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GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT OF THE PALI CHRONICLES OF CEYLON

By B. C. LAW

THE CHRONICLES of Ceylon written in Pali contain germs of historical truth which lie buried in some fables. They should be read critically. The germs of historical facts can only be gleaned by a careful elimination of all mythical details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. We agree with Geiger when he says : " If we pause first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese Chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."¹ The *Dipavamsa*, the oldest known chronicle, and the *Mahavamsa* are based on the earlier *Atthakathā-Mahavamsa*. This fact helps us to believe that they contain real historical facts, for with the *Atthakatha* the tradition goes back several centuries and becomes almost contemporary with historical events. A careful study of these two Ceylonese chronicles leaves no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from Bimbisara to Asoka provided by them. Really they are valuable so far as the Indian history is concerned, but they are more valuable with regard to the history of Ceylon. They may be safely and intelligently utilized for the period from Devanampiyatissa to Mahasena. They may also be used at least as a depository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to the early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history. They are no doubt valuable for the ecclesiastical history of India and Ceylon. They are really very useful for a better understanding of Buddhism and its history. They can be profitably utilized as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. We may easily gather from them that the great architectural activity of the Island began as early as the reign of Devanampiyatissa and continued unabated till the death of Mahasena. They contain reliable information concerning social and religious life of the monks and the laity as well as religious ceremonies. No less interesting is the account of the religious edifices found in them. Moreover there are incidental and stray references of a different nature, which are of immense value. They seem to preserve faithful records concerning the internal political history and foreign political

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, p. xv.

relations with South India, specially with the *Damilas*. They also supply us with many interesting geographical details regarding India and Ceylon, and there is hardly any reason to doubt their historicity. The *Mahabodhivamsa*, the *Thupavamsa* and the *Dathavamsa* are also rich in matters of varied nature. Most of the events in the early history of Buddhism pass under the shadow of the Bo-tree as we find in the first text. Accounts of the dagobas built over the Buddha's relics and of His Tooth Relic form the subject matters of the other two texts. They are no less helpful from the geographical standpoint. An attempt has been made in the following pages to present a geographical picture of India and Ceylon as far as can be drawn from these major chronicles.

I—INDIA

Jambudipa was the continent of India which had Pataliputta as the chief city.¹ It was so called because it was full of Jambu trees.² Jambudipa was an excellent land where all the Buddhas were born.³ It was extended up to the ocean in the south.⁴ It was 10,000 *yojanas* in extent.⁵ In it there arose twenty-four schools belonging to the Acariyavada.⁶ Dhammasoka was its virtuous and glorious monarch.⁷ He not only built the great monastery called Asokarama but also 84,000 monasteries decorated with 84,000 *cetiya*s in the 84,000 cities in the entire Jambudipa.⁸ Pandu was the King of Jambudipa who had a large army.⁹ The Buddhist monks went from Jambudipa to Sihaladipa.¹⁰ The novice Sumana was sent to Jambudipa from Sihaladipa for the Buddha's relics.¹¹ The entire kingdom of Jambudipa was adorned with the sixteen great countries (*solasa mahadesa* variant *solasamahapadesa*).¹²

(a) North :

Mahakassapa was on the high road from Pava to Kusinara.¹³ He saw the tope of the Mallas called the Mukutabandhana.¹⁴ The

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XV.
2. *Mahāvamsa Commentary*, p. 331.
3. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 12.
4. *Ibid.*, 73.
5. *Ibid.*, 73-74.
6. *Ibid.*, 97.
7. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. I, v. 26; *Thūpavamsa*, 48.
8. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 102.
9. *Dāthāvamsa*, Ch. II, 91.
10. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 117.
11. *Ibid.*, 140, 141.
12. *Ibid.*, 152.
13. *Thūpavamsa*, 25.
14. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

Mallas of Paṅva wanted to have the relics of the Buddha.¹ The people of Pava lived in a city less than three *gavutas* from Kusinara. Pava is identified with the village of Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kasia.² Ajatasattu had the road 25 *yojanas* in length and 8 *usabhas*³ in breadth levelled between Kusinara and Rajagaha.⁴ The Buddha attained His Mahaparinibbana in the Upavattana which was the Sala-grove of the Mallas of Kusinara.⁵ The elder Ananda accompanied by monks left Kusinara taking with him Buddha's bowl and robe.⁶ Kusinara,⁷ identified with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district, was ruled by Talissara and his heirs.⁸ Baranasi was the capital city ruled by the kings named Brahmadata.⁹ The Buddha went there and turned the Wheel of Law.¹⁰ Isipatana in Benares was visited by the Buddha to preach His *Dhamma*,¹¹ as well as the Bodhi terrace for enlightenment.¹² Sonaka, a respectable merchant of Benares, received his first ordination at Giribbaja.¹³ Kurudipa or the country of the Kurus was also visited by the Buddha.¹⁴ Takkasila was governed by Dipankara and his sons and grandsons¹⁵ Kapilavastu was ruled by King Sudhodana.¹⁶ Siddhartha was born in this city.¹⁷ The Sakyas left this city after their fight with Vidudabha.¹⁸ The Sakya chiefs in Kapilavastu and the Koliyas in Ramagama wanted to have the Buddha's relics.¹⁹ The shrine built by the Koliyas at Ramagama was destroyed by a flood.²⁰ Mahakassapa while enshrining the relics did not take them from

1. *Ibid.*, 29.
3. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, 14.
3. *Usabha*., a certain measure of length, 140 cubits.
4. *Thūpavaṃsa*., 32.
5. *Dīpavaṃsa*., Ch. V.1; Ch. VI, 19; *Mahāvāṃsa*., Ch. III, 1-2; *Dāṭhāvāṃsa*, Ch. II, 31-33.
6. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 87.
7. According to Geiger it has been identified with a Mall town in the territory of the present Nepal (*Mahāvāṃsa*, Translation, p. 14 fn.) It seems to be inaccurate.
8. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. III, 32.
9. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 130.
10. *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ch. I, 14.
11. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. I, 32; *Thūpavaṃsa*, 22.
12. *Dāṭhāvāṃsa*, Ch. V, 54.
13. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. IV, 39.
14. *Ibid.*, I, 43.
15. *Ibid.* Ch. III, 31.
16. *Ibid.*, III, 51.
17. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 13.
18. *Ibid.*, 98.
19. *Thūpavaṃsa*, 29.
20. *Ibid.*, 87.

Ramagama but brought and gave the remaining relics to Ajata sattu.¹ The city of Kapilapura was three *yoganas* in extent.² The Yona region was converted by the elder Maharakkhita by preaching the *Kalakarama Suttanta*.³ The Yonas mentioned in Asoka's Rock Edict V and XIII were a clan of foreign race on the North-western Frontier.

The elder Majjhima was sent to the *Himavantapadesa* (Himalayan regions)⁴ and preached the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta*.⁵

On the seventh year of His Enlightenment the Buddha sat cross-legged at the foot of the Gandamba tree standing at the entrance of the city of Sravasti where He displayed a miracle.⁶ From the Jetavana monastery at Sravasti the elder Piyadassin came to Ceylon with 60,000 monks. From the Ghositarama at Kosambi the elder Maha Dhammarakkhita came to Ceylon with 30,000 monks. From the great monastery at Isipatana in Benares the elder Dhammasena came to Ceylon with 12,000 monks.⁷ From the Gandhara country the elder Attinna came to Ceylon with 280,000 monks.⁸ From the city of Alasanda in the Yonaka country the elder Dhammarakkhita the Yona came to Ceylon with 30,000 monks.⁹ Majjhantika was sent to Kasmira-Gandhara.¹⁰ Here he preached the *Asivisopama Suttanta* to the inhabitants and converted one hundred thousand families.¹¹ From the Kelasa monastery the elder Suriyagutta came to Ceylon with 96,000 monks.¹² One Tooth-relic of the Buddha was honoured by the inhabitants of Gandhara.¹³

The Kelasa was a mountain with high peaks. It was of pure white colour.¹⁴ At the foot of the Mount Meru the king of serpents sat.¹⁵ The Mount Meru is the Mount Sineru which is the highest

1. Ibid., 87.
2. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 7, 19; 1 *yojana* = about 7 miles
3. *Āpavamsa*, Ch. VIII, 9; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XII, 5; *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 114-15; *Thūpavamsa*, 72-73.
4. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XII, 6; *Thūpavamsa*, 43.
5. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 114-115,
6. Ibid., 53; *Thūpavamsa*, 50.
7. *Thūpavamsa*, 72.
8. *Thūpavamsa*, 72.
9. *Thūpavamsa*, 72-73.
10. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XII, 2; *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 113.
11. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 114.
12. *Thūpavamsa*, 73.
13. *Dāthāvamsa*, Ch. II, 56.
14. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 13, 26, 45, 79.
15. *Dāthāvamsa*, Ch. IV, 34; *Thūpavamsa*, 89.

mountain peak in Jambudipa.¹ The Himavanta was full of forests, flowers, lakes, rivers, animals, birds, peacocks, etc. It was resounded by the songs of birds. It was full of jewels. It was the abode of gods, demons, nagas, kinnaras, etc.² Cittakuta was a mountain in the north.³ Mandakini was a river full of beautiful swans.⁴ It is a tributary of the Alakananda. Some have identified it with the Kaliganga which rises in the Kedar mountain in Garwal.⁵ Cunningham has identified it with the Rksa river. It forms a small tributary to the Paisundi (Paisuni or Payasvini) in Bundelkhand and flows by the side of the Mount Citrakuta.⁶ Siddhartha came to the opposite bank of the river Anoma which is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur.⁷ It has also been identified with the Kudawanadi in the Basti district of Oudh. Its banks were full of beautiful and pure pearls.⁸ The Buddha took His meal near the Anotatta lake⁹, one of the seven great lakes situated in the Himalayan mountain. The Buddha used the water of the Anotatta lake after His Enlightenment.¹⁰ Sixteen jars of water were brought from the Anotatta lake at the time of Asoka's consecration ceremony. Asoka sanctified the great Bo-tree by the water of this lake and worshipped it.¹¹ The branch of the Bo-tree taken to Ceylon by Sanghamitta was also sanctified by its water.¹² The Lumbinivana, which was full of *sala* and *kadamba* trees, was the place where Siddhartha came out of the womb of Queen Maya.¹³ It is Rummindei in the Nepal Tarai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavanpura and about a mile north of Paderia. The beautiful Jetavana vihara was built at a great cost by Arathapindika who made it over to the Buddha.¹⁴ It is described as having sweet scented flower-trees and various kinds of deer, peacocks and birds.¹⁵ The *Gandhakuti* or the Perfumed Chamber lay in it which was often visited by the Buddha.¹⁶ In the Jetavana garden the Buddha had

1. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, Ch. XVI, 43.
2. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 2.
3. *Ibid.*, 62.
4. *Ibid.*, 3.
5. Cf. *Matsya Purāna*, Ch. 12.
6. Law, *Rivers of India*, p. 48; *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 11.
7. *Thūpavamsa*, 20.
8. *Dāhivamsa*, Ch. I, 32.
9. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. I, 18.
10. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 36.
11. *Ibid.*, 100-101.
12. *Ibid.*, 152.
13. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 14; *Thūpavamsa*, 82.
14. *Dāhivamsa*, Ch. III, 28.
15. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 45; *Thūpavamsa*, 81.
16. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 88.

a view of Tambapanni which was later visited by him.¹ A Bodhi-plant was planted at the entrance of this vihara in the life-time of the Buddha.² In this garden of Anathapindika the Buddha dwelt in the most excellent capital of Kosala.³ The Master while dwelling in this garden saw in the fifth year of His Buddhahood a war which was likely to take place between the Nagas, Mahodara and Culodara.⁴

(b) East :

Uruvela was visited by the Buddha.⁵ It comprised the village of Senani where Sujata was born.⁶ It was a *janapada* or country in Magadha.⁷ Buddha came here after converting the Bhaddavaggiya princes.⁸ At Uruvela in the Magadha country Gotama reached the Supreme Enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree on the full-moon day of the month of Vesakha.⁹ According to the *Vamsatthappakasini* (p. 84) Uruvela in ancient Buddhagaya in Gaya district means a big sandy embankment. Here the Master converted many Jatilas led by Kassapa.¹⁰ The people of Anga and Magadha prepared a great sacrifice.¹¹ The Bodhisatta did not accept the kingship of Magadha.¹² Giribbaja, the earlier capital of Magadha, was inhabited by Dasaka the leader of a school.¹³ In this town at the entrance of the Sattapanni Cave the First Buddhist Council was finished after seven months.¹⁴ Mithila was ruled by the sons and grandsons of Nagadeva.¹⁵ It was also ruled by Mahosadha.¹⁶ The commentator points out that it was also ruled by the descendants of Makhadeva.¹⁷ Not far from the landing place called the Gotamatittha in a small village called Pataligama Ajatasattu built an excellent city called Pataliputta to overthrow

1. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. II, 2-3.
2. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 35, 59, 82.
3. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. II, 1.
4. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. I, 45-46.
5. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. I, 35.
6. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 28.
7. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 35.
8. *Ibid.*, 38.
9. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. I, 12.
10. *Ibid.*, Ch. I, 16.
11. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. I, 39.
12. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 28.
13. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. IV, 40.
14. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, 5.
15. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 29.
16. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 59.
17. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, 129.

the Vajjis.¹ The road from Pataliputta to the great Bodhi-tree was attended to. The Bodhi-tree was brought with great reverence from the Bochi terrace to Pataliputta.² Pataliputta which was the best of towns in India, was ruled by Asoka.³ This city had very broad and long paths.⁴ The Tooth-relic of the Buddha was also brought here.⁵ This city was visited by the Niganthas.⁶ Sanghamitta lived in the city of Pataliputta.⁷ A ruler of the town of Pataliputta daily fed 1,000 monks. Not being satisfied with this he thought of giving alms by field-cultivation. He therefore went to Mathura, laboured there and with the grain produced he made an offering of alms.⁸ Pupphapura (Pataliputra) and Vesali (modern Besar in the Muzaffarpur district) were visited by the heretical monks.⁹ As soon as Eindusara fell ill Asoka came to Pupphapura,¹⁰ which he ruled as Dhammasoka.¹¹ In the country of the Vangas, in the Vanga capital there lived a king of the Vangas who was married to a daughter of the king of the Kalingas. In consequence of this union a daughter was born to the king of the Vangas.¹² In the capital of the Vangas a marriage took place with the uncle's daughter.¹³ Sihabahu was the king of the Lala kingdom, who had a wife named Sihasivali.¹⁴ Vijaya, the eldest son of King Sihabahu, went to Lanka after obtaining the status of a prince.¹⁵ As Vijaya's father Sihabahu was brought up by a lion, he was called Sihala.¹⁶

Dhammagupta gave the most exalted position to the Mahabodhi among the Moriyas. The Moriya country itself was given to it.¹⁷ The Prince Candagutta of the royal family of Mōriyanagara became the king of Pataliputta with the help of the Brahmin Canakya.

1. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 96.
2. *Thūpavamsa*, 52.
3. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. VI, 18.
4. *Dāthāvamsa*, Ch. III, 6.
5. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 8.
6. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, 90.
7. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XV, 21.
8. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 92, vv. 23-26.
9. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. IV, 31-32.
10. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, 39.
11. *Ibid.*, Ch. XI, 24.
12. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, 1-2.
13. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, 20.
14. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. IX, 2, 5; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. VI, 36.
15. *Mahābodhivamsa*, Ch. 111.
16. *Ibid.*, 111.
17. *Ibid.*, 166.

Moriyanagara was built by the Sakyas.¹ The Licchavis of Vesali the Bulis of Allakappa and a Brahmin of Vethadipa wanted to have the relics of the Buddha by force.² The Vajjiputtaka monks preached the ten points at Vesali.³ The *Parajika* rules were first enforced here.⁴ The Buddha left Rajagaha for Sravasti.⁵ Rajagaha was once visited by the house-holder Sudatta who came from Savatthi on some business.⁶ Dakkhinagiri country was close to the city of Rajagaha.⁷ It was visited by Mahinda. This country lay to the south of Rajagaha beyond the hills that surrounded the city.⁸ The elder Indagutta came through the air from the neighbourhood of Rajagaha to Ceylon with 80,000 monks.⁹ Between Rajagaha and Nalanda there was a royal house (*rajagaraka*) situated at Ambalattika.¹⁰ The Mahavanavihara was in the Vajji territory which contained the Master's Perfumed Chamber.¹¹ In the Kukkutarama which was a monastery at Pataliputta there lived Siggava the son of a minister.¹² The Jivaka-ambavana was visited by Ajatasattu, which was near Rajagaha.¹³ At Valukarama in Vesali the Second Buddhist Council was finished in eight months.¹⁴ The Latthivana was a garden near Rajagaha where King Bimbisara went to see the Buddha.¹⁵ It was about 2 miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gaya. The *Thūpavamsa* (p. 81) refers to Veluvana. The Buddha lived at Sitavana which was adorned with various kinds of creepers, flowers, etc., while He revisited Rajagaha.¹⁶ From the Asokarama at Pataliputta the elder Mittinna came to Ceylon, with 160,000 monks.¹⁷ Kajangala was a small market town.¹⁸ Usiradhaja was a mountain.¹⁹ The river Ganges was

1. *Ibid.*, 98.
2. *Thūpavamsa*, 29.
3. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 96.
4. *Ibid.*, 92.
5. *Ibid.*, 45, 16.
6. *Ibid.*, 44.
7. *Thūpavamsa*, 43; *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, 323.
8. *Suttanipāta Commy.* Ch. I, 136. *Majjhima Nikāya Commy.* II, 795.
9. *Thūpavamsa*, 72.
10. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 93.
11. *Mahāvamsa*. Ch. IV, 32.
12. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, 120-122.
13. *Thūpavamsa*, 29; Law, *Rajagriha in Ancient Literature*, pp. 12-13.
14. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 96.
15. *Ibid.*, 38-39; *Thūpavamsa*, 81.
16. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 44.
17. *Thūpavamsa*, 72.
18. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 12.
19. *Ibid.*, 12.

crossed by the Bodhisatta when it had strong currents of water, It was famous for pure water.¹ There was a landing place on its bank.² The Podhisatta took the rice-gruel offered by Sujata on the bank of the river Neranjara where he meditated at a great Sala Grove.³ The Bodhisatta took the folden plate to the bank of this river where the great Bo-tree stood.⁴ On the day of His Supreme Enlightenment the Buddha gave away His bowl after His meal to the serpent Mahakala on the bank of this river.⁵ Tama'itti (Tamluk) was the landing place of the great Bo-tree while it was being carried from India to Ceylon.⁶ It was a harbour at the mouth of the Ganges.

(c) **West :**

The Aparantaka country was converted by the elder Dhammarakkhita by preaching the *Aggikkhandopama Sutta*.⁷ Maharattha was converted by the elder Maha Dhammarakkhita by preaching the *Navada-Kassapa Jataka*.⁸ Maharattha is modern Maharastra. The port called Supparaka situated on the west coast of India was visited by Vijaya.⁹ It is modern Sopara in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency.

(d) **South :**

Mahadeva was sent to Mahismandala which may be identified with Mandhata on the Narmada. Some have identified it with Mysore.¹⁰ Fleet takes it as the territory of Mahisa of which the capital was Mahismati. Rakhita was sent to Vanavasa (modern Vanavasi in North Kanara).¹¹ Vanavasi is also mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (4,366) and *Harivamsa* (5,232) as the country in South India. The modern town of Vanavasi in north Kanara seems to have preserved the old name. From the great Pallavabhogga or the country of the Pallavas the elder Mahadeva came to Ceylon with 460,000 monks.¹² The city of Madura was in South India

1. *Ibid.*, 97.
2. *Ibid.*, 27, 96.
3. *Ibid.*, 8, 28; *Thūpavaṃsa*, 83; *Vamsathappakāsinī*, 66.
4. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. 29, 35.
5. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 157, .
6. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 154, 155; *Thūpavaṃsa*, 53.
7. *Dīpavaṃsa*. Ch. VIII, 7; *Mahāvāṃsa*, XII, 4; *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 114; Cf. *Thūpavaṃsa*, 72-73.
8. *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch. VIII, 8; *Mahāvāṃsa*, XII, 5. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 114.
9. *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ch. VI, 46.
10. *Mahāvāṃsa* Ch. XII, 3; *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 114, *Thūpavaṃsa*, 43.
11. *Mahāvāṃsa* Ch. XII, 3-7, *Thūpavaṃsa*, 43.
12. *Thūpavaṃsa*, 72-73.

where lived the daughter of the Pandu king so very devoted to Vijaya of the kingdom of Lala.¹ In Kalinga there was a king named Kalinga whose capital was at Dantapura.² A very beautiful girl was married to king Kalinga of the Kalinga country.³ King Brahmadatta of Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga got the Tooth-relic of the Buddha.⁴ Dantapura was also visited by Cittayana with his army.⁵ It was invaded by king Khiradhara.⁶ It was a prosperous city with alms-houses, decorated with walls, towers, buildings, palaces and valuable paintings.⁷ The king of Kalinga daily worshipped the Tooth-relic of the Buddha.⁸

The capital city of Amaravati was so called because it was full of men resembling the immortals.⁹ A rich Brahmin lived at Amaravati who became an ascetic and later acquired higher knowledge.¹⁰ Amaravati was the kingdom of Sumedha who renounced the world.¹¹ It may be identified with the modern city of Amaravati close to the rivers of Dharanikotta, a mile west of ancient Amaravati on the Krishna famous for its ruined stupa. Amarapura was a beautiful city.¹² The Godavari is a famous river of South India.¹³ Aparagoyana was an Island which lay in the south. It was seven thousand *yojanas* in extent.¹⁴

(e) **Central :**

Ujjayini (Ujjeni) was the capital city of Avanti.¹⁵ The inhabitants of Avanti were known as Avantis.¹⁶ Avanti roughly corresponds to modern Maiwa, Nimar and the adjoining district of the Central provinces. Ancient Avanti was divided into two parts, the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avanti-Dakshinapatha had its capital at Mahismati. The government of Ujjayini was led by Asoka as soon as Bindusara fell

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. VII, 50.
2. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 66.
3. *Ibid.*, 77.
4. *Dāthāvamsa*, Ch. II, 56-57.
5. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, 100.
6. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, 1.
7. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, 101.
8. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 7.
9. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 2.
10. *Thūpavamsa*, 2.
11. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, 120.
12. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 45.
13. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 50.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
15. *Ibid.*, Ch. 99.
16. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, 159.

ill.¹ Asoka was the ruler of Avanti according to the *Mahāvamsa*.² He abandoned the government of Ujjayini which he had taken in hand when Eindusara became weak.³ Before he came to Ujjayini he halted in the town of Vedisa (Vidisa) which may be identified with modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State situated 26 miles north-east of Bhopal.⁴ The son of the king of Ujjain was faithful to the Buddha.⁵ Asoka while reigning at Ujjeni married a Saky girl at Vedisa which lay at a distance of fifty *yojanas* from Pataliputta.⁶ A son named Mahinda and a daughter named Sanghamitta were born to them.⁷ From the Vedisa mountain Mahinda went to Ceylon.⁸ At Vedisa the Sakyas took shelter being afraid of Vidudabha.⁹ Vedisa contained a monastery called Hatthalhakarama.¹⁰ The *Thūpavamsa* (p. 44) refers to the Vedisa mountain on which there was a monastery (*Vetisapabbatavihara*). Dakkhinagiri in Ujjayini had a great monastery wherefrom the elder Dhammarakkhita came to Ceylon with 40,000 monks.¹¹

