to Society," page 421.

2. Chap. I, verses 48-50 (Geiger's Edition, 1912 p. 6.)

3. For these aspects, vide Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*; Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*; Fraser, *The Golden Bough*, etc.

It must, therefore, be remembered that customs common to one part of the Low-country may be unknown to inhabitants removed not more than by a distance of one hundred miles.

Although not coming strictly within the scope of Marriage ceremonies, the observances on the attainment of the age of puberty are so closely related to the marriage rites that it may be interesting to remark on them.

Salmon, in his *Modern History*, records :—

"On the attainment of the years of puberty by a (Sinhalese) girl, she is confined to a room, no male being allowed to see her or be seen by her. After two weeks, she is taken out with her face covered and bathed, at the back of the house, by the female inmates, except little girls and widows, with the assistance of the family laundress who makes all the jewellery on the maiden's person. Near the bathing-place are kept branches of any milk-bearing tree, usually of the Jak-tree. On her return from her purification, her head and face still covered, she goes three times round a mat, having on it *kiri-baf*, plantains, seven kinds of curries, rice, coconuts, and in the centre, a lamp with seven lighted wicks; and as she goes she pounds with a pestle some paddy scattered round the provisions. Next, she removes the covering, throws it to the Dhoby (washerwoman), and after making obeisance to the lamp and putting out its wicks by clapping her hands, presents the laundress with money placed on a betel leaf. She is then greeted by her relatives, who are usually invited to a feast, and is presented by them with valuable trinkets. Everything that was made use of for the ceremony is given to the washerwoman. In some cases, till the period of purification is over, the maiden is kept in a separate hut which is afterwards burnt down. Girls who have arrived at the age of puberty are not allowed to remain alone, as devils may possess them and drive them mad."

To some extent the details of the observances are lost in obscurity: the reference to the mystic figures 7 and 3 will however be noted; these ranking with the figure 9 as symbols of mystery and veneration. Fraser, in his fascinating work "*The Golden Bough*," says that "the precautions taken to isolate or insulate the girl are dictated by regard for her own safety as well as for the safety of others. In short, the girl is viewed as charged with a powerful force which, if not kept within bounds, may prove the destruction both of the girl herself and of all with whom she comes in contact. To repress this force within the limits necessary for the safety of all concerned is the object of the taboos in question."

"This explanation applies to the observance of the same rules by divine kings and priests. The uncleanness, as it is called, of girls at puberty, and the sanctity of holy men do not, to the primitive mind, differ from each other. They are only different manifestations of the same supernatural energy, which, like energy in general, is in itself neither good nor bad, but becomes beneficent or malignant according to its application."

The observances in the case of the male are necessarily fewer and have considerably less importance attached to them. The "shaving of the beard" is the rite the young man has to observe. It is performed at a "lucky" hour, previously determined by the astrologer, and usually takes place a few days before marriage. The barber here plays the important part the laundress did in the other. The shavings are put into a cup, and the person operated on, as well as his relatives who have been invited, put money into it; this is taken by the barber and the former are thrown on to a roof that they may not be trampled upon.<sup>4</sup>

4. Salmon's *Modern History*.

The woman having attained the marriageable age, her parents are now concerned in ensuring her early marriage, should she not already be betrothed, and the same writer gives an account of their activities to this end, which is as correct of the present day as it was when written.

"Marriages are arranged between two families by a relative or a trusted servant of one of them, who, if successful, is handsomely rewarded by both parties. The chances of success depend on the state of the horoscopes of the two intended partners; their respectability (status), which forms a very important factor in the match; the dowry, which used to consist of agricultural implements, a few head of cattle and domestic requisites, together with a small sum of money to set the couple going, and, if connected, the distance of relationship. Two sisters' or brothers' children are rarely allowed to marry, but the solicitation of a mother's brother's or a father's sister's son is always preferred to that of any other.

"A few days before marriage, the two families, in their respective hamlets, send a messenger from house to house to ask, by presenting betel, the fellow-villagers of their own caste, to a breakfast; and the guests bring with them presents in money. Only few, however, are invited to the wedding, and the party of the bridegroom."

This may be taken as a recital of the usual procedure generally observed. Percival's observations are almost identical. To quote his own words:

"The marriage ceremony, which among nations with stricter ideas of chastity is looked upon with a degree of mystery and veneration, is a matter of very small importance among the Ceylonese, and seems to be at all attended to only with a view to entitle the parties to share in each other's goods and to give their relations an opportunity of observing that they have married into their own caste. The marriages are often contracted by the parents while the parties are as yet in a state of childhood, merely with a view to match them according to their rank, and are often dissolved by consent almost as soon as consummated. It is also customary for those who intend to marry previously to cohabit and make trial of each other's temper,<sup>5</sup> and if they find they cannot agree, they break off without the interference of the priest, or any further ceremony and no disgrace attaches on the occasion to either party; but the woman is quite as much esteemed by her next lover as if he had found her in a state of virginity."

It is a matter of opinion as to the importance attached to the marriage ceremony, and one is inclined to disagree with these observations, especially so in the case of the "cast-off" woman being as much esteemed as if she were a virgin. This we know, generally, is not so, for at the present day the position of the woman who is rejected by her newly wedded husband is in most cases one of disgrace; she rarely finds another man willing to marry her, although,—and probably this is where Percival misunderstood the position,—she finds little or no difficulty in placing herself under the protection of some man with whom she lives and between whom and herself, in the majority of cases, no marriage ceremony is performed. Among the humbler classes, however, there is less regard on the part of the man than is found among the more gently bred, and a woman who has been discarded by one husband may in rare instances find another man who will make her his wife in the accepted sense of the word.

5. Percival is here, of course, referring to a Kandyan custom which does not obtain at the present day.

To return to Salmon's *Modern History*, the description given would appear to be from the pen of a more acute observer who says :

"When all things are concluded, and it is thought proper for them to cohabit, the young fellow carries, or sends, his wife a piece of calico of six or seven yards in length, and a flowered linen waist-coat ; if the man carries them himself, they sleep together that night, and appoint a time for the solemnisation of the wedding, or bringing the woman home to her husband's house. The day before he takes her from her father's, he comes thither with his friends in the evening, bringing sweetmeats and other provision with him, and they have a supper suitable to their condition, when the bride and bridegroom eat together and sleep in the same apartment. The next day they have a dinner, after which the procession begins from the wife's father's to the husband's house, the wife always going before the husband at these solemnities ; some few days after, <sup>6</sup> their friends and relations make them a visit, bringing provisions with them, and rejoicing on the happy occasion, but I do not perceive the priest is called in so much as to bless the marriage.

"Old bachelors and old maids are rarely to be seen amongst the Sinhalese ; almost every man marries and marries young, and the wife not of his own but of his father's choice. The preliminaries of the union are entirely settled by the parents. When a young man has reached the age of eighteen or twenty, he is considered marriageable, and it is the duty of his father to provide him with a proper wife. The father, having selected a family of his own caste or rank, pays the master of it a visit, or sends an emissary, and if the information he receives respecting the lady's dower be satisfactory, he formally proposes his son. Soon after the father of the lady returns the visit to learn the circumstances of the young man, the establishment he is to have, and his prospects in life.

"If both parties are so far satisfied, the father of the young man makes another visit to his friend, to see the lady, and enquire respecting her qualifications, age and disposition. He is contented if she is younger than his son, in good health, free from ulcers and corporal blemishes, possessed of a pretty good disposition, and acquainted with the ordinary duties of a housewife. On his return home, he desires his son to go clandestinely and see her ; if the young man enter the house, it is under a feigned name, and if he see his intended, he must not address her. The day of the marriage being fixed and the hour determined by an astrologer, the bridegroom and his family, their relations and friends, proceed to the house of the bride, accompanied by people, carrying provisions, and by four men in particular bearing a large pingo, laden not only with all sorts of provisions but likewise with a piece of white cloth, and with jewels and ornaments, varying in number and richness according to the means of the individual.

"The party set out in time to arrive towards evening ; they find a *mandoo* (*maduwa*, a temporary building) prepared for their reception, a feast in readiness, and the friends of the lady assembled to meet them. In the middle of the *mandoo*, which is covered with mats, the men of both parties seat themselves round a large pile of rice, placed on fresh plantain leaves, and garnished with curries of different kinds ; the ladies do the same collected within the house. Both parties help themselves with their hands, and eat from the common pile. This mode of eating, peculiar to the marriage feast, is esteemed proof of good-fellowship ; and, should any one hesitate to partake, he would be considered an enemy, and be driven away. After the repast, the bridegroom enters the house, meets the bride attended by his friends ; they exchange balls made

6. If the woman has been found to be a virgin.

of rice and coconut milk ; and he presents her with a piece of white cloth and with the jewels and ornaments he has brought." 7

Percival gives a few observations which appear to have escaped Davy's notice :

" After the parties have agreed to marry, the first step is, that the man present his bride with the wedding clothes which indeed are not of the most costly kind : they consist of a piece of cloth, six or seven yards in length, for the use of the bride, and another piece of cloth to be placed on the bed. It gives us a striking idea of the total want of industry among the Ceylonese and their extreme state of poverty, that even these simple marriage presents are frequently beyond the ability of the man to purchase and that he is often obliged to borrow them for the occasion from some of his neighbours.

The wedding presents are presented by the bridegroom in person, and the following night he is entitled to lie with the bride. Upon this occasion is the appointed day for bringing her home, and celebrating the wedding with festivities. On that day he and his relations repair to the bride's house, carrying along with them what they are able to contribute to the marriage-feast. The bride and bridegroom, in the presence of this assembly, eat out of one dish to denote that they are of the same rank. Their thumbs are then tied together ; and the ceremony concludes by the nearest relations, or the priest, when he is present, cutting the knot asunder.

This, however, is accounted a less binding ceremony, and indeed scarcely intended for continuance. When it is desired to make the marriage as firm and indissoluble as the nature of their manners will allow, the parties are joined together with a long piece of cloth, which is folded several times round both their bodies ; and water is then poured upon them by the priest, who always officiates at this ceremony, although rarely at the former. After the marriage ceremony, whether the stricter or the less binding one, is performed, the parties pass the night at the bride's house, and in the morning the husband brings her home accompanied by her friends, who carry with them provisions for another feast.

In bringing home the bride a strange ancient custom is observed ; the bride is always obliged to march before her husband, and never to be out of his sight by the way. The traditional reason for this practice is, that a man on this occasion once happening to walk foremost, his wife was carried off from him before he was aware. The wedding day is always looked upon as a time of particular festivity ; and those who are able to afford it, never fail to have the feasts accompanied with music and dancing ; the merriment is often protracted, and certain nuptial songs continue to be carolled the whole night long.

The portion given with the daughter is in proportion to the ability of the parents ; and, if the young couple are not in circumstances to maintain themselves, they still continue to reside with their parents. If the young people find, after marriage, that their dispositions do not agree, they separate without ceremony ; only the woman carries with her the portion she brought, in order to make her as good a match for the next husband. Both men and women often marry and divorce several times in this manner, before they have found a partner with whom they can reconcile themselves to spend the remainder of their days. It may be noted here that the thumbtying custom, as well as the binding together with one cloth, though still occasionally practised, is very rare and has practically died out."

7. John Davy, *An account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its inhabitants*, 1821.  
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### THE CONSUMMATION.

The ritual observed on the first night of the cohabitation is more or less universal throughout the Island—if not throughout the East.

At the appointed hour the bride and the bridegroom are accompanied to the door of the bridal chamber, which has been specially swept and prepared for them. There, both attired in a white cloth, they prepare to consummate the marriage. The door is locked and the remainder of the household retire. The next morning, the door is unlocked by the bridegroom's mother who enters the room.

The mother-in-law then relieves the woman of the cloth worn by her at the commencement of the marriage night, and, putting some money into a corner of this,—the amount varying with the degree of wealth of the parties concerned—the cloth is then handed to the Dhoby (woman). If the woman has been found by her spouse to be a virgin, invitations to a feast are immediately issued to near relatives of the bridegroom, the issuing or otherwise of these invitations being a clear indication of the state in which the bride was found to be.

As has already been said, some of these customs are quite local in their application, and the different grades of culture among the Sinhalese further complicate the letter of the observances; in-as-much as, while strictly to accord with their traditions a woman who has been kissed has, to all intents and purposes, lost her virginity, it is doubtful if at the present day any but the severest disciplinarians would visit the full and due punishment on an unmarried girl guilty of the impropriety of allowing herself to be "kissed"; though among the more refined members of the community, severe penalties would be entailed by the discovery of the parents that their daughter had so much as been in unchaperoned conversation with a member of the opposite sex. But, as one descends the social scale, licence and liberty become more marked.

The European kiss is unknown among those of the Sinhalese who have not been brought into close contact with the West, the Eastern substitute being more akin to "sniffing."

In this the Sinhalese do not differ from the majority of the Eastern nations. The Japanese, for instance, know nothing of the kiss. "Kisses and embraces are simply unknown in Japan as tokens of affection" says Lafcadio Hearn. On meeting after a long absence, Hearn remarks that they smile and perhaps cry a little; they may even stroke each other, but that is all. And Im Thurn<sup>8</sup> says of the Indians of Guiana that the kiss is unknown.

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## APPENDIX.

### Kandyan Marriages.

(From D'Oyly's *Notes on Kandyan Law*.)

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#### First Feast, on the approval of the suit.

On choice being made of a bride, the bridegroom's kinsmen give intimation thereof to some of the bride's friends, who consult her parents or guardians and other relations, and if they approve of the proposed match, the bridegroom's friends are informed thereof, whereupon some of the latter pay a visit in form to the bride's family, and having seen the bride and received assurance that the suit was sanctioned, they return, after being treated with rice or betel.

8. *Among the Indians of Guiana*,

**Second Feast, on the day the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom are examined.**

Afterwards a relation of the bridegroom goes to the bride's with presents of cakes, etc., and returns thence with her nativity or horoscope: this is compared with the bridegroom's to ascertain whether the union of the two persons will be happy and fortunate. If the nativities are accordant and compatible, an auspicious day is appointed for the wedding and the bride's parents or guardians are apprized thereof.

**Third Feast, on the day the bridegroom's parents present the bride with a suit of apparel.**

On the day appointed, presents of betel, cakes, fruits, etc., are forwarded to the bride's, and then the bridegroom's father proceeds thither in state, followed by the bridegroom's mother, with proper attendance; and, lastly, comes the bridegroom. On the party approaching the bride's residence, a brother and a sister, or an uncle and an aunt of the bride, go out to meet them in similar form and state, and conduct them to the house; when they arrive at the outer gate of the house and have stepped on the cloth spread for them to walk upon into the interior of the house, a coconut is smashed into pieces in the name of *Ganeswara*, or the god of wisdom, and on the parties entering the apartments prepared for them respectively, the ceremony of invoking long life is performed, and the gods of wisdom again propitiated by breaking a coconut.

**Fourth Feast, on the day the ceremony of the ligature takes place.**

Previous to the auspicious moment of solemnizing the marriage, the bridegroom's mother delivers a valuable cloth—*Killireda Hela*—to the bride's mother, with another cloth and a set of jewels, and the bride's father gives a suit of apparel to the bridegroom. The happy moment being arrived, the bridegroom throws a gold chain over the bride's neck, and then presents her with a complete set of apparel and ornaments, and the bride being arrayed therewith, steps up along with the bridegroom on the *Magul pórua*, or wedding plank, which is covered with a white cloth. The bride's maternal uncle or some other near relation then takes a gold chain and therewith ties the little finger of the bride's right hand with that of the bridegroom's left, and the couple then turn round upon the plank three times from right to left, the chain is then taken off, and the bridegroom moves to a seat prepared for him. The *Magul-pata*, or wedding plate, is then brought in, from which the director of the ceremonies takes rice and cakes, and making balls of them, gives the same to the bride and bridegroom, who make reciprocal exchange thereof in token of conjugality. The guests and the rest of the company are then served with victuals, betel and sandal.

On the couple quitting the bride's to go to the bridegroom's house, they are accompanied by a kinsman of the former with proper attendance. On approaching the bridegroom's residence, they are met by a kinsman of the latter attended with talipots, torches, etc., who greets the bride's kinsman and conducts the party in. Here also a coconut is smashed on the ground in the name of *Ganeswara*, and the ceremony is repeated of wishing longevity. After suitable entertainment, the bride's kinsman and other guests depart.

**Fifth Feast, on the seventh day after the nuptials, when the ceremony of bathing the bride and the bridegroom takes place.**

On the seventh day after the last mentioned ceremony the festival of bathing the head takes place. The young wife's uncle and aunt or other near relations, repair to the house of the new married couple in due style, and are formally welcomed; the open space near the apartment allotted to them is enclosed on all sides and covered with cloths, a plank being placed on the ground within, the young couple stand on the plank side by side, with their heads covered with a cloth. New earthen pots filled with water are then brought in, and some person on behalf of the husband drops a rupee or a gold pagoda into each of them and presents a gold ring to the wife's uncle, who, having awaited the auspicious moment, takes up the water pots and empties them upon

the heads of the young couple. After this ceremony the visitors are feasted and permitted to depart.

After the lapse of some days or months, the wife's parents pay a formal visit to the young pair, attended by followers, etc. On this occasion they bestow, according to their means, a dowry on their daughter, consisting of goods, lands, etc., and after the lapse of some time again, the new married couple pay a ceremonious visit to the wife's parents.

The washer employed to decorate the bride's house with white cloth on the wedding day, receives five *ridies* from the bridegroom; he also receives five *ridies* for spreading the cloth on the *Magul pórua*, and the person who conducted the bride to the bridegroom's house after the marriage ceremony, pays five *ridies* to the washer who decorated the bridegroom's house for the occasion.—*D'Oyly's Notes*, p. 19.<sup>9</sup>

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9. See Ordinance No. 13, of 1859, to be read with Ords. Nos. 4 and 8 of 1860 and 8 of 1861.—See also Ord. No. 3 of 1870, to be read with No. 9 of 1870, and the *Government Gazette*, No. 3781 of August 27th, 1870.



