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ON THE TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP IN SINHALESE AND TAMIL.

THOUGH Sinhalese and Tamil belong to different families of languages, the former to the Indo-European, and the latter to the Dravidian, yet there are many points in which it is easy to trace resemblances between the two languages in respect of words, idioms, and modes of expression. In such cases certain characteristics which distinguish them from the languages of Europe are often just as marked.

One of the most prominent of these points of resemblance is seen in the general system by which the various degrees of family relationship are expressed in each language. A peculiarity of this system which is not, so far as I am aware, found in any of the principal European languages, is the care taken to distinguish between certain shades of relationship. An Englishman, for example, does not think it necessary to have separate words to denote his uncles or aunts, according as they are related to him on his father's or on his mother's side. He is quite content to call them by one general term "uncle" or "aunt." He has no "short title" even for his deceased wife's sister. A Sinhalese or a Tamil, on the other hand, draws a sharp distinction between the two classes of paternal and maternal uncles and aunts. Paternal uncles and maternal aunts he regards as more closely related to him than paternal aunts and maternal uncles. The latter stand upon quite a different footing to the former, who have a quasi-parental rank, they are "big-father" or "little father," "big mother" or "little mother"[1] according as they are older or younger than the parent to whom they are related by blood. They rank with step-parents, the others with fathers and mothers-in-law. Less respect appears to be felt for paternal aunts and maternal uncles, who are not honoured with such titles as "mother" and "father." Their children are called "cousin" (if the Sinhalese and Tamil words, which have not the same connotation as the English word can be so translated), while the children of a paternal uncle or of a maternal aunt are regarded by a native as having a quasi-fraternal relationship to him, and are spoken of as "brothers" and "sisters" He even applies those terms to still more distant collateral relatives, provided always, that the connecting links, so to speak, in the chain of relationship are paternal uncles or maternal aunts. For example one can call any body "brother" whom one's "quasi-fraternal cousin" (to coin an expression) can call by that name. We may say, then, that in Sinhalese and Tamil there are no words which can be exactly represented in English by the words, "uncle," "aunt," "cousin," unless those words are restricted to meaning "mother's brother," "father's sister" and children of either of these relatives. And it is a curious illustration of this use of the words that "uncle" and "aunt" are derived from the Latin words meaning "mother's brother" (*avunculus*), and father's sister (*amita*), while "cousin," is from *consobrinus*, which means "the child of a mother's sister."[2]

It will be found however that this is not a mere question of names. The children of two brothers or of two sisters cannot marry each other[3] any more than if they were children of the same parents. But there is no objection to marriage with the child of one's paternal aunt, or of one's maternal uncle;[4] on the contrary such a marriage is

[1] The Sinhalese have even names for father's "intermediate" brother (maddumā appā), mother's "intermediate" sister (maddumā ammā).

[2] *Avunculus*, again = literally "the little grand-father." *Consobrinus* = *consororinus*, "one with "whom we are sister-children, our modern cousin, "Italian *cugino*, in which there remains very little "of the original word soror, from which, however, "it is derived." *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II., p. 33.

[3] Such marriages are not actually prohibited among the Muhammadans, though they are very rare.

[4] Ammāṉ makaḷai koḷḷukiṟatu murai tāṉ, one can marry one's maternal uncle's daughter.

There is a custom to which Brahmans and

considered to be one of the best a man can make.

This distinction between one description of uncles and aunts and another, and between the two descriptions of cousins, seems at first sight to a European, who does not meet with it in his own or his neighbour's language, quite artificial and arbitrary. But though not found in modern European languages, there is something like it in Greek and Latin. In Greek a distinction was made, as far as names were concerned, between (*a*) uncles and aunts on the father's side and (*b*) uncles and aunts on the mother's side. The names for those relatives, however, were merely words derived from πατήρ and μήτηρ[5]. But in Latin although father's brother (*patruus*) and mother's sister (*matertera*) were, as in Greek, called by terms derived from the words for father and mother, for "father's sister" and mother's brother totally different words were used, viz., *amita* and *avunculus*. In the case of cousins, however, the distinction was made generally between cousins on the father's side (*patrueles*) and cousins on the mother's side (*consobrini*), though even these words appear to have originally meant "father's brother's children" and "mother's sister's children."

Further, a native does not think it sufficient to distinguish between uncles and aunts merely in respect of their relationship to him through father or mother. Their relative age, as compared with that of the parent through whom the relationship exists, must also be considered, and different words used according as it is greater or less than that of the parent. Similar considerations must have weight as regards brothers and sisters. Their seniority or otherwise to the speaker is generally borne in mind by him, and shown by the words he uses to denote them. So ayiyā and malayā, tamaiyaṉ and tampi, &c. It should however be observed that while the words for elder brother and younger brother, elder sister and younger sister, are special and distinctive, those for father's brothers and mother's sisters are merely the words for father and mother distinguished by qualifying prefixes.

But with all this care to express differences with respect to age and to species of relationship in the case of persons who might conveniently be classed under some common term, we find that there are no special terms to denote persons for whom a European would consider it necessary that there should be distinctive names.

A Sinhalese or a Tamil often leaves it uncertain whether by "brother" he means "cousin" or by "cousin" he means "brother-in-law," one uncle may be his step-father, another his father-in-law; his nephew may be his son-in-law. He is just as indefinite with regard to "his sisters, his cousins and his aunts." They may turn out to be nieces or sisters-in-law, step-mothers or mothers-in-law.[6] In fact

Father-in-law = maternal uncle.[7]
Step-father = paternal uncle.
Mother-in-law = paternal aunt.
Step-mother = maternal aunt.
Son-in-law = nephew.
Daughter-in-law = niece.

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Brother-in-law}\\\text{Sister-in-law}\end{array}\right\}$ = cousin (1).

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Brother}\\\text{Sister}\end{array}\right\}$ = cousin (2).

The accompanying table will illustrate more clearly my remarks as to the resem-

some of the chetties from India are addicted, for a man to take to wife (illegally of course) his sister's daughter. But he never marries his brother's daughter.

[5] There is besides a word θεῖος which includes father's brother and mother's brother, and a corresponding feminine form θεία.

[6] No doubt the explanation of the fact that the same words are used for "father-in-law" and "maternal uncle," and for "mother-in-law" and "paternal aunt," is that a man very often married the daughter of one of these relatives. A step-father and step-mother again were looked upon in the same light as father's younger brother and mother's younger sister, *i.e.* so to speak as a sort of junior father and junior mother.

[7] A maternal uncle is called in Sinhalese ęvęssa māmā, to distinguish him I suppose from a father-in-law. Ęvęssa = near, direct.

blance between Sinhalese and Tamil in the matter of terms of relationship, and as to some of the peculiarities which characterize those terms.

I should state that it is not intended to be complete in every respect. Words which have no particular bearing on my remarks, honorific words, terms of endearment and colloquialisms are generally left out, and those forms of certain words in one language are given the preference which come nearest to corresponding words in the other, even though there may be others more generally in use. Doubtless also other degrees of relationship, expressed by some of these words, might be added, but this paper is not meant to be an exercise in Permutations and Combinations.

English.	Sinhalese.	Tamil.
1 Father	piyā tāttā appā appocci	pitā. takappan̤. appan̤. (As a term of address appā and appū.)
2 Mother	mav ammā mātā mẹ̄niyō	tāy. ammā. mātā. āyi. āycci.
3 { Father's father Mother's father	muttā "	tāttā. pāṭṭan̤.
4 { Father's mother Mother's mother	āttā ācci "	appāyi. pāṭṭi. ammāyi.
5 { Father's elder brother Mother's elder sister's husband Paternal cousin of father older than father	(1) loku appā or loku appocci (big father) (2) mahappā (big father)	periya takappan̤ (big father).
6 { Father's younger brother Mother's younger sister's husband Paternal cousin of father younger than father	(1) kuḍappā (little father) (2) bālappā or bāppā or bāppocci (little father)	(1) ciṛiya takappan̤ (little father). (2) kuṅciyappan̤ (little father).
7 { Mother's elder sister Father's elder brother's wife	loku ammā or mahammā (big mother)	periya tāy (big mother). periyammā (big mother).
8 { Mother's younger sister Father's younger brother's wife Step-mother	kudammā or bālammā Puṅciammā (little mother)	(1) ciṛiya tāy (little mother). (2) kuṅciyācci (little mother).
9 { Father's sister Mother's brother's wife Mother-in-law (= husband's or wife's mother)	(1) nẹndā (2) mātula	(1) māmi. (2) attai.
10 { Mother's brother Father's sister's husband Father-in-law (=husband's or wife's father)	(1) māmā (2) mātulā	(1) māman̤. (2) mātulan̤.