II.—CEYLON

Lankadipa was an excellent country having a beautiful climate, fertile, a mine of treasures and an abode of the elect.¹² The *Mahāvamsa* and its Commentary mention four main divisions of the Island of Lanka.¹³ The Island of Lanka was covered with great forests and full of horrors. It contained blood-thirsty demons of various kinds.¹⁴ The Island of Lanka was known by various names, e.g., Ojadipa, Varadipa, Mādadipa, Tambapanni, etc.¹⁵ This Island was visited by some foremost Brahmins who sailed there by a ship.¹⁶ The rulers of the stainless Lanka carried on the government of their country in harmony and without discord like the Licchavis of Vesali, and therefore, they were happy.¹⁷ The Buddha started for

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. V, 39-40.
2. *Ibid.*, XIII, 8-9; Cf. *Mahābodivamsa*, 98.
3. *Thūpavamsa*, 38.
4. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XIII, 8-9; B.C. Law; *Ujjayini in Ancient India*, 2.
5. *Dathavamsa*, Ch. IV, 7.
6. *Mahābodivamsa*, 98-99.
7. *Mahābodivamsa*, 98-99; Cf. *Thūpavamsa* 43.
8. *Ibid.* 116; Cf. *Thūpavamsa*, p. 43.
9. *Mahābodivamsa*, 98-99.
10. *Mahābodivamsa*, 169.
11. *Thūpavamsa*, 72-73; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXIX, 35.
12. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. I, 17-18.
13. Vide Law, *Geographical Essays*, 75-76.
14. *Dipavamsa*, I, 46.
15. *Ibid.*, Ch. XVII, 5.
16. *Dathavamsa*, Ch. IV. V. 43.
17. *Culavamsa*, 99, 89, 100.

the Island of Lanka to purify it by His faith.¹ Lanka was known to the Master as the place where His doctrine should shine in glory.² After the passing away of the Blessed One the great branch of the Bodhi-tree on the south was established in this Island.³ It was honoured at Anuradhapura.⁴ The two schools of the *Acariyavada* named *Dhammaruci* and *Sagaliya* arose at Lanka.⁵ Mahinda who was sent to the Tambapanni Island,⁶ expressed his desire to save it by showing the light to the Island and causing the splendour of the Conqueror to increase. Sumana the grandson of king Asoka, went to Lanka. Later on the Theri Sanghamitta, Asoka's daughter, went there who took with her the Maha-bodhi.⁷ The city of Tambapanni was built by Prince Vijaya after his conquest of Ceylon. It was so called because Prince Vijaya's men found their hands copper-coloured by the dust of the copper land on which they rested for a while with their hands stretched.⁸ Vijaya of the kingdom of Lala landed in Lanka in the region called Tambapanni.⁹ Lanka was kingless for a year.¹⁰ Panduvasudeva ruled Lanka for full thirty years.¹¹ Anuradhapura which was a splendid city was ruled by Mutasiva for sixty years.¹² The great Bo-tree was brought to Ceylon via Tamralitti (modern Tamruk) by a ship (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XIX, vs. 4-6; *Mahābodhi*, v. 154). The Tooth-relic of the Buddha was daily worshipped by the King of Lanka.¹³ The city of Vijita was destroyed and the king of the city of Mahela was subdued.¹⁴ Devanampiyatissa was installed in the kingdom of Tambapanni.¹⁵ The Sumanakuta was also known as the Piyalakuta and Varadipa.¹⁶ Geiger takes it to be the Adam's Peak.¹⁷ It contained the Foot-print of the Buddha.¹⁸ It was visited by the King Kittiṅṅissanka.¹⁹

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1. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. I., 19.
 2. *Ibid.* : Ch. I, 20.
 3. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 35.
 4. *Thūpavamsa* : 52-53.
 5. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 97.
 6. *Ibid.* : 113.
 7. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 146, 153.
 8. *Ibid.* : 112.
 9. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. VI., 47.
 10. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. VIII., 5.
 11. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. IX., 38.
 12. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XI., 4.
 13. *Dathavamsa* : Ch. V., 66.
 14. *Thūpavamsa* : 62-63.
 15. *Dīpavamsa* : Ch. XI., 14.
 16. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 128; *Thūpavamsa* : 59.
 17. *Mahāvamsa* : Translation, p. 5, n. 1.
 18. *Cūlavamsa* : 88, 48; *Dathavamsa* : Cn. II., 23.
 19. *Cūlavamsa* : 80, 24.

In Ceylon there was the Malaya country which contained three kinds of gems.¹ It was called Merukandara.² It was visited by Abhaya,³ and the younger son of Parakkama.⁴ A merchant set out for Malaya with many carts to bring turmeric, ginger, etc.⁵ Malaya was given to the Mahabodhi by Candagutta.⁶ The Malaya forest lay in Anuradhapura.⁷ A matrimonial relation was established between Lanka and Kalinga.⁸ Ayojjha was a splendid town in the Island of Lanka.⁹ The town of Abhayapura was situated near the Kadamba lake.¹⁰

In the splendid town of Kalyani the five-storied palace was restored by Parakkamabahu II.¹¹ Gangasiripura (Gampola) and the splendid Hatthigiripura (Kurunegala) were visited by Vijayabahu IV.¹² King Kittinissanka had fruit and flower gardens in the Island of Tambapanni.¹³ Pulatthinagara was rebuilt by King Parakkamabahu.¹⁴ It was full of pinnacled houses adorned with climbing plants and flowers.¹⁵ Vijayabahu IV restored this town in such a way as it surpassed in glory many important cities of India.¹⁶ Lanka was won over by Parakkamabahu by the force of his arms.¹⁷ The three suburbs called the Rajavesibhujanga, Rajakulantaka and Vijita which were adorned with high palaces, were laid by Parakkamabahu I.¹⁸ In Rajavesibhujanga the Isipatana Vihara was a delightful place for the ascetics.¹⁹ Anuradhapura was utterly destroyed by the Cola army.²⁰ Parakkamapura was founded by Parakkamabahu I.²¹ Kotthasara lay near

1. *Dīpavaṃsa* : Ch. XI., 19.
2. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 44, 28.
3. *Thūpavaṃsa* : 57.
4. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 76, 194-196.
5. *Thūpavaṃsa* : 69.
6. *Mahābodhivaṃsa* : 156.
7. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, 170.
8. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 63, 7.
9. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 100, 60.
10. *Dīpavaṃsa* : Ch. XVII., 12.
11. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 85, 64-65.
12. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 88, 48, 53.
13. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 80, 25.
14. *Cūlavāṃsa*, 73, 55.
15. *Cūlavāṃsa*, 73, 62.
16. *Cūlavāṃsa*, 88, 121.
17. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 73, 90.
18. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 73, 151-3.
19. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 78, 79.
20. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 74, 1.
21. *Cūlavāṃsa* : 74, 15.

Pulatthinagara.¹ Uruvela was situated near Monoragala. According to some it was the capital of that part of Rohana which was called Atthasahassa. Queen Sugala betook herself to it.² Madhura was ruled by King Parakkama,³ which was captured by King Kulasekhara.⁴ Sirivijayarajasiha brought princesses from Madhura and made them his chief queens. He won over the people of Lanka and took his abode in the fair town of Sirivaddhana.⁵ Kittisirirajasiha increased the happiness of the people of Lanka.⁶

Ceylon was visited by an elder with 18,000 monks from the Mahavana monastery in Vesali, by an elder with 30,000 monks from the Ghositarama monastery in Kosambi, by an elder with 40,000 monks from Dakkhinagiri in Ujjayini, by the elder Mittinna with many monks from the Asokarama in Pataliputta, by the elder Uttinna with many monks from the Kasmira country, by Mahadeva who came from Pallava bhogga in South India, by the Yona Mahadhammarakkhita who came from Alasanda. The Thera Uttara came with 60,000 monks from his dwelling by the road through the Vinjha mountain, the Thera Cittagutta came with 30,000 monks from the Bodhimanda Vihara, Candagutta and Suriyagutta came from the Vanavasa country and the Kelasavihara, each with many monks.⁷ There was a mountain called Kasa in the city of Anuradhapura.⁸ It is probably near the modern Kahalagama about 18 miles south-east from Anuradhapura. The *Mahāvamsa Commentary* (p. 300) refers to Chata mountain on the south-western side of Anuradhapura. The Ariththapabbata mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chap. X) may be identified with Ritigala, north of Harbarana. The Anulatissa mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa Commentary* (p. 659) was a mountain. The Mount Missaka, also known as the Cetiya mountain, or the eastern side of Anuradhapura was visited by Mahinda.⁹ It was so-called because many shrines were built there.¹⁰ The Cetiya-giri was the Mihintale mountain.¹¹ Mahinda came here. A monastery was built on it. The right Eye-relic was enshrined in the Cetiya-giri after removing it from the Manithupa.¹² A Bodhi plant was planted on the Cetiya-pabbata.¹³

1. *Cūlavamsa* : 74, 44.

2. *Cūlavamsa* : 74, 88.

3. *Cūlavamsa* : 76, 76.

4. *Cūlavamsa* : 76, 86.

5. *Cūlavamsa* : 98, 2-6.

6. *Ibid.*, 99, 71

7. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XXIX., 33-43.

8. *Ibid.* : Ch. X., 27 ; *Thūpavamsa* : 62.

9. *Thūpavamsa* : 44 ; *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XIII., 20.

10. *Thūpavamsa* : 47 ; Geiger, *Mahāvamsa Translation* 114f.n. 3.

11. *Cūlavamsa* : 78, 108.

12. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 128-39, 141.

13. *Ibid.* : 162.

In Ceylon there was another mountain called Malaya.¹ The Ganga or Mahaganga was a river. The Damilas had settlements on both sides of the Ganges. They were killed on the bank of the Ganges.² King Gajabahu came to its bank, built his capital there and lived happily.³ The river Kadamba lay to the east of Anuradhapura. It was a charming river of Ceylon full of roaring waves and black geese.⁴ The Kalyani was a river falling into the sea near Colombo where there was a Naga king named Maniakkhika who was established in the Refuges.⁵ The Kusumi was a port where the five vessels arrived full of warriors.⁶

Pasantittha was a landing place in Ceylon.⁷ Jambukola was a landing place in north Ceylon.⁸ It was also a port.⁹ The road from the north gate up to this port was cleaned and adorned by Asoka's orders.¹⁰

The Mahameghavana which was a solitary garden was visited by Mahinda.¹¹ This garden which stretched south of Anuradhapura was accepted by Mahinda for the construction of a monastery therein for the monks. It was laid out by Mutasiva.¹² It was a beautiful garden provided with fruit and flower trees.¹³ The Ganthakaraparivena was built in it.¹⁴ The Nandana garden was also a pleasant spot.¹⁵ There was the delightful Mahanaga garden in the centre of Lanka. It was three *yojanas* long and one *yojana* wide. The right collar bone of the Buddha was brought here.¹⁶ The Jambukolavihara contained many golden statues of the Buddha.¹⁷ In the Kalyanivihara the vast and splendid cetiya which was destroyed by the Damilas was restored with a golden finial put upon it and a gate-tower built on the eastern side.¹⁸ In

1. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 20.
2. *Thūpavamsa* : 56, 60 ; *Mahāvamsa Commentary*, 92.
3. *Cūlavamsa* : 71, 1.
4. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 120.
5. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. I., 63-64.
6. *Cūlavamsa* : 76, 59.
7. *Mahābodhivamsa* : 134, 135.
8. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XI., 23.
9. *Thūpavamsa* : 53.
10. *Ibid.* : 53.
11. *Dīpavamsa* : Ch. XIII., 18, 25 ; *Thūpavamsa* : 51.
12. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XI., 2.
13. *Ibid.* : Ch. XI., 4.
14. *Cūlavamsa* : 52, 57.
15. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XV., 1-2.
16. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. I., 21 ; *Mahābodhivamsa* : 130 ; *Thūpavamsa* : 58, 49.
17. *Cūlavamsa*, 80, 22-23.
18. *Cūlavamsa*, 81, 60-61.

the Hatthagallavihara a two-storied circular relic temple was built by Gothabhaya.¹ The Tooth-relic of the Buddha was in the Labujagamavihara (Delgamuva near Kuruvita north of Ratnapura).² The Meghagirivihara was situated to the north-east of Anuradhapura.³ The Mahiyanganavihara contained the Kancukathupa⁴ which was venerated by celebrating a great festival with many fragrant flowers, lamps, etc. The Mahiyangana thupa was situated in the Mahanaga Garden.⁵

The Mahameghavanarama was the first *arama* or monastery in the Island of Lanka bestowed on the fraternity. Bhatutissa put a wall fence with towers at the gate of the Mahameghavanarama. A golden thupa was built in it. This monastery which was once known as the Mahasagara was given to the Buddha as a precious gift. It was also known as the Mahatitha during the time of the Buddha Kakusandha. The Bodhi branch was planted there.⁶

At Anuradhapura the Thuparama was situated in the southern direction.⁷ The Buddha spent a moment in happiness of meditation on the site of the Thuparama Cetiya.⁸ The Thuparama was bell-shaped and enclosed by colonnade formed of rough hewn and palmyra palmshaped pillars of stone supporting the roof. It was erected by Devanampiyatissa and was the first of its kind in Ceylon. It was built after the Thupa was erected. In this monastery Abhaya built a double canopy made of silver over the Thupa. The cetiya of the Thuparama was situated near the southern wall of the city in the Nandana Garden which stretched between the Mahameghavana and the southern wall of the city of Anuradhapura. It was worshipped perpetually with gifts of jewels. Offerings were brought by the nobles, ministers, women of the royal household, and town and country folk.⁹ A relic chamber was built in this *arama*. When the beautiful Thupa in the Thuparama was completed, it was worshipped perpetually with many gifts of jewels. Lajjitissa levelled the ground between the Thuparama and the Mahathupa. A village was granted to the Thuparama for its maintenance.

1. *Cūlavamsa* : 85, 73.

2. *Ibid.* : 94, 11.

3. *Dathavamsa* : Ch. V., 13.

4. *Ibid.* : Ch. II., 51 ; *Thūpavamsa* : 58.

5. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. I., 21-24 ; *Mahābodhivamsa* : 130 ; *Thūpavamsa* : 49, 58.

6. *Thūpavamsa* : 52.

7. *Dīpavamsa* : Ch. XVII., 11.

8. *Dathavamsa* : Ch. II., 27.

9. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XII., 62-63.

The Mahathupa was also erected by King Dutthagamani.¹ It was erected at Anuradhapura. When Devanampiyatissa was informed by Mahinda of the great sanctity of the place, he desired to build the Thupa himself. Mahinda asked him not to do so, as it would be done by Dutthagamani. The Thupa is like a water-bubble in shape, and its architect was Sirivaddha. The cetiya is 120 cubits high. The relic-chamber is magnificent. It is a great place of pilgrimage of the Buddhists from the time of its erection down to the present day. It is also known as Mahacetiya and Hemavaluka. This Thupa was visited by the Buddha where the Master engaged Himself in meditation. It was a gigantic bell-shaped relic shrine built about 160 years B.C. King Dutthagamani erected it on the model of the Sanchi and Barhut stupas, at the foundation of which, the materials of different kinds were used. After the foundation was laid the monks were summoned and the circle of the base of the Cetiya was described. Many elders were present including some who came from Jambudipa at the time of the laying of the foundation. King Dutthagamani spent 20 or 24 invaluable treasures for building the Mahathupa. Abhaya, the son of Kotikanna visited this great Thupa, and walked round it and saw the Relic chamber. According to the *Mahāvamsa* in the midst of the Relic chamber a Bodhi-tree made of jewels was placed. The Mahathupa with its lofty height and imposing mound bears testimony to the splendid architecture of Ceylon. The Mahathupa class of Buddhist stupas in Ceylon later came to be provided with four entrance points, each containing an image inside, reminding us of the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda of Burma.

The Mahavihara on the Cetiya Mountain was completed by King Devanampiyatissa.² It was a great monastery at Anuradhapura and a great centre of Buddhism in Ceylon for many centuries. Dhatusena had its walls painted with various ornamental designs. Tissa built 12 edifices. Sanghabodhi constructed a room in it where food was distributed by tickets. Abhaya and Gothabhaya each built a stone pavilion in it. Meghavannabhaya constructed several *parivenas* in this Vihara which lost its importance after the removal of the capital from Anuradhapura to Pulatthipura. The Jetavanavihara was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba at Anuradhapura. The Dakkhinagirivihara was built by Uttiya. It was a great monastic centre for a long time. Dhatusena restored it. The Tissamahavihara or Tissarama was built by Tissa at Rohana. The Maricavattivihara was completed by Dutthagamani in three years. He built it as an act of expiation. It was renovated by Voharikatissa. Gothabhaya built an *uposatha* hall. Parakkambahu I rebuilt the Thupa destroyed by the Damilas.

1. *Dīpavamsa* : Ch. XIX., 2.

2. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XX., 7-8.

The Anurarama which was dilapidated was repaired.¹ The Puppaharama was a decorated monastery.² The Girivihara was built and made over to the Church with 200 pieces of land for its maintenance.³ The Pacinarama was the east monastery at Anuradhapura.⁴ The Bahumangalacetiya, the Ambatthalacetiya were built in the Island of Lanka.⁵ In the northern direction from the Mangala shrine King Upatissa built a Thupa, a image and a room for the image.⁶

The Lohapasada or the quadrangular palace of nine storeys was built by King Dutthagamani at a great cost.⁷ According to the *Vamsatthappakasini* Dutthagamani built it when the old one was removed. It was roofed with iron plates by Saddhatissa. It was four-sided measuring 100 cubits on each side and so much in height. All the chambers in it were decorated with silver and the coral balustrades were adorned with precious stones. There were 1,000 well-arranged chambers in it. It stood as a magnificent palace surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided with four gateways. As it was covered with bricks of copper and iron, it came to be known as the Brazen Palace. It was presented to the Brotherhood. On the first storey stood the ordinary people; on the second storey those versed in the three *Pitakas*; and on each of the three storeys beginning with the third, stood the stream-winners (*sotapatti*), the once-returners (*sakadagami*) and the non-returners (*anagari*). The cankerwaned (*arhats*) alone stood on the four uppermost storeys. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Saddhatissa built this palace anew seven storeys high. Gothabhaya renewed the pillars of this palace. Dutthagamani raised aloft to seven storeys the Lohapasada originally built by Devanampiyatissa.⁸ Bhatikabhaya carried out repairs to the Brazen Palace. The contents of the Relic chamber of the Mahathupa were described by him to all the monks of the Mahavihara assembled in the Lohapasada. The right Eye-relic of the Buddha was kept in the Brazen Palace well guarded and was worshipped day and night.⁹

1. *Cūlavamsa* : 41, 101.

2. *Ibid.* : 100, 86-87.

3. *Ibid.* : 42, 9.

4. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XX., 25-26.

5. *Cūlavamsa* : 38, 65 ; 37, 74.

6. *Ibid.* : 57, 18².

7. *Dīpavamsa* : Ch. XIX., 1.

8. *Mahāvamsa* : Ch. XV., 206 ; Geiger, *Mahāvamsa* Translation, p. 112 f.n. 5.

9. *Cūlavamsa* : 42, 53.

TANTRISM IN CEYLON AND TISA VEVA LITHIC DIAGRAM

By MARTIN WICKRAMASINGHE

THE UNSOLVED problems of history and undecipherable symbols will have no fascination for a scholar who strictly adheres to facts and authentic historical evidence. But to a man of imagination who wishes to recreate the past such problems and symbols will have a queer fascination.

In a book I have written in Sinhalese I tried to depict imaginatively certain aspects of the life of the ancient Sinhalese as suggested by the ruins of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva. I introduced my book to the reader as semi-fiction but I was careful to take refuge behind the cynical saying that all history is more or less fiction coloured by the emotional bias of the historian.

As I was interested in the imaginative interpretation of certain aspects of the life of the ancient Sinhalese as suggested by the archaeological remains of Anuradhapura, the lithic diagram of Tisa-veva which was referred to by H. C. P. Bell as a cosmographical chart, had a peculiar fascination for me.

Bell thought it a cosmographical chart illustrating the Buddhist notions of the universe. It is only an imaginative attempt to identify this symbol. The late W. A. de Silva in an article contributed to the *Ceylon Daily News* (21-3-34) said that it was a symbol of Yakka cult of which Pandukabhaya was an adherent. A writer, probably Bell himself, under a pseudonym, wrote a very sarcastic letter explaining the archaeological theory and characterising W. A. De Silva's suppositions as "*quodlibet*".

Bell and W. A. De Silva were scholars, of course of different calibre, but in their attempts to identify this symbol they had to rely on their imagination. Therefore, I think, some more imaginative attempts to interpret this symbol will not hurt the sensibility of the scholar who hugs the scientific method. Professor Hocart, a former Archaeological Commissioner, in the preface to his *Kingship* said: "In science as in politics, finance and war, he who risks nothing achieves nothing A method which makes sense cannot be far off the right track; and this is half the battle. For he who sets out in the right direction with only the stars to guide will reach his goal sooner than one who goes off in the opposite direction equipped with the most perfect compass, sextant, and chronometer."

I think Dr. Paranavitane was the first to throw out the suggestion as a mere guess that Tisa-veva diagram may have been a symbol connected with the Tantric cult.

This symbol occurs on a boulder under which there is a small cave. The place where the boulder stands was identified as a part of a monastery but now it is definitely identified as the Royal Pleasure Garden where erotic festivals have been celebrated by the ancient kings.

Tantrism is a cult of magic and sex mysticism and there is evidence to infer that it prevailed in Ceylon at a time when Mahayanism was ascendant. *Nikaya Sangraha* a fourteenth century book on the history of Sangha refers to the introduction of a doctrine called *Vajiriya Vada* which is identified by Dr. Paranavitane as *Vajrayana*, an extreme form of Buddhist Tantrism.

C. M. Fernando's translation of the passage of *Nikaya Sangraha* which describes the introduction of the new doctrine is as follows :

“ 1126 years after the introduction of Buddhism and 1362 years after the death of Buddha, King Matvala Sen became ruler of the country. But, he was not a man who had associated with men of learning. During his reign, an ascetic of Vajraparvata Nikaya clad in the robes of a priest came to this country from Dambadiva, and lived in the dwelling called Virankura. Having presented fifteen *kalandas* of gold which he had brought to the cook of the Royal household, Girivasa Sen by name, he got him to sound his praises to the king, who, hearing of his virtues, just as a grasshopper leaps into the fire taking it for gold, went to the ascetic and being impressed with his secret discourse, which he called confidential teaching, accepted the false Vajiriya doctrines, and abandoning the true doctrines such as the *Ratanasutra*, which shine in power extending over a 100,000 crores of worlds, he by reason of his embracing these false doctrines fled from the palace he lived in, and giving up the city to the Tamils went to Polonnaruva and died there.”

Dr. Paranavitane in his article Mahayanism in Ceylon (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, p. 39) says : “The Vajiriyas seem to be identical with the Vajrayanists, a school of Buddhism which flourished in Eastern India about this time and which was an exponent of the worst phases of Tantrism.”

The name of the dwelling Virankura as referred to in the *Nikaya Sangraha* has the smell of Tantrism. Vira Sadhaka is the name of a Tantric worshipper who is higher than the Pasu worshipper.