## THE "AHIGUNṬHIKAYÓ," OR CEYLON GYPSIES.

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

OF the gangs of Gypsies who roam over the continent of India and the Island of Ceylon more than one account has been written.

Regarding Indian Gypsies, more than forty years ago Mr. Sinclair communicated a Paper to the "*Indian Antiquary*,"<sup>1</sup> which dealt with the Wanjári, Lambáni, Wadári, and Vaidya (snake-charmers). These are wandering castes in the Dekkan, who speak Telugu, and would seem to lay claim to Telugu descent.

As far as the ubiquitous Gypsy nomads of India are concerned, the following extracts from an article, which appeared in the "*Pioneer*,"<sup>2</sup> give a fair general description:—

### INDIAN GYPSIES.

Gypsies, as their name indicates, claim the land of the Pharaohs as a birth place. In Germany they are called *Zigeuner*, in Spain *Gitana*, and in Italy *Zingari*: everywhere their sobriquet denotes an Egyptian origin. In point of fact, however, they came far further afield, as a superficial acquaintance with their language will prove.

Language is an unfailing indication of race, and a people whose vocabulary after four hundred years' sojourn in England was thus composed must have originally hailed from broad Hindustán. The inference thus drawn receives confirmation in the Gypsies' manners and appearance, which strongly resemble those of low-caste Hindus. It is a historic fact, too, that towards the close of the fourteenth century, the nomad hordes of Central India were harried well-nigh to extinction by the cruel Timur: and the first appearance of Gypsies in eastern Europe was chronicled a few years later.

While one branch of the fugitives sought the bleak north-west by way of the Euphrates Valley, other found shelter in parts of India where the Tartar's far-stretching band could not reach them. To this day troops of *Nats*, as they are termed, wander over Bengal, thieving, begging, and fortune-telling, precisely as their relatives did in England half a century ago.

1. W. F. Sinclair, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, 1874, p. 184 et seq.

See too *Man*, 1902, No. 126, "*The Origin of the Gypsies*":—There are numbers of so-called gypsy tribes in India. The best known are the *Doms* (whose language is not gypsy). Most of the other "Indian Gypsy" dialects are not languages at all, but are perversions of other well-known Indian languages, much as "thieves' Latin" is a perversion of English. In its grammar *Romany* presents many remarkable points of similarity with the languages of the outer circle, *Kashmiri*, *Stúdhí*, *Maráthí*, *Bihári*, &c.: and it is considered to be settled doctrine among philologists that grammatical structure, and not vocabulary, is the test of linguistic affinity. The evidence of language, therefore, so far as it goes, tends to show that the ancestors of the European gypsies were Indians. But in India the gypsy people have no generic name. They are *Doms*, *Núts*, *Bedías*, &c., and are lost in the crowd of castes and tribes which make up the population of India. *Dom* is probably a tribal name of the same type as *Kol Ho*, &c. meaning "man." In Europe the gypsies are practically still a caste, intermarrying mainly among themselves, living in a peculiar fashion, and bearing a specific name, derived, it is believed, from the account some branches of them gave of themselves as coming from "Little Egypt"—according to Professor Hopf, the Peloponnesus. There is, therefore, no difficulty in distinguishing them from the rest of the population: while in India there are at least a dozen castes who live a more or less gypsy life, and may be described in popular phraseology as "gypsies." If inquiries are to proceed on systematic lines it will be necessary for gypsiologists to explain exactly what they mean when they speak of gypsies in India. To be more precise, we must know by what tests, ethnographic or anthropometric, the gypsies are to be distinguished from other more or less nomadic tribes who wander about in search of pasture, in pursuit of trade, or as carriers of other people's goods. (G. A. Grierson; H. H. Risley).

2 Reprinted in "*The Ceylon Literary*" Vol. V, 1890-91, pp. 141-3.

The Bengal Gypsies call themselves in their own jargon *Kathweas* or *Bhatus*. In the matter of religion *Nats* are professed Hindús. The community ostensibly live by begging; but, like their race everywhere, they wage a ceaseless war against society. All are thieves by nature and education. Their tents, consisting of skins stretched over a rude bamboo framework, are pitched in one of the patches of waste-land to be found near every village, and the adults wander from house to house, begging, and offering charms and simpler ornaments for sale. But a sharp look-out is kept for "unconsidered trifles," and the vulnerable points of each homestead, and its cattle sheds, are carefully noted. When the position has been sufficiently reconnoitred a *coup* takes place.

The Indian Gypsies claim relationship with the Bikanir *Sansias*. The latter are a nomad race, well-known throughout Rajputána, who allege that they separated three centuries ago from the *Ját* community. Their name is, according to tradition, derived from a common ancestor named Satsi Mal, who enjoined on his descendants a life of medicancy, with no settled abode and the use of movable thatched huts (*sharki*). Though spurned by orthodox Hindús, (who bathe if a *Sansia's* shadow falls on them), they are regarded as poor relations by *Játs*, and a voluntary tax for their support is levied in many villages of the clan.

*Sansias* use asses for the transport of their movable habitations, and spend the cool months in travelling throughout Rajputána, lying *perdu* during the fierce heat. They are inveterate beggars and pilferers: marriage with them as with the Gypsies is a sale, the maiden fetching sixty rupees or more. The *Sansias*, for their part, repudiate all connection with the Bengal *Nats*; but the coincidence between the customs of the two communities is too close to be accidental. Gypsy characteristics are unmistakable, however far apart the habitats of this curious race.

On the Gypsies of Ceylon a very complete account, by Mr. J. P. Lewis of the Civil Service, was read before the Ceylon Asiatic Society in 1883. Unfortunately this valuable Paper was lost, and has never been published in full.<sup>3</sup> No apology, therefore, is offered for reproducing here the short synopsis of it—the only record surviving—which was printed in the *Proceedings* (General Meeting, June 27th, 1883,) of the Society:—

### CEYLON GYPSIES.

The so-called "Gypsies" of Ceylon, known among the Sinhalese as *Telingu-karayó* (Telugus), are met with in most parts of the Island, engaged in the occupations of exhibiting tame cobras or monkeys, and performing jugglery. From appearance they are not to be distinguished from ordinary Tamil coolies; so that in the last Census Report they appear to have been classed as Tamils. They are, however, careful to call themselves Telugus, though apparently unable to speak Telugu, Sinhalese and Tamil being used indiscriminately by them.

The two classes of "snake-charmers" and "monkey-dancers" are, according to their own account, quite distinct, the former being much more numerous. They belong to different castes, and each professes to consider the other's occupation degrading! The women of the "monkey-dancers" also practise palmistry.

Their religion appears to partake very much of that of the locality in which they appear—sometimes they are Buddhists, sometimes Sivites. They are perfectly illiterate, and have no desire that their children should be educated. A camp of "snake-charmers" met by me (Mr. J. P. Lewis) in the Southern Province spoke Sinhalese fluently and well, though with a "foreign" accent. They could not speak Telugu, though they said it was their proper language, but spoke Tamil. They asserted "that their ancestors came over in the time of Buddha," and they professed to be Buddhists.

These people never settle down, but spend their lives wandering over the Island—their waggon-shaped *talapat* huts packed up and carried on donkeys' backs. They abhor work of all kinds; but do not appear to be addicted to serious crime. Unlike their brethren in Europe, they are not much given to plunder, though at times having many opportunities; but, occasionally, a crop of *kurakkan* (*Eleusine coracana*) has been found to have sensibly diminished after their departure from the neighbourhood. They have no idea of time; are their own doctors; and their marriage and burial arrangements are of the simplest kind. Polygamy is sometimes practised; but not polyandry. Their marriage rites consist in eating together on the same mat, the bridegroom placing five strings of beads round the neck of the bride. They appear to have a very limited range of personal names, younger brothers being in some cases called by the same names as the elder, and distinguished from the latter only by the addition of "small," "young," etc., prefixed to their names.

3. The Paper was lost in the office of a local Newspaper, to whose Reporter it had been entrusted for the publication of a summary. Perhaps Mr. Lewis may yet be able to recast his Paper from old notes.

The "snake-charmers" profess to be able to catch cobras in the jungle when they please, and to tame them in a few days through their knowledge of "cobra language" and by means of the virtues of certain vegetable substances.

The antidotes in question are the seed and pieces of the stem or root of the *nāgadarana*,<sup>4</sup> and the root of the *elawara*,<sup>5</sup> When these substances are carried on the person, no cobra, it is asserted, will attack their possessor; for, as long as they are in their proximity, the reptile is powerless for harm.<sup>6</sup>

The Gypsies hold to the belief that there are castes among cobras as amongst men.

A family of the "monkey-dancers" made a living for sometime by catching numbers of the Indian kingfisher, the feathers of which they sold to Moormen of Beliatta Bazaar, near Tangalla. Another method of catching birds whose feathers are not of much value is by an ingenious device of coconut midribs smeared with jak-gum.

With the people described above are not to be confounded a class of wandering Moormen called *Āndi*, who fix their headquarters in some town or village and lodge in houses.

To bring together further what has been written about the Gypsies of the Island, it is but fitting to add the latest account. This appeared in the "*Report on the Census of 1911*" (pp. 230-2). Mr. E. B. Denham, C.C.S., there sums up excellently the main characteristics of these ever-restless and undesirable wanderers, whose "room"—to use a homely expression—order-abiding villagers naturally "much prefer" to their "company :—"

Gypsy settlements may not infrequently be met with, especially in the Northern, North-Central, Eastern, and Sabaragamuwa Provinces.<sup>7</sup>

A description of one encampment describes them all. A few low huts made of palmyra leaves, shaped like the hood of a cart, which are pulled down every seven days or sooner,—these gypsies rarely stay in one place more than seven days,—and loaded on a donkey, or a miserable *tat* pony, generally found tied up near the camp. There is a pack of dogs, one or two monkeys, possibly a mongoose or two, and a number of baskets usually containing cobras. The settlement consists of men and women, with a number of children generally scantily and dirtily attired.

The cloth of the men rarely reaches below the knee. They wear their hair long, and usually tied in a knot on the top of the head.

The women are usually fortune-tellers and tattooers. The children sing songs and dance, striking the arms against the body in such a way as to produce a running accompaniment, and ending with a shrill cry made by putting the right hand fingers on the lips and whistling through them.

These gypsies are notorious poultry thieves. They supplement what they can steal or earn by hunting: they will follow up any game with their dogs, and will even run down and kill a leopard.

The Sinhalese speak of all these "gypsies" as *Ahikuntakayās*, which means those who play with the mouth (*tunda*) of serpents, or who sport with serpents or make them dance. The original word from which this term is taken is අහිතුණකිය, (*ahitundika*) or අහිගුණකිය, (*ahigundika*).

This word occurs in the "*Bhuridatta Jātaka*"; where it is said that the Bodhisat in one birth was a cobra with a thousand hoods, and an *Ahitundikayā* or *Ahigundikayā* caught the cobra and played tricks with it. The gods being angry at this cursed the man; ever since the tribe has been nomadic. This story is evidence that the name is an old one.

4. Sinhalese, *nāgadarana*; Tamil, *nāgatalā*; the *Martynia diandra*, a plant resembling gingelly (*sesamum*). The seed of the *nāgadarana* closely resembles in shape the head of a cobra, showing the eyes, expanded hood, and the fangs; while the stem is not unlike the body of the snake with its scales and peculiar markings. It is probably owing to these resemblances that the plant is credited with mysterious powers as a snake antidote.—*J. P. L.*

5. Variety of the Sinhalese *wara*, Tamil *erukku*, which is the *Calotropis gigantea*, the *mudar* of Bengal.—*J. P. L.*

6. An experiment was made with the object of ascertaining what grounds there were for this assertion. A piece of *clawara* was held near the head of a cobra which was sitting up in an attitude of attack. "The snake certainly seemed to become suddenly cowed, and it subsided gradually into the basket. The same result did not follow subsequently when a twig picked up at random from the spot was substituted." (Tennent, *Natural History of Ceylon*). The *wara* is said to be a deadly poison, but forms an ingredient in several Medicinal Oils (*Journal C. A. S.* 1865-6, pp. 157, 166, *et seq.*)

7. Particulars have been ascertained in regard to fifteen gangs, who were enumerated in their temporary encampments. These numbered 291 in all, 152 males and 139 females. Their race was given as Tamil; 167 were entered as Indian Tamils, and 124 as Ceylon Tamils; 107 were born in India. Their occupations were given as beggars, snake-charmers, fortune-tellers, astrologers, goat-herd exhibitors of trained monkeys, and showmen displaying pictures of the war between Rāma and Rāvana. All gave Hindūism as their religion, except three gangs (from the Madura district) numbering 64, who stated that they had none.—*E. B. D.*

These *Ahikuntakayás* are said to be of Telugu descent, and are known in many parts as *Kuravans*. Some of these gangs have been in Ceylon for many years—in some cases perhaps for two or three generations, and they now claim to be of Veddá descent and to have come from Tamankaduwa. There is no doubt, however, that they are nearly all *Koravas* or *Kuravans*, or descendants of *Koravas*, a gypsy tribe found all over the Tamil country.<sup>8</sup> The largest gangs go back to India every few years.

In Ceylon, as in India, these people never come into the Law Court. They settle their disputes amongst themselves, and have their own Headmen and Court, who inflict fines—usually paid in arrack consumed by the gang. The post of Headman is not hereditary. He is elected by the tribe, and the decisions of the tribunal are rarely resisted; though the *Koravas* have a bad character for quarrelling amongst themselves.

Their religion consists in spreading rice cooked with milk before an image of a Hindú god—generally *Valli Ammá*, or *Kandaswámi*, or the village deity—and lighting coconut-oil lamps round the spot. The rice is then distributed amongst those present. Friday is usually the day selected for this ceremony, which appears to be regarded in the light of a propitiatory sacrifice. One of the *Koravas* acts as the priest at all religious ceremonies.

Their marriage customs in Ceylon are similar to those followed by them in India. Marriages are arranged when the children are quite young. The promise is uttered aloud before members of the gang: after which the bridegroom's father in token thereof distributes arrack to those present, who are regarded as witnesses. If the marriage does not take place, the party at fault is fined. The dowry usually consists of a snake in a rattan basket, a donkey, dog, or a knife.

In virtue of his special work, (covering a period of twenty years and upwards), in the Civil Service of the Ceylon Government, as Archæological Commissioner (1890-1912), the present writer could not but frequently encounter these Gypsies, in the course of his "periprinations" throughout the length and breadth of the North-Central Province—an area of 4,000 square miles—from the Kunchuttu Kóralé on the north to the Kiralawa Kóralé (bordering the Mátalé District) south, and from the Négampaha and Vilachchi Kóralés—the western limits of Nuwara-kaláviya—as far eastwards as the scattered hamlets of Tamankaduwa.

Gangs of them have been "struck" under all sorts of conditions—it may be whilst "trekking" with donkeys, dogs, portable belongings, and the usual stock in trade (monkeys, cobras, etc.), to some other camping-ground,—or more frequently as bivouacked on "road reservations" and similar open spaces,—or, perchance, when begging in outlying villages (where they are not unwisely restricted, during their temporary halt, to the "*tis-bamba*," the thirty-fathom belt surrounding fenced-in dwellings forming the "*gan-goda*," or hamlet),—and, even on one occasion, by great luck, a party emerging from a jungle belt, hunters and dogs in full career after game "with hark and whoop and wild halloo."

For "merry it is in the good greenwood, when the deer sweeps by, and the hounds are in cry, and the hunters' cheer "is ringing."

"If I'd my way, if I'd my will, it's free I'd be and roaming  
As wild things are, as fairies are, where day gets down to gloaming."

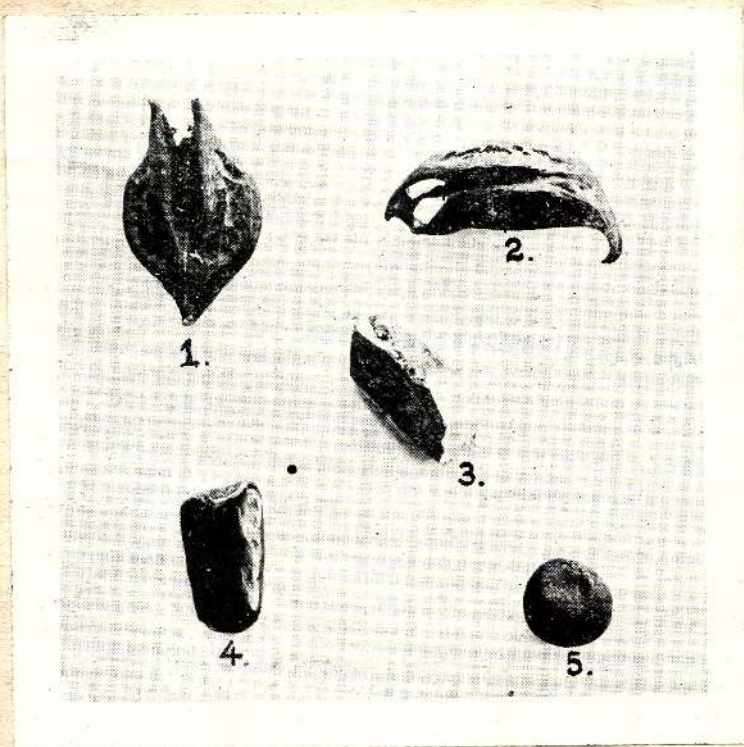
"Easy live and quiet die" is the motto adopted throughout their happy-go-lucky life of vagabondage by this restless tribe of Indian "Ismaelites," whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them, albeit peacefully. And who shall say that, on the whole, they be not "good honest men and true, saving a little shifting for their living. God help them!"

8. They preserve nearly all the customs of the *Koravas*, notably in the women wearing a necklace of black beads instead of the *táli* necklace. Once upon a time a bridegroom, who forgot to bring the *táli*, was sent to procure the necessary gold pendant from a goldsmith; but the young man did not return. Since then a string of beads has taken the place of the *táli*.—E. B. D.

The accompanying photographs (taken in the North-Central Province)<sup>9</sup> will serve to illustrate the type of race of these Ceylon Gypsies, men, women and children (Plate XIV, C, D), as well as the primitive form of their palm-leaf shelters (Plate XIII, B); whilst proof of the dangerous quarry (leopard) they do not fear to run down and kill, without the aid of fire arms, is afforded by, Plate XIII, A.

Mr. Lewis has mentioned two of the "antidotes" employed by these "snake-charmers." The writer in 1892, when on a circuit in the Kunchuttu Kóralé of Nuwara-kaláviya, induced a Gypsy "snake-charmer," exhibiting his skill upon a newly caught cobra on the outskirts of the village,<sup>10</sup> to part with the four remedies he was actually putting to use. The man held the piece of *elawara* in the crook of his bent knee, which he turned sideways towards the snake and oscillated to and fro: this seemed to deter the reptile from striking.

The photograph given below shows the very "prophylactics" then secured—(1), (2) *nága-darana* seed, (3) *elawara*, (4) "snake-stone," and (5) piece of some medicinal substance. Should the cobra happen to inflict a bite, the "snake-stone"<sup>8</sup> (4)—apparently a piece of charred bone polished—is immediately clapped to the wound, and subsequently soaked in milk to discharge any venom absorbed by it. The medicine (5) is rubbed into the wound after the application of the "snake-stone."



9. Plate XIV, C, D and Plate XIII, B: Photographs of Gypsies and their "leaf-camp" in the Négama fields, Négampaha Kóralé, (September, 1895). Plate XIII, A: Photograph of two gypsy hunters, with dead leopard brought to the Anurádhapura Kacheheri in 1891. The outdoor life accounts for the healthy appearance of adults and children alike. Their dress is that of the ordinary native, except that the women affect a profusion of cheap bangles, and are obviously content to leave their locks unkempt.

10. Wattéwa, Kunchuttu Kóralé, (April 11th, 1892.)



# AHIGUNTHIKAYO.



A



B.

H. C. P. Bell, Photo.

"Times of Ceylon," half-tone block.





C.



D.

H. C. P. Bell, Photo.

"Times of Ceylon," half-tone block.



"AHIGUNTHIKA WATTHUN": THE STORY OF THE SNAKE-CHARMER.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Denham has referred to the "*Bhuridatta Játaka*" as a source of the Sinhalese appellation of "*Ahiguntakayó*" for these Gypsies. Another authority—"the Snake-Charmer's Story" from the "*Rasaváhini*"—is given below in translation :—

In this *Bhadda Kappa*,<sup>12</sup> there was born into the world before our Blessed<sup>13</sup> One, a Teacher<sup>14</sup> Kassapa, who caused men and gods to cross the Ocean of *Sansára*.<sup>15</sup> Having finished performing all the duties of a Buddha, he attained to extinction of being in *Sétavya* by that element of *Nibbána* in which there is no *upádi*,<sup>16</sup> like the sun sunk behind *Attha*.<sup>17</sup>

At that time people inhabiting Jambudipa met together and (provided), for the purpose of piling up outside (the *dágaba*), one gold brick each, valued at ten million (pieces of money) and one cubit broad, and for the purpose of filling the inside, one brick each, valued at fifty million pieces, and did the clay work with *manosila*.<sup>18</sup> Thus they built a *dágaba* of one *yójana* in height, and paid great honour (to it).

At that time a snake-charmer (*Ahigunthikó*) who earned his livelihood by causing snakes to perform in villages, towns, and royal cities, came to a certain village. Having received presents of different kinds from the dwellers therein, who were pleased with him, he took up his abode with them, and remained in that same village, enjoying varied sustenance.

Now the people of the village generally took personal interest in the Three Gems<sup>19</sup>; and at night-time, when going to rest, they used to say "*Namo Buddháyá*"! ("Adoration to Buddha.") The snake-charmer, being an unbeliever, did not feel the influences of the Three Gems. Therefore, when he heard that saying of theirs, he used to make sport of it and, by way of ridicule, repeat "*Namo Buddháyá*!"

So one day, as he was roaming here and there in search of a snake suitable for his performance, a certain *Nága King* came to the shrine of Kassapa Buddha, and after making obeisance and offerings, entered an ant-hill. Seeing him the snake-charmer went there in haste, and muttered a charm to catch that *Nága King*. On hearing the charm he (the *Nága King*) became enraged, and pursued (the man), determined to kill him. When he saw the *Nága*, the snake-charmer began to run, and, while running fast, stumbled over a stone and fell. As he fell, from familiarity with the expression of ridicule he had been wont to use, he cried out (involuntarily) "*Namo Buddháyá*"!<sup>20</sup> This saying of his dropped like balm into the ears of the *Nága King*, who was chasing him. Thereupon he (the *Nága King*), mastering his rage, out of veneration for the Three Gems, said :—"Friend! fear not. By the influence of the invocation to the Three Gems am I bound : therefore, it were wrong for me to bite thee. Today I am pleased with thee—nay I even give a gift unto thee ; take it." So saying he gave the man three golden flowers.

Thus the Three Gems satisfy the heart of the most venomous snakes.

And here (mark) the subject in stanzas :—

- i. The word "Buddha" is excellent ; the term "Buddha" is supreme ; nothing else in the world is like unto it, delightful to the ear.
- ii. The word "Dhamma" is excellent ; the term "Dhamma" is supreme ; nothing else in the world is like unto it, delightful to the ear.
- iii. The word "Sangha" is excellent ; the term "Sangha" is supreme ; nothing else in the world is like unto it, delightful to the ear.

11. Translation (hitherto unpublished) by the late B. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar, Chief Sinhalese Translator to the Government.  
 12. *Bhadda*, "good," "auspicious" ; *Kappa*=*Kalpa*, a vast period of time: a name given to the present *Kalpa* during which four Buddhas have appeared, Kásyapa being the third, and Gautama the fourth: a fifth Buddha, Maitreya, has yet to come.  
 13. *Bhagavá*: "venerable" "blessed," generally used as an epithet of a Buddha, as one who has overcome sin. "The Blessed one" is an expression for Gautama Buddha.  
 14. *Sattá*: a frequent epithet of a Buddha, as being the instructor of gods and men.  
 15. *Sansára*: "continued existence," "repeated births," "passing from one state of existence to another."  
 16. *Upádi*: a name for the *skandhas*, or five elements of existence, viz:—form, sensation, perception discrimination, and consciousness.  
 17. *Attha*: an imaginary rock behind which the sun is supposed to set.  
 18. *Manosila* (called *hírityal* in Sinhalese): yellow orpiment.  
 19. *The Three Gems*: term applied to the three religious treasures of the Buddhists, viz:—Buddha, his Doctrine, his Priesthood.  
 20. The writer, when touring in 1897, similarly heard the *Patabendá*, or Headman of the Tamankaduwa Veddás (Talawarigé Muttuwá), give sudden vent in Sinhalese to as forcible an "expression"—not of "ridicule" or sanctity!—when stepping back on a rock (Konattegoda gala) into a small leaf-hidden *gal-rala* to avoid contact with a snake. It "dropped like balm into the ears of" a posse of very tired coolies, to whose innate sense of peculiar humour the magical word, coupled with the ludicrous mishap to the *Patabendá*, strongly appealed.

iv. If the word of Buddha, which produces all happiness albeit difficult to be acquired, exists ever in anyone's mouth, verily his is the mouth.

v. If the word of Buddha, which is difficult to be acquired but which produces all happiness, exists in anyone's mind, verily his is the mind.

vi. If the ear of any man hears the word of Buddha, which is difficult to be acquired but confers, all happiness, verily his is the ear.

vii. 'Tis, in truth, the only armour of the body ; 'tis, in truth, the Wish-conferring Gem ; 'tis in truth the Cow of Plenty ; 'tis, in truth, the Wish-conferring Tree.

viii. Even a terrific snake of this sort, possessed of *hala hala* <sup>21</sup> venom, hearing the word " Buddha " saved (a man's life), being pacified thereby.

ix. Moreover, he gave three golden flowers, very thick and costly. Behold the greatness of the influence of the word " Buddha " !

Thereafter the Nāga King, having given him three golden flowers, spoke thus :—" Friend ! Offer one of these for the sake of Buddhist Merit for thyself, one for the sake of Merit for me, and, as for the remaining one, earn a living by means of it. Be diligent in almsgiving, etc., supporting wife and children, and living happily as long as life endures ; occupy not thyself with mean actions ; renounce thine unbelief." Having given this advice he departed. The snake-charmer, rejoicing, offered two flowers at the shrine in the way directed, and having obtained one thousand (coins) by means of the other (flower) supported his wife and children, gave gifts to the poor, to wayfarers, beggars, etc., abandoned the occupation of snake-charmer, continually heaped up Merit and attained Heaven at the end of his term of life.

x. How much more should not the mass of people, who know the power of Buddha call on the name of the Conqueror, <sup>22</sup> giving up other work, seeing that a being who had not known even a little of Buddha's power, has thus received special wealth by proclaiming his name.

21. *Hala hala* : a deadly poison so called.

22. *Conqueror* : term applied to Buddha, who claimed to have obtained complete victory over sin.



## A NOTE ON THE BANISHMENT OF KING DUTU GEMUNU.

By GEORGE P. SAMARASEKARA.

(THE following note was found among the papers of the late Mr. H. W. G. P. Samarasekara, and was obtained by me for posthumous publication from his father, Muhandiram H. G. P. Samarasekara of Pussellawa. The writer was, at the time of its composition, a student at the Ceylon Medical College and died 2½ years later, at the age of 27, when pursuing his medical studies in London. The untimely death occasioned poignant grief and disappointment to the wide circle of his admirers, both here and in England.

His gifts were so versatile that, during his short career in England, he became quite a social favourite and formed some interesting literary friendships, while at the same time gaining distinction in his professional studies. He left behind a number of short poems which it is hoped will soon be published and add one more claim to interest in this youthful "inheritor of unfulfilled renown."

As far as the paper is concerned, its own intrinsic merit and the fascination of the subject will render any words of mine unnecessary to commend it to the reader. During a recent holiday ramble in the Kotmale District, I myself was privileged to visit most of the spots referred to in it, and of hearing from narrators sprung from the soil the long-cherished anecdotes of the heroic Prince.

The scene is one which no Sinhalese can gaze upon without emotion, and it powerfully recalls the words of Dr. Johnson: "Far from me and from my friends be such rigid philosophy as may conduct us unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery or virtue." It is, therefore, not the feeling occasionally displayed, but the critical restraint with which the subject is handled which calls for special notice in the paper.

I would add only one "fact." There is a tradition, preserved to us by Mr. Lawrie in his "Gazetteer," that the Prince, during his exile at Kotagapitiya, was married to the daughter of the Gammahe. If this be, indeed, a fact, an interesting speculation arises as to whether the son of Dutu Gemunu, Prince Sali,—who, according to the "Mahavansa," renounced his claim to the throne owing to his infatuation for a low-caste damsel,—was an issue of this marriage which, at the present day, would be termed morganatic.)

W. SAMARASINGHE.

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These simple stanzas occur in a metrical version, heard in the countryside, of the account given in the *Mahāvansa*, and explain the well-known cause of Dutu Gemunu's voluntary banishment from the court of his cowardly father, King Kāwan Tissa of Ruhuna.<sup>1</sup> In one particular, however, the second verse is in error: it says, in the third line, that the Prince departed with his men of war, whereas we know that he left all by himself.

This clearly appears in the *Mahāvansa* which says: "He (the Prince) indignant with his parent, retiring (from his court) fled to (Kōta in) the Malaya district," [*Wijesinha's translation, p. 96.*]

The *Rājāvaliya* adds: "The prince, hearing of his father's resolution, fled to Gilumala,<sup>2</sup> (Gilimale), and, having hid himself there for several days, fled from there to the place Cotmale (Kotmale)" [*Upham's translation, Vol. II, pp. 203-204.*]

In neither of these accounts do we find mention of any men or attendants that accompanied him to Kotmale, the scene of his banishment; on the contrary, it is apparent that he did the journey alone. This is a significant fact and will help us, a little later, when we come to consider what manner of life the Prince led in the fastnesses of Kotmale. Indeed, this note is but a feeble attempt to throw some little light on this obscure but most interesting passage in the life of King Dutu Gemunu.

But for the two scanty references, already given, to the *Mahāvansa* and the *Rājāvaliya* (later writings are merely copies), we have no known authentic record. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that we are directing our thoughts to events that took place in the second century before the Christian Era; and the consequent difficulties are well-nigh insurmountable, so that, in the absence of any literature or any discovered inscription, we have, in our search for facts, to analyse the existing folklore and oral traditions of Kotmale and the surrounding country.

It will at once be objected that these do not afford a safe and sure guide, inasmuch as they are bound up with superstition and embellishment. What tradition is not? It will be my clear purpose, therefore, sedulously to eliminate, as far as possible, this perplexing factor, and simply present what appears to be acceptable as true.

There is another reason for approaching the question with some confidence, namely, the existence of places and objects (in Kotmale) with which the valiant Prince's name is associated. How comes it that an old man of ninety years—to take but one case out of several such—should come forward and swear that what he relates is the same as was narrated to him by his aged grand-parents, while they lived? And did not they learn the same things from theirs?

But it would be useless to pretend, on the other hand, that all that these honest but simple villagers assert as true is uniformly reliable or is of equal value. Exemplifying their credulity thereby, they would have us believe that Dutu Gemunu possessed the power of working miracles and wrought deeds of superhuman strength! So far did he excel his fellows that these people would attribute to him mysterious powers.

1. Ruhuna was bounded on the north and west by the Maha-weli-ganga and the Kalu-ganga, and on the east and south by the great ocean. The mountainous district of this division of Ceylon was given the name Malaya.

2. "Gilimale is a village in the Sabaragamuwa Province. It is situated at a distance of seven miles from Ratnapura by the road leading south-east from Colombo towards Adam's Peak. Here may be found now (1853) two small houses, which serve as a rest-house." John Pereira, *Helado Rajantiya*, p. 8.



Little wonder they do this, when, as a matter of historic fact, Dutu Gemunu's prowess, heroism, chivalry and might have won for him immortal fame. Byron's words ring true of him who is the foremost hero of the Sinhalese race :

" For there are deeds which must not pass away,  
 " And names that must not wither, though the earth  
 " Forgets her empires, with a just decay,  
 " The enslavers and the enslaved, their death and worth."

Bearing the reservations, which I have spoken of, in mind, I shall now detail briefly the events that appear to have occurred between the time of his hurried departure from his father's capital, as a banished wanderer, and his return to freedom and to glory.

Bidding farewell to his Mother, Queen Vihára Mahá Dévi, whom he loved intensely, and who perhaps more than any other inspired his genius, Gámani, still in years but a little better than a boy, left the palace, and quickly passed out at a gate of the city of Mágama, to face the world alone for a time. To the North-west he kept steadily on till one day, weary and footsore, he reached the hamlet of Gilimale, where some friends protected him during the next few days.

Mayhap he even worshipped at the shrine of Buddha (of whom he was a devoted disciple, as the works of his reign attest) which crowns the summit of Adam's Peak and stands so near to this spot. Had he done so, he would in all probability have gone disguised, for it was a resort of pilgrims from all parts, and he would have run every risk otherwise of being recognized and taken captive to his angry father.<sup>3</sup>

After the sojourn at Gilimale, he journeyed straight for Kotmale, set in the heart of the mountains and inaccessible withal. But for days together he had to wander in the tractless forest, meeting beasts and birds at every turn. The elephant, the buffalo, the cheetah, and the boar held high court in this domain and struck terror into the hearts of lesser creatures.

But the dauntless Prince neither feared nor paused as he cut his way through, his trusty weapons dangling by his side. After many trials, dangers, and hardships by night and day, he emerged from the woods and rejoiced to breathe the fresh air of the fields of Kotmale. At last his mind was at rest.

Having made a wide detour of the country, he ascended the mountain chain near what is now called New Peacock Estate. On one side of this place is a cave called *Halgollé-gal-lena*,<sup>4</sup> where, it is believed, he rested for a while. He now began to retrace his steps along the ridge of the range till he came to the lofty and mist-blown peak of Moneragala.<sup>5</sup> The view from here is of the most magnificent description, and is perhaps one of the best in Ceylon, stretching over, as it does, very varied scenery right to the western sea.

He then descended on the Kotmale side of the mountain, and hid his bow and quiver and other implements in a cave called *Áwudha-thiboo-gal-lena*, at the same time assuming the guise of a forlorn wayfarer. Hurrying down the slope, he rounded the last spur of the mountain called

3. Having angered his father, by reason of the insulting gift of female ornaments which Gámani had sent him for his cowardice in refusing to let him fight Elála, "he acquired from that day the appellation 'Dutta (undutiful) Gámant'." The common form is Dutu Gemunu. Before, however, the King could lay hands on him, he fled into banishment.

4. This cave is fairly large, and fifty men could take shelter in it. At the present time, it is said to be a haunt of the coolies from neighbouring estates, who gamble on pay-day!

5. This is now a trigonometrical station. There is a curious legend that the peak (also called Peacock) was named after the peacock that by its ominous cries, forbade Buddha from planting his foot-step here. The fact is that it has derived its name from the fancied resemblance of the summit to the bird in question.

*Pareiyangala*. No sooner had he done this than he struck the foot-path leading to the neighbouring village of *Kotagapitiya*,<sup>6</sup> which, in point of romantic beauty, has abundant charms. With the towering mountains behind and, in full view, the fertile expanse of Kotmale in front, it is built on one of the most majestic of sites. Yet it is most modest and serene.

Here it was that the valiant Prince lived while he remained in banishment and outside the pale of his father's influence. Even today the villagers talk lovingly<sup>7</sup> of him after the lapse of two thousand and two hundred years! On coming into the village, he sought shelter under the roof of a poor widow, who had a son of like age with himself. He asked for food and shelter. Having supplied his wants, and taking pity on this stranger, she took him in. In order to express his lasting gratitude he promised to work for her, and full well did he keep his word. She soon liked him as her own son.

Yet in the springtime of youth, he found no difficulty in joining in the work and play of the village lads. To all the world he was but a peasant boy. But it did not take him long to excel them all in everything, and he proved it by cheerfully undertaking the hardest piece of work: cordially would he lend a hand to anybody who needed it. One day he would till the ground<sup>8</sup> till his hands would become horny; on another, he would amuse himself by forging his own tools at the village smithy.

Commonly he would take his turn on the mountain side as a cowherd.<sup>9</sup> While the cattle fed, he would seat himself on some overhanging rock<sup>10</sup> and ruminate on the past, and, what was more urgent, the all-important future. His eagle eye would scan the broad landscape, scarcely omitting anything. Lovingly would he contemplate the fortunes of the country, when thus alone and undisturbed. And so, the day closing, he would lead the flock home, and fill the widow's heart with joy by his return. Between them, the two lads contrived to make her life and home happy. Nor were his spare days left unoccupied. He would build rock-spouts,<sup>11</sup> at which the

6. මුළු දිගට නම් පිහිටි පැළුම් විස්ස, as it was then called. This village is about 3 or 4 miles distant from Pussellawa. There can be no doubt that the Prince lived here. One family (the reputed descendants of the foster-mother of Dutu Gemunu), indeed, is said to be in possession of certain priceless relics, e.g., his *mamoty* and his metal rice-plate. This may or may not be true. But the men themselves deny possession and affirm that both these articles are at the bottom of a tiny lake called *Hedille Wewa*.

7. මුළු පුටුමැවුණු හාමුපුරුමෙරු, and similar expressions of endearment are common in this and other neighbouring villages of Kotmale. What a testimony to his high character!

8. Down in the valley and by the side of the present Gansabhawa court, there is a fine paddy-field called *Rajatalawa*. This is said to have been made by the unaided efforts of Dutu Gemunu himself. It is now the property of the *Ratamahatmaya*. *Weethapenahela* is the steep route along which the grain was carried.

9. In front of the house where he used to live (*Weedori-gedara*) was an enclosure for the calves. This was built of large slabs of rock, which still remain. The field in which these are found is therefore called *Pattiyé Kumbura* (field of the cattle-shed). This enclosure is said to have been made by the Prince.

10. ගල පිට ගල (*Gala-pita-gala*) is said to have been frequently used by him. This is at the foot of Bindaragala (Monaragala range). As the name implies, a rock (roughly about 7 feet high and 30 in circumference) balances itself on a larger one below. The two rocks, being quite separate and placed on the steep mountain side, excite wonder and curiosity. It is certainly a remarkable sight. The local explanation is that Dutu Gemunu placed them there in that fashion! Though not so wonderful as the Sampan Pagoda rock of Burma, or the Rocking Stone of Tandil, Argentina, both of which rock to and fro, yet it claims interest. The explanation given of the Argentine wonder perhaps applies equally to all these cases, namely, that by a long process "it has probably been formed by the action of wind and rain in triturating and removing by degrees the more friable parts of the parent rock, leaving behind the harder-gritted core."

11. *Ranamune* and *Raja* or *Nagaha-pihilla* are examples. Near the latter are two curiously carved stones—one on the field (already alluded to) called *Rajatalawa*, and the other by the spout itself. The carvings are distinctly old and point to a habit at the bath, which is now in disuse or nearly so. The marks are simply holes arranged in this manner:—



This is the explanation given:—A and A' are for the knees to rest in. B is for a stuff called *Nanu* (a viscid preparation of fruits and herbs to wash the head with); the hole C is for another material. The stones are called මුහු මුහු. Of the ancient character of the carvings there is no doubt. Though the habit of using *Nanu* is, happily, not yet dead in villages, the use of stone-basins such as these, has long since ceased.

people might bathe comfortably. These and many other unnamed kindnesses endeared him to the men, women and children alike, till he became the best loved fellow in the village, as in after years he came to be the darling of the nation.

Among King Dutu Gemunu's greatest deeds should be recorded the simple acts of these days. Nor was he negligent of the duties of religion; it was as much his solace during this period as it was the mainspring, in later life, of all his actions.<sup>12</sup> The very *Bó-Maluwa* that one sees in the village, and set in the midst of the field called *Galaweta-pēla*,<sup>13</sup> is solemnly declared to be of the Prince's own making. The villagers still declare how, after devotions were over and flowers had been offered, Dutu Gemunu would draw aside a crowd of eager listeners and would tell them of the country's plight and fortunes.

He thus instilled into their hearts and minds a deep and abiding patriotism. So, too, he proved his worth and wisdom. He hid from them, however, the fact of his high birth. Little did they imagine that he was of royal lineage, till one day, on receiving a secret message from his friends in Ruhuna, that the King was no more and that he was now the rightful heir to the kingdom, he revealed himself, in costly apparel, to his humble foster-mother and the village folk as the son of King Káwan Tissa.

They shed tears of mingled joy and sorrow when he took his departure, to meet his brother Prince Tissa, who had thought to sit on his father's throne, but who, on being chastised by Dutu Gemunu, gave up everything to his rule.

Then followed the era of victory and the utter defeat of the hero Elála. It is said that long afterwards when the Sinhalese power had been fully re-established and peace ruled the land, King Dutu Gemunu invited the people of Kotmale, to a great feast, in grateful remembrance of his sojourn among them.

It has been attempted above to give as correct a description as is possible to me of King Dutu Gemunu's banishment in Kotmale, which should form the objective of every admirer of the great hero; but, more than this, it still awaits the advent of the scholar and the antiquarian, who would be able to bring the events of these distant days together more satisfactorily than this faltering note could effect.

12. For example, he built the Mirisaveti Dágaba, the Ruwanveli Sēya Dágaba, the great Lóha Maha Prásadhaya, and improved vastly the Mahiyangana Dágaba.

13. This field adjoins the field (already mentioned) called Pattiye Kumbura. If, as the villagers assert, the Bó-tree was planted by the Prince, it is one of the oldest trees in Ceylon, second only perhaps to the historic tree in Anurádhapura: this is doubtful.



## Notes & Queries.

### HOW IS THE PEARL FORMED?

By K. W. ATUKÖRALA.

“සන්නපතා යසිසංසථිතසා පයසො නමාපිනිශ්‍රයනෙ  
මුකතාහාර තයානදෙව නලිනි පතුසථිතං රාජනෙ  
සථානතං සාගර ශුකති සමුපවගනං නජ්ජායනෙ මෛකතිකං  
ප්‍රායෙනාධිම මධ්‍යමොන්නම ගුණා සංසථිතො ජායනෙ.”

#### Translation.

**A** DROP of water on a heated iron completely disappears (loses even its name);  
The same drop of water, fallen on a lotus leaf, shines like a pearl;  
Should the same come in touch with (fall into the mouth of) the pearl-oyster under the  
constellation සා (sá), it produces the pearl;  
Thus, the low, the ordinary, and the high-minded (among mankind) are generally the  
product of association.

The above stanza appears in the *Subhāsita Ratna Bhāndāgāraya*. It is an extract from  
a poem by Sri Māgha.

What is the accepted scientific theory as regards the process of formation of the pearl?  
How does the method given above compare with the modern theory? What is the peculiar  
significance of the Constellation Sá (සා නැකත) ?

### SINHALESE ROYAL OBSEQUIES.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

**I**T is a matter for regret that none of the accounts we have of the various ceremonies per-  
formed at a Sinhalese royal cremation is at once authentic and complete.

Dr. Davy (p. 161) gives, indeed, some very interesting particulars, but not a few of them  
are obviously inaccurate. This, however, is what he says, though he does not disclose the  
source of his information.

When it was publicly announced that the King was dead, a tent was fixed before the  
Hall of Audience, in which, on a piece of iron and a basin of mixed metal, a man stood by the  
side of a heap of paddy, and beat the mourning drum, the public signal of the event—warning

the chiefs to dress themselves in black, and authorizing the people to give vent to their grief and cry and lament aloud.

Till the body of the deceased monarch was consumed, it was contrary to custom for the prince to take any refreshment. The corpse, enclosed in a coffin, was carried in a palanquin to the Adahana-Maluwa, attended by the chiefs, their wives, and daughters. As the funeral procession moved on, two women, standing on a platform carried by four men, threw rice over the coffin. The priests of the different temples of Buddha were assembled at the burying ground, and having offered up the proper prayer for the happiness of the deceased monarch in his metempsychosis, were presented with cloths that were laid on the coffin, to be given them for discharging their pious office.

The coffin was now placed in a kind of wooden cage, and was surrounded with wood ; a person broke its lid with an axe, and a relation of the deceased set fire to the pile, which was fed with oil, pitch, sandalwood, and various perfumes. When the whole was enveloped in flame, the chiefs retired, went to the great square, and informing the prince that the body was burnt, were ordered by him to go to their homes and purify themselves.

The mourning tom-tom was sounded and the funeral fire was kept alive till the eleventh day, when the chiefs proceeded to the burying ground with offerings of betel, arecanut, and such articles of diet as might be presented to a king with propriety.

The fire was now extinguished by pouring on it milk and coconut water. Some of the calcined bones were put into a pot or urn of earthenware and covered and sealed, while the rest of the bones and ashes were collected and deposited in a grave, with the presents brought for the deceased king. The urn was placed on the head of a man masked and covered all over with black, who, holding a sword in his hand and mounted on an elephant or horse, and attended by the chiefs, proceeded to the Mahaweli-ganga.

At the Katugastota ferry two small canoes made of the "kakoonga" were prepared, lashed together, and covered with boughs in the form of a bower. The masked bearer entering the canoe was drawn towards the mid-channel of the river by two men swimming, who, when they approached the deepest part of the stream, pushed the canoe forward and hastily retreated. Now the mask, having reached the proper station, with the sword in one hand and the urn in the other, divided the urn with the sword, and in the act plunged into the stream, and diving, came up as far as possible below, and landing on the opposite side, disappeared.

The canoes were allowed to float down the river ; the horse or elephant was carried across and left to graze at large, never to be used any more ; and the women who threw the rice over the coffin, with the men who carried them, were also transported to the other side of the river, under the strict prohibition of recrossing.

The chiefs returned to the great square, informed the prince that the ceremony was ended, and were again ordered to purify themselves.

If a near relation of the deceased monarch, the prince himself put on, and ordered the court to wear, deeper mourning than before ; but, if not, he threw off his mourning, with the exception of a black handkerchief, which he continued to wear about his head.

Mr. Paranátela gave Sir Archibald Lawrie a concise, if graphic, description, but it did not go far enough ; it omitted to mention some material incidental facts which we know from other sources.

According to Mr. Paranátela, the cremation during the Kandyan period took 12 days to complete. The people who performed the ceremony were from the village of Alupola (a place of ashes), now Aruppola. After the 12th day, four new pots were brought by the people of the Gabadáwa or royal store. It was the duty of the Aruppola people to separate the burnt fragments into parts, viz., *first*, the bones ; *second*, the ashes ; *third*, the melted jewellery.

A decorated loft was erected ; a man selected from the Gabadáwa, dressed in white cloth and with his mouth muffled, ascended the loft carrying the pot of ashes on his head and a sword in his hand. The loft was carried by four people of Gahalagamboda to a spot on the banks of the Mahaweli-ganga.

The loft was then lowered and the man of the Gabadáwa, carrying the pot on his head got into the river ; and when he had reached the middle, he suddenly dived and broke the pot under the water, by striking it with the sword, when the fragments mingled with the water, and he then swam to the opposite bank and did not dare appear on this side for a space of three months.

The loft was called *kural*, and the man received the epithet of *kuralnangawapuwala* ; and neither he nor his descendants were ever after associated with. The three pots containing the bones and melted jewellery were considered as relics of the deceased ; and, in course of time, these were deposited under a *dágaba* built over them at the royal expense.

The privilege of being cremated at the Adhahana-Maluwa (opposite Trinity College, Kandy), was accorded only to the King, his mother, and his eldest sister ; other members of the royal family were cremated at Bandagetenna, immediately behind the Ráma Vihára at Udawattakelle.

One at least of the important facts incidental to a royal cremation, which this account does not give and about which Davy is equally silent, is to be found in the following entry in the Judicial Commissioners' Diary <sup>1</sup> :—

The adopted son of Talmuke Palihéna Rála was a son of his wife. He was called Kudá Palihéna Rála. On the death of King Kirti Sri in 1780 A.D., he and his adopted father were ordered by Angammana Adigár to carry the shield at the funeral ; they refused (and ran away from Kandy), because any chief who took part in a king's funeral could hold no office in the succeeding king's reign, being held polluted. Their lands were confiscated and were given to Dulléwe Lékam, but were afterwards restored.

Now, (1) is this statement about "chiefs" and "pollution" correct ? (2) who first ordained the law, if true ? (3) were there others as courageous as Kudá Palihéna Rála and his son ?

Quite different, and of quaint and peculiar interest, was the custom prevalent in Ceylon a thousand years previously (in the 9th-10th centuries) as observed by two Mohamedan visitors<sup>2</sup> to the Island at the time.

Says one of them <sup>3</sup> :—

When a King dies in this Island of Sarandib (Ceylon), they lay his body on an open chariot, in such a manner that his head hangs backwards till it almost touches the ground, and his hair is upon the earth ; and this chariot is followed by a woman with a broom in her hand, therewith to sweep dust on the face of the deceased, while she cries out with a loud voice.

1. 10th July, 1817 ; 4th and 11th November, 1819.

2. See *The Travels of Two Mohamedans through India and Chína in the 9th century*, translated from the Arabic by the Abbé Renaudot.

3. The description of his voyage was, according to M. Renaudot, "written in the year of the Hejra 237," that is, in A. D. 851.

'O man, behold your King, who was yesterday your master, but now the empire he exercised over you is vanished and gone; he is reduced to the state you behold, having left the world, and the arbiter of death hath withdrawn his soul; reckon therefore no more upon the uncertain hopes of life.'

This proclamation, or some other like it, they continue for three days; after which the dead body of the King is embalmed with sandalwood, camphire and saffron, and is then burned, and the ashes are scattered abroad to the wind.

It is a universal custom all over the Indies to burn the bodies of the dead. The Island of Sarandib is the last of the Islands of the Indies. When they burn a King, it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire, and to burn with him; but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

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## THE SHATVARNA KODIYA.

By K. W. ATUKÓRALA.

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**T**HE Shatvarna Kodiya (මව්වනේ කොඩිය)—six-coloured flag—is used in all Buddhist festivals, *peraheras*, and important functions, as a distinctive emblem.<sup>1</sup>

It is composed of

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. නීල (nila)—blue          | 4. අවදාන (avadāta)—white   |
| 2. පිත (pīta)—golden yellow | 5. මාතේෂ්ඨ (mān jēsh ta)—terra-cotta, and                          |
| 3. ලෝහිත (lōhita)—blood-red | 6. ප්‍රභාසවර (prabhāsvara)—a mixture of<br>the above five colours. |

But its origin and what it stands for may not very generally be known.

It is stated that, when Siddhārtha Gautama attained Buddhahood at the historical bo-tree at Buddha-Gayá, a luminous halo of variegated hues emanated from his body:—blue from the hair; golden yellow from the epidermis; blood-red from the flesh and blood; white from the bones and teeth; and terra-cotta from the palms, heels, and lips. The result of the blending of these colours is the *prabhāsvara*—the indescribable glory.

The Buddhist flag, therefore, is a delineation or portrait in colours of the most important event in the life of the great teacher of Buddhism.

1. [For a note on the *Budu res*, or traditional six-rayed halo of the Buddha, see Arch: Survey, Ceylon, Annual Report, 1909, p. 29—Ed. C. A.]

## “MADHU” AGAIN.

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

IT was only in the last number of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, which appeared in May, that I delivered my soul on the strange propensity on the part of certain newspapers for changing the simple “Madu” into the mystic “Madhu.” But my labour was in vain, for within a few weeks of the appearance of this number, I find in the “Jaffna Catholic Guardian” of June 10th the following (quoted in the “Ceylon Observer”) :—

“Madhu Festival,—The R. C. Bishops of Jaffna and Kumbakonam will be present at the festival from June 23rd to July 2nd,”

and this is followed within a month by a paragraph in the “Ceylon Observer” headed “The *Madhu* Festival” which, as it is in itself interesting as describing some of the pilgrims and customs of the pilgrimage, I have no scruple in reproducing here in full :—

“An outstanding feature among the thousands of pilgrims, is the stalwart Mannar Tamil woman with her long pipe, smoking unconcernedly before her temporary abode. Often she is decked with very costly jewellery. She generally uses four heavy gem-set gold hair-pins for securing her hair-knots. At a distance the hair-knots look like a single gem-set mass of gold. There may be found dealers of many blessed condiments, etc., including ginger, garlic, pepper and coriander ; also dealers in holy sand, picked up close to the statue. It is vended at 5 cts. the  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. The crowd this year was much larger than ever before.—Kalutara Cor., July 5th.”

The correct spelling of the name of the site of the church is Silaiyiná-maruta-madu or Chilaiyina-maruta-madu.

## DERIVATION OF “TUPPAHI.”

By S. G. P.

IN connection with my Note on this subject in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. II, Part I.), the following will be found interesting. <sup>1</sup>

The Carmelite Friar Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo was the first to propound the derivation of *Topaz* and *Dābāsh* from *dvibhāshi*. He writes :

“*Topazes seu Dvibāshi*, in ora Coromandelica *Dobachi*, ex etymologia sui nominis *interpretes* seu duo idiomata calentes, unum Indicum, aliud Europaeum” [“*Musei Borgiani Velitris Codices Manuscripti*,” auctore P. Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, Romae, (1793), p. 251.]

But Yule very thoughtlessly ridicules the derivation in this strain :

“Fra Paulino, with his usual fertility in error, propounds. . . . that *topaz* is a corruption of *do-bhāshiya*, two tongued (in fact another form of *dubash*) viz., using Portuguese and a debased vernacular” [*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 711.]

1. My attention was called to them by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., of Calcutta.



Fra Paulino is probably the earliest authority for this derivation.

*Topaz* is not pure Portuguese, but a word Lusitanised from Hindi.<sup>2</sup> According to Winslow துப்பாசி also comes from Hindi. Is the Hindi word *Topi* or *Dobāshi* (dubhashia, Skt. Dvibhāshi)?

The following are for *topi* :<sup>3</sup>

*Topaz*=hat-man "in their (Moors) dialect Europeans" [F. Ovington : *A voyage to Surat*, 411].

"qui sont de gens du pais qu'on élève et qu'on habille à la Française."  
[Luillier : *Voyage du Sieur aux Grandes Indes*, pp. 45-46].

*Topaz* : so called "because they wear hats" [C. Carraccioli. *Life of Lord Clive* IV. 564.]  
R. Orme, and H. Wilson, ditto *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 712.]

: *gente de Chapeo* [Fra Paulino " " " ]

: *gens à chapeau* [*Bengal Past and Present*, Oct.-Dec., 1910, p. 205]

: a person wearing a hat. [Balfour, *Encycl. of India*].

Whatever may be the origin of the word, "it is probable that this was one often in the minds of those using the term as its true connotation" [*Hob.-Job.*, p. 711]. The Turkish etymology suggested by Yule, *top-chī* (gunner), because of its application to soldiers, may well be neglected.

That Eurasians came to be called "hat-men" is not strange, for "Europeans are to this day often spoken of by natives, with a shade of disparagement as *topi-wālās* or hat-men."

Yule also refers to Persian *Kalah-posh* "hat wearers." (Sinh. *Toppi Kārayō*). Cf. Balfour, *Encyl. of India*. The contemptuous flavour probably caused it to be restricted to Eurasians.

I think the use of තුප්පි in Sinhalese literature of the XVI and XVII Century will bear out the statement that it was *first* used to designate Eurasians.<sup>4</sup>

Its use in the sense of "interpreter" is of much later date, and probably came in because Eurasians often served this purpose. It would be interesting to know the date of the earliest use of the word in the sense of "Interpreter."<sup>5</sup>

There seems to have been a different word for "interpreter" in Ceylon, *i.e.* *Banaca*. De Queyros often speaks of *Banaca Modliar*,<sup>6</sup> *Banaca do Geral*.<sup>7</sup>

In the *Ceylon : Portuguese Era* (II. 529) Mr. Pieris says that "Groot Modliar en Banacka" stands for the Modern Maha Mudliar or Chief Interpreter.

2. Cf. Balfour, *Ency. of India*, *Sub voce* Roquette, Diccionario Port-Francez "terme d'Asie." Idem Valdez.

3. Most of the references are from *Hobson-Jobson*.

4. I write under correction, for I am unable to verify this statement. It is suggested by the occurrence of the word in this sense in the translations from the *Parangi Hatana*. Vide Pieris.

5. Father Anriquez uses *Topaz* in this sense in 1549, which is the earliest in India.

6. *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 387.

7. Pp. 359, 388.

## NOTE A.

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

**N**EITHER "S. G. P." nor the three learned Mudaliyars make any reference<sup>8</sup> whatever to that rich storehouse of Anglo-Indian terms which have gradually become crystallised into common usage, to wit, "*Hobson Jobson*" (Yule and Burnell.)

As the book may not be available to most readers, and the information is much to the point, a portion of what is therein given may well be quoted :—

**Dubash, Dobash, Debash.**

Hind. *Dubāshiya, Dobāshi* (lit. i "man of two languages"). An Interpreter; obsolete except at Madras, and perhaps there also now. The *Dubash* was at that Presidency formerly a usual servant in every household; and there is still one attached to each Mercantile House, as the Broker transacting business with natives, and corresponding to the Calcutta *Banyan*.

According to Drummond the word has a peculiar meaning in Guzerat :—"A *Doobashee* in Guzerat is viewed as an evil spirit, who by telling lies, sets people by the ears."<sup>9</sup> This illustrates the original meaning of *Dubash*, which might be rendered in Bunyan's fashion as "Mr. Two-Tongues."

Circa 1804 : "I could neither understand them nor they me; but they would not give me up until a *Debash*, whom Mrs. Sherwood had hired, came to my relief with a palanquin." *Autobiography of Mrs. Sherwood*, 272.

1860 : "The *Moodliars* and native officers were superseded by Malabar *Dubashes*, men aptly described as enemies to the religion of the Sinhalese, stranger to their habits, and animated by no impulse but extortion." *Tennent, Ceylon*, ii. 72.

**Topaz, Topass, &c.**

A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned, or half-caste, claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession. Its application is generally, though not universally, to *soldiers* of this class; and it was possible that it was originally a corruption of the Pers. (from Turkish) *top-chi*, "gunner." Various other etymologies have, however, been given.

That given by Orme below (and put forward doubtfully by Wilson) from *topi*, "hat," has a good deal of plausibility; and even if the former etymology be the true origin, it is probable that this one was often in the minds of those using the term, as its true connotation. It may have some corroboration not only in the fact that Europeans are, to this day, often spoken of by the natives (with a shade of disparagement) as *Tōpi-wālās*, or "Hat-men,"<sup>10</sup> but also in the pride commonly taken by all persons, claiming European blood in wearing a hat; indeed Fra Paolino tells us that this class called themselves *gente de chapeo*. (See also the quotation below from Ovington). Possibly, however, this was merely a misrendering of *Topaz* from the assumed etymology.

The same Fra Paolino, with his usual fertility in error, propounds in another passage that *Topaz* is a corruption of *do-bhāshiya*, "two-tongued" (in fact is another form of *Dubash*), viz., using Portuguese and a debased vernacular (pp. 50 and 144.)<sup>11</sup>

1690 : "A Report spread abroad, that a Rich Moor Ship belonging to one *Abdal Ghaford* was taken by *Hat-men*, that this, in their (the Moors) Dialect, Europeans." *Ovington*, 411.

Circa 1785 : "*Topasses*, black foot soldiers, descended from Portuguese marrying natives; called *Topasses* because they wear hats." *Carraccioli, Clive*, iv. 564.

The same explanation is in *Orme*, i. 80.

8. [S. G. P. makes reference to *Hobson Jobson* in his second contribution above.—Ed. C.A.]

9. Not alone in Guzerat have *Dubashes* (stevedores) been—as they are still—on occasions "viewed" and roundly rated, by Ship Captains, Purser, and others as "hell-hounds"!—B.

10. A slang term for the Ceylon Policeman is, or was, *Tōpikrayd*.—B.

11. Was Fra Paolino so much in error after all? B.

**Topeewala.**

Hind. *Tōpīwālā*; "one who wears a hat;" generally a European, or one claiming to be such. Formerly by Englishmen it was habitually applied to the dark descendants of the Portuguese. Drummond says that in his time (before 1808) *Topeewala* and *Puggrywala* were used in Guzerat and the Mahratta country for "Europeans" and "Natives."

The author of the Persian *Life of Hydur Naik* (by Miles, *Oriental Translation Fund*), calls Europeans *Kalāh-posh*, i.e. "Hat-wearers" (p. 85).

1874: "You will see that he will not be able to protect us. All *Tōpī-wālās* are brothers to each other. The Magistrates and the Judge will always decide in favour of their white brethren." *Govinda Samānta*, ii. 211.

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## RAJPUT CONNECTION WITH CEYLON.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

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THE presence at the moment of a Rajput Regiment in the Island<sup>1</sup> lends some additional interest to the following Indian references to early Rajput relations with Ceylon. Of course, some of our own chronicles bear their share of testimony to the friendliness and otherwise of those age-long relations; but, so far as I can remember, not one of them makes any allusion whatsoever to the legend of

### The Sinhalese Ancestor of the Rajput chief of Bonai.<sup>2</sup>

This, however, is what Mr. Cobden-Ramsay tells us<sup>3</sup> :—

"The family of the chief (of Bonai) claims a mysterious and foreign origin. They say that they came from Sākaldwīp or Ceylon, and that the founder of the family was abandoned by his mother under a *kadamba* (*Nauclea cadamba*) tree. Being then on the point of falling into the hands of an enemy, the infant was rescued by a peacock, which swallowed him, and kept him in its craw until the danger was past. In gratitude for this service the peacock was adopted as the family emblem.

"In reference to their early connection with the *kadamba* tree, the chiefs describe themselves as *kadamba-bansī* Rajputs. Looking, however, to their position as chiefs over powerful Bhuiyā vassals, who hold the bulk of the land, command the militia of the State, and claim the right of conferring the *Tikā* or token of investiture on the Chief, it is probable that the Rājā of Bonai was originally only the tribal head of the Bhuiyā clan. The Chief of this State on succession, like the chief of the Pāl Laharā State, always takes his grandfather's name."

### Rajput Festival commemorating the Conquest of Ceylon.

With what is claimed to be the earliest Rajput "conquest" of Ceylon we are all more or less familiar; but few in this country, I venture to think, have any idea of the nature of the festival still today celebrated in India in commemoration of that hoary event.

According to Mr. H. A. Rose<sup>4</sup> :—

"On the 3rd day of the Dasahrā, the goddess (Dēvī Tārā of Tārab) is worshipped at 2 p.m., in the *darbār*, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenal and worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Rājā holds a *darbār*

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1. The Regiment has, since this Note was written, left the Island.  
 2. The State of Bonai is bounded on the North by Gāngpur state and Singhbhūm district; on the East by Keonjhar State; and on the South and West by Bāmra State. Its area is, 1296 sq.-miles.  
 3. Bengal Gazetteers: *Feudatory States of Orissa*, by L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay I. C. S. (1910), pp. 143-144.  
 4. "Hinduism in the Himalayas"—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 41.

with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of Thákurji Lachhmi Náráyan, whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Rájá walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to the plain set apart for this festival.

"On this plain a heap of fuel is piled at a short distance from a green tree, which is adorned with small flags and round which is tied a wreath containing a rupee. The Rájá with unsheathed sword goes round the heap, followed by the rest of the people, and the heap is then worshipped and set fire to. It is essential that the *wazir* of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent, a representative, who wears an iron *sanjúá*, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who cuts the wreath on the tree in the midst of the burning fire and takes the rupee is considered a hero, and his prosperity during the ensuing year is assured.

"Before the heap is fired, a pitcher of water with a mark on it is placed close by, and whoever hits the mark is deemed lucky, besides receiving a prize from the Rájá. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanúmán, and who accompanied the idol, smashes the pitcher with his mace. The image is then carried back to its temple with the same pomp as before, and a turban is given to the Rájá on behalf of the Thákurdwára, while his attendants are given *bhóg* and *charnamrit* (i.e. the water with which the feet of the idol have been washed). Wreaths of flowers are then distributed.

"The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Rám Chandar, the ancestor of the Rájputs, which was accomplished after worshipping Déví."

### Nórátré.

In his "Report on the Panjab Hill Tribes, from the native point of view," Mian Durga Singh refers, apparently, to the above festival when he says<sup>5</sup> :—

"NÓRÁTRÉ.—The goddess is worshipped. Masquerades are held in the night. Music is played, and in some places is called *batri* or *karáli*. The next day is the *Daséhrá*. A man impersonating Rámchandar drives in a chariot and conquers Lanka."

### Lanka and Káli.

Yet another reference to the same event occurs in the following Chaubolá hymn to Káli, extracted from Wm. Crook's "Religious songs from Northern India"<sup>6</sup> :—

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
Káli rí, tu Káلكá, joti teri bharpúr !	O Black One (Káli), thou art the goddess of the age (Káلكá), thy work is fulfilled !
Garh Lanká rí, tu charhí : are sanwáre káj.	Thou didst attack Lanká and achieve success.
Are sanwáre káj : khún se khappar bhar linhí.	Thou didst achieve success and didst fill thy earthen vessel with the blood (of those who fell in the struggle).
Siyá Rám ki phanj bijay tumhin ne dinhí.	Thou didst give victory to the army of Sitá and Rám.
Lalkárain rákshas zór zór pí pí mad pyála.	The cannibals drinking the cups of wine challenged hoarsely.
Pai taine Ráwan már kiyá ; munh sab ká kála.	But thou by laying Ráwan low didst blacken the faces of all of them (humiliated them).
Garh Lanká ko tor, son ko mittí kinhín.	Reducing the fort of Lanká, thou didst convert gold into ashes.
Aisi tu mahrání ; tumhain Nának bhal chínhín.	So art thou queen : Nának knows thee full well.
Merí tu Káli Máí. Terí main bhent banái.	O Black Mother, thou art mine. I have composed this as a present to thee.
Chandáshwále Ráje bhawan mén dhwaáj charháí.	May a flag wave on the palace of the Rájá on the 14th day of the Hindu months !

5. "Some Details of the Festivals",—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 302.

6. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 273-274.

## IDENTITY OF A KANDYAN ROCK TEMPLE WANTED.

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

THE following is an extract from the diary<sup>1</sup> of Lieutenant Thomas Ajax Anderson of the 19th Foot, a detachment of which regiment he accompanied to Kandy in 1803. The diary begins on February 4th at Trincomalee and ends there on March 28th. I should be glad if the temple described in the entry for March 1st, which was written at Kandy, could be identified by some one on the spot. Were I now resident at Kandy, which, alas! for my sins I am not,—I have no doubt I should be able to discover it; but, so far, my personal appeals to old associates there to make the quest have had no result. Perhaps the *Ceylon Antiquary* may be more successful.

"Tuesday, March 1st. This morning . . . crossed the river, and passed over a fertile cultivated tract of country, covered with villages . . . When about eight miles from camp, I observed a large stone building jutting out from a steep rock; curiosity impelled me to enter, and I found it a kind of ante-chamber to a temple of Buda, excavated out of the solid rock. Finding the inner room quite dark, I got a torch, and went through a pair of folding doors, into the temple itself, which I found most beautifully and minutely painted throughout with flowers, trees, etc., and the background entirely occupied by a most gigantic figure of Buda, in a recumbent posture, hewn out of the rock, and handsomely painted; the face and feet of a bright yellow, and the rest of the body covered with a loose robe painted red. I measured its length, and found it thirty-six feet, with all the limbs in proportion. Each side of the cave or temple contained three figures, in a sitting posture, the size of life. The excavation itself I judged to be about fifty feet long and seven or eight feet high."

It would be interesting to know whether the walls of this rock temple and ante-chamber are still "most beautifully and minutely painted throughout with flowers, trees, etc.," also whether the face and feet of the image are still kept a bright yellow and the robe red.

1. The diary is printed as an appendix to Lieutenant Anderson's *Poems Written Chiefly in India*, a copy of which I was able to get for the Colombo Museum. It belonged originally to the late Donald Ferguson who had written in it: "This copy is probably a unique one as every other copy that I have seen wants the Kandy letters and Anderson's journal, the only valuable portion of the book. The British Museum copy does not contain it." The book, I may add, was published in 1809.



# Literary Register.

## HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

### I. THE REBELLION OF NIKAPETTY. <sup>1</sup>

*A report dated 15th October, 1617, sent to Father Nuno Mascarenhas, Assistant to the General of the Society of Jesus, by Manoel Ruiz, S.J. <sup>2</sup>*

Translated from the Portuguese.

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

**T**HIS is to give your Reverence an account of the condition of the island of Ceylon and of what has taken place therein since December till the present part of 1617.

For some time past a revolution was feared in the island, as the Sinhalese were becoming very restless ; but for want of a leader, it did not take place till now.

In the month of December, 1616, a certain native, <sup>3</sup>—of royal birth, according to some ; according to others, a man of low caste,—rose in revolt and incited the people to such an extent that, in a short time, he succeeded in raising many soldiers, who began to give vent to their fury by murdering our good Fathers, Luis Mattheus and John Metalla. This was on the 6th of December.

The two Fathers were both at Matiagama at the time, little expecting such a calamity, and were both done to death with lancers and died with the name of Jesus on their lips. A crucifix, which was in the house of the Fathers, was at the same time mutilated in the face, the legs, and the arms by the enemies. They burnt the house and the church, and a great part of the village, and destroyed the Cross which stood in front of the church, as I wrote at length in another letter.

When he had got together about four or five thousand men against us, our soldiers met him on the 18th December, feast of our Lady's Expectation. On our side there were 220 Portuguese and 500 Lascorins ; the reason why these 500 fought on our side, though we had a 1,000 Lascorins, is that 500 passed over to the enemy before the battle. Even the 500 that remained to us accepted to remain, owing to a speech which Luis Pinto, their Captain, addressed to them.

Of these 500 many went back (*retrocederam*) during the battle, which lasted from 9 o'clock till the evening, ours killing more than 500 men, including some of their principal captains. On our side there died 13 Portuguese in the first encounter, having unfortunately gone too far ahead of

1. See *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I, Pt. IV, p. 226.

2. With the kind assistance of the Very Revd. L. Besse S. J. of Trichinopoly, whose familiarity with the Portuguese Mss. of the time was of invaluable help to me.

3. *hu'negro*.

their ranks and falling like lions on the enemy, who were also most resolute. Two of the Portuguese were captains ; one of them was the captain of the advance guard, a *Casado* of this place named Fernão Caldera. There died also on our side about 20 Lascorins, and many were wounded on both sides, for it was a close and sanguinary engagement. The victory, however, was with ours who put the enemy to flight.

This victory was no less glorious than it was miraculous, according to all. Owing to the risk our people ran, the Portuguese themselves lost courage after the first encounter, both because of the death of the 13 who had fallen, as well as because they were not sure of the 500 Lascorins on our side. Seeing many of them fall back, however, they again took courage, and gained fresh strength at the sight of the Crucifix which the enemy had mutilated in the face, the legs and the arms, when they killed the Fathers as related.

A certain *Casado*, Manoel Correa de Brito, bravely pointed out the Crucifix to them, and the Portuguese soldiers became so comforted by the sight, that they began again to attack the enemy with new strength, and to rout them altogether with the slaughter I mentioned above. Nor could we expect less from the Blessed Virgin, on whose feast day the battle was fought against an enemy who had so foully handled the image of her Blessed Son.

The Captain of the Seven Corlas,—at the time Philip de Olivera,—was not in this engagement ; for he had gone with his army to the assistance of Sofragam, where another enemy Captain was at the same time attacking those parts. When he arrived there, the enemy did not turn up, and it seems to have been a ruse of the enemy to divide our forces and carry out their design with greater security to themselves.

After this the enemy sought to gain reinforcements and to spread the rebellion. During this revolt they burnt the *Tranqueira* of Putlam, and the churches of Caimel and Chilaw, and caused great destruction in Mádampe. They attacked Sofragam twice. The first time they killed 4 Portuguese and left the Captain badly wounded ; the second time they succeeded in completely capturing some and killing the others, in all about 50 Portuguese. Our Lascorins having gone over to the enemy, the district of Mátara revolted at the same time.

When things were at this stage, practically the whole island in revolt, our fleet arrived from Malaca, viz., a Galleon, 5 Galliot's and 2 Pataches, at which this *Conquista* gained heart ; for, besides the money received in settlement of the taxes which the traders had to pay in Goa, many sailors landed with their arms as we had hoped.

Among them were Diogo de Mendonça ; Furtado with 20 soldiers maintained at his cost ; Don Luis de Souza with 24 or 25 ; Fernão da Costa, Captain of the galleon, with 60 ; and Diogo de Mendonça de Silva with five or six, and others. All these were at Malwána, assisting the Captain-General, when our troops gave battle to the insurgents for the second time.

In this battle also there was severe fighting, but our Lord gave us the victory, for about 600 of the enemy were killed and the others fled. On our side one Portuguese and 4 Lascorins were killed. When it was over, the fleet resumed its voyage with letters and messages from the Captain-General and the whole city, asking the Viceroy for men and money.

The rebel having again raised his head so much as to prevent our army from assisting Balána, which is one of our forts in the confines of Kandy, the King of Kandy himself descended upon Balána and took it. Only one or two died in the combat, the rest—about a hundred—sur-

rendered, who, along with those who had been taken in Soffragam, make up 120. They are still prisoners at Kandy.

At the end of all this, on the 15th of March, there arrived at Malwána two Portuguese with two other natives, despatched by the King of Kandy to the Captain-General, bearing two letters : one for the Captain-General himself, the other to the Superiors of the Religious Orders, in which he asked for peace, saying that he would be brother-in-arms of the King of Portugal, and that peace would be to His Majesty's service and the honour of his General, etc.

The General replied that making treaties of peace was an ordinary matter between Princes, provided the conditions were just and satisfactory ; and that if His Majesty gave satisfaction, peace would be made between him and the King of Portugal : that, therefore, he should send persons of greater standing and credit than those who had come to treat of it : that he could not accept peace so long as he kept in his power the Portuguese whom he had taken, since he was not in need of them ; that such, moreover, was the custom among Princes, etc. This was the gist of the reply.

On the first of April, there arrived at this place a *pataxo* with about 200 *candis* of rice, and 60 or 70 soldiers with Lourenço Pires de Carvalho as Captain, bearing letters from the Viceroy, and others besides who were preparing to come in person with many others in the course of the month of April.

In the same month of April our soldiers scoured the districts that had revolted and subjugated them as far as Mátara, and once more they built the *Tranquiera* of Soffragam. There the rebels made an attack. A battle was fought, but they fled into the country, knowing that a part of our army was coming to the assistance of the *Tranquiera*. Our soldiers went in search of them and put them to flight, killing some, and afterwards pursued them through the Seven Corlas.

On the 6th of May two Ambassadors of the King of Kandy came to Malwána with a retinue of one hundred Lascorins. In their company came 30 Portuguese with letters, in which he said that he had sent them much earlier, but the rebels had stopped them and sent them back to Kandy.

What the King of Kandy sought by this embassy was to be reconciled with the Portuguese, on condition that they acknowledged him as King and his son as Prince. He would pay vassalage to the King of Portugal and do all that we require of him.

On the 12th of May the Captain-General came to Colombo with these Ambassadors, who were received in Colombo with great rejoicings and pomp and concourse of people. Forthwith on the following day the General assembled some of the leading men and some Religious, *viz.*, two Franciscan Friars and two Jesuits, and asked them to say in writing, whether it was good to make peace with the King of Kandy, acknowledging him as King and his son as Prince.

When they had given their replies, he at once determined to send them back with the answer. With them went two Franciscans and a layman, a *Casado* named Diogo de Souza, to state the conditions to be observed if he wished to make peace with us.

The motive which the King of Kandy had in seeking peace and reconciliation with the Portuguese was, presumably, the fear of the rebel, as many of the chief men of Kandy had gone over to him. For this reason, he has always up to now treated well the Portuguese whom he held captive.



For, at first, quite in the beginning, he paid them for a month, as we used to do here. He ordered provisions to be given, supplied them with shirts, breeches, and doublets because they were in greater necessity, ordered them all to live in a certain place at a distance of 3 leagues from where he was, and be subject as formerly to their own Captains who could punish their men, etc.

Wishing to show the Prince to the Portuguese, the King sent for them ; and being told by his men that he should not let them carry their arms on this occasion, he had them taken away. They came and saw the sons of the King, three in number : one was of about 12 years, another of 7, and the other of 5.

He told the Portuguese that it was the eldest Prince, and not he himself, who was King of Kandy ; but that he, in the name of the Prince, proposed peace to us ; for the Portuguese gave him the kingdom, having brought his mother from Manar at so great a cost.

While the Portuguese were going back to their lodgings without arms, the rebel assaulted them ; and if the Portuguese had not been warned of this by some Mudliars who were in their guard, and but for the obstacle of the River which lay on the path of the rebel, they would all have been killed then and there. But they withdrew to where the king was,—except two who, on account of ill-health, were unable to walk with the necessary speed and were put to death by the rebel.

The King of Kandy, being informed of the occurrence, went after them with some men and drove them, killing several of the rear-guard. Thenceforth he gave orders to restore their arms to the Portuguese and kept them near him, giving them all that was necessary.

In the same month of May the King of Kandy, knowing that the rebel had endeavoured in many ways to win the Princess of Kandy to his side, wrote him a letter in the name of the same Princess, asking him to come to a certain place on a certain day and that she would go over to him. The rebel came to the appointed place on the day indicated, and the King of Kandy fell upon him, and put him to flight, killing many.

In his flight the rebel came across ours at the extremity of the Seven Corlas, and they too attacked his rearguard, killing many. Ours captured some property and money which he was carrying away, and also captured three or four Sinhalese women, Christians of good birth, whom he was taking from the Seven Corlas, calling them Queens. In this encounter ours also took a Prince of Kandy, a son of Don John the Renegade, who joined this rebel. The Prince and the Queen are kept in custody in Colombo.

Now our territories in these parts are quieting down and returning to their allegiance. May God grant that this peace may last and that the rebel does not again raise his head !

He again began to raise his head, to gather men and disturb us in the districts of Mátara and Sofragam. Our troops are pacifying the country which a renegade Captain of the King of Kandy went on disturbing in those days, as mentioned before.

If the peace is concluded, as we hope, with the Viceroy's approval, and if the Sinhalese keep their word, all these wars and disturbances, which did us so much harm, will come to an end,

## II. HOW THE SINHALESE KILLED TWO FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AT MATIAGAMA DURING THIS REBELLION.

At midday on the 6th of December, which was a Tuesday, there came to Matiagama, which is an important town in the island of Ceylon, fifty Lascorins sent thither by a certain rebel. Some of them began straightway to plunder the town, others—about nine or ten—went to the house in which Father Louis Matteus lived.

It happened that he had with him Father John Metalla who had come from Mácandure, which is at a distance of one league and where he had his parish, to make his confession and console each other, as they were wont to do.

When the Lascorins came to the door of the house in which they were, the two Fathers came out to speak to them ; for these Lascorins pretended to belong to our party and to bring a message and letters from one of our Captains.

They at once showed their venom ; for, without waiting for many words, they first of all sent a spear through the abdomen of Father Louis Matteus, which killed him. Thus wounded he begged them for a short space, and dragging himself as best as he could to the foot of a cross which was close by, he knelt down before the cross.

There they did him to death with spears, and he died with the name of Jesus on his lips. They soon did the same to Father John Metalla, who also threw himself on his knees, and died with the name of Jesus on his lips, being killed in the same way with spears. They then cut off their heads. At the same time they cut off the face, the legs and the arms of a crucifix which the Fathers had in their oratory.

They also broke down the Cross which was in front of the church, and burnt the church and the house of the Fathers, after despoiling it of its furniture. They also burnt down a great part of the town, robbing all they could find.

No natives were killed, for these hostile Lascorins had come only to kill the Fathers. The motive they had, according to a report current among the gentiles, was that the Portuguese had put to death some *Changatares*, who are their priests. Others say that they had orders from the rebel not to spare the life of any white man.

The Lascorins spent a day and a half in these murders, incendiaries and robbery. After that they went away quite safe, since the country was without any military protection ; for Philip de Oliveira, who was Captain of these parts, had gone with all his forces to Sofragam to put down another rising which took place there.

What I have said about the death of the Fathers we learnt from one of the boys who served the Fathers. As soon as he saw the Fathers killed, he fled into the forest and arrived in this College five days afterwards. The regret caused by such sad news was general not only here in the College but also among outsiders, as was but natural in itself and because these good Fathers were beloved of all.

They were both so united in heart and will that it is not surprising that God was pleased to unite them in death, to give them together the reward of the labours with which they cultivated His vineyard. They had laboured with such fervour, zeal and success that they had already erected two fine churches. Besides the conversions they had made, they were preparing and instructing into the proper disposition almost all those gentiles, who are about ten thousand and whom they had to baptise.

This should give not a little confidence and courage to those who will succeed them. They can also rightly envy such glorious deaths and look forward to an abundant harvest from a field recently watered with such blood.

Eight or ten days after the murder of the Fathers, some Portuguese went to Matiagama and found only their bones ; for the rest had been eaten by jackals, except an arm on which it appears the body had fallen. They buried the decaying corpses in the church, taking away with them some pieces of the cassocks and doublets which were found lying, and the crucifix which the enemies had cut as described.

All these relics are preserved in the College with the veneration due to them. Later on we shall bring the bones also, in order to console and encourage ourselves with more vivid recollections of the example they have set us.

### III. HOW THE KING OF KANDY TOOK BALÁNA.

From the Portuguese who accompanied the Ambassadors of the King of Kandy we learnt how the King took our fort of Balána. It was as follows :—

The King of Kandy came with a large force—they say it consisted of some 12,000 men—and having seen the fort, sent letters to the Captain of the *Fortaleza*, three times offering him assistance of men and arms and provisions to defend themselves against the rebel.

Our people took no account of it ; they even killed the messenger who brought the first letter to the fort, and placed his head on the top of the fort, that the King might see it. <sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, two Portuguese escaped from the fort, and going over to the King related to him all that passed. Thereupon, the King attacked the fort, and our men fought bravely for fifteen days and killed many natives with the loss of only one or two Portuguese. At the end of the fifteen days the King sent a message through two of the Portuguese whom he had captured in Soffragam.

The message was to the effect that the King had determined to make peace with the Portuguese, and that it was not his intention to put them to death, but to hand them over alive to the Captain-General, along with all the artillery in the fort, the better to induce him to enter into friendship, etc. They replied that His Highness should send this message to the Captain-General, and that they would learn from his reply what was to be done. <sup>5</sup>

The battle continued for nine days more, and the enemy came up to the very foot of the fort, under cover of wooden mantles <sup>6</sup> so thick that neither our *mozquetas* nor *falcões* <sup>7</sup> could make any impression on them. Then with iron hooks they began to strip the fort of its stones and to pull them down, the King offering a reward for every stone brought down.

In this way they went on uprooting the whole fort, till the Portuguese were without any protection. When they saw themselves in this plight and that there was no hope of life in continuing the struggle, they, with common consent, agreed to surrender, though they were not short either of provisions or of ammunition.

4. Strangely enough "this piece of treachery which nothing can palliate" (Pieris, II, 7) is matched by Nikapitiya in an incident recorded by Mr. Pieris on the same page: "A messenger apprised Nikapitiya that the Portuguese army was close at hand: he scornfully declared that there were no more Portuguese left, and ordered the informant to be impaled as a punishment for his false news." A quarter of an hour later the two armies met.

5. Cf. Pieris II, 8, "Their only reply was a defiant jibe."

6. *Com repatros de tavoas*, which Mr. Pieris aptly describes as "wooden mantles."

7. Muskets and falcons.

They confided in the promise of the King that he would not kill them, but would send them alive to the Captain-General. Eventually, he allowed each one to take his own arms and belongings, and thus they left the fort.

The King sent them ahead with three or four *Mudeliars* with orders to take proper care of them, while he himself remained behind with his men to raze the fort completely, etc.

During the whole of this conflict the King showed that he did not intend to kill the Portuguese, and returning shortly afterwards to Kandy, he treated them with great kindness as described.

*(To be Continued.)*



# THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

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

## PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from Vol. II, Part I, p. 73.)

### CHAPTER XII.

*More of their ceremonies,—at betrothals and weddings, at obsequies and funerals.*

#### Symson.

They use much Formality in their Marriages, which they call *Caveny*.<sup>1</sup>

They apply to the *Pandiare*, or *Naybes*, who send their Officers<sup>2</sup> to enquire of what shall be hereafter mention'd; and if there be no Exception, the Maiden sends her Father, or, for Want of him, the nearest Kinsman on his Side, to represent her. He, and the Bridegroom, appear before the *Pandiare*, or *Naybe*, who, being inform'd as has been said, takes hold of the Bridegroom's Hand, and asks him whether he will take that Woman to Wife on the Terms propos'd; and the same Question he puts to the Father, or Person representing the Bride. If they answer in the affirmative, the usual Ceremonies are perform'd, and Witnesses taken of the Marriage. Then they go to the Bride, who waits at Home, and assure her of what has been done; and so fall to feasting at the Husband's Expence, the Musick playing all the Day. Several People come to visit them, and are treated with *Betele*.<sup>3</sup> They send the *Pandiare*, or *Naybe*, two *Lartins*, [worth 16 Pence,<sup>4</sup>] a Dish of Meat, and a Box of *Betele*; the Husband sends Presents to the King and the Nobility, and the Wife to the Queen and her Ladies.

But when the King marries, he receives Presents, not only from the Great Ones, but from all the common Sort, both Men and Women; who all go in great Order, with those of their own Rank and Quality, to offer Calicoes, Garments, Turbants, Provisions, Fruit, Flowers, and other Things, according to their Ability. Those of the Island of *Malé* go themselves; and those of the other Parcels of Islands,<sup>5</sup> send their Deputies. The King does not appear those Days; but his Servants give

#### Harris.

After their religious Rites, it will be proper to subjoin the Ceremonies of Marriage and Funerals.

Upon a Design of Marriage they address themselves to the *Pandiare* or *Naybes*, who, after being sufficiently informed that things really are as they are represented, takes the Man by the Hand, and asks him if he is willing to take such a Woman on the Conditions proposed; and, the Woman always being absent, he likewise questions her Parents as to their Consent. If they all agree he marries them, and calls the By-standers to witness their Consent. Then the whole Company waits upon the Woman home, and several other Persons visit her. All the Visitors being entertained with Feasting, Musick, Dancing, etc., the new-married Man makes Presents to the King, and the Great Lords, and the Bride pays the like Compliments to the Queen, and the other Ladies; both make Presents likewise to their Relations.

But when the King is married, he does not give, but receives, Presents from all his Subjects, viz., Cloths, Garments, Turbans, Victuals, Fruit, Flowers, etc.; and all these Presents, which arise to a great Value, belong to the new-married Queen.

1. Pyrard: *Caveny*, M. *Kaveni*.

2. Pyrard: "*Deuants* ou *Sergens*."

3. Pyrard adds:—"C'est l'honneur du pays, comme icy, de présenter la collation."

4. Insertion by Symson.

5. Pyrard: "*Ceux des autres Atollons, et aussi ceux des principales isles*."

## Symson

him an Account of the People that come, and the Presents they bring, which amount to a considerable Value, and all belong to the new Queen.

The Men may have three Wives at once, and no more,<sup>6</sup> in case they can maintain them. If they all live in the same Island, the Husbands are oblig'd by the Law, to lie as many Nights with the one as with the other; but they do not observe it. This is a bad Allowance for that Country, where three Men would be little enough for one Woman, they are so Lascivious.<sup>7</sup>

The Women carry no Portions, but the Husbands are to furnish them with all Necessaries and be at the Expence of the Wedding; and they are oblig'd to Jointer them,<sup>8</sup> not according to the Man's Estate and Quality, but suitable to the Woman's, and as their Mothers and Grand-mothers had, for no less will serve; and therefore the *Pandiare*, or *Naybe*, often refuse to marry some, when the Husband's Estate is not sufficient for such a Jointer, tho' they be both otherwise agreed.

The Obstacles to Matrimony, which the *Pandiare* or *Naybe* inquires after before he marries any Couple, are whether they are Brethren, or Cousin-Germans, or have suck'd the same Nurses Milk, or have ever in Familiarity call'd one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Sister; for in any of these Cases they must not marry.

Young Men marry when they will, but Maids must not 'till they are fifteen Years of Age; that is, if their Father be dead, for the Mother cannot dispose of them, but the Brother, or nearest Relation on the Father's Side, must do it. However, the Fathers Generally bestow their Daughters at ten or twelve<sup>10</sup> Years of age, on the first that asks them, whether young or old, provided there be a Proportion in Quality; and they say it is a Sin to suffer their Daughters to be in want of Man.

A Man may part with his Wife at any Time, provided she consents;<sup>11</sup> but if she does not, cannot be divorc'd without paying her Jointure: yet this seldom happens, for the Women scorn to demand their Jointure, because the others would reflect on them, for being afraid they could not meet with another Husband. In the same Manner the Wife may be parted, if the Husband consents, as is frequent; and it is done before Witness, who must be again present when they are to marry others. This occasions much Uneasiness, for they are often divorc'd in a Passion by common Consent, and afterwards one or the other repents.

## Harris.

A Man may have three Wives<sup>6</sup> if he can maintain them, but not more; and if all three live in one Island, he is obliged by Law to bestow as many Nights upon one as upon the other; tho' after all this Law is not observed: and indeed it is a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are so lascivious.<sup>7</sup>

The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife and is obliged, not only to be at the Charge of the nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to settle, upon her a Jointure<sup>8</sup> equal to what her Mother and other Ancestors had. They are so nice on this last Condition, that if the Priest apprehends the Husband cannot afford such a Jointure, he refuses to marry them, notwithstanding both Parties require it; but after all the Bride may renounce either the whole, or part, of the Jointure after Marriage; and, indeed, that is frequently practised.

Brothers and Sisters, first Cousins, and those who by way of Friendship and Intimacy have used to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Sister,—these, I say, are prohibited to marry.<sup>9</sup>

The Males may marry when they will, but a female Orphan cannot marry till she is fifteen Years of Age: indeed, if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power), he marries her at ten or eleven<sup>10</sup> Years of Age; and that to the first Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in some Measure suitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep the Daughters unmarried.

A Man may turn away his wife;<sup>11</sup> but unless she consents to the Separation, she may demand her Jointure: tho' after all, that Demand is seldom made as being reckoned a mean Action, and a Sign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Husband. On the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from the Husband without his Consent. This sort of Divorce, which is very frequent, must be attested by Witnesses, or they cannot have the Benefit of a second Marriage.

6. Muhammadan law allows four (Koran, *Sura IV*), but the Máldivians may have been less uxorious.

7. In putting it bluntly Symson but translates Pyrard:—"Cette loy est mal ordonnée pour ces pays-là, car trois hommes ne suffiroient pas à une femme, tant elles sont impudiques."

8. Pyrard: "vn doñaire, qu'ils appellent *Rans*." M. and Sin. *ran*.

9. Cf: the Sinhalese and Tamil rules regarding matrimonial relationship.

10. Harris is right; Pyrard wrote:—"l'age de dix ou onze ans."

11. Pyrard adds: "ils appellent le divorce *Varicor*." M. *Vari-kurda*. As to the Muslim law, see *Quanoon e Islam* (pp. 145-7);

## Symson.

Once divorc'd, they may marry again where they think fit; and those so parted, may be marry'd together again three several Times, but no oftner, unless the Woman has after the three Times, been marry'd to another, and parted from him.<sup>12</sup>

These People being very fickle, it often happens that the same Persons having being thrice divorc'd, and as often marry'd again, have still a Mind to come together, after the last Divorce, which the Law does not permit; and therefore, to bring it about, they hire some mean Person<sup>13</sup> to marry the Woman, and lie with her one Night, upon Condition he shall not touch her; who afterwards puts her away, and three Months after the Husband takes her again: the greatest Ladies are sometimes oblig'd to this Method. Those Men so marrying for a Night are call'd *Meda-Piry*,<sup>14</sup> that is a Husband between two, and they are very contemptible, [even] among the very common Sort, as Men who have neither Honour nor Conscience. This Method [*Medupiry*] can be made use of but twice; after which they can marry no more. It is to be observ'd that, when the same Persons marry again, they are not at the Expence of a new Wedding and Presents, as the first Time.

It is wonderful to see how often they are divorc'd, and marry again, insomuch that some Men have liv'd to have eighty Wives and more; and among the rest, the *Pandiare*, who dy'd soon after I came into these Islands, had marry'd an hundred. In like manner, the Women have a Multitude of Husbands; which is so far from being look'd upon as any Fault, that they glory in the Number of Husbands they have had: and when any Man courts them, they tell him the Number, Names, and Qualities of those Husbands, as a Thing very commendable; and they are the more valu'd by their Suitors; and even the King, and the greatest Men, do not esteem a Maid above another. However, there are some Men and their Wives who live very long together as having an Affection for each other.

When the Husband dies, the Wife must continue a Widow four Months and ten Days, and must bring three Witnesses of his Death when she will marry again. If a Husband is absent from the Kingdom for the Space of a Year, and the Wife has nothing of his, she may marry again. In case of Divorce, the Woman must make out, that she has had her Courses three times before she marries again; which is done to know whose the Children are, if they should be big [pregnant]. This the *Pandiare*, or *Naybe*, inquires into, and causes the Woman that designs to marry, to be search'd [examined] by three other Women of Reputation, and to swear she had had her Courses three times.

## Harris.

The divorced Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a second, third, or fourth Time; but after three Divorces, such re-marriages are not allowed.

But such is the Levity of the People, that they frequently desire them, and in order to elude the Law, they have a common Trick of getting some profligate Fellow<sup>12</sup> to marry the divorced Woman, and lie with her one Night without touching her; after which he quits her before Witness, and so she is married again to her former Husband.

Such is the Frequency of those Divorces, that a Man shall have an hundred Wives, and the Woman look upon the Multitude of separated Husbands as a Point which entitles them to future Marriages.

• When a Woman is separated from her Husband by Death, she must mourn four Months and ten Days before she can marry again; and if the Separation is accomplished by Divorce, she must remain three Months single before she offers to marry. This Caution is used for fear she should prove with Child by her former Husband.

12. This is laid down in the Koran (*Sura II.*)

13. Neither Symson nor Harris expresses, to the full, Pyrrard's contempt for these hiring "middle-men":—"Des personnes viles et adjectes, lesquelles pour de l'argent qu'on leur donne, etc."

14. *Medu piri* would be in Sinhalese *Meda pirimya*, or "middle husband;" but this custom is unknown in Ceylon.

## Symson.

They are extraordinary superstitious in their Funerals, which they call *Calbalolan*.<sup>15</sup> A dead Man is wash'd by six Men, and a Woman by six Women, who use near an Hogshead of Water, and say some proper Prayers. When wash'd, they cover and adorn the Body with Cotton, and bury it in two Pieces of white Calicoe, one over the other, laying the right Hand on the Ear, and the left along the Thigh; then they lay the Body in a Coffin, made of the *Candu* Tree,<sup>16</sup> lying on its right Side, 'till carry'd to the Grave. The Women, Kindred, and Neighbours, meet to bewail the dead Person, recounting his or her Praises.

The six Men, or Women Washers, are publick Officers, and must be Persons of a good Reputation, or will lose their Employments, which they purchase of the King; and every one that is admitted to it, gives the others that were in it before a Sum of Money, to be divided among them. Their Profits are equal, and divided among the Men and Women, whether the Person deceas'd be Male or Female. When the Body is carry'd out, those Women cry and roar after an hideous Manner, and continue so to do at the Place of Burial. The Corps is carry'd to the Grave, provided whilst the Person was living, by six of the nearest Friends or Relations.

They are so nice as to their Graves, that as soon as marry'd, and in any Ability, they provide all that belongs to their Funeral the best they are able, *viz.*, a proper Place, the Coffin, the Tomb-Stones, Winding-Sheets, and the like, and lay up Money for the Expences; and will rather starve, than touch it.<sup>17</sup> They also make two Garments, as rich as they can afford, which they wear at the Festival call'd *Idu*; and then keep them in Trunks to be laid on their Coffins, when bury'd, and then they are given to the Priests.

The Kindred and Friends, and abundance of other People, without being invited, go along with the Corps in no Manner of Order. All the Way from the House to the Grave, they throw about *Bolys*,<sup>18</sup> which are small Shells, for the Poor to make their Advantage of them. They also carry<sup>19</sup> Sacks of Rice and Millet, to be distributed among the Poor at the Place of Burial. They likewise provide many Bits of Gold and Silver, according to the Wealth of the Deceas'd and his Heirs; which each puts into small Pieces of Calicoe, and gives to the chief Minister, whether *Pandiare*, *Catibe*, or *Naybe*, to be distributed among all those who have pray'd for the dead Person. All do not receive them, saying they belong to the Church-men; but such as will, may.

Before the Corps goes a Man of Quality, with a Bottle of sweet Water, sprinkling all he meets in the Way, which is swept very clean from the House to the Place of Burial; for which a Piece either of Silk or

## Harris.

Their Funeral Ceremonies are superstitious to a great Degree. In the first Place, the Corps is washed by [six] Persons of the same Sex, who buy that Office of the King, and are paid for their Service; then they are wrapped up in Colton, and covered with fine white Cotton Cloth, which goes afterwards to the Priest, the Right-hand of the deceased Person being laid upon his Ear, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corps is laid upon the Right-side in a Coffin of *Candou*, Wood and carried to the Burying-place, by six Relations and Friends, attended by the Women-washers, who cry and howl most hideously.

Every Man in his Life-time provides for himself a Burying-place, and all the other Necessaries; nay, they are so superstitious, that they will rather starve than touch the Money they have laid up for that Purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Be-sides the six principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are present without Invitation Upon the March from the House of the deceased Person to the Grave, they scatter Shells,<sup>18</sup> for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they likewise distribute Sacks<sup>19</sup> of Rice and Millet, at the same time they give to the Priest Pieces of Gold and Silver, the Number of which is proportionable to the Estate of the deceased Person, and these Pieces are distributed by the Priest to those who have assisted in praying for the deceased Person.

The Priests sing continually during the whole Course of the Ceremony, and in the Procession, a Person of Quality sprinkles the Assistants with Water made of sweet Flowers.

15. Pyard: *Calbalolan*. M. *valulan*, Sin, *valalanawá* "to bury."

16. See ante p. 276.

17. Pyard: "Ils appellent cette reserve d'argent *Capon*." M. *kafun*.

18. Pyard: *bolys*; M. *bolit* "cowries;" Sin. *bella* "shell."

19. "Sacks" used, in the old sense, for "packages." Pyard: "de sacs et de paquets de ris et mil."



## Symson.

Calicoe, according to the Ability of the Person, is given, and one to each of the Bearers.<sup>20</sup> The greatest and wealthiest are commonly bury'd in the Yards about the Mosques, where the Ground is dearly bought; unless they are Founders of the Mosque, who always reserve a Place for themselves and their Families near it, which is most honourable. The Money for the Ground is equally distributed among the Priests of the Mosque.<sup>21</sup> The Number of Priests at every Funeral, is such as the Deceas'd has appointed; and those Priests sing without ceasing during three Hours the Ceremony lasts.

A large Piece of Silk or Calico is laid about the Grave 'till the Burial is over; and that belongs to the *Moudin*. They lay a Quantity of fine white Sand on and about the Grave. When the Body is laid in, they turn the Face towards Mahomet's Tomb, cover it with white Sand, and sprinkle with Water; and over the Grave they lay a large Piece of Calicoe.

Then the Kindred having brought abundance of Provisions give all the Company to eat. The Ceremony is the same for any Great Man, only there is more Singing, which is continu'd a Year about, and every Day Meat and *Betele* is sent to the *Moudin*: for a King or Queen, this is done as long as the Heir lives; for all others, they pray three Fridays after the Burial, Day and Night; and generally the Priests Sing, and take their Meals on the very Grave, where a Hut is built on purpose, and taken away the third Friday, when all is over. At last a great Entertainment is made, and the Kindred, Friends, Priests, and *Moudins* invited, saying, they then send the Soul to Paradise. The same Day they place Stones upright at both Ends of the Grave, higher or lower, according to the Quality of the Person, and on them carve their Praises. The Entertainment is repeated every Year, on the Anniversary-Day,<sup>22</sup> which is so costly, that it often ruins them; and the same Day they renew the Sand on the Grave, and burn many Perfumes. Such as are able, leave a Revenue for some Person to keep their Grave cover'd with white Sand, and clean it every Morning, causing it to be inclos'd with wooden Bannisters that none may tread on it; for they abhor treading on the Ground where any Person is bury'd, and look upon it as a Sin. There are some Tombs look'd upon as Holy, over which Lamps are continually burning.<sup>23</sup> They have a great Respect for the Bones of the Dead, and therefore never bury two Persons in the same Place; but if through Accident a Place is dug up where Bones are found, the *Pandiare* himself will not presume to touch them without laying a Piece of Calicoe over them.

## Harris.

The Grave is covered with a large Piece of Silk, or Cotton; which, on the Interment, goes to the Priests of the Temple. When the Corps is laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceased Person to the Quarter that faces Mohammed's Tomb; and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, sprinkling it with Water.

When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following Fridays they pray over the Grave; where the Priests sing eat and pray every Day, till the third Friday passes: after which, a general Feast is prepared for the Relations, Friends, and Priests, who pretend, that the Soul of the deceased Person is then conveyed to Paradise. This Feast is prepared every Year, and on *All-Souls Day*<sup>22</sup> they throw fresh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incense. The Grave is surrounded with wooden pails, for they reckon it a great Sin to walk over it. They never bury two Corps in the same Place; for they have such a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Priests dare not touch them. If a great Lord dies, the Priests sing for him a whole year, and are entertained every Day with Dishes of Meat and Betel; but if a King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Successor.

20. Christopher was present at the funeral of the grand-mother of Sultan Muhammad 'Imád-ud-din (accession 1835), which he describes in some detail (*Transactions Bombay Geographical Society*; 163).

21. Pyrard adds:—"Car outre les Moudins chaque Mesquite a vn certain nombre de Prestres qu'ils nomment *Quitawany*, qui sont entretenus des reuenus que leur out laissé ceux qui ont basté le Temple, pour le seruice et l'entretienement du Temple et du Cimetiere, et ils sont comme beneficiers fort honorables, mesme ils achètent ces charges."

22. Pyrard: "le jour de la feste des morts."

23. Thus Christopher (*loc. cit.*):—"A remarkable object on the island (Malé) is a tomb erected over the remains of a person who is regarded by the natives as the most eminent of their saints. The building, which is surmounted by a cupola and a short spire, is thirty feet high: the gate, over which a lantern is placed, is of copper net-work."

**Symson.**

I never saw any mourning Garments us'd, but the Kindred go to the Funeral without their Turbant, bare-headed, and so continue as many Days as they think fit ; for there is no limited Time : [further] they abstain from chewing *Betele*.

Such as are kill'd fighting with those of another Religion, are bury'd without any Ceremony, in their own Cloaths, where they were kill'd ; and there is no praying for them, alledging they are Saints, and to be call'd upon in Time of Need.<sup>24</sup>

They never carry a dead Body from one Island to another ; but tho' it be a King, he is bury'd where he dies. If any of them dies at Sea, the Body is wash'd, and all the aforesaid Funeral-Ceremonies us'd, 'till put into a Coffin, which they make fast to three or four Pieces of *Candou* Wood, that it may always float, and so they cast it into the Sea. Into the Coffin they put some Money, according to their Wealth, with a Writing, giving an Account of the dead Person's Religion and desiring such as shall find him, to take the Money and bury him decently ; which I have often seen done.

**Harris.**

In this Country the Mourners make no Alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue so for a few Days after the Interment.

Those who die fighting with Persons of a contrary Religion are buried upon the Spot where they fall without any Ceremony ; and in regard that they are accounted Holy and Happy, neither the Priests, nor their Friendis, pray for them.<sup>24</sup>

They never transport Corps from one Island to another, and even the King himself is buried where he happens to die. If any Person dies at Sea, they wash the Corps, and put into a Coffin, which they place upon a Float of *Candou* Wood ; within the Coffin they put Silver in Proportion to his Circumstances, and a written Paper, describing his Religion, and withal, praying those who meet with the Corps to take the Money, and bury it handsomely.

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24. Pymar: "qu'ils appellent *chaydes*." Ar: *Shahid* ; M. *Schidu*, "martyrs."



## Reviews.

**SINHALESE BANNERS and STANDARDS.** By EDWARD W. PERERA (Series A, No. 2 of MEMOIRS OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM. Edited by JOSEPH PEARSON, D. SC., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Director of the Colombo Museum) 37 Plates. Ceylon Government Press, Rs. 12 or 16s.

This artistic and in every respect valuable publication represents, in spite of not a few serious author's blemishes, a very creditable first attempt at a complete classification of Sinhalese flags. A fuller review of the work, doing justice to its undoubted merits and at the same time not failing to note its defects, will appear in the next number of *The Ceylon Antiquary*. Meanwhile, it gives us pleasure to commend it to the attention of scholars.

"THE HEART OF BUDDHISM: An anthology of Buddhist verse," By K. J. SAUNDERS (Heritage of India Series.) Oxford University Press; Association Press, 86, College Street, Calcutta.

The above Book was lately published by an author who has already written a book on Buddhist Ideals, and has given us a beautiful translation of the *Dhammapada*. Mr. Saunders' name is known to many in Ceylon as that of a Scholar and a Christian Missionary. Some may, no doubt, question the capacity of one who bears the latter role to write fairly, and with an open mind, upon a religion other than his own. But they will be wrong to harbour such a fear.

The time has passed when it was impossible for Christian Missionaries to look upon the system of religious beliefs around them with anything but distrust, and even horror. The new attitude fixes upon the claim made by Christ to be the Truth; and argues with sure conviction that all that men have ever learned of Truth, in whatever system enshrined, must find a place in the kingdom that they seek.

The Series to which this Book belongs is edited by the Bishop of Dornakal, the Rt. Rev. V. S. Azariah, and Mr. J. N. Farquhar; its aim is to unearth and spread abroad the "treasures of knowledge, wisdom, and beauty" which are contained in India's heritage. The elements of truth in the great religions must be winnowed from the elements of error; what in the thought of man's mind is eternal must be severed from what is only ephemeral; thus the whole world shall be enriched by a noble harvest of pure grain.

Those who desire to undertake this task need, before all else, the two qualities of scholarship and sympathy. There can be no true scholarship without sympathy; the author of this book possesses in a marked degree the sympathy which, combined with patient study both of men and books, can produce the highest scholarship; the readers of it will be able to form their own judgment as to the measure of insight which has been attained.

The title is certainly a bold one; it assumes that we are to be taken into the innermost sanctuary, and, with the veil withdrawn, are to behold the hidden essence of a teaching which has exercised dominion over multitudes for more than two thousand years. And yet the words which contain the revelation are compressed within a hundred pages. It is clear that there can be no exhaustive treatment. The question is: Do we behold a mere skeleton, or can we look upon the heart?

What is the heart of a religion? Is it found in the esoteric doctrines, hidden away amidst a mass of sacred literature, known only to the few elect who care about these things enough to search them out? Or is it found in the beliefs which are the most widely known,—those which have sunk most deeply into the mind of the ordinary disciple?

The author of *The Heart of Buddhism* prefers the latter alternative. He believes that the inner spirit of a Faith is revealed, not by the doctrines of the religious books so much as by the spontaneous expressions of the soul which find a normal utterance in poetry. We need not examine the dogmatic treatises of theologians ; rather we have to breathe the spirit of the living experiences of Saints.

Few would care to condemn this conclusion as shallow, and it certainly has the merit of simplicity. As so often appears, the simple insight of a holy life sees deeper than the weary labours of a powerful intellect. We can, therefore, shake ourselves free of the voluminous teachings of the Buddhist Canon, and can, thus unencumbered, pass out into the freer air of Buddhism as it is reflected in the thoughts and habits of its present followers.

We may expect that certain tenets, which occupy many chapters of the Books, will find no place in this collection of Poems and Stories. Abstract metaphysical matters are ruled out. The difficult theory of the Skandhas, for instance, is not dwelt upon, as modern Buddhists for the most part revert to the older Brahminical philosophy of Transmigration. Very little space is given to Nirvána, "for it is possible," writes our author, "to support any of the current theories concerning it from the Sacred Books, and Buddhists for the most part are not troubling themselves about it, but look forward rather to rebirth in a heaven, or upon earth under favourable conditions."

The Book contains an illuminating introduction, written in that same beautiful literary style with which *Buddhist Ideals* has made us familiar. Mr. Saunders pays a tribute to the ethical contribution which Buddhism has made to Eastern thought.

"This is a heritage," he writes, "for which India can hardly be too grateful ; for it has been her greatest weakness that she has never risen to the conception of a Righteous God, and so has missed the moral fibre which that conception alone can impart. And whilst Gautama himself failed of this sublime achievement, and therefore failed to hold her allegiance, yet he taught of a Force 'which makes for righteousness,' and his own example of pure and loving manhood has been a mighty power for good."

The Introduction contains a statement of the main ideas which lie at the root of Buddhist thinking. It is a statement which is especially interesting, because of its refusal to rest in the usual conclusion that Buddhism deserves the charge of radical pessimism.

The Buddhist "scheme of salvation" is then presented ; there are two royal roads which lead to the attainment of that which, amidst the flux and unreality of things, is alone real and permanent. The Introduction closes with an inimitable picture of a scene in one of the picturesque *viháras* of Ceylon, on an occasion when the author was shewn by a very old priest a perfect image of the Buddha. The dominant expression of the face was, strange as it may seem to us, one of keen humour. The first Poem in the Book illustrates this quality by a delightful story in which Gautama, to use a modern slang phrase, "pulls the leg" of a proud Brahman. Thus the Poems begin with an attempt to get a true and sympathetic mental picture of the great Teacher himself.

As has been said above, the Poems touch upon the doctrines which have most influence today in Buddhist lands. For centuries Buddhist countries have lain moaning in the grip of the giant relentless force of *Karma*. Poems V and VI proclaim men's doom, beneath this deadly law. Much space is rightly given to the place of the supernatural, for modern Buddhism, it is well known, contains a large infusion of animistic doctrines. There is a beautiful Poem named "The Spirits of the Departed," and it is prefaced by these rather startling words :

"The East will take more seriously than the West has done the beautiful doctrine of the Communion of Saints. In all Buddhist lands spirits play a vital part in the religion of the people. In Tibet Buddhism is almost entirely superseded by spirit-worship ; in Burma the "Nats" are more thought of than the Buddhas ; and in Japan and Ceylon any tree or deserted temple, any house or garden, may have its guardian deity."

There are, at the end of the book, translations of several of the *Játaka* Stories, which further illustrate the reality of the belief in spirits of good and evil.

One of the most interesting and valuable results of the book is to be found in the light thrown on certain long controverted questions by the juxtaposition of poems dealing with them from different points of view. Poems XIX and XXIV reveal, in contrast to each other, the Pessimism and the Hope of Buddhist teaching. The XXXVIth Poem strikes the noblest note to be found in all Gautama's teaching,—the note of boundless benevolence, of which his own life is so splendid an example.

But just as we were beginning to hope that there was such a thing as the teaching of affection between man and man within the compass of Gautama's philosophy, such hope is crushed by the XLVIIIth Poem, which is a poetical representation of § 213 of the *Dhammapada*. "From affection come grief and fear." Attachment to any is but another bond tying men down upon the cruel wheel of life; let men flee from it as from deadly poison.

The collection includes some famous poems; among these is the 'Song of Great Blessing,' (No. IX), which is an epitome of Buddhist ethics, and is learned by heart by every Burmese child.

The most artistic of the charming 'Psalms of the Sisters'—'the True Recluses'—gives a valuable contemporary picture of the early *Sangha*.

There is also a beautiful Poem, 'The Abode of Peace,' which would make a strong appeal to those who love to scale some steep ascent, such as Mihintale, and from the threshold of an ancient rock-crowned 'Vihāra,' look out upon the shimmering jungle spread out beneath their feet.

The book is a beautiful compilation, and it may well claim to justify its title if it lets us see a little into the spirit of the Philosophy, or shall we say Religion, which has evoked these poems from the strenuous meditation of its earnest devotees.

Trinity College, Kandy.

KENNETH C. MCPHERSON.

SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES. By O. C. GANGOLY pp. xiii—80, and 95 full-page Plates. Indian Society of Oriental Art Press, Calcutta; 1915. Rupees 15 (one guinea) net.

THIS sumptuous volume—representing a historical survey of South Indian sculpture with iconographical notes based on original Sanskrit MSS never before published,—is without doubt the most scholarly, exhaustive and valuable contribution yet made to a subject which has hitherto suffered, both artistically and scientifically, from inadequate treatment.

As Sir J. G. Woodroffe points out in a short but interesting Preface to the work, it has been the fashion amongst European art-critics to decry the merits of Brahminical Sculpture on the ground of the alleged monstrosities of the Hindu *Pauranic* conceptions, which, it has been said, are incapable of artistic treatment.

But a study of the 100 odd illustrations which Mr. Gangoly gives, with eyes not blinded by prejudice to their "qualities of joyous rhythm, of gracious poise, of fine wrought intensity which win the more on closer study," will help more than anything else to dispel these misconceptions and to refute the unjust criticisms which they have engendered.

They will even do more, and further a juster and wider appreciation of the fact that "Indian sculpture is not a freak of Asiatic barbarism, but is a worthy representative of a school of aesthetic performance as logical, articulate, and highly developed as those of any country in Europe, ancient or modern."

The text is of equal interest and value, more especially the chapters on the rise of art and literature among the Dravidians and those in which the canons of proportion given in an unpublished *Silpasāstra* are analysed with a care and insight, rare, admirable and deserving of the highest praise.

Looked at as a whole, there is abundant evidence that the work has been prompted by a genuine love and true appreciation of the art it treats of, and that it has been carried out with a knowledge and sympathy which cannot be too highly spoken of.

The Illustrations,—5 beautiful Photogravures, 94 full-page Plates and 45 text illustrations representing typical master-pieces from Continental collections and Indian Museums and Temples,—form a unique feature of this volume. Their beauty will undoubtedly be a revelation to Western collectors; while to Indian students, they will furnish an entirely new point of view from which the ancient monuments of India should be studied.

The following extracts from the reference to Ceylon in the work, quite apart from their local interest, will give some idea of how well-informed and discerning a critic Mr. Gangoly is:—

#### THE EXAMPLES FROM CEYLON.

The *pancha louha* images, all of a Saivaite character, found in the ruins of a Siva Devale in Polonnaruwa in Ceylon and now deposited in the Ceylon Museum, are important documents indispensable for the study of these bronzes. In fact, the figure of Sundaramurti, one of these finds (Plate XXII), undoubtedly claims to be one of the best specimens of its kind which is difficult to match with any example from the mainland.

Questions have been raised as to whether these images were imported from India or made locally by Ceylonese sculptors. Dr. A. Willey, F.R.S., late Director of the Colombo Museum, has asserted that "they are Polonnaruwa bronzes for better or worse" and are not the works of Tamil craftsmen. It cannot be contested that Buddhism of Ceylon has laid the foundations of a very interesting school of sculpture both in stone and metal, and that for several centuries artists both in metal and stone have flourished in Ceylon. But it will be impossible to associate the Saiva images from Polonnaruwa with the local artists of Ceylon brought up in the traditions of Buddhist art.

On the other hand the peculiar character and subject of the images forbid any supposition that they could be the works of artists other than those well versed in Saiva iconography, and the rules of image-making specially connected with the same. Although various Buddhist text-books for sculpture have been found in Ceylon, none of the South Indian manuscripts of the *Silpasāstras* have been discovered there.

Besides, the influence of Saivism never spread among the Ceylonese who are always referred to as "*Sivadrohis*" or the "enemies of Siva," in the Chola inscriptions. The remnants of the Siva temple at Polonnaruwa seem to represent the only centre of a non-Buddhistic cult in Ceylon, and it is in fact the only Saivaite colony there. That Saivism never obtained a permanent footing in Ceylon will appear from the nature of the political relationship between the Chief of Ceylon and the Saivite princes of the Chola dynasty.

The first Chola king who conquered Ceylon was Parantaka I. (circ. 906-946) and from such conquest assumed the title of "a veritable Rāma in battle." His conquest does not seem to have acquired much influence and it was Raja-Raja I who brought about the complete subjugation of the whole island of Ceylon about the year 1005, the twentieth year of his reign. He ruled Ceylon through governors appointed by him and is said to have presented the revenue of a village in Ceylon to the Tanjore temple (*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, p. 31). This supremacy continued up to the time of Kulottunga (1073) when a rising took place and the Cholas were completely driven out from Ceylon.

Of the Tamil records found in Polonnaruwa, those of Rajendra Chola I. and of Adhirajendra (circ. 1070-1073) show that these kings made some benefactions to the Saiva temple, there, which was known as *Vanvanama-devisvaram Udaiyar*. The first part of the name suggests that the temple must have been founded by or at least come into existence at the time of a queen called Vanavanmadevi, probably a Chola princess. A few short epigraphs found close to these Saiva temples refer to donors whose names show their connection to South Indian towns Tiruppavanam, Tiruvaiyaru, and Chidambaram.

After throwing off the Chola yoke in 1073, the Ceylonese retaliated by invading the Chola country during the reign of Raj Rajadhiraj II (III-78). Led by their General Dandanath they captured and plundered Ramesvaram, and marched upon Madura and burnt some villages in the Puttukkotai Taluk. An inscription found in Arpakkam near Conjivaram gives a vivid picture of the dismay of the Cholas and describes "the ravages of 'very wicked and vicious men,' " "all sinners against Siva" who had "removed the sacred door of the temple at holy Ramesvaram, obstructed the worship and carried away all the temple treasures." (*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, p. 32). A desecration of such an important Saivaite shrine could hardly be expected from any invaders with the slightest leaning for Saivaite worship.

It was obvious that in spite of a continued Chola occupation for nearly seventy years the Ceylonese had not developed much predilection for the Saiva religion. These "sinners against Saiva," then, could hardly have encouraged local sculptors to cast images of a Saivaite character. The shrines of Siva found at Polonnaruwa were most probably founded by the Cholas for the benefit of the colony of Tamil Saivaite who emigrated to the north part of the Island probably at the time of Raja-Raja I, and the Saivaite bronzes which have been discovered in the Siva Devale and adjoining sites at Polonnaruwa were, in all probability, imported from the mainland, at the time when the Saivaite shrines were built, or presented to the temples by donors from South India in later times.

There is no doubt, however, that these beautiful examples of Saivaite images which the Chola colonists brought to Ceylon excited the wonder and emulation of the local Sinhalese craftsmen, some of whom attempted to copy some of these models and to reproduce the conventions of its poses and peculiarities without a previous knowledge or training as to its traditional rules and measurements. . . . .

#### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SINHALESE AND SOUTH INDIAN ART.

The true relationship between the art of Ceylon and that of South India is indicated by the fact that many of the details of the ornaments and dresses and head-gears are derived from the practices of the old Buddhist sculptors which were adopted by the later Saivaite sculptors, and which are met with in many of the contemporary Buddhist figure sculptures of Ceylon. Take for instance the stone *Nāgadwārapāla* from Ceylon (illustrated in fig—6A.) One easily recognises in this figure the waist band the *ratna kodar banda*. The *arunomalai*—the central tiger buckle and the festoons of the drapery at the sides—are the unmistakable characteristics of South Indian bronze sculpture. They were in fact the common property of all Buddhist artists of South India and Ceylon and have been adopted by, and have survived in the practices of the Saivaite sculptors when Buddhism died out in South India.

Referring to these bronzes found in Polonnaruwa, Dr. Willey has observed that "there are some experts who will declare that these bronzes are not so good as South Indian bronzes. Such a statement rests upon the conscious or more likely unconscious assumption that Ceylon is a paradise of mediocrities, and that whilst it produces many good things it never has produced one really excellent thing. The assumption may be correct, but it should be stated if it is so."

Any one familiar with the splendid examples of Buddhist bronzes found in Ceylon will admit that the craftsmen of Ceylon hold their own in figure sculpture against all the masterpieces of the kind produced in the Indian Continent, and the fact that the Polonnaruwa bronzes are not the work of Sinhalese craftsmen does not, in any way, detract from their reputation. The "Jambala," the "Avalokiteswara," and, above all, the bronze statuette of Bodhisattva from Anuradhapura in the Colombo Museum, to name only a few, are "really excellent things," executed by Sinhalese artists, which have no rivals in India. . . . .

The Polonnaruwa finds taken together display a variety of treatment and a disparity in technical qualities which would preclude the assumption that they grew up at the same time as the production of a school of sculpture which could be said to have arisen in Ceylon under the Chola influence. The absence of any unity of style in the various examples found in the site would support the supposition that the collection in the temple grew from time to time out of the gifts made by Tamil donors from different parts of South India—with the result that some of the best specimens of South Indian bronzes are found side by side with very poor and lifeless examples.

JOHN. M. SENAVERATNE.



## Other Publications Received.

THE BUDDHIST REVIEW, Vol. VIII, No. 2, (May, June, July, 1916), edited by A. D. Howell Smith, B. A.

ARCHIVES DE L' INDE FRANCAISE :— •

Tome II, 1738-1743, No. 28—Correspondance du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry avec le conseil de Chandernagor.

Tome II, 1738-1743, No. 29— do

Tome II, 1738-1747, No. 30— do

No. 31, 2 Semestre, 1916—Résumé des Actes de l' État Civil de Pondichéry depuis 1676.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY (Bangalore), Vol. VI, Nos. 1 to 4.

GUTTILA KAVYA VARNANA by W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar, 2nd edit. [A notable work, executed with profound skill and scholarship. Our review of this work is crowded out of the present Number.—ED., C. A.]

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**ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.**


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**Vol. I. (Additional List.)**


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Page 174, line 23, *for* ended it peacefully after a period of captivity on his country's soil *Read* ended it peacefully, after a period of captivity, on his country's soil.

Page 176, line 32, *for* salt's cure *Read* salts cure.

Page 177, line 6, *for* St. João *Read* S. João.

Page 204, line 3, *for* respectfully *Read* respectively.

Page 255, line 11, *for* Siléyina-maruta-madu *Read* Silaiyinā-maruta-madu.

**Vol. II, PART I.**

Page 59, *for* S'coffier *Read* Scoffier.

Page 59, line 16, *for* Scharff boekhouder *Read* Scharff, boekhouder.

Page 59, line 18, *after* Leeuwestein *Read* Vaandrig.

Page 59, line 20, *delete* Vaandrig.



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