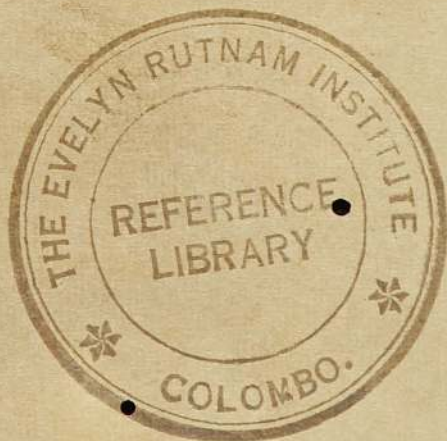
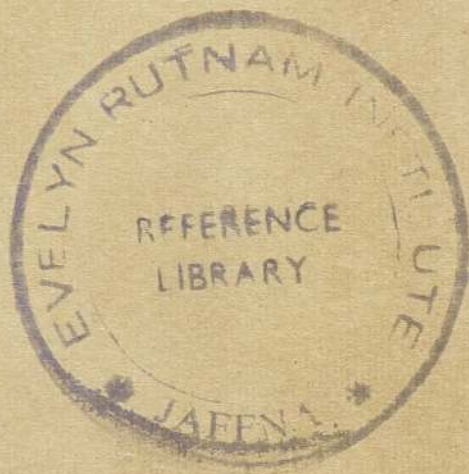




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The
Ceylon Antiquary
and
Literary Register



VOLUME IX: 1923-1924.

EDITED BY

JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

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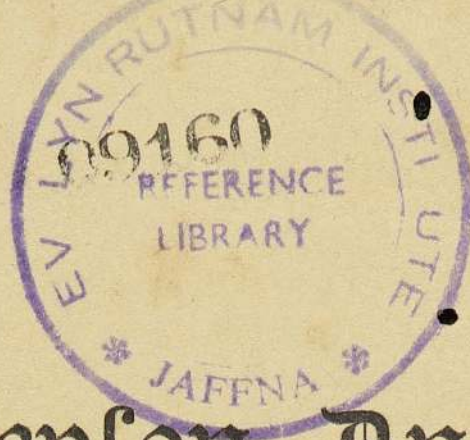
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Part IV.

MR. WICKREMASINGHE AND THE DALADA PUJAVALIYA.

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

IN *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Vol. II, part 5, p. 206), Mr. Wickremasinghe proposes the theory that Parákrama Báhu I. was crowned thrice, once in A.D. 1153, a second time in A.D. 1159, and again in A.D. 1161.

The date of the "second" coronation is based on the *Daladá Pújávaliya*, which, according to Mr. Wickremasinghe, "says that the 1254th year after the fifteenth year of Valagam Abhá was also the seventh year of Parakkama-Báhu's coronation. This gives 1702 A.B. expired or 1159 A.D. current."

The *Nikáya Saṅgraha* equates the year 1708 with the fourth year of the reign, in which year took place the Convocation for the reform of the Saṅgha. The figure 1708 is arrived at thus:—

From the death of the Buddha to the conversion of Ceylon,
236 years ;

From the conversion to the 15th year of Valagam Abhá,
218 years ;

And from the 15th year aforesaid to the 4th year of Parákrama Báhu, 1254 years.

On reading the statement attributed by Mr. Wickremasinghe to the *Daladá Pújávaliya*, there at once occurred to me the confusion, common in old manuscripts, between සන and සනර, the 6

often falling out in careless copying, and I determined to verify the printed text (A) with the Colombo Museum manuscripts. The variants are :—

A. පුලන්දානාන නමි වු නුවරෙහි ඉපද ක්‍රිසිංහලයට එකවරතු නන්වා අතිසේක ප්‍රාපනවු සන්වෙනි අවු රුද්දෙහි තමන් ගා සමානවරුන්වු පිරිවතු ගුණ මහලැනන්ගා වතුරහිනි සේනාව යවා රුහුණු ලදුබර හිරි අමරහිරි පවිත සමීපයෙහි සුරක්ෂිතකොට වසා තුඩු දළදා පාත්‍රා බාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ගෙන් වාගෙණ අබණඩ ලක්ෂී නිවාසවන තරම් බාතු මඤ්ජරයක් කරවා එහි විසිතුරුවු සිංහාසනයක්කරවා සමුසසිත බවලානපත්‍ර විරාජන ඒ සිංහාසන මසනක යෙහි ශ්‍රී දන්තබාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ලබනා විපයෙහි දළදා මළුවෙහි යන නමින් ප්‍රසිඛකොට බොහෝ පුජාසන්කාර පැවැත්වුහ. තවද ලදුබරහිරි නිවාසිත මහා කාශ්‍යප සඵවිර පුමුබ බහුල භික්ෂු සංඝයාට උපසංඝකොට වලගම්අභා මහ රජහු පවන් එක් වාදනස් දෙසිය සිවු පනස් අවුරුද්දක් භින්න නිකා ගතව වෛතුලය වාදිය සාගලිය වාදිය බමීමරුවි වාදිය යන වාද තුය ගෙණ භින්නවු භික්ෂු පුනී රූපක සාසන කණ්ටක භික්ෂු සමුගයා ලතාමණිප යට රැස්කරවමින් තුන්යම් රාත්‍රියෙහි සිටිපියෙහි සිට නිකාය හෙද සන්තිදීමෙන් සමීඤ ශාසනය සුවිසුඛ කොට ලජ්ජන්වහන්සේට බලදී ශාසනානිවැඩියකොට

P 12. පුලන්දානාන නමි නුවරෙහි ඉද ක්‍රිසිංහලයට එකවරතු නන්වා අතිසේක ප්‍රාපනවු සන්වෙනි අවුරුද්දෙහි තමා ගා සාමාන ජානවු පිරිවතු ගුණා මහාලෙනව වතු රහිනි සේනාව යවා රුහුණු ලදුන්දෙර අමරහිරි පුර සමීපයෙහි සුරක්ෂිතකොට වඩා තුඩු දළදා පාත්‍රා බාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා ගෙනවාගෙන අබඩ ලක්ෂී නිවා සන තරම් බාතුමඤ්ජරයක්කරවා එහි විසිතුරුවු සිංහාසනයක්කරවා සමුසසිත බවලාන පත්‍රයෙන් විරාජන ඒ සිංහාසන මසනකයෙහි ශ්‍රී දන්තබාතුන් වහන්සේ වඩා ලංකා විපයෙහි දළදා මළුවෙහි යන නමින් ප්‍රසිඛකොට බොහෝ පුජාසන්කාර පැවැත්වුහ. තවද ලදුබරහිරි නිවාසිත මහා කාශ්‍යප සඵවිර පුමුබ බහුල භික්ෂු සංඝයා උපසංඝකොට වලගම්අභා රජහු පවන් එක්වාදනස් දෙසිය සිවු පනස් අවු රුද්දක් භින්න නිකාගතව වෛතුලය වාදිය සාග ලික වාදිය බමීමරුවි වාදිය යන වාදනතුය ගෙන භින්නවු භික්ෂු පුනීරූපකවු ශාසන කණ්ටක භික්ෂු සමුගයා ලතාමණිපයට රැස්කරවමින් තුන්යම් රාත්‍රියෙහි සිටිපියෙහි සිට නිකා හෙද සන්තිදීමෙන් සමීඤ ශාසනය සුවිසුඛකොට ලජ්ජන්වහන්සේට බලය දී ශාසනානිවුඩි කොට

AJ 12. පුලන්දානාන නමි වු නුවරෙහි ඉද ක්‍රිසිංහලයට එකවරතු නන්වා අතිසේක ප්‍රාපනවු සන්වෙනි අවු රුද්දෙහි තමන් ගා සමානවරුන්වු පිරිවතු ගුණ මහලැනන්ගා වතුරහිනි සේනාව යවා රුහුණු ලදුන්

දෙර අමරගිරි නම් සමීපයෙහි සුරක්ෂිතකොට වඩා
 තිබූ දළදා පාත්‍රා ධාතුන්වගන්තේ වඩා ගෙවො
 අබබ ලක්ෂ්මී නිවාස තුම් ධාතුමඤ්ඤරයකකරවා විසි
 තුරු සිංහාසනයකකරවා සමුත්සිත ධවලාන පත්‍ර
 යෙන් විරාජන සිංහාසන මහකයෙහි ශ්‍රී දන්ත
 ධාතුන්වගන්තේ වඩා ලබකාවිපයෙහි දළදා මළුවෙහි
 යන නමින් ප්‍රතිඛකොට බොහෝ පුරාසන්කාර
 පැවැත්තුනුයුත්තවද උදුඹරගිරි නිවාසි මහා කාශ්‍යප
 සාවිර ප්‍රමුඛ බහුල භික්ෂු සංඝයාට උපසම්මතකොට
 වලගම්බාහු මහ රජහු දවස් පවන් එකවාදනස්
 දෙසිය සුපනස් අවුරුදුදක් භික්ෂා නිකාගතව වෛ
 තුලා වාදිය සාගලී වාදිය ධර්මරුචි වාදිය යන
 වාද තුයන් භික්ෂාවූ භික්ෂු පුත්රුපිකවූ ශාසන
 කණ්ඩ භික්ෂු සංඝයා ලතාමණ්ඩපයට රැස්කරවමින්
 තුන්යම් රාත්‍රියෙහි සිටිපියෙහි සිට නඩා බොධ සන්
 තිදීමෙන් සවිඤ්ඤා ශාසන සුවිසුඛකොට ලජ්ජවගන්
 තේට බලදී ශාසනාභිවාසියකොට

“ While [Parákrama Báhu] was dwelling in the city of Pul-
 asthi, in the fourth (seventh) year from the time when, having
 raised one canopy of dominion over Tri-Siṅhala, he was anointed,
 he sent his fourfold army with the chief Secretary Pirivatu Bhúta,¹
 his equal in birth, and having brought the Tooth and Bowl Relics,
 which were kept securely hidden in the neighbourhood of (the hill)
 Amaragiri at Udundora in Ruhuna, made a Relic Hall like the
 perpetual dwelling place of Lakshmi and a decorated throne,
 and placed the fortunate Tooth Relic upon that throne, which
 was resplendent with a lofty white canopy. This he made famous
 in the Island of Lanká by the name of *Daladá maḷuva*, and main-
 tained many offerings, honouring [the Relic].

“ Further, looking to the wants of many priests with Mahá
 Káśyapa Sthavira, who dwelt at Udumbaragiri, at their head, he
 caused to be assembled at the Laṭá-maṇḍapaya the multitude
 of priests, who were priests only in appearance and thorns to the
 Religion and who were parted among three sects, the Vaitulya,
 the Ságalika, and the Dharmaruchi, divisions separated for 1254
 years since (the days of the great) king Vaḷagam Abhá, and, by
 appeasing the differences of sect, standing in one place without
 moving his feet during the three watches of one night, completely
 purified the Religion of the Buddha, gave power to the well-con-
 ducted priests, and caused the Religion to flourish.”

(1) I propose reading ඉතා or rather ඉතා for ඉතා. Bhútádhikári “ who lived in
 the King’s palace ” actually was sent to Ruhuna in connection with Sugalá Dévi’s rebellion
 (*Mhv.* LXXIV, 71). Bhúta Bhandára Potthaki is mentioned in LXXII, 229. Possibly
 of this family was Bhandára pote Pirivatu-bin Vijayayánan, minister of Parákrama Báhu I.,
 whose wife was Sumedhá Dévi (*Müller*, 158 : *R.A.S.*, Ceylon Branch, 1882, pp. 181, 182)
 the lady’s title indicates royal blood.

The next paragraph deals with the Vaijayanta palace (*Mhv.* lxxiii. 61) and other buildings.

A and P 12 read සත්වෙනි “seventh,” and AJ 12, සතරවැනි “fourth.” The *Daladá Pújávaliya* ends with the reign of Parákrama Báhu IV. from about which period it dates. Now the *Nikáya Saṅgraha* appears to be indebted to the earlier work not only for the regnal year in question and the date of the Convocation, but also for certain other details, such as the list of officers and departments of State instituted by Parákrama Báhu I., and gives the regnal year as the fourth; it thus agrees with AJ 12, which, though in general not so good a text as A and P 12 and not infrequently omitting letters and even words, retains some ancient readings and here the longer form සතරවැනි. This reading, therefore, goes back to the end of the fourteenth century and may be presumed to be correct.

As has been said, the numbers “four” and “seven” are liable to confusion in Sinhalese olas. In the present case the spelling සතරවැනි as against සත්වෙනි is worthy of notice; the number of letters (counting the *kombuva* as one) are the same as in සත්වෙනි and it is possible that the mediaeval ඊ has been misread by later copyists as ඉ. In view, therefore, of these considerations and of the antiquity of the reading “fourth,” it seems somewhat rash to base an entirely new date, otherwise unsupported, on the lection සත්වෙනි, which, to say the least, must be regarded as possibly doubtful.

Much more serious, however, is the statement of Mr. Wickremasinghe quoted above, that the *Daladá Pújávaliya* equates the regnal year in question with the 1254th year after the fifteenth of Valagam Abhá. The reader with the text before him will be astonished to see that this work does nothing of the kind, but places in this regnal year the recovery of the Tooth Relic during the rebellion of Sugala Dévi.

It is true that the priestly author of the *Nikáya Saṅgraha*, whose interest lay in the history of the Saṅgha rather than in that of the Relic, has done the same as Mr. Wickremasinghe, just as he has taken the date of the completion of the *Pújávaliya*, that is, the 1854th year expired after the First Enlightenment or A.B. 1809, and apparently attached it to the Convocation under Parákrama Báhu II; but such methods are not those of modern

historical research, and the publication of the wholly misleading statement, which has elicited this note, calls for protest.

One good result of this unfortunate incident is the revelation of one of the sources utilized by the *Nikáya Saṅgraha*. The fourth regnal year of Parákrama Báhu I. must now be divorced from the Convocation of A.B. 1708, and we are left free to deal with the enigma of the eighteenth year assigned to this event in the Kalyáni inscription.

In conclusion, it may be observed that Mr. Wickremasinghe's theory of three coronations finds no support in the *Mahávaṅsa*, and is directly contradicted therein. Parákrama Báhu was crowned once after the death of Gaja Báhu (*Mhv.* lxxi, 28), and after that of Mánábharana "held the ceremony of his *second* inauguration" (*ib.* lxxii, 362). The italics are mine. The account of the festival held on his succession as Mahádipáda (*ib.* lxvii) makes no mention of any *abhisheka*.



A NEW PERSIAN CROSS FROM TRAVANCORE.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.,
(*Superintendent of Archaeology, Trivandrum*).

ALTHOUGH scholars are divided in their opinion as to the actual scene of St. Thomas' evangelistic labours in India, Christian Malabar steadfastly clings to the tradition that it was the apostle who propagated the Christian faith in the West Coast and founded seven churches there at¹ Cranganore, Niranam, Quilon, Palur, Kokkamangalam, Chayal and Kottakkayal, until his alleged martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount, near modern Madras.

The important synchronistic link² furnished by the apocryphal *Acta Thomae*, which connects the apostle's name with the Indo-Parthian king, Gondophares (A.D. 20-60), has enabled some scholars to contend that St. Thomas' missionary activities were confined only to North-Western India; but the same authorities aver that, though there are no specific statements to postulate St. Thomas' visit to South India, there are also none which can be considered as definitely militating against the extant tradition, that the saint may have journeyed south by way of Socotra in A.D. 52³, perhaps on a second tour, and, finally, landing near Cranganore, made Malabar the field of his proselytising zeal.

Later day Malayalam versifiers have, however, in their enthusiasm, so far discarded scientific prudence as to make the anachronistic assertion that St. Thomas, who established the above-mentioned seven churches on the Malabar coast 'set up stone crosses'¹ also for worship in them; and one such version, describing the favourite episode of the apostle's martyrdom at the Great Mount, has rounded off the narration by the detail that, when the saint was immersed in divine contemplation in front

1. Quoted in the *Mythic Society's Journal*, XIII p 778.

2. The *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, p 51.

3. Vincent Smith's *History of India*, p 235.

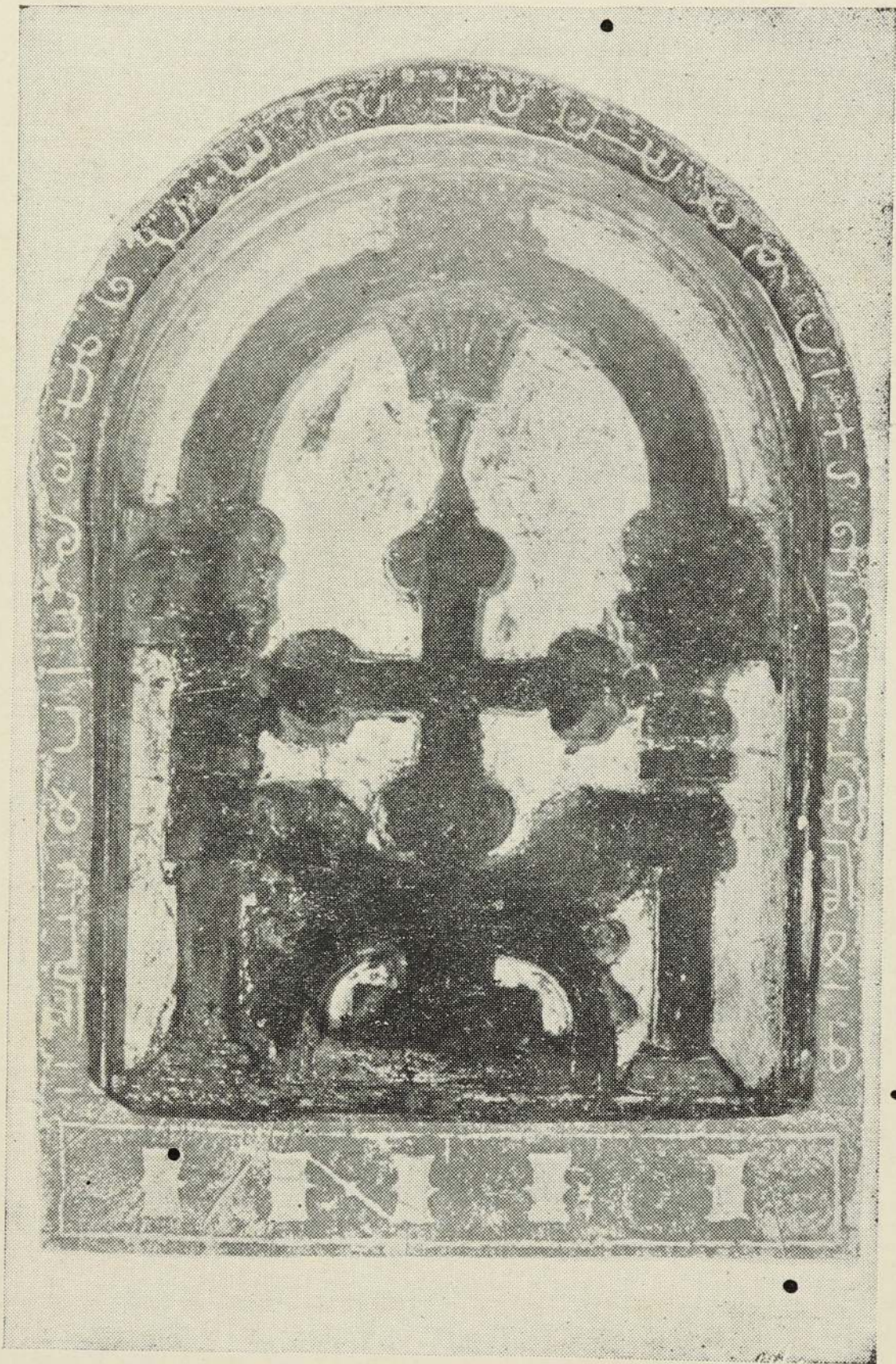


Photo by

Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

No. 1—Cross in the Church at Kadamuttam.





● Prepared by *A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.*
Cross in the Valiyapalli Church at Kottayam.

of a stone cross which he had himself set up there, some scheming brahmans of the place, who were jealous of the influence wielded by him with their Hindu king, stabbed the prospective martyr from behind. This alleged treachery is supposed to have been perpetrated in some place called variously as Kalamina, Kalamita, Kalamena and Karamena⁴ which has, on the basis of a philological quibble, been taken to refer to Mailapur, a suburb of Madras.

Although, on the strength of the facts that it was only in the reign of Emperor Constantine⁵ (A.D. 307-37) that the Cross came to be popularised as a symbol of Christian salvation and that representations of crosses are not found in the Roman catacombs earlier than the 4th century A.D., and that Buddha, another great universal teacher, came to be deified in iconographic form only three or four centuries after his death, the correctness of the above architectural detail that stone crosses came to be fixed up in front of churches so early as the second half of the first century A.D. may be seriously called in question, the antiquity of the Malabar church is, according to the late Dr. Vincent Smith, "traceable with a high degree of probability to the third century A.D.,"⁶ even leaving out of consideration the tradition of a personal connection of the apostle with the beginnings of Christianity in that Coast.

Be that as it may and the testimony of literature and the sometimes dressed-up accounts of mere tradition apart, the only ancient *sculptural* relics that had till now been discovered in South India and that had provoked a keen interest in archaeologists and scholars were the three altar crosses bearing an almost identical Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription, namely, the one which was discovered by the Portuguese on the St. Thomas' Mount in A.D. 1547 and was fixed up by them in that church, and the other two which are supposed to have been brought from an old ruined church at Cranganore, and are now found set up in the wall to the right and left of the entrance into the sanctum of the St. Gabriel's church (Valiyapalli) at Kottayam, in the Travancore State. Drs. Burnell, Haug and West, eminent Pahlavi scholars, have tried to decipher the record with varying degrees of success, and their contributions to the cause of Epigraphy are to be found in the

4. *Ind. Ant.* XXXIII, p 148.

5. *Encycl. Britt.*, VII, p 506.

6. *History of India*, p 235.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, and the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV.⁷

Another bas-relief cross with a Pahlavi inscription, whose existence was brought to my notice by Rev. M. Petros of Tripunitura, was recently photographed by me and its discovery partly confirms the hope expressed by the late Drs. Burnell and Haug that "many more Pahlavi inscriptions may still exist, not only in Travancore but in other parts of India," and that "their discovery would prove an interesting linguistic and historic acquisition." This tablet, measuring about 30" × 20," is found embedded in the

7. The readings and translations of these scholars are as follow :—

Dr. Burnell—(*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III) :—

1. Yīn rjyā mn vn drd-i dnmn

2. Mūn amn msihā af alhā-i mdm af rsd-i aj asar bokht :

In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this one ; He who (is) the true Christ, and god above and guide ever pure.

Dr. Haug :—

(He) who believes in the Messiah and in God on high and also in the Holy Ghost is in (redeemed through) the grace of Him who bore the pain of the Cross.

Dr. West.—(*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV.) :—

(a) 1. Mūn āmen meshikhā-i avakshā-i madam-afrās aj khārbukht

2. sūldā-i min van va dard-i denman :

What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardships ? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this.

(b) 1. Mūn ham-ich Meshikhā-i avakshāy-i madam-afrās-ich khār būkto

2. sūr-zay mūn bun dardo dēna :

(He) whom the suffering of the selfsame Messiah, the forgiving and upraising, (has) saved (is) offering the plea whose origin (was) the agony of this."

Prof. Harlez—(*Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, 1914, kindly lent me by Dr. J. J. Modi B.A., Ph. D., C.I.E.) :—

1. Mūn āmen mesihā-i avakshāi madam-afrās aj asar bōkht

2. yīn razyā min van dart-i denman :

He who (is) the true Messiah, the reconciler, the resuscitator, for ever purified (sanctified) by virtue of his crucifixion (or, of that crucifixion which one sees here).

Mr. Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana—(*ibid*) :—

(a) 1. Rish-razyā min van dard denā

2. Mūn hemn Meshihā āpakshā-i madam afrās-i Chahār-būkht :

"Such (was) the affliction of the wounding and spearing of him on the Cross, who (was) the faithful Meshihā, a forgiver, of superior dignity, the descendant of Chahār-būkht.

(b) 1. (As above)

2. Mūn hemn Meshihā āpakshā-i madam-Aprahīm-i Chahār-būkht :

This (was) the affliction of the spearing and wounding of him on the Cross, who (was) the faithful Meshikā, the merciful one, the descendant of the great Abraham, (who was) the descendant of Chahār-būkht.

(c) 1. Mūn hemn Meshihā āpakshā-i madam afrājī-i Chahār-bōkht

2. rish-razyā min van dard denā :

He of whom the faithful Meshihā (was) a forgiver (was) highly exalted ; he (was) redeemed from the four (regions of Hell) ; this (was due to) the affliction of the spearing and wounding of (Meshihā) on the Cross.

(d) 1. (As above.)

2. Rasūl-ich yet min van dard denā :

* * * * * This (was) the affliction on the Cross even of the messenger of Jehovah.

The readings of certain Brahmans who are reported to have hoodwinked the Portuguese and of Fr. Burtthey of Trichinopoly (*Indian Athenaeum* for August 1923) who considers the language of the record to be Tamil may be left out of account.

south wall of the sanctum in the Jacobite-Syrian church at Kadamuttam, a village six miles to the west of Muvattupula, a taluk-centre in the Travancore State, and about forty miles from Kottayam where the other two better-known crosses are preserved; but my informants were unable to give me any interesting details as to whether this cross had been kept in the church from a very long time, or whether it was brought down from some other place and fixed up in its present position.

The church, which is picturesquely situated on the top of a small hillock, does not claim any antiquity, epigraphical or architectural, except for the presence of this Persian cross. This new cross resembles the St. Thomas' Mount cross, and the bigger Kottayam cross in its sculptural details, *i.e.*, it is a Greek type with *fleur-de-lis* extremities, is equal-armed and stands on a pedestal of three steps. It is flanked by two detached pilasters of the same type as that of the other two examples, and on the capitals of these are also found two couchant *makaras* or fish-monsters, facing each other and supporting, with their gaping mouths, a semi-circular belt (*prabhávali*) arching above the cross. The outer rim of this arch is represented as ornamentally curving out in two hooks on either side of some central flower-and-bead cluster.

In the place occupied by a down-turned dove with outspread wings (symbolising the Holy Ghost) and shown as pecking at the top of the upper limb of the cross, we have in the Kadamuttam specimen a somewhat curiously shaped object which resembles a crown or a bishop's mitre or, worse still, a shuttle-cock; but as these have no symbolical significance, we have to take this object also to be an extremely crude representation of a dove, whose extended wings have the outlines of two inturned rose leaves, whose body and tail are inartistically sculptured as five straight feather-tipped strands, and whose head and beak, looking like a turnip, are with some difficulty recognisable as parts of a bird's anatomy.

On either side of the lower limb of the cross are the same floral devices branching out upwards in conventional curls, and below these a semicircular triple band envelopes the steps in a rainbow-like arch. Five shallow oblong niche-like depressions have been crudely picked out for the sake of ornament on the plain pedestal below this calvary of three steps, and some later (Roman Catholic?) enthusiast has managed to shape them into the formula—*I.N.R.I.*—

(*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*). The portion containing the Pahlavi writing is a narrow ribbon of stone which springs at either extremity of this base and, going up straight to a height of about 15", curves round in a semi-circular arch of 9" radius, enveloping the top of the cross and its halo-circle.

The inscription upon this cross seemed to consist of three short sentences separated by two + (cross) marks. Of these the portion running down the (proper) left limb from one such mark at the top corner appeared to be identical with the shorter sentence found in the same position in all the other three crosses, both at Kottayam and the Mount; but the remaining portion appeared to be different and to consist of two sentences marked off by the other dividing + symbol. Sculpturally considered, this cross at Kaḍamuṭṭam seemed to be a later copy of the one at St. Thomas' Mount; but as only Pahlavi scholars can pronounce an authoritative opinion on its probable age after a careful consideration of the script employed in the record, a good photograph of this cross and its inscription was forwarded to the eminent Pahlavi scholar, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., of Bombay, whose indefatigable researches in the field of ancient history are so well-known. This gentleman has managed to find time, amidst his multifarious duties, to examine this Pahlavi writing and has kindly furnished me with the following reading and translation:

Text.

1. *Le zibah vai min Ninav val denman.*
2. *Napist Mar Shapur.*
3. *Le (mun) ahrob Mashiah avakhshāhi az khār bokht.*

Translation.

"*I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh, (have come) to this (country)*
Written Mar Shapur.

I, whom holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed from thorn (affliction)."

One important feature in Dr. Modi's reading of the short sentence, apparently common to all the four crosses, is the reference to the 'bird'—*vai*,—(Skt. *vi* and Latin *avis*, as he has himself explained); and this is in appropriate agreement with the sculptured detail of a dove hovering, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, over the top of the upper limb of all these crosses. Another point

of greater historical value is "the reading in the middle short sentence of a proper noun as Mar Shapur. This part of the inscription is mutilated; but I think it is the name Mar Shapur referred to by Dr. Burnell in his paper."

If accepted, this reading will furnish an important dated landmark: and if this Mar Shapur or Mar Saphores, who, together with Mar Prodh or Peroz or Peroses, is said to have landed in Quilon in about 825 A.D., to have erected churches, to have preached the Christian religion under the patronage of the tolerant Hindu kings of the West Coast, and to have been in these parts till about A.D. 880,⁸ can be considered identical with Maruvān Sāpir Isō who has been prominently mentioned in the Kottayam copper-plate charter of the time of King Sthāṇu-Ravi (c. A.D. 870-900), the date of erection of this cross becomes definitely computable as the end of the 9th century of the Christian era, i.e., about two centuries and a quarter later than the earlier Kottayam and St. Thomas' Mount crosses, which have been attributed to about the middle of the 7th century; and it also becomes possible that the other bigger cross of Kottayam with the additional Syriac text may have been elaborated a century or so later on the model of the Kaḍamuṭṭam sample.

We know from the Kottayam plates that Maruvān Sāpir Isō, more probably an ecclesiastical dignitary who had headed a colony of immigrant Christian merchants to the West Coast towards the second quarter of the 9th century A.D. than a secular merchant himself, erected a church called the Tarisāppalli at Kurakkēni-Kollam or the modern Quilon, and obtained from the then ruling king certain privileges to his community, and certain gifts of land for the upkeep of the church. As the word Tarissa is mentioned as having been applied to the Nestorians in China and Tartary,⁹ and as the occurrence of the word Ninav or Nineveh, as read by Dr. J. J. Modi in the Kaḍamuṭṭam cross, also points to the geographical locality of its inspiration, it appears not unlikely—at any rate the temptation is too great to be set aside—that this cross was possibly the one designed for, and that had originally been set up in, the altar of

8. Hough's *History of Christianity*, Vol I, p 107.

Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, II, 1275 quoted in *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. II, p 144
Logan's *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p 266, where the identity has been suggested.

9. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p 73.

the Tarisāppalli by Maruvān Sapir Isō, and that at a later date, after some vicissitudes among which the interpolated incision of the four letters *I.N.R.I.* on the pedestal of the cross may have been one, it drifted into the Kaḍamuṭṭam church¹⁰ owing to causes not ascertainable at this distance of time.

In a paper contributed to the *Indian Athenaeum* for August 1923, Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., of Darjeeling, has made the following observations on the symbolism of the sculptural details employed in the ornamentation of these crosses and their canopied arches.

“Immediately above the dove of the Kottayam cross there is a semi-circle in relief dotted with little balls or beads, the central ball above the tail of the dove being larger than the rest. On each side and a little above the horizontal beam of the cross this border of balls (fifteen contiguous balls on each side) falls into the mouth of a dolphin-like monster, easily recognisable by his snout and his fish tail.

“A word may be said here about the symbolism of the dolphins. Its meaning is mostly that of the fish in Christian art. Arthur S. Barnes, writing in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York (s.v. dolphin, V 100 b), says:— ‘The particular idea is that of swiftness and celerity symbolising the desire with which Christians, who are thus represented as being sharers in the nature of Christ, the true Fish, should seek after the knowledge of Christ. Hence the representation is generally of two dolphins tending towards the sacred monogram or some other emblem of Christ. . . . Speaking generally, the dolphin is the symbol of the individual Christian rather than of Christ himself.’

“If that be so, the string of pearls on the St. Thomas’ Mount cross and on the Kottayam cross (No. 1) might typify the pearls of great price which the dolphins of the faithful Christians eagerly covet. In the famous Christian stele of Si-ngan-fu, China (A.D. 781), two monsters (lions?) hold up with one of their forepaws a small casket containing the pearl of the Christian Law.”

In this connection, the following remarks may be added on the analogy and significance of the same motifs in Hindu religious art which have evidently furnished the St. Thomas’ Mount, the Kottayam and the Kaḍamuṭṭam crosses, their sculptural setting.

Dévas (Skt. *Div.* = ‘to shine,’) or gods were conceived as bright, luminous beings, and the idea of phosphorescent light emanating from them was sought to be expressed in early sculptures by the addition of plain circular discs called ‘*siraschakras*’ to the back of the heads of images. In course of time these

10. C. M. Augur, in his *Church History of Travancore*, p. 36, says that the foreign Christians taught the black art to a priest of the Kadamattam family and that this proficiency continued in that family for a long time. This shows that Kadamattam was connected with the foreign priests from a very long time, and it is not impossible that its Persian Cross was its own.

material nimbuses were decorated with intricate floral and creeper designs, and thus came to lose some of their original intrinsic significance. Further on, with the conventionalisation of iconographic art and owing, perhaps, also to the inconvenience of representing a disc just behind an image's head, the modern detached aureole, called the *prabhāvalī* or 'the lustrous circle,' was evolved and conventional clusters of flames were also appended at intervals to the outer rim of this arching belt, to accentuate the idea of radiating light. With the decadence of the original simplicity of conception and with the elaboration of sculptural details achieved by individual artists, each extremity of this arch came to be represented as starting from the mouth of a *makara* or fish-monster, the vehicle of the purifying goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā who are generally found flanking the entrance into temples. The *makara-torana* is another instance in point.

Although one cannot be sure whether the significance attached to *makaras*, namely, that they are 'symbolical of fertility and good luck' or of¹¹ 'the water or Cosmic ocean from which the sun rose and into which the sun sank at eventide,' was actually meant to be expressed in art language by and at the time of the introduction of this aquatic creature in Indian sculpture, or whether, as is more probable, the conventional outline of its curious tail, rich in varied volutes and intersecting spirals, simply supplied a convenient artistic expedient for finishing off the blunt extremities of the canopy, this fish-dragon is found to figure in sculptures as early as the second century B.C.¹²

In the present instances also, the cross—a reverent symbol of adoration to the Christians—was religiously canopied by an arc of halo whose extremities disappear into the gaping mouths of two *makaras* of purely Hindu design. The pellets, or round balls lining the middle of the belt, are mere ornamental adjuncts to beautify the plain band of the arch—a golden arc being set with precious stones in variegated profusion—and are otherwise innocent of the ingenious significance suggested in the above extract.

The pillars supporting the halo-circle are of the indigenous type and are no more specifically Persepolitan than similar pillars found in abundance in any medieval South Indian temple of Siva or Vishṇu. They have the usual components of a short shaft,

11. Havell's *Indian Architecture*, p. 82.

12. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 84.

surmounted by the *kalasa* (the water-pot), the *kantha* (the neck) and the *kumbha* (the torus); and above all is the upturned *datura* or the white trumpet-shaped flower, which, together with its thorny berry, has furnished a popular model for the *pushpapôdika* or cross-brackets of capitals.

It can thus be postulated that all three crosses at St. Thomas' Mount, Kottayam, and at Kadamuttam were probably designed by Indian sculptors who were permeated with Hindu architectural traditions, and that the Pahlavi inscriptions were also engraved by them under instructions received from their foreign Christian employers, while the earlier 'lancet-arch-type' of cross at Kottayam may also have been Indian work, though executed in a simpler design. As noted by Dr. J. J. Modi, the handicap of having to copy an unintelligible record in a strange script, and in the cramped space furnished by a narrow arching ribbon of stone may partly account for the existence of the slight differences in calligraphy, except in cases where the letters are completely dissimilar, which even then appear almost identical to an uninitiated eye. That the sculptural background of the three crosses is consciously Hindu in character is undeniable, and in their familiar setting these crosses did naturally evoke a readier acceptance from the converts, recent or otherwise, for whose adoration they were perhaps consecrated at that time.

Thus the discovery of the Kadamuttam cross in the Travancore State is likely to prove of great importance to the History of Christianity in the West Coast.



COLOMBO PLACE NAMES.

By J. C. VAN SANDEN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that the etymology of place names has at one period or another aroused the interest of a great many of our local antiquarians, it is indeed a matter for surprise how comparatively little has been written so far in regard to the origin and history of Colombo itself and its place names. Every sound has had some definite meaning originally,¹ but in the process of time most of these names have gone through a kind of transformation which has tended to obscure the first meaning.

It is possible that this accounts, in some measure, for the scant attention that has been paid to some of the quaint designations one comes across in different parts of the metropolitan town of the Island. In the case of the maritime districts of Ceylon, the tides of advancing and receding invaders have not failed to leave their impress on place names. The concomitant diversity in language and nomenclature has therefore contributed to intensify difficulties for the inquiring mind. There is, however, the local tradition which occasionally serves as a sort of clue to the true origin, but, more often than not, such traditions leave the impression that they have been invented in order to account for the name.

Colombo.

Several sojourners in the island have in their writings ventured explanations with regard to the name of the principal town, and as many have been content to repeat the theory of some previous writer. As regards Colombo itself, the most popular version would appear to be that of that eminent writer, Tennent. This popularity is enhanced and given an air of authority and finality from the circumstance that Tennent's explanation of the origin of the name "*Colombo*" is quoted time after time in the successive editions of the *Ceylon Manual*, which latter, it must be stated, is not an official publication, although it is edited and published by Government.

1. Col. Branfl, quoted by Lewis in "Place Names of Wannī," *Journal of R.A.S. Ceylon Branch*.

Tennent gives *Kalantotte*, the ferry of the *Kalan* or Kelani River, as the earliest known name of Colombo. To the Sinhalese, who were never a sea-faring people, it is surprising that an insignificant hamlet like *Kalantotte* was known at all. But one cannot lose sight of the fact that the Kelani was a most important river, if only because it led to the famous Buddhist Temple at Kelaniya and the ancient Sinhalese capital of Sitawaka or Avisawella, thus investing its banks from source to estuary with a certain degree of romance.

This name *Kalantotte*, the Arabian traveller Ibn Batuta about the year 1343 refers to as *Kalambu*, "the finest and largest City in Serendib."² *Kalambu* in turn gave place to *Kolambu* or *Columbu* which the Portuguese have rendered Colombo—its present form.

It is said that in ancient Sinhalese literature, *Colamba* or *Kalamba* signified a seaport, but it is difficult to reconcile this derivation with the existence of a village named *Kolambagama*, which is in the Kurunegala district, many miles from the sea, as the crow flies. This situation of *Kolambagama*, therefore, knocks the bottom out of the sea-port theory. There is, however, a *Colombogam*, which is the abbreviated form of *Colombogama*, a maritime village in the Jaffna Peninsula. Although in the heart of a Tamil speaking country, there is no doubt that the name is of Sinhalese origin, like Waligamam, since there is no dearth of evidence that this part of Ceylon was for many years, centuries ago, under Sinhalese rule.

It is remarkable that even in the more Tamilized form, *Colombuturai*, the suffix *turai* means a sea-port or landing place, as in *Kankesanturai*, *Sambilturai*, *Paragaturai*.

According to Sirr, "tradition declares that *Colamba*³ derived its name from a grove of mango trees," and the explanation of Adrian Reland, the great Orientalist, is on all fours with this version. In his treatise on the affinity of the Sinhalese, Malay and Malabar languages, Reland conjectures thus; "*Cola*, 'leaf,' hence the tree *Colamba* and the city commonly called *Columbo*."

If not the most fantastic, easily the most clumsy, guess at the

2. *Ibn Batuta in the Maldives & Ceylon*, translated from the French of Defremery and Sanguinetti, by Albert Gray, R.A.S. *Journal*, 1882, Extra number.

3. Sinh: *Cola*, "leaf," *amba* "mango."

4. Note 41, "A Belgian Physician's notes on Ceylon in 1687-89," translated by Donald Ferguson, *Journal of the R.A.S. Ceylon Branch*, Vol. X. No. 35, 1887.

origin of the name *Colombo*, is that given by the Belgian physician and traveller, Daalmans,⁴ who states with much assurance that Ceylon was discovered by "Christoffel" Columbus, an "Italien," whence the chief town bears the name of the celebrated discoverer and navigator.

Pettah.

Of the names of the different parts of Colombo, the best known is Pettah—due to a great extent to its importance as the Ceylonese business centre. In regard to this name, Tennent, again with characteristic perspicacity, traces the derivation from the Tamil word *pettai*, "the extra-mural suburb of a fortress or town." The Sinhalese word *pita*, meaning "without, outside," bears a remarkable similarity to *pettai* both etymologically and phonetically. Not many miles from Pettah is *Pita Kotte*, "outer fort," and *Etul Kotte*, "inner fort," in the immediate neighbourhood of Kotte, the capital of Bhuvaneka Bahu. This capital was also known as Cotta, which the errant Daalmans writes "*Cotton*."

That the derivation of Pettah is from the Tamil word *pettai*, is supported by the existence of Pettahs in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Trincomalee,—all Tamil districts. More than this, the situations of these pettahs in relation to the forts of the three towns mentioned are identical with Pettah and Fort, in Colombo. Again, in the Tamil district of Madras in South India, one comes across such names as *Seringapet*, *Sowcarpet* and *Chinglepet*, also spelled *Chingleput*. The suffix *pet* in these names is one in meaning with *pettai*, of which the former is an abbreviated, Anglicised form.

During the Portuguese and Dutch times and even in the early British period, the Pettah was regarded as essentially an outer fort or the first line of defence. It was here that the burghers of the Dutch, *Oost Vereenigde Compagnie* and the British East India Company lived and carried on their business as merchants and traders. Only the governors, military officers and a few privileged individuals were permitted by the Dutch to reside within the Fort, which was separated from Pettah by a vast swamp called *Buffels Veldt* and which extended from the present Front Street, Pettah, to the north gate of the Fort. This gate was situated on the site where the Fort Police Station now stands. Across the swamp was a narrow, slightly elevated road which connected Fort and Pettah. The road led across the Fort Canal or moat and over the draw-bridge into the Castle. The existence of this swamp

must have been of no inconsiderable strategic value, since it would have impeded the free advance of a besieging army and hindered the transport of heavy battering rams.

The outer-fort or Pettah comprised all that area that was bounded on the south by the swamp referred to above, on the east by the Beira Lake, on the west by the Colombo roadstead, and on the north by a little stream which connected Beira with the sea. The course of this stream lay *via* St. John's Road and past the present Town Hall along Gas Works Street, so that, like the Fort, Pettah too was an island. Within the Pettah itself are such names as Bankshall Street, Maliban Street and Norris Road, all of which are not without their individual romances. Just as all and sundry were not allowed to live in the Fort, so also Pettah in its own way was considered the preserve of the few, and not till 1832, during the regime of Governor Wilmot Horton, were the Moors and Tamils permitted to buy property or go into residence in this part of the City.

Kayman's Gate.

At the Northern boundary of Pettah, the gate which opened out to the road which leads to Negombo—and for that reason was also known as the Negombo Gate,—was Kayman's Gate—another name which has evoked its share of speculation. Many seem to think that the name perpetuates the memory of some distinguished individual but not one seems to be able to say who the great Kayman was.

The Dutch name for this place, *Kaymans' Poort*, which designation it is given in the old time maps, does not assist the inquirer to any appreciable extent, since *Kayman* or *Cayman* is not a purely orthodox Dutch word. Donald Ferguson⁵ is certain that it is an American (?) word, meaning "crocodile," and that it seems to have been used generally by the Dutch in the East in former days. In support of this meaning Ferguson cites *Hobson-Jobson*. *Kaymans' Poort*, therefore, stands for "Crocodiles' Gate," and when the topography of the neighbourhood as it was in the Dutch period is known, it is not a difficult matter to trace the reason for the name.

It was stated above that the northern boundary of Pettah was St. John's River and, since the Negombo Gate was situated on this boundary, it must have been

5. *Ibid.*

in the immediate vicinity of the river, which latter, according to Daalmans, was infested⁶ with *Kaimans* or crocodiles, hence "Crocodiles Gate." The existence of these amphibious creatures in the river in those days is not to be wondered at, since one or two of them have been shot in the Beira Lake⁶ from time to time, even as recently as thirty or forty years ago. The river, it must be remembered, was connected with the lake, and what is more probable than that these predatory animals occasionally took a "stroll" in the direction of the Pettah to pay a visit to the poultry yards of the pioneer *Mynheer*.

In its day Kaymans' Gate was an important point in the defences of Colombo. An armed sentry was placed here and the gates were closed at a certain hour every night. It marked the northernmost extremity of fortified Colombo, and, during the time of the Sinhalese kings, when an embassy to the hills set out, it was accompanied with music and military honours as far as this gate. So also when the Kandyan king's official messengers visited the Governor of Colombo, the former on the day of their departure were accorded the usual military compliments as they passed through this gate. The changing of the guard here on special occasions must, in those days of gorgeous and picturesque military uniforms, have drawn small crowds of spectators from the Chetties' quarters and Moors' quarters.

Thombe⁷ makes frequent mention of Kaymans' Gate in his narration of the Capitulation of Colombo to the British in the year 1796. He says:—

"At the same moment the enemy debouched on the road and vigorously attacked the troops of these two Captains, who were driven back, and obliged to retire to Kayman's gate (*la porte des Caymans*),...."

"Captain Légrevisse received orders at midday to retire with his detachment into the Fort, and the remainder of the troops received a like order successively. Kayman's gate was then closed, and a Malay guard placed there."

And, "on February 14, at 1 p.m., Major Agnew, an officer of the enemy's army, came with a flag of truce to Kayman's gate."

(To be Continued).

6. See Ferguson's *Ceylon Directory*, Chronological Table of Events.

7. "Collection of notes on the attack & defence of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon," translated from the French of Mons : de la Thombe by Col. A. B. Fyers, R.E. *Journal of the R.A.S. C.B.*, Vol : X. No. 37, 1888.

THE FIRST PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTION IN CEYLON.

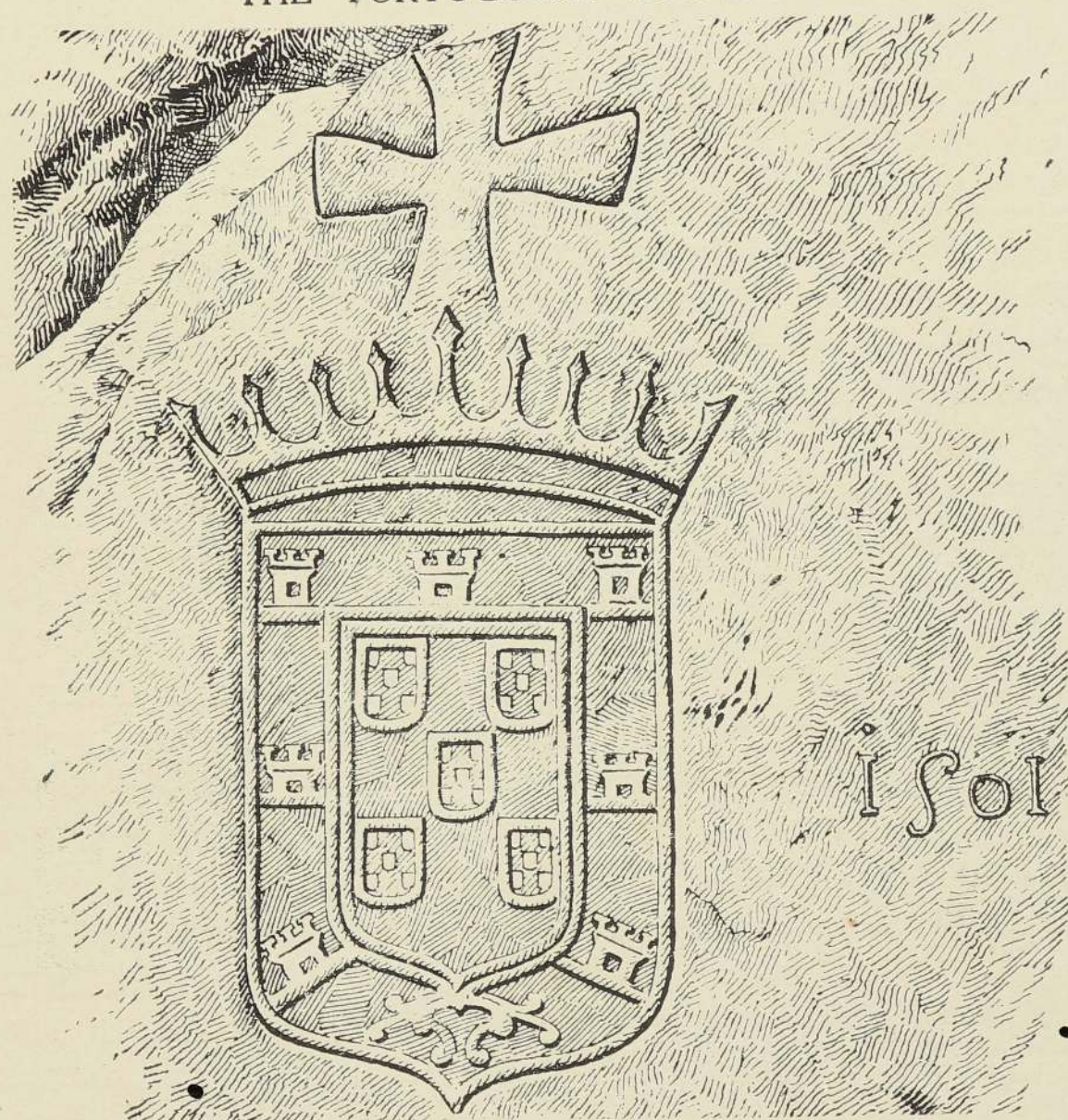
By S. G. P.

THE first and the most interesting of extant Portuguese inscriptions is the curious bit of engraving on the Portuguese boulder now in the Gordon Gardens. This boulder was discovered on 5th September, 1898, by a party of coolies engaged in demolishing "the old building at the root of the breakwater which for years did duty as headquarters of the Harbour Police." The *Ceylon Independent* of 7th September, 1898, thus described the find: "One of the large rocks at the bottom of the building was found to have carved on it an excellently executed Portuguese Coat-of-arms, looking no older than a month, with the date 1501, rudely but quite legibly, carved to the right of it." After mentioning the discovery also of "a few human mouldy bones" in the vicinity, the scribe went on to say: "There is little doubt that the coolies are just now excavating about the grave of some Portuguese grandee of the beginning of the sixteenth century, to mark whose resting place the stone was placed by with the Coat-of-arms carved on it. Nothing beyond bones have been found at the spot, and the Portuguese Coat-of-arms with the date on it is the only but sufficiently acceptable evidence that the grave belongs to one of this Island's Portuguese conquerors."

This paragraph caught the eye of Mgr. Zaleski, the Papal Delegate then in Ceylon. Just a few months before this Mgr. Zaleski had obtained from Rio de Janeiro a copy of the *Conquista* of Father Queyroz, and from the description of Father Queyroz he promptly identified it as the "Coat-of-arms of Portugal carved on a rock at the entrance of the Colombo harbour" by Don Lourenco de Almeida in 1505. Accordingly on that very day, 7th September, 1898, Mgr Zaleski addressed a letter to the Governor pointing out the Archaeological interest of the discovery.

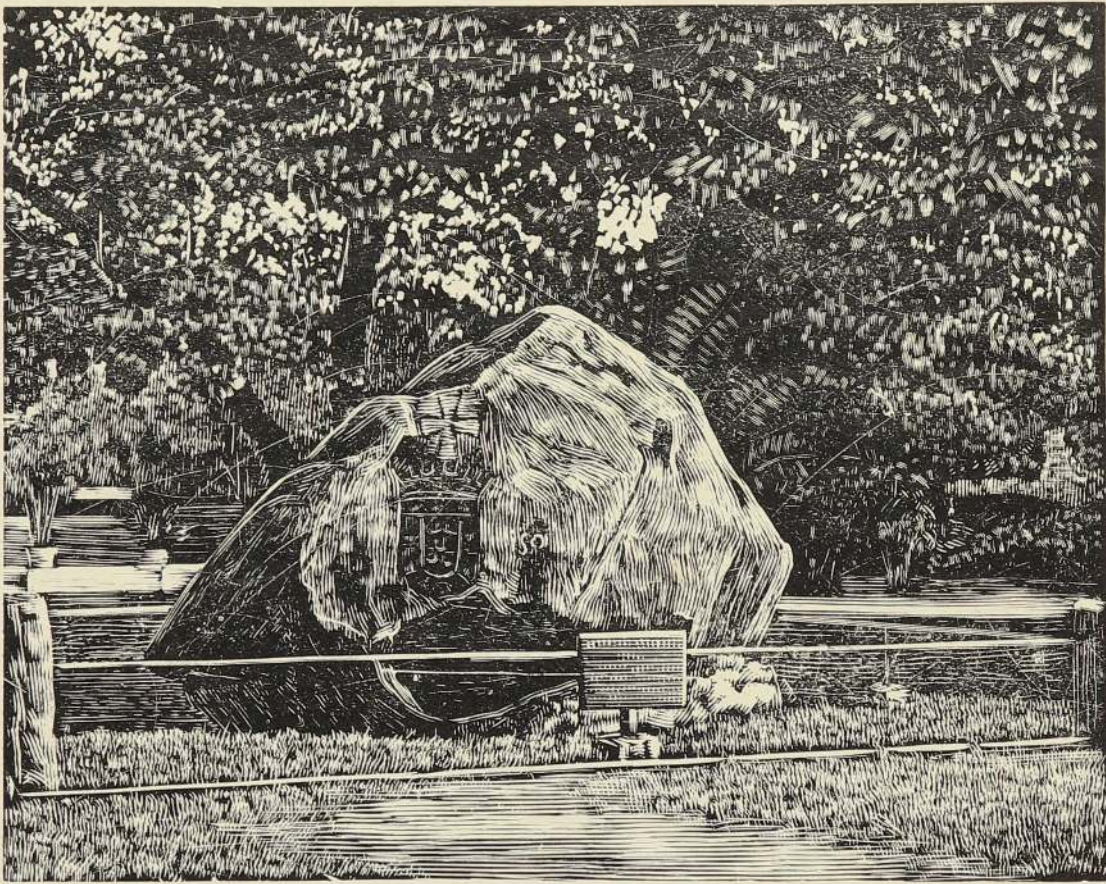
The Governor referred the letter to the Director of the Museum, who in turn consulted the leading students of history such as

THE PORTUGUESE BOULDER.



The Portuguese Coat-of-Arms.

IN THE GORDON GARDENS.



- This boulder, which is now in the Gordon Gardens, was removed thither from its original site opposite the ancient Portuguese Church of St. Lourenco, which stood near the present Battenburg Battery.

D. W. Ferguson, F. H. de Vos and A. E. Buultjens and published the correspondence in the *Journal* of the Ceylon Asiatic Society (XVI. pp. 15-28.) The stone remained, *in situ*, more or less "near the Wharf Railway Station, between the road leading to the Customs main gate and the back of the Customs yard".¹ In 1912 that site was deemed unsuitable and the boulder, weighing not less than 25 tons, was removed bodily to its present site in the Gordon Gardens where, as the Colonial Secretary expressed it, "it would still face what may be supposed to have been the landing place of those by whom the inscription was cut".²

Though it was thus taken for granted that it was the engraving made by the first Portuguese visitors to the island, it must be said to the credit of the critical spirit of the scholars above named that they did not pronounce definitely on the point. Mgr. Zaleski, indeed, quoted a line of Queyroz in support of his contention, but Queyroz was an unknown name at the time and carried no weight. And what about the figures 1501 carved by the side of the escutcheon? There was the rub. Ferguson concluded his note with all the emphasis of italics: "*I think I can assert with absolute confidence that Lourenco de Almeida's envoys were the very first Portuguese who ever set foot in the island. The matter is too lengthy to be dismissed in a note like the present, but I have abundant authority to prove my statement; the date on the boulder is, therefore, impossible.*"³

I propose to show in this article that Donald Ferguson and Mgr. Zaleski were both right; in that (1) there is no reason to doubt that the Portuguese boulder is the identical *padram* set up by Lourenco de Almeida and (2) on the other hand that there is no reason to suppose that the figures 1501 have anything to do with the original inscription.

I.

All the Portuguese chronicles say that a *padram* was erected in Ceylon. The word *padram*, it must be pointed out, because of past misconception, is etymologically the same word as the English *patron*, which is the older Middle English spelling of the modern *pattern*. By a *Padram* was meant the painting or engraving on a

(1) *Journal* XXII. p 303.

(2) *Ib.*

(3) *J.* XVI. 27.

shield, the 'pattern' or 'escutcheon.' Whence the stone column bearing the royal arms of Portugal, which the Portuguese navigators carried with them in their voyages of discovery, was called a *padram*. From this circumstance any inscription came to be called a *padram*. Therefore, when the ancient chronicles speak of a *padram*, one must not jump to the conclusion that it is a post or pillar though the Portuguese *padroes* were generally on columns.

The following are the principal references to the erection of a *padram* in Ceylon :

Says João de Barros : (Dec. 1, Bk X, ch. V.)

E per meio delles fez vir alguma gente da terra, per cujo aprazimento metteo hum Padrão de pedra em hum penedo, e nelle mandou esculpir humas letras como elle chegára alli, e descubria aquella Ilha ; e Gonçalo Gonçalves, que era o pedreiro da obra, però que não fosse Hercoles pera se gloriar dos Padrões de seu descubrimento, eram estes em parte de tanto louvor, que poz o seu nome ao pé delle, e assim fica Gonçalo Gonçalves mais verdadeiramente por pedreiro daquela columna, do que Hercoles he auctor de muitas, que lhe os Gregos dao em suas escrituras.....

E porque Nuno Vaz Pereira com o tempo rijo, que os fez alevantar, quebrou a verga grande do seu navio, foi necessario tornar outra vez ao porto, onde achou que o nosso Padrão estava já chamuscado do fogo, como que lho puzeram ao pé.

And by their (Moors) means he (Don Lourenco) got together some of the people of the country, with whose approval he erected a stone *padram* on a rock and upon it ordered to be cut some letters saying how he had arrived there, and had discovered that island ; and Goncalo Goncalvez who was the stone cutter that did the work, though he was not a Hercules to boast of the *padroës* of his discovery, because these were in a place of such renown, put his name at the foot of it ; and so Goncalo Goncalvez remains more truly the stone cutter of that pillar than Hercules is the author of many that the Greeks attribute to him in their writings.".....

"And because Nuno Vaz Pereira, through the rough weather that had forced them to leave, broke the mainyard of his ship, he found it necessary to return once more to the port where he found that our *padram* was already blackened by fire, as if they had lighted one at the foot of it."

(Mandou) Nuno Va Pereira
em a náo Sancto espirito
 á Ilha Ceilao pera a trazer, o
 qual....levava Regimento do
 Viso Rey, que não movesse
 guerra per razão da paz, que
 seu filho D. Lourenço tinha assen-
 tado, de que estava per teste-
 munha o Padrão que deixou
 posto em o lugar de Columbo,
 que Nuno Vaz vio.

E em quanto se carregava
 mandou ele meter na praya
 per consentimêto del rey hu
 padrão de pedra com as armas
 de Portugal dhum cabo, e a
 divisa da Sphere do outro.
 E isto em sinal que aquela
 terra estava ã paz cõ os Portu-
 gueses.

E Dom Lourenço, recolhendo
 a canella e os dous alifantes,
 ordenou de partir e mandou
 dizer a ElRey, que aly no porto
 lhe queria deixar posto sinal,
 pera lembrança da paz que
 era assentada. Do que ElRey
 muyto folgou, dizendo que fol-
 garia que possesse muytos sinaes
 que durassem pera sempre.

Então Dom Lourenço foy a
 terra, e sobre huma ponta da
 terra, que estava sobre a baya,
 assentou huma columna de pedra
 com os escudos, das armas, como
 ja atrás declarey; e sendo o
 marmore alevantado, e posto

Again (Dec. 11. Bk. III. ch I).
 "Nuno Vaz Pereira (was sent
 in 1508) in the ship Santo
 Spirito to the Island of Ceylon
 to bring (cinnamon).....he
 bore an order from the viceroy
 that he should not levy war
 by reason of the peace that
 his son Don Lourenco had
 agreed to, the witness of which
 was the *padram* that he left
 standing in the town of Colombo
 which Nuno Vaz saw."

Castanheda: (Bk. ch. 23) "And
 whilst he (Don Lourenco) was
 loading (cinnamon) he ordered
 to put up on the shore by consent
 of the king a *padrao* of stone
 with the arms of Portugal at
 one end and the device of the
 sphere at the other; and this
 in token that the country was
 at peace with the Portuguese."

Correa: (Lendas I. 654.) "Then
 Don Lourenco, taking the cin-
 namon and the two elephants,
 prepared to depart, and sent
 word to the king that he wished
 to leave behind at that port a
 memorial set up in remembrance
 of the peace that had been agreed
 to. At which the king was much
 pleased, saying that he would
 be glad if he erected many
 memorials which would last
 for ever.

Then Don Lourenco went
 on shore and on a point
 of land, which stood above the
 bay, he erected a column of
 stone with the escutcheon of
 arms such as I have already
 described,⁶ and when the mar-

(6) Quoted below.

em seu lugar, Dom Lourenço, em geolhos fez oração á Cruz, que nella estava, e se tornou a recolher.

De Ceylão tenho já enformado Vossa Alteza per homens que lá forão, e estes que agora de la vierão assy acharão a terra, assentada, e o padrao em pe, como o pôs meu filho.

Dandolhe o tempo se partio de Galle e veo entrar no porto de Columbo, que é o principal do trato, onde sobre a ponta da baya que faz o porto estava posto o padrao das armas que ally pusera dom Lourenço, quando assentou este porto, como já contey na lenda de dom Francisco d'Almeida primeyro Visorey, o qual os mouros tinhao quebrado.

D. Lorenço....satisfazose,a.... con plantar en ub puntã con plantar un Padron de piedra, con inscripcion de su. llegada alli.

**Summary of a letter of D. Francisco de Almeida :
27th December, 1506.**

"The Cross of Christos and the Royal Arms and the Device have been left in Ceylon on a *padram*."⁴

"The discovery of Taprobane; and how the ships arrive and set up the *padram*" was the subject of one of the paintings that King D. Manoel commanded to be made.⁵

ble had been raised and put in its place Don Lourenco on his knees offered a prayer to the cross that was on it and then retired."

Again Correa gives (I. 917) a letter of Francisco de Almeida dated 20 November, 1508, in the course of which Almeida says: "Of Ceylon I have already informed Your Highness through men who have been there, and those who have recently come thence have found the country quiet, and the *padrao* standing as my son erected it."

Again (II. 540) under date 1518 Correa says:

"The weather permitting he (Lopo Souza de Albergaria) left Galle and succeeded in entering the port of Colombo, which is the principal one of that region where, on the point of the bay, which forms the port, was placed the *padrao* with the coat of arms which Don Lourenco erected there when he came to this port, as I have already related in the history of the first Viceroy Don Francisco d'Almeida which the Moors had destroyed."

Faria y Souza: (Tom. I. Pt. I. ch. 10). "Don Lourenco....contented himself.....with planting on a point a padram of stone with an inscription about his arrival there."

(4) *Precis* of letter received by the King, given in *Cartas de Alfonso de Albuquerque II.*, 391. (J. XIX 338.)

(5) Quoted by Ferguson, J. XIX. 346.

The description of the *padram* given by these authors may be summarised in tabular form as follows.—

Author.	Town.	Site.	Description of Engraving.	
Barros	(Galle)	on a rock	"some letters saying how he had arrived"	"cut by Goncalo Goncalvez," "who put his name at the foot"
Castanheda	Colombo (Gabaliquagama, which our people call Galle)	— stone	— Arms of Portugal on one side and the Device of the Sphere on the other.	— —
Correa	Columbo	point of land above the bay	"columns of stone" with "escutcheon of arms" and "cross"	"marble" "raised" and "put in position"
	"	point of bay which forms the port	Coat of Arms	"standing" "erected"
Faria y Souza	"	point	inscription about arrival	—
Almeida	Ceylon	—	Cross of Christos Royal Arms and device	—

- (1) Though Barros and Castanheda imply that the *padram* was erected in Galle, the former subsequently contradicts it and states it was in Colombo, and Castanheda's assertion is negligible in view of the consensus of other testimonies.
- (2) The various indications of the site are not mutually exclusive. It was "on a rock," on "a point of land," "above the port." All these expressions may be used to indicate one and the same place, and the place in which the boulder was discovered corresponds to the description.
- (3) Beyond this there are discrepancies: Barros speaks of an inscription, "some letters saying how he had arrived," and says that "Goncalo Goncalvez put his name at the foot." Souza likewise speaks of "an inscription about his arrival."
- (4) Castanheda says that it was a two-faced (column). Correa speaks of "raising" and "putting in position," and "standing," which also imply a column. He calls it a "marble."

Most of these writers seemed to have thought that the *padram* erected in Colombo was one of those columns which Portuguese navigators carried with them for this purpose. Such a *padram* is described by Correa as: "A column of white marble with its pedestal and capital which bore upon it the escutcheon of the Quinas⁷ with the crown, and on the other side another escutcheon on which was the Sphere, and at the foot letters gilt in the stone and cut within, which said 'King Manoel' These the King had ordered to be made, and had commanded the captains to set them up in the countries where they established friendship, that the remembrance of it might last for ever, and that they might be seen by all the nations that might come later."⁸

In spite of all these statements Father Fernão de Queyroz, who says he has read all the books published in his time and who has disregarded the statements of many of these writers, because he considered himself better informed, and who speaks not only of this *padram* but also of other *padroês* set up in Ceylon by the Chinese, of which no other writer had ever spoken but which was discovered in Ceylon after the *Conquista* was brought to Ceylon, says (*Conquista* p. 142.)

<p>Mandou abrir em hua rocha, de fronte de Bahia, as Quinas de Portugal ; memoria posto que gastado do tempo, q semper no nosso, ali permancéo. No mmo sitio, levantou hua pequena Ermida, da invocação, de S. Lourenco, q, ficou dando o nome. âqle monte, e junto dela a Feytoria, sê pr entaõ tratar de outra fortificacao.</p>	<p>(Don Lourenco) ordered to be engraved on a rock in front of the bay the Quinas⁷ of Portugal, a memorial which though worn out by time ever remained there in our (time). On the same place he erected a small Hermitage under the invocation of S. Lourenço which gave its name to that mound ; and by its side a Factory without thinking of any further fortification for the nonce.</p>
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Thus, according to Father Queyroz, the *padram* was

(1) Engraved on a rock.

(7) "Quinas" literally means The Cinques or Fives (Lat *quini*), referring to the five points in the shield. *As Quinas Portuguezas* was the usual term for the Portuguese Coat-of-Arms.

(8) Lendas 1 bb & 559.

- (2) The engraving consisted of the Quinas or Coat-of-Arms of Portugal.
- (3) The *padram* was still standing at the end of the Portuguese period.
- (4) By the side of the *padram*-rock stood the chapel of St. Lawrence.

The Portuguese boulder now in the Gordon Gardens corresponds exactly to this description. It does not correspond to the descriptions of the other chroniclers. Father Queyroz was aware of some of the other descriptions, but he is not repeating what others said.

The verification of 1, 2 and 3 is manifest. The fourth point is fortunately verified by another discovery, made in the same way, near the same place, sixty years previously. This earlier discovery of the second oldest Portuguese inscription was thus described in the *Ceylon Observer* of 11th November, 1836 :

“As the men employed by the Engineer Department were engaged in some repairs at the outworks of Battenburgh Bastion, a few days since, and when clearing away some accumulated rubbish and remains of old buildings, they discovered, at about two feet below the surface, a large flat stone, on which is the annexed Portuguese inscription exactly 300 years old. This monumental stone was found to cover a small vault in which were some mouldering human bones.” This inscription is the epitaph of the first vicar of the church of S. Lourenco, who was buried in the clergy house attached to the Church. According to the reading and translation of that indefatigable and scholarly D. W. Ferguson, it reads as follows :—

‘Here lies Luiz (?) Monteiro de Setuval, the first confirmed vicar and primate in this island of Ceylon who edified this island with churches and Christians and built S. Lourenco and this house with the help of faithful Christians and his own.

Awaiting the great judgment
I lie here in this abode
From toilsome life
Retiring.

and from the great labours and dishonours of Ceylon in the year 1536.¹⁰

(9) C.L.R. I. 8.

(10) J. XVIII 364-5.

This stone placed over the grave of Monteiro in the house of S. Lourenco' was found not far from the boulder, and its discovery confirms the statement of Queyroz that the *padram* stood hard by the chapel of S. Lourenco.

There is thus little room for doubt that the present Portuguese boulder is the identical *padram* that Queyroz is speaking of as set by up Don Lourenço; and the boulder in its turn is a standing proof of the accuracy of Father Queyroz.

II.

The figures 1501 are a stumbling block. It was taken for granted that they formed part of the original inscription.

A. E. Buultjens advanced the conjecture that Goncalo Goncalves deliberately engraved the date of the first *discovery* of Ceylon, not the date of Don Lourenco's visit, meaning by the 'date of discovery' the date when Ceylon first became known to the Portuguese.¹¹ But apart from the fact that the word 'discovery' was not used in that sense by the Portuguese, it is quite certain that they knew of Ceylon before 1501.

J. P. Lewis on the other hand was so impressed by this date that he was prepared to throw written records overboard in favour of this date "on stone." "If this date," he wrote in 1917,¹² "does not agree with the historical records not on stone but on paper, so much the worse for such historical records: or to put it less epigrammatically but more clearly, we must abandon our notions derived entirely from the later and allow them, as regards the date of the first landing in Ceylon of a Portuguese, to be corrected by the former. I can see no reason why a Portuguese should not have landed at Colombo in 1501, even though there was no written record of it to be found."

Mr. J. Ryan accordingly made an ingenious speculation as to who could have been "voluntarily left behind, deserted or marooned" for the purpose of explaining that date.¹³ He was undeterred by the solemn assertion of Donald Ferguson, 'the profoundest student of Portuguese history,' that Don Lourenco was absolutely the first Portuguese to set foot in Ceylon.'

(11) J. XVI. 25.

(12) C.A. & L.B. II. 221.

(13) *Ib.*

These writers all suppose that the figures 1501, or whatever they are, were part of the original inscription. But (1) they are unquestionably of a different *workmanship* from the rest of the inscription. The Coat-of-arms is neatly and excellently engraved by a master hand, while the awkward and clumsy figures are manifestly the work of an unskilled and inexperienced workman. The surface of the rock has been smoothed and plained for the Coat-of-arms, while the figures are on an irregular, uneven, and rough surface. *cf Plate*. This alone would be enough to rule out of court the suggestion that it was done by the same person.

(2) The fact that no writer mentions a date is worthy of consideration. Neither Queyroz nor any other mentions a date as having been inscribed. It is, moreover, not the practice of the Portuguese to inscribe dates. No date occurs in a strikingly similar *padram* engraved on a rock in Central Africa above Matadi on the Congo River with an inscription.¹⁴ No date is mentioned as inscribed in the *padram* set up in Mombasa.¹⁵ In the King's instructions on setting up *padrams*, there is no mention of a date. A *padram* was not meant to commemorate a date. Dates, moreover, were never a strong point with the Portuguese.

Thus there is no reason to suppose that the figures are the work of the hand that carved the Coat-of-arms, or that a date was carved at all on that occasion. There is no reason to suppose that the figures 1501, if figures they are, form part of the original inscription. The bare fact that the figures occur by the side of the escutcheon is not a sufficient reason for us to suppose that it is the date of the escutcheon, or has anything to do with it, or to disregard written records on the strength of such a supposition.

Both the date and the cross are probably the work of a later hand and Mr. J. Harward rightly thought: "It was absolutely clear that the cross above the royal arms was by a different hand from the carving of the Royal arms and date. Perhaps the date had nothing to do with the coat-of-arms which it adjoined and might possibly have been the fancy work of somebody who carved on the rock, perhaps long after the coat-of-arms was made."

(14) A photograph of the "Portuguese Rock" is given in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 18 August, 1923.

(15) Correa, I. 559.

SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.

A Rejoinder to Mr. M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S.

By GATE MUDALIYAR W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

(Continued from Vol. IX, Part III, Page 165.)

The Noun and the Verb.

To come now to the Noun and the Verb.

(1). In the Aryan, as reflected both in the Vēdic and in Sanskrit, the noun and the verb had three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. In this respect it agrees with Greek, within the family, and with Arabic outside. But what happens when this language, the Aryan, goes out among the native masses of India and becomes the vernacular of the provinces? The provincial grammar was Dravidian, and it is plain that, though the incoming Aryan could disseminate itself to the extent of words which could be caught by the ear, the principles of Aryan grammar would be quite a different matter; they were intellectual, and to grasp and assimilate them required systematic and scientific study; and this among the masses was out of the question.

Now the masses constituted the bulk of the population of every province; and hence in every province, as may be easily conceived, the spread of Aryan as the vernacular was, to a very considerable extent, superficial. The masses may here and there have caught what principles of Aryan grammar they could; but, on the whole, they used the new language by the principles of grammar to which alone they were accustomed, to wit, by the rules of Dravidian grammar. Now in Aryan, as we have said, the noun had, in addition to the two ordinary numbers, a dual number. In Dravidian such a thing is unknown. What do we find in the Aryan vernaculars including Pāli? We find the dual number conspicuous by its absence. What does it shew? It shews that the Aryan dual number had been killed out by the Dravidian impact, and that in this matter of number, one of the

most important in the use of language, the Aryan vernaculars are governed by the principles of Dravidian grammar.

(2). In Aryan, the difference between the accusative and the dative cases, both in declension and in syntactical usage, is very wide. In Tamil, their difference in declension is no less wide, but in syntactical usage the favourite case as between the two is the dative, this figuring in many a connection where in Aryan the accusative should appear. And this Dravidian preference for the dative not only finds full play in the Aryan Vernaculars syntactically, but in some of them it has even supplanted the form of the accusative case declensionally. This scarcely requires exemplification since it is a prominent feature in our standard of comparison, Hindī, among others, where the accusative case inflectionally has no independent form but that of the dative.

(3). a. In Aryan, the pronoun is the same for all manner of persons high or low. *Tvam*, 'thou,' is the same for menial, for social equal, or for king. If marked respect is intended to be shewn in addressing, the word *bhavat* (masc. sing. *bhavān*, fem. *bhavati*), "the meritorious one," may be used in the third person. The genius of the Dravidian languages in regard to this matter is different; there the important ethical factor is the pronoun, which acts as the index of respect, and has to be in the plural number subjectively, objectively, or both ways, according as respect is intended for the person addressing, or addressed, or both.

Thus, in Tamil, if a person speaks of himself in the singular number, he is simply assuming no importance; if he speaks of another in the singular, he is either speaking of an inferior, or using language of contempt; while if he uses the plural in respect of himself, or of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken of, he is, in each case, throwing into the speech the proper amount of importance to befit the dignity of the person or persons receiving such courteous reference. In the Aryan Vernaculars, it is this Dravidian principle that prevails. In them not only has this principle taken deep root, but it even shews a more luxuriant growth.