Sir John Woodroff in *Shakti and Shakta* gives a summary of a Tibetan legend which explains the origin of Vajrayana: Rutra a terrible demon who was the incarnation of self and passion was finally destroyed by Vajrasattva and Vajrapani. The spirit of Rutra became a guardian of the new cult which was recommended as the best method to overcome Egoism which was manifested in its terrible form in the person of Rutra (p. 631).

Sir John Woodroff says (p. 631) : "Then the Rutra's dead body was thrown on this Jambudvipa, where it fell on its back. the head fell on Simhala (Ceylon), the right arm and hand upon the Thogar (?) country and the left hand, Le (Ladak country). The right leg fell on Nepal, and the left on Kashmir. The entrails fell over Zahor. The heart fell on Urygen (Cabul), and the Linga on Magadha. These form the eight chief countries."

The Tibetan legend reveals that Ceylon was one of the countries where Vajrayana was established. In the same book Sir John Woodroff says : "I have been informed that out of 56 Deshas (which included beside Hunas, places outside India, such as China, Maha China, Bhota, Simhala), 18 follow Gauda Sampradaya extending from Nepal to Kalinga."

Sakti cult is divided into four schools or Sampradayas called Kerala, Kasmira, Gauda and Vilasa. Ceylon seems to have been under the influence of Kerala or Gauda school. According to Woodroff, Padmavati is the name of the Devata of Jaina Tantrists and Tara is the name of that of Buddhist Tantrists. Dr. Parana-vitane quotes a verse from *Tisara Sandesa* a Sinhalese poem (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. II, pp. 53, 54) to show that the image of Tara had found a place even in a Buddhist shrine of the fifteenth century.

Nikaya Sangraha refers to another Tantric cult of the name of Nilapata which was introduced to Ceylon during the same period. It definitely says that it was a cult of woman, wine and kama. According to Sir John Woodroff (157) Nila Sarasvati is another name for Tara.

Tantric ritual called Nila Sadhana seems to be quite different to the cult described in the *Nikaya Sangraha*. Sir John Woodroff says (p. 529) :

"Though it is not part of ordinary ritual, this is the only place where I can conveniently mention a peculiar Sadhana, prevalent, so far I am aware, mainly if not wholly amongst Tantrikas of a *Shakta* type which is called Nila Sadhana or Black Sadhana. This is of very limited application being practised by some Vira

Sadhakas in the cremation ground. There are terrifying things in these rituals and therefore only the fearless practice them A leading rite is that called Shava Sadhana which is done with the means of a human corpse."

* Magic and sex mysticism is only one aspect of Tantric cult. The other aspect is highly metaphysical. The philosophical basis of Buddhist Tantrism is Buddhist metaphysics as developed by Mahayanists, and of Hindu Tantrism is Vedantic metaphysics. These two aspects in combination was to become a powerful cult which would appeal to the spiritual and rational as well as to the sensual nature of man. Ancient kings, in spite of their Buddhist religion, enjoyed material comforts and sensual pleasures. Therefore it was quite possible that some of them succumbed to the irresistible appeal of this new cult.

The Royal Pleasure Garden, where in a cave the mystic diagram was carved, was a place meant for sensual pleasures as the name implies. According to Dr. Paranavitane it was built in the tenth century which must have been a period when the influence of the Tantric cult was at its height.

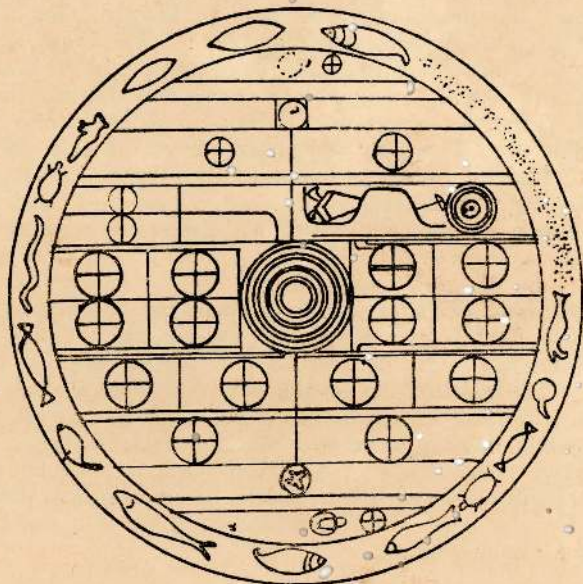
Sir John Woodroff in his *Shakti and Shakta* describes the symbols used by Tantrists. Some of the curves and circles described by him, have a similarity, I believe, to those of the Tisa-veva mystic diagram. In describing the yantras and mandalas used by the Tantrist he says (p. 513) :

"The Yantra is a diagram drawn or painted on paper, or other substances, engraved on metal, cut on crystals or stone The Yantras vary in design according to the Devata whose Yantra it is and in whose worship it is used. The difference between a Mandaia (which is also a figure, marked generally on the ground) is that whilst a Mandala may be used in the case of any Devata, a Yantra is appropriate to a specific Devata only All Yantras have a common edging called Bhupura, a quadrangular figure with four 'doors' which encloses and separates the Yantra from the outside world. A Yantra in my possession shows serpents crawling outside the Bhupura."

In the *Kularnava Tantra*, a Sanskrit work of the Vamachara school, (Ch. VI., pp. 53, 54) describes the Mandala thus :—"All worship except by the help of mandala is useless. Mandala should be delineated according to prescribed rules and then worship."

“The universe dispersed with living and non-living things should be in the form of an unbroken mandala (circle). The mandala of the three worlds thus adorned is always auspicious.”¹

The Tisa-veva diagram has an outer circle with marine life with non-living things which answers to the description of the Kularnava Tantra and also to the edging called Bhupura referred to by Sir John Woodroffe.



“The symbols employed are”, says Woodroff (pp. 384, 385), “either geometric—that is Tantric—or pictorial. A Yantra is a diagrammatic presentation of Divinity, as Mantra is its sound expression The greatest of Yantras, namely, the Shri-yantra, figures on the truth of the Tantric texts. We have no longer to deal with pictures of persons and their surroundings, but with line, curves, circles, triangles, and the Point.

“The great symbol of the Mother is Shri-yantra, from the centre of which She arises like the solar orb at morn, but in a blaze of

1. The above is a free translation of the following verses :

මණ්ඩලෙන විනා සූජා නිෂ්ඵලා කපිතා ප්‍රියෙ
 නසමාමනණ්ඩලමාලිඛා විසිවනනතු සූජයෙත්
 අඛණ්ඩ මණ්ඩලාකාර. විශ්ව.ව.පහ වර.වරම
 ත්‍රේලොකය. මණ්ඩිත. සෙන මණ්ඩල. නන්සදුසිටිම

light excelling the brilliance of countless midday suns and the coolness of innumerable moons. The centre is the Point, or Bindu—that is, the Mother as concentrated power ready to create. Around her is the Universe, together with its Divinities or Directing Intelligence.”

The Tisaveva diagram consists of lines, curves, circles, triangles, and points. The concentric circles enclosed within a quadrangle on the centre of the Mandala look like the symbol of the “Mother” who arises “like the solar orb at morn.” In explaining the point or bindu Sir John Woodroff says (p. 397) : “The Point, or Bindu, is shown as a circle, so as to display its contents. In the diagram, a line divides the Point, one half representing the ‘I’, and the other, the ‘This’ aspect of experience. They are shown in one circle to denote that the ‘This’, or object, is not yet outside the self as noneself. The Bindu is compared in the Tantras to a grain of gram (*chanuka*), which contains two seeds (*aham* and *idam*) so close to one another within their common sheath as to seem to be one seed.”

Bisected points or circles can be seen in the Tisa-veva diagram. Woodroff in describing a particular Yantra says : “This Yantra has nine chakras.” He explains the magical significance of these chakras. One is called the Mother, another chakra of all accomplishments, another kama, and another destroyer of all disease. The Tisa-veva diagram has eight chakras or circles on the centre and two bisected circles on the left of the central concentric circles. There are eight circles with four sectors, on either side of the central circles. On the bottom of the Mandala there is a mark which looks like a phallic symbol.

A NOTE ON TWO PASSAGES FROM STRABO AND PLINY CONCERNING TAPROBANA

By PIERRE PARIS

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THE PASSAGES concerned are those of Strabo (*Geogr. XV.*, 1, 15) and of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VI., 24) about the boats assuring the service between India and Ceylon. Muller and Dubner¹ has already drawn a parallel between these two passages, and tried to use Pliny's very clear text in order to interpret Strabo's obscure and disfigured text. This parallel, which I am going to claim unjustified was excusable in the absence of other naval notions since the common intention of both our authors was to describe the conditions of the crossing from India to Taprobana. But the object of this note is to show that Pliny and Strabo, and the commentators in their turn, were mistaken in mingling naval and geographical data concerning Ceylon with other information applicable to more distant lands.

Pliny

I am starting with the later in date because his text is an easier entry into the subject. Moreover, plagiarism cannot be suspected and consequently the chronological order is of little importance.² "Taprobana was for a long time considered like another world under the name of the land of the Antichtones. It was discovered to be an island during the century of Alexander the Great and thanks to the latter's expeditions. (According to information taken from Megasthenes, Taprobana is divided in two by a river, its inhabitants are called Paleogones; and Eratosthenes, 7.000 stadia by 5.000, no cities but some 700 small market towns.)

"The island begins at the Eastern Sea (Eoo Mari), and stretches between East and West opposite India. It was once believed to be a 20 day sea voyage away from the nation of the Prasians, but since one could go there in boats made of papyrus and equipped with gear like the boats on the Nile, this evaluation was reduced to a journey of 7 days for ships like ours. The sea which separates India from Taprobana is full of shallows where the water is not

1. C. Muller and F. Dubner, *Strabonis Geographica*, Paris, Didot 1853. *Index Variarum Lectionum*, p. 1032-1033.

2. I am using Littré's text and translation, Paris, Didot, 1877, Vol. I, Page 252 to 254.

more than 5 or 6 roman paces deep, but is so deep in certain parts that no anchor can touch the bottom. The inhabitants use boats which have bows both at the back and in the front so as not to be obliged to turn suddenly in these narrow canals. The tonnage of these boats is about 3,000 amphora (about 78 tons, Littré's note). They do not observe the stars to navigate, and the northern pole is not visible. However, they take with them birds which they let free from time to time and the flight of which they observe; they only navigate during four months of the year and do not go out to sea during about a hundred days after the summer solstice. That is their laying up season. Up to now we have spoken in accordance with the ancient writers, but more exact information was obtained for us during the reign of the Emperor Claudius. (The story of the drifting of Annius Plocamus the emancipated slave follows with his improbable 15 days from the entry of the Red Sea and even from Kirman to Ceylon, even more so if, as we are going to see, it really concerns a land still farther away. This involuntary visit to "Taprobana" provokes, as is known, the sending of an Embassy from this kingdom to the West; an Embassy led by a man named Rachias who gives a description of his great island; in the interior is lake Megisba, with a circumference of 375,000 roman paces and in the middle of which are islands used only for pasture land; the river Palaesimundus flows in three tributaries near the town of the same name, a capital of 200,000 inhabitants; the other river, the Cydara, flows northwards and towards India; the former has very large estuaries: 1,000 yards and 3,000 yards. Rachias also says) that the nearest part of India is Cape Coliac, a 4 day sea journey away with the island of the Sun midway between. (He also says that) this sea is very green, and full of trees, the leaves of which entangle the rudder (steering oars) of the boats. These Ambassadors admired in our country the Big Bear and the Pleiads—for them it was another sky. (They stated that in their land Canopus shone at night, that the moon was only visible from the 8th day to the 16th, and that the solar shades were in the South). They also said that the side of the island opposite India was 10,000 stadia (1,143 miles) in the direction of the rising sun at winter solstice (*ab oriente hiberno*), that they could see the Seres beyond the Emodian Mounts, and that they even knew them through commercial relations. They claimed that the Seres were above normal height, that they had red hair, blue eyes and a harsh voice" (The description of a highly improbable dumb commerce with the Seres which the father of Rachias was supposed to have witnessed follows.)

In the emancipated slave's story, two details seem to apply in reality to Ceylon. The first is the name of the port where the "north wind" forced him: *Hippuros portum*. The proper name, taken by Yule and Cordier to be the accusative, whilst it might

also be considered as invariable, was identified by them (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. 1, 1915, p. 199) with Kudra mali, Kudiramalai, the Cape Kuderamalai of English maps, on the north-west coast of Ceylon, in the Dravidian region of the island. This "Mount of the Horse" may indeed have been translated by Greek navigators as *Hippou Oros*, whence Pliny's Hippuros.

The second indication is the name of Cape Coliac which is Strabo's Cape of *Koniaxoi*, Ptolemy's Cape *Koru* (*Proleg.* XIII, Muller, I, 34). This Cape, sometimes quoted (see Strabo below) as being the most southerly point of India and not Comorin, has been identified by Caldwell¹ with the point of the Island of Rameswaram, which does, as Pliny states, separate the two gulfs named respectively Colchic (from *Ko'kai*, a port today covered over by sand, near the gulf of Mannar) and Argalic (Palk Straits). The latter, "the entire bay between Point Calimere and the Island of Paumben is called poetically Rama's bow, and each end is called Dhanush Koti, the tip of the bow, or simply Koti (in Tamil Kodi) the tip, end, or corner. The most celebrated of these Kotis was that at Rameswaram, at the extremity of Paumben, and this word Koti would naturally take the shape, especially when pronounced by foreigners, of Kory." The changing of the Dravidian *d* into *r* in the ears of Westerners is a regular phenomena. (See below note 7).

Among the geographical information given in our passage of Pliny, that is, I think, the part which undoubtedly concerns Ceylon.

If we leave aside the astronomical absurdities, and other tales of the roofs of the houses being composed of a single tortoise shell, or the normal length of life being 100 years, it seems that this long quotation that Rachias's Taprobana, or at least its royal city, is further south than the most southerly point of India. The shadows are probably in the south more than half the year. This Island is watered by great rivers. It has a large lake with land in the middle. It stretches from east to west or more exactly from north-west to south-east, over 1,100 miles. It is separated from the continent by a channel of sea the colour of which is very green, and where mangroves entangle the rudders. None of these details correspond to Ceylon, we are in Sumatra with its length of 1,060 miles, its lake Toba in the shape of a broken ring surrounding a peninsula connected with the mainland by a peduncle, and one might well wonder if Rachias's capital was not really Crivijaya (Palembang), below the equator. One might even try and make a closer identification by noticing that the distance from the mouths of Palembang to Singapore (250 miles) corresponds well to the

1. *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely*, Madras, 1881. p. 21.

four days of navigating to Cape "Coliac," with at half-way, the passage before the Archipelago of Lingga.

The mention of regular commercial relations with the Seres, portrayed as perfect "Indo-Germanen" and who can only be Yue Tchi seems rather peculiar when added to this impressively coherent geographical data. Now at that time (the middle of the 1st century of our era) there was no longer any need to cross the Emodus to go and see the Kushana, one only had to go up the Indus. What should one think of this dumb commerce as with savages?

The confusion becomes worse with the nautical information. First there is no trace today along the coasts of India, Ceylon or Sumatra of papyrus boats rigged like those of the Nile. I cannot see what the meaning of it is. If one admits that the nation of the Prasians whose capital was Palimbrotha (VI, 22, 5 and 7), reached the mouths of the Ganges, twenty days are more likely than seven, even for Greco-Egyptian ships, to go from Tamralipti to Ceylon, and even more so to the Golden Chersonese or to the point of Sumatra. And seven days crossing would still be too long for the journey from Cape Comorin to Point of Galle. The description of what might refer to the gulf of Mannar and to the straits of Palk is fantastic, and is, in my opinion, only meant to explain the existence of boats with double bows. It omits, and we must insist on this point, all classical authors omit, the line of reefs between India and Ceylon which is called Adam's Bridge. If any educated passengers on western or native boats had crossed the line they would not have failed to mention the fact.

We must admit that all the texts are so confused beyond Cape Comorin that one wonders if any learned Greek ever went further than this point. Moreover, Strabo had already noticed it 70 years before Pliny. In XV, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, Strabo draws the attention of the reader to the uncertainty of documentation on India. This is the beginning of paragraph 4: "As for the merchants who nowadays go from Egypt to India by way of the Nile and the Arabic gulf, one can count (they are so few) those who have gone round the coasts of India as far as the Ganges. They were all, moreover, people without education and therefore incapable of giving us any useful information about the lay of the land." (Amedee Tardieu's Translation, Paris, Hachette, 1880, Vol. III, p. 201). The remains of the Roman-Egyptian "loge" at Pondichery, the Roman lamp at Pong Tuk near Bangkok, and the two moneys of the Antonines discovered in Cochin China and southern Annam do not remedy this deficiency.

Pliny then tells us that the inhabitants of Taprobana only navigate during four months; they winter from the end of June to the end of September. That means that they only go to sea during the period of the north-east monsoon, and possibly during the two periods when the monsoon changes; that might be true for the journey from Comorin to Colombo and *vice versa* on small boats unable to stand up to the surging of the south-west wind, and which thus had the wind on the side for both inward and outward journeys. It would apply less to trips from the Head of Achem to Ceylon or India for which the north-east monsoon would not favour the return journey towards the east. Nevertheless the journeys described are long ones. There seems to be some confusion here also.

I have reserved for the end the double-ended boats since they still exist today and in this very region; they are the canoes with a single lateral float that can be seen when one puts in at Colombo, and also at Kilakarai on the north side of the gulf of Manar. These *oruwa* go about by reversing their way so as to keep the float always on the weather side so that it sues up as much as possible, in order not to hamper the speed of the boat, whilst acting as counter-balance. That is the real reason for Pliny's double bows.

The large boats of 3,000 amphora are possibly the Cingalese "*yathra dohni*", which have now disappeared, and which also had only one lateral float, but did not reverse their way since their navigating was based on the monsoon and so they always had the wind on the same side.¹

Strabo

First I am going to give the translation of XV, 1, 14 and 15 :
 "By the name of Taprobana, one refers to (after the description of India) an island in the midst of the ocean, situated at a 7 day sea journey from the most southerly point of India (which depends on the territory of the Coniaci) and which is 5,000 stadia long stretching in the direction of Ethiopia. We are assured that elephants are to be found there as in India. Such are the positive notions which Eratosthenes gives us about India. But these notions can be completed. This is, for instance, what Onesicritus tells us about Taprobana. He claims that this island stretches over 5,000 stadia without, it is true, stating whether in length or in width, and puts it at a 20 day sea journey from the continent, but with the reservation that the boats on which the crossing is made navigate badly in view of their detestable sails, their double

1. J. Hornell, *Water Transport, Origins and Early Evolution*, Cambridge, University Press, p. 258 and Fig. 60.
2. I am following *Tardieu's* translation.

bows and the lack of sweep of their sides. He adds that other islands are to be seen during the journey but that Taprobana is the farthest south of them all. Finally, he states that a large number of amphibious cetaceans resembling oxen, horses and other land animals are in these waters." Apart from the 20 days brought down to 7 on account of the bad navigation of the native boats, it is obvious that this passage could not have influenced Pliny.

I do not know from which Greek text A. Tardieu took the double bows and the lack of sweep of the sides. These characteristics cannot impede the navigation of a boat. Writing in 1880, Tardieu admits that the passage is difficult and refers the reader to Muller (1853, see above Note 1). The latter, in the parallel he makes with Pliny, seems to have supported the hypothesis of the double bows for which Kramer and Meineke were first responsible. Here is the latter's text in the edition of 1887.¹ *Alla kakopleint as navs, phavlos men histiopepoiemenas kateskev asmenas de amphotherothen (prorais) enkoilior metron koris.*

Whence the provisional version : " But the ships navigate badly, not only because their rigging is defective but also because they are equipped on both sides with (?) keels (placed) separately."

The word supplied (in the dative) which is necessary to complete "equipped with" and to give the genitive *enkoilion metron* has to be discovered.

I do not think it is *prorais*. In my mind, the two sides are the lateral sides and what Strabo called, for want of a better expression, "rib-keels", is the bilateral floats of the boats still used today in Indonesia, floats which are some distance from the hull and separate (*koris*). When sailing, the float on the lee side sinks into the water and restrains the speed.

With this interpretation the word to be supplied can be unimportant and have the general sense of instrument, device, etc. Better still it is perhaps not necessary to supply a word at all since *kateskev asmenas* is in the category of verbs or adjectives of abundance (provided with, etc.), which require a direct genitive.

With my interpretation, the reason for the poor navigating of the native boats seems obvious and more probable than the use on the high sea of boats made of papyrus as Pliny states. But nowadays it is only in Indonesia that boats with two lateral floats are to be seen. Those at Ceylon have only one and which does not impede navigation, as I said above. Were there once boats with

1. A Meineke, *Strabonis Geographica*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1887, Vol. III. p. 962.
The text shows no signs of variants in this place.

double outriggers in Ceylon? I cannot find any mention of them in any text. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, very shortly after Pliny and also very vague about the geography of the same regions, mentions ships called kolandia and sangara in the south of India. The Sangara were large double canoes united by a planking (*monoxula ploia megista haphais exeugmena*), and thus similar to the former Polynesian craft.¹ The only details we have about the kolandia or kolandiophonta are that they were large and went as far as Chryse and the mouths of the Ganges. Both types have disappeared. However the fact remains that Indonesians had to use their own boats when migrating to Madagascar and Eastern Africa and probably passed by Ceylon.

In brief, Onesicritus, Nearchus's chief navigator, whom Strabo calls elsewhere (XV, 1, 28) "chief pilot, chief liar", gives us an important piece of information from which at least can be concluded that at the time of Alexander, the seas to the south of India were frequented by boats (local or Sumatrese?) with double outriggers.

Conclusion

The two passages from Pliny and Strabo merit the parallel made between them but not as Muller tried to establish it. Nautical art is especially intended to throw light on history and geography. One thinks it is possible to find proof that before the Christian era, boats of the Indonesian type different from the Cinghalese "*oruwa*" (which are not to be found in Indonesia) came from a large island and moored in the ports of southern India after a 20 day journey. Towards the middle of the 1st century A.D., this large island sent an embassy to the West and the description which the Ambassador Rachias made can only refer to Sumatra.

It is therefore certain that for our classical authors the name of Taprobana covered quite disparate notions about the regions beyond Cape Comorin, I should even say Cape Guadafui.

Even at the beginning of the 16th century one finds in Varthema (*Viaggio di Varthema in Oriente* re-edition by E. Masi, Bologna, 1884, p. 74) the following reflection about Sumatra: "Al mio parere, secondo anchor che dicono molti, credo che sia la Taprobana." It is of little importance whether this part of the journey is true or not (see discussion in the edition Schefer, Paris, 1883, of the French translation of Balarin de Raconis, p. XXXVI and following). Even if Varthema did not really see Sumatra, the fact remains that there was still a doubt in the minds of European geographers ("according also to what many say") about the identification of Taprobana with Ceylon or with Sumatra.

1. *Sangara* corresponds to the Tamil *Cangadam* (information from M. Meile).

Addition.—This doubt even continued up to about the year 1600, as is proved by a passage from the diary of the Dutch Admiral Van Neck and from Dutch cartography up to the extreme end of the 16th century.¹

1. Information from Dr. H. Terpstra, kindly communicated by Dr. C. Nootboom, Director of the Prince Hendrick Museum, Rotterdam.