	English.	Sinhalese.	Tamil.
11	Son Son of brother (male speaking) Son of sister (female speaking)	(1) putā (2) putrayā	(1) makaṉ. (2) puttiraṉ.
12	Daughter Daughter of brother (male speaking) Daughter of sister (female speaking)	duva	makaḷ.
13	Brother Son of father's brother Son of mother's sister	sahōdarayā	cakōtaraṉ.
14	Sister Daughter of father's brother Daughter of mother's sister	sahōdarī	cakōtari.
15	Elder brother, &c.	ayiyā	(1) tamaiyaṉ. (2) aṇṇaṉ (term of address).
16	Elder sister, &c.	akkā	akkāḷ or akkā.
17	Younger brother, &c.	malayā	tampi.
18	Younger sister, &c.	(1) nagā (2) nangi	taṅkai or taṅkāḷ.
19	Son of father's sister Son of mother's brother Brother-in-law	massinā	macciṉaṉ, generally contracted into maccāṉ.
20	Daughter of father's sister Daughter of mother's brother Sister-in-law	nēnā	macciṉi, generally maccāḷ.
21	Nephew *i.e.* (1) son of sister (male speaking), (2) son of brother (female speaking) Son-in-law	bēnā	marumakaṉ or marukaṉ.
22	Niece, *i.e.* (1) daughter of sister (male speaking), (2) daughter of brother (female speaking) Daughter-in-law	lēli	marumakaḷ or maruki.
23	Grandson	munuburā	pēraṉ.
24	Grand daughter	minibirī	pērtti.
25	Husband	purusayā	purushaṉ.
26	Wife	strī	(1) iṣtiri. (2) peṇsāti.

The reader will now perceive that not merely are the same words or words from the same root, or similar expressions, to be found, but that the system of classification of the different kinds of relations in the two languages is identical. It may hence be inferred that both among Sinhalese and Tamils it originated under similar conditions.

An absence of distinctive names to denote certain relatives, as remarked by Sir John Lubbock, "does not arise from poverty of language," because, as we have seen to be the case in Sinhalese and Tamil, "the same system discriminates between other relationships which we do not distinguish."[8] It is a result of the different ideas on the subject of relationship which prevailed when these terms originated from those held by people in a more advanced state of civilization.[9]

It has been shown by recent writers[10] that our present social relations have arisen from an initial stage of "Hetairism, or communal marriage." Under this system no man could appropriate a wife without infringing the rights of the whole tribe.

The result was that in such a state of society a child was necessarily regarded as related to the tribe, but not specially to any particular father or mother.[11] An example of this is the Hawaian or Sandwich Island system, into which "the idea of "marriage does not enter......Uncleship, "auntship, cousinship are ignored; and we "have only:—

Grandparents,
Parents,
Brothers and Sisters,
Children and
Grandchildren.

"Here it is clear that the child is related "to the group. It is not specially related "either to its father or to its mother, who "stand in the same relation as mere uncles "and aunts; so that every child has seve-"ral fathers and several mothers."[12]

One of the limitations induced on the system of communal marriage would be, when women were scarce, that several men should have the same wife.[13] This polyandry would, in some cases, become restricted to brothers, as among the Kandyans.[14] Lubbock instances a practice "among the Todas of the Neilgherry Hills . . . . when a man marries a girl she becomes the wife of all his brothers as they successively reach manhood, and they also become the husbands of all her sisters as they become old enough to marry."[15] Under such a system it is easy to see how the terms "big father," "little father," "big mother," "little mother," would originate.

The next advance in the progress of ideas with respect to relationship is where the child is regarded as related to his mother and not to the father, or the system of "relationship through females" which is prevalent among many of the lower races. Hence the origin of the custom found among many tribes for a man's property to descend not to his wife's, but to his sister's, children, for the latter must certainly be his relatives.[16]

In the third stage or "relationship through males," the father takes the place of the

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[8] *Origin of Civilization*, p. 73.

[9] The difference in this respect between English and the vernaculars is not always present to the mind of interpreters. For example, I have heard a witness in court made to say in answer to a question as to his relationship to one of the litigants, "I eloped with his daughter so I call him uncle." The conclusion here, does not, at first sight, seem justified by the premisses. Sometimes it happens that the interpreter himself is unable to say at first what relationship is meant by a witness. When a witness, Sinhalese or Tamil, says, ["He is] my brother," he has to be asked almost invariably, "which kind of brother? do you mean your own brother *ek kusē upan sahōdarayā* (son of the same mother) or your father's brother's son, &c.?" Sufficient allowance is not always made for the necessity an interpreter is often under of holding a private confeernce with a witness before conveying his answer to the court.

[10] M'Lennan, Bachofen, Morgan, cited by Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 80.

[11] Ibid. p. 119.

[12] Ibid. pp. 73-74.

[13] Ibid. p. 115.

[14] Ibid. p. 74.

[15] Ibid. p. 117.

[16] *Origin of Civilization*, p. 120. There seems to to be something similar among the Mukkuvars of the Chilaw and Puttalam District. "The Mukkuvar headmen are termed Rajavanniya and Kumāravanniya respectively, and by ancient cus-

mother, and he, instead of she, is regarded as the parent.[17] There is, however, a system described by Sir J. Lubbock as intermediate between these two systems of relationship through females and relationship through males, and it seems that it is to this intermediate stage that we must assign the system, which, as I have shown, is common to both Sinhalese and Tamils. For I find that the Tamil terms of relationship have already attracted the attention of an American writer, who is referred to in the following passage[18] :—

"As Lafitau long ago pointed out, we "find a curious, and so to say, intermediate, "system among the Iroquois and Hurons, "to whom as Mr. Morgan has shown, we "may add the Tamils of India." Lubbock describes it thus: "A man's brother's children are his children, but his sister's children are his nephews and nieces, while a woman's brother's children are her nephews and nieces, and her sister's children are her children." And in illustration of it he compares from Tamil the various degrees of relationship denoted by the words takappan̤ tāy, tamaiyan̤ and makan̤ with those denoted by corresponding words in the language of the Iroquois. The former are thus given[19] :—

Takappan̤ = { Father, and also father's brother.
Father's father's brother's son and so on.
Mother's sister's husband.

Tāy = { Mother, and also mother's sister.
Father's brother's wife.
Mother's mother's sister's daughter and so on.

Tamaiyan̤ = { Brother (elder) and also father's brother's son.
Mother's sister's son and so on.

Makan̤ = { Son.
Brother's son (male speaking.)
Sister's son (female speaking.)

These meanings, with the exception of mother's sister's husband, are identical with those expressed by the Iroquois words hanih, noyeh, haje and harakwuk. Sir J. Lubbock goes on to remark—

"That these names really imply ideas as to relationship, and have not arisen from mere poverty of language, is shown by the fact that in other respects their nomenclature is richer than ours.

"Thus they have different words for an elder brother and a younger brother, an elder sister and a younger sister; so again the names for a brother's son, a brother's daughter, a sister's son, and a sister's daughter depend on whether the person speaking is a man or a woman. Thus they distinguish relationships which we correctly regard as equivalent and confound others which are really distinct. Moreover as the languages of distinct and distant races, such as the Iroquois of America and the Tamil of Southern India, agree in so many points, we cannot dismiss these peculiarities as mere accidents, but must regard them as founded on similar, though peculiar, views on the subject of relationship.

"That in the case of the Iroquois this system arose from that of relationship through females, and did not degenerate from ours, is evident, because in it, though a man's sister's children are his nephews and nieces, his sister's grandchildren are also his grandchildren, indicating the existence of a period when his sister's children were his children, and, consequently, when relationship was traced in the female line. A man's brother's children are his children,

tom these titles ought to descend not from father to son, but from uncle to nephew." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon Branch, 1853, p. 58. This was the case also with respect to *Mutusom* property, see *Ceylon Gazetteer*, p. 280.

[17] *Orig. of Civil.* p. 126.
[18] Ibid. p. 127.
[19] *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1866, p. 450, cited by Lubbock, *Orig. of Civil.* p. 127.

because his brother's wives are also his wives."[20]

We have, then, the curious fact, that, so far as has yet been shown (1) the language of the Iroquois, (2) Tamil and (3) Sinhalese may be classed together as the only examples of languages in which the terms of relationship are founded upon what Sir John Lubbock describes as a system intermediate between relationship through females and relationship through males.

J. P. LEWIS.

(*To be continued.*)

INFLUENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH LANGUAGES ON THE SINHALESE AND THE TAMIL.

One of the most interesting studies presented to residents in Ceylon, in common with the coast of India and the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, is that relating to the influence on the language of the natives exercised by that of the first European settlers who obtained a considerable hold on the seaboard of the Island. The Portuguese held the sovereignty of the eastern seas for a lengthened period, until dispossessed of their settlements by the Dutch, and to a considerable extent engrafted their language on the native tongue. The Portuguese words in common use throughout the Island give us some little insight into the condition of the people previous to the arrival of the European, so far as being applied in most cases to what had previously been unknown to the Sinhalese of that day. Turning to Archbishop Trench's 'Study of Words' we read, "Much may be learned by noting the words which nations have been obliged to borrow from other nations as not having them of home growth; thus in most cases, if not in all, testifying that the thing was not native, was only an exotic, transplanted like the word that indicated it from a foreign soil." It is as well to premise that mistakes may arise from some words in both languages having a common origin, as Sanskrit or some other parent stock, so that a word may appear to be derived from the Portuguese when in reality it is correct Sinhalese. This, however, must be left in the hands of those whose studies enable them to detect and point out such errors; at present attention will be called to what every one may observe for himself in colloquial conversation. Quotations will be made further on in reference to a similar adaptation of Portuguese words in the islands of the far East. We will commence with the habitations of the people. With the exception of sacred buildings, Dāgobas, and a few palaces, the houses in Ceylon appear to have been very poorly constructed, and we find no remains of them in any part of the Island. Even the great royal cities have vanished; for instance Gampola, which was at one time an important and populous town, has entirely disappeared from its ancient site, the two stone elephant-headed lions alone being memorials of what once obtained. Before we can build our house we call the mason, *pedareruvā*, a Portuguese appellation, who, to burn his lime, has already constructed a (Port.) *pornuva*.

The carpenter passes by his native name, but he makes use of foreign terms in regard to nearly all the work in the house, he has beam, *balke*; rafters, *parāla*; laths, *rippa*; all Portuguese terms. Doors or doorways were parts of the first enclosed habitations in the early days of the world's history, and accordingly we have a Sinhalese word *dora*, curiously enough identical in pronunciation with our own English word, as are other few words which will be mentioned further on. But for a window the native has to go to Portuguese, "janella" *Janelē*, as also for the glass "vidraça," *vīduruva*. As the Sinhalese had no kitchens apart from the habitable rooms of the house he

[20] *Orig. of Civil.* pp. 128-9.

calls one a *Kussiya* (Port. "Cozinha"), and a latrine *Kakkussiya* (Port. "Cacoes.") If the cook is a Sinhalese, he will tell you *Alumusu* breakfast (Port. "almoça") is *lēsti* (Port. "Lastee") ready. A Tamil servant would call it "tea mesa" or tea-table. Here again we find the table 'mese' in Portuguese, and if we add the Sinhalese for a cloth we get a table-cloth *mesaredda*, whilst knife and spoon retain their native equivalents, a fork as an imported article is *gārpuva* (Port. "garfo") or gārappu, a word which has travelled much further east and with many others used amongst the Malays. Before sitting down to our meal we use *saban* (Port. "Sabaõ") soap, and dry our hands on tuvāje (Port. "toalhar") towel. Amongst other adopted words, commonly supposed to be native, we have Bread, *pan* (Port. "paõ"); *keju*, Cheese (Port. "Queijo"), Vinegar, *vinākiri* (Port. "Vinagree"), Cabbage, *kovi* (Port. "Couve"), Beans, *bonci* (Port. "Bonji"), and many others. An immense number of other words might be adduced, such as those for cart, wheel, bucket, kettle, watch, receipt, proctors, ships, &c. Let us for a time turn to clothing. The Sinhalese and Tamils being eminently a bare-footed race we need not be surprised if we find both shoes and stockings bear an imported name. Though there are various words in both languages expressing sandals or other covering for the feet, the generally accepted word for shoes is *sapattu* (Port. "Sapatos.") Further, whilst the tailor has been enabled to hold his own as being a stitcher *mehunkārayā* (Sinhalese) and *taiyakkāran* (Tamil) the shoemaker has to be content with a foreign name, and is called a *Sapattukārayā*. But the tailor has much to do with the Portuguese as may well have been expected, as the natives had but little occasion for his services until the arrival of the European. Whilst he has to adopt *alpenettiya* from the Portuguese, "alfinete" for a pin, he still adheres to his native name for a needle *indikaṭuva*, which may be freely translated his "working point." For his thimble he must fall back on Portuguese dedal (Sin. *didāle*) His scissors we may suppose came to him from India, as *katura* (Sinhalese) and *kattiri* (Tamil) seem identical and may mean a double knife, the Sinhalese *ketta* from the same origin as the Tamil. His smoothing-iron is also Portuguese, *istrikke*. We may go on with coat, *kabāya*; trousers, *kalisan* (Port. "calçoens"); which the Tamils have changed into leg-coat, "*kāl-catte*," whilst for waist-coat the native has gone to Dutch, and also to the same source for his gloves, from which we may presume that the first invaders of the Island were not men of waist-coats and gloves. Then we have *mes* (Port. "mêas") socks; *kamisa* (Port. "camisa") shirt; *renda* (Port. *idem*) lace; *Tuvājaya* (Port. "Toalhar") towel; *Lensuva* (Port. "Lenço") handkerchief, so thoroughly in use amongst the natives, that but few of us consider them anything but *bonâ fide* native words, though in some cases there may be Sinhalese equivalents. At first sight it seems strange that a hat should not have followed suit of all the rest of the clothing, and taken a foreign name, but coverings for the head of many forms were articles of native dress in India and Ceylon long anterior to the advent of Europeans. Perhaps one of the most remarkable adoptions by the native language is the acknowledged word for a week *sumānaya* (Portuguese "sumana"). Both Tamils and Sinhalese, in common probably with all nations of the world who have a written language, appear to have had a week of seven days; but being already in possession of the week itself, it is very remarkable they should in Ceylon have adopted a foreign appellation for it. It may doubtless be accounted for by the fact that in religious and legal matters, which have so completely taken their course through the length and breadth of the island, a week would be a word of infinite employ and so has grown into constant use. Another word, almost as constantly used as native, is the Portuguese "casardo," married, *kasādabandinavā* being used by Sinhalese from Galle to Jaffna and all over the hill-country. It implies more the ceremony of marriage rather than marriage itself. For the commonly accepted terms for Christmas, Whitsunday, and such seasons of holidays and fast the Catholic priesthood may be held responsible, working as they have done so earnestly throughout the length and breadth of the Island. "*Nattal*" for Christmas, being the Portuguese "Dia de Natal," and *Pentakosdavasa*, the day of Pentecost. Another word so thoroughly engrafted on the native tongue as to appear *primâ facie* Sinhalese is mostara, really the Portuguese "Amostra," a sample, which we have turned in Ceylon amongst Europeans to "muster." It is now, however, no longer colloquially confined to mean a sample, but means generally "kind" or "description" applied to work or other actions, such as "this kind of thing won't do," or to conduct, as, "this kind of act cannot be longer allowed." Both the Indian words *jāti* and *mādiri* are occasionally used in the same sense. The "Līma" for a caffre lime was probably introduced into the country by the Portuguese or Dutch. The Portuguese "Burro" or "Burra" for donkey is in use in some parts of the Island. Perhaps one would expect an article like a candle would acquire a foreign name, but it is apparently otherwise, *iṭipandama*, wax-light (and in Tamil the same *meḷukutiri* or wax-wick) standing as a native name. Travellers in the Bintenna country may occasionally meet with very roughly made candles of native manufactured wax, which give but little light, but make up for it by cracking and sputtering in an extraordinary way. These are probably identically the same as were made long ages ago. The Tamil *veḷiccam* is sometimes used by Sinhalese, and the Portuguese for a candle being "vela," we have a connection not very clear, but probably pointing to the same origin. There being no writing paper in eastern countries until it was introduced by Europeans, we need not be surprised to find *kadaça*, *kaḍidāci*, or *kadalarsec*, running through Sinhalese, Tamil and Malay. Were it of any moment to tabulate a vocabulary of these imported words it would be easy to adduce a very large number, all of Portuguese origin or identical with that language; kite, *saruṅgole*; bell, *sīnuva*; whip, *sabukkuva*; sieve, *penere*; conduit, *kānuva*; credential, *aste*; couple or pair, *joḍuva*; cask, *pīppe*; catechism, *katikismaya*; and catechist, *katisāru*; paint or ink, *tīnta*; palisade, *garādiveṭa*; &c., &c. There being a similarity between many of the Portuguese words and English or Dutch, it has been asserted that too much has been laid to the credit of the former language, and that some of these words were drawn from the latter. But this is easy of refutation, the Portuguese occupied these eastern countries for a very long time, and when other Europeans, following in their track, wrested their settlements from their grasp, the ground as regards introduction of terms and names was already occupied, and there was no necessity for imposing a new set of words to oust that already employed. Looking back to the history of Portuguese occupation of these Eastern lands we soon learn the means whereby so many Portuguese names abound in the island. The Christian foreigner used every exertion to induce the native to join in his religion; inducements of every kind were held out to the native to embrace Christianity; fair means or foul, a Christian he must be. He accepted the religion and a name at the same moment, with other more tangible benefits, and baptisms and marriages were celebrated by hundreds at a time. One of the older writers on India relates how a large number were being married at Goa Cathedral by candlelight, when the wind extinguished the lights and the ceremony was concluded in the dark. Thus, as the narrator quaintly expresses it, many errors occurred, and next day the high authority being appealed to "he advised them to be content with the wives that God had given them, rather than those they had chosen for themselves." And so we have the De Silvas and Soysas, the Fernandos, Pereiras, the De Sarams and Don Pedros, and all the Portuguese names, some of them held by men who pride themselves on the purity of their Sinhalese descent. With such wholesale promulgation of Christianity there necessarily was a scattering abroad of Portuguese names for ceremonies and seasons and rites of the Church. Through the law courts, in the same way, legal terms became known, but as the Portuguese were occupied nearly all their time in fighting and defence, these legal terms are probably not more numerous in Sinhalese than those introduced by the Dutch, who were more occupied with commerce and law, witness the Roman Dutch law in vogue to this day. Enough has been said to point out in a general way the great number of words engrafted, as it were, on the language of the more modern Sinhalese; and it need only be added that so far as one may judge, without, especially for the purpose, searching the vocabularies of other languages, the same influence was exercised wherever the first voyagers round the Cape of Good Hope made their settlements. Some twenty years ago, on a short visit to Singapore and Java, whilst endeavouring to learn a few words of Malay for colloquial use, certain of them struck me as very similar to those in use in Ceylon. The words for handkerchief, fork, paper, shoes, table, &c., were identically those used by the Sinhalese, and as shown above are Portuguese terms, though at the time I noted them down I was unaware of the fact. Wallace's *Malayan Archipelago*, a most interesting work on the natural history of the Eastern islands, published since that time, explains the matter fully, and the accompanying extracts are of extreme interest. We must, however, bear in mind that his relation bears more especially on the language of descendants of the Portuguese, very distant and very qualified and mixed, but nevertheless descendants, or at any rate he supposes them to be such. That is, they bear a good deal the character of our Portuguese Burgher population—not so well preserved or so distinctly to be perceived, but in a similar way carrying forward the language and manners of their forefathers more or less distinctly, according to local circumstances.

There could be much more written on this subject, but as it should be the work of some one more conversant with the languages under consideration this article may serve as an introduction, and the discussion be carried on by more competent authority.

EDMUND WOODHOUSE.

(*To be continued*).

Extract from Wallace's *Malay Archipelago*:—

"The native Amboynese, who reside in the city, are a strange half-civilized, half-savage, lazy people, who seem to be a mixture of at least three races, Portuguese, Malay, and Papuan or Ceramese, with an occasional cross of Chinese or Dutch. The Portuguese element decidedly predominates in the old Christian population, as indicated by features, habits and the retention of many Portuguese words in the Malay, which is now their language. They have a peculiar style of dress, which they wear amongst themselves, a close fitting shirt with black trousers, and a black frock or upper shirt. The women seem to prefer a dress entirely black. On festivals and State occasions they adopt the swallow-tail coat, chimney-pot hat, and their accompaniments, displaying all the absurdity of our European fashionable dress.

"Though now Protestants, they preserve at feasts and weddings the processions and music of the Catholic Church, curiously mixed up with the gongs and dances of the aborigines of the country. Their language has still much more of the Portuguese than Dutch in it, although they have been in close communication with the latter nation for more than 250 years; even many names of birds, trees, and other natural objects, as well as many domestic terms, being plainly Portuguese. This people seems to have had a marvellous power of colonization, and a capacity of impressing their national characteristics on every country they conquered, or in which they effected a mere temporary settlement. The following are a few of the Portuguese words in common use by the Malay-speaking natives of Amboyna and the other Molucca islands :—

Pombo, pigeon; *milo,* maize; *testa,* forehead; *horas,* hours; *alfinete,* pin; *cadeira,* chair; *lenço,* handkerchief; *fresco,* cool; *trigo,* flour; *sono,* sleep; *familia,* family; *histori,* talk; *vosse,* you; *mesmo,* even; *cuñhado,* brother-in-law; *senhor,* sir; *nyora* for *signora,* madam. None of them however have the least notion that these words belong to a European language."

Writing of the Ke islands, Mr. Wallace remarks :—

"It is interesting to observe the influence of the early Portuguese trade with these countries in the words of their language, which still remain in use even amongst these remote and savage islanders. 'Lenço' for handkerchief and 'faca' for knife, are here used to the exclusion of the proper Malay terms." Again at the annual meeting of the islanders for trade in the Aru islands, "every morning two little boys go about with trays of sweet rice and grated cocoanut, fried fish, or fried plantains; and whichever it may be they have but one cry, and that is 'chocolat-t-t.' This must be some Spanish or Portuguese cry, handed down for centuries, while its meaning has been lost."

"Many of the natives, though equally dark with the other, have little of the Papuan physiognomy, but have more delicate features of the European type, with more glossy, curly hair. These at first quite puzzled me, for they have no more resemblance to Malay than Papuan, and the darkness of skin and hair would forbid the idea of Dutch intermixture. Listening to their conversation, however, I detected some words that were familiar to me. "Accabo" was one, and to be sure that it was not an accidental resemblance, I asked the speaker in Malay what "Accabo" meant, and was told it meant "done or finished," a true Portuguese word with its meaning retained. Again I heard the word "Jafui" often repeated, and could see without inquiry, that its meaning was "he's gone" as in Portuguese. "Porco" too seems a common name, though the people have no idea of its European meaning. This cleared up the difficulty. I at once understood that some early Portuguese traders had penetrated to these islands and mixed with the natives, influencing their language and leaving in their descendants for many generations the visible characteristics of their race."

WISE WORDS (MŪTURAI).

By AUVAIYĀR.

The Muhammadans have certainly been the Vandals of India, but though they may have had the will they lacked the power to destroy all the literary productions of the Hindus. The ruthless burning of libraries, which had been slowly growing during centuries of royal patronage, has doubtless deprived us of much that was of value; but considering the severity of the fiery ordeal, we may well be thankful that so many of the works of former ages have survived.

The Tamil literati of the olden time were invariably poets. Not works of the imagination alone, not merely moral and religious subjects, but scientific works and *even a dictionary* must yield to poetic treatment at their hands. Only as the influence of the West began to be felt do we find any examples of prose composition in the Tamil language. And to this day there is scarcely a village of any pretensions that does not boast one or more poets, who are ready to break forth into smooth, easy flowing numbers, whenever the occasion seems to demand the effort.

But amongst this nation of poets a poetess is a *rara avis.* This will not surprise those who know the position usually assigned to woman in the East; perhaps their only astonishment will be that any should have arisen in circumstances so unfavourable to their growth. It may be that in respect of female education in purely Hindu society, "the former times were better than these."

Auvaiyār was a poetess of the first rank, well able to hold her own against her masculine rivals. Having said so much, perhaps all that is really known has been said. Mr. Casie Chitty has given to the world a "Tamil Plutarch, containing a summary account of the lives of the poets and poetesses of Southern India and Ceylon;" but in his preface he declares that in the comparative "absence of biographical records" he has had to fall back upon the "traditions current among the people."

We do not even know the name of our poetess; we only know that it was *not* Auvaiyār, for that is simply a descriptive title, meaning "the elderly lady." (*Auvai*= a matron, (*y*)*ār* being the honorific termination). Such titles are still freely given and they generally stick; often, as in this case, to the complete hiding of the person's proper name. I once wished to see if a friend of mine were remembered in the place in which he had lived. After I had done my best to recall the image of my friend the man said, "O yes, I know, you mean *the Toothless One!*" This gave me a shock, as my friend was but a young man; but I remembered that he had possessed some skittish horse-flesh, and that a visit to the stables had, on one occasion, resulted in a speedy but coarse operation in dentistry. The loss of one or two front teeth had caused him to be known as the "Toothless One." Did space permit numerous similar instances might be adduced.

"The elderly lady" is said to have once been a baby. Her mother was a low-caste woman who, in accordance with a pledge given before her marriage to her Brahman husband, abandoned her children as soon as they were born. But each precocious little castaway spoke comforting words to the sorrowing mother as she left her helpless offspring, and each one of the seven became famous in after life. The most famous of all was Tiruvalluvar, who wrote the Kural, and next to him we must place Auvaiyār. Her foster-father was a minstrel whose office it was to praise kings—"for a consideration"—from him she may have learned the art of poetry. The wide and varied knowledge of men and things which her writings display proves her to have been a woman of splendid natural abilities, of keen observation, and of mature experience. She is said to have sung in the ninth century A.D. Those who take delight in separating the legend credible from the legend incredible may be glad to search further into the records of Auvaiyār's life, but it is hoped that enough has been said to interest the reader in the following version of one of her works. There is a crisp sententiousness about the original which is, I fear, but faintly reproduced in the English dress.

(*Dedication.*)

Who garlands bring and duly bow
Before the red Gaṇeśa's[1] feet,
Shall surely gain right thoughts, right speech,
Lakṣmi's[2] sweet smile, and health robust.

1. Stay not to ask when favour done
Will bring you favour back: the palm
Drinks water at its root, but fills
With grateful milk its lofty nut.

2. A favour to the good will show
Like graving in the solid rock;
Good done to loveless souls is but
As letters upon water traced.

3. Youth's joys are marred by poverty,
And wealth itself frets rich old age;
The maiden's beauty wins no spouse,
As flowers bloom and fade unprized.

4. Though milk be boiled its taste remains;

[1] The god of wisdom and prudence, usually invoked by Hindus at the outset of their undertakings.

[2] The goddess of fortune.

The kiln-burnt shell is spotless white;
And thus, though poor, the great are great,
But churls are churls, however loved.

5. Tall beauteous trees, full-branched, fruit not
Till time is ripe: try as you will
Affairs begun will be undone
Till the appointed hour has come.

6. The post of stone its burden bears
And sooner breaks than bends: so those
Brave souls of spotless fame prefer
To die than live to serve their foes.

7. The water's depth decides the height
Of lily's growth; so learning, wit;
And penance in a former birth
Gives wealth; whilst tempers prove the caste.

8. To see the good is good, and good
It is to hear their weighty words;
Good also to recount their worth
Of heart, and good to dwell with them.

9. To see the bad is naught but bad,
Bad too to hear their worthless words;
Bad to make known their evil heart,
Bad evermore to dwell with them.

10. The stream that flows to bless the fields
Makes green the grass on either bank;
And if, in this old world, some men
Be good, the rain will fall on all.

11. Strip off the husk, of little worth,
The grain sprouts not; and thus it is
That e'en the men of might still need
Some fitting help from meaner folk.

12. The little magil's[3] sweetness drowns
The screw pine's scent; the tiny stream
Gives water sweet, the great sea brine:
In bodies small great souls may dwell.[4]

13. Not every branching forest tree
Is tree of worth; amongst the wise
Who comes, nor reads, nor understands—
Forsooth, he is a tree indeed!

14. The dull-hued turkey apes the gait
Of lordly peacock richly plumed;
And thus the poetaster shows
When he would fain his verse recite.

15. The tiger, healed by skilful leech,
Ate him for thanks; the earthen pot
Was shivered by the flinty rock:
'Tis thus with favours to the boor.

16. Deem not that quiet men are dolts
With ease o'ercome: the wary stork
Waits moveless on the bank, small fish
May pass, fit prey is seized at length.

17. The lake no longer water holds—
Off fly the fowl, the lilies stay:
If friends are friends when wealth is gone,
The lily's constancy they share.

18. Gold vessels broken still remain
Fine gold—what is a potsherd worth?
The great, though indigent, are great—
How will you rate the mean when poor?

19. Will measured quart a gallon bring
When plunged in deepest sea? O friend,
Though woman gains fond spouse and wealth,
Her joy will be what fate has writ!

20. Kinsfolk sometimes are not best friends;
Disease born with us may result
In death; far hills yield healing herbs,
So strangers may give truest help.

21. The thrifty gentle wife recks not
Of comforts not within her means;
But the coarse termagant will make
Her husband's home like tiger's den.

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[3] Mimusops elengi.

[4] *The man of stature he is the man*—Auvaiyār was happily emancipated from this notion that evidently prevailed then as now amongst the Tamils.

22. Vain man, will your design or fate's
Decree stand firm ? From Indra's tree[5]
Who pluck the fruit may poison eat
For evil done in former birth.

23. Cleft rock will never re-unite,
But fused may be the severed gold,
Dart-stricken water closes swift—
And like these three are minds of men.

24. As graceful swan swims close to where
The lotus blooms, so seek the wise
Their kind : the crow haunts burning-grounds
For the charred corpse, so fools love fools.

25. The cobra, poison-fanged, lies hid ;
The harmless water-snake fears naught :
Malicious men seek hidden paths,
Whilst guileless souls come to the light.

26. The king, the man of wide deep lore—
Whose name excels ? The fame of kings
Goes not beyond their kingdom's bounds;
The whole world rings with wisdom's praise.

27. Wise words to fools, and charity
To graceless souls, and bunch of fruit
To plantain-stem, and fractious wife
Unto her kin, as Yama[6] are.

28. Soft sandal-wood, though rubbed and rubbed
Again, its fragrance keeps : and kings,
With victor garland on, retain
Their kingliness though pelf is lost.

29. Friendship's sweet faith, and boundless wealth,
And beauty rare, and noble birth,
With Lakṣmī come : but if she go,
These too will vanish in her train.

30. The tree, until it falls, grants shade
To him who fells it : so the wise
And good, while life shall last, are kind
To those who strive to work them ill.

E. STRUTT.

[5] There are said to be five miraculous trees in Indra's Paradise (Svarga) which yield whatever is desired.

[6] The god of death and judge of departed souls. The plantain-stem bears but one bunch of fruit, and when that is gathered, the stem which bore it is at once cut down to make room for the younger shoots springing up around it.

SINHALESE FOLKLORE.

ISĒKEṬUVĀVA.

THE belief in the doctrine of predestination is not confined to one country or to one nation, but appears to be prevalent in a greater or lesser degree among all nations of the world. According to some Sinhalese nothing can happen to a man, not even a hair of his head can fall, unless it has been so predestinated at his birth; and no marriage can take place that has not been pre-arranged and pre-determined by fate. The word for this predestination, in the Sinhalese language, is that found at the head of this paper, *Isēkeṭuvāva,* which is compounded of *Isē,* the locative case of *Isa,* head, and *Keṭuvāva,* a verbal noun (Kṛidanta), derived from the verb *koṭanavā* (root *kut,* to cut or inscribe). The compound noun thus formed, Isēkeṭuvāva, means an inscription on the head.

This notion has originated from an idea or a tradition that at the birth of every child, whether male or female, the great Brahma, also called Sahampati or Mahā Brahma, who according to Hindū mythology is the creator of the world, comes down from his abode, *Aganiṣṭa-Brahma-loka,* and inscribes on the child's head everything that is to happen to him or her, to whom and at what time he or she is to be married, and when, where, and how he or she is to close the term of his or her life. Some people imagine this inscription to be formed in the jagged edges of the different bones of the cranium, resembling rows of characters of some unknown language. This they say is the inscription made by the great Brahma at the birth of the person to whom the skull belongs, whereby all the destinies of the person are appointed.[1]

No marriage can take place contrary to the *Isĕketuvāva.* If a marriage that had once been proposed and settled were about to be dissolved, it is usual for people to attribute it to the *Isĕketuvāva* to which everyone must submit, whether willing or not. The following story is told in illustration of the doctrine that what is inscribed on the head cannot be altered:—

It is said that on one occasion, *Śakra* (Indra) the Monarch of two of the god-worlds, who is endowed with one thousand eyes, while walking about on the top of the great central rock *Mahā-mēru-parvata,* met the great Brahma Sahampati returning to his abode in the *Aganiṣṭa-Brahma-loka* and asked him, "Where have you been, my friend?" "I have been," said the Mahā Brahma, "to the human world, to make my inscription on the head of the daughter of the Supreme Monarch of Jambudvīpa (the Asiatic Continent) just born." Śakra questioned, "To whom have you destined her to be married?" "To that crippled beggar yonder," replied the Mahā Brahma, pointing to the beggar with his finger. "That will never take place," rejoined the Śakra. "Time will show it," responded Mahā Brahma, and proceeded to the *Aganiṣṭa Brahma-loka,* which is the highest abode in the universe.

From this time Śakra took every precaution to prevent any danger happening to the young princess, and to protect her in such a way, as a woman who had an only son would protect him, or as a man blind of one eye would take care of the remaining one. When the girl grew to the age of sixteen years, under the protection and guardianship of her invisible friend Śakra, she proved to be the most beautiful female throughout the whole of Jambudvīpa. Many crown princes from the neighbouring, as well as from the remotest kingdoms came to solicit her in marriage, having heard the fame of her most exquisite beauty, with which the whole of Jambudvīpa was filled. And the king her father allowed her to select any prince whom she might like, for her husband.[2] The selection was accordingly made, and her choice fell on a very beautiful and wealthy young prince, the heir to the crown of his father, the king of a very powerful dominion. The king, the father of the princess, gave his consent, and a day was fixed for the celebration of the solemn rite according to the customs prevalent in those days.

But unfortunately it so happened that the queen, the mother of the damsel, wished to bestow her daughter in marriage on her (the queen's) own brother's son, who was an ugly illiterate stupid. The king and the princess were however opposed to the queen's wishes. The most expensive preparations were made for the reception of the foreign prince. The whole kingdom was most tastefully decorated, the palace was magnificently ornamented with garlands of flowers of various hues hung in all directions. Ceilings richly embroidered with golden figures of birds, fishes, and other beautiful animals covered the entire inner roof of the palace. Strings of pearls of the most rare value were hanging from the extremities of the outer roof. The whole floor was spread with blue and scarlet velvet carpets, over which six kinds of flowers of various colours were strewed. Golden pots with opened cocoanut flowers were placed in appropriate situations. The bridal throne was erected of massive gold, decked with nine kinds of precious gems. Handsome maidens, magnificently dressed in white apparel, holding cāmara-tail fans, were standing in rows on either side of the throne ready to sing the benedictive verses on the arrival of the royal bridegroom. All the subjects of the king throughout the whole kingdom were sumptuously feasted for seven days. All these things were performed with great splendour under the management of Śakra, who was invisibly presiding over everything. Now all the preliminaries being over, everyone was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the royal bridegroom.

At this critical juncture Śakra being glad that everything had gone on satisfactorily, and that the purpose of the Isēketuvāva was nearly frustrated, opened his thousand eyes to see where the crippled beggar, the object of his odious contempt was by this time; and to his great mortification he saw him sitting and eating near the royal culinary apartment. Śakra, judging that it would be unsafe to allow him to remain there, removed him at once by his divine power to the highest summit of *Mahā-Meru-parvata.* But while on his way back to the palace he was feeling pity on the beggar that he had deprived of the food that he was expecting from the royal wedding-feast.

In the meantime the queen took her daughter and put her in a large trunk, closed it carefully and gave it to four men, saying: "Carry this trunk of sweetmeats and cakes and give it to my brother's household," and the men took it up and carried it, but just as they were out of the royal precincts, Śakra, who was returning to the palace as stated, met the four men carrying the trunk and asked them, "What have you got in this trunk, and where are you taking it?" They replied that the trunk was full of sweetmeats and cakes, which they were carrying to the queen's brother's house. "Never mind taking sweetmeats and cakes to the queen's brother's house," said Śakra, and taking up the trunk removed it at once to the summit of the *Mahā-meru-parvata* and placed it before the crippled beggar saying, "enjoy this as your portion," and made haste to the palace to witness the marriage ceremony. The beggar on opening the trunk was agreeably surprised to behold a lovely princess encased within, and he felt more glad than if he had obtained one hundred trunks of sweetmeat and cakes. On Śakra's return to the palace, he found it in a state of great confusion, and the princess missing. He then quickly opened his thousand eyes to see where the princess could have been, and to his great regret saw her with the beggar on the summit of the rock; but it was then too late to undo what he had done, and Mahā Brahma Sahampati's prediction was thus fulfilled.[3]

C. Alwis,
Teacher of Languages.

Notes by the Editor.

1. The notion among the Sinhalese that Brahma inscribes on the heads of human beings their destinies in life is borrowed from the Hindūs, whose books contain frequent allusions to this popular belief. As an instance I quote the following from the Hitopadeśa :—

स हि गगणविहारी कल्मषध्वंसकारी ।
दशशतकरधारी ज्योतिषां मध्यचारी ॥
विधुरपि विधियोगाद्ग्रस्यते राहुणासौ
लिखितमपि ललाटे प्रोज्झितुं कः समर्थः ॥

Sa hi gagaṇavihārī kalmaṣadhvan̥sakārī
daśaśatakaradhārī jyotiṣān̥ madhyacāri,
vidhurapi vidhiyogād grasyate rāhuṇāsau
likhitamapi lalāṭe projjhitun̥ kaḥ samarthaḥ.

Thus translated by Johnson :—

"Since even the moon sporting in the sky, destroying sin, possessing ten hundred beams, marching in the midst of the stars; from the influence of destiny is swallowed by the dragon :—who *then is* able to avoid what is written on *his* forehead *by the finger of destiny?*"

2. It was a singular privilege with Hindū princesses in former times to make a public choice of a husband from a number of suitors assembled for the purpose. This is called svayan̥vara (self-choice) compounded of svayan̥, of one's self, and vara selecting. The following in Manu (Bk. 9, v. 90) is perhaps an allusion to it :—

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।
ऊर्द्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्माद्विन्देत सदृशं पतिं ॥

"Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable. After that time let her choose for herself a bridegroom of equal rank." There are several instances of svayan̥varas in the Sanskrit works. Of these that of Draupadī in the Mahābhārata

(Johnson's Selections, p. 35), of Damayantī in the Nalopākhyāna (Monier Williams' ed. p. 14), of Indumatī in the Raghuvaṉsa (chap. vi.) will be found specially entertaining and interesting, and will more than repay the trouble of a perusal.

3. There is another story current among the Sinhalese, of Indra having attempted once to disprove a head-inscription of Brahma's.

On one of Indra's visits to the earth, he chanced to espy the skull of a fox on which Brahma had inscribed that it would go to heaven, the abode of Brahma himself. After heartily laughing at the absurdity of the prediction, he took the skull into his hands and went with it straightway up to Brahma's heaven, and holding it up to his view said: "Look at this absurd inscription of yours on this skull of a fox. Did you never know that it is impossible for a fox's skull to reach heaven?" "And have you, my friend, forgotten," said Brahma, "that it is now in heaven?"

Indra bent down his head and remained for a few moments confounded and speechless, and then quietly withdrew from the divine presence of the Creator.—Editor.

SINHALESE PROVERBIAL SAYINGS.

Of proverbs, properly so called, the Sinhalese spoken language is very deficient. This may be ascribed to the fact that the written language of the people differs considerably from the spoken one, and that only a few are conversant with the works of their great writers. The apothegms and epigrammatic sayings therefore—"the wisdom of many and the wit of one"—that with a more educated race would long ago have passed into proverbs remain unknown or unused. There are, however, a considerable number of allusions which pass for proverbs, and are in every day use in the island. The limits of an article will not allow me to give anything like a detailed list of the familiar sayings of the people, but I propose to give illustrations of them under different heads so as to render my notes as interesting and as exhaustive as possible.

Characteristics:—The chief characteristics of Sinhalese proverbial sayings are their directness, their simplicity and, as might be expected in an agricultural race, their constant reference to nature, while, if it were possible to trace any peculiarity in the people themselves from their popular sayings, it would be, perhaps, that a large proportion of them are considered to be deficient in intellect. Indeed, whole districts, such as Tumpane in the Central Province, Morova Korle in the Southern, and Rayigam Korle in the Western Province, seem to have been set down as the abode of fools—though, from what I have seen of the first two districts at any rate, the people are quite as intelligent as ordinary Sinhalese villagers in out-of-the-way parts elsewhere.

Fools:—There are frequent references also to popular stories of stupid people to which foolish actions are likened. The story of the Tumpane villagers who tried to unearth and carry off a well, because they saw a bees' nest reflected in the water—of the Morova Korle boatmen who mistook a bend in the river for the sea, left their cargo there and returned home; of the Rayigam Korle fools who threw stones at the moon to frighten her off one fine moonlight night when they thought she was coming too near, and that there was a danger of her burning their crops, are well known, and it is customary to ask a man if he was born in one of these places if he has done anything particularly foolish. The story of the double fool, *i.e.*, of the man who tried to lighten the boat by carrying his pingo load over his shoulders; of the man who stretched out his hands to be warmed by the fire on the other side of the river; of the rustic's wife who had her own head shaved so as not to lose the barber's services for the day when he came and her husband was away from home; of the villagers who tied up the mortars in the village in the belief that the elephant tracks in the rice fields were caused by the mortars wandering about at night; of the man who would not wash his body in order to spite the river; of the people who flogged the elk skin at home to avenge themselves on the deer that trespassed in the fields at night; of Kaluhāmi's father who gave his horse in dowry to the beggar;[1] of the man who performed the five precepts;[2] all these are popular stories of foolish people which have passed into proverbs.

KNAVES:—Next to the subject of fools follows naturally that of knaves, and of these there are many tales. As in Europe, the fox, or its representative here the jackal, is the emblem of cheating. The jackal that hoodwinked the crocodile (himself a cunning animal) into the belief that he had to cross a certain river in order to arrange the preliminaries of the crocodile's marriage with a family on the other side, and so induced the crocodile to carry him over and back again every day, while all the while he was making a meal off a dead animal on the other side, is alluded to as illustrating successful knavery. But even a jackal may be over-reached, as in the story of the river tortoise who was caught by a jackal on the land. The jackal could not get through the shell of the tortoise, and while debating what he should do, the tortoise in a half-frightened whisper said, "I hope to goodness he won't put me in the river, for that would soften me immediately." The jackal at once acted on the hint and with the natural result.[3]

Beggars, too, are considered to be adepts at cheating, though even they are sometimes too clever, as in the story of the five beggars who met one day and agreed to put a small quantity of rice into the pot of boiling water, so that each should contribute a handful towards their common meal. They each put the hand over the pot and pretended to do so, but when the time came to empty it there was of course nothing but water in it.

The man who takes advantage of another's kindness is said "to sit on the horn and feed on the ear," or "to pat on the head and put out the eye." While he who makes a cat's-paw of his friend is "like the man who got the roasted jak seeds out of the fire by the help of the cat," that is, he made the cat scratch them out for him in such a manner that the footprints on the ashes, the mark of a burn, and the ashes on her paws should betray her as the

[1] Kaluhāmi, a young girl, had lately died, when a beggar came to the parents' house, and, on being asked by the mother where he had come from, replied, "I have just come from the other world"—meaning that he had just recovered from a severe illness. "Then," said the woman, "you must have seen Kaluhāmi there. How is she?" Seeing how simple she was, the beggar replied, "Dear me, why that is the girl I married a few days ago." "Really," said the mother, "then we must give you a dowry." Whereupon she gave him all the money and jewels there were in the house and sent him away delighted. Soon after her husband returned, and, learning how foolish she had been, mounted his horse and rode off after the beggar. Seeing him coming the beggar climbed up a tree, but the horseman espied him, came up, fastened his horse to the foot of the tree and climbed up after him. When he was about half way up, however, the beggar adroitly slid down a branch, untied the horse, mounted him and rode off before the other could descend, whereupon the latter cried out, as the beggar was making off, "Hi, son-in-law, you can tell Kaluhāmi that the money and jewels are from her mother, but mind you say that the horse is from me."

[2] A woman once rebuked her husband for not performing the five precepts. "I don't know what they are," he replied, "Oh it's very easy," she said, "all you have to do is to go to the priest and repeat what he says after him." "Is that all?" he answered, "then I'll go and do it at once." Off he went, and as he neared the temple the priest saw him and called out, "Who are you? What do you want?" which the man dutifully repeated. "Are you mad?" said the priest—"Are you mad" returned the rustic. "Here, take and beat him well," said the priest to his attendants, and notwithstanding that he carefully repeated the words again, taken and thoroughly well thrashed he was. After which he crawled back to his wife and said, "What a wonderful woman you are. You manage to repeat the five precepts every day and are strong and healthy, while I, who have only said them once, am nearly dead with fever from the bruises."

[3] The jackal took the tortoise to the river, and as a precautionary measure kept his foot on the top of the shell. After a short time the tortoise again whispered, "I am soft every where now except where the foot is." Whereupon the jackal lifted his foot and the tortoise swam away.

thief. But even knaves have their use, for "are not cats the best witnesses in the matter of curds."

LUCK:—The Sinhalese belief in luck or chance is well known, and is illustrated by several proverbial sayings, such as: "It hails whenever an unlucky man goes abroad." "There is certain to be a hailstorm when the unlucky man gets his head shaved." "What can the doctor do for the child that has been born unfortunate?" "The teeth of the dog that barks at the lucky man will fall out." "Even if the unlucky man have a gold coin in his purse he is certain to be suspected of having stolen it," and "On a lucky day you can catch fish with twine, while if the day be unpropitious they will break chains of iron," while as showing how good luck sticks to a man they say "You cannot even kick away good luck."

C. J. R. LEMESURIER.

(To be continued.)

ŚRI VIKRAMA RĀJASIṆHA, THE LAST KING OF KANDY.

WE are indebted to Mr. E. L. Siebel for the account of the deportation of the last king of Kandy, published in the March number of the *Orientalist*. The details given in reference to the departure of the king and his queens from the shores of Ceylon are correct, and although we were aware of them from hearsay, we do not remember having ever seen a written account of them before.

The testimony of living witnesses and the records left by historians and others place the scene of the capture of the fugitive monarch at Bomure, a village close to Ūrugala and Mẹdamahānuvara in the district of Uḍa-Dumbara. While travelling on official duty, the very spot has often been pointed out to us. The house in which his Majesty took shelter in his flight belonged to the family of Udupitiye-Gammahelāgegedara, whose descendants are still living, and among whom the fact exists in a traditionary form.

I know of no other writer who has given a different version, but on the contrary the latter is borne out by a host of authors, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Marshall, whose history of the events connected with this period is regarded in all quarters as most faithful. The following passage in his History, page 156, may be quoted in support of our statement:—

"A detachment of troops accompanied by Mr. D'Oyley and Ehẹlepola was on the 16th February 1815 despatched to the district of Dumbara, whither it was presumed the king had retired. On the 18th the king was taken prisoner with two of his wives, in the house of a subordinate headman about a mile beyond Mẹdamahānuvara. His two remaining wives and his mother were at Hanvella, a short distance off; and being sent for with conveyances and an escort were brought to Teldeniya to join the king."

Independently of the author quoted above a poem called "Ehẹlepola Haṭane," by a native writer, gives precisely the same account, and fixes this very same spot as that in which the king was captured, as the following quotation will show:—

Soyaṇṭa giya aya aturen sebalek diva evit edā
Semin sititi sẹṅgavī mėdamahanuvarehi kẹlē mẹdā
Mevanlesaṭa denvū viṭa e yuvaradatuma pẹhẹdā
Ariṇṭa nisi aya kavuruda salakā nuvanin esaňdā

* * *

Ekneligoḍa nilamet saha ẹri saňda meḍamahanuvarata
Lak-adipati devi varamin yannaṭa nomadī vaṭapiṭa
Ekgederaka seṅgavī un raju allā bẹňda piṭataṭa
Dukdī unambun vaṭakara giyasebalō itā kapaṭa.

"One of the soldiers, who was sent to

find out the whereabouts of the king, returned and informed the adigar (Ehẹlepola) that he, the king, was concealing himself in the jungle of Mẹdamahānuvara. Thereupon Eknẹligoḍa, and others sent for the purpose, captured the king and his queens, who were not allowed to leave the spot by the special providence of the deities presiding over the destinies of Laṅkā."

The concluding portion of the second stanza shows how prejudiced the writer's mind must have been against the king, for his words convey the meaning that it was the wish of the deities presiding over the destinies of Ceylon that the ruling monarch should meet with the due reward of his cruelties.

We may produce any amount of authorities in support of these facts, but we consider the writers we have quoted, of whom one is an Englishman and the other a Sinhalese, are enough to support our statement.

T. B. PANABOKKE.

NOTES ON SOME SINHALESE PROVERBS AND STORIES IN THE "ATĪTA-VĀKYA-DĪPANIYA."

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY A. M. SENĀNĀYAKA.

We have to thank Mr. A. M. Senānāyaka for a very readable and instructive collection of Sinhalese proverbs, maxims, fables, &c. The number of actual proverbs indeed is small, but the lovers of folklore may pass a pleasant hour over these pages.

In one or two instances the compiler and translator hardly gives the English equivalent. For instance, he illustrates the Sinhalese proverb, *Tada Snehaya dabaraṭalu, tada hulaṅga vessaṭalu*; "excessive fondness precedes a quarrel, strong blowing precedes rain," by the English "Familiarity breeds contempt" which ought rather to be compared to the Sinhalese, *Kammale etivecca ballā henaṭat bayanetlu*; "the dog that has been brought up in a blacksmith's shop, is not afraid even of thunder."

We find many old friends in these pages, *e.g., Alut-ilapaten hoṅdaṭa pihadẹmenavālu*; "a new eakle broom sweeps well." Also, *Ginipenellen beṭakāpu ekā kanamẹdiriyāṭat bayalu*; "the man who has been beaten with a fire-brand dreads the sight of a firefly." Anglicè, "Once bitten, twice shy."

Again, *Giya-hakuraṭa nāḍanne, tibena hakura rẹkaganne*; "cry not for the jaggery you have lost, but take care of the jaggery you still have." Here we have to substitute "spilt milk."

The English, "One swallow does not make a summer," may be compared with the Sinhalese, "One tree does not make an orchard."

Baḍagini rasa nodanilu; "hunger knows no taste," is another way of saying "hunger is the best sauce."

The proverb "There is no rose without its thorn" appears in the Sinhalese *Mahanel mala itā suvaṅda namut ehi daṇḍa kora sẹdiyi*; "though the lotus flower is very sweet yet its stalk is very rough."

The Sinhalese have "The bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," only with them the bush contains one bird only.

Besides these homely proverbs which we find with more or less variation among all races, here are one or two stories and proverbs distinctively Eastern. For instance, the story of the villager who, going to sell his eight brinjals in a village where there were nine headmen, returns minus vegetables and basket, as he had to conciliate the headmen with a brinjal apiece and the ninth with the basket. This saying, *Yanne kohāṭadẹyi ẹsuvāma malle polya kīvālu*, "a person, on being asked where he was going said he had cocoanuts in his bag," shews a humorous consciousness of the irrelevance of an answer to a question so characteristic of Orientals.

Besides these there are many proverbs and stories the whole point of which is contained in a pun or play upon words which cannot be reproduced in English.

We have all seen a number of Sinhalese walking one behind the other in Indian file continuing a conversation while walking steadily on. In the appendix to this book we find the proverb, *Katāva gamanaṭa inimagalu,* "conversation is a ladder for a journey." We have a parallel in Publius Syrus. Frag., "An agreeable companion is as good as a coach." "Comes jucundus in viâ pro vehiculo est."

The saying *Boruvaṭa pana nehe,* "a lie has no life," is one which Carlyle was never tired of reiterating.

Milton's "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven" may be compared with the Sinhalese *Nila lebīma narakādiyaṭat hoňdalu;* "to obtain distinction even in hell is good."

On page 62 we find the proverb "The adze which straightens timber is itself not straight," with which cf. the saying attributed to Isocrates, "I am the whetstone which, though dull itself, is the cause of sharpness in others," and Horace, Ars Poetica, 304, "Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum. Reddere quœ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi."

For an exquisitely poetical idea let us turn to p. 71 where we find the simile *Hansayā diyen kiri urāgannākəni,* "like the swan which sucks milk out of water." Such a line would be the making of a small poetaster.

If we want something quaintly humorous let us take this story of the man whose calf got its head into a pot and could not get it out again. A friend, celebrated for his wisdom on being called in, cut off the calf's head, broke the pot, and delivered the head to the owner, saying, "what will you do when I am dead and gone." This is like the story given in Dasent's *Norwegian Folklore,* where a goody is found by a friend beating her husband's head with a mallet; "What are you doing, goody," said she; "you will kill your husband?" "Oh, no; I have put this shirt on him and am beating a hole in it for his head to come through." There is a similar story put into the mouth of Buddha, about the bald carpenter whose son broke his father's head with an axe to kill a mosquito. (*Vide* the Makasa Jātaka or Mosquito Birth Story).

One of the most satirical stories in this collection is the one in which a woman, married to a poor man on account of his high birth, on being visited by her parents and having nothing to offer them, began stirring in a pan on the fire. On being asked what she was doing she replied, "I am trying to fry the honour you got for me in this old pan."

The proverb "a country can be hedged about but not the tongue" has a parallel in the Persian, "You may padlock the gates of a town, but never the mouth of a foe."

We all know Juvenal's "Scabies scribendi;" "the curse of writing is an endless itch." The Sinhalese proverb refers to a "Scabies loquendi," viz., "The more you scratch the more you must scratch, the more you talk the more you must talk."

On p. 34 we find a bull, "The deaf man on hearing the song of the dumb man clapped his hands for joy." We commend this to the Irish M.P. who stated that "As long as Ireland was silent under her wrongs so long was England deaf to her cries."

We find in this collection one or two lofty sayings which are worth study. Such are:—

"A man of patience is a banner of victory in the battle field."

"Poverty is lighter than cotton."

"A man will pass his days according to the purity of his mind."

There is one more remark to make. Why have we none of the rich stories of the men of Tumpane, the Bœotia of Ceylon, who once with all gravity proceeded to dig up and carry away a well of water? The expression, "a Tumpane man" has become almost an equivalent for "a born fool." The Tumpane men are like the wise men of Gotham in Nottinghamshire, who built a hedge round a cuckoo to hear him sing all the year round and, when the cuckoo flew away, said, "Lo! we built not our hedge high enough."

H. WHITE.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DUTCH RECORDS OF CEYLON.

Translated by R. Van Cuylenberg, Esq., and published in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1874. *Part I.*

November 13, 1658.—At a meeting held this day it was resolved that the Council do place on record their gratitude to God for their success in having conquered the Portuguese. They set apart the 20th of that month as a special day of thanksgiving and supplication for His further aid—to be observed by all, under a penalty of one hundred Rix-dollars for neglect of the order. Clergymen required to announce the same from their pulpits.

July 18, 1664.—It was brought to the notice of the Council that there were frequent complaints by Clergymen of the evils resulting from the practice, which was daily gaining ground, of Dutch soldiers marrying women of the country, and it was resolved that these marriages should not be permitted to take place for the future, unless a certificate from the Clergyman was produced shewing that the woman professed the Christian religion.

It was also ruled that native women, wives of Dutch soldiers, were to be required to attend the weekly services of the church. The penalty for neglect of this order was that their husbands should forfeit their wages.

March, April, 1668.—Amongst other instructions by the Council on ecclesiastical matters, were the following: The native languages were to be learnt by all Clergymen. The Sinhalese and Tamil languages were to be used instead of the Portuguese, which was to be discontinued.

Slaves were not to be permitted to wear hats or long hair, who were not able to speak the Dutch language intelligibly.

August 5, 1669.—The Council commute the sentence passed by the Court of Justice on Cappure Camby Chetty of Hunnupittia for adultery, which was, that he be hanged by the neck until he is dead, and his corpse be put into a sack and thrown into the sea: thus—that he be whipped severely beneath the gallows, branded and banished from the Island, and interdicted from returning to it on penalty of forfeiting his life.

SANSKRIT PUZZLES.

In the present number we insert two Sanskrit Puzzles to make up for the omission of a Puzzle in the September Number.

No. IX.

वर्षासु का भवति निर्मधु कीदृगब्जं
शेषं बिभर्त्ति वसुधासहितं क एकः ।
आमन्त्रयस्व धरणीधरराजपुत्रीं
को वास्थिभस्मनिचिताङ्गजनाश्रयः स्यात् ॥

No. X.

कीदृशं वद मरुस्थलं मतं
द्वारि कुत्र सति भूषणं भवेत् ।
ब्रूहि कान्त सुभटः सकार्मुकः
कीदृशो भवति कुत्र विद्विषाम् ॥

SOLUTION OF SANSKRIT PUZZLES.

No. VII.

पूजायां किं पदं प्रोक्तमस्तनं को बिभर्त्युरः ।
क आयुधतया ख्यातः प्रलम्बासुरविद्विषः ॥

"What is the word used to denote excellence (or praise)? who bears a breastless chest? which is the most known among implements. (The answers will form a name of) the enemy of the Asura Pralamba."

The answer to the first question is the indeclinable particle *su,* equivalent to the English *well;* as in *Su-jātaḥ, well-born; su-śikṣitaḥ, well-bred; su-janaḥ, good-folk;* and a number of similar words. The exact opposite of this is the particle *duḥ,* as in *dur-janah, bad people; duḥ-sīlah, bad-behaved,* &c.

Then we have to find out "who bears a breastless chest"? Among human beings, *Man,* of course. The Sanskrit for *Man* is *nṛi,* and its nominative becomes *nā.*[1]

The last question is, we think, too vague and general—"Which is the most known among implements?" The propounder ought to have added the words "of agriculture" to his query, when the word *plough,* Sanskrit *Sīraḥ* would easily occur to the mind, as we all know that the plough is the most ancient, useful, valuable and necessary implement in agriculture.

Thus, we now have su + nā + Sīraḥ = *Sunāsiraḥ,* a name of Indra, the chief of the gods, and the leader of their armies, from which circumstance he has obtained the title of *Sunāsīraḥ* or the leader of the Vanguard. He is represented as the conqueror of the *Asuras* and caused one of their celebrated chiefs named *Pralamba* to be killed by *Baladeva,* the brother of *Kriṣṇa.*

No. VIII.

को दुराढ्यस्य मोहाय को मियासुरविद्विषः ।
पदं प्रश्नवितर्के किं को दन्तच्छदभूषणम् ॥

"What is a dazzlement to the poor?
Who is the wife of the foe of the Asuras?
What is the word used in deliberating on a question?
What is a beauty to the lips?"

This puzzle seems to be defective, the propounder does not give any idea of the nature of the answer he expects to obtain: hence the riddle may be solved in different ways according to one's ingenuity. However, we shall take the propounder to be a hero-worshipper, and the object of his devotion to be Rāma, the great hero of the Indian Epics. The answers to the questions would then be in their order as follows:—

Rāh, riches.

Mā, a name for Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu.

Nu, a particle inferring a question, or deliberating thereon.

Rāgaḥ, red colour, and figuratively, ardent passion.

Rāḥ + mā, become Rāmā by combination, to which we add the remaining two words, *Nu* and *Rāgaḥ;* and we have the compound term RĀMĀ-NU-RĀGAḤ, which means "ardent devotion to Rāmā.

L. C. WIJESINHA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

With reference to the query put by Mr. White (*Orientalist,* p. 168) as to why Tamil women are reluctant to mention their husbands' names, I made inquiries, while at Jaffna, as to the origin of the custom. It is not a custom confined to women—a man does not use his wife's name in speaking to or of her, if he can avoid it.[2] For instance, when he comes home he does not, on entering the house and not seeing his wife, call her by name, but shouts out "Who is there?" "Who is inside?" or something of the sort. This avoidance of the use of names, which seems now to be a matter of etiquette, is due to the belief that the life of the husband or wife would be shortened if either were habitually addressed or mentioned by name by the other. There is a belief prevalent all over the globe that in order to acquire a power over a person by means of charms, &c., the possession of

[1] According to the uṇādi-sūtra नयतेर्डिच्च (ii. 101), *nri* is formed from the root *nī* by affixing to it the pratyaya *ṛi* considered as having the *it* or *anubandha, ḍ,* which causes the elision of the vowel of the root technically termed *ṭi* (Pāṇini, I. 1-64).—EDITOR.

[2] I refer to the Sivite Tamils.

his name is sufficient.[3] "All over the world, we find more or less confusion between a thing or a person, and its or his name. Hence the importance attached among the North American Indians and South Sea Islanders to an exchange of names. Hence, as already mentioned, we often find a person's real name concealed, lest a knowledge of it should give a power over the person. Even the Romans, when they besieged a town, had a curious ceremony founded on the same idea. They invoked the tutelar deity of the city, and tempted him by the offer of rewards and sacrifices 'to betray his friends and votaries.' In that ceremony the name of the tutelar deity was thought of importance, and for that reason the tutelar deity of Rome was a profound secret."

"Sumatra gives us a curious instance of long survival of this idea in a somewhat advanced community: 'A Sumatran ever scrupulously abstains from pronouncing his own name; not as I understand, from any motive of superstition, but merely as a punctilio in manners. It occasions him infinite embarrassment. When a stranger, unacquainted with their customs requires it of him, as soon as he recovers from his confusion he solicits the interposition of his neighbour. He is never addressed, except in the case of a superior dictating to his dependent, in the second person, but always in the third; using his name or title instead of the pronoun; and when these are unknown, a general title of respect is substituted, and they say, for instance, 'apa orangkaya punia suba' 'what is his honour's pleasure' for 'what is your, or your honour's, pleasure.' Where criminals or other ignominious persons are spoken to use is made of the pronoun personal 'hau' (a contraction, of anghau'), particularly expressive of contempt." (Lubbock, *Orig. of Civil.* pp. 167-8, quoting from Lord Kames' "History of Man" and Marsden's "History of Sumatra").

The more superstitious Tamils avoid calling a person by his name when, as is commonly the case, it is the same as that of his grandfather, until after the death of the latter, lest that event should be thereby hastened. J. P. LEWIS.

Note by the Editor.

[The custom referred to by Mr. White is not confined to Tamil women, but is observed more or less by almost all the inhabitants of India and Ceylon, including even the Mohammadans. The following Gṛihadharma rule occurring in the Nayanasāra prohibits women from mentioning the names of their husbands and gives a reason for the prohibition:

गृहधर्मरता या सा पातिव्रत्यपरायणा ।
पतेर्नाम वदेन्नेह निजमानाभिवृद्धये ॥

"She who is fondly attached to the Gṛihadharma and whose chief aim is conjugal fidelity should not mention the name of her husband in this world in order that her own honour may be increased."

We may therefore suppose that it is chiefly out of respect to the husband that the wife refrains from mentioning his name.]

EDITOR.

Although, as shown by the Editor in the *Orientalist* for August, the goldsmith is regarded with suspicion in India, Ceylon and Siam, there are countries in which his lot is a happier one.

In "The Book of Were-wolves" by S. Baring-Gould, it is stated on the authority of Nathaniel Pierce, who resided in Abyssinia from 1810 to 1819 and published an account of his adventures in 1831, that "in Abyssinia the gold and silver-smiths are highly regarded, but the iron-workers are looked upon with contempt, as an inferior grade of beings. Their kinsmen even ascribe to them the power of transforming themselves into hyenas, or other savage beasts. All convulsions and hysterical disorders are attributed to the effect of their evil eye" (p. 119). J. P. LEWIS.

[3] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, pp. 167-8.