Thus in some of these languages, we see pronouns of inferiority, and pronouns of superiority, in addition to the usual pronouns of equality, with tone and nasality thrown in according as high respect is claimed or paid, as we often observe when Indians

speak. (See the pronoun in Carey's *Bengali Grammar*, and compare Forbes, *Bengal Grammar*, 1862, pp. 33 and 35). The principle is said to be much in evidence in Konkāni and very common, in fact, in almost all the Vernaculars. The principle, which is Tamil, is faithfully reflected in Hindi. Thus Kellogg (*Gr.* 2nd ed. p. 431).—

“But when it is intended to shew respect, the pronoun is put in the plural, even when referring to a singular noun.”

In Tamil, very high respect is shewn to a person that is being addressed if he is referred to by the reflexive pronoun, *tāngal* (“they themselves”). Here the high respect is conveyed not by the plural (which is not essential though higher than the singular,)¹ but by this particular pronoun, and we find the principle reflected in the Aryan Vernaculars. Its prevalence is very wide in the family, and in Bengali it is thus spoken of (Forbes, *Gr.* p. 39):—

“When great respect and deference are intended in speaking of another, or in addressing one who is present, the word *āpani* (“self”) is used, and will then mean “your,” or “his honour,” “your,” or “her ladyship,” or any similarly respectful form of address, according to the rank of the person who is intended to be designated.”

(3) *b.* In Aryan a suffix is a suffix, each as elegant as another, and all performing but one function—that of shewing the relation of a word to another or to others in the sentence. In Tamil a suffix sometimes has the additional power of conveying respect or the reverse; and it may also be elegant or otherwise. While therefore function is common to both Aryan and Dravidian, the spirit of quality in a suffix is entirely Dravidian. Now hear what Hoernle has to say on the quality of some suffixes pervading almost all the Aryan Vernaculars of India (*Comp. Gr.* p. 100):—

“All these suffixes are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree.”

(4). In Aryan the declension of nouns is a complex system, being different for vowel-finals and consonant-finals, and consonant-finals again having not less than three bases to operate upon in the same noun, each for a different part of the declension. Moreover, the terminal suffixes are different for the singular, the dual, and the plural. In Tamil, there is but one base to a noun with a variation

1 Caldwell 3rd ed. p. 397.

for the plural, and but one set of terminal suffixes for both numbers. In the Aryan Vernaculars, the Dravidian system and Dravidian simplicity prevails, the other having been killed out in a Dravidian atmosphere.

(5). Aryan never had anything approaching to *kā*, *kī*, *kē*, or *kō* as a casual suffix to a noun or pronoun. On the other hand, all Dravidian languages have *ku* (of which the essential element is 'k') or some slight variation of it, as the terminal suffix of the dative case; and in most languages of the Hindī group, the same 'k' plays an important part in supplying the terminal suffixes for the dative, the only inflected form of the accusative, and the genitive case. (Kellogg, *Gr.* "Declension of nouns").

Now from the very fact that this 'k' supplies the essential element of the dative suffix in Dravidian, and the essential element of the dative suffix in these Vernaculars, there is at once ground for presumption that it is part of the old Dravidian web running through this new Aryan warp and holding it in texture. But that is not all. When the inflected accusative in which it appears is examined in syntactical relation, we often find, and with verbs of motion always, that it is the exact equivalent of the same case occurring in the same relation in Tamil. Thus Hindī *gharko calo* ("to the house go"), where *gharko* is theoretically in the accusative case after Sanskrit, is the exact equivalent of the Tamil *vittuku* (*p*) *pō*, where *vittuku* is in the dative case as marking the point to which motion is directed.

Again we have the adverbial expression *rātkō*, "at night," which is theoretically in the accusative case (Kellogg, *Gr.* 2nd ed. p. 101), and which, strangely enough, is the equivalent of the Tamil *irāvukku*, which is in the dative case. Examples can be multiplied *ad libitum*. I do not say that every inflected accusative in these languages answers to a Tamil dative, nor do I say that the genitive ending in *kā*, *kī*, *kē*, or *kō* always finds its equivalent in the dative in the corresponding Tamil sentence; but I do say the presumption becomes very strong (and unless and until very convincing reasons can be shewn to the contrary that presumption is entitled to stand) that these suffixes turning on the element 'k' are all developments from the Dravidian suffix 'ku' ever territorially present and more than holding its own, where the Aryan Vernaculars were in evolution.

I am aware that, when this view was first put forward by Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, he had not long to wait before finding himself in difficulties arising from two counter theories advanced, each with equal shew of authority, by Trumpp and Beames, the one in his *Sindhi Grammar*, the other in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*. Both these scholars challenged Caldwell standing on Aryan ground, and the latter, finding himself between two fires where none had been expected, believed his position insecure, and in his second edition withdrew from a position so precarious as he thought, the Aryan claim being virtually conceded. Thereby the question was closed in so far as it related to the Dravidian origin of these suffixes.

But though Caldwell was thus driven into surrender by an unexpected cross-fire and the question thus closed, it does not seem to me that in the interest of science the closure can be regarded as final. In the first place, the fire of the Aryan champions carried no effective missiles as will be presently seen; in the second place, they (the above two and yet another) claimed each on a separate title adverse to the others, shewing that they cannot all be right, and that all may be wrong. This I now proceed to shew.

Trumpp.

Of the first two opponents of Caldwell, Trumpp and Beames, the title presented by the first is thus summarised by Caldwell:—

“Dr. Trumpp, in his *Sindhi Grammar*, derives the Sindhi *khê* and the Bengali *kê* from the Sanskrit locative *krtê*, ‘for the sake of, in regard to.’ This form became in Prakrit first *kitê*, then *kiê*. It was then contracted into *kê*, which, in Sindhi, by reason of the elided *r*, becomes *khê*. He derives the Hindî and the Hindustani form of this postposition, *kô*, by a similar process from the Sanskrit *krtam* which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative *krtê*. In Prakrit, and still more in the modern dialects, the neuter is changed into the masculine. In accordance with this rule, we have first *kito*, then *kio*, and then the more modern contracted from *ko*. He thinks *kôm* and *kaum* formed from *ko* by the addition of an euphonious *anusvara*, to which the modern tongues have taken a great fancy. Dr. Trumpp argues also that the fact that the Aryan Vernaculars, which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, have not adopted the use of *ko* as a sign of the dative, shows that it is improbable that the dialects more to the north have been indebted for this form to the Dravidian idioms.”

Here, with due respect to the great eminence of Dr. Trumpp’s name, I have to point out that he has started upon his argument

with two initial fallacies operating on his mind. First, his point of view with regard to the relative position of Aryan and Dravidian speech out in the provinces geographically is strangely incorrect. He seems to think that the vernaculars in question are not provincial evolutions, but only decayed and decaying forms of Aryan speech brought wholesale into provinces by Aryan populations and still running their course with many additions and acquisitions indeed *en route*, but still the current retaining its identity the same. Sir George Grierson's point of view, which seems to us far more reasonable, and in keeping with actual observation of modern times, is the reverse of this. He says (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new ed. 1907, Vol. i. pp. 351-2):—

“Where an Aryan tongue comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter which goes to the wall. The Aryan does not attempt to speak it, and the necessities of intercourse compel the aborigine to use a broken ‘pigeon’ form of the language of a superior civilization.”

So, that was the process which led to the making of these vernaculars, and every provincial vernacular developed on a ‘pigeon’ which used Aryan phraseology made to turn on a Dravidian basis. It does not mean that the Dravidian basis was in every instance coincident in character or co-extensive in its amplitude with its proximity or otherwise to a present Dravidian sphere or “idiom”; and there is nothing antecedently improbable in some vernaculars of Northern India shewing Dravidian affinities which may or may not be present in those bordering immediately on “Dravidian idioms” of the present day.

Secondly, with regard to the Sanskrit *krtam* which, according to Dr. Trumpp, turns out by a process of physical evolution as the accusative and dative suffix *ko*. Unfortunately the eminent Doctor does not tell us what *krtam* meant in Sanskrit. We have therefore to depend upon our own knowledge of it. According to our knowledge, it is the neuter singular of *krta*, the perfect participle of the verb *kr*, “to do,” and radically it means “actum” as an adjective. It had also an idiomatic adverbial use in which it meant “done!” or “enough!”, “that will do,” etc. Now, in which of these senses it could have forced its way into the position of an accusative suffix, let alone a dative, it is difficult to understand. In Latin “I saw a boy” will be *Vidi puerum*; but to believe any such usage creeping into a Romance language as *Vidi puerum actum* requires a stretch of imagination far out of the

ordinary. And in the plural number, *Vidi pueros actum* beats all possible powers of imagination even to the most extraordinarily versatile. In the same way, *satis verborum* will be Latin for "enough of words"; but to say *satis verborum actum*, even as leading to an analytical process, is certainly indefinable and absurd.

It would thus seem that the evolution of *kō* from *krtam* is antecedently improbable. But that is not the only objection to the claim. *Krtam* consists of two parts, the stem and the terminal suffix of the nominative singular (*krta* + *am* or *m*). The argument of Trumpp is that, by phonetic decay and consequent re-adjustment, the stem becomes *ki(y)a*, which is true enough; but he goes further, and with regard to the suffix he claims that, with the change of gender of the word from neuter into the masculine (since there is no neuter in the modern Prakrits), the neuter suffix *am* changes into *o*, to suit the new gender. Herein he postulates too much. There is no doubt that occasionally a Sanskrit neuter noun in *am* may find its derivative in modern Prakrits in *o*; but that only illustrates the exception, while the rule is quite otherwise. By the rule, the neuter suffix simply disappears, thus leaving the stem of the noun perfectly fit to appear in its own form in the masculine gender. Thus we have *nagar* (city), *van* (forest), *jal* (water), *ghar* (house), etc., from Sanskrit nouns of the neuter gender, ending in the nominative singular 'm' *am* (*nagaram*, *vanam*, etc.). The general rule, therefore, will not support the assumption of Trumpp that *krtam* became *kiō*, to pass through other changes into *kō*. The assumption rests upon mere speculation, and speculation, it is plain, is no basis for scientific theories.

With regard to the evolution of *kê* from the Sanskrit *krtē*, the Doctor's position is not so palpably absurd, though bad enough. He says that *krtē* is the locative singular of *krta* ('done') in Sanskrit. It is no doubt a possible explanation of the word-form if no better is forthcoming for the adverbial sense in which he takes it. In that sense—in the sense, that is, of 'for,' 'on behalf of' etc.,—*krtē* appears with better reason as the dative singular of *krt* (participial adjective from the same root *kr*, 'to do'), a fact which even Monier Williams has missed in his *Dictionary*. The word appears in this sense, and by collocation clearly in the dative case, in the opening chapter of the great *Ars Poetica* of

Mammata (the *Kāvya Prakāsa*), in the line *kāvyaṃ yasaśē 'rthakrtē*, 'a poem is for the sake of fame, for the sake of wealth' ('*arthakrtē*'). This is more apposite for Doctor Trumpp's theory, and I mention it both in fairness to him, and to correct an error which seems to be more or less prevalent.

From the illustration quoted, it is undeniable that *krtē* was used to serve the same purpose as any sign of the dative case whether suffix or postposition, and to that extent had a good right to usurp the place of the dative suffix in analytical language. But how came the usurpation to be effected? That was only possible if the word or particle was largely used by the people, and so much so as to be a rival in popularity, and gradually the superceder, of the regular suffix. In that case, the process must have begun at an early date, and left a regular trace all along in the literature. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, what do we find? We find that in Sanskrit, *krtē*, in the sense here relevant, is a very occasional word, occurring in higher literature and seldom found in easy prose works of popular stories etc., which are nearer to the language of the people.

Among Prakrits, it is not present in any form in the earliest Pāli lexicon (the *Abhidhānap Padipikā* of Ceylon), showing how little it was known, if known at all, in the Prakrit of that stage, the nearest we have to Aryan. I have before me as I write the Alphabetical Index of all the words occurring in the *Karpura Masijari*, a drama in the Prakrit of a later stage, and in the whole of that work not once does the supposed derivative of *krtē* occur either as *kite*, or *kiē*, or *kē*. The evolution from *krtē*, therefore, which ought to have been far more observable higher up the stream, is contradicted by strong negative evidence, while, on the positive side, it rests on no evidence at all.

If the original vocable was non-Aryan and yet with a strong lodgment in popular speech, it's not figuring in early standard literature stands accounted for. For, in the early stages, Dravidian elements, where obvious, would necessarily have been excluded from standard literature, and it would be only with lapse of time and the slow operation of phonetic influence that these word-forms would lose their alien appearance and become fully recognized as part of the regular stock of these vernaculars. It is after this stage is reached that they will begin to appear in litera-

ture, and, if of Dravidian origin, their thus coming to the front, apparently from nowhere, stands self-explained.

Beames.

We shall now turn our attention to Beames. This eminent scholar, whose monumental work on *Modern Aryan Languages of India* cannot too much command our admiration, seems to have combined in a strange way one idiosyncrasy at least with his great talents; and, though by some mysterious piece of good luck, he classed Sinhalese as a Dravidian language, not apparently knowing what he was about, he would be far from indulgent if anyone had the temerity to suggest that the Aryan Vernaculars (of which, by the way, Sinhalese is one) are in any way indebted to Dravidian for anything in their structural constitution, worth mentioning. When Caldwell first pointed out the strong family resemblance of the postpositions we are discussing to the dative suffix *ku* of Tamil and its different variations in the Dravidian family, this is what he had to say and how he said it:—

“In the above remarks all that has been done is to show how great is the *a priori* improbability of the theory that the structure of the modern Aryan tongues is in any great degree due to non-Aryan influence. It has been said languages borrow words but never grammar. The methods of expressing ideas seem to be inborn and ingrained into races, and seem rarely to be varied, whatever be the materials employed, so that even resemblances should be shunned as dangerous, and must, unless supported by historical or other proofs, be set down in the majority of cases as accidental.” Now comes the relevant part:—

“To take an instance, a great deal has been made, or tried to be made, of the resemblance between the sign of the dative in Tamil, *ku* (*kku*), and that of the Hindī, *ko*, and Dr. Caldwell in particular seems to have gone quite wild on the subject (see pp. 225-227 of his *Grammar*); but laying aside all the Dravidian, Scythian, Ostiak, Russian, Malay, and all the rest of the jumble of analogies, it is demonstrable from actual written documents that the modern Hindi *ko* is a pure accusative or objective, and was in old Hindi *kaun*, which is the usual and regular form of the Sanskrit *kam*, the accusative of nouns in *kah*; so that there does not appear to be the slightest reason for connecting it with anything but the cognate forms in its own group of languages.”

“For the reasons above given, I am of opinion that there is nothing in the structural phenomena of the modern Aryan vernaculars which may not, by a fair application of reasonable analogies, be deduced from the older languages of the same stock; and, though not prepared to deny the presence of non-Aryan elements in those languages, I do strenuously deny that they have had any hand in the formation of the analytical system which the Aryan tongues

at present exhibit." (*Comparative Grammar*, Vol. i. pp. 47-48).

The great writer, in spite of his superlative confidence which so much impresses us and is the main-spring of his 'strenuous' advocacy, with the irrefutable evidence of written documents behind him, yet leaves one thing unexplained—the one thing essential for carrying conviction, viz. how it was that Sanskrit nouns ending in *kah*, declined for the accusative singular, transmitted part of their body with the inflexional addendum as a tail, not only as the suffix or the postposition for the accusative singular of all nouns whether ending in *kah* or otherwise, but also as the postposition for two entirely different cases, the dative *par excellence*, and the genitive in the singular, and, what is far more incomprehensible, as the postposition for all these three cases in the plural? To an unbiassed mind only one thing could be patent—that, with all his contempt for Dr. Caldwell's wild delight at alighting upon a mare's nest, Beames' own theory is good enough only if intended to meet a case in circumstances of despair. And indeed, later on, Beames himself, who, as we have seen, writes so confidently and in such a strain, goes back upon his words, which is a surprise to us and a curious commentary on the character of this Aryan claim. In matters of rooted belief, any basis is good enough, and, if that is rotten, any other, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Hoernle.

Before two such virile opponents, however, each fighting on ground where he was apparently sure of his own footing, Caldwell gracefully retired, not taking into account the fact that his two adversaries were themselves inimical to one another. Presently the ground was contested by a third, Dr. Hoernle, who also preferred the Aryan claim, but in opposition to each of the other two champions, of whom Trumpp was specially smashed. His contention, to state it briefly, was that the Sanskrit *kaksē* was the *fons et origo* of the suffixes in question (*ko* and the rest), and the theory he builds is a monument of probability, conjecture, surmise, all rising upon one another and presenting the appearance of a beautiful fabric resting in mid-air with all its parts in nicely adjusted equilibrium. (See his *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 224 and 227, and note that all words marked there with an asterisk on the left are conjectural forms).

Beames in his turn brings down this airy mansion to the ground with a crash, but agrees that Trumpp was properly smashed as

he takes the further trouble to shew (*Comparative Grammar*, Vol. ii. pp. 252-259). In the light thrown by Hoernle, however, he abandons his old theory, supported by such written documents, and starts a new hare. This is the new hare, or the new cat of this Kilkenny affair:—

“*Kaksa* becomes in Old Hindi *Kakha*, and the accusative *Kaksam* would become first *kakham*, then *kakham*. As *kha*, like the rest of the aspirates, migrates into *ha*, a form *kaham* is legitimately presumable; whence, by shortening the vowel, we get the already established form *kaham*, with its variant *kahum*. I confess that this derivation approves itself to my mind in preference to any other.”

Unfortunately for this last straw to cling to, the present writer feels equally compelled to make a different confession, viz. that if the Sanskrit *kaksa* ever became in Old Hindi *kakha* or *kakha* (Hoernle, the lender of the idea, is not sure on that point, *Gr.* p. 224, where the asterisks and their effect on the argument should be carefully noted), it could not have undergone further decay into *kaha*; for, if it did, it would have come down into modern Hindi either as *kaha* or in some form still more decrepit. But, as a matter of fact, it appears in modern Hindi as *kank* with the last *k* in good preservation (*Sabda-Kalpa-Druma*, S.V. *kaksa*). So, the supposed *kaha*, with the last *k* changed into *h* in a process of migration which has not reached the stage desired, goes out of the argument, and there is an end of the last straw.

What then remains? One might as well ask what remained of the Kilkenny cats. Nothing remained of them except the tails after the fight was over. Here, in the same way, nothing remains but a false and wholly unjustifiable impression that these suffixes have been scientifically proved to be Aryan, and that by no less than three scholars of note. Of course, the scholars were of note, but it is not remembered that they nullified one another.

It is plain that no amount of theorising in the way these great men have done, even if they stood together in favour of one theory, could account for the very wide prevalence of these postpositions or suffixes which find their parallel in extensiveness in their Tamil analogue *ku* and its cognates. It is now known as a scientific fact that, at the date of the coming of the Aryans, the whole of India was populated by various native tribes which, for the sake of convenience, are classed under the one comprehensive term “Dravidians,” in contra-distinction to Aryans.

With the influx of Aryan speech into the midst of these Dravi-

dian tribes, we can easily imagine a certain amount of linguistic unsettlement taking place in which the lower orders, with their usual freedom with grammar, would contribute a considerable share towards giving shape and character to the newly forming language as the speech of their adoption. At their hands the case-system would be one of the first things to receive attention and to undergo simplification to suit their style of handling the noun. The dual number had, of course, to go, and the dative being the case dearest to Dravidian hearts, it would necessarily occupy a large place in the new language, at the expense, to a very great extent, of others from the point of view of Aryan grammar. Beames, speaking of case endings, admits the general possibility of one ending dominating the rest: "It is the Darwinian principle," he observes, "of the survival of the fittest." (Vol. ii. p. 233).

(To be Continued.)



THE NINETEENTH FOOT IN CEYLON.

By the Late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.

II.

(Concluded from Vol. IX, Pt. II, Page 101.)

THE DIARY OF COLOUR-SERGEANT CALLADINE, 19th Foot, 1793-1837. Edited by Major M. L. Ferrar, late The Green Howards, London. Eden Fisher & Co., Ltd., 95-97, Fenchurch Street, E.C., 1922. Price 7/6.

THE number of privates or non-commissioned officers of the British army of a century ago who were competent to keep a regular diary or troubled to keep one must be infinitesimal, and we think that Sergeant Calladine of the 19th Foot or "Green Howards," in having his *Diary* of over forty years' service with the regiment published eighty five years after he had made his last entry in it, occupies a unique position among that number. For its appearance now we have to thank Major M. L. Ferrar of the regiment, the editor of the regimental magazine, *The Green Howards' Gazette*.

Colour Sergeant Calladine, to quote the publisher's account of the book, was "more advanced in education than those of his class or of his comrades. He was of a keen and observant disposition, and made notes of all that he saw during his soldiering, which he describes in a natural and at the same time interesting style."

He was a native of Leicestershire, and enlisted in the Derbyshire Militia in 1810, and from that corps volunteered into the 19th Foot two years later. His *Diary* has a special interest for Ceylon, for he accompanied that regiment to Ceylon after another two years spent with the Militia, and served for six years in the Island, during which period the 19th. was engaged in helping to suppress the Uva Rebellion. Pages 34 to 78 of his *Diary* of 210 pages are devoted to his time in Ceylon.

• Before he left England, Private Calladine came in contact with two officers who had been in Ceylon with the 19th., Major Lawrence the father of the great Lawrences, and Captain Thomas Aldersey Jones, who returned to the Island and died at Batticaloa in 1818.

They were successively in command of the depot at Hull to which he had been drafted. He confirms the opinion of Captain Jones which was expressed in general orders and the *Government Gazette* at the time of his death, and is reflected on his memorial tablet and tombstone. He was "a very strict, but still a very good commanding officer." Calladine was later in his company at Trincomalee and Batticaloa, and he notes further :

"Captain Jones was a very strict man, yet to a man that conducted himself with propriety he would give any reasonable liberties, but mind if you abused his liberty or took leave without asking, you might content yourself for a considerable time before you need give yourself the trouble to ask again, for he was no ways of a forgetful memory."

The ship that took out Calladine and more than 200 of his regiment to Ceylon was the ill-fated transport *Arniston*, and, curiously enough, it was on the first anniversary of the day on which they embarked that she was wrecked off the Cape, with all on board. For the six members of her crew who escaped happened to be in one of her boats at the time. It was on 30th May, 1814, that Calladine's detachment embarked, and it was on her return voyage on 30th May, 1815, that this disaster happened. On September 24 he and the other troops landed at Cape Town and marched into barracks, where they remained for over a month. Here they found two regiments of infantry, the 72nd. and the 83rd., the former of which had taken part nearly twenty years before in the expedition against Ceylon, while the latter was destined shortly to join the 19th in that island.

It was not until 13th January, (1815) that the *Arniston* sighted Galle harbour in which she anchored in ordered to land Colonel Young, who had acted as Commandant on board and who was taking the place of another Artillery officer, Colonel Wilson in command of the R.A. detachment quartered in the island. Owing to the strong currents, it took the ship another nine days to reach Colombo, where she anchored two or three miles from the Fort. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Hardy, who was then in command of the 19th in Ceylon, sent on board for the men a present of one day's fresh provisions, and next day they disembarked to find that the regiment was at Trincomalee. After a stay of two months at Colombo, Calladine with the detachment embarked for that station, on a "country ship," a small vessel called the *General Brown*, which took eighteen days to reach that port, owing to the strong currents—an

experience much the same as Cordiner's when he came over from Madras to the Island. The regiment had a bad time at Trincomalee during May and June, losing two officers and a number of men, "the stoutest and hardiest of our draft" included, to the number of four and five a day. Calladine had an attack of dysentery, "but thank God....He was pleased to restore me to health, though I must needs say I but little deserved it."

He was a year at Trincomalee, and then went with his company, of which Captain T. A. Jones was in command, to Batticaloa. He was favourably impressed with Batticaloa, which he supposes "is one of the best, if not all out the best station on the Island." For it "is pleasantly situated by a fine river," and "all kinds of provisions were very reasonable, duty easy, liquor cheap and good, and we had all the indulgence that soldiers can expect....the time I lay at Batticaloa was as pleasant a time as ever I had so far enjoyed in the army." He made an endeavour to reform his ways, and naively says, "I belonged to a party who made it a regular rule never to commit any crime that we were afraid of." But the effort was not entirely successful, he admits with regret.

But in spite of this lapse he was made hospital orderly, and there after "began to be steady" though he "had not been in any way random before," with the result that he foolishly took it into his head that he would like to marry Mrs. Jones's servant, a widow, old enough to be his mother. From this course he was dissuaded by one of his officers, Lieutenant Forbes Robinson, and by the frivolous conduct of "the old lady" herself, but he had some difficulty in getting back the rings and silk handkerchiefs, bought with his savings, which he had given her, but through the good offices of the Fiscal (magistrate), who, at the instance of Lieutenant Robinson, made an informal adjudication of the matter, and with the help of Capt. Jones, he managed to get free and to recover the articles. "I was very glad I came off as well as I did, for I had nearly given it up for a bad job." The Sitting Magistrate was Lieut. James Bagnett, a retired officer of the 19th Foot.

Calladine, as he says, was not "in any way random," for he and other privates used to sell their arrack rations. "At Trincomalee and Batticaloa a man sold his two drams for seven pence a day, which we received in lieu of our beer money, so that in case a man was inclined to be saving he soon might muster together a

few rupees.....Every European soldier is served out with two drams a day in their rations." Arrack he describes as very much resembling Irish whisky.

But if the men or some of them, fortunately for themselves, abstained from arrack, it was not a rigid abstinence. A paragraph in the *Diary* gives us an insight into the amusements of Thomas Atkins in Ceylon a century ago.

"We had a very pleasant toddy drinking party at Batticaloa. Having leave for the day, a few pounds of jaggery (sugar), a few dozen of eggs, two or three bottles of rack, we would make the best of our way to the topes (groves of trees), and being snugly seated under the spreading branches of the trees, secured from the burning sun, we would get a large chatty on the fire, with six or eight quarts of toddy, and after mixing the rack, sugar and eggs, seat ourselves around each having a cocoanut shell, dip into the flowing bowl, and pass along the day in the greatest of pleasure, good company and hilarity."

He and his companions had some sport trying to catch an "alligator" in a tank by forming a line of men armed with long sticks with bayonets mounted on them, and in trapping a "tyger," as well as some excitement in escaping in a canoe during a thunder-storm from another "tyger" which kept abreast with them "along shore for two or three hundred yards, making a terrible noise." More serious matters sometimes engaged the men's attention. "During our stay at Batticaloa we had a singing party formed in the company, and every Sunday sang in church, and went over every week to practice in the minister's house, who gave us instructions and discoursed very seriously to us, but I don't think any of us paid much attention to his advice, more the pity." This must have been the Wesleyan missionary who succeeded the Rev. William Ault, who had died two years before.

Calladine sometimes wrote songs which were popular with the men, one because it extolled the exploits of Major Macdonald, and another "to the tune of Waterloo," with a refrain of "in the Kandian country," those of the regiment during the Uva campaign, "O'er Dombra's lofty mountains, and Welasse's watery plain." He was probably inspired by the verses of Captain Thomas Ajax Anderson. For writing one of them Lieutenant Robinson made him "a present of his German flute."

One of his amusements at Batticaloa was "plaiting brab for hats," for the same officer, and another boring "some thousands of small red berries with a little black spot on them, which we

called bird's eyes, for Capt. Jones's lady, for beads, and they looked very pretty when strung." These no doubt were *olinda* or in Tamil *kundumari* seeds. (*Abrus precatorius*).

It is very interesting to read of British soldiers in Ceylon making hats out of palmyra leaves, as some of the villagers of the Jaffna Peninsula and Delft Island still do. "*Brab*," which comes from the Portuguese, is the Bombay name for the palmyra palm. I have never known it used in Ceylon, and it is unknown in Bengal and on "The Coast" where the name for this tree is palmyra as in Ceylon, or fan-palm. It is curious that Calladine should have used the Bombay, and not the Ceylon or Bengal name. It was probably due to his hearing it used in Battiacloa and Trincomalee by the "Portuguese" of those places.

At this time the Uva Rebellion broke out, and one consequence was that the 19th Foot remained in Ceylon instead of returning to England on the arrival of the 83rd. Regiment from the Cape. Another was that the Batticaloa company, with Captains Jones and Langton and Lieutenant Robinson, proceeded into the Kandydan country as far as "Kottabowa" (Katabowa, 47 miles south-east of Badulla), where it arrived on Nov. 6th, 1817, and where it lay encamped for a year or more, making raids into the surrounding country, against the neighbouring villages, including Bintenna, 16 miles distant and Hansanwella, about 6. The troops suffered much from sickness, leech bites, and occasionally a stray arrow from the enemy. Captain Jones had to be taken down to Batticaloa, with Calladine one of the escort, and died there on April 18, (1818); Captain Langton got ill at Ahapola, and was sent to Katabowa as out of danger on June 3rd., but died there on June 16th.

The Commandant of Batticaloa, Major Vallance of the 73rd and his wife shared the same fate. Calladine had himself been very ill, from "a bad yellow fever," which he says turned his body "nearly the colour of saffron," and "a very narrow escape" of his life.

After a march to Bintenna, there were between thirty and forty cases of leech bite which Calladine had to dress, and some of the men "were completely disabled from the bad ulcers, and several of them were afterwards invalided. One man had his leg and the greater part of his thigh amputated through the effects of the leech bites."

The showers of arrows that assailed the troops too were rather disconcerting. "One poor Malay came into camp with the blade of an arrow sticking in his head close by the back of his ear. The doctor told Captain Jones that he would soon have a dead man in the camp. I held the man's head between my knees, and the doctor, by main strength with the artillery knipper (with which they cut the port fires in two), pulled out the arrow, which was buried not less than between three and four inches in his head; but contrary to the doctor's expectations, there were very few drops of blood followed the blade, and the man, instead of dying, walked back the same day to Hansenwelle." On the return march, a private of the 19th, John Pearce, a Welshman, was killed by an arrow. Another private received a curious wound. "The man who shot the arrow must have been very near, as the arrow passed through both sides of his jacket and likewise through his neck, and the man did not know anything about it until he saw the arrow drop in a bush to his left. It was very fortunate for him that the blade of the arrow was not in a horizontal position or it would certainly have been the death of him."

"Fire-arrows" were sometimes found at night sticking into the tents and very nearly set fire to the camp.

The "tygers" too seem to have been aggressive, and one of them attacked a Caffre as he was cutting sticks at the river. "The ravenous creature made a spring at him and dreadfully lacerated his face and arms, but as he had a pretty good knife in his hand he made some severe cuts at the tyger which caused it to make its escape."

Calladine himself contracted fever and *berri-berri*, and found that the best remedy for the latter complaint, after a stay of one month at Batticaloa, was drinking arrack, "and as I had some money saved I had no necessity to stint myself, which I did not." But a month at Batticaloa had cured him of the fever, and he had brought it on again by "being out a toddy drinking one day." Lieutenant Robinson was so ill with fever that he had to be sent down to Batticaloa, then to Galle, and finally home. Calladine and six other privates were also sent to Galle to join the regiment, which was then quartered there. They made the voyage by a "*paddamar*" (*paduva*), and were nearly wrecked off Hambantota. "There were four of us on the outside....the rigtree....The outrigger was sometimes nearly perpendicular, and it was certainly wonderful it did not capsize altogether....At last the jib gave way and not one of the crew would go to it, but stood bawling and calling to Mahomet to save them. Drummer McGee went forward and held

by the block till some of the crew at last went to his assistance and made it fast. By the terrible rolling of the vessel the beams of the outrigger began to give way, and in case of either of them had worked out of the side we would have capsized immediately. But at this critical moment it pleased God to abate the squall, and we were able to keep her head to the wind and the beam was wedged fast." The British soldier on this as on other more important occasions saved the situation.

That night they anchored in "Belligham" (Weligama) Bay, and next day at noon arrived at Galle, which they found to be the headquarters of the regiment. He became orderly to Lt.-Colonel McBean who was then in command, and eventually his servant.

The Adjutant Lieut Hawker described the Colonel as "very old and almost childish and wanted somebody to be constantly looking after him." But Calladine held this post for a few hours only, for the Colonel sent him back to his duty for speaking to one of the native servants. Colonel McBean died shortly afterwards, aged 64 (15 Nov., 1819), and his tomb may be seen in the Dutch Cemetery at Galle.

In May of this year Calladine completed seven years' service with the 19th, and then "took on for unlimited service." He had made an attempt two months before to go home with Lieutenant Robinson and the invalids, who sailed in the *Princess Charlotte* at the end of February, but it was unsuccessful, though the Lieutenant used all his influence to get him also invalided. He had not quite completed his seven years, and no man could leave the country till his time was fully out. Lieutenant Robinson was very ill, but he recovered and joined the 20th Regiment with which he served until he was lost at sea while voyaging from Surat to Bengal on 7th. February, 1824.

In June 1819, the 19th. was relieved by the 45th., but the former regiment did not leave the Island until 7th. January, 1820, and meanwhile spent the time drafting men—220 altogether or half the strength of the regiment into the 73rd, 45th., and 83rd., the other English Regiment—then in Ceylon, and waiting for "the ships returning from Bengal" to take it home. Eventually the regiment got away in the *Maister*, and the Headquarters in the *Dick*. Calladine had been promoted Corporal on 24th. Oct., 1818, after seven years' service. He found the 72nd Regiment, which had taken part in the expedition against Ceylon, still at the Cape, where he had happened on it on his way out five and a half years before. The 83rd. had recently left the Cape for Ceylon. Both vessels'

the *Maister* and the *Dick*, took a little over four months on the voyage and found themselves together again off Margate on May 18.

At the disembarkation Calladine was put in charge of an officer, Lieutenant Wardell, who had become deranged and had tried to jump overboard, but whose bodily health must have been good, for he lived for more than a half century longer, surviving every other officer of the regiment who had served in Ceylon except one, Lieutenant William Lewis, the officer who in May, 1818, successfully defended the Atgala Fort, between Kandy and Matale against a force of some 2,000 Kandyans. Lieut. Lewis retired in 1820, and died in County Cork where his family resided, in 1883, aged 90 (Laurie's *Gazetteer of the Central Province*, page 963-4.) Two obvious mistakes in the printing of the account of this affair there quoted may be here corrected. "Captain Blunkingling" (twice) should be "Captain Blankenberg," and in the fourth line from the end of the letter, "volleying" should read "rallying." Lieut. Wardell, whose father served in Ceylon with the 66th Reg. and who at one time commanded the regiment, died in an asylum in 1871, aged 75.

Calladine spent eighteen months in barracks at Winchester, Romsey, Chatham and Weedon in Northamptonshire and then embarked with the regiment for Ireland. At Chatham in November, 1820, the regiment (but not the sergeant as he was on other duty), took part in "a grand sham fight on Chatham lines."

If it had been six years later it might have been the sham fight which Mr. Pickwick and his friends witnessed at the same place. "There was also a good number of respectable people on the ground, who appeared to be much pleased with the afternoon's manoeuvres." The Pickwickians, on the other hand, had no cause for satisfaction. But, alas, Mr. Pickwick came six years later, and the regiment he encountered was the 97th (which had at the time six Companies serving in Ceylon), and not the 19th. Calladine became a pay sergeant at Winchester, and again in Ireland, in which country he had two tours of service, with an interval in the north of England, and retired as colour sergeant in 1837. He was also hospital sergeant in Ireland, and remained there with the depot, when the regiment went to the West Indies, 1826. Colonel Hardy of Ceylon fame accompanied it, and Major Raper, who had also served through the campaign in Uva, remained in command of the depot.

Colonel Hardy died in Jamaica in 1835, and Sergeant Calladine is as eulogistic of him as were the Governor of that island and Captain Studholme Hodgson. He says, "Of all the men I ever heard of as Colonel of a regiment, no one received so high a character as he did; indeed he was the father of the regiment, visiting the sick, clothing the children, watching over the men in their barrack rooms to see that they were comfortable, taking care that they changed their linen and clothing when wet, taking women and children when sick to his quarters, and supplying them with everything that was requisite; indeed nothing escaped him—he was always on the foot, and ever looking after the welfare of them over whom he was placed. I have heard several sergeants say that he expended his own pay on the regiment in different ways of charity. What a pity he was not spared to bring the regiment home."

Calladine had been twenty-seven years in the 19th when he retired. He spent the rest of his life at Derby where he was for fifteen months master of All Saints' Workhouse, and then a collector of the poor rates. He died on 3rd August, 1875, aged 83.

There are in his *Diary* some interesting details respecting Ceylon officers. One of his commanders was Major Lockyer who had married a Dutch lady at Galle, a grand-daughter of Arnoldus de Ly, a former Commandeur of that station, she being the widow of another British officer. She had died five years before Calladine went to Ireland with Major Lockyer's company, and Major Lockyer, in less than a month after her death, had married again. The Major retired from the 19th. in 1824 while it was in Ireland, and went to Australia where, as already mentioned, he became the founder of Western Australia. While at Westport in 1824, Sergeant Calladine determined to pay a visit to the top of the famous rock in the neighbourhood called Croagh Patrick, and, in order to see the view from the top, he borrowed the Major's spy-glass. Now this telescope or field-glass was "the same that was found in the King's palace at Kandy when he was taken prisoner in 1815," and it bore on it the name of Lieutenant Berkeley Vincent of the 19th., who was killed near Mineri Tank in 1804 while serving with Captain Arthur Johnston's expedition on the retreat from Kandy. Quite possibly this "spy-glass" is still in existence in the possession of Major Lockyer's descendants in Australia. (He had at least three children, and he did not die until 1860 at the age of 76.)

Calladine in 1820 formed one of an escort which took a deserter from Winchester to Bristol, and spent a day at Bath *en route*. He had tea at the house of some friends of a brother non-commissioned officer in Rivers Street. He was to give these people

information about their son, who was in his regiment. "They were very inquisitive about his wife, whom he had brought from Ceylon with him, and was a half-caste." When he had satisfied their curiosity, "they informed me that Major General Jackson, who commanded Trincomalee at the time I was there, lived a few doors from them, and wanted me to go and see him, which I declined, as I thought it was rather too much for me to go and see a general officer, although we had been on foreign station at the same time." So, "after taking the share of a bottle or two of porter I took my leave of them, and as I went to the door one of the sons took the opportunity of slipping half-a-crown into my hand which you may depend on it I did not refuse, as there was seldom a day but what we exceeded our marching pay." Which episode—porter, half crown and sense of discipline—was characteristic of the British soldier.

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Cosby Jackson of the 66th Regiment was in Ceylon from 1810 to 1816. He was a Commandant of Trincomalee in 1815, and was in command of the 3rd "Division" in the Kandyan War of 1815. He married a Miss Elizabeth Catherine Mitchell at Colombo in 1812. He died in 1827.

At Cork in 1825 Calladine spent two "very pleasant evenings" with the 78th Regiment, before it embarked for service. Its destination was Ceylon where it remained for a dozen or more years. There was great "cordiality and friendship" between the two regiments while at Cork.

Among the other Ceylon officers whom he mentions is Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Milne who joined the regiment with that rank in 1815, from another Yorkshire, regiment, the 15th (East Yorks.) and died in Demarara in 1827 while acting as Governor. The colours of the regiment were, at his request, buried with him. A brother officer says of him that "no man has ever been buried in the colony so universally and sincerely regretted." And Calladine describes him as "a very smart and efficient officer, and very capable of commanding a young regiment," as the 19th was soon after its return to England from Ceylon, nearly all the soldiers having been discharged at Chatham. He took command at Winchester, and six years later took out the regiment from Ireland to the West Indies. Then there was Major Macdonald, who has left his name in Ceylon as founder of the Fort Macdonald, and who succeeded

Colonel McBean in the command at Galle ; Major Kelly of the 4th Ceylon Regiment, who took part in the three wars against the Kandyans, and in the last was in command of the " Division " that Calladine's company fell in with as soon as it got to Katabowa. It was just after this that discovery was made by the troops of " a great quantity of provisions and arrack " that had before the outbreak of the rebellion been taken from British escorts between Batticaloa and Badulla. The result was a big drink and a " great drunk draft." " A number of the men got very tipsy, and Captain Jones went into every tent to search out any that might be concealed. Major Kelly marched out in the afternoon, but he also had a number of men drunk, and some of the 2nd. Ceylon Regiment had to be tied to the bullocks' backs to get them away." We meet with other well-known names.

Major Huskisson, also of the 4th Ceylon, was during this campaign in command at Hansanwela, and concocted a scheme for capturing Kohukumbura Raterala which, though it was successful and brought him and the Malay officer who carried it out much credit, savoured rather of the mediaeval or oriental. Treachery was met by treachery. Captain De Bussche of the 1st. Ceylon, who wrote the book on Kandy, Captain Ritchie of the 73rd. took command at Katabowa in succession to Captain Jones. Captain Dobbin, whose name recalls his contemporary, the modest and faithful Captain who fought at Waterloo, and was in the end rewarded with the hand of the widowed Amelia. Our Captain Dobbin began his career as a volunteer with the 19th, had experience of rebels both in Uva and Ireland, and was thanked on three occasions in *General Orders* by Sir Robert Brownrigg. Captain Cox was Port Adjutant at Trincomalee while Calladine was there, and was with his company at Tullamore when it was relieved by the company to which Calladine belonged. Captain Lenn. of the 2nd and 3rd Ceylon Regiments was in command of Mullaittivu when Calladine was at Trincomalee, and when Calladine next met him, in December, 1824, at Limerick and Rathkeale, he was an officer of his own Regiment. Captain Nihill appointed Calladine, as " an honest man," Pay Sergeant at Winchester. Lieutenant Burns was in command of the Grenadier Guards during the Uva campaign. (He also mentions Lieut. Tayloe, whose full-dress of the period is to be seen in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution.)

Ensign Francis Tydd, in command of a detachment at Birr

in King's County (birthplace of the late Mr. W. E. T. Sharpe, a former Government Agent of the Central Province), to which county Tydd belonged. He won his commission in Ceylon, and died in Trinidad two months before Colonel Hardy.

Lastly there were two surgeons, Dr. Thyne at Katabowa and Dr. Lloyd at Pattipolaru who kept Lieutenant Tayloe company at Pattipolaru, but neither of them belonged to the 19th.

The impression that Calladine leaves is that he was an honest man, and always ready to confess his faults and repent of them as far as he knew how. His officers trusted him and gave him little indulgencies and as good billets as they could. He must have had some ability and perseverance as well as powers of observation to keep such a *Diary* under the difficulties and hardships that attended the life of a private a century ago. His *Diary* was well worth publishing and Major Ferrar has done a service to his regiment, the Army and historical research in arranging for its publication.



HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. IX. Pt. III, Page 157)

The Wedarales in this part of the Island affirm that they have four varieties of what they call Premehey or Gonorrhœa.

1st. *Aghney premehey.*

A mucous discharge with a sense of heat and pain, occurring most frequently in women, eventually causing emaciation, and not infectious, arising from the heat of the climate.

2nd. *Ratta Premehey.*

A discharge of blood and matter from the urethra on the first appearance of the disease, occurring only in men. In three months, if the disease is left to itself, a constitutional affection takes place, ushered in with headache, fever, pains in all the bones, with a papular eruption on the fore-head and particularly on the under lip, which desquamates.

3rd. *Moula Premehey*, when in women *Kippa Premehey.*

The primary appearance of this variety is a discharge of a whitish colour from the urethra in men and vagina in females; when the urine is received into a vessel it appears as if it contained a mixture of flour which forms a sediment. Sores on the penis and a bubo often ac-

company this form of the disease. It is followed by a constitutional disease; the bones of the nose often become affected and ulcers form in the throat. The disease is infectious in both sexes.

4th. *Sarawe Premehey.*

The Leucorrhœa of Europeans.

Aghney premehey. The Wedarales consider this affection as an increased secretion induced by the heat of the climate, for the cure of which they give the following medicine, and enjoin cold bathing, particularly the chatty bathing.

Take of

<i>Aralu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
<i>Bulu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia beleric</i>
<i>Nelli</i>	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i> , of each 20 Madara
<i>Ella-kiri</i>	..	Cow's milk, 1 measure

Pound the first three articles to a fine powder and mix into the milk, to which add 10 madara weight of honey.

1/7 of this quantity to be taken every morning for seven days.

If the disease disappears in less time, the medicine is to be left off and the bathing continued.

When the disease from a neglect of cleanliness and medicine not being taken in its first appearance, continues obstinate, the following remedy is given.

Take of

<i>Rata-ela-den-moutra</i>	..	Red Cow's urine....1 3/4 measure
Strain seven different times through a cotton cloth, then add		
<i>Aralu-kudu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
<i>Sine</i>	..	Soft Sugar....of each 20 madara, and mix.

1/7 of this to be taken every morning for 7 days. It operates as a gentle purge, procuring three or more stools. The patient is to be prohibited from bathing during the use of this medicine. The Wedarales sometimes use an injection for the cure of this complaint, composed of the juice of the following trees in equal quantities, viz :

<i>Attika-gaha</i>	..	—
<i>Khota dimbula gaha</i>	..	—

A kind of syringe made of a small bamboo is used to inject the liquor.

Ratta Premehey. The Wedarales consider this disease as not infectious and they say that it never occurs in women. For the cure they give the following remedies, with injunctions as to cleanliness.

Take of

<i>Aralu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i>
<i>Bulu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>
<i>Nelli</i>	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i>
<i>Deve-dara</i>	..	Fir wood knot rasped down
<i>Khatu-wael battu</i>	..	—of each 5 kalanda.
<i>Mi-penni</i>	..	Honey....q. s.

Grind on a stone, and form a mass with the honey, to be divided into 7 pills, one pill to be given every morning in as much of the following decoction as will dissolve the pill.

Take of

<i>Nelli</i>	..	<i>Phyllanthus emblic</i> , 60 kalanda
<i>Wateru</i>	..	River water..8 measures.

Boil to one measure.

Chatty bathing is enjoined every morning after taking this medicine.

If after due perseverance this treatment does not prove successful, give the following :—

Take of

<i>Kitul-ra</i>	..	Jaggery tree toddy..one measure.
<i>Ratta-loonoo</i>	..	Shallots..a handful.

Free the shallots from the skins, cut them small ; then take an ash-coloured pumpkin, scrape out the inside through a hole made in one end, put the toddy and onions in this, and close up the hole in the end of the pumpkin and set it aside for seven days.

1/3 of this medicine to be given every morning for three days; the patient must eat one-third of the pumpkin after drinking one third of the liquor.

Moule Premehey or Kippa Premehey. This form of the disease the Wedarales consider infectious, and is often accompanied by buboes in the groin and ulcers on the parts of generation.

When the disease consists merely of a discharge without any sores, a diluent plan of treatment is had recourse to ; premising a

purgative. The following is reckoned a good medicine and purges gently.

Take of

<i>Aehelle-potu</i>	..	<i>Cassia fistula</i> ..20 kalanda.
<i>Wal-tipili-mool</i>	..	<i>Piper longum</i> ..10 kalanda.
<i>Kalanduru-alla</i>	..	<i>Andropogon schœnanthus</i>
<i>Khatu-wael-battu</i>	..	—
<i>Aralu</i>	..	<i>Terminalia chebulic</i> ..of each 10 kalanda.
<i>Wateru</i>	..	River water..8 measures.

Bruise in a rice pounder and boil to one measure.

1/3 of this quantity to be drunk every morning, sweetened with honey. The patient is ordered to bathe in cold water every morning, after taking the medicine.

The following is next tried, if the above fails to remove the disease,

Take of

<i>Adhatoda-mool</i>	..	<i>Justicia adhatoda</i> , 60 kalanda.
<i>Wateru</i>	..	River water..8 measures,

Bruise the root, and boil to one measure.

1/3 of this remedy is to be drunk every morning. The patient is prohibited from bathing during the use of this medicine. After the use of this medicine has been discontinued, bathing is then allowed.

The following is a remedy which the Wedarales reckon very efficacious in removing a gonorrhœa of an old standing.

Take of •

<i>Tebu-mool-isma</i>	..	—
<i>Anasi-isma</i>	..	<i>Bromelia ananas</i> ..of each a tea cupful.
<i>Wedi-luni</i>	..	<i>Nitras Potassae</i> ..3 madara.

Mix these together, and put them into a young cocoanut which has been emptied of half its water. The cocoanut containing the mixture is then to be placed in a hollow made in the top of the stock or stem of an ash-coloured plantain tree, recently cut through in the middle, where it is to be left to remain for three days till the liquor ferments and forms a kind of toddy. •

1/3 of this fermented liquor is to be drunk every morning for three days, or longer if found necessary.

When sores on the part of generation accompany this form of the disease, the following wash is recommended as having a good effect.

Take of

Kaduria-gedi-wellah-wateru — a teacupful.
Tala-tel .. *Ol. sesami orientalis*..a little.

Mix the oil with the watery fluid.

The sores are to be washed three times a day with this mixture.

The following is reckoned a good application to chancres or sores on the part of generation arising from whatever cause.

Take of

Kinihiria-kolla .. — a handful.
Kaha .. *Curcuma longa*.. $\frac{1}{2}$ a handful.
Detalle-mool .. (The root of the Talipot & Palmyra, equal parts)..20 madara.
Sahinda-lunu .. *Sal Ammoniac*..3 madara.
Rathnitul-mool .. *Plumbago rosea*..3 madara.
Nataraan-mool .. — a handful.
Tipili .. *Piper longum*..3 madara.
Wara-mool .. *Asclepias gygantica*..a handful.

Pound in a rice pounder ; when well bruised a teacupful of *Tala-tel* is then to be added ; when incorporated, the mixture is to be put into a chatty and boiled till it becomes a kind of unguent which will adhere to the fingers like half-melted rosin.

The sores are to be washed with the fresh juice of the plantain tree and then to be dressed with this ungent spread on cloth.

When the preceding form of the disease is accompanied by a bubo in the groin, one or other of the following topical applications may be made to the swelling.

Take of

Kaette-kaele-pothu-isma .. — a teacupful.
Hinete hal-pitti .. Rice flour..8 oz.

The juice is to be boiled and the flour is to be gradually stirred into it, so as to form a Cataplasm, to which add as much honey as will make of a proper consistence. This cataplasm is to be applied on cloth. The Wedarales call this application *Patoova*.

Another

Take of

Magul-karanda, etta, & mool *Dalbergia arborea*
Aralu .. *Terminalia chebulic*

<i>Inghuru</i>	..	<i>Zingiber.</i>
<i>Morunga-mool</i>	..	<i>Hyperanthera moringa</i>
<i>Sarna-mool</i>	..	of each equal parts.
<i>Bullock's Urine</i>	..	as much as will be sufficient with the other articles well bruised in a rice pounder to form a cataplasm, to which is to be added a small quantity of Wara-kiri. The bubo is to be covered with this application ; as a discutient.

If these topical applications do not reduce the bubo in the course of a few days ; the following is to be given internally.

Take of

<i>Kolang-kolla</i>	..	<i>Ocymum basilicum</i> ..a handful.
<i>Kalu-duru</i>	..	—
<i>Sudu-duru</i>	..	—
<i>Inghuru</i>	..	<i>Zingiber siccatum</i>
<i>Ingsal</i>	..	<i>Cardamum minus</i>
<i>Walanga-sal</i>	..	—
<i>Tipili</i>	..	<i>Piper longum</i> ..of each 20 madara
<i>Trustwael-mool</i>	..	<i>Convolvulus turpethum</i> ..45 kalanda
<i>Sine</i>	..	<i>Saccharum sem.</i> 22½ kalanda.

Grind to a fine powder. This medicine when thus prepared is called Navaratne churue.

20 madara of this powder to be taken as a dose mixed with a little honey every morning for seven days and the topical application to the bubo to be continued. This medicine acts as a gentle purgative and is considered a good remedy when the constitutional form of the venereal makes its appearance with fever, pains in the bones, etc.

Salt, lime juice, jack fruit, natchereen, are prohibited from being eaten ; the flesh of the elk is also forbidden during the use of this medicine.

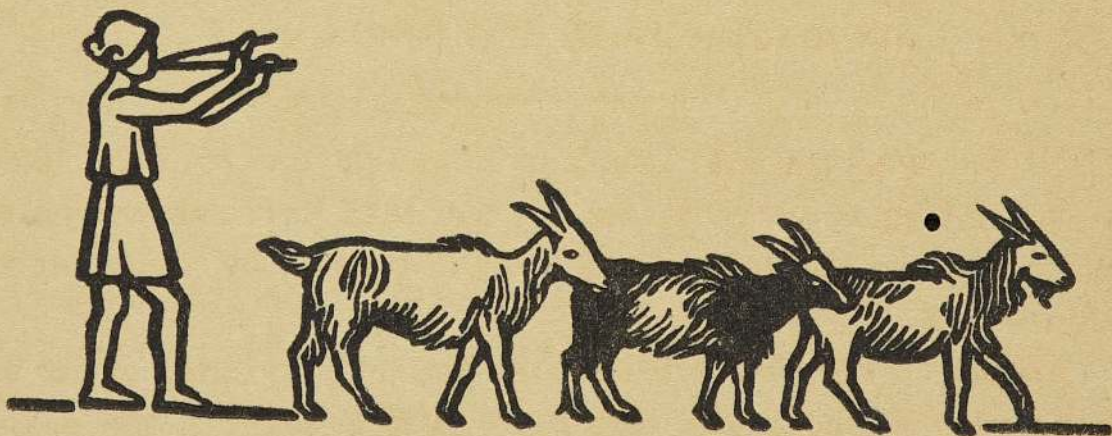
If the bubo, notwithstanding these medicines, suppurates, the matter is allowed to find its own way to the surface ; the Wedarales never attempt the opening of a bubo. When it has been burst the sore is dressed with the application as made to chancres. If after a due perseverance in these remedies the sore shows no

disposition to heal, mercury is then given but never in such quantity as to salivate.

In cases wherein chancres, gonorrhœa, and bubo exist at the same time and in the same individual, the dressings and medicines as before mentioned are used for each separately, with a due attention to cleanliness.

The recent juice of the plantain tree is reckoned a good wash for sores on the part of generation, whether arising from venereal infection or from abrasion of the cuticle.

(To be continued.)



Notes & Queries.

SURGEON GEORGE BINGHAM.

By C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

WITH reference to Mr. P. M. Bingham's note (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IX, Pt. III. p. 166) enquiring about the above Officer who served in the Bengal Medical Service between 1784-1793, no reference about him can be found in Princep, for his book deals only with Madras Civil Servants and no more. So far as I have been able to make out, at present, no Officer of that name appears to have served in Southern India—i.e. Madras Presidency or Mysore.

PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCE.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.,

THE following is a note I made at Nugawela, on 12th Feb., 1907, of information given me by the then Ratamahatmaya of Harispattu, and subsequently at other centres by other Ratamahatmayas.

Reaping. This is carried out in the early morning as far as possible, before the sun is very hot. It is done with the sickle. The men who do the work are accompanied by others (not necessarily of tom-tom beater caste) who beat a peculiar kind of tom-tom made of earthenware, which is known as a *bummediya*, and is only used on the occasion of reaping the crops or when the stick-dance is performed. The top of this tom-tom is closed with the skin of a *talagoya*. The reapers keep up a succession of joyous shouts or sing songs to the tom-tom accompaniment. The idea is that they are expressing their joy at at last obtaining the reward of their eight months' labours.

The Threshing Floor. Seven concentric circles are drawn on the threshing floor with ordinary ashes. In the centre are deposited three articles, viz. *arukgala*—a stone to ward off the demon Bahirawaya, *arukpola*—a coconut, and *aruklella*—a shell of chank shape. Figures of various agricultural implements, an *ukunu gaha* or stick used on the threshing floor, a sickle, a *goyilella* (a T-shaped stick or rake), a *kohomba poruwa*, a *laha* measure, etc., and of the sun and moon, are drawn between the circles.

There is no stake in the centre, as in Low-country threshing floors.

In Uda Dumbara the seven concentric circles are also used, also the *arukgala*, *aruklella*, *arukpola* and *kohomba poruwa*. Sometimes *tolabawa* leaves are used to mark the inner circle, but this is not done frequently.

In Uda Bulatgama seven circles are used when the operations are extensive; three when they are on a smaller scale.

In Uda Palata three circles are now generally used instead of seven. They are less trouble. This probably means the gradual dying out of these ceremonies.

The paddy is carried to the threshing floor by women, but the first sheaf must be carried by a man. He walks three times round the circle—sometimes seven times—and then deposits the sheaf in the centre over the *arukgala*, *arukpola* and *aruklella*, and having done so bows to it. Then three women in line encircle it three times and deposit their sheaves—after that the rest of the women promiscuously.

Threshing. This takes place at night, generally on moonlight nights. This is because the buffaloes cannot work on a threshing floor during the heat of the day. They can work in the paddy fields because there is water all about, and they can be splashed with it occasionally. (At least this was the explanation given me.) They are yoked together in gangs of from three to six, with the oldest and best trained buffalo on the inner side, and they go round and round in gangs, the men or boys who drive them singing snatches of songs in the peculiar loud voice that is used when buffaloes are being driven. The whole guidance of the team depends on the innermost buffalo.

No attempt is made to prevent the buffaloes from helping themselves to the paddy stalks they are treading, and this they

do from time to time. The cultivators have an idea that they lose nothing by this liberality ; that what the buffaloes eat is no loss to them. A similar belief prevails as to the deperadations of sparrows in the paddy when it is stored in the *atuwa*.

As the threshing goes on men toss the paddy stalk about with a stick having a crook at the end of it. This stick is called *ukunu gaha*.

Any stalks that fall outside the circle or get trodden outside it are arranged in a ring round it, leaving a space between the outer circle and the ring.

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT CEYLON.

By H. JAMESON.

A chapter of *The Evolution of Climate*, by C.E.P. Brooks, on the "Classical" rainfall maximum, 1800 B.C. to A.D. 500, might be of some interest to students of Ceylon history.

In this chapter is summarised the evidence that there was a "Pluvial" period, or a period of great humidity and rainfall, over the greater part of the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere, at a time whose extreme limits are given by 1800 B.C. and A.D. 400 or 500. This pluvial period was best developed from 1200 B.C. to A.D. 200, and reached its maximum about 400 B.C.

The evidence is partly geological, (the peat-bog formations of parts of Western Europe being cited), partly historical and archaeological, while, for part of North America, it is based on the measurements of the annual tree-rings of the Californian *sequoia*.

The states of the Graeco-Roman civilization are supposed to have grown up in a period of comparative quiet and prosperity, caused by abundant rainfall, their decline being caused, or accelerated, by the secular decrease in this rainfall, which resulted in an increase in malaria, among other evils.

The great cities of Northern Africa are cited as evidence of better climatic conditions at the time of their formation; and in the great aqueducts of Palmyra, in Syria, built to deliver water now no longer found there, the author finds incontrovertible proof of a deterioration in climate since their construction.

In Persia, too, there are the ruins of great cities, with irrigation works where running water is now never found. The author finds it difficult to believe that the population, indicated by the size of these cities, could have existed without a much greater supply of water than the present rainfall gives. The same conditions are indicated by the ruined cities of the great deserts of Central Asia. Professor Huntington has studied the water level of the Caspian in classical times, and finds that there was a period of high water, ending about 400 A.D.

Mr. Brooks limits himself to the consideration of the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere, but do not Ceylon history and archaeology appear to indicate that pluvial conditions also extended into this part of the tropics? The original Sinhalese invaders are reputed to have landed in Ceylon about B.C. 543, and the northern part of the island—had it appeared then as it does now—could hardly have presented many attractions to would-be settlers. The ruins of North Africa, Central Asia and Persia seem to be paralleled by Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa.

Even now the annual average rainfall of Anuradhapura is nearly 55 inches, of which, however, over 29 inches fall in three months of the year. It would be interesting to know whether the number and capacity of the ancient tanks indicate a greater rainfall at the time of their construction, and whether there is any evidence, from the old records, that the climate of the north of Ceylon has deteriorated within historical times. Might not the continued invasions of the Malabars have been due to a progressive deterioration in the climate of their own country, which slowly became unable to support its population?

My own knowledge of Ceylon history and archaeology is very superficial, and I put forward these ideas, for what they are worth, for consideration by serious students of these subjects.

ATKINSON IN CEYLON SERVICES.

By the late MR. J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G.

WITH reference to the Notes on this subject (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 153, 210) there appear to have been, besides Edward, three other Atkinsons, viz :—

(1) **George Atkinson**, a civil engineer, was with William Boyd at the Pearl Fishery in 1802. He was appointed "Surveyor General and Civil Engineer, *vice* Jonville," 12 June, 1805.. He retired in January, 1811, and left Ceylon by the *Earl St. Vincent*, Mrs Bertolacci being also a passenger. He was living in 1837.

(2) "**Mr Atkinson, Junior** Ensign of the Pioneer corps," with his Pioneers, took part in the operations under Captain Buchan at "Catoone" in the Matara District in September, 1804, being "Bridge Master." He resigned in May, 1805. I suggest that he was a son either of Edward or George Atkinson, hence the reference to him as "Mr. Atkinson, Junior."

(3) **Joseph Atkinson** was appointed "Superintendent of Steam Engines and Machinery, and of the Oil Mills, Colombo," 1st September, 1813, and "Superintendent of the Rice Mills, Batticaloa," 1814-16. Presumably he was the same as the J. Atkinson who was appointed Sitting Magistrate, 1st June, 1814, and Land Surveyor, 1816-8; who succeeded Hendrik F. Hepner as District Surveyor, Jaffna. But, if so, he can hardly have been the same as the J. Atkinson who was Assistant to the Collector of Colombo from 1816 to 1818, and was acting Collector from 1st March, 1817 to 1st January, 1822, when he retired. It was the last J. Atkinson who bought for Government "the House at Hultsdorf" for 4,500 Rix-dollars, repairs of which were to cost 2,200 Rix-dollars. (So say my notes, imperfectly recorded, but Mr. L. J. B. Turner no doubt can throw light on the subject.)

His daughter, Louisa Abigail Bletterman, (whose godfather or godmother evidently was Mr. Egbert Bletterman, the Postmaster General, or his wife), by his wife Louisa Abigail, was baptized at Colombo on 1st September, 1818. The parents were married at Marylebone Church, 30th September, 1811.

ILANAGA'S CHARIOT OXEN.

By L. N. G.

[A song of welcome supposed to have been sung by the people of the capital when King Ilanága returned from exile after the revolt of the Lambakannas. He drove into the city in a chariot drawn by his enemies. (See John M. Senaveratna, *The Story of the Sinhalese*, Vol. II., page 93.)]

Welcome to the royal exile,
 Welcome to King Ilanága,
 Brought back to the throne of Lanka
 Drawn by vanquished Lambakannas—
 Ilanága's Chariot oxen.

Little thought he when he bade them,
 Bade the haughty Lambakannas
 Work with Rodiyas, building roadways,
 That they'd work for Ilanága
 As his harnessed chariot oxen.

When the furious Lambakannas
 Captive took King Ilanága,
 Merciless they ruled and scourged us—
 Who now whips the Lambakannas?
 Whips the noble chariot oxen?

When the war beast broke the doors down,
 Mounting him fled Ilanága,
 Rescued by his wife's devotion
 From the drunken Lambakannas
 Who are now his chariot oxen.

In the battle all about him,
 Piles of heads saw Ilanága;
 Round his chariot wheels they heaped them—
 Heads of conquered Lambakannas,
 Brothers of his chariot oxen.

Wearied with the ceaseless slaughter,
"Slay them not" said Ilanága,
"Take them living"—then they seized them,
Seized the noble Lambakannas
To become his chariot oxen.

Coming to his palace gateway,
"Slay them here" cried Ilanága ;
But his mother spoke and saved them—
"Wilt thou slay these Lambakannas
Who are but thy chariot oxen?"



Literary Register.

VISITORS TO CEYLON IN EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

IN February, 1812, a visit to the Island was made by Captain Thomas Graham, R.N. and his wife Maria, a daughter of Rear Admiral George Dundas. She had sailed with her father for India in 1808 at the age of twenty-three, and she married Captain Graham in the following year. She was a friend of Sir James Mackintosh who was at that time Recorder of Bombay. Sir James himself paid a visit to Ceylon in the same year, arriving at Galle about a week after the Grahams, and returning to Bombay on March 15th., in the same ship that took away the Grahams, the Honourable Company's cruiser, the *Prince of Wales*. Sir James made notes of his Ceylon trip in his *Diary*, and Mrs. Graham related her experiences in the Island in a book which she published in 1812, called *A Journal of a Residence in India, 1809-1811*, but, curiously enough, I do not think that either writer mentions having met the other during their Ceylon sojourn or on the voyage back to Bombay.

Mrs. Graham had some literary capacity, and was later the author of *Little Arthur's History of England*, a book which had a considerable vogue in the era of "Sandford and Merton," and procured for the author a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Captain Graham died in 1822, and, in 1827, she married the artist, Augustus Wall Callcutt, R.A., who was knighted in 1837. She died on 28th November, 1842.

Her *Journal of a Residence in India* is illustrated with some fine engravings from sketches made by the author. It was an expensive book, and is now apparently very rare, which accounts for the British Museum copy of it being in the "North Library" of that institution. As it is not easily accessible to Ceylon readers, it may be permissible to give some extracts from it here. The existence of this book with a considerable section devoted to Ceylon

does not seem to be generally known. It contains an engraving of the rock by the sea at Beruwala on which quarters were erected for the accommodation of the Grahams.

GALLE.

VOYAGE TO GALLE: They arrived at Galle on 16th February, 1810.

“ We came here in an eight hundred ton Country Ship. The only Europeans are the Captain, three officers and the Surgeon ; the gunners and Quarter-masters, of whom there are ten, are Indian Portuguese—they are called Secunnies. The best lascars are Siddies, a tribe of Mohammedans, inhabitants of Gogo in Guzerat. The ship is built of teak wood. The masts are of *poon*, which though lighter than the teak is cumbrous compared with European timber.”

GALLE.—Mrs. Graham has some descriptive remarks on the Town and Fort :—

Feb. 16. “ Point de Galle is an old Dutch fort, very much out of repair, and not worth making better. It is very neatly kept, and has a cheerful air, from the rows of trees planted on each side of the streets. There are not above six English families resident here, but at present a much greater number are collected, as the fleet is assembled here for convoy, and to take in spices on the voyage home. I walked to the beach this morning to see the last of the homeward-bound ships ; two and twenty sail got under way at daybreak...” (Exactly a week later Sir James Mackintosh, from the deck of the *Prince of Wales*, was watching another fleet leave Galle, on one of the vessels convoyed by which were his wife and family.)

“ The appearance of the land about this place is beautiful ; the hills and valleys, mountains and woods, with the projecting rocks about the road-stead ; the old Dutch Fort and the shipping make a most delightful landscape.” (The rows of trees in the Fort streets were a legacy from the Dutch who always planted their settlements in this way ; the old *suriya* trees along the ramparts are perhaps all that remain of these trees.)

WELIGAMA : February, 18th. “ Went to Belligam to see the Buddhist temple...None but open carriages are used in Ceylon ; we therefore went in bandies, in plain English, *gigs*. ” They went with the Maha Modeliar, who provided breakfast at the Rest House: “The table was covered with costly plate—all his property. The recumbent figure of Bhud is 28 feet long.”

The party also went to see the “Cotta Rajah, a conqueror from the main land of India...whose adventures are blended with magical wonders.”

GALLE-CHINA TOWN: They also "went to see a little colony of Chinese near the Fort; they were brought here by the government as gardeners, for none of the Europeans who have possessed Ceylon have yet been able to raise vegetables. The gardeners have built themselves very neat houses in the garden."

They left Galle on February 19th. for Colombo, and were accompanied by "Mr. and Mrs. —, inhabitants of Colombo, upon whom the Maha Modeliar always attends in their journeys." (Here again they were nearly a week ahead of Sir James Mackintosh, who travelled from Galle to Colombo on the 26th.) The gentleman who was always accompanied by the Maha Mudaliyar on his journeys was probably the Collector or Commissioner of Revenue of Colombo. Who was the Collector of Colombo at this time? Sir James Mackintosh tells us that some of "the fashionable world of Colombo" had come to Galle just at this time "to enjoy the Ceylon jubilee during the stay of the fleet," and among them was Mr. Alexander Wood, who was Commissioner of Revenue at Colombo in 1803-5, had been home to England and come out again, and had resumed his position and again become Commissioner (or Collector) of Revenue at Colombo. It was he who entertained Sir James on his arrival at Galle, put him up at his house at Colombo and got up for him the kraal staged by tame elephants, beyond Negombo. He certainly did things in great style, as is shown also in the accommodation and the facilities for travelling that he provided for the Grahams.

GALLE TO COLOMBO.

The road to Colombo was decorated, and lights were provided at night. "Under the Dutch Government the inhabitants of the villages were required to furnish provisions and koolies to carry both the palankeens and baggage of travellers without hire, but the English pay punctually for everything of this kind."

The first stage was to "Heccadua, a considerable village, near which is a broad river," over which they were taken "on a stage erected on three small boats, with a canopy of white cloth surrounded with leaves and flowers."

In the afternoon they proceeded to "Ambolamgodda," and "stopped half a mile from it to look at a magnificent lake formed by a large river which descends from the Candian country. The Candians frequently come down this river to barter betel nut, rice and precious stones, for salt and other necessaries." (It is curious to reflect that at that time Major Davie was still a prisoner at Kandy.)

There was "a long wooden bridge over the stream. We found what we supposed was the militia of the place drawn up to receive us. Three or four old bayonets stuck upon sticks, as many bear spears, old pikes and weapons without names composed the ragged armour of the ragged crew, and a Madras bed-cover fluttering on a pole served for a standard." (The bridge was the Balapitimodara bridge.)

They had dinner at the Rest House, consisting of fish and "part of a wild hog." "The coast abounds with a quantity of good fish; domestic quadrupeds require feeding at great expense owing to the scarcity of fodder; but the poultry is excellent and the woods assuredly furnish wild hogs, venison and jungle fowl, birds, wild ducks and teal. The fruits are the best I have seen in India of their kind; they are the pine apple, the pamplemouze or shaddock, the plantain and the orange...The bread here is extremely good, and the butter made in private houses only inferior to that in England. The supply of vegetables is very scanty; potatoes and onions are imported from Bombay; and sometimes, but very rarely, cabbages and peas are brought from Bengal."

KOSGODA : February 20th. "Cossgodda, a small village... saw a Wanderou on the top of a cocoa-nut tree, where he was getting nuts."

BENTOTA AND BERUWELA : "Bentot...remains of a Dutch fort and town...on the bank of a very beautiful river."

February 21st. "BARBAREEN...left Bentot after breakfast, and arrived at Barbareen about two o'clock."

The bungalow here was built for them by the Maha Modeliar "on the top of a bold projecting rock." Mrs. Graham made a sketch of this rock and bungalow, which forms the subject of the engraving. (The latter has under it the letters, "M.G. del." in one corner and in the other the words "Etched by James Stover.")

February 22nd. **CALTURA**. She notices the "Old Dutch fort, commanding a most beautiful view." The travellers breakfasted "in a small bungalow on the seashore." The same day they reached Colombo, at about 2 o'clock.

COLOMBO.

March 1st. "We have now been here some days, and I am so delighted with the place and with the English society here, that if I could choose my place of residence for the rest of the time of my absence from England, it would be Columbo. We generally drive out before breakfast in a bandy, and go sometimes through the Fort which is very pretty. It is immediately between the sea and the lake, and only joined to the mainland by a causeway on each side of the water; and sometimes we go to the Cinnamon gardens, which are at the opposite side of the lake."

MOUNT LAVINIA : “ We joined a large party on an excursion to the Governor’s country house—Mount Lavinia. It is a charming residence ; it literally overhangs the sea, and has all the beauty that hill and valley, wood and rocks, with a beautiful beach and a fine open sea, can give. The interior though not very large is very pleasant ; a long gallery looks towards the sea ; the rooms on the other side command some pretty hills, the sides of which form fine lawns ; and in the valley are palm trees which hide all the farm offices, and afford shelter to a collection of animals of the deer and elk kind, from the interior of the island, and from the opposite coast of India. Today, by himself, we remarked an animal not less beautiful than terrible, the wild bull, whose milk white hide is adorned with a black flowing mane.”

She noticed the furniture as being made of “ the toon or country mahogany, which comes from Bengal,” as well as some made of “ the calaminda, whose dark and light veins alternately shew each other to the greatest advantage.” (Sir James visited Mount Lavinia just about this time.)

NEGOMBO.

March 6th. “ This day was devoted to an excursion to Negombo. “ After breakfasting in a pretty bungalow on the way, we were joined by the Collector of the district, a learned and ingenious man, and Mr. Daniel the painter, whose printed views of Ceylon you have seen.” (I am not certain who the Collector of Negombo was ; Henry Augustus Marshall, who was certainly “ learned,” was the Provincial Judge and may have had revenue duties, too. Samuel Daniell was the artist who was a protege of Sir Thomas Maitland’s, and was the brother of William Daniell, R.A. and nephew of Thomas Daniell, R.A. In 1808 he published in London *A Picturesque Illustration of the Scenery, Animals and Native Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon, in Twelve Plates Engraved after Drawings from Nature*. He died on 16th December, 1811, and is buried in the Pettah Burial Ground. There is a biography of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. See *List of Inscriptions*, p. 388.)

“ Negombo has a ruined fort situated on the sea-shore near a small lake. Like most of the old towns in Ceylon, it is very picturesque, being interspersed with trees and fruit gardens. We slept in the Rest House.”

THE NEGOMBO KRAAL. “ March 7th. Set off by palankeen for the elephant kraal, sixteen miles from Negombo, and within half a mile of the Candian frontier.” (This was the kraal got up by Alexander Wood, the Commissioner of Revenue at Colombo, for Sir James Mackintosh and described by the latter in his *Diary*. It was a sort of rehearsal of a kraal, for it was carried out with tame

elephants, as there were no wild elephants just at that moment available. Sir James and Mrs. Graham agree about the distance of the scene of the Kraal from Negombo, but he says the distance from the Kandyan frontier was "a mile or two." It was probably somewhere near Dambadeniya. I am inclined to think that by the Collector of the District mentioned by Mrs. Graham is meant the Commissioner of Revenue of Colombo, i.e. Mr. Wood, and not a Collector of Negombo. He was ingenious as well as learned, and gave an exhibition of the former quality in devising this full dress imitation of a kraal.)

Mr. DANIELL, THE ARTIST, AT THE KRAAL: The Collector and Mr. Daniell were at the Kraal—"We left Mr. Daniel at the Craal, where he intended to stay some time in search of subjects for his pencil. To defend himself from the bad effects of his sylvan life, he makes and lights great fires within and without his tent." (Where Mr. Graham says "sylvan" we should now-a-days say "jungle.")

The Grahams returned to Colombo next day, March 8th.

THE CEYLON CLIMATE. Mrs. Graham remarks.—"The coast of Ceylon is generally healthy, but none of our troops have been able to stand the noxious effects of a campaign in the jungle."

THE PEOPLE. "The general appearance of the Cingalese is coarser than that of the natives of Bombay and the adjacent coast, and they wear less clothing in general.... Neither sex wears any clothing above the waist excepting when they become household servants to the Europeans, when they put on a jacket. The Cingalese houses are better constructed than those of the same class of natives in Bombay, owing perhaps to the necessities of the climate, which is more damp and variable."

MOPLAHS IN CEYLON. The name of Moplah has acquired a most sinister import of late, and it is startling to find Mrs. Graham stating that, when she visited the Island over a century ago, "The fishermen and boatmen of Ceylon are chiefly Mahommedans called Moplahs, from the Malabar Coast." The statement can hardly have been correct.

THE PITCHER PLANT. Mrs. Graham describes the pitcher plant, which she imagines to be "the plant which Chateaubriand introduces in his charming poem of Gertrude, as the 'lotus-horn.'"

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