THE FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMERCE OF ANCIENT CEYLON

III.—ANCIENT CEYLON'S TRADE WITH THE EMPIRES OF THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN WORLDS

By B. J. PERERA

CEYLON'S FOREIGN trade was so closely connected with the oceanic commerce of the ancient world that the study of the subject involves the study of the history of shipping and commerce in the Indian Ocean and the adjacent seas. Situated at the centre at which every trade route across the Indian Ocean converged, the Island enjoyed since the very dawn of recorded history, an importance which was far beyond what its size would otherwise have warranted.

The origins of trade in the Indian Ocean are hidden in the shades of unrecorded antiquity. Archaeological finds at Mohenjodaro, Phoenician inscriptions and references in the Bible and the Sacred books of the Hindus shed an occasional ray of light, but the material is all too meagre to trace the genesis and growth of sea borne trade in those days of antiquity.

During Hellenistic times there was an immense expansion of trade between the West and the East. The merchandise was however carried by intermediaries. Early Greek writers, contemporaries of Alexander the Great recorded in their works the information they collected on Ceylon. Though their works are no longer extant some extracts from their works are preserved in the compilations of later writers.

When we come to Roman times the sources are less meagre though far from abundant. From these works it is seen that the early Roman traders did not visit the Island but bought the products of Ceylon from South Indian ports. All Roman writers prior to Ptolemy got their information on Ceylon at second hand. None of the Romans who had even made settlements at the South Indian ports appear to have ever come to the Island. It is strange that the Romans who had dared and endured the rigours and the perils of a long voyage to South India should not have come to Ceylon which was the "logical conclusion" of their voyages. It is therefore quite possible that the South Indian kingdoms did actually prevent and prohibit the Romans from trading with Ceylon. There is other evidence which lends colour to this view. We know that the early Aryan settlers in Ceylon continued to have inter-

course with their mother country in North India.¹ This intercourse appears to have come to a somewhat abrupt end some time after the reign of King Devanampiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.). This cession of Ceylon's connections with North India appears to coincide with the earliest invasions of Ceylon by the South Indians. Perhaps the early invasions of Ceylon by the South Indians may have been for the purpose of controlling the ports of Ceylon with the view of preventing Ceylon from trading with the Romans and Persians. It is true that the Sinhalese were always successful in driving away the invaders from the capital, but it is possible that the latter retained the control of the great port of Mannar. That this was the case is proved to a certain extent by the predominating Tamil influence at this port.² Evidence is not lacking in the Sangam Literature of the Tamils to show that at limited periods at least Tamil rulers held sway in parts of North of Ceylon.³ The commercial causes for these invasions is seen by the fact that the leaders of one of these invasions were the sons of a freighter who brought horses to Ceylon.⁴ The horses brought by these traders may have been Persian horses which the South Indian prevented from being brought directly to Ceylon. The traders of South India must have reaped a rich harvest by this monopoly of Ceylon's foreign trade.

The first reference to a Roman or a Roman subject in Ceylon is found in the account of Annius Plocamus in Pliny's work. But his arrival in Ceylon was purely accidental. From the context we may presume that he was one of the first if not the first Roman to land in Ceylon.⁵ Perhaps the embassy sent by the King of Ceylon to Claudius the Roman Emperor, may have been to explore the possibilities of direct trade between the two countries opened by the arrival of a Roman in Ceylon.

According to the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* written by an anonymous writer of the 1st century A.D. "the southern part of the Island tends gradually to the West and almost touches the coast of Azania."⁶ This proves that even up to this date the Romans did not possess accurate information regarding the Island. The first accurate and detailed account of the Island is found in Ptolemy's work written about A.D. 140. Though most of the places mentioned

1. *The Mahavamsa* : Trans. English : W. Geiger, P.T.S., Ch. VIII., v. 12 ; Ch. IX., v. 6, 23 ; Ch. XVIII.-v. viii.
2. B. J. Perera "The Ports of Ancient Ceylon" in *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I., No. 2, p. 111
3. Srinivasachariya, "The Ancient Tamils and the Nagas," in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III., 1927, p. 518-519.
4. *The Mahavamsa* : Ch. XXI., v. 11.
5. Trans. Rackham : *Pliny's Natural History*, Bk. 6, para. 23.
6. Trans. W. H. Schoff : *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (London, 1912), p. 47.

in his work are still to be identified, what identifications so far possible prove that Ptolemy got his information from persons who had an intimate knowledge of the country.

With the division of the Roman Empire, direct trade between the East and the West came to an end and whatever merchandise that found their way to Western marts from the East was taken there by intermediaries. One of the last references to contact between Ceylon and the West is the notice of an embassy from Ceylon to the Roman Emperor Julien.¹

The intermediaries that engaged themselves in the carrying trade between the East and the West were the Ethiopians and the Persians. Three writers belonging to about the same period attest the presence of these two races in Ceylon. Cosmas states: "The Island . . . is much frequented by ships from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia."² Procopius informs us that the Romans obtained their Chinese silks from Persian traders who had bought them in Ceylon.³ A Theban scholar from Crangnore in the course of his travels "heard of the Ceylon markets thronged with merchants from Ethiopia and Persia".⁴ The Persians had settled in Ceylon in such large numbers that by the middle of the 6th century a presbyter had to be appointed from Persia to cater to their needs. "The Island has also a church of Persian Catholics who have settled there and a presbyter who is appointed from Persia and a deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual."⁵ This evidence of Cosmas is supported by the discovery of a Persian cross at Anuradhapura.⁶

There appears to have been a good amount of rivalry between the Ethiopians who were the allies of the Romans and the Persians their traditional enemies. This rivalry is indicated by the quaint story of Sopatrus the merchant from Adule and the Persian merchant at the Court of the Sinhalese King.⁷ This rivalry is further illustrated in the following account given by Procopius. According to this writer, the Emperor Justinian sent an embassy

1. Ammien Marcelline, Bk. XXII., Ch. VII., quoted in M. Reinaud's *Relations Politiques et Commerciales De l'Empire Romain Avec L'Asie Orientale*, p. 263.

2. Trans. J. W. McCrindle : *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, p. 364-372.

3. *De Bello Persico of Procopius* : Trans. H. B. Dewing : *Persian Wars* (Loeb Classical Library), Bk. I., Ch. 20, secs. 9-13.

4. Quoted in "Constantine and India" by T. K. Joseph : *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXVIII., Pt. I., April, 1950, p. 5.

5. Cosmas : *Loc. cit.*, p. 364-372.

6. *Archaeological Survey, Ceylon (A. S. C.) Annual Report*, 1924, p. 51-52.

7. Cosmas, *Loc. cit.*, p. 364ff.

to Auxum requesting the Ethiopians to buy silk directly from the Indians and sell them to the Romans. The Ethiopians agreed but were unable to carry out the request of the Roman Emperor: "For it was impossible for the Ethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, because the Persian merchants present at the very ports (of Ceylon) where the first ships of the Persians put in, since they were inhabiting a neighbouring country, were always accustomed to buy their entire cargoes."¹

There was a very important development in the history of commerce in the Indian Ocean during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. The centre of the entrepot trade which during the earlier centuries was confined to South Indian ports now shifted to Ceylon. We know from the work of Procopius that the Ethiopians and Persians used to buy in Ceylon the silks brought by the Indians from China. But the best notice of Ceylon's importance as an entrepot is found in the work of Cosmas. According to this writer, ships from China, India, Ethiopia and Persia brought their wares to Ceylon from whence they were transhipped to other ports.² The Sinhalese themselves took an active part in this trade and the King of the Island would have got an enormous income by way of duties on the merchandise brought and sold in the Island. It is noteworthy that it was in this period that the Sinhalese reached the high water mark of their culture and civilization. This state of affairs was possible because South India was at this period under the rule of the Kalahabras and Ceylon was comparatively free from South Indian invasions.

In the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries all the products of Ceylon are termed products of Persia. This was due to the fact that the Persian carriers attributed to their own land the place of origin of these goods. In the 7th century when the Buddhist monk Vajrabodhi came to Ceylon he found at the port of Po-tchi-li a fleet of thirty-five Persian ships which had come to trade in precious stones.³

Three Persian works claim that the territories of the Persian King Chosroes Nushirwan extended as far as Ceylon. They also refer to an invasiou of the Island by him.⁴ The Pali chronicles and Sinhalese literature do not refer to this matter at all. If there was any attack by the Persians it must have been in the nature of a raid on the ports.

1. Procopius, *Loc cit.*, Bk. I., Ch. 20, sec. 9-13.

2. Cosmas, p. 364ff.

3. *Journal Asiatique* May-June (1900), pp. 418-421.

4. Hadi Hassan: *Persian Navigation*, p. 67. See also Tennant's *Ceylon* (1860) Vol. I., p. 590ff; and Reinaud's *Geographie de Aboulfeda*, Introduction, cccclxxxiii.

One of the last references to the Persians in Ceylon before the 9th century is found in the Chinese work *Hwi-Chao* c. 729 A.D. in which they are stated to be trading with Ceylon.¹ Evidence of the presence of Persians in Ceylon is met with only after the 13th century. Ibn Batuta states that Aryachakravarty could converse fluently in Persian.² It has already been shown that Aryachakravarty was engaged in a struggle with the Arabs for the control of Ceylon's foreign trade.³ Perhaps Aryachakravarty welcomed the Persian merchants as against the Arabs. The fact that an inscription set up at Galle by the Chinese General Cheng Ho about the year 1410 indicates that at that time there was an important community of Persians at that port.⁴

With the rise and spread of Islam in the 6th and 7th centuries the Arabs soon wrested the trade of the Indian Ocean from the Persians. The Arabs showed an enthusiasm in the pursuit of material things which was no whit less than their religious fervour. The Arab control of the Indian Ocean starting from about the 8th century lasted until the advent of the Portuguese at the dawn of the 16th century.

The first mention of the Arabs in Ceylon appears to be in the *Mahavamsa* account of the reign of King Pandukabhaya where it is stated that this king set apart land for the Yonas at Anuradhapura.⁵ When Alexandria the principal mart for Europe for eastern products fell into the hands of the Arabs they would have realized what enormous profits could be derived from this trade. With the conquest of Persia, Syria and Egypt the Arabs were in possession of all ports and trading stations between Europe and the East. This would have been a great encouragement to the Arab traders as they had less duties to pay at the different stations. By about the 8th century the Arabs had formed colonies at the important ports of India, Ceylon and the East-Indies. The presence of Arabs at the ports of Ceylon is attested to by at least three inscriptions discovered at Colombo, Trincomalee and the Island of Puliyantivu.⁶

The Arabs appear to have clamped an iron curtain between the East and West, and the effectiveness with which they barred all connections between the two worlds is seen by the almost complete

1. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 33, p. 205.
2. H. A. R. Gibb: *Ibn Batuta*, p. 254-260.
3. B. J. Perera, "Ancient Ceylon and its Trade with India," *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I., No. 2, p. 199.
4. *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. VIII., p. 122.
5. *Mahavamsa*: Ch. X., v. 90.
6. For inscription discovered at Colombo see *Trans. R. A. S.*, Vol. I., p. 538. The Arab inscription recently discovered at Trincomalee by the Department of Archaeology has not yet been published. The inscription of Puliyantivu has been published in the *A. S. C. Annual Report* for 1912-13, p. 8.

absence of any references to Ceylon in the European literature of the period.

By about the 9th century the Arabs appear to have been well-established in Ceylon. The pretext for the invasion of India by the Arabs in the 10th century was the plunder by Indian pirates of some ships which were carrying the orphan daughters of Muhammedan merchants who had settled in Ceylon.¹ In the reign of King Parakrama Bahu I, the Yavanas are mentioned as having brought presents to the king and that they were very well treated by the king.²

As a rule the Moors appear to have got on well with the Sinhalese. The kings of the Island appear to have treated the Arabs favourably as against the South Indians who were competing with them for the control of Ceylon's foreign trade.³ The Arab control of the ports could never develop to be a threat to the country as the Arabs could not muster the necessary forces while the Tamil control of the ports was always fraught with danger. The only recorded instance of a clash between the Sinhalese and the Arabs was in the reign of King Bhuvaneka Bahu V (1360-1391) when Alagakkonar did away with both the Moors and the Tamils.⁴

The Arabs were the carriers of Ceylon goods to China and other countries of the Far East. Neither in the annals of the Sung dynasty nor in the writings of Chou Ku Fei is Ceylon mentioned in the lists of countries trading with China. Perhaps the Arabs too, like the Persians in earlier times ascribed to their own country the origin of the goods they bought in their own ships.

The Chinese first began to traverse the Indian Ocean in their own ships about the beginning of the Christian era.⁵ In the year 97 A.D. we have a reference to an embassy from Ceylon to China. It is stated that Yungyutio, (i.e., Dravidra,) King of Shen, (i.e., Ceylon) sent an embassy to China bearing ivory, buffaloes and humped oxen. In 120 A.D. this embassy was repeated.⁶ The

1. *Futu' al-Buldan* of Baladhun. Trans. P. K. Hitti. New York, 1924., p. 215-216. See also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Khwajah. Trans. B. De, Vol. II., p. 263.
2. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 76, v. 264.
3. B. J. Perera, "Ancient Ceylon and its Trade with India. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I., No. 3, p. 199.
4. Ed. W. F. Gunawardena : *Nikaya Sangarawa*, p. 28.
5. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China," *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2, June, 1938.
6. "The Mantse and the Golden Chersones," by T. W. Kingsmill in *J. R. A. S.* (North China Branch), Vol. XXXV., p. 99.

Kwai Yen Catalogue of the Chinese *Tripitaka* has a list of various nuns and monks who went to China from Ceylon between the 4th and 7th centuries.¹ Fa Hien while in Ceylon met a Chinese merchant who was making an offering to an image at the capital.² Cosmas writing in the early 6th century refers to the ships which brought silk from China.³ All these references show that there was a brisk trade between China and Ceylon before the expansion of Arab sea-faring in the Indian Ocean. Chinese sources inform us that Ceylon sent tribute or embassies to China in the following years. A.D. 97, 120, 121, 418, 428, 430, 435, 515, 523, 527, 531, 670, 711, 746 and 750, 762.⁴ In Chinese terminology the term tribute appears to be coterminous with trade. "In the intercourse between the Chinese state and the Barbarians, commercial relations became inseparably bound up with the tributary. Trade was conducted by barbarian merchants who accompanied the tributary envoy to the frontier or even to the capital, sometimes it was conducted by members of the mission itself."⁵

After 750 A.D. there is a blank of about two hundred years in the cultural and commercial intercourse between Ceylon and China. This was no doubt due to the assumption by the Arabs of the monopoly of the trade of the Indian Ocean. Even this trade must have diminished to a great extent after 878 when the Chinese rebel Huang Ch'ao sacked the port of Canton and massacred almost all the foreign traders settled at this port. Besides the sack of Canton there were other causes for the cession of China's trade with the West. The decrepit Tang dynasty was at this time on its last legs and finally came to an end in 907 A.D. The last years of this moribund dynasty as well as the period which followed it fall was a period of confusion which would hardly have favoured trade.

By about the middle of the 10th century, trade between China and the West was revived and we begin to have both literary and archaeological evidence of Ceylon's commercial relations with China. The Southern Sung dynasty encouraged trade and for the first time the Chinese gained control of the sea routes of South-Eastern Asia.⁶ Chinese stuffs are mentioned in the *Cula-*

1. *J. R. A. S.* (Great Britain), 1903, p. 368-70.
2. Beal: *Buddhistic Records of the Western World*. Intro. p. lxxi-lxxix.
3. Cosmas, *Loc. cit.*, p. 364-372.
4. *J. R. A. S.* (Ceylon Branch), Vol. 24, No. 68, 1915-16, p. 106ff.
5. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. VI., June, 1941, p. 158.
6. "Notes on Early Chinese Voyages," by J. V. Mills in *J. R. A. S.* (Great Britain), 1952, Pt. I., p. 3ff.

vamsa account of the reign of King Parakrama Bahu I.¹ During the excavations carried out at Polonnaruwa in a building of King Parakrama Bahu I a large hoard of coins was brought to light. One set of coins belong to Kao Tsu (618-627) the rest belong to almost every Emperor of China between the years 976-1265 A.D.² It is more than a mere coincidence that in the recent find of coins at Yapahuva the earliest coins belong to the reign Kao Tsu (618-627) while the rest belong to the period 976-1225 A.D.³ Coins certainly cannot be considered as proof of trade between the two countries during the period indicated by the dates of the coins. Coins were imported from China to Ceylon for the sake of their gold content.⁴ Coins many centuries old may have been imported to Ceylon as bullion and not currency.

The important part played by the Chinese in the trade of the Indian Ocean is reflected in contemporary literature. Ibn Batuta in the 14th century stated that the voyages from Calicut and other South Indian ports to China were made only in Chinese junks.⁵ Marco Polo refers to an embassy from the Kublai Khan to the King of Ceylon and Edrysty notices the Chinese trade with East Africa.⁶

The South Indians attempted to check the Chinese trade in the Indian Ocean with a view to do the carrying trade in the Indian Ocean by themselves. This move on the part of the South Indians provoked a series of punitive raids on South India and Ceylon. The cause for the raid on Ceylon which took place about the year 1410 A.D. is not given in any of the Chinese works, but two incidental statements immediately following the accounts of the raids on Ceylon leaves us in no doubt as to the cause of the raid. "From that time onwards the barbarians of the four quarters have all been filled with fear and have taken absolutely to cherishing virtue."⁷ In the *Ming Shih* we have: "From this time onward, the barbarian nations showed themselves more submissive to the majestic virtue of the Son of Heaven, envoys with tribute filled the highways and frequent payments of tribute were received from the King of Ceylon."⁸

1. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 73, 85.

2. *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1930-31, p. 8.

3. *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1950, p. 23. See also 1911-12, p. 64.

4. *J. R. A. S. (Ceylon Branch)*, Vol. XXIV., 1915-16, p. 99-102.

5. Ibn Battutah, *Voyages*. Ed. and Trans. C. Defremery & B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris (1879-93).

6. Trans. Yule & Cordier, *Marco Polo* p.

7. *Hsing Ch'a sheng lan* 26, Trans. Rockhill in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XVI., pp. 381-383

8. *J. R. A. S. (Ceylon Branch)*, Vol. 24, No. 68 (1916), p. 120.

The Chinese trade with Ceylon and India came to a standstill about the middle of the 15th century. The *Ming Shi* records various embassies from Ceylon to China in the years 1430, 1433, 1436, 1445 and 1459.¹ The *Wan-la-hui-tien* gives the additional dates 1411 and 1412 A.D.² The Ming dynasty was on the decline after 1433 and the Chinese emperors acting analogously to the mercantilism in Europe in contemporary times restricted foreign trade to check the drainage of gold and silver from the country. The last notice of direct trade between the two countries is contained in the *Ming Shi* where it is stated that—"In the 3rd year of Tien Shun (1459) the King Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-hgi-gi-lia-pa-chiao-la-josent envoys with tribute after which no further tribute reached China from that quarter."³

Although we could expect a large volume of trade between Ceylon and the ancient states of South-East Asia, reference to trade with them are almost wholly absent in the Pali chronicles and Sinhalese literature. Both Ceylon and these countries lay athwart the ancient sea routes which linked the great empires of Rome, Persia, India and China. The initiative in trade was usually taken by the subjects of these empires. It was these empires that at different periods dominated the Indian Ocean and carried the merchandise of the smaller states. The trade between Ceylon and South-East Asia must have as a rule remained a mere side show of the trade between China and the West. Moreover there were very few items which Ceylon could exchange with them as their products were the same.

During the 12th and 13th centuries however we get several references to trade between Ceylon and Burma, Cambodia and Sumatra. This sudden rise of trade between the countries round the Bay of Bengal was due to the fact that at this time there were two great empires on either side of the sea. The Chola empire brought within its hegemony the greater part of peninsular India and developed a civilisation which was surpassed by only that of the Guptas. They were moreover the greatest naval power in Indian history. On the other side was the empire of Sri Vijaya which at the zenith of its power included the Islands of Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The standard of material culture attained in these two empires must have created a ready market for the luxury goods of Ceylon.

The period of close contact between Ceylon and South-East Asia falls between the period starting from the reign of King Vijaya-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

2. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. VI., June, 1941, No. 2, p. 152.

3. *J. R. A. S. (Ceylon Branch)*, Vol. XXIV., p. 120.

Bahu I (1059-1114) and Parakrama Bahu II (1230-1271), King Vijaya Bahu I traded with Burma and the merchandise which he got from that country was used to finance his struggle against the South Indian invaders. "The King (Vijaya Bahu) sent to the King in the Ramanna country numbers of people and much costly treasure. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandal wood and other goods."¹ In the reign of King Parakrama Bahu I there were envoys representing the two countries in the two respective courts and it was the ill-treatment of the Sinhalese envoys and the plunder of Sinhalese that led to the invasion of Ramanna.² In the *Culavamsa* account which describes the causes that led to the friction between the two countries we get ample evidence that notwithstanding the dearth of references there was actually a long standing commercial intercourse between the two countries. "The King of Ramanna did away with the age old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in which gifts were conveyed."³

Duarte Barbosa includes Malacca in the list of countries that sent out ships to buy Ceylon products.⁴ Wang Ta Yuan states that Ceylon imported tin from the Straits.⁵ Inscriptions of Airlangga (1019-1042) King of Java mentions the arrival of Sihala merchants at the ports in the territory of this king.⁶ Malayur in Sumatra is mentioned in the *Pujavaliya* and the *Dambadeni Asna* both written about the same period.⁷ The appearance of this important name in Sinhalese literature is an indication of the close connections which this Island had with it. Besides Malayur the *Pujavaliya* gives a list of places in South-East Asia including Puppola which is probably the Papphalama of the *Culavamsa*. Mandu and Pandur in the *Pujavaliya* list may be the Island of Madura off Java and Pandur a village north-east of Saigon.⁸

With Kamboja (Western Siam) too Ceylon had connections. Parakrama Bahu I, once sent a princess to the Court of the Kamboja King.⁹ Cambodian mercenaries were employed in the reign of

1. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 48, v. 8-10.

2. *Ibid.* : Ch. 76, v. 15-25.

3. *Ibid.* :

4. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Series, Vol. 44, pp. 109-120.

5. "Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih Luch by Wang Ta Yuan," in *J. R. A. S.* (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XXVIII, No. 72, 1920, p. 32.

6. G. Coedes, *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d'Extreme Orient*, Hanoi (1944), p. 186-187.

7. Ed. Saddhatissa : *Pujavaliya*, Panadura (1930), p. 106. Ed. Ranasinha : *Dambadeni Asna*, Colombo, 1928, p. 3.

8. *Pujavaliya*, p. 106.

9. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 76, v. 35.

King Nissanka Malla (1187-1176).¹ A pillar inscription of the same king informs us that one of the gates of Pollonnaruwa was named Kamboja Wasala.² Still another inscription of the same king states that he made alliance with the Kings of Arimaddana and Kamboja.³ There is also archaeological evidence of contact between Ceylon and Kamboja. The *Satmahal Prasadaya* which is the only one of its kind in Ceylon is no doubt copied from a prototype in Kambodia and perhaps even executed by Kambodian artisans.⁴ The *Potgul vihara* which like the *Satmahal Prasadaya* is unique in Ceylon also appears to have been copied from a prototype in Kambodia.⁵

It is in the background of Ceylon's trade with South-East Asia that the true significance of the Chandrabhanu invasion can be understood. This invasion took place in the reign of King Parakrama Bahu II by a king of the Javakas whom we know to have been a prince of the great empire of Sri Vijaya. The cause of this invasion appears to have been a desire to get a certain sacred image from Ceylon.⁶ But this is hardly possible as we know that there were very cordial relations between Ceylon and the East Indies at the time. It is also highly improbable that a Buddhist king would have undertaken a religious war in which thousands would have been killed.

The examination of all the materials connected with the subject shows that there is a possibility that this invasion was brought about by causes connected with Ceylon's foreign trade with India.

The Kokila Sandesa mentions a Javaka Kotte in the North of Ceylon.⁷ The place name Java Kaccheri in the Jaffna Peninsula must have been considered as a survival from a settlement of Javakas settled at this place. It is important to fix the date of these settlements as it would shed considerable light on the invasion of Chandrabhanu. The *Kokila Sandesa* was compiled in the middle of the 15th century. From the context it is clear that he was referring to a place and not a fort. It must have taken a considerable time for the name of the fort to have been transferred to use as a place-name. It is not possible that the Javaka settlements

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1. Muller : *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 1883, No. 145.
 2. *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1911-1912, p. 101.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
 4. *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1903, p. 16.
 5. *A. S. C. Annual Report*, 1906, p. 17.
 6. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : "Sri Vijaya, Chandrabhanu and Vira Pandiya" in *Voor Indische Taal—Land—En Volkenkunde*, Deel lxxvii, 1937, p. 251ff.
 7. Ed. W. F. Gunawadena : *Kokila Sandesa*, v. 240.

indicated by these place names were a result of Chandrabhanu's invasion. The empire of Sri Vijaya tottered to its fall shortly after the raid of Chandrabhanu¹, and the confusion that followed the disintegration of this empire precludes the possibility of the Javakas establishing settlements in Ceylon. Therefore in all probability the Javaka settlements indicated by these place names were made before Chandrabhanu's invasion of Ceylon.

When we read the *Culavamsa* account of this invasion we get the impression that this was not a mere raid but a punitive expedition. "All these wicked Javaka soldiers who invaded every landing place . . . without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Lanka. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place destroyed by lightning with flames of fire, so Lanka which had been harassed by Magha and others was ravaged anew by the Javakas."² Even after he was defeated and forced to flee, Chandrabhanu returned to the fray with a Tamil army. Certainly Chandrabhanu was fighting for a higher stake than a mere image.

It is here that we realize the full meaning of Chau-ju-kua's statement that Ceylon paid tribute to San-fo-tsi (Sri Vijaya).³ It has been already shown how in Chinese terminology the payment of tribute was coterminous with trade. If the dates are correct Ceylon paid tribute to San-fo-tsi during the rule of Magha. It is unlikely that Magha himself being an invader would have been under any form of subjection to the kingdom of Sri Vijaya. At the most therefore the statement of Chau-ju-kua cannot mean anything beyond the possibility that Ceylon was having direct trade connections with the kingdom of Sri Vijaya.

If the above view is correct then the motive of Chandrabhanu's invasion becomes clearer though far from certain. The campaigns of Parakrama Bahu II against Jayabahu and Magha would have affected the Javakas too. The Javakas and Magha being allies the former would have suffered the same fate as the South Indian invaders. The fact that in his second raid Chandrabhanu was aided by the South Indian troops would show that the Tamils and the Javakas had common interests when they jointly invaded Ceylon.

The above view remains a conjecture based on very slender evidence but it is hoped that it will provide a working hypothesis for future investigations.

1. Nilakanta Sastri : *Sri Vijaya*.

2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 83, v. 36-40.

3. *Chau Ju Kua*. Trans. Hirth & Rockhill, p. 72-73.

Among the various races that found their way to Ceylon were the Jews. Though the Jews were traders it is highly improbable that they were navigators or owned ships.¹ Abu Zaid (c. 911) speaks of a great multitude of Jews in Ceylon.² Edrisi states that among the 16 Viziers of the King of the Island four were Jews.³ According to Benjamin of Tudela, the number of Jews in Ceylon was estimated at 3,000.⁴ In a letter in Arabic which may belong to the late 12th or 13th century discovered at the Cairo Genizah, there is a reference to a Jew who made journeys between Malabar and Ceylon.⁵

With the fall of the Roman Empire which heralded the advent of the Dark Age of European History direct connections between the Far East and Europe came to an end. Europeans began to appear in eastern seas only after the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 A.D. With the establishment of the Mongol Empire the naval states of Italy were allowed access to the Indian Ocean, and starting with Marco Polo in 1295 we get a regular stream of European travellers who were attracted by trade or wander lust to these shores. But the Europeans were never able to challenge the supremacy of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean until the dawn of the 16th century when the superior knowledge of navigation and the superior weapons of the Portuguese enabled them to oust the Arabs.

Many scholars, both in earlier as well as in modern times held the view that the Sinhalese took no part in its foreign trade. One of the most recent writers on the subject states that : "The Sinhalese in Ancient and Modern times alike have shown an apathy in all matters connected with trade."⁶ Writing much earlier Tennant expressed the same view. "Upon trade the natives appear to have looked at all times with indifference. Other nations both of the East and West of Ceylon made the Island their halting place and the Chinese brought hither the wares desired for the countries beyond the Euphrates and the Arabians and the Persians met them with their products in exchange, but the Sinhalese seem to have been uninterested spectators of this busy traffic in which they can hardly be said to have taken any share."⁷

1. U. M. de Villard : 'Note Sulle influenze Asiatiche nell'Africa Orientale,' in *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, Vol. XVII., p. 303ff.
2. E. Renandot : *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, London, 1733, p. 82.
3. A. Jaubert : *La Geographie de Edrissy*, Paris, 1836, Vol. I., p. 72.
4. M. N. Adler : *Jewish Quarterly Review*, O. S. Vol. XVIII.
5. E. N. Adler : *Jewish Travellers*, London, 1930, pp. 100-102.
6. A. Appadorai : *The Economic Conditions of South India*, p.
7. Tennant : *Ceylon*.

Although these statements are generally true, yet, the Sinhalese did take, at limited periods at least, an active part in the international commerce in which their country occupied an important place. There is enough evidence to prove that within limited periods the Sinhalese possessed a navy which they used in carrying the products of their country to other lands.

It has been shown that the colonisation of Ceylon by the Aryans was the result of commercial contact between North India and Ceylon and there is no reason to believe that the Aryans gave up their maritime activities soon after they had settled in Ceylon.¹ In fact the *Mahavamsa* has recorded frequent voyages between North India and Ceylon in the pre-Christian era, showing that the Aryan settlers in Ceylon continued to be sea-farers after they had made Ceylon their permanent home.² In the 1st century A.D. Pliny refers to the Taprobanian merchants who made voyages by sea.³ Cosmas too states in a definite way that the Sinhalese took part in international trade. "The Island . . . is much frequented by ships from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia and it likewise sends out many ships of its own."⁴

If Sinhalese literature has very few references to Sinhalese sea-faring it was only due to the partial nature of Sinhalese literature which deals almost exclusively on religious affairs. The *Saddharmalankaraya* which is one of the very few books which reflect the economic conditions of the times, contains several references to Sinhalese traders going abroad for trade.⁵ One of the references in the above book states that a voyage made by a merchant of Mantota necessitated an absence of three years abroad.⁶ As the time taken for a voyage to China and back took three years this voyage may have been made to that country. There is however definite evidence of Sinhalese traders in China. The Chinese priest Kien Tchen describing the port of Canton states: "The Barbarians both white, red and so on coming from the land of the Lion, the land of Ta-tche, or the land of Kou t'ang were in the habit of coming or stopping here."⁷ Again two brothers Buddhimitra and Buddharakshita from Ceylon living at the ancient port

2. B. J. Perera, "Ancient Ceylon and Its Trade with India," *Ceylon Historical Journal*. Vol. I., No. 3.

3. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. 8, v. 12, 9, 6, 23, 18, 8.

4. J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 102-106

5. Cosmas : *Loc. cit.*, p. 364-372.

6. Ed. Gnanavimala : *Saddharmalankaraya*, p. 706.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 780.

8. Nilakanta Sastri : *Foreign Notices*.

of Bharoch are stated to have made an offering to a temple there.¹ As Bharoch is a place of no religious importance these two brothers had settled down there for the purpose of trade. In the *Culavamsa* account of the reign of Dhatapabhuti we have a reference to a merchant from Ceylon who returned from a business trip to Kasi.² The account of the reign of Parakrama Banu I in the Pali chronicles leaves no doubt that in the reign of this king the Sinhalese had a navy strong enough to carry out invasions of Burma and India. Perhaps, although that king had sufficient ships to carry out these invasions he did not have enough experienced sailors to man these ships and this perhaps was the cause which led to the wreck or dispersal of the fleets which was employed in the invasion of Burma. Only five of the ships fitted for the invasion of Burma were able to reach that country.³ From quite an unexpected source we get the only reference to ships being used in civil war in Ceylon. An inscription of the Burmese King Ramadhiraja, "the Minister Goruchi had rebelled against the King of Ceylon. At the time of the arrival of the ship (of the Burmese delegation) the younger brother of the king had proceeded by ship to the same village accompanied by many other ships conveying armed men in order to fight the rebel minister."⁴ In the Devanagala inscription there is a reference to *Hatan Nav* or warships.⁵ It is not possible to determine whether ships specially constructed for war is meant here.

Writing early in the 15th century Pires states of Ceylon : "It has a few ships of its own and they trade with Quilon and from Bengal to Cambay."⁶ Inscriptions of Airlangga, King of Java mentions Sinhala merchants who put in at his ports.⁷ Besides these direct references to Sinhalese taking part in trade there are other indications that the Sinhalese were quite familiar with shipping. Several classical writers have shown a first hand knowledge of navigation.⁸

In spite of all this evidence however it can be said that generally the Sinhalese did not take an active part in the foreign trade although they had vast possibilities open to them. Whenever we come across dateable references they all belong to certain limited periods when a strong king free from the worries of foreign invasion or internecine warfare took the initiative and made attempts to develop the Island's trade. It is impossible however that individual

1. *Indische Studien*, XIV., band.

2. *Culavamsa* : Chap. 41, v. 38.

3. *Ibid.* : Chap. 76, v. 56.

4. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III., Pt. II., p. 229.

5. H. C. P. Bell : *The Kagalla Report*, p. 73.

6. *The Book of Pires*, p.

7. Coedes, *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d'Extreme Orient*.

8. *Pujavaliya*, loc. cit. . 7

Ceylonese took part in the foreign trade on their own initiative. Perhaps the comparative apathy of the Ceylonese towards the foreign trade may have been due to the social and economic set up of the country.²

As stated earlier, neither in the writings of Cho'u-Ku Fei who gives a comprehensive account of the countries that traded with China nor in the annals of the Sung dynasty is Ceylon mentioned as one of the countries with which China traded. Abdur Razzak gives a list of countries whose ships visited Ormuz and Ceylon is not mentioned in this list.¹ In a letter sent by Bhuvanaka Bahu I, to the Court of the Sultan of Egypt, it is stated that the Island's produce which found their way to Egypt were taken there by South Indian merchants.²

One matter on which we lack information is the organisation of trade, the facilities accorded to foreign merchants, the terms of exchange and other akin matters. We do not even know whether foreign trade was a wholly state enterprise or not. In connection with these problems one of the greatest difficulties that the student has to encounter is to ascertain how far a reference belonging to one particular period may be considered as being true for the whole period under survey.

Since foreign trade was chiefly in the hands of the government the king maintained envoys in other countries, and foreign countries maintained representatives in Ceylon. One Burmese envoy to Ceylon in the Pollonnaruva period is mentioned in the Pali chronicle.³ The *Glass Palace Chronicle* of Burma mentions another envoy by the name of Kala.⁴ Ceylonese rulers are stated to have sent embassies to Roman Emperors on two occasions.⁵ Vijaya Bahu I exchanged envoys with the Chola and Karnata rulers.⁶ Bhuvaneka Bahu I sent an embassy to the King of Egypt to explore the possibilities of trade between the two countries.⁷ In the same letter the Sinhalese King also mentions an embassy from Yemen which was sent to Ceylon. It is not specifically stated that these embassies and envoys were for the purpose of international trade but there is no doubt that this was the purpose, for in ancient times as now, international relations were chiefly commercial.

1. Hirth & Rockhill, *Chan Ju Kua*, p. 24.

2. "Quartremere 'Histoire des Sultans des Mamlouks," Vol. II, Pt. I., pp. 59-60. Trans. Eng. in *J. R. A. S.* (Ceylon Branch), Vol. 28, No. 72, p. 82-83.

3. *Culavamsa*: Ch. 76, v. 23.

4. *The Glass Palace Chronicles*.

5. Mentioned by Pliny & Ammien Marcelline.

6. *Culavamsa*, 60, 25ff.

7. *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, loc. cit., p. 59.

The Persian cross found at Anuradhapura, the mosque stated by Ibn Batuta to have existed at the capital, and the houses of the Sabeian merchants noticed by Fa-Hien at Anuradhapura, all indicate that there were colonies of foreign merchants at the capital. What was the necessity for foreign merchants to be at the capitals which were far removed from the sea-ports? Most probably they were the agents of the foreign merchants who transacted business with the king. Since the king had the monopoly of the production and the sale of some of the chief exports of the Island, it may have been the function of these agents to arrange with the king for the purchase of these products. As a result of the important position held by the State there must have been a good amount of diplomacy involved between the king and the merchants. For instance when King Parakrama Bahu I came to the throne after many years of fighting the foreign merchants hastened to win his good will with presents.¹

Goods were generally bought and sold using money as the medium. For example the elephants from Burma usually cost from 100 to 1000 nikkhas.² But this system does not appear to have been an universal rule. Sometimes goods were exchanged for goods. King Parakrama Bahu I sent in exchange for merchandise from Burma the products of his own country.³ According to Ibn Batuta, the people of Mulayarbar paid women stuffs and other articles in exchange for the cinnamon they took away.⁴

The State appears to have had a prescriptive right over the goods of wrecked ships. According to an inscription: "If ships laden with horses, carry horses for the service of the Treasury, and are wrecked, a fourth share should be taken by the Treasury and the other three parts should be left to the owner."⁵ This practice of the State claiming a share of the merchandise seems to have been in vogue in India too. According to an inscription of the Kakatiyas: "Formerly kings used to take whole cargoes, viz., gold, horses, elephants and gems, etc., carried by ships and vessels which after they had started from one country to another were attacked by storms, wrecked and thrown ashore."⁶

The foreign trade of Ceylon being primarily an affair of the State there would have been a high government official in charge of it.

1. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 76, v. 264.

2. *Ibid.* : Ch. 58, v. 8-10.

3. *Culavamsa*

4. Gibb : *Ibn Batuta*, p. 254-66.

5. Rasanayagam : *Ancient Jaffna*.

6. Nilakanta Sastri, "Foreign Trade under the Kakatiyas," *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII., Pt. IV., 1934, p. 319.

There is a reference to the chief of merchants, Settinatha in the reign of King Vijaya Bahu.¹ Although we are in the dark as to his exact functions they had to perform, we can be quite sure that he was a very important official, for he is mentioned along with the Head of the Umbrella-bearers and the President of the Court of Justice. Parakrama Bahu in his reorganisation of the administrative system of the Island created a similar post.² Edrysy states that the King of Ceylon had 16 Viziers, "four being natives, four Muhamedeans, four Christians and four Jews."³ This is the only reference to the king having foreigners in his council. Perhaps the writer is only referring to a council which assisted the king regarding the foreign trade and also regarding the jurisdiction over the foreigners settled in the Island. The *Guttala Kavya* is stated to have been composed at the request of a minister, Jayapala of Salawata (Chilaw), a port of considerable importance in the Kotte period.⁴ This minister is described as "a full robed moon in the sky which was the race of the merchants." Perhaps this Jayapala was a high royal official in charge of the port.

All imports and exports were taxed, and for this purpose custom houses were maintained at the ports.⁵ Since the more important ports were sources of a large income they appear to have been outside the administration of the provincial rulers. The term *Mavutu'addan* (officer in charge of Mannar) may refer to the special official in charge of that port.⁶ The king sometimes waived the import duties on imports which were of special importance to him.⁷ There are a few instances where the king granted the revenues from the ports to nearby vihares for their maintenance.⁸ All these instances however are from Ruhuna. The king also maintained warehouses for the storing of merchandise at the ports.⁹ The present Bankshall street appears to be derived from "*Banda Shala*" meaning in Sinhalese "goods shed."

There is very little material which shed light on the lives of the merchants at the ports. There are two writers however who have given us detailed accounts on the subject. According to Varthema

1. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 59, v. 16.
2. *Nikaya Sangarawu*, p. 20.
3. *Ceylon* : By an Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles, London, 1876, Vol. I., p. 244.
4. *Guttala Kavya*, v. 5-11.
5. Cosmas, p. 364-372.
6. *Epigraphica Zeylanica*, Vol. III., p. 105.
7. Cosmas, p. 364-372.
8. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. II., p. 178 ; and Ibn Batuta, p. 254-60.
9. Gaspar Correa's *Account of Ceylon*. Trans. in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. , p.

they were stout big belled and extremely luxurious in their living. They were naked up to the waist, clad in silk and wearing turbans. Their ears were bored and laden with gold ornaments. Their belts too were of gold inlaid with gems.¹ According to Abu Zaid the lives of the merchants do not appear to have been always very secure. Besides the piracy referred to by several writers the merchants appear to have been a prey to lawless elements. The above writer gives us an account of how robbers and thugs preyed openly on the merchants. "An Indian would come to the Buzar or the market place with his kri, as they call a kind of cangiar they wear, made after a particular fashion and seize on the most wealthy merchant there present and holding his kri to his throat, lead him by the vest, out of the city in the midst of a throng of people, while not a soul of them dared to attempt his rescue. For if any attempts of this kind was made the Indian was sure to kill the merchant and make away with himself. When he had got him out of the city, he obliged him to redeem himself with a great sum of money. This outrage continued till the king ordained that every Indian who presumed on the like should be seized, but offering to execute this order, the Indian killed the merchant first and then himself. The same misfortune befell many other merchants and after this manner did a number, both of Arabs and Indians perish, wherefore the merchants sought after other means to secure themselves and the Indians were no longer apprehended.² We have another instance of plunder in the writings of John Marignolli who was brought by adverse winds to the port of Beruvala where he was victimised by one Coya Jaan. "At first he (Coya Jaan) put on a pretence of treating us honourably, but by and by in the politest manner and under the name of a loan, he took from us 60,000 marks in gold, silver, cloth of gold, precious stones . . . gifts from the great Kaan and other princes to us, or presents sent by them to the Pope. And so we were detained by this man with all politeness as I said, for four months."³

The accounts depicting the rivalry between the Romans and the Persians have been already referred to. The following account given by Varthema describes similar rivalry. "Being in our ship one evening, a man came on the part of the king to my companion and told him that he should carry to him corals and saffron, for he had a great quantity of both. A merchant of the said island who was a Moor, hearing the words, said to him secretly : "Do not go to the King, for he will pay for your goods after his own fashion," and this he said out of cunning, in order that my companion might go away because he himself had the same kind of merchandise.

1. *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema* : Hak'uyt Sericea., Vol. 32, p. 189-93.
2. Renandot (E.), *Ancient Accounts of India and China by Two Mahomedean Travellers*, (1733), p. 83-84.
3. Yule : *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. II., p. 357.

However answer was given to the message of the king that on the following day he would go to his lord. And when morning came he took a vessel and rowed over to the mainland.¹

The traders in Ceylon appear to have been public benefactors too. A slab inscription of Queen Lilavati states : " She caused the platform called Pala Balavi Medavi to be built in the neighbourhood of the alms-house by traders of diverse countries."²

1. Varthema, loc. cit., p. 189-193.

2. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I., p. 181.

THE SIGNATURES OF THE KINGS OF CEYLON

By FR. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(From "The Aloysian" 1940-41. Reproduced by Courtesy of the Editor)

NO DOCUMENT extant in this Island bears the signature of a King of Ceylon, for the good reason that ancient Sinhalese Kings did not usually sign any document. Inscriptions, grants (*Sannas*) or amnesties (*Abhaya Dana*) issued by the king's authority and engraved on rock or on plates of gold, silver and copper, or written on palm-leaves, generally bear the royal sign manual Sri , as a guarantee of authority in *perpetuam rei memoriam*. But that symbol of royal majesty is inscribed not by the king, but on his order by the sculptor if it is a lithic-record, or by a member of the royal guild of smiths (*Abharana Pattale*) on metal plates, or written by a Mohottala on *ola*, by command of a royal minister called "the Sannas Minister," vulgarly "Sannas-Rala."

When, however, the necessity arose for the Kings of Ceylon to hold correspondence with foreign potentates by letters written on paper, the epistles had naturally to be under-written by the king himself in proof of authenticity. If such a letter was carried by an accredited envoy or ambassador of the Sinhalese monarch, that in itself was a sufficient guarantee that the letter was genuine, and no signature of the king was necessary. The royal seal was then affixed by a Minister, as Pilima Talauwe, the First Adigar of Kandy, was once at great pains to explain to a British official who was not satisfied that a missive purporting to come from the Kandyan Court and delivered to Governor North, actually emanated from His Kandyan Majesty. "It never had been customary for the King to sign any letter"¹ said the Adigar, and in proof of it he pointed out that "letters to Colombo under the Dutch Government and to Batavia, as also letters to the Government of Fort St. George" (Madras) never contained the King's signature.

But in the earlier days, when the Kings of Ceylon had to communicate with the King of Portugal or with his Viceroy at Goa, or with the Pope of Rome, there was no other way of authenticating a letter than by signing it. The etiquette of Oriental Courts was not known in the West: means of communication were rare and

1. Torre do Tombo, *Livraria* 946, Rp. 1730-1731. "In dealing with Father Jácome Goncalvez, the King of Kandy disregards all his grandeur and gives him intimate and personal audiences, and to do him honour and to show greater regard, he even writes to him letters, signed, and sealed with his imperial seal, an honour which is not known to have been done to anyone not of royal birth."

precarious ; and there was little choice of messengers. The letter itself, therefore, had to contain some proof of authenticity, clear to a Westerner. Moreover, when a Sinhalese monarch wished to honour a private individual by sending him a personal letter, as Narendrasinha did to Father Jacome Goncalvez,¹ it was usually signed by the King with his own hand. But no such private letter has come down to us ; while on the other hand, in the archives of Rome, Lisbon and Goa, there exist quite a number of letters signed by Bhuvaneka Bahu of Kotte, by his brother and rival Mayadunne of Sitawaka, by Vikrama Bahu, king of Kandy, by Don Joao " by the grace of God King of Ceylon," and by Senerat king of Kandy.

SIGNATURE OF BHUVANEKA BAHU, KING OF KOTTE 1521-1551

As many as eleven original documents² bearing the signature of Bhuvaneka Bahu of Kotte, and existing in the Torre do Tombo of Lisbon, were first brought to light by Father G. Schurhammer, s.j. Of these documents ten are letters, the eleventh being the credentials issued to Francis d' Ayora, authorizing him to discuss some affairs of Kotte with the Viceroy. Of the ten letters two are addressed to the King of Portugal, John III ; three to the king's brother, the Infante Don Luis ; one to the Queen of Portugal, Dona Catharina ; three to the Viceroy of Goa, Don Joao de Castro ; and one to Don Antonio de Athaide, Count Castanheira, a distinguished Portuguese nobleman who had shown great attention to the Sinhalese ambassador whom Bhuvaneka Bahu had sent to Lisbon.

All the letters are in Portuguese, and most of them are explicitly stated to have been written by a certain Antonio da Fonseca, a trusty clerk on whom Bhuvaneka Bahu reposed such confidence that the poor man earned the ill-will of the Portuguese officials in Ceylon. Seven of the letters contain, besides the signature of the king, an attestation in Tamil, clear in meaning but faulty in orthography. " Know for a truth that this letter was caused to be written by me " (*Inda kattu nan eludivitta padi arindu unmaiyyaga kollavum*), followed by the signature.

1. Torre do Tombo, *Livraria* 946, Rp, 1730-1731. " In dealing with Father Jacome Goncalvez, the King of Kandy disregards all his grandeur and gives him intimate and personal audiences, and to do him honour and to show greater regard, he even writes to him letters, signed, and sealed with his imperial seal, an honour which is not known to have been done to anyone not of royal birth ".
2. Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Chronologico* (1-74-25 ; 1-83-50 & 51 ; 1-85-107 ; 1-112-47 ; 2-241-53 & 96) *Collecao de S. Lourenco* (iii 346-349 & 377-380) : all carefully edited with critical notes by G. Schurhammer in (1) *Ceylon zur Zeit des Konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552*, and (2) *Die Zeitgenossichen Quellen*.

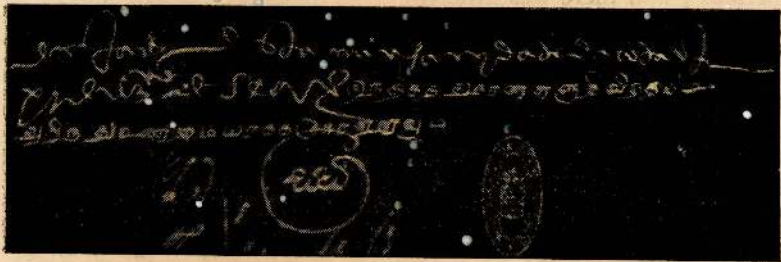


Fig. 1 :—*Torre do Tombo, Corpo. Chron. 1-112-147*

De sta minha cydade de Cota, oje xi de Decembro de 549 இந்த
கதது நான என்திவிததபடி அறிநது உணமையாகக கொள்ளவும.

SSri

“From this my city of Kotte, on this XI of December, 1549.
Knowing that it is I who wrote this letter, take it for true.

Svasti Sri ”



Fig. 2 :—*Torre do Tombo, Corpo. Chron. 2-241-93*

Deus acrecente a vida e Reall istado per mujtos anos como V. A.
deseia. Desta mynha Cota, aos sete de Dizembro de 548 இந்த
கதது நான என்திவிதத படி அறிநது உணமையாக கொள்ளவும.

SSri

“May God extend the life and Royal state for many years as
Your Highness desires. From this my Kotte, on the seventh of
December, 1549. Knowing that it is I who wrote this letter, take
it for true.

Svasti Sri ”



Fig. 3 :—*Torre do Tombo, S. Lourenco ; III 377*

Desta mynha cidade da Cota aos xvij dias de Novembro, Amto da Siqa a fez, ano de 546. இந்த கதது நான எழுதி வித்த படி அறிந்து உணமையாக கொள்ளவும்

SSri

“From this my city of Kotte on the xvij day of November. Done by Amtonio da Fonseca, in the year 1546. Knowing that it is I who wrote this letter, take it for true.

Svasti Sri ”

SIGNATURE OF DON JOAO OF KOTTE, 1551-1597

Of the grandson and immediate successor of Bhuvaneka Bahu, Dharmapala Astana, afterwards Don Joao Periya Pandar (Maha Bandara) I found only two signed letters, one in the Torre do Tombo and the other in the Vatican archives. The former is addressed to the Queen of Portugal and is in Portuguese, a language which Don Joao knew very well, though the letter does not seem to have been written with his own hand.

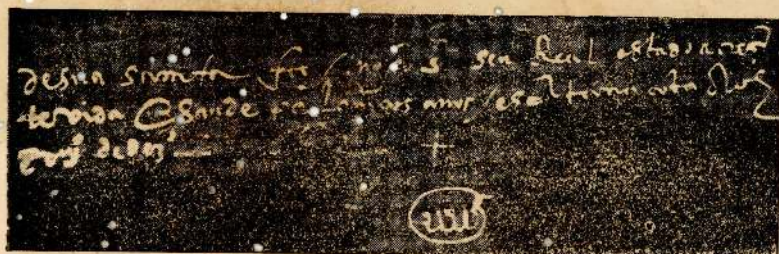


Fig. 4 :—*Torre do Tombo, Gavetas 15-17-39*

Nosso Senhor seu Real estado acrecente vida e saude por longis anos. Escrita na Co.a, aos xxiii de Dezembro de 1561.

SSri.

“May Our Lord increase Your Royal state, life and health, for many years. Written at Kotte on the xxiii of December, 1561.

Svasti Sri.”

The only other signed letter of Don Joao was written thirteen years later, when he was living in the fort of Colombo, and is dated 26 January, 1574. It is written in Italian by a Greek who happened to pass through Colombo and offered to represent his grievances to the Pope. Don Joao has signed on the margin as there was no room at the end of the letter, which appears to have been hastily composed. Clumsily written on both sides of a sheet of paper with many erasures, it was fair-copied at Rome for presentation to the Pope, correcting the orthographical errors of a foreigner writing Italian. It is this fair copy¹ without signature that has been printed by Theiner in *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1438) and in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*.

The letter ends "Di Ceylone et cita di Columbo alli 26 giorni del mese di Genaiio di 1574," and the signature on the margin is shown in Fig. 5.



Fig. 5 :—*Archivio Segreto Vaticano*
Nunziatura di Portogallo IV 489



Fig. 6 :—*Torre do Tombo,*
S. Lourenco III 337

The letter does not seem to have been presented by the Greek in person, but only forwarded to Rome. It took four years to reach the eternal city, for the reply addressed "To our Beloved Son, the Noble John King of Zellai" by Gregory XIII, is dated the 1st July, 1578. On the following day the Pontiff also wrote to King Sebastian of Portugal, communicating the substance of Don Joao's letter and asking him to comply with the requests "according to the justice of the case," for, says the Pope, he had "no information whatever about the man or of his merits or of his rights or of the justice of his demands."

SIGNATURE OF VIKRAMA BAHU, KING OF KANDY.

Two letters bearing the signature of Vikrama Bahu *alias* Jayavra of Kandy are extant.² Both are written in Portuguese. Nuno Alvares Pereira, who was in Kandy since 1542. The first letter dated 13th October, 1545, and the second 29th May, 1546, are

1. *Nunz. di Portogallo I, 258.*
2. *Schuhammer Ceylon I, 184, 370.*

long letters of five pages each, on three sheets of paper. The first concludes : " Done by me (Pereira) and signed by the King " ; the second : " Written on the order of the King and signed by him also." In the first there is only the King's signature : in the second the King's signature is followed by that of Pereira. The King's signature on both is shown in Fig. 6.

SIGNATURE OF MAYADUNNE, KING OF SITAVAKA, 1521-1581

One single letter signed by Mayadunne exists in the Torre do Tombo.¹ It is dated 26th October, 1547, and is addressed to the Viceroy of Goa, Don Joao de Castro. Written in Portuguese it was taken to Goa by a kinsman of Mayadunne who went as ambassador to Goa with Antonio Moniz Barreto. The ambassador carried as presents to the Viceroy two rings, one of which was set with a cat's-eye shaped like the Island of Ceylon and had round it nine small rubies, the whole weighing 15 dwt. The signature of the King is in red ink, on a different piece of paper, but pasted to the letter, which ends " This twenty-sixth of October, 547 " and the signature is shown in Fig. 7.



Fig. 7 :—Torre do Tombo,
S. Lourenco III 393

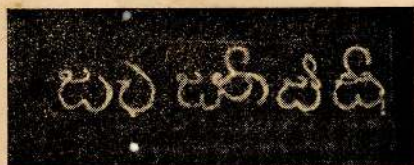


Fig. 8 :—Report Kegalla
District—Bell 94

SIGNATURE OF SENERAT, KING OF KANDY, 1604-1635

Of Senerat there exist in the State of Archives of Goa six letters, of which four bear his signature and the other two only his seal. The signed letters were brought to Goa by the King's ambassadors, Jayasundara Mudaliyar, Dissawa of Uduuwara, and Kuruppu Rala, in 1632. Figure 9, shows the signature on the credentials of the ambassadors, " Signed by me and sealed with the seal of my royal arms, at Candea on 4th December, 1632."

The signatures of Jayasundara and Kuruppu also appear on the original text of the treaty, and consist only of the letters *ja* and

1. Ib. II., 476.

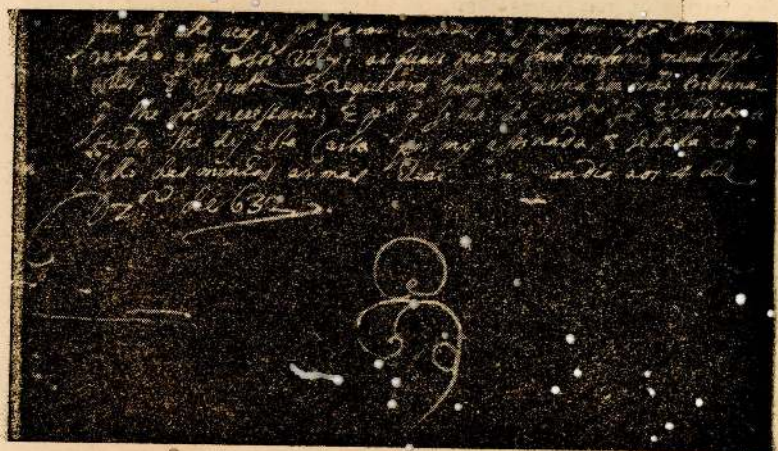


Fig. 9 :—State Archive, Goa, Livro de Pazes

☉ *kra*, faintly traced apparently with great difficulty, and cannot be easily reproduced by photography. Even those who can read were not accustomed to write, as was clearly shown so late as 1815 when the Kandyan chiefs signing the Convention, appear to have done so like children first learning to write. Some of the chiefs, Pilima Talauwe and Dulleve, even used a mixed alphabet, the ancient Brahmi lipi *m* and the Tamil I. Ratwatte signed entirely in Tamil, Ehelepola in Grantha characters.

• SVASTI SRI •

The signatures of the Kings given above consist of a part of the well known auspicious phrase *Svasti Sri*, Mayadunne used *Sva*, the first syllable of *Svasti*, probably because he was only a tributary king. Vikrama Bahu used *Sri* alone. But the kings of Kotte, Bhuvaneka Bahu, and Don Joao, who claimed to be emperors of Ceylon, *chakravarti* used *SSri*, a monogrammatic abbreviation of the whole phrase *Svasti Sri*.

Sri should be written orthographically with the palatal *s*, ☉, the *kada sayanna*, as it is called in Sinhalese. But as in pure Sinhalese there was only the dental *s* ☉, it was not uncommon to write *Sri* with the dental *s* as ☉. It is so written on the Beligala Sannasa. (See Fig. 8.)

On the margin of that very same sannasa *Sri* is written also with the palatal *s*, but the scribe was so ignorant that he wrote it using both the sign of the Sanskrit vowel, *ri aa*, the double looped "side limbs" (*geta sahita elapili deka*) as well as the long *ispilla* and the *uttara rakaransaya* combined in one flourish. (See Fig. 10.)




Fig. 10



Fig. 11.

In the Devundara Sannasa *Sri* is written with the same irregularity but with the dental *s*. (See Fig. 11.)

Thus there was much divergence in the manner of writing *Sri*. The monogrammatic abbreviation of *Svasti Sri* should be written  as in the Manipe Sannasa.¹ But the form in which it was written by Bhuvaneka Bahu and Don Joao is found also in the Demaladuva Sannasa.²

Svasti Sri is a very familiar phrase which cannot easily be translated into any language except by a paraphrase. *Svasti*, in this usage, is indeclinable and means "Well" "Happily". It also means "Hail" or "May it be well with you," and is most often used as a term of salutation at the beginning of letters. Its use as a royal signature comes from the practice of sovereigns using the term to signify sanction or approbation: "Be it so."

Sri on the other hand is a noun, feminine, from a Sanskrit root that has the meaning of "diffusing light" or "radiance." It is therefore used to indicate "power," "right," and "majesty," and is often used to signify the royal dignity personified. In all countries of the Sanskrit culture *Sri* is used as an honorific prefix to names of places and persons: Sri Lanka, Sri Vikrama Rajasinha. It is invariably used at the beginning of important documents. Whence it has come to mean something like the Latin *Augustus* or the Greek *Sebastos*. *Augustus*, of which *Sebastos* is but a translation, was at first an adjective, meaning "venerable," and was first given to Octavius Caesar as a surname after he attained to undivided authority. Thenceforth it means: "Royal Majesty."

Just as the Tamil attestation in the letters of Bhuvaneka Bahu is a sign of the Dravidian influence in the Court of Kotte, so also the cross in the signature of Don Joao, who was a zealous Catholic, shows the Christian influence in his time. Curiously enough a trace of the Christian influence at Kotte even before the conversion of Don Joao, is found in the Ganegoda Sannasa, the date of which

1. Journal No. 65 of the R. A. S. Ceylon, Plate IV.

2. Ib. Plate II.

falls in 1546-1547,¹ and which therefore is contemporary with the letters of Bhuvaneka Bahu shown above, for in that *Sannasa Sva* is written with the emblem of Christianity. (See Fig. 12)

Nearly all the letters of the kings bear the royal seals stamped in wax, but they are not all decipherable, and some are broken. The seal of the Sinhalese Lion is distinct on four letters of Bhuvaneka Bahu. Don Joao has used the very same seal. Senerat used a smaller seal of which the design is not clear to me. The wax stamp of the seal, often black, occasionally reddish brown, is not easy to photograph for purposes of reproduction : at least I am not artist enough to do so. The illustrations given below are an attempt to represent the Lion-seal on the cover of the letter of Don Joao (Fig. 13) and the seal of Senerat (Fig. 14).

THE LION-SEAL OF
KOTTE

THE SEAL OF
SENERAT



Fig. 12

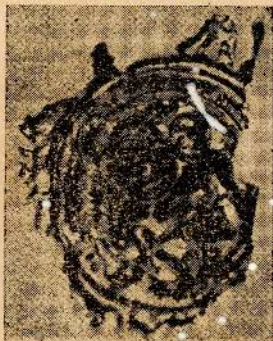


Fig. 13:—*Torre do Tombo, Gavetas 15-17-39*



Fig. 14:—*State Archive, Goa*

DUTCH PEPPER TRADE ON THE MALABAR COAST UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE FLEETS BLOCKADING GOA, 1636-44*

By T. I. POONEN .

In 1636 Antonie Van Diemen assumed office as Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies at Batavia. With him begins a robust, expansive generalship characterised by the resumption of the earlier policy of attack against the Portuguese fortresses. For nine years strong fleets sailed from Batavia to the west coast of India for blockading Goa, the Portuguese military and commercial centre, so that the attempts to capture the strong Portuguese Fort of Malacca controlling the entrance to the Archipelago might be crowned with success. These plans against Malacca went parallel with that against the Island of Ceylon, whose ruler Raja Singa had invoked the help of the United East India Company to drive the Portuguese out of his land. Next to the military aim, the paralysing of the Portuguese power, the trade and opening of negotiations with the Indian princes were equally kept in view. Every Commander of the successive blockade fleets which proceeded to occupy the harbour of Goa had in the instructions received by him some rules dealing with the Malabar pepper trade.

I.—Jacob Coper

The first fleet which left for the west during the Governor-Generalship of Van Diemen sailed between the 26th and 28th August, 1636, under the generalship of the Commander Jacob Coper. Ten ships were destined for the blockade intended to do damage to the common, hereditary enemy. They were to catch up the helping squadron expected from Portugal and obstruct the sailing of the returning ships. It was hoped that under the shelter of such a strong fleet better success could be attained on the Malabar coast than in previous years. Two ships were instructed to observe the pepper trade. It was hoped that, in view of the experience acquired by Corencray and Vlack in Malabar waters during the preceding period, large consignments of pepper could be bought at Cannanore, Dhurmapatam and Badagara. The Dutch now learned that mostly shallow draught vessels combined with small rowing vessels should be used for that trade as the Portuguese would make all possible efforts to hinder the same with their small frigates and yachts. Coper had brought with him a cargo worth 101,176 and odd guilders which he would rather not take back but for which

*As described by M. Antoinette P. Roelofs in her *De Vestiging Der Nederlanders Ter Kuste Malabar—s—Gravenhage Martinus Nuhoff—1943.*

he wished to secure in exchange 8,000 quintals or 400 lasts of pepper (1 quintal=100 or 112 pounds; 1 last=20 quintals). He was also to buy ginger, cardamom and cinnamon, but his principal activity was to be the acquisition of pepper. Like his predecessor, Corencray, Coper was also advised to pay without haggling the prices that were asked if they were reasonable. The instructions received by him regarding Malabar trade bore great resemblance to those received by Dr. Pieter Vlack. He was also warned of the faithlessness of the Malabar merchants. He was also directed to convince the King of Cannanore of the friendship of the Dutch and of the benefit that the pepper trade would bring him in the matter of liberating him from the yoke of the Portuguese, at the same time discreetly and modestly showing him the Dutch strength.

The sale of the pepper was to be carried on with great precaution on board in front of the big mast. The Senior Merchant Johan van Twist was to push this trade if he was not sent as messenger to Bijapur. Next to him were the Senior Merchants Benjamin van den Burch and Floris van Castel, each being appointed on a separate ship. If the cargoes meant for Malabar could not be wholly disposed of, then the remainder was to be sent to Coromandel.

In contrast with Vlack, Coper was able to touch the Malabar coast in the favourable season; as Goa was blockaded and small rowing boats were keeping watch before the rivers, the High Government hoped positively this time for a rich pepper cargo. With the decline of the Sumatra pepper trade through English competition where a real pepper war had broken out, the gap had to be filled by the United East India Company from Malabar.

In 1637, Pieter Paets proposed to his superiors that the Malabari merchants who called at the ports of Bijapur with their small ships loaded with cocoanut and rice, consignments which yielded but little profit, should be persuaded to supply instead annual cargoes of pepper under the promise that the Dutch would buy that pepper so that the Portuguese might in this way be tricked out of pepper. In making this proposal Paets forgot the fact that, though the greatest transport to the Bijapur kingdom took place across lands which lay outside the reach of Portuguese forces, the latter exercised so much control over the coast that they could immediately hinder transport of pepper by sea as suggested.

The United East India Company likewise attempted to conclude a contract for the purchase of pepper in Surat with the powerful merchant, Virji Borah. This Virji Borah who was a merchant established in Surat but had merchandise supplied to him from all parts of India at first promised to the Dutch to keep in stock a good

consignment of pepper coming from Malabar and Bijapur for being transported when the ships from Batavia called at Surat. Subsequently, he excused himself on the pretext that the Portuguese had bought all the pepper. The Dutch rightly thought that it had been bought by the English and that his promises had been made merely to satisfy the Dutch but with the intention to deliver his pepper to the English. He sold them 20,000 maunds (1 maund weighed about $67\frac{1}{2}$ Dutch pounds) for which the English had not to pay more than 4 stuivers (pennies) a maund. This promised much profit for the English as pepper was sold in Europe at 40 stuivers and more per maund. The Dutch therefore took care to prevent this Virgi Borah having the benefits he enjoyed by buying their goods.

2.—Westervolt

In view of the fact that Coper had accomplished very little during his voyage, he was not entrusted with the command over the fresh blockade, but the Governor-General and Council appointed a still greater Naval Commander, Admiral Westervolt. The fleet of 16 ships thus sent to Goa in August, 1637, under Commander Westervolt had with him, for the Malabar trade, cargoes worth 29,976 and odd guilders in ready money, lead, cloves, nutmegs, mace and sandalwood. In exchange for this, the High Government hoped to acquire 3,000 quintals of pepper. During his voyage to Goa along the coast, Westervolt had placed the highest hopes on the expected pepper harvest and he was to intimate to the inhabitants the wishes of the United East India Company in this respect. The High Government's expectations of pepper had been pitched so high that they even took precautionary measures against the contingency of the cargoes brought by them from Europe being found insufficient as merchandise for buying pepper. They were in this case to fill up the gap in Surat with cotton and opium products which would find eager purchasers in Malabar.

Seeing that during Westervolt's voyage the trade with Bijapur required the greatest attention, he was not expressly commanded to pay a visit to the Zamorin. Johan van Twist and Floris van Castel were to take up again the pepper trade. If the cargoes destined for Malabar were not marketable there, they could be used for Bijapur.

That Batavia in these days was very much in need for pepper appears clearly from the fact that they bought this spice in the Archipelago, and in order that it might serve properly as cargo for the fatherland sent it to Persia, so that they might not be required to be responsible for the use of their capital for their purchases in

that land. If the Company were to make use of their capital for the purchase of silk in Persia, this trade would no longer be profitable. Therefore the High Government placed their hopes on the produce which the regions on the west coast of India produced and in particular on the pepper and cardamom from Malabar and Bijapur. The pepper from the Archipelago could then be utilised entirely for the return cargo to the fatherland and the trade to China and Japan.

The High Government had been buying to satisfy their superiors with promises of abundant supplies of pepper being available in Malabar but till now they had accomplished very little in that trade. It was however finally brought home to Van Diemen that he with his projects of Malabar pepper had neglected the usual pepper places in the Southern Quarter. How perniciously the English competition in the pepper trade worked appeared from the strong mounting of prices in India from 5 to 8 reals per picol (about 125 pounds) while the Company was compelled by merchants to buy unpurified pepper mixed with sand as the English took the same without protest. It was to be deplored that an agreement with the English in the interests of both parties was in practice wholly impossible.

While in the beginning of the voyages to the west coast of India the High Government attached very much importance to the capture of enemy ships, it became more and more obvious that this could not in the first place make good the cost of the expeditions to Goa, but that the trade should meet the cost of the war.

3.—Antonio Caen

The High Government entertained great expectations of the third blockading fleet under the command of Antonio Caen. The Portuguese power was becoming feebler. Both the old English Company and Courteen's Association were short of capital. Again very valuable and varied cargoes for the Malabar trade were sent with him. To the articles which used to be sent previously, some specimens of new things like tortoise shell and porcelain were added. Of the last even 10,000 pieces. What importance the Governor-General and Council attached to the Malabar trade appears from the fact that they gave to their Commander full freedom to use for buying pepper in Malabar the cargoes destined for Surat and Wingurla. Their Right Worshipfuls were strongly desirous that the price of pepper should remain high in Europe and this could only be if there was but one importer, the United East India Company. It was a vexation to the leaders of the Company that from the cost by blockading fleet in the first place not they but their jealous friends, the English profited. The achievements of Caen did not in any

way come up to the expectations of his masters. Ships were sent neither to the Malabar coast nor to Bhaikal.

4.—Cornelis Symonisz Vander Veer

The fourth blockading fleet which came in front of Goa was placed under the command of Cornelis Symonisz Vander Veer, who died during this voyage. It was again a mighty fleet consisting of 28 ships of which eight were intended for trade. After a victorious combat against the Portuguese enemy, Van der Veer divided his fleet into two squadrons. He sent some ships to the coast of Malabar, while he himself with the rest proceeded northwards.

Now as it was made impossible for the Portuguese to send their ships with return cargo for Europe from Goa, they sent a yacht loaded with pepper from their southern harbour of Cochin while the ships from Macao, Bengal and Arakan no longer reached Goa, but steered their course to Cochin whence the goods were brought on rowing boats to Goa. If the Dutch wished the blockade to be effective, Cochin had also to be blockaded and with this aim the ships of Van der Veer's fleet were sent southwards. They were also at the same time required to make a beginning of the long postponed Malabar trade.

5.—Pieter Quaetgebeur

As in 1639 the English Courtens Association had sent a yacht to the Malabar coast, the Dutch could no longer afford to neglect that trade if they wished to derive any profit from the blockade. For three years they had put off the trade on the Malabar coast, first through want of ships and then for want of cargoes. With a cargo of the value of 19,518 guilders—quite smaller than in 1636 and 1637—and consisting of cloves and nutmegs, quicksilver, tin, sulphur, Japanese camphor, opium, saltpetre and a large quantity of lead which the Company could retail nowhere and now eagerly wished to get rid of in Malabar, the ships *Arnhemuyden* and *Cleen Rotterdam* departed to the Malabar coast. As a result of the experience of the previous years, the United East India Company was in some degree acquainted with the Malabar trade and the commodities that were desired by the people there. Yet their knowledge was capable of being enlarged. Besides the goods which they knew of old that they could sell to these people a market could also perhaps be found for other goods, for instance, saltpetre. What merchandise the Malabar merchants who came in their small ships to Surat for carrying on trade desired was exactly ascertained and these goods could thus be imported by the Dutch. But this investigation was not gratifying for the United East India Company as the Malabars mostly bought cheap goods of plain quality in small quantities. The Malabar coast did not

promise to be a large market. Cotton and opium which the Company caused to be purchased in Surat for being sold in Malabar were not in much demand there.

The Commander Pieter Quaetgebuër, who had fairly mastered the Spanish language was charged with the carrying on of this Malabar trade. Cruising in front of the coast thus, Quaetgebuër had in December already placed himself in communication with the inhabitants who promised him large quantities of pepper. During this voyage, even negotiations with the Zamorin were opened. If the Dutch wished to build a lodge in his land and gave him some support, he promised them freedom from toll for the merchandise they bought into and carried out of his land. The place for this settlement could be chosen by the Dutch themselves. The Zamorin should protect them against all attacks of the Portuguese. He showed himself ready to conclude a contract on the sale of pepper. If the Dutch were established in his kingdom his subjects should not carry on trade with other foreign nations, provided however that the Dutch bought the goods of his subjects for the market price while they could ask reasonable price for the goods imported by them. They were not obliged to buy pepper exclusively from the Zamorin, but could deal with all who offered them this commodity. The Zamorin should protect the Dutch against all possible deceit, chicanery, default of payment, etc., on the part of his subjects.

The discussions were not carried on by Quaetgebuër himself but by a subordinate assistant, Aernout Post. The letter did not dare to go into the proposals for the capture of some of the Portuguese fortresses. But as this proposal emanated from the Zamorin himself he had to acquaint his commandeur of the same. When this objection was raised, the Zamorin gave no concrete answer but only said that he wished to live in unity with the Dutch when more of the Portuguese power was got rid of. Messengers from the King of Cannanore came in the fleet and brought in the name of their monarch an offer to deliver four to five hundred candies of pepper about February. They left behind with the Dutch two hostages.

It seemed a much promising beginning, and armed with the *retroacta*, the instructions to his predecessors, Quaetgebuër sailed along the Malabar coast, but he had stretched too high the expectations of his superiors. He appeared too late, as the English of Courten's Association had already before his arrival purchased all the pepper. Hindered from approaching Goa by the blockading fleet, the English had tried their fortune on the Malabar coast. Their ship *William* was able to sail with a good cargo of pepper. It appeared how troublesome the English could be here to the

Dutch. Regretfully, the latter perceived that those people (the English) drew the profits of the labour of the Dutch and with small expenses frequented the whole of India.

Not only the Courten's Association but also the Old English Company developed a great activity on the Malabar coast and sent their ships to buy pepper. The performances of the English were carefully watched by the Dutch and it was with great displeasure that they saw the purchase of pepper and cinnamon by the Old Company in Cochin and Goa. The English offered to sell at high prices to the Dutch the cinnamon which they had acquired in Cochin from the Portuguese—an offer considered by the Dutch as impudent. As the Dutch had to accommodate the English sensitiveness over their flag they positively prevented visits to the English ships which were providing the Portuguese with war material and were carrying from Portuguese ports those products which damaged the market in Europe for the Dutch. The Commanders of the blockading fleets were called upon to prevent English ships from entering Goa. In the earliest years of their activity Courten's Association had indeed inflicted damage to the United East India Company by their buying pepper.

It was the chief concern of the Dutch in their transactions in India to get into their hands as much as possible the carrying trade of India and keep the same in the place of the Indian trade. In these years connections were entered into anew with the Red Sea region, i.e., Mocha and the United East India Company, and the trade possibilities here investigated by the Junior Merchant Johannes Sigmundus Wurffbain. It appeared to the Dutch that the Malabar merchants exported large quantities of pepper to this city in addition to Persia. Next to pepper in smaller quantities cardamom, cinnamon. India rubber and even some iron and steel were negotiated. The thinly populated land of Arabia could not consume large quantities of that pepper. Therefore those Malabar merchants travelled inland with their goods, and *via* Cairo a portion of this pepper reached the Mediterranean shores along the old route of the pre-Portuguese times. This was little desired by the Dutch as by this cause the price of pepper would fall in Europe as also in the Netherlands. Even the export of pepper to Mecca involved them in difficulties.

Of the people in West Africa, the Turks valued the Bijapur pepper most while the Arabs preferred the Malabar pepper.

5.—Dominicus Bowers

The fleet that sailed in the latter half of the year 1640 to Goa under the command of Dominicus Bowers was considerably smaller than those of the preceding years. On the request of the Com-

mander, this fleet was for the purpose of the pepper trade reinforced from Surat with the fly-boat *de Vluggend Hart* equipped with 24 cannon. Just because of this armament this ship was able to undertake alone a voyage to the Malabar coast. No longer must the pepper trade benefit others than the United East India Company.

Because of the disappointments of the previous years very high expectations were not now entertained. The Dutch feared the English competition and knew that the inhabitants did not wish to buy the Company's wares in the measure they (the Dutch) desired.

Capital and goods to be bartered sufficient for buying 300 to 400 lasts of pepper were entrusted to the Senior Merchant Simon de With, who with the goods sailed for Malabar in the fly-boat on the 17th December. In January and February, the exact time for the pepper trade, he could reach his destination. As no letters or reports from this servant of the Company have been preserved we know very little of this voyage.

De With must have visited the Zamorin and received from him the promise which he had already made to so many Commanders, namely of the monopoly of the pepper trade in his land with refusal of permission to other traders. Annually he offered in return for the Company's wares at the market price to deliver 1,000 candies of pepper of 500 pounds for 500 reals, a price at which the Lords in Batavia were not a little appalled. In Batavia they could, for the same price receive double the quantity. They could not believe that the Portuguese had ever paid such high prices for their pepper and fearing that the Zamorin took undue advantage of their ignorance of the coast. That the English paid these high prices was their affair but they would pay dearly for the same. It was impossible for them to keep up for long such a trade the more so as pepper prices in Europe again showed a tendency to fall. De With succeeded in securing but very little pepper. The Portuguese had bought the whole of the new crop. Moreover, the natives asked for their pepper payment in cash which De With had not with him in sufficient quantity. In the Zamorin's land he could obtain only 456 candies or 80 lasts for pepper in exchange of commodities, which was however a very dear purchase for the Company. The Company, it is true, suffered no loss, but neither was any profit made. For the United East India Company accustomed to profits of 50% and more, such a trade meant an unprofitable affair. That De With returned with such a small quantity of pepper and besides was satisfied with a promissory note for 130 candies of pepper for which he had already delivered goods to the Zamorin gave the High Government but slender grounds for satisfaction. Because of this scanty result after all the earlier misfortunes, the High

Government had little spirit for the future. They held that if the Malabar trade could produce no more, then much trouble need not be taken about it. Certainly it was not their design any more to use their capital and cash for this purpose.

6.—Matthys Hendricksz Quast

From the blockade-fleet (1641–1642) under the command of the Commander Matthys Hendricksz Quast and the Rear-Admiral Cornelis Leendertsz Blauw, the Vice-Commander Jan de Quesnoy with the ship *de Noordster* (Master, Jonathan de Necker) was sent for the pepper trade to the coast of Malabar on the 29th November, 1641.

Although the profits of this trade till now were not to be regarded as considerable they decided to continue the negotiations with the Zamorin begun by Simon de With and to keep up the friendship with this monarch who as supporter in the combat against the Portuguese would be of very great use to the Dutch not only economically but also politically. To the assistance of De Quesnoy there went with him those merchants who had already acquired their first knowledge of these regions during the first voyage.

A consignment of cargoes worth 58,066 guilders was given to De Quesnoy. With the pepper that could be obtained for this and what the Zamorin owed then which should certainly be collected, they could secure 130 lasts of pepper. Owing to the high price of pepper on the coast, De Quesnoy was advised that as far as possible pepper should be acquired by barter of goods and not purchased for cash. With the cargoes was found a consignment of wine specially ordered by the Zamorin who had asked for it in the previous year. To the factory in Persia where the Dutch had to struggle with great arrears of cash they were required to send a good quantity of pepper. The prices for which the Zamorin had been in the previous year willing to deliver pepper to the United East India Company were found to be too exorbitant by the Governor-General and Council. Therefore De Quesnoy was directed to acquaint himself very well with the just prices; further he was asked to inquire what help the Zamorin could afford against the Portuguese and of what importance Cranganore, the fortress for the capture of which the Zamorin had invoked the support of the Dutch was. On their part the Dutch would honour the Zamorin with some curiosities—French and Spanish wine, one yellow embroidered "*quitesol*" and two broad swords which De Quesnoy handed over to the Zamorin with an accompanying letter from the Governor-General and Council after the Commander Blauw had added three ships and a yacht to his ship the *Noordster* off Ponnani. To outward appearance, as De Quesnoy

sceptically informed his Commander Claes Cornelisz Blocq, the Zamorin offered the Dutch his whole-hearted friendship. A request made by him for assistance in an attack on the fort of Cannore was provisionally rejected by the Commander Blauw.

The King repeated his offer of pepper made in the previous year but continued persisting in his demand for high prices and requested for barter, commodities which the squadron had not with them while their stock of lead and Surat cloths found no demand. For those cloths lower prices were offered than earlier. Of the imported wares, sulphur supplied from the Netherlands was mostly in demand.

As the Governor-General and Council knew from the experience acquired in previous years that for pepper they need not sail so far south and that the same could be obtained much cheaper at Cannore, Dhurmapatam, and Badagara, they ordered their Vice-Commander of their fleet to Goa not to forget those places during his voyage along the coast. De Quesnoy concluded here a contract for about 200 candies with the big Muhammadan merchant, Mamaly Craa. With this and the quantity expected from Calicut, they could depart from the coast with 400 candies of pepper.

Shortly before the arrival of the Dutch the English had ordered pepper here, and now demanded that that spice should not be delivered to the Dutch. This demand was flatly rejected by Mamaly Craa. The Muhammadan replied to the English that as the Dutch were masters of the sea, he was very much satisfied with them. The English could say nothing against that. With great discontent and threats they claimed the pepper urging that they were more masters of the sea. From this attitude of the English, Mamaly Craa, to some extent, got this impression and the Dutch feared that this would cause damage to their trade. It was not only at Cannore that the Dutch had to face the activities of their English rivals. The latter tried to settle down at Calicut also.

On the return journey to Batavia, the Vice-Commander De Quesnoy died on board the *Noordster*. After his death it became clear that the High Government had entertained too great confidence in his honesty. Notorious thieveries, fraud and filthiness came to light. Also his superiors were not satisfied with his handling of the pepper trade. They felt that he had paid too dearly, for he paid there 7 dints per pound while at Batavia the same quantity was available for half the price. Yet they were continually looking for the profits from Malabar and they would not suspend that trade and make it give place to something else.

The fame of the armament of the Malabares' militia appeared to have penetrated even to the rulers of the Archipelago, as is seen from their request for Malabar shields which at every turn appeared oppressive to the Dutch. Twenty of these were to be purchased along with the pepper to serve as a present.

Neither the Dutch nor the English could during these years, carry on the trade in Malabar unmolested. In particular the latter had to suffer from the Malabar pirates who made the channel so unsafe that from the more northerly situated ports no vessels dared to depart. It was thought advisable for the Dutch to be on their guard for these pirates and not let them come nearer, rather than endure their cannon.

In the course of the year 1641, news began to reach India that Portugal had made herself independent of Spain. King John IV of Portugal tried as soon as he ascended the throne to come to terms with the Dutch so that he might save a portion of his inheritance. On the 12th June, 1641, he concluded a ten years' armistice with the States-General on the basis of a *status quo* both kingdoms remaining in possession of those places and lands which they possessed at the moment of the peace. This treaty was ratified on the 18th December, 1641.

In Batavia the news of the negotiations and the concluded treaty caused a great disappointment as the East Indies was also included in it. It meant for the United East India Company that the war which till now had been carried on with such success against the Portuguese ended and the enterprises against Goa, Ceylon and Malacca must be suspended whereas the High Government had expected by continuing the war to expel the Portuguese from the whole of the East Indies within a single year. If peace came, not a single nation could so hinder the Dutch in the Indian trade as the Portuguese. Van Diemen who had continued the war with vigour counselled their Right Worshipfuls that if it actually came to a peace, it should not be accompanied by much of written stipulations and that peace certainly should not be confirmed by a covenant. Within the bounds of International Law there was sufficient elbow-room for the Dutch by far the most powerful party, to stipulate the most advantageous terms for the United East India Company. No further written articles were necessary for this. When in the autumn of 1641 the Viceroy at Goa sent a special envoy to Batavia for suspension of warfare till the receipt of the ratified treaty from Europe, a negative reply was given on the formal ground that no instructions about the matter had been received from the fatherland. The fleet of Quast continued besieging Goa, but when in 1642 news from the Netherlands was received at Batavia, no choice was left to the Governor-General

and Council, and the treaty of the cessation of hostilities had to be solemnly proclaimed. The High Government sent Pieter Boreel who had come to the East Indies from the Netherlands with express command to make the treaty known there, shortly after his arrival, to Malacca, Ceylon and the factories in India so as to approve the upper heads there of the treaty and arrange matters. On the Malabar coast Pieter Boreel must enter into negotiations with the King of Purakkad, situated ten Dutch miles south to Cochin and carry out the armistice, one of the provisions of which was that the treaty held good also for those Indian princes who had chosen the Dutch side. The Portuguese should not, during the period of the truce attack them nor inflict damages on them.

The armistice treaty need not, in economic aspects, be injurious to the Dutch Company if the Portuguese Government were kept out of the trade. From private Portuguese merchants the Government at Batavia anticipated just an enlargement of the trade of the United East India Company by the supply of all sorts of merchandise which they should supply to the Dutch also while they on their side could be buyers of the Company's goods. Herein lay the difference between the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Indies. While the Dutch East India Company through their rigorous monopoly allowed no private trade to their countrymen, the Portuguese settled in this land and looked upon India as their fatherland. The bond with Portugal was wholly lost. Little or no trade, they carried on with Portugal while they found their whole existence in the Indian region, freely permitted to do so by the Portuguese Government.

Already the Commander of the sixth blockade fleet, as he lay in front of Goa was informed by the Viceroy of the conclusion of the armistice treaty. The Viceroy proposed that this treaty should be taken into account in the Indies also. The Dutch Admiral, however, did not suspend the blockade and permitted only the sending of two frigates to Batavia.

7.—Jan Dircksz Galen

The following year also in spite of the armistice which should have been in working as just a year had elapsed since the ratification, there was equipped at Batavia the blockading fleet intended to besiege Goa for the seventh time and obtain as much advantage as possible against the Portuguese before it was too late. This fleet was under the command of Jan Dircksz Galen. They vigorously took up the pepper trade on the Malabar coast with the principal aim of hindering the English from collecting pepper and buying such large stocks that the Portuguese should be deprived of the same. The fly-boat *Nooraster*, manned by 69 persons and equipped

with 28 cannon and the ship *Valckenburch* were set apart for this purpose. The Senior Merchant Pieter Sybrantz Groes and the Junior Merchants, Dirck Schoorl or Stharel and Jan Joosten of whom the last named two had both acquired experience in Malabar and had drawn up a written report on the pepper trade were charged with the management of the cargoes for Malabar trade which were more considerable than in previous years. The cargoes consisting of different commodities costing about 70,000 guilders could be supplemented with opium and cotton from Surat and Wingurla. Including the debts which the Zamorin had to clear in pepper, they could secure about 160 lasts (of 2,400 pounds each) of pepper. The merchants were commanded to keep exact accounts of the Malabar pepper so that they might know how much pepper the Company came to acquire. The Governor-General and Council decided not to make cash available for the costly Malabar pepper. In any case, the debt of the Zamorin must be collected and the granting of further credit was expressly forbidden.

One product that till now had not received the attention of the United East India Company was ambergris which was brought to Cannanore from the Maldives. The merchants of the *Noordster* were to buy a quantity as an experiment, but they were strictly forbidden to carry on private trade in this. At Cannanore very beautiful and large "besar" stones were to be obtained, but in purchasing these the merchants should take care that they were not deceived.

The voyages of De With and De Quesnoy had stretched far to the south and so the Dutch had entered into communications with Purakkad, a land abounding in pepper. The king was in conflict with the Portuguese and had requested the friendship of the Dutch on the condition that he would deliver to them all the pepper of his land for a reasonable price. It was therefore desired to conclude a treaty with this prince offering him support provided he handed over solely to the Dutch the pepper shutting out other nations and taking only the price which the Portuguese used to pay him annually.

Letters to the Kings of Kayamkulam, Purakkad and Calicut had been given to Groes. In February the *Noordster* anchored in front of Cannanore about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of the Portuguese citadel. Quite speedily the Muhammedan merchant prince, Mamaly Craa sent some messengers. These deplored that no pepper was in stock at Cannanore. Heavy rains had to some extent damaged the pepper crop. Over and above this the Portuguese had purchased a large stock for being transported to Europe. The Malabarees did not expect that the Dutch would now appear on their coast as it was only in November that the fleet passed by

without touching at a single port. They were now busy with loading a ship destined for Mocha, but showed themselves ready to deliver that pepper to the United East India Company for the very high prices of the previous year. The prices which the Company demanded for their wares were considerably beaten down by Mamaly Craa and his merchants. Negotiations continued for long. Only for the cotton and later for the opium also were they willing to pay the prices asked by the Company. A consignment of 650 pieces of coarse china-ware, a commodity seldom come across in Malabar found purchasers here. Eventually the Cannanore merchants yielded and declared that they would pay as the others, so that they might remain as friends.

From the English competition the Company had not much to fear. Not a single grain of pepper was purchased by Courten's Association as they had lost too much on the last stock. They made the Cannanore merchants believe that this year the Dutch would not any more appear on the coast and they need not keep pepper for them.

The *Noordster* appears to have reached a perilous situation when a flotilla of 30 Portuguese frigates landed near the citadel and made preparations to attack the Dutch ship. This Portuguese fleet was, as Groes and his crew later learned, intended to relieve Colombo which was being besieged by the Dutch. The *Noordster* weighed anchor so as to turn and move about easily when it might come to a fight. The Portuguese, however, continued the voyage without troubling the Dutch.

When Groes lay in front of Cannanore, consignments of pepper were brought to him by the inhabitants of the circumjacent places of Badagara and Dhurmapatam. From the Zamorin he received the request to steer his course to Calicut for receiving a stock of pepper lying ready. According to the Cannanore merchants the Zamorin had sent his messengers only for the purpose of finding out for what price the Dutch bought pepper at Cannanore so that he might not lose that advantage.

A request from the Governor of Dhurmapatam to be permitted to buy the Company's wares on credit was rejected. The collecting of the debt from the Zamorin was reckoned by the Company as troublesome enough. The Governor was deeply disappointed and showed himself afraid that if this was not done, the Dutch would turn other merchants for realising their claims on the Zamorin.

On the 19th February Groes arrived in front of Calicut and on the following day had audience with the Zamorin. A letter in the name of the Governor-General was delivered. Along with this was

given a present consisting of one roll orange coloured Persian velvet, two half-sized broad swords and 20 small bottles of rose water which the prince thankfully received. He showed himself, as on previous occasions exceedingly delighted with the arrival of the Dutch and deplored only that they had not come earlier. Pieter Groes, Dirick Schoorl and other companions were invited to dinner. They were afterwards taken to a private apartment where they found the Zamorin surrounded by some servants and merchants. The Dutch were to give him accurate information about the merchandise they had brought with them and the prince was then informed in particular about De Quesnoy and his sudden death. As the Dutch stated to him their prices he promised to them that he would buy the entire stock of goods in exchange of pepper. They must however promise not to call at any other place. The old debt would, in any case be paid honourably led out by a retinue of noblemen and musicians, the Dutch then departed to the ship.

Profiting by the experiences acquired at Cannanore, the Dutch fixed the prices somewhat lower. The Zamorin promised 400 candies of which 100 was to be immediately delivered and the remaining 300 he would supply in the next year. While his old debt could not always be wholly cleared, he thus again wished new credit. Dirck Schoorl had received the less agreeable instruction to remonstrate with the prince that the old account must first be settled before they could enter into further negotiations. Of the Commanders who had given him credit in previous years, De With had departed to the Netherlands and De Quesnoy was dead. The Company's goods would indeed be kept as long as necessary for the prince but the United East India Company should first see pepper. The Zamorin eventually yielded, but could not refrain from asking whether the Company in short considered him as a thief or brigand that they had so little trust in him. With the necessary tact the less agreeable impression was to be wiped out. The Company could not for ever give credit for them in the long run they would have no profit but would have to suffer great loss on the merchandise. It was the fear that his ships might be seized which made the Zamorin agree to the Company's demands. Of the Company's wares, the greatest demand was for opium. The supply from Surat was not sufficient for meeting the large demand.

From Calicut, Groes directed his course to Purakkad in compliance with the wishes of the Batavia Government that they should enter into communications with the prince of that land. This southern land of which the coastal portion was situated very low, was covered with rice fields and intersected with canals and dykes. By reason of plenteous supply from the interior, it delivered much pepper.

At Purakkad, Groes was received by the King's appointed merchant. The King had passed away three months ago. As successor he left behind his brother, a fifteen year old lad. In consequence, great unrest prevailed in the land and people were very much afraid of the interference of the King of Cochin. From old times all the pepper of the land used to be conveyed to Cochin. Hence it was certain that sale of pepper to the Dutch would not remain unpunished by the King of Cochin. The new King gave no audience to the Dutch as he had to be present at certain ceremonies in honour of his predecessor.

The merchandise of the Dutch very much hit the fancy of the merchants of Purakkad who promised to bring pepper on board in secret. At Purakkad, Groes learned that at Kayamkulam, situated close at hand a consignment of pepper could be obtained. On the way to Kayamkulam, the *Noordster* met an English ship of Courtens, the *Bon Esperance* coming from Cochin and proceeding to Karwar. In the strait of Malacca this ship fell into a sharp conflict with the Dutch, as a result of which the latter took a part of the crew as prisoners on the ground that the ship had a cargo of Portuguese goods intended for Macao. The Dutch compelled the English to turn back to Goa. From the Captain Groes received tidings of the concluded armistice.

Groes managed at Kayamkulam to order a stock of pepper for better prices at places like Cannanore. The difference in price from that at other places on the coast was very considerable and the United East India Company could buy here much cheaper. Various goods which could not be sold elsewhere on this coast found here a market, e.g., sandalwood, lead and tin. The merchants raised objections to drawing up a fixed price for the pepper as it came from different hands and the harvest in one year different from that in another. This was naturally only subterfuge. They did not wish to bind themselves firmly as it would be impossible for them to keep the concluded contracts if they saw profit elsewhere.

Junior Merchant Schooli was delegated to Kayamkulam with a present, the value of which was only to be in proportion to the small importance of the petty king. This prince who lived about 4 miles inland was very much troubled by the Portuguese who had seized a ship of his. Therefore he readily desired to enter into negotiations with the Dutch. He placed his land open to them. On the 1st March, 1643, a treaty was concluded whereby he granted them free trade with his subjects. He promised not to send any more pepper to Cochin or Quilon, nor to sell to other European traders if the Dutch bought for them his pepper every year. About 1,000 candies of 500 pounds could be produced in

his land every year. If his subjects were short of cash he should use his own capital for the purpose.

The Dutch should barter at the market price the following goods for pepper : opium, cotton, tin, sandalwood, cotton yarns, black and green lac, stitched and sewing silk. If it was possible the Dutch promised, during their voyage along the coast, to call first in his ports earlier than in those of Purakkad so as to give his merchants the right of first choice regarding the Company's goods. If the United East India Company wished to build a house or fortification in the King's lands, the King should cede a suitable place for this purpose and protect this Dutch settlement against all molestation and violence. If a murder was committed by a Dutchman and the malefactor escaped to the King's land, then the King, if he has got him in his hands should deliver him over to the Dutch Chief. Finally the Dutch promised all possible support to the King if he was attacked by the Portuguese because of this alliance. The King's vessels should come and go on the sea free without the Dutch attacking them unless they were loaded with the enemy's goods. The contract concluded with the Dutch would naturally be known speedily in the neighbourhood and the merchants of Purakkad were all afraid that they would lose all these advantages. While Groes lay in front of Kayamkulam, the interpreter of the King of Purakkad came to request that the Dutch should not give up trade with their land. In order to take away from the King of Purakkad a little of his fear of the Portuguese, the Company placed before him the favourable terms in respect of the Indian princes allied to the Dutch inserted in the armistice treaty with Portugal.

During his stay on this coast, Groes learned that pepper could be obtained also in Quilon situated in the south. But here lay a fort possessed by the Portuguese. In this place the United East India Company should first endeavour to establish their influence, but it should be by the armed fist.

The negotiations with Kayamkulam were carried on in the presence of Pieter Boreel who turned back from a meeting with the envoys of the Portuguese and Raja Singa in Ceylon. As Boreel had only little time on his way to meet the Viceroy in Goa he handed over the part of his instructions concerning the business with Malabar to Groes, who stayed for some time on the coast and on the 12th March, 1643, brought about a treaty with the King of Purakkad. Also, with this contract the Dutch obtained free trade. If they appeared in time, they would enjoy preference over the Portuguese in the purchase of pepper. The Dutch could import into this land the goods which could be bartered for pepper and ginger. During the presence of the Dutch in the harbour of

Purakkad, no pepper should be conveyed to Cochin nor sold to other foreign traders. The offer of friendship made by the deceased King to the Dutch on the 20th March, 1642 (this must thus have been to De Quesnoy) was confirmed by his successor. This offer contained the provision that the United East India Company might build a house or fortress in the land of the King. The King was to mark out for that purpose a piece of land and protect them against all molestation, affront and violence. Lastly followed the articles about the handing over of Dutch malefactors to the Dutch Chief and the giving of support to the King in time of war. This agreement showed strong resemblance with the treaty concluded with Kayamkulam, but on one point there was a great difference. While at Kayamkulam the Portuguese were wholly shut out from the pepper trade, this was not the case in Purakkad where the Dutch obtained only a sort of right of preference.

There is found in the Colonial Record Office an undated letter from the Zamorin to the Governor-General which undoubtedly was written at this time and from which it could be seen that a contract was concluded with this prince. In this letter reference is made to a document or contract kept "as a memento with my treasures that it shall be written on a copper plate the coming year". Such a contract is not however preserved with the Company's papers in the Colonial Record Office, and hence is not published by Heeres in his *Corpus Diplomaticum*.

On the 9th July, 1643, the *Noordster* turned up at Batavia, back from their business on the coast with a cargo of 236,854 pounds pepper, 3,043 pounds ginger and 18½ ounces ambergris. The debt of the Zamorin, however remained yet unpaid. Shortly after his arrival at Batavia, Groes passed away. Although the gains obtained in this pepper trade were still very meagre, the concluded contracts with the small princes of Malabar gave promise of a considerable improvement in the future; in any case the Portuguese could enjoy but very little more advantage. Boreel had experienced great difficulties in the speeding of his negotiations at Goa; in particular they could not come to an agreement on the frontier question in the Island of Ceylon. The Portuguese did not comply with the demands of the Dutch. Boreel went to his ship without issuing his proclamation about the armistice. The red flag was hoisted on his ship as a token that hostilities were begun again. The Dutch decided "to attack and see to the capture of all who were dealt with or overtaken by that nation".

8.—Clzes Cornelisz

In the year 1643, therefore sailed a blockade fleet to Goa and Ceylon. It was a mighty fleet of 20 ships of which the squadron

in front of Goa was placed under the command of Claes Cornelisz. Blocq assisted Francois Caron who during this expedition to Ceylon captured the fort of Negombo from the Portuguese. This place had already been in the hands of the Portuguese in 1640 but was soon lost again.

Now that such close relations of friendship had been entered into with the rulers of the Malabar coast, the Governor-General and Council decided to continue that trade and at the same time to collect the debt of the Zamorin which was being long put off and was in the meanwhile mounting up. To this end the ship the *Arerd* and the fly-boat the *Uitgeest* were appointed. The merchant Dirck Schoorl who already had acquired a good experience in the preceding years was given the supervision over the commercial transactions. Certainly no more credit should be given to the Zamorin who remained such a bad payer. The large stocks of opium and cotton obtained in Surat and Wingurla were destined for the Malabar trade. This year much pepper should not be conveyed to Persia to spoil the market there as a large stock of pepper remained unsold and also because the pepper crop in the Archipelago turned out less advantageous and that spice could be sent as return cargo from India to the Netherlands.

With friendly letters which must first be translated into the Arabian and Persian languages and small presents for Schoorl to deliver to the Malabar princes he was sent to the coast to confirm the treaties entered into by Groes. The ginger and the ambergris that Groes had brought with him from his voyage caught the fancy of the High Government and Schoorl was also commanded to purchase these provided that the ginger could be purchased cheaply; otherwise it had better be ordered from Bengal.

From an inland Chief of Onor in whose land Mirsia was situated and where in one of the previous voyages Simon de With had made attempts to conclude contracts for buying pepper, the Dutch received again an invitation to go there and trade. These offers were provisionally declined; seeing that the United East India Company through their contracts on the Malabar coast proper could obtain pepper in a more convenient and cheaper manner, they had no pleasure in fetching this spice from such a distance. If the inhabitants were willing to bring this pepper to Wingurla, then the United East India Company was inclined to buy the same from them; otherwise they requested that they be relieved from this contract.

In 1644 the Company hoped to obtain 200 lasts of pepper from the coast and gave to Schoorl cargoes and barter goods sufficient for the purpose. In May, 1644, he returned to Batavia with 130

lasts of pepper. He had to leave behind a large quantity owing to want of shipping space. The profits began to mount up. While pepper was obtained in the previous year at 9 dints per pound (this included all the expenses involved), now the price fell to $8\frac{1}{2}$ dints. In the whole of the voyage of the *Arent* a profit of 23,092 and odd guilders was obtained—an amount which gave the utmost satisfaction to the High Government. This induced them to continue the trade.

Because of his knowledge of the Malabar pepper trade and his experience in the transactions with the Malabar Kings, Dirck Schoorl was in the following year entrusted with the charge over the voyage to Malabar in the ships *Arent* and *Waterhout*. He was accompanied as assistant by Reznier van Serooskercken who with this voyage began his prolonged career on the Malabar coast.

9.—Johan Maetsuzcker

As during the previous year the Zamorin had discharged only half of the debt, Schoorl was again strictly commanded to collect the balance. The pepper trade was to take place under the protection of the ninth blockading fleet of the ships under the command of Councillor of India, Johan Maetsuzcker, who if requested by the Portuguese, was to resume negotiations at Goa. The Portuguese made this request to the Commander Claes Cornelisz Blocq as they were afraid that in the long run the Dutch would obtain yet more advantages.

Soon military protection became unnecessary for the pepper trade as on the 10th November, 1644, after wearisome negotiations, especially over the possession of Negombo which the Portuguese wished to have back as prize the long continued state of war between the Portuguese and the Dutch came to an end. Negombo and Galle in Ceylon were to be left in the hands of the United East India Company, until in Europe further decisions were to be taken over this. A great portion of the cinnamon lands in Ceylon remained in the possession of the United East India Company. One of the ships taken as prize by the Portuguese, the *Pauw* was given back. The Dutch on their part agreed to pay 100,000 reals of eight as compensation for the ships which they had taken from the Portuguese during the period which had elapsed after the date on which the armistice had been entered into.

The cessation of hostilities between Portugal and the Netherlands made it unnecessary for the Portuguese to keep up the connection with Macao which was necessary for others and the navigation between Goa and Lisbon was now open, and they could compete with the European goods and buy Indian products in Malabar

and the Deccan. For the English the trade in this region lost its greatest attraction. They foresaw that they could obtain no cargoes of cinnamon or pepper. During the first two years after the peace the factors of the English settlement at Surat sent no ships to the Malabar ports.

Note.—*Their Right Worshipful* = *The Directors of the Dutch East India Company.*

The High Government = *The Government of the Dutch Governor-General of the East Indies at Batavia in Java.*

1 Dutch mile = 4 English miles.

BURNOUF AND CEYLON

By A. S. KULASURIYA

MOST ACCOUNTS of Ceylon given by European writers are either works written with a conscious political purpose or are mere travellers' tales. Many serious studies lose much of their value by being coloured with such a political bias ; and many of the works of the second category cease to have an abiding interest by the proneness of their authors to exaggeration. There are, however, notable exceptions to this rule. It is not necessary to mention any of them here ; that such works exist is all that matters. Burnouf's interest for us lies in the fact that his work falls into neither the one nor the other of those two categories.

Eugene Burnouf (1801-1852) was a versatile and erudite scholar who had a varied field of intellectual activity. In 1826, when he was just twenty-five years old, he published his *Essay on Pali*, in collaboration with Christian Lassen. A year later, in 1827, he followed it up with a more detailed study of the same subject in his *Grammatical Observations on Some Passages of the Essay on Pali*. For a good part of his early days, he was engaged in deciphering the Zend Manuscripts brought to France by Anquetil Duperron. By his labours a knowledge of the Zend language was brought to the scientific world of Europe. He caused the *Vendidad Sade*, part one of the books bearing the name of Zoroaster, to be lithographed from the Zend Manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale and published it in folio parts. During the same period, there appeared the *Commentary on the Yagna, one of the liturgical books of the Parsees*, (1833-35). Later he published some classical Sanskrit texts with their French translations, viz., *Bhagavata Purana or the Poetical History of Krishna*, in three folios (1840-47) ; in 1844, he wrote an *Introduction to the Study of Indian Buddhism*, and in 1852, a translation of the *Suddharma Pundarika*. He also made several valuable contributions to the *Journal Asiatique*.

It is not without interest to remember that Burnouf never visited Ceylon.

Burnouf's memoir on Ceylon¹ is a picture of the Island where the life and thought of the people are depicted with an accuracy of observation and minuteness of detail, remarkable for the time. Even in those subjects of treatment in which the author was not sure of his ground, he has always attempted to consult and utilize

1. *Recherches sur la Geographie ancienne de Ceylan dans son rapport avec l'histoire de cette ile. Journal Asiatique, 1857.*

those sources of information that he considered the most satisfactory. The spirit of an interested inquirer into strange and unfamiliar things, eager to find out the truth, is ever present. The penetrating vision of a keen observer who was interested in recording all that he came across and considered worthy of being put on record, is a dominant feature of the work. Though a work of narrow scope, in comparison to the writings of many others, it is one that is treated with a greater fidelity to the principles of critical scholarship than most other accounts of contemporary writers. It is the scientific outlook that works as a motivating factor throughout the entire memoir.

The work was first read by the author himself before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Paris, in its seances held between 21 and 26 March, 1834. It was more than two decades later, in 1857, that it was posthumously published in the *Journal Asiatique*.

The writer was not led by the mere curiosity of a foreign traveller. The recent publication in England of three important Sinhalese Chronicles, the *Mahavamsa*, the *Thupavamsa* and the *Rajavaliya*, doubtless inspired the author to take a keener interest in Ceylon. It was as a scientific scholar and research-worker that he approached the subject. The author's purpose was to study the geography of the Island with a view to fixing more accurately the location of the important towns that had played a leading role in its history. That book was to be achieved in two parts: in the first memoir that was intended to be followed by another, Burnouf attempted to examine the different names by which the Island was known both by the Indians as well as by the Sinhalese themselves. In the second, the author intended to pass on to the study of the names of the districts and towns, confining himself to those of them that had played a more important part in the historical evolution of Ceylon.

The material which forms the subject-matter of the memoir was collected in the course of researches undertaken in connection with the religious and civil history of Ceylon. The publication of the three important historical chronicles, mentioned above, furnished the author with abundant historical and geographical data and also brought to his notice the inadequacy of the maps of Ceylon, thereto published.

With regard to the geography of the country two important observations are made. The first is the fact that those cities which had once been important had disappeared from the maps prepared by foreign travellers. Second, that many of those that had survived had been altered either by faulty transliteration by Europeans or by the pronunciation of the Sinhalese themselves.

To the above may be added a third consideration, namely, the strange phenomenon of celebrated Sinhalese cities changing their names in the course of history.¹

All these factors make the position of the student increasingly difficult. But they have to be contended with in any serious attempt to establish the present sites of important ancient cities.

The memoir discusses three of the names by which Ceylon was known to Oriental peoples and then proceeds to examine some of the names by which it was known to the Occident. In each case, it is attempted to trace the origin and development of the terms.

The three names by which Ceylon was known in the East, in ancient times, are : *Lanka* and its variant forms in Sinhalese, *Laka*, *Siri-Laka* and *Lak-diva* ; *Tamraparni* and its variants *Tamra-parne*, *Tambapanni*, *Tambapanna*, *Tam.nanna*, *Tammana*, etc. ; and *Sinhala* together with its variants.

There are some very interesting remarks on the identification of *Lanka*. Opinions were divided as to whether it was (a) a city in Ceylon, (b) the Island of Ceylon, or (c) another island off the Indian Peninsula in the vicinity of Ceylon. The author observes :

“Without looking so far for the Island of Ceylon, one may observe that the Sinhalese tradition supposes that the capital of Ravana was situated in the space separating Manar from Putacarin, upon a piece of land which, as we shall see presently, passes as having been submerged by the sea, when the Island of Ceylon was separated from the Indian continent. Approached from the opinion of those who believe that Lanka is not Ceylon but quite another island visible from Ceylon, this tradition leaves room to think that *Lanka*, signifying, on principle, the capital of Ravana, was either a neighbouring isle in the extremity of the Indian continent or a place situated in the northern part of Ceylon and whose name would have later been applied to the locality of this Island.”²

It is quite likely that *Lanka* referred originally to the capital of Ravana and later came to be applied to the whole Island. It could also have been an island off the Indian mainland and not

1. Several examples could be adduced to illustrate this feature but a few of them would suffice :—*Anuradhagama* becomes, in course of time *Anuradhapura* ; *Amunupura* becomes *Amunugama* ; *Kalutota* was the name by which *Kalutara* was once known ; the present *Moratuwa* was earlier known as *Moratu Eliya* and *Kanda Uda Rata* was an ancient name of *Maha Nuvara* (Kandy).
2. Burnouf : *Recherches sur la Géographie de Ceylan*, etc., pp. 11-12.

far from it, though there is substantial evidence that it was not different from Ceylon. The story of Ravana is too firmly rooted in the tradition of the Sinhalese that it cannot be lightly discarded. Place-names like *Ravana-alla*, *Ravana-guhava* (Ravana's cave), *Sita-Eliya* are too well-known for the connection of Ravana and Ceylon to be doubted.

A useful discussion centres round the origin and meaning of *Sinhala*. The author recounts a story related in an ancient Chronicle of Kashmir, where the King of Kashmir, Mihira-Kula sees his queen wearing a tissue of extremely fine texture which was marked with the form of a "golden foot". The mark was the royal seal of the King of the Island of *Sinhala* from where the tissue came. Burnouf doubts the authenticity of the narrative and the probability of Ceylon being, at any time, famed for the manufacture of fine tissues. He expresses his doubt in the following terms :

"For my part, I do not believe that in the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the Sinhalese had made satisfactorily great progress in the manufacture of tissues, so that other nations of Northern India used to import from Ceylon the garments of their kings and chiefs. We know for certain that the art of weaving fine tissues never flourished for a continuous period of time, in Ceylon and we possess a strange document which relates the story of the arrival of Indian weavers whom the Sinhalese kings more than once summoned from the extremity of the peninsula. Thus, since one cannot suppose that the art of weaving tissues of high price was ancient in Ceylon, an island which has always been more reputed for her products of nature than for those of her manufactures,¹ one must admit that the story of the Chronicle of Kashmir is nothing but a fable or that the name *Sinhala* which could refer to another people of India, has been, in that story wrongly confused with those of the Island of Ceylon."²

Burnouf gives *Tamra-parani* and its variants as names designating the Island of Ceylon. It did not strike him to find out what other interpretations the work could be given. It is also unfortunate that the worthy savant could not avail himself of the references to *Tamaraparni*, etc., in other Sinhalese historical works like the *Rajaratnakaraya*.³ This work is interesting not merely because it

1. The Author mentions the *periplus* of Arrian.

2. Burnouf : *Recherches sur la Géographie de Ceylan*, etc., pp. 55-56.

3. *Rajaratnakaraya* : Ed. Simon de Silva, Colombo, 1907, p. 2, vv. 11, 13.

The text of the relevant Pali verses runs as follows :—

11. "*Suphassita bhumitale—Tambapanimhi makkhita
Namad'eyyam tado asi—Tambapanniti tam bhane*"
13. "*So Tambapanni-nagare—Vijayo narindo
Rajjam akarayi sama—khalu atthatimsam.*"

gives a description of the advent of Vijaya and his followers which is somewhat different to those found in the more reputed chronicles. Wherever the place may have been situated, *Tamraparni* (P. *Tambapanni*) is used to denote a city founded by Vijaya. The word records the circumstances that led to the founding of the city. Tired and completely exhausted after a strenuous sea-voyage, Vijaya and his seven-hundred followers landed in Ceylon (*Lakdiv*), sat down on the ground, supporting themselves on their hands with their palms touching the ground. Shortly afterwards, they observed that the palms of their hands were copper-coloured owing to the colour of the soil. To commemorate the incident Vijaya founded a city which he called *Tamrapanni*.

In the *Rajavaliya* to which the author refers *Tamraparni* was used to mean a city. Reference is made to a certain *Tamraparni-nuwara*¹ along with other city names. This, of course, does not refer to any place in Ceylon, but somewhere in North India.

A port named *Tammanna* is mentioned² as the place of disembarkation of Vijaya and his band. That was situated in the Ruhuna district of Ceylon.

*Tammanna-nuwara*³ is abandoned by Upatissa, the King's Minister, as Vijaya did not leave a successor to the throne. He therefore decided to establish his kingdom elsewhere. Having abandoned the former city, the King's Minister subsequently founds another which he calls after his own name.

There is an inscriptional reference of the 8th century to a *stupa* in a village called *Tammannava*.⁴

Much later in the course of the Island's history, is mentioned *Tammanna-Adaviya*.⁵

There are two points to be noted in connection with the interpretation of *Tamraparni*, *Tammanna* and so forth. First, the references cited above show that both terms were used, in early times, to denote cities. The latter has been used also in the meaning of a village. This does not mean, however, that the sense of the whole island is completely excluded. At least, in the case of *Tamraparni*

1. *Rajavaliya* : Ed. B. Gunasekara, Colombo, 1926, p. 3, cf. also *Tambapanninagara* : *Vamsaththappakasini* : Ed. Mahipala, pp. 260, 261, 267.
2. *Rajavaliya* : Ed. B. Gunasekara, pp. 12, 14.
3. *Rajavaliya* : Ed. B. Gunasekara, p. 14.
4. Paranavitana : *The Stupa in Ceylon*, p. 72. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV., p. 148.
5. *Rajavaliya* : Ed. B. Gunasekara, Op. 60.

(*Tambapanni*) there are abundant instances not only in the *Dipavamsa* but even in works like the *Vamsathappakasini* to show that it was applied to the whole island. One often comes across *Tambapanni-dipa*.¹

The second is concerned with the proposed identification of *Tamra-parani* and *Tammanna* (*va*). It may be completely erroneous and there may be no relationship, whatever, between the two names. There is no evidence to show that *Tammanna* (*va*) ever meant the whole of Ceylon. As it has already been seen, more places than one were known by that name.

The author makes some concluding remarks on the names of Ceylon employed by the peoples of the East. Attention is, first of all, drawn to the fact that the names are all of Sanskrit origin. Second, that the name *Lanka* is the oldest of those preserved by the Sinhalese. Third, the number and diversity of the denominations of Indian origin referred to, in the course of the discussion :

“The common character of the names is that they all belong to the Sanskrit language; at all events, if it is not easy to discover in this idiom, the meaning of the word *Lanka* one must recognize that the name was so uniformly and so early employed by the Brahmins to designate Ceylon that it has definitely acquired a place in their language. I have no hesitation in regarding it as the most ancient of all those of which the Sinhalese have conserved the memory.”²

The concluding section of the memoir treats of the names by which Ceylon was known to the authors of classical antiquity. *Taprobane* of Ptolemy, *Palaisimundu* or *Simundu* of the author of Periplus are discussed along with *Salike*. Which of the first two names is older? In the opinion of Vincent and Dodwell the second is posterior to *Taprobane*.³ On the text of Ptolemy, however, which is reproduced by Agathemere, by Marcian and by Etienne of Byzantium, the most ancient of all the names of Ceylon is *Palaisimundu* or *Simundu*. This conclusion is admitted by Gossellin and Mannert all.⁴

Regarding *Salike* a conjecture is hazarded by offering it as a metathesis of *Srilaka*,⁵ the beginning of which word was altered by the Greeks.

1. *Vamsathappakasini* : Ed. Malalasekera, pp. 260, 261, 267, 321, 323, 326, 335, 337, 550, 551, 568, 570, 586, 627, 636, 651.
2. Burnouf : *Recherches sur la Géographie de Ceylan*, etc., p. 78.
3. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, Vol. II., p. 494.
4. Gossellin : *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, t. iii., p. 290 ; Mannert : *Géographie der Griech und Rom.*, Part V. Both authorities cited by the author.
5. Burnouf : *op. cit.*, p. 98.

Many other names by which Ceylon was known are mentioned. *Sielediba*, the two Arab designations *Serendib* and *Sarantip*, *Silar*, *Scylan*, *Seilam*, *Sellam*, