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The Right of Conquest and Hindu-Buddhist Political Practice of the Era of the Hindu Renaissance.

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ONE of the most reliable sources of our knowledge of the political practice of North India during the period which witnessed the culmination of the Hindu Renaissance is epigraphic. The inscriptions are engraved on stone, copper, pottery¹ and iron.² Most of them are known as *sásanas* and *prasastis*. In rendering these inscrip-tional passages, it has become customary for scholars to pay more attention to the faithful conveyance of ideas than to requirements of grammar and idiom.

It is perhaps desirable from several points of view to regard the Buddhist Movement as a Reformation. It challenged the stiffening regulations laid down by the Hindu system of castes. It preached almost openly the doctrine of the equality of man. Its superb monastic and missionary organisations, its practice of conveying teachings to the masses in a language probably familiar to them, and the encouragement it received from many ruling potentates favoured its expansion. The "dhammaghosa" of the Asokan Era proclaimed its triumph in Asia in no uncertain language.

1. e.g. Indian Antiquary Review, vol. XIV, p. 75.

2. e.g. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. III, P. 141.

Hinduism declined. It probably sank into the religion of a minority. But like the majestic Catholic Church of a later age, the older religion rallied its dispersed forces, and the Hindu Counter—Reformation began its onward march. This new movement was accompanied by the Hindu Renaissance.

It is hardly possible to define the dates of the period of the Revival. It may perhaps be traced back to the days of the Suṅga who slew the horse on the famous sacrificial altar. But whenever it might have begun, it is almost certain that the Movement reached its zenith during the era which began in the fourth century A.D., and which ended in about the tenth. This age was heralded by the priests who assisted in the performance of the four asvamedhas of the Vákāṭakas, soon to be connected perhaps politically¹ and certainly matrimonially with the Imperial Guptas, the ten sacrifices of the Bhárasivas who “were besprinkled on the forehead” with the “pure water” of the Bhágirathí (the Ganges) which was parákramádhigata,² the asvamedha³ of the Gupta which the imperial epigrapher called “cirotsanna”,⁴ the yajñas⁵ of the Traikúṭa Dahrasena and of Emperor Kumáragupta I.⁶ It saw the establishment of a vast empire over which the Hindu Imperial ‘Eagle’—the Gupta Garuḍa—flew triumphantly, the very probable publication of the immortal kávyas and náṭakas of Kálidása, the development of the science of astronomy by Āryabhaṭṭa, Varáhamihira and Brahmagupta, the probable birth of the Mudrárákshasa, the Yájñavalkya and Nárada smṛtis, the execution of the world-famous frescoes cognate to these of Sigirya in Ceylon, the ingenious adaptation of the idea of the colossus in sculpture, the deliberate and wide use of classical Sanskrit as the language of state records, the linking up of India, Ceylon, Java, China and other countries by shipping lines,⁷ the growth of cultural and commercial contacts leading to the formation and consolidation of a Greater India, and the rapid evolution both of Politik and Staatslehre.

1. Because Rudrasena the Vákāṭaka may be identical with Rudradeva of the Allahabad Inscription.

2. Lit. equal to obtained through prowess; e.g. C.I.I. vol. III, p. 236 1. 2. and 3; p. 237, 1. 6. and 7.

3. Equal to horse-sacrifice.

4. Lit. = long lain in abeyance. C.I.I. vol III, p. 26 & 27, 1. 4. & 5.

5. Religious ceremonies.

6. Jou. Bom. R.A.S. vol. XVI, p. 347, pl. I, 1. 1 & 2; Catalogue of Ind. coins (Gupta) p. 61 et seq.

7. My papers in the J.A.S. (C.B.) vol. XXXII, p. 55 to 63; and C.L.R. Sept., 1932, p. 385 to 392.

The political and religious ascendancy of Hinduism was not however accompanied by either the extinction, or (as I have shown elsewhere) by the general persecution of Buddhism. From the epigraphic point of view, the Deoriya, Kasia, the three Sanchi, Sarnath, Mankuwar, Calcutta Museum and Devatá's inscriptions, e.g. of the fifth century, the Mathura, Mahánáman's (two) and Dharmagupta's and Damshṭrasena's Bodh Gaya inscriptions, the Gunaighar, Dhruvasena's Walia, Guhasena's Walia, and Bhavnagar Second grants, e.g. of the sixth, the imperial Vardhana records and Siláditya's Wala Grant, e.g. of the seventh, the Kota and Devapatana Inscriptions, e.g. of the eighth, Dantivarman's Grant, the Ghosrawa and Ranod Stones, e.g. of the ninth and tenth centuries¹ testify not only to the survival, but also to the political importance of Buddhism.

The right to rule, broadly speaking, was vested, in the administrators of the gaṇas, and the heads of monarchical states, during this period. The early history of the gaṇasabhá in Ceylon may conceivably throw light on the sthiti (constitution?) of various entities like the Málavas, Kákas, Kharaparikas, Sanakánikas, Licchavis, Ābhíras, Yaudheyas, probably the Maitrakas, the Mádrakas, the Prárjunas, and Ārjunáyanas.

The monarchical rulers may again be divided into two categories, The Mahárájádhirájas, Rájádhirájas, Rájarájádhirájas and Ekádhirájas, for instance, belong to the first order. In the second one, we have to place Mahárájas, Mahádhirájas, Mahásámantádhipatis, Mahásámantas, Rájans, Rájakas, Rájánakas and Sámantas. They exercised considerable authority over their subjects and dependents. Even the Sámantas—the lowest among them—were entitled to wear 'jewelled crowns.'

But at least during the earlier part of the period under review, other things being equal, they were politically subordinate to the rulers of the first rank. Thus Surasmicandra, though "enjoying in the world the Srí of a Mahárája"² was the governor of the Gupta territories situated between the Kálindí and the Narmadá. Mahárája Brahma-datta, "the administering agent," "in the Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti" was said to be "favoured by His Majesty's feet"—the feet of Mahárájádhirája Budhagupta. The Bhukti passed under the governorship

1 C.I.I. vol. III, Nos. 68, 69, 73, 75, 74, 5, 11, 62 and 63; Nos. 70, 71, 72, 76; Indian Historical Quarterly March, 1930, p. 53 to 56, I. A. vol. IV, p. 105, p. 174 & 175, vol. V, p. 207; vol. XIV, p. 329 & 330; p. 45 & 46; vol. IX, p. 176 and 177; Epi. Indica vol. VI, p. 285; I.A. vol. XVII, p. 309 & 310; E. I. vol I, p. 354 to 361 etc.

2. Srí is the personification of ruling power; C.I.I. Vol. III, No. XIX, 1, 3 & 4.

of another Mahárāja who owed allegiance presumably to Bhánugupta¹ The Nṛpatiparivrájakas who dated their records in the Gupta Era, and probably acknowledged openly that their territories were included in the Gupta Empire were entitled Mahárájas. ••

Fleet's translation of "Guptanṛparájyabhuktau" by "enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings" need not be the only one, as we find that the word bhukti is used to denote an extensive administrative division during this period. The rendering, '(included) in a Division of the Gupta rulers' may be suggested as an alternative, if not a better, one because the compound word stands by itself, and is not connected directly with the words (giving information about the date) which precede and succeed it. Without going into the details of the controversy regarding the "mahámághasamvatsara" of the Bhumara Inscription² I may suggest that chronological considerations, and the resemblance which the Uccakalpa Garuda bears to the effigies on the copper coins of Candragupta II, and that on the Bhitari Seal³ support the view that these rulers, who were all Mahárájas, were the vassals of the Guptas. The Vishaya⁴ of Koṭivarsha is said to have prospered "under the government of" Mahárāja Jayadatta who was 'favoured' by Budhagupta.⁵ Maharaja Rudradatta is called the pádadása⁶ of Vainyagupta.⁷ Mahásámanta Mádhavarāja openly acknowledged the overlordship of a king of Central Bengal.⁸ The Madhuban Plates e.g.⁹ show that Mahárájas and Mahásámantas could be ordered by Mahárájádhirájas to notice and carry out instructions relative to grants of land. Mahárāja...dhala of the Sanakánikas is said to "meditate on the feet of" Candragupta II.¹⁰ Mahásámanta Mahárāja Vijayasena was expected to 'make the commands' of the then reigning potentate "known unto the" Kumárámátya Revajjasvámin.¹¹ Mahásámanta Balavarmman acquired the "pañcamahásabda"¹² by

1. E. I. Vol. XV, p. 135, l. 1 and p. 136, l. 2; p. 142, l. 1 to 3.

2. C. I. I. Vol. III, No. XXIV.

3. p. 125; C.O.I.C. (Gupta) Pl. XVIII; J.R.A.S. Vol. LVIII, Pl. facing p. 85 etc.

4. An administrative division.

5. E.I. Vol. XV, p. 138, l. 1 to 3.

6. Lit=(a) servant of (the) feet.

7. Ind. His. Quarterly, March 1930, p. 53, l. 3.

8. E.I. Vol. VI, p. 144 and p. 145.

9. E.I. Vol. I, p. 72 and 73. "Samàjñápayati astu vah samviditam" is the form of the command.

10. C.I.I. Vol. III, No. IV.

11. A Kumárámátya was a highly placed public official; my article in the Jou. Bi. and Or. Res. Soc. Vol. XVII, p. 198 to p. 201; I.H.Q. March 1930, p. 53 to p. 56.

12. Lit. equal to the five great sounds=five sonorous sounds=five titles bestowed by the Overlord?

the favour of the feet of P. M. P.¹ Mahēndrāyudhadeva. Balavarmma is said to be “pādaprasādākshatasamadhigatapañcamahāsabdah.” Kielhorn is very probably right in thinking that “prasādākshata” stands for “prasādīkṛta.”² The Sīyadoṇī Inscription³ seems to mention that a Mahāsāmantādhipati obtained the aseshamahāsabda from, and was the Mahāpratīhāra⁴ of P. M. P. Mahendrapāladeva in c.903/4 A.D. The elder brother of Rājānaka Lakshmaṇacandra is said to be devoted “to the lotus feet of the supreme lord of Jālandhara”.⁵ In an inscription of 862 A.D. we find “Tatpradattapañcamahāsabda-mahāsāmantasrīvishṇuramaparibhujyamāke Luacchagire.” Mahāsāmanta Viṣṇurama seems to have held Luacchagiri from Bhojadeva.⁶ The Bagumra Inscription of 954/5 A.D. shows that Rājans had to obey the commands of Pṛthivīvallabha⁷ Nikumbhallasakti.⁸

Commenting on “pañcamahāsabda” Sastri says that “this epithet is used only by dependent chiefs.” Bhūler supports this view. A literary, though not an inscriptional source, confirms this belief (8A).

I do not certainly maintain that the use of these graded titles was always indicative of the place the ruler held in the governing hierarchy. Titles signifying subordination are associated with rulers of undoubtedly the first rank. Thus Samudragupta is called merely a rājā on the Tiger Type of his coins,⁹ and probably only a bhāṭṭāraka in his Kausāmbī Inscription.¹⁰ Candragupta II is called a Mahārāja on some of his coin-legends, and is referred to as Rājan in the Udayagiri Inscription.¹¹ Emperor Kumāragupte I is entitled only a Mahārāja in the Mankuwar Stone.¹² Mahārāja Varāhasimha is said to be a praṇetā¹³ of Rājā Aparājita of the Guhila House in the Udayapur inscription of 661 A.D.¹⁴ Bhānugupta is called a Rājan in the Eran Inscription.¹⁵ But the two words “jagati pravīro” which precede it and mahān which follows it modify the significance considerably. Mahārājādhirāja Dhruvhaṭa and Mahārājādhirāja Nishkalaṅka were

1.—Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara.

2. E.I. Vol. IX, p. 4-6.

3. E.I. Vol. I. p. 173 to p. 179.

4.—The chief door-keeper; probably a captain of the emperor's palace-guard.

5 p. 112 to p. 115.

6. E.I. Vol. IV, p. 310.

7. Lit=lord of the earth.

8. I.A. Vol. XVIII, p. 267 et seq.

8a. Rājatarāṅgini, IV, 143-4, 684.

9. C.O.I.C. Pl. I. to V; p. 17.

10. C.I.I. Vol. III, No. I, 1.31.

11. No. VI. 1.5.; C.O.I.C. pl. X, No. XXII and Pl. I, Nos. 1 to XXVI.

12. C.I.I. Vol. III, no. XI, 1.2. •

13. Commander-in-chief?

14. E.I. Vol. IV, p. 31 and 32.

15. C.I.I. Vol. III, No. XX, 1.5.

governors under the P.M.P.'s of Kanauj.¹ But they ruled during the tenth century, and were subordinate to another Mahárájádhirája. On the whole, I must conclude that the weight of evidence makes it almost certain that at least during the earlier part of the period under review, the Rájans, Rájakas, Rájánakas, Sámantas, Mahásámantas, Mahásámantádhipatis, Mahárájas and Mahádhirájas owed allegiance to the Rajádhirája and his peers.

The Right to Rule as vested in the Rájádhirája and his peers therefore very probably implied that of ruling directly over subjects, and that of exercising paramount authority over vassals and rear-vassals, in certain ways and under certain circumstances. It is of course conceivable that the nature of the direct rule of the Emperor over e.g. the home province would differ from that of the mahárája's personal rule over the whole or part of his principality, because it is unrestrained in the first case, but not so in the second. Moreover the Mahárája e.g. would again exercise authority almost of the same nature as that of the overlord over his own vassals.

Subinfeudation was prevalent. Thus in an inscription of 654/5 A.D.² the "lotus feet" of Rájá Bháñusakti is said to be "scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending" Sámantas. The very title, Mahásámantádhipati, suggests the existence of the practice. Moreover the Kavi Grant of 736 A.D. definitely says that Mahásámantádhipati Jayabhāṭa III of the Gurjaras had Rajans and Samantas under him.³

I shall now attempt an illustration of the alienation of ruling right, by conquest. The Right to Rule both of the Mahárájádhirája (and his equals) and the princes of the second order, was undoubtedly in many cases, the creation of the parasu⁴ and the sañku,⁵ of the sakti⁶ and the asi,⁷ of the sara⁸ and the prása.⁹

1. E.I. Vol. I, p. 175, l. 18; p. 177; p. 178, l. 29, 30 and 36.

2. I.A. Vol. XVIII, p. 267 et seq.

3. I.A. Vol. V, p. 114, l. 8.

4. Battle axe.

5. Spear.

6. Spike.

7. Sword.

8. Arrow.

9. Barbed dart. These weapons are actually mentioned in an inscription, of the fourth century A.D. (C.I.I. Vol. III, No. I, l. 17.)

Rulers of the second category took part in military operations conducted by their overlords. Sometimes they undertook expeditions on their own account. The Mandasor Stone Inscription composed in c. the fifth century¹ tells us that Nṛpa Visvavarmman, a Goptá² under the Guptas was “Párthasamánakarmmá”.³ His “deeds in war were equal to (those of) Arjuna, the hero of the Mahábhárata. Rájá Bandhuvarman, his son, is said to be “pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of his proud enemies”.⁴ The Gunaighar Grant⁵ of the early sixth century mentions that the reigning prince issued his “command” relative to the grant of land in favour of the Buddhist Bhikshusaṅgha⁶ housed in the áśramavihára of Arya Avalokitesvara, from “the victorious camp full of great ships, elephants and horses situated at Krípura.⁷ The Eran Posthumous Inscription, a few years later in date, mentions that Goparája the son of the “ativikránta” (“very valorous”) Rájan, Mádhava, accompanied Emperor Bhánugupta in one of his expeditions. Then “kṛtvá ca yuddham sumahatprakásam Svargam gato divyanarendrakalpah.” He “who was but little short of being equal to” the king of the gods “having fought a very famous battle” (“died and) went to heaven”.⁸ The Máliya Plate of 571/2 A.D. e.g. says that the progenitor of the Valabhi House, Bhaṭárkka held the post of a Senápati, ordinarily equivalent to the Sinhalese Senánáyaka,⁹ presumably under one of the Húna kings. He “acquired” (the spirit of) Sovereignty “through the strength of the array of his hereditary servants and friends who had been brought under subjection by his splendour, and had been acquired by gifts, and honourable treatment and straightforwardness and were attached to him by affection.” He ‘was possessed of glory’ “acquired in a hundred battles.” His immediate successor, also a Senápati compelled his enemies to bow “down with (their) heads (before him).” Maharája Dharasena, the then reigning prince of Valabhi is said to ‘astonish’ “all archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and (skill acquired by) practice.”

1. No. XVIII, p. 81 to 84.

2. Governor.

3. p.82, l.14.

4. l.15.

5. I.H.Q. March, 1930, p. 53 et seq.

6. Congregation of monks.

7. Mahánauhastyasva etc.

8. C.I.I. Vol. III, No. XX.

9. Here however he seems to be a person who possessed or acquired the right of ruling over certain territories. C.I.I. Vol. III, No. XXXVIII.

The Asirgadh Copper Seal of c. the sixth century says that Mahārāja Harivarman of the Maukharis was “pratápānurágopanatányarāja.h”¹ He “brought into subjection” other rulers “by his prowess and by affection (for him),” His “fame stretched out beyond the four oceans.” The Nirmand Plate of 612/3 A.D. says that Mahārāja Mahásámanta Ravishena “attained victory in a hundred battles” (“samāsa-satalavdhajaya” etc).² A grant of the Gujrat Caulukyās³ mentions that Vijayarāja who possessed “inordinate prowess” (pratáp-átisaya) “bowed down” an “assemblage” of Sámantas. An inscription of 868 A.D.⁴ mentions that Dantivarman who obtained the “ádhipatyā” (overlordship) “of the Mahásámantas,” “vanquished with his bow the Mahásámantas of the enemy.” Mahásámanta Balavarman’s Una Plates of 893 A.D. proudly pointed out that the territory “of the Nakshisapura group of eighty four” was “acquired by his own arm”. Secondly, this establishment of the Right to Rule fresh territories, the product of successful military undertakings, might (if unchecked) even render an elevation of a ruler of the second order to the first, possible. Dynastic lists of e.g. the four imperial houses, the Guptas, Vardhanas, Maukharis and Maitrakas, show that Mahārājas were succeeded by Mahārājádhirājas. Mahārāja Gupta and Mahārāja Ghaṭotkaca preceded Mahārājádhirāja Candragupta I. Mahārāja “Rājyavarddhana” and Mahārāja “Adityavarddhana” were followed by Mahārājádhirāja “Prabhákaravarddhana.” After Prabhákaravarddhana, the paramasaugata (the devout follower of Buddha) Mahārājádhirāja “Rājyavarddhana” came to the throne. Dharasena and Isánavarman were the first Mahārājádhirājas of their lines. Moreover the rise of Vishṇuvarddhana (who, I think, was identical with Emperor Yasodharman) to power explicitly illustrates this tendency. The Mandasor Stone of the sixth century⁵ says:—

“Práco nṛpánsubr̥hataśca bahunudicah
sámná yudhá ca vasagánpravidháya yena
Námáparam jagati kántamado durápani
rājádhirájaparamesvara ityudḍham.”

1. C.I.I. Vol. III, p.220, l.1.
2. p. 288 to p. 289. The spelling is inscriptional.
3. I.A. Vol. VII p.248.
4. E.I. Vol. VI, p. 285.
5. E.I. Vol. IX, p. 4 to p. 6. C.I.I. III. No. XXXV. Spelling of proper nouns is inscriptional in many cases.

The narádhpati (lord of men) "brought into subjection by peaceful overtures and by war the very mighty kings of the East, and many (kings) of the North," and thus "carried on high" the "second name of the supreme king of" princes "and supreme lord, pleasing in the world (but) difficult of attainment." He is also said to have "brought" "his own famous lineage which" bore "the aulikara crest" "to a state of dignity that" became "ever higher and higher." "Prakhyátaulikaraláñchana átmavámso yenoditoditapadam gamito garíyah"¹ Sámantas "having their arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm" ("báhudravinahr̥tamadaih" etc.) "bowed down to his feet".²

The Bungmati Inscription of 639 A.D.³ says that Amsuvarman of Kailásakùṭa was a mahásámanta, and a political adviser to King Sivadeva. The Devapatana Inscription, a few years later in date,⁴ does not call him a Mahásámanta. Presumably, the political power that he had acquired by this time made Amsuvarman reluctant to call himself a Mahásámanta. At the same time, he had not yet perhaps made up his mind to assume a title of the first rank. Later on however, the Lalitapathana Inscription of 48 H. E.⁵ calls him Mahárájádhirája Amsuvarman.

Another inscription of 868 A.D.,⁶ says that Govindarája of the Gujrat Ráshtrakùṭas was a bhūpa (ruler) and "rájasu rájasimha" (a lion among princes). Therefore, we may conclude that he attained the status of a Rájan. His son Karkkarája is called only a bhūpa. But his grandson Kṛshṇarája attained the status of a Rájádhirája and Paramesvara (supreme ruler).

Lastly, even acquisition of an imperial status was not often followed by cessation of conquest. Thus Samudragupta, is said to have "uprooted Acyuta and Nágasena."⁷ His troops very probably captured a prince of the Koṭas, when he "was taking his pleasure in the city" called Pushpa. He "violently" 'exterminated' "Rudradeva, Matila, Ngadatta, Candravarmman, Gaṇapatinága," and "many other

1. l. 6,7,5.
2. No. XXXIII, l.5.
3. I.A. Vol. IX, p.169 and 170.
4. Of 39 H.E.; p.170.
5. 171 and 172.
6. E.I. Vol. VI, p. 285.
7. C.I.I. Vol. III, No. I, l.13.

kings of" Aryāvarta.¹ Some of the coins of his son, Candragupta II, bear the legends, "pṛthivim jitvā" and "kshitimavajitya."² Moreover, a cave record mentions that when he "was seeking to conquer the whole world," he came to Udayagiri in the company of his minister Virasena.³ We find "Gámavajitya sucaritaiḥ" "divam jayati" on the coins of Kumáragupta I.⁴ "Having conquered the earth" Kumáragupta is said to "win heaven by good deeds". With reference to Emperor Skandagupta, the son of Kumáragupta I, the Bhitari Stone⁵ says:—"Samuditabalakoshán yudhyamitrám sca jítvá kshitipacaraṇapíṭhe sthápítábámapádaḥ." "Having conquered" (his) enemies "who had developed great power and wealth," in battle, Emperor Skandagupta "placed his left foot on a footstool which was" 'the (number of) princes he had conquered'. He is also said to have "developed heroism by the strength of his arm" ("svabhujajanita-vírya").⁶ His successor Bhánugupta is called "the bravest man on the earth," "equal to Pártha" and "exceedingly heroic." He took part in "a very famous battle" which was fought at or near Eran.⁷

I may therefore conclude that the exalted and sometimes sanctified nature of the epigraphic conceptions on which the political obligation of the era must have been mainly based, did not succeed in making hereditary right indefeasible in actual political practice. The relevant political idea was not therefore allowed to develop in the same manner, as some of the corollaries of the later European theories of a similar description. Whatever the theoretical origin of kingship might have been, and however exalted the status it might have been sought to be vested with, the de facto rulers of the polities under review owed their origin in many cases to their proficiency in archery and swordsmanship, their leadership and military resources. I have demonstrated here that the Right to Rule could be alienated by conquest. I shall show elsewhere how it could also be alienated by diplomatic negotiations, "peaceful overtures," adoption and delegation.

1. Roughly N. India.

2. Lit=having conquered the whole earth.

3. Udayagiri Cave Inscription.

4. C.O.I.C. p. 67.

5. C. I. I. Vol. III, No. XIII.

6. No. XIV, 1.2.

7. In the present C. P.; Lat. 24°5'N., Long. 78°15'E.; No. XX.

Looting of the Palace of Kandy, 1765

Reports of Colonel Feber and Secretary van Angelbeek.

(*Tweede Deel der Brieven en Papieren van Ceylon overgekomen*;
Kol. Arch. 3030, 1766, Vol. 14, ff. 396-399)

I

REPORT OF COL. JAN JURGEN FEBER

To H. E. Mr. Iman Willem Falck, Governor and Director, and the
Hon. Gentlemen of the Secret Council of Ceylon.

Your Excellency and Honourable Gentlemen!

It has pleased Your Excellency and the Honourable Gentlemen in the sessions of 10th August last to order Mr. Secretary van Angelbeek and the undersigned, as having taken part in the expedition to Kandia and been present at the capture of the Capital, to give a written account and report, as well as each one of us knew and could affirm on oath, about the looting of the King's Palace. In compliance with this order I have the honour to report as follows:—

On the 19th of February when I set out from the main army near Mahawielegange with a part of the troops, but without coolies or baggage, to occupy the city of Kandia, I received order from the late Governor van Eck, who is now with God, and very urgent recommendations to take great care above all not to let any looting take place, but to set up watches at the entrances to the Palace till H. E. came up; which order I observed to the letter giving the strictest commands under severe punishment (*op Lijff en leven straffe*) to the advance guard of my detachment to set double guards at the gates as soon as the town and the Castle were taken, so that no one whatsoever might enter; which was all carried out. But as the building of the Castle on the North and South side as well as at the back and on the East side was partly in decay and partly blocked with outhouses which were unfinished—probably to lodge the large family of the King that came from time to time—the soldiers had opportunity to carry off some things, but of little value: but the rooms and apartments were still locked. Nevertheless as soon

as I came to know of it I entered the Castle in person accompanied by the sub-adjutants and my orderlies to drive out the looters. But while this was happening on one side I noticed that some 5 or 6 persons were entering on the other side, who hid themselves as soon I noticed them. Thereupon I came out and gave orders to make all the companies fall in under arms and to examine how many were absent from each company. I then found that some men were missing, especially from the Grenadier Company, and I inquired from Captain Burt and the officers of the company whether they could not keep better order among their men. They said in answer that they could not keep back the men any longer.

At this time I received word that the late Governor was on his march and I went to welcome and complain saying: "Your Excellency. I am very glad you are come for I can scarcely keep order among the men and prevent looting." When H.E. then marched straight into the Castle he was followed by the officers, soldiers, marines, Sinhalese and Moor coolies, who immediately started looting. Yea I must even confess that some looters who had laden themselves with booty before H.E. entered, met him and addressed him thus: "Noble Sir. We have found this spoil. May we keep it?" To which he replied "Yes. Run away with it." Thereupon the looting became general; and they broke boxes and chests open and took whatever they pleased.

And in spite of the fact that H.E. the Governor not only drove away the looting crowd by means of several officers but himself in person chased them out of the storehouses and apartments, the looting went on; for when it was stopped on one side, it began in another, because some of our troops entered the Castle to occupy the North and South side and the Grenadier Company was placed in the middle to serve as a body-guard to H. E. Furthermore, I saw that H. E. had placed a guard of officers before the chief storehouses, and I learnt from other sources that Captains Frankena, Groos and Labaume had been commissioned to seal them and to make an accurate inventory of what was therein; but in vain. The doors which were not guarded were torn to pieces so that Mr. Frankena came back about one or half-past one and begged to be relieved of his commission.

The looting lasted some five or six days. The things looted as far as I know were gold and silver ware and fine linen. Moreover on this occasion, besides other things, a silver shrine, wherein Boedoe's tooth

according to the Sinhalese was preserved, was dug out of the ground, which H. E. took to be given as a present to the army, and which is still to be found here.

As I did not know for certain what was the scope of the commission mentioned above, I inquired from Captain Gross here and he replied that he did not get any other order on that occasion except to seal the temple or *offerplaats* of the King, which he and the others did.

I hope I have now satisfied your Excellency's order and I have only to subscribe myself,

Y. E's and the Hon. Gentlemen's

Very obedient and humble servant,

J. J. FEBER.

II.

Report of Johan Gerard van Angelbeek

To H. E. Mr. Iman Willem Falck, Governor and Director, and the
Hon. Members of the Secret Council of Ceylon.

Your Excellency and Hon. Gentlemen !

It has pleased Your Excellency and the Honourable Gentlemen in the sessions of 10 August last to order Mr. Colonel Feber and the undersigned, as having taken part in the expedition to Kandia and been present at the capture of the capital, to give a written account and report, as well as each one of us knew and could affirm on oath, about the looting of the King's Palace, I have therefore the honour to report as follows:—

When on 19th February last Mr. Colonel Feber was detached from the main army at Mahawielegange with a part of the force to occupy the town of Kandia, the late Governor van Eck, now with God, gave him strict command and instructions to take care to prevent the men from looting and to cause the gates of the Palace to be guarded till the arrival of H. E., who set out two or three hours later and arrived in Kandia about 11 o'clock in the morning with the undersigned.

In the town Mr. Commander Feber came to meet him and reported that in spite of all his attempts he was unable to prevent the looting of the Palace, and that both great and small were busy at it, a thing which, when we entered the Palace, we found to be but too

true. The greater part of the apartments were broken open and filled with soldiers, marines, Moors and other coolies who were busy breaking open chests and drawers and carrying off whatever they pleased.

Although H. E. not only caused the looting crowd to be turned out by several officers whom he encountered in the general confusion, but himself also in person chased them out of the storehouses and apartments, and caused guards to be sent in front of them, it was of no avail, for when the looting stopped on one side it began on another.

H. E. thereupon ordered officers to be placed on guard before the chief storehouses and commissioned Captains Frankena, Groos and La Beaume to seal the same and make an accurate inventory of what was therein, for which purpose I sent the King's seal with a clerk: but this too was of little use, for the seals were at once torn off and the doors forcibly wrenched open and broken to pieces, so that Mr. Frankena came back about 1 or 1-30 and begged to be relieved of the commission as the men could not be kept back any more and he could not honourably carry out the commission. Thereupon H. E. Mr. van Eck had also to give up the attempt as he could not possibly do otherwise; and to my regret I must confess that not only the common soldiers but even the majority of the officers were guilty of that shameless looting. Further particulars I can not give not only on account of the general confusion but also because being taught by the sad example of the English in the plunder of Patna I knew the danger in which we were on account of the general disorder, and made it my special business to draw the attention of the late Governor to the need of guarding the entrances and placing posts, a thing which was finally done late in the evening; yet the looting lasted quite five or six days.

I hope I have now satisfied Y. E.'s order and

I have the honour to remain

Your very humble and obedient servant,

J. G. van Angelbeek.

Deportation of Sri Vikrama Rajasinha.

(Continued from p. 504)

17th February.

The king came early above stairs today, and his first enquiry was, whether we were well after yesterday's fete: of course many complaints passed on both sides. He said he was quite "proud" at having given us so much pleasure although the bowels of some of the party spoke pretty plainly an opposite feeling. We did not fail to say that we were under great obligations for the compliment which His Majesty had conferred upon us, and that we should always remember it with pleasure. I expressed to His Majesty my surprise that during the time he was in possession of his throne he had not encouraged more intercourse between his subjects and those of our Gracious Sovereign. He said in reply that he had always protected 'Christians,' as far as the Kandyan laws would permit. I said I thought it would have advanced the Kandyan people in civilization if a free intercourse had existed between the two Governments; to which the king observed, that such an intercourse was impossible with the people he ruled over. His own security forbade it. I asked him why he sanctioned the mutilation of the seven merchants, previous to the breaking out of the last war. He did not relish this question! At length he observed, half closing his eyes, "They came as spies, and suffered as such.¹ The Kandyan laws are well-known; are they not painted? There was sufficient evidence to prove they intended harm, and they were punished in consequence." I shook my head, as much as to say I thought him deceived; when he declined any further discussion on the subject. He looked out of the cabin window and whistled in a careless manner. After remaining about half an hour longer and asking a few unimportant questions he withdrew unceremoniously. In visiting the Captain's cabin, His Majesty never appeared in any other dress than that of a piece of fine white muslin edged with gold, bound round his waist, and

1. From the Summary Declarations of the mutilated men placed before the members of His Majesty's Council on 9 November, 1814, it would appear that they were rightly or wrongly suspected of being spies of Ehelepola and D'Oyly. Cf. Proceedings of Council ff. 348-362.

coming down to the knees. His head, shoulders and body were bare. The only days on which his costume was different from the above were those of his embarkation at Colombo, and his landing at Madras. He would, therefore, have struck the common observer as being of no higher rank than any other native of caste in India. But his person and manner possessed something peculiarly striking and distinguished; and no one, let him be of any civilized country whatsoever, could be five minutes in his presence without discovering a grandeur and superiority about him which is almost impossible to define. He was about six feet in height;¹ his limbs were of herculean size, but beautifully formed; his head small, his features regular and handsome; his eyes large, and intensely black and piercing; his hands and feet small and elegantly turned. He was unaccustomed to speak in a low tone of voice. His superiority in the presence of others was with him more or less manifested by the power and elevation of his voice. He thought none but the mean and humble whispered, and because he was the most despotic of kings his voice ought therefore to be raised to its highest pitch in addressing his inferiors.

18th February, Sunday.

Divine Service

The royal party came upstairs. His Majesty was as usual engaged sometimes in intense thought, at others in discourse with us. He asked Captain O'Brien where he got the sheep he had on board. The Captain said he obtained them at Colombo. He enquired how they were fed. On gram and grass was the answer. He asked on what part of the ship the grass grew! This was a blunder. The manner in which they were supplied with food was explained. The Captain asked him if he would walk on deck and see the ship. He hesitated, but at length came to the cuddy door where he stopped, and looked out with apparent timidity. He had not been on deck since the day he embarked; consequently his longest excursion was from his own cabin to the Captain's. We pressed him to go forward, and I reminded him of his promise to view the ship and observed that a king

1. Marshall says: "Sri Wickreme Rajah Singha, the deposed King of Kandy was about five feet nine or ten inches in height, slightly corpulent, stoutly made and muscular. He had a pleasant expression of countenance, a handsome beard, broad shoulders and a full chest. His figure was manly, and his general appearance dignified. He did not appear to the writer to be deficient in intellect, and was generally much more affable and good-humoured than could be expected of a deposed king in a state of confinement" o. c. 166.

never broke his word: to which he quickly replied "Yes, when he finds it imprudent to adhere to it." After Captain O'Brien had described as much of the vessel as the king could see from the cuddy door, His Majesty retreated to the ottoman. Being seated, I spoke to him of Major Davy. He seemed quite familiar with the Major's name and history. I said, when the intelligence arrived in England of the massacre of the English troops near the banks of the Wattapologa¹ ferry, it created a strong sensation against his Government. He said, "Do you or do you not visit the evil administration of public affairs upon your king's ministers? In that business I was not concerned. Let Pilame Talawe bear the blame². I was too young a prince to influence the conduct of my 1st Adigar. I heard of the event only when it was over. I saved Major Davy's life; ask the chiefs what care I took of him. Becoming my prisoner he lived. But his party were in the hands of the Adigar and perished. Major Davy received many marks of favour from me. I gave him land and as much as he wished to eat and drink. He was allowed wives. The laws could grant no more. Did I make those laws?"

The subject seemed to agitate and annoy him much, and I therefore refrained from pressing it any further. He also appeared desirous to avoid the discussion of an event which brought many unpleasant recollections to his mind, and we mutually fell into other topics, which enabled him to recover his serenity, and he ultimately took his departure to his own cabin.

19th February.

Visited the royal apartments and found the party well. The provisions very much diminished. We were still standing to the eastward and advancing fast on the Nicobars. I began to feel apprehensive, our supplies would fail before the ship tacked for Madras. We had been six and twenty days at sea and had hitherto managed to keep the king in good humour. He now began to entertain a strong conviction that we were not going to Madras, and regarded me with less kindness than usual. I did all in my power to cheer him, and preserve the confidence he had hitherto reposed in me. To all my assurances of our speedily reaching Madras he roughly and sullenly exclaimed, "Why are you going in 'this' direction, if Madras lies in 'that?'" It was vain to

1. Watapuluwa on the Mahaweli-ganga.
2. Pilima Talauwa in his turn put the blame on the King. See his version of events narrated to Wattala Appu a spy of D'Oyly. Diary 42.

attempt to explain the simple cause of our present course. He shut his eyes and listened with a smile of incredulity to all I said. This day he passed below without manifesting any disposition to visit the Captain's cabin; nor did he enter into conversation with me except to express dissatisfaction and complain of every little circumstance that occurred. I began to fear that our acquaintance would not terminate so amicably as it began, and frequently consulted Captain O'Brien as to the means to be adopted for pacifying him, whenever he became violent, which he now did about every trifle.

20th February.

About 11 o'clock a.m. we heard an uproar in the royal cabins and an officer came to tell me that the king was in a dreadful passion; and as he had a hatchet in his hand, threatening his own people, requested I would go and prevent mischief. I proceeded below forthwith, and, on entering the royal premises, found His Majesty hacking and hewing in pieces a spare bedstead which stood in the front of his cabin, intended for him to recline on when he found his cabin couch too hot to be comfortable. The king was boiling with rage, roaring and swinging the hatchet about with great fury. The bedstead was more than half demolished by the time I appeared, and he was scolding some of his attendants with this instrument in his upraised hand. He did not appear to be master of himself. I thought it was best to lose no time, so walked quietly forward and fixing my eyes steadily on his, gently placed my hand upon his wrist, saying with a smile and in a kind manner, "Give me the hatchet, Sir." He immediately resigned the instrument into my hands; but, in doing so told me that he had been disgraced by one of his attendants having slept upon the bedstead; and his only request was that it might be destroyed and thrown overboard without a moment's delay. Seeing the distress and agitation he was in, I promised to do what he desired; and in a few minutes with the aid of the ship's carpenter, the unlucky bedstead was dismantled and consigned to the waves. When this was done, the king still foaming with rage, strode into his cabin, darting fierce glances at every one around him, not excepting myself and I confess I then, for the first time, thought how dreadful his anger must have been when he had occasion to display it on the throne of Kandy, over his defenceless subjects. This morning, to our great comfort, we tacked for Madras and I went to tell the king of it. He declined visiting the Captain's cabin, looked disconsolate and would scarcely answer any of my questions. His wives were seated on

the deck at his feet. They had been weeping. On being informed that we had been put about for Madras, he heard the intelligence with perfect indifference. He was much altered in his manner. He said we might take him where we pleased. It was all the same to him. I regretted this depression of mind, and tried to raise his spirits by conversation, but without success, we consequently parted and I saw him no more this day.

21st February.

Early this morning "land" was vociferated by a seaman at the mast-head, and I acquainted the king with the joyful intelligence. The land we made was Pulicat. We stood in to view the roadstead, which was crowded with country craft. The king regarded the cheerful prospect from his port and seemed more content, now that he was sure soon to be relieved from his floating prison.

We dropped down from Pulicat gently, and early the following morning saw the white palaces of Madras. About 12 at noon the "Cornwallis" came to an anchor, and I despatched a letter to the Madras Government announcing the arrival of the dethroned monarch, his family, and adherents. I speedily received instructions to land them all forthwith, but was directed to meet the Commissioners, who were to receive charge of them, in the first instance. I accordingly landed in a Massulie¹ boat, proceeded to the Custom House and was there received by W. McTaggart, Esq., our Agent at this Presidency. After the usual forms having been gone through at the Custom House, I went with Mr. McTaggart to the Town Major's Captain McDonald's office, who, with Major Marriot of the Engineers, had been nominated Commissioners for receiving the royal captives. Having made the necessary arrangements for their embarkation, I returned to the "Cornwallis" and acquainted His Majesty that he must prepare to land. At the same time several Massulie boats came off to receive the party. To my surprise, some impediments to his quitting the ship were thrown in our way by the king himself, but none were of any consequence. He said neither himself nor his queens had any proper clothes to land in. After a long and harassing discussion, I recommended His Majesty to land in the same dress he embarked in at Colombo, and promised to get some muslins sent off from the shore for his wives. Accordingly a messenger was despatched to Mr. McTaggart stating the wants of the ladies, and mentioning their number, when a supply of

1. "The surf boat used on the Coromandel Coast; of capacious size, and formed of planks sewn together with coir-twine".

golden muslins was quickly received, in which they immediately enrobed themselves. Much time was consumed in adjusting certain forms and ceremonies, which the king thought indispensable before he quitted the ship. He directed the attendants to line the gangway according to their rank and consequence. The various emblems of his dignity which he still possessed were posed by His Majesty with the greatest possible precision. While superintending these matters, he two or three times told me that that he found some of his property missing, but I saw that this was only a feint to create a delay. After much refractory conduct which gave me a good deal of uneasiness, he consented to dress, and about 5 o' clock, p.m., he appeared on deck, decorated as he was when he took his leave of the shores of Ceylon. It would be difficult to describe this dress. He wore enormously wide trousers of satin striped yellow, green, and red, with a multitude of gold buttons down their outward seams from the hip to the ankle. A white satin waistcoat richly embroidered with gold flowers, a gold band encircled the edge round the neck. The sleeves were short, widely puffed, and slashed after the Spanish fashion. They were richly embroidered, and had handsome stiff white lace round their edges. He wore a wide point lace ruff round his neck, and beneath it a most beautiful lace tippet starched, which hung in the shape of a semi-circle, down his back and over his shoulders. His head was adorned with a white satin Kandyan cap. The top of the cap rose like a cone, and was surmounted by a small spire, to which were attached several horizontal gold crosses, one above another, and from the points of each cross hung some beautiful gems, rubies, emeralds and sapphires. Round the bottom of the cap there was a gold band studded with precious stones. In his hand he carried a white pocket handkerchief, and his feet were covered with red velvet slippers embroidered with gold, curving high from the toe.

The ladies and all the attendants being assembled, His Majesty ordered the former to be lowered into the boat afterwards he descended himself. The rest of the suite followed in other boats, and I proceeded in one to the beach by myself.

On quitting the "Cornwallis" and turning our eyes to the shore we beheld a scene which was truly interesting. The beach was covered as far as the eye could reach with a dense mass of the native population of Madras, and of the adjacent districts, who were assembled to see the deposed sovereign and witness his landing. They were all clean and

neatly dressed with turbans white as snow on their heads. In the front ranks were some natives of superior consequence who were splendidly dressed. Great numbers present were of the same caste with the king himself. As His Majesty's boat approached, the latter rushed into the sea by scores, and strove to bear the boat upon their shoulders, but the violence of the surf frustrated all their efforts. Some received severe contusions in the attempt, while others were picked up almost in a drowning state. This devotion to the person of the fallen monarch told pretty plainly the sentiments with which the late Malabar Ruler of Kandy was received by the people of this Coast. During the time the boat was pulling ashore, His Majesty stood erect at the stern resting one arm on the shoulder of his chief naike, and the other on his hip. He frequently addressed the attendants, commanding their silence, and when the boat reached the shore he received the general homage of the assembled thousands with a slight inclination of his head. At one time the breakers burst with so much fury over his boat that it threw the rowers off their seats and the king was precipitated backwards. He would have bruised himself severely if he had not been caught in falling by his attendants. He quickly recovered himself and instantaneously resumed his former posture as if nothing had happened, while an exclamation of consternation and regret at the moment escaped from the lips of the throng before him. At length palanquins arrived to receive the royal party, into which His Majesty sent the ladies first and afterwards got into his own. They were then conducted into tents a few hundred yards from the place of landing where they were to rest previous to setting off for Vellore, the Fort destined to be the place of their future confinement and exile.

I then proceeded to the king's tent where the Commissioners were in readiness to take charge of him. Being about to enter, His Majesty suddenly placed his hand upon my breast to prevent my doing so. I understood what he meant. He thought it degrading to himself to stand upon the same carpet with me, but as the sort of feeling was one which I had been prohibited from encouraging, I calmly removed his hand, and stepped into the centre of the apartment requesting at the same time that Major Marriot and Captain McDonald, who were at the door, would follow me. They did so as also the interpreters, when I addressed His Majesty in a brief manner, recapitulating the object of my mission, the intentions of the British Government with regard to him, the pains which Captain O'Brien and myself had taken to render

his passage on board the "Cornwallis" agreeable, and concluded by hoping that we had not failed in giving him that satisfaction in the discharge of our duty which we had felt so anxious to do. The king replied at great length, in a manner both eloquent and dignified, and ended by saying that he had every reason to approve the conduct of those to whom the care of himself and his people had been entrusted hitherto and hoped that the gentlemen to whose care he was about to be consigned would treat him as courteously and kindly as we had done. I then acquainted the Madras Government that their charge had begun, and that mine had ceased, after which I left the tent, and beheld the captive king no more.¹

Next day I reported to the Ceylon Government the arrival of the "Cornwallis" at Madras, and the important transfer which had taken place, when the following letter from the Secretary for the Kandyan Province at Colombo soon after reached me at Madras.

Kandyan Office,

Colombo, 8th March, 1816

Sir,

I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd of February, reporting the arrival and safe landing of the late king of Kandy with his family and followers at Madras and that they had been delivered into the charge of Major Marriot, under the orders of the Government of Fort St. George.

His Excellency desires to express his approbation of the manner in which you have conducted the business of your mission to a satisfactory termination, and has conveyed his thanks to Captain O'Brien for the attention shown to the late king and his family, on board His Majesty's ship.

I have etc.,

(Signed) J. SUTHERLAND,

Secy., Kand. Prov.

W. Granville, Esqr.,

&c., &c., &c.,

MADRAS.

1. He died at Vellore on 30th Jany: 1832. A son born to him in exile died in 1843 leaving two widows but no children.

The Tirukoyil Inscription

BY

HISTORICUS.

THE above inscription is on the northern arm and western side of a square stone post about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, fixed in front of the Tirukoyil temple. On the southern side is an elaborate "vairava sulam" (trident) and on the eastern side is a peacock "vakanam" (chariot) supporting the asthiram (emblem) of the god of war (Kathirai andavan or Skanda). At the top of the inscription are the signs of the sun and moon. On the southern side below the "sulam" is a modern inscription, about 40 years old, to the effect that Palipodi Thampipodi brought this stone and fixed it there.

The late Mr. Neville's transcription and translation:—

(a) Sri Sanka Pothi Paruma Râna Thiripuvanas Sakkara-vaththikal Sri Vişya Vâku Thevarku ându paththâvathil thâi mâtham 20 thiyathi

(b) Sivanâna Sankâkara Koyilukku koduththa Vovila ithai thaṇmaththukku akitham se(y)thânâkil Keṅkaik karaiyil kârâm pasuvaik konṇa pâvathaik kolla kadavârâkavum

"On the twentieth day of the month of January of the tenth year of Deva Sri Wijaya Bâhu (of the family) of the Tri-bhuwana Chakravartis (descended from the) Paruma Râna Sri Sanga Bô, Bowila (Vovila) was given to the temple of Sivanâna Sankâra. Should any one do anything in his power prejudicial to this, let him acquire the sin of killing a Kârân cow on the banks of the Ganges."

With this inscription should be compared that of Sri Sanga Bo Sri Wijaya Bâhu at Dondra, published by Professor Davids in the *Journal R. A. S. (Ceylon)* 1870-71, dated Saka 1432, and in the fourth year of his reign. If the Bowila grant is by the same king, our grant must be of Saka 1438. It is, however, possible our grant is by Wijaya Bahu •VI A.D. 1398-1410; and it may also be by Wijaya

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Bahu III, A.D. 1240-1267. Had our grant been by the Wijaya Bahu of Saka 1432, it is quite unlikely it would have omitted the Saka year. (*The Taprobanian* I, 4)

Transliteration and translation by the late Archaeological Commissioner, kindly communicated to the writer by Mr. H. W. Codrington on 23-10-34.

1	Srī-ṣaṅ-	14	dil Tai- (til)	27	dam sē- (tam)
2	gabō- (Kavō)	15	mādam—(matam)	28	dāṇāgi- (tānāki-)
3	diparma- (ti parma-)	16	20-tiyadi—(tiyati)	29	l Geñ- (Keñ)
4	n—āṇa Ti-	17	Sivaṇāṇa-	30	gai-kka- (kai-kka)
5	ṛibūvaṇa-	18	Ṣaṅkara(ka)r	31	raiyl
6	chchakkira-	19	kōyil-	32	kārām-pa-
7	vattiga-	20	lukku	33	suvai-k-
8	l Sri-Vi-	21	koḍut-	34	konṛa
9	jayavā- (sayavā)	22	tav-ō-	35	pāvattai
10	gudēva- (Ku tēva)	23	lai i-	36	koḷ-
11	ṛku ā-	24	ṇda daṇ- (inta taṇ)	37	ḷa-kaḍavā-
12	ṇdupa-	25	mattuk-	38	rāgavum
13	ttāva (ttavs)	26	ku agi- (aki)		(rakavum)

On the 20th day of the month of Tai in the 10th year of the reign of Sanghabodhivarman alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Vijayabahudeva, a gift (not specified) was made to the temple of Sivajnana-Sankara. Any one who causes obstruction to the charity shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Date—Sixteenth century according to the Indian Epigraphical Department.

Text. Transliteration and Translation by Historicus.

1	ஸ்ரீசங்	14	தில்தை	27	தமசெ
2	கபோ	15	மாதம	28	தானாகி
3	திபாம	16	உயதியதி	29	லகெங்
4	னாதி	17	சிவனான	30	கைக்க
5	ரிபுவன	18	சங்கரா	31	ரையில்
6	சக்கிர	19	கோயில்	32	கராம்ப
7	வத்திக	20	லுக்கு	33	சுவைக்
8	ளசிறிவி	21	கொடுத்த	34	கொன்ற
9	கயவா	22	தவே	35	பாவத்தை
10	குதேவ	23	விலி	36	கொள்
11	ரக்குசு	24	னத்தன	37	ளக்கடவா
12	ணடுப	25	மத்துக்	38	னாகவும்
13	ததாவ	26	குசுகி		

1	sri-san	14	thil thai	27	thām se-
2	kapô-	15	mātham	28	thānāki-
3	thi parama	16	zo thiyathi	29	l kan-
4	nāna thi-	17	sivagnāna	30	kaik ka-
5	ri puvana	18	sankarar	31	raiyl
6	chakkira-	19	kōyil-	32	karām pa-
7	vaththika-	20	lukku	33	suvaik
8	l sri vi-	21	koduth	34	konra
9	sayava-	22	tha vē-	35	pāvaththai
10	Ku thēva-	23	vil-i-	36	kol-
11	rku ā-	24	ntha thon-	37	la kadavā-
12	ndu pa-	25	maththuk-	38	nākavum
13	ththāva-	26	ku aki-		

On the 20th day of the month of Thai in the tenth year (of his reign) Sri Sangabodivarman alias the Emperor of the three worlds (divisions) Sri Vijayabahuthēvar granted Vēvil to Sivagnana Sankarar Koyil. If any one do harm to this charity he shall incur the sin of killing the sacred cow on the bank of the Ganges.

Date—I would give the approximate date of the above inscription to be the 3rd day of February 1075.

HISTORICUS.

Grievances of the Chamber of Colombo

The Chamber of Colombo to the King of Portugal,
Colombo, 21 November, 1618.

Translated from a MS. (India, 1618,) in the
Arquivo das Colonias, Lisbon.

Sire,

As good and loyal subjects we all rejoice at the news of the good health of Your Majesty and of the Royal family which may God preserve and protect for the welfare of Christianity.

A letter of the last year of 1617 which Your Majesty ordered to be sent, was delivered to us and from it we see that all our complaints have been placed before you, but in spite of Your Majesty's order they have not yet been remedied; they rather go on increasing: and as Your Majesty orders us therein to inform you of all matters pertaining to your service and to the welfare and tranquillity of this Conquest, we are sending Your Majesty (a writing containing) a list of our grievances, the only remedy that is possible, and some observations necessary for the welfare of this Island and City.

The City is situated on the coast in a bay which has no fort nor any defence except some mud walls (taipas) ill-repaired and some stones on the land side, but along the sea there is no defence whatever except some houses among which is that of the Captain which we call the fortalice and is the worst house of all in the City, and which we expect to fall on his head. Your Majesty granted this City the gift of a voyage to China in the time of the Viceroy Matias d'Albuquerque, which he sold and of which he recovered the money without ever giving it to this City though the City asked and begged several times for the erection of a fortalice; so that he enjoyed the said voyage and this City remained as before without any fortification, which is the more necessary today on account of the Hollanders who pass this coast every year. Therefore we beg Your Majesty in view of the many services which this City has rendered and is at present rendering, to grant the same voyage so that therewith a fortalice can be built as this

City is so exposed and is the capital of this Island, and that this grant may have precedence over all other grants, and be independent of the Viceroy and the General, and that this City alone may sell or do whatever else it thinks good directly or by means of procurators.

It is now two years that the wars of this Island have ceased as peace has been made¹ with the king of Candea, who made war on us only in times past and that peace was very welcome for had it not been made, as the misgovernment of the General² and his Captain-Major wished, not only would we have lost the whole Island but we should even have had much trouble to maintain ourselves in this City for while it was being made this Island was so exposed on several occasions that if the *casados* of this City, who always took part in the battles and other perils, had not fought along with the army in the encounters with the enemy, it would without doubt have been lost, as the soldiers were like sheep without a shepherd. The conditions of this peace the General must have given you, but the principal one was that he (the king) submitted as a vassal to Your Majesty paying annually a small tribute. His lands are of small importance and little revenue, and as he had been asking for peace for many years past without their consenting to make it, he has since the peace shown himself a loyal vassal of Your Majesty. Even before the peace, with great magnanimity he set free more than two hundred Portuguese whom he had taken in the two forts³ which he captured, and let them come to this City without ransom, whom he had maintained for some months doing them many favours even when the warfare was at its highest; and he did not wait till the peace was complete to send them, but when negotiations began he gave them leave to come, as they did. We think that Your Majesty has many reasons for confirming that peace and recommending the Generals of this Island to favour him and help him and to live in good peace and friendship with him as long as he does his duty. One of his Captains being dissatisfied with the peace revolted against him and against us with some 500 people, and took for their head and king a certain Madune, who some years ago when pursued by our army, fled to the coast on the other side of the gulf and lived there on the continent. He came at the invitation of this rebel, and he gave us as much ado as the rebel Don Joao of former times,

1. See ante Vol. II 529-538, III 155-166
2. Nuno Alvares Pereira
3. Balana & Sabaragamuwa

the greatest enemy we had in this Island. And the times show very well, what we have seen before, that the Generals do not want to have done with the conquest of this Island as we shall show with good and clear reasons.

We had made peace with the King of Candea before king Madune, who is now our enemy, came to this Island, and it was known in this City that he was getting ready to come at the invitation of the rebel Captain Barreto¹: it was therefore the duty of the General to order to lie in wait for him in the passage or on the coast of the Island on the side of Batecalou where it was sure he would disembark, to avoid revolutions and rebellions. But he not only did not send men to lie in wait for him, but when four honourable cavaliers, *casados* of this City, who foresaw the troubles that were to be expected from his arrival, offered to go with four vessels equipped at their cost either to take him in the crossing or at least to prevent him, [the General] refused to give permission, saying that they were needed here. As soon as Madune set out for this Island another cavalier who was a *casado* and Captain, knew of it and offered to go by land with a thousand native troops to await him at the disembarkation; and [the General] refused this also on some pretext; all this shows that they do not seek the tranquillity of the land, either because they know better or because in their malice they do not want this country to be in tranquillity. The fact is that covetousness blinds their understanding, for when there is war many blacks, men and women, are taken captive, even in our very villages and many head of cattle, which are sold or ransomed for much and good money: Moreover a General is master of all the villages and makes use of the revenues of Your Majesty, and for these reasons he does not like tranquillity; only we, the *foreiros*, suffer, and Your Majesty loses the revenues and your cinnamon which is not made, for either the General impedes and prevents it being made, so that his own cinnamon may have greater value, or gets cinnamon from the Cinnamon-peelers who are bound to make cinnamon for Your Majesty: We know at least for certain that in the last year of 1617 no cinnamon was made, not even one quintal for Your Majesty, though more than a thousand bares of cinnamon were made for the General and for his friends, and thus the prohibition of making cinnamon is only for the inhabitants of this City who have to meet their necessities with it and to find the

1. Antonio Barreto. He was not a Captain but a soldier in the Portuguese army. See the *Kustantinu Hatana*.

capital which gives in custom duties much more than now, for this Island began to be populated on account of the trade (in cinnamon) which has now ceased, for there is no other: of which all complain, as they see that others enjoy at their ease what they have gained at the cost of lancewounds and so many deaths and wounds; and especially because many injustices and tyrannies are done to them with the might of the arm of Your Majesty who being too far to hear the complaints there is no remedy for it.

To speak now of the remedy for these injustices which we suffer we must tell Your Majesty that we continue to suffer the same evils that the cavaleiros of Damao suffered for a long time without the King of Portugal being able to remedy them, for so powerful were the Captains of that fort on account of the lands and revenues, as the Generals of this Island now are; and when the complaints reached the ears of the most Christian king Dom Sebastian, whom God has in Glory, he had pity on them and issued a patent which he sent to that City in which he ordered that to prevent the evils which the inhabitants of that City of Damao complained, which could not be without good cause, it was for his service that the Captains of the fort of Damao that were at the time or would be in the future, should have neither authority nor dominion in the lands and villages of foreiros; but that if ever there were disturbances or war with an enemy, that City should elect an honourable cavalier of experience and merit to be Captain-Major of the field, who should have power in and out of the walls, and to whom the Viceroy should send a patent of Captain-Major, and that in the stockades on the frontiers that same City should place Captains to defend them. With this remedy the City was relieved and it prospered and became populous and no more complaints were heard, and it preserved itself in peace and tranquillity with the neighbouring kings, for they enjoyed the villages, and the revenues of Your Majesty increased. This same remedy, which is nothing novel and which was so efficacious, we too beg of Your Majesty to be pleased to grant to this City also, for there are here many cavaliers of courage and experience who could well fill that post as well as the frontier stockades, and in a short time this Island will be at peace and will be preserved in peace and tranquillity not only because of its value but also because of the reward which Your Majesty would thus offer to those who do well as well as for the fear of punishment if they do badly; giving them as advisers of their Council the aldermen and judges of this year: and that as the Generals have

not yet consented to distribute the lands in order to enjoy the greater part of them on the pretence and maintain lascarins, this City and the foreiros wish to undertake to maintain all lascarins that are necessary for the conquest, distributing the duty of maintaining a lascarin to each one who has a rent of a hundred pardaos, and two to those who have two hundred and three to those who have three hundred and so on; and thus by distributing the villages to the Portuguese as Your Majesty ordered, the lascarins too will all be accommodated and they will moreover by this means lose their mettle by not possessing villages and will then cease to rebel, and Your Majesty's service will prosper and this City will be content and free from the disturbances and upheavals which are common now as we have to please the General though we see clearly that he shows greater disposition to desolate and destroy this City and to disturb and annoy it by his bullies than the rebel enemy.

In past years we continued to remind Your Majesty how necessary it was to erect forts in the ports of this Island like Jafanapatam, Triqunemali and Batecalou, to prevent thereby the passage of munitions and foreigners and merchandice which the enemy obtains through these ports; and as India today suffers much not only from lack of custom dues which now yield much less, but also from wars which break out every day and have to be attended to though it has not the means to wage war nor to conduct them in the way now required on account of the Hollanders, who usually sail in these seas, it will at present be enough if four or six light rowing vessels should be cruising along this coast from Batecalou to Jafanapatam, a thing which the Generals never did though it was very necessary. This City will take up one on its own account and equip it, if Your Majesty will issue a patent expressly for the purpose, and give it likewise the power to elect a Captain-Major of the field, as pointed out above; we shall then live in security and the lands, being relieved of the yoke of Generals, will yield as much revenue as will be quite enough for the expenses of the island and for building the three forts and to send more help to India. It costs Your Majesty little to order this to be tried for three years and if unsuccessful to be given to a fidalgo who will rule as a monarch, for we have seen that Francisco Roxo, a foundling, who did not know who his father was, but having been brought up in this Island rose to be Captain of estancias and Captain-Major and finally even General under the name of Don Francisco de Menezes, and none has so far equalled

him in war; and Your Majesty has seen and experienced this in the case of many masters of the field in Italy and other parts who have become great Captains though born of humble parents, and deserved those posts by their own valour and it is for that Your Majesty is conquering the world; while on the contrary because India does not follow that system, it is being lost, for the Viceroy's at the cost of Your Majesty's honour and revenue give these offices to their relatives and servants who have no experience, and so also do the Generals and the veteran soldiers scarred with wounds are left out though they are worthy of such offices, who see the mistakes and disorders in war without being able to remedy them, as they are never heard or summoned (to council) because they are not *fidalgos*, who are the people who eat up the whole of India and have brought it to destruction; and if the rebellion of this Island could be quelled by a youth of twenty years, as Captain-Major of the field without any experience, how much better would a cavalier of experience of this City be, who has the counsel of those who are moved by the credit and honour of this City entrusted by Your Majesty with the charge of this conquest, and who at the same time are working for themselves and for their relatives and friends to enjoy in peace the villages, as the inhabitants of Damao do now as we have pointed out above. That is the best means for this Island to have done with the conquest and for the superintendents of revenue to collect Your Majesty's revenues which the generals now enjoy, for it will be impossible to root out their power in any other way, as we shall show at greater length in the information.

This City has a patent of the Viceroy Don Martin Afonso de Castro in which, in Your Majesty's name, he granted it the privileges of Evora on condition of its being confirmed by Your Majesty. If Your Majesty confirms it as we have asked through our procurators, and as we hope Your Majesty will do, this Island will increase in population and honour seeing that Your Majesty has your eyes on it to favour it and honour it with the favours and privileges mentioned above and we shall be able to say confidently that there is not in the whole of India any city in which there are today men who have deserved so well in Your Majesty's service as in this, a thing which was shown very well in the recent rebellion, in which the *casados* alone were the ones who fought and repelled the enemy, often leaving the field sown with many dead, and we confess that the soldiers would do the same if they had a

Captain, but as they are going about undisciplined and directed by a boy, the brother-in-law of the General, who lacked many qualities for it, they go to war like sheep without a shepherd, and the greatest fault of this fidalgo is this, and he himself knows it, that he did not place in the army a Captain-Major of experience, for if he had done so the war would not have lasted six months.

In this rebellion there died on the field some casados, men of merit, of whom the chief ones are the two Gl. Fernao Caldeira and Antonio de Couto, who served in this Island for many years as Captains of the estancias and Captain-Majors of the field: they died while serving as Captain-Majors of the advance guard of the army. They had many children and their wives are very poor. We beg Your Majesty to order the deputies of the Board to remember to provide for them with villages according to the merits of their parents, and the fact that Your Majesty thinks of the children of those who were killed will encourage the living to serve like them.

While engaged in writing this letter there came to this City Constantino de Sa de Noronha as General sent by the Count Viceroy, whom we welcome as one well known to have served Your Majesty well, and we rejoice at his arrival, and we hope, from what we have seen of him, that, if the times do not make him change, he will do much in this Island and will bring peace and calm, and if he does so it will be easier for us to preserve it under an elected Captain-Major of the field for this City, without a general as we have pointed out above.

We were also given a letter of Your Majesty of this year of 1618, which rejoiced us because of the patent which Your Majesty issued to us ordering that our lands be not taken from us, for which we kiss your hands. It is a deed worthy of so Catholic and Christian a king as Your Majesty is, to think of your humble and loyal subjects and to free us from so heavy a subjection as we suffered so long.

Praying to God for the life and state of Your Majesty, which may he increase for many and long years.

Written by me, Andre Mendes d'Araujo Clerk of the Chamber during the absence of the permanent one, Joao Nunes Fra, in the Chamber, on this the 21st of November, 1618.

(Sgd.) Joao Telez
Fco. Caldra
Bento de Saa
Fco. Marques

Kandyan State Trial

(Continued from p. 527.)

APPENDIX II.

Copy of a proposed Memorial to his Majesty, transmitted to the Governor at his request by Dunuwille, late Dessave, in the month of May, 1834, and referred to in the address recently delivered by His Excellency at Kandy.

Sheweth,—That since the days of King Wijaya who landed on the Island of Ceylon 2376 years ago, with the first Colony that peopled it, the higher offices of State, and also most of the minor offices of trust and consequence were conferred upon proper persons of the Goyi Wanse or agriculturist caste, which in this Island is the principal and most respectable tribe; and under the care of such Officers the institutions of this Country were sedulously maintained and the general welfare of its inhabitants promoted.

That in the year 2323 of the Era of Buddhu, being the year 1780 of the Christian Era, and in the reign of King Rajadhi Raja Singha, the 164th Sovereign of this Country, Mr. Andrews a Civil Servant of the Hon'ble the East India Company, was sent hither from Madras on a political mission. The result of his Conferences with the Kandyan Chiefs was a resolution to retrieve the maritime provinces of this Island from the dominion of Holland and to place them under the Government of Britain. Mr. Andrews then returned to Madras, accompanied by Meegastenne Dessave and Denagomuwe Dessave, Chiefs of high authority and influence, who having been admitted to an audience of His Excellency the Governor of that presidency, concluded a treaty with him and then returned to Ceylon. According to the terms of that treaty, the King of Kandy sent down a numerous body of his armed subjects headed by chosen Chiefs, to co-operate with the English Forces at the siege of Colombo^(a) which with the other seaports of the Island, being then surrendered, were annexed to the British Dominions. The said King Rajadhi Raja Singha and his chief Ministers, in attestation of the joy^(b) which they felt on that occasion, bestowed

valuable gifts on the leaders of the British Forces, and the Kandyan nation celebrated the event of the surrender of Colombo and the maritime districts to the British Crown by public rejoicings, and anticipated the felicity of a constant friendship with the English nation.

That in the year of Buddha 2340, answering to the year of Christ 1798, the Kandyan Chiefs installed their last Indian King, Sree Wickreme Rajah Singha on the throne of this kingdom, and he did for some time, as was incumbent, conform to the established usages, and duly respect the institutions of the Country; but after the war^(c) of 1803, which was conducted by Major Davy, the King began to deviate from the line of conduct observed by his predecessors; he dispensed with the advice and slighted the admonitions of his faithful Ministers, and being guided by his own will infringed the laws of the land and the sacred institutes of the established Religion. He subdivided each of the lands called Dessavonies, and the lesser districts called Ratta, and in the place of one chieftain over a whole province or district he appointed several, thus increasing the number of Chiefs of superior rank. He introduced various other changes and innovations, and not only distressed his subjects, but by his cruelties he also raised the indignation of the English Government.

The Kandyan Chiefs and people becoming discontented, concurred in thinking it proper that the King should be removed—the Chiefs then in the course of taking counsel for effecting such purpose, reflected on the splendid merits which fame ascribed to the English Government. They had learnt from various documents transmitted to this Country by Mr. D'Oyley^(d) that the principles of the English Government were to maintain inviolate the ancient institutions, to support the established Religion, and by all means to promote the prosperity of every country—and they had also been informed by their friends in the maritime provinces how happy their inhabitants were since the English Government was established over them, owing to the integrity, impartiality and justice of their rulers—and thus they came to the conclusion that it would be most beneficial to their Country if it was placed under the Sovereignty of His Britannic Majesty, for all classes of the inhabitants might then rely upon having their respective rights and privileges accorded to them, and that especially the great families of this Country would be justly maintained in their ancient stations and dignities. Being satisfied respecting these matters, the Chieftains used their best endeavours to secure the adherence of the minor headmen as well as the

assent of the Priests and the concurrence of the inhabitants in general towards effecting the object so desired : and thereupon the then premier Kandyan Chief Eheylapola ^(e) 1st. Adigar, with several other persons of distinguished families in this Country, and many inferior Headmen, repaired to Colombo and represented to His Excellency Governor Brownrigg that it was the earnest wish of the Kandyan Chiefs and people to cede their Country to the British Government. When afterwards the British troops under the command of His Excellency General Brownrigg entered the Kandyan Territory they were met by the Kandyan Chieftains on the borders and welcomed as friends, and were supplied with all such necessaries as this Country afforded, and the leading people amongst the Kandyans took such effectual measures for the comfort and safety of the troops, that not a single casualty happened amongst them till they took possession of this Country. The Kandyans were also instrumental in the capture of their since deposed King and his family, and by their means also did the English Government become possessed of a large share of the Royal Treasures.

Having thus voluntarily submitted to the English Government, they formally transferred their allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, at a convention held at the Palace of Kandy on the 2nd of March 1815, between His Excellency General Brownrigg, acting in the name and behalf of His Majesty King George The Third and His Royal Highness George Prince Regent on the one part, and the Kandyan Chiefs on behalf of the inhabitants of this Country on the other part. At the said convention amongst other things it was agreed and established, that to the Adigars, Dessaves and all others Chiefs and subordinate Headmen, should be saved ^(f) the rights, privileges, and powers of their respective offices, and to all other classes of the people the safety of their Civil rights and immunities according to the laws, institutions and customs established and in force amongst them.

In just accordance with the terms of that Convention, the Kandyan Chiefs of higher order and the subordinate Headmen had all their rights and privileges duly guaranteed to them for several years; but latterly some of the Kandyan appointments of rank and consequence have been abolished, and the rights and emoluments which were appropriated to various other appointments have been considerably diminished. However, as they believed that Government acted in this manner only from motives of economy and that present circumstances rendered such retrenchments necessary, the Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen not only

refrained from troubling the British authorities by expressing their regrets and alarms at these new arrangements, but also continued on all occasions to evince a cheerful acquiescence and dutiful submission and were as sedulous as before in endeavouring by every means in their power to strengthen the attachment of the inhabitants to this Government, and to render their personal services on all occasions readily available for accomplishing various public works, such as Roads, Bridges, Rest-houses etc., for the Chiefs and Headmen justly and reasonably hoped, by such demonstrations of dutifulness and loyalty, to merit due consideration for their own temporal interests and for the established Religion of their country.

His gracious Majesty King George The Third out of kindness to his subjects in the Island of Ceylon, ordered Commissioners to be sent hither to enquire and ascertain the propriety and the impropriety of the measures of its Government and of its other affairs, and the said Commissioners having ascertained the distresses to which the inhabitants of the Kandyan Provinces were subjected, contemplated various measures for effectually^(g) relieving them—and the consequent representations made by them when they had returned to England having met with generous consideration in the Royal Council, many benefits have resulted therefrom. Notwithstanding which, however, the inhabitants of this Country can never cease to grieve and repine at the new subdivisions and partitions of the Kandyan Territory by which portions thereof have been incorporated with different Seaport Districts and placed under Government Agencies in the maritime provinces.^(h) The grief they feel on this account is not unjust and imaginary, but is forcibly excited by circumstances of daily occurrence resulting from this new system. Although there are Assistant Agents of Government in the Kandyan Districts to whom the inhabitants may have access at all times on ordinary business, yet on various particular occasions they must travel a great distance to call on the principal Government Agents⁽ⁱ⁾ whose residences are in Seaport stations—many of the inhabitants of Udaratte or the Central Province, as it is at present designated, possess estates in the Dessavonies, and whenever it became necessary for them on account of such lands to appear before a British authority, they could readily repair to the Provincial Agent's Cutcherry or to the chief Cutcherry in the town of Kandy, but now they are obliged on such occasions to undertake a long and toilsome journey and thus incur great expense for provisions and for paying the various tolls etc., and the risk of being attacked and robbed on the highway,

of falling sick at insalubrious places which they had never frequented before, and of being harassed and insulted by strangers who have no regard to their feelings and prejudices.

That in consequence of the dismemberment of the Kandyan Dessavonies, and their annexation to the contiguous maritime provinces, the office of the Dessave might be deemed incompatible with such arrangements and be consequently abolished,^(k) and in such case the offices of the 1st and 2nd Adigar will be unnecessary.—The apprehension of the probable abolition of these ancient and honourable Offices of their native Country causes in the minds of all classes of Kandyans the deepest sorrow and regret.—They had no reason whatever at the period of the Convention aforesaid, to expect so great a calamity as the abolition of the offices of Adigar and Dessave, which are coeval with the oldest institutions of this Country and on the attainment of which dignified offices always depended the perpetuation of the honour and consideration of the noblest families of this Country—nor can the Kandyan Chiefs and the nation in general now conceive how they have deserved so great a misfortune. Some persons who entertain unfriendly sentiments regarding the Kandyans, and condemn the honour of their country, may probably allege in justification of the abolition of these dignities, that the Kandyans have rebelled against His Britannic Majesty's Government in the year 1818, did thereby forfeit all their right to expect that the terms of the Convention should be any longer held sacred—but such ungenerous and indiscriminating arguments will appear unworthy of notice, on considering that the disaffection alluded to had not^(l) spread throughout the whole of the Kandyan Country, and that the majority of the Kandyan Chiefs, far from adhering to the malcontent party, were actually engaged in counteracting their measures and sedulous in persuading the misguided insurgents to return to their allegiance. Many of the Kandyan Chiefs who even risked their lives in endeavours to quell the said rebellion, received substantial and lasting rewards from Government, and salutes were even fired at the return of the most distinguished amongst them from the field. Thus it will be obvious that to make a whole^(m) nation suffer for the faults of comparatively a few infatuated individuals would not be consistent with justice, and the Petitioners with the utmost humility for themselves and for the poor nation whom they represent, beg to express their earnest hope and reliance, that a just discrimination may be made between the guilty and the innocent, even as the bird Hangsa extracts the milk from the water wherewith it is mixed.

That since the period of Your Majesty's accession, Government has relinquished the revenues heretofore derived from various sources, and by Your Majesty's gracious solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of this Island, the system of compulsory labour has been wholly abolished. The inhabitants are now at liberty to trade in cinnamon and various other means have been made available to them for acquiring wealth and consideration. The natives of this Country have also the happiness to know that Your Majesty has sanctioned their being hereafter admitted to fill some of the situations which have always been exclusively held by English gentlemen; but even the prospect of such advancement has not abated the alarm and distress they feel at the indications of the approaching abolition of their national offices of Adigar, Dessave, etc.

The Petitioners thus venture with the utmost humility to pray that the co-operation of their nation with the British troops at the taking of Colombo, when the whole of the maritime provinces became annexed to the British Crown; their having afterwards voluntarily ceded their Country and transferred their allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, and their loyalty and zealous services since, with the terms of the Convention of the 2nd of March 1815, may all meet with generous consideration, and that such consideration may operate so far in favour of the Kandians as to save their Country from dismemberment and from being incorporated with maritime districts, so that it may continue to subsist in its ancient integrity as the kingdom of Kandy, and retain its celebrated name of Singhala.

The Petitioners also deprecate with earnestness, but with the profoundest submission, the abolition of the offices of Adigar, Dessave and others, which were instituted in times of high antiquity and have always been regarded with veneration as accessories of the constitution of their Country. Should, however, Your Majesty deem these native offices to be no longer necessary, and decide on their being abolished as inutile, the Petitioners would humbly crave the enactment of an Ordinance to the effect that such of the Petitioners' countrymen as have held or were eligible to hold the aforesaid native offices, should be also eligible at present to serve the office of Assistant Government Agent, in as much as they are already conversant with the main duties of such offices, such as the collection of the Grain Revenue etc., and that in the process of time such of them as attain a competent knowledge of the English language and of business should be eligible also to some of the

higher Civil Appointments, and that until such new appointments be made the present holders of the offices of Adigar and other superior native appointments should be continued therein with their respective salaries, emoluments, and honours undiminished.

And Your Majesty's humble Petitioners, as in duty bound,

Shall Ever Pray.

Remarks on the Above Memorial.

(a) The Kandyan reinforcement did not reach Colombo till three days after the surrender of that place.

(b) This rejoicing was at the expulsion of a foreign enemy, who had been constantly assailing and encroaching on the Kandyan Territory.

(c) The cause of this war, which took place within six years and a half after the surrender of Colombo in 1796, will be found in the public records. The barbarities practised by the Kandyans, both before and after the declaration of that war, and their perfidy towards the Detachment under Major Davy's command which surrendered to them, was such as to preclude the possibility of maintaining friendly relations with the Kandyan King. An armed neutrality was therefore kept up till March 1815, when the last King was deposed, and the Kandyan Provinces were taken possession of by the British Government in Ceylon, and a Convention was subsequently entered into.

(d) Sir John D'Oyly's correspondence was carried on chiefly with Eheylapola First Adigar who was then Dessave of Saffragam, and who fled to Colombo on his correspondence being detected, and the mass of the people rejoiced at the invasion of the Country by the English, more from the desire of deposing the tyrant who reigned over them, than from any preconceived notions of the principles by which the English would govern the Country.

(e) It was only Eheylapola and the Chiefs of Saffragam and Three Korles who repaired to Colombo, Molligoda, late First Adigar commanded the Kandyans who were sent to oppose the English.

(f) The 8th. Clause of the Convention reserved "always the inherent right of Government to redress grievances and reform abuses in all instances whatever whether particular or general, where such interposition shall become necessary."—But before any innovation whatsoever was made, and while the Chiefs still exercised their power

in the fullest manner, the rebellion of 1817-18 broke out, in which almost all the Chiefs and lower orders joined. In Sir Robert Brownrigg's Minute of September, 1818, the history of the rebellion, and the necessity of altering the provisions of the Convention of 1815, both immediately and prospectively, are fully and ably detailed and those alterations involved the gradual abolition of the high offices in the Country. That Minute will afford the best answer possible to the pretensions set forth in this Memorial. From the date of that Minute no innovation has been made in the Institutions of the land, which has not also been an abridgment or surrender of the power of Government for the general benefit both of the higher and lower orders of the Kandyan—including the large body of the Chiefs' families who are not in office. In whatever degree the power of the Chiefs in office may have been prejudiced, the Government has at the same time in a still greater degree resigned its own rights and privileges.

(g) This release from the obligation of rendering compulsory labour, benefited every class in the nation, including Chiefs' families, as is acknowledged in the answer to the present Governor's speech addressed to the Chiefs in office on the 24th of January, 1833. The only parties prejudiced were the Chiefs and the Headmen in office, which offices they held not by hereditary right but at the pleasure of Government and moreover even the losses they sustained as public functionaries were to a certain extent indemnified by pecuniary compensations. The hereditary rights of the Chiefs, and established rights of the nation at large over the tenants of their respective villages, have been especially preserved inviolate in the King's order in question.

(h) These subdivisions and partitions, as they are styled, were recommended by the Commissioners of Enquiry for the purpose of more thoroughly amalgamating the Kandyan and maritime districts.

(i) These Assistant Agents have full powers to redress grievances, and as District Judges, they have as much Jurisdiction as they possessed as Judicial Agents. And as services to the Crown are abolished, there no longer exist the same reasons for appealing to the principal Agents for redress, the grievances formerly complained of having resulted almost exclusively from the oppressions exercised by local Headmen in exacting Rajakaria, or compulsory services, either for Government or for the public festivals and temples. Moreover under the former judicial system all the ultimate important decisions, both in

the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, were made at Colombo by the Governor on recorded evidence, without a public hearing, or the aid of a Jury or assessors. Now all the decisions are made in the respective Circuits by the Supreme Court, and in open Court—and the parties have also the privilege of employing a Proctor to plead for them. The grievances complained of therefore, in this place, are not only unfounded, but are decidedly the reverse of the truth. These evils did exist under the former system, but they have been most successfully remedied by the New Charter.

(k) It has been decided and promulgated that none of these high offices shall be abolished in the time of the present holders of them—and future generations are admissible to the still higher offices hitherto exclusively held by Europeans. In confirmation of this assurance one maritime Chief was, as is well known, appointed District Judge in the Colombo District—although his death unfortunately frustrated that appointment.

(l) So far from this assertion being founded in fact, were nominal lists to be prepared of all Chiefs and Headmen in office at the breaking out of the rebellion, it would be found that nine-tenths at least joined the rebel cause. Sir R. Brownrigg's Minute sufficiently develops this part of the Kandyan history.

(m) It is an act of absurdity rather than of bad faith to imply that the late changes were introduced as a National punishment of the rebellion of 1817. The framers of this document must have been fully aware that these changes were introduced solely for the benefit of the people at large, and that the Government sustained in consequence a loss of revenue, as well as of many feudal privileges.

APPENDIX III.

Minute by His Excellency General Sir Robert Brownrigg, addressed to the Board of Commissioners. ¹

Kandy, 25 September, 1818.

A very short experience, after the acquisition of the Kandyan Provinces, served to convince His Excellency the Governor, that a system of administering the Government of these new possessions through the medium of native Chiefs holding high privileges, which th

¹ Referred to in note F of Appendix II.

conceived to be very little controlled by the Articles of the Convention, was inefficient to establish the due authority of the Supreme Executive power of the British Crown, for any of the purposes of securing its stability, collecting its revenues, or ensuring the well being of its subjects by protection from oppression and a full administration of justice.

In the want, however, of a perfect knowledge of the fundamental principles of the ancient government of Kandy, and of the relative powers and prerogatives of the Sovereign and the privileges and jurisdictions of the Chiefs, it was deemed most prudent to defer the introduction of any change, till materials had been collected to complete that knowledge, and to enable His Excellency to submit to the consideration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, such a plan of reform as might be fairly expected to afford a solid foundation for a good Government; embracing at once the interests of the Sovereign and the Subject, and attending, as much as those two more important considerations would allow, to the feelings of the Chiefs and the rights they had stipulated for by the Convention.

The delay that has taken place in bringing the information required before Government has been a source of deep anxiety to His Excellency, as well arising from the impossibility he has lain under by it, of complying with the requisition, in the meantime received, to afford these data to His Majesty's Ministers in England, as from the consequent postponement of so desirable an object as the imparting of a beneficent form of Government to the Provinces newly acquired by the British Empire.

In the interval, the very moderate exercise of power by the Commissioners of Government, either in demanding the accustomed services of the Inhabitants or collecting the ancient revenues, have, there is too much reason to believe, little benefited the lower classes, while on the other hand, the want or disuse of a strong controlling power in the superior executive authorities had relaxed the general administration to a great a degree, that even the Chiefs themselves complained of frequent disobedience to their commands when given for the public service.

At the same time it has been unfortunately proved that all the ascension that had been shewn to their prejudices, and the share that had been left them in the administration of Government, have not been sufficient to keep in their allegiance to His Majesty the Chiefs of

the greater portion of the Kandyan territories, who have in almost every province joined in the support of a Pretender to the throne of Kandy, whose strongest claim, as held out to the masses of the people, was founded on his assumed relationship to that family, the tyrannical conduct of which had been generally acknowledged and condemned by the nation, but who, it is now proved incontestably, was only put forward by some if not all of the designing Chiefs, in the completion of the project they had in view, when admitting and aiding the British Government in 1815 to dethrone the late King, viz, to acquire plenary dominion themselves.

Under these circumstances surely, where so many of the Chiefs have broken their part of the Convention, by withdrawing their allegiance, and have seduced and forced the people to the same wicked course of Rebellion, it is not imperative on His Excellency to consider the letter of the Articles of that Convention as so completely fettering his measures that he is not, on the subjugation of the existing Insurrection (which he hopes he may now shortly anticipate to see accomplished), to take steps to fortify the hands of the British officers appointed to the Executive Government, to invest them with powers of compelling immediate obedience from all the Chiefs and Inhabitants to the orders of Government, fixing and collecting a moderate and legitimate revenue, administering prompt and impartial justice to every subject of His Majesty, and finally, to prevent by all possible means the recurrence of such calamities as have been in these Provinces the consequence of the existing Rebellion, and (sic.) the effects of which it is to be feared will long clog their prosperity.

To carry into execution His Excellency's ideas of an effective Government for these Provinces :

It is proposed

1. That the British accredited Agents of Government, either resident in Kandy or in the various provinces, shall have powers of similar nature to those exercised by Collectors in the Maritime Provinces.

2. That the Dessaves (where it shall be deemed expedient to continue that high class of native officers) shall only act under orders of the British Agent, but shall be entitled to all the personal honours by which they are now distinguished.

3. That all Mohottales, Korales, and other native Chiefs shall receive their appointments from Government, and not from the Dessave.

4. That all Fees on the appointment to offices, including the *Dekum* of the Dessave to Government, shall be abolished.

5. That the Dessaves shall be recompensed for the loss they sustain hereby from the Public Treasury, as also for what it may be supposed they will sustain by a deprivation of the power of levying Fines or Fees in Law-suits and demanding the services of the people.

6. That the various services to be performed by all classes of Inhabitants shall remain as they are, but with this limitation, that they can only be demanded by authority of the Agent of Government and on payment being made for the same, excepting for making or repairing Roads and Bridges in the neighbourhood of every village, which is to be effected gratis; and also excepting, under due and known rules and limitations, the services to be performed by certain persons to the Dessave or other superior Chiefs, for which it is to be considered whether their lands or a particular portion should be exempted from taxation to be otherwise generally imposed.

7. That all lands, excepting royal lands, those now belonging to the temples, and such as are held by Chiefs both of the superior and inferior classes and other servants mentioned in the above Article, also Katopurales and Attepattoo servants by virtue and as perquisites of their office, shall be liable to taxation.

That the rate of such taxation be on Paddy-land (the Grain deliverable in kind at the nearest store) in the proportion of one-tenth of the annual crops, excepting on lands belonging to Rebels who have fallen under the penalties of the several Proclamations of proscription, which are, if restored to the original owners, to pay one-fifth; and lands in Oodanoora, Four Korles, Three Korles and the peaceful parts of Saffragam and of Seven Korles, which it is proposed only to submit to one-fifteenth.

8. That Natcherry and other dry-grain lands be subjected to a similar tax, and

9. Cocoa-gardens to a tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ pice per tree—and that these taxes be considered as in full of all Imposts upon land or labour whatsoever.

10. That all obligation to work in royal lands be abolished—that they be let to farm by public bidding for a term of three years.

11. That every Agent of Government shall have power to punish disobedience of his orders by Suspension, Fine, and Imprisonment of all Chiefs, excepting the Dessave, cases of misconduct or neglect by whom they be reported to the Board of Commissioners, unless in a case of extraordinary emergency, as also the suspension of other Chiefs, the final decision of Government.

12. That the administration of Justice and Police shall be on the following system :

All cases relative to personal property not exceeding in value 25 Rix Dollars, and all cases of common Assaults, Petty thefts, or Breaches of the Peace, may be heard by the Agent of Government solely and decided on.

13. All cases affecting lands, successions, marriages, and large personal property, and all Criminal offences, (Treason, Murder, and Homicide excepted) shall be heard, tried and determined by the Agents of Government in the presence of the Dessave and at least two Mohottales, or in the absence of the Dessave three Mohottales, which latter shall perform the functions of Jurors and the Agent of Government that of Judge.

14. That the power of the Agent of Government sitting alone in passing sentence shall be limited to Fines not exceeding Fifty Dollars, Corporal punishment not exceeding Thirty lashes, and Imprisonment at hard labour not exceeding Two months, and that to these limits he be confined in assessing Fine and Imprisonment on the Chiefs, for neglect or disobedience of orders.

15. That the powers of such Agents, acting with the Dessave and Mohottales, as to sentence, shall be unlimited, short of deprivation of life or limb. Provided that no such sentence by which corporal punishment is awarded exceeding 100 lashes, Imprisonment either with or without chains exceeding Four months, or Fines exceeding One hundred Rix Dollars, shall be carried into execution without the sanction of Government, to whom the case is to be immediately submitted through the Board of Commissioners, who will report their opinion of the case and sentence also for His Excellency's information.

16. That capital cases shall be tried in the mode already established and reported to the Governor.

17. That in Civil suits the losing party shall be liable discretionarily to Fine not exceeding the proportion of one-twentieth part of the value of the object in dispute, and in total amount Fifty Rix Dollars, such Fine to go to Government.

18. That Appeal shall lie in all Civil suits wherein the object of dispute being land, shall be one Ammonam in extent, or being personal property, shall be worth One hundred and fifty Rix Dollars, to the Board of Commissioners in Kandy.

19. That the Agent of Government may refer inferior cases for hearing and report to the Dessave or Mohottales, liable to the decision being brought in Appeal before himself, but if such decision be affirmed the appellant to be liable to double Fine.

20. On these points, and on matters of detail arising in the execution of them, and on any others which may suggest themselves to the Resident and the 2nd and 3rd Commissioners as tending to introduce the effective system required, His Excellency requests the early opinion and advice of the Board.

21. His Excellency suggest that, under the immediate administration of the Board of Commissioners, in the several Departments of which it is composed, be placed the execution of this plan in Oodanoora, Yatenoora, Doombera, Hewahette, Oudapalatta, Kotmale, Hariasia-Pattoo, Toompanhe, and Matelle. That the minor Judicial duties in the Four and Three Korles, including Bulatgamme, be committed to Resident Agents as at present, and that the Resident agent at Badulla conduct the Executive, Revenue and Judicial duties of Ouva, Wellasse and Bintenne, under the general superintendence and review of the Board. The Resident Agent for the Seven Korles those of that province and Nuwere Kalawie, and the Agent in Saffragam its affairs; the Collector of Trincomalee those of Tamankaduve.

His Excellency contemplates with a sanguine expectation of deriving pleasure from their being brought into action, that these several principles, combining a great degree of political liberty and the fullest security of property, will be soon well understood and voluntarily acceded to by both Chiefs, and people of the Kandyan Provinces. To the former of a degree of affluence to command all necessary respect with a great portion of honor and consideration from Government and its Agents, must be held to view to compensate for the slavish submission and extorted contributions from the Inhabitants. To the latter His Excellency thinks very little additional inducement need be held out, after freeing them from the trammels of abject subjection, to the independence of their property on caprice; while both parties will, it is expected, be conciliated, and a third of no little power kept at least neutral by the inviolable respect paid to the property of temples and a proper regard to the due administration of their Funds, already pointed out to the notice of the Board in the Minute of 21st January last, to which His Excellency calls their early notice.

By Order of His Excellency the Governor,

Geo. Lusignan,

Sec. to Kandyan Provinces.

Edy 25th September, 1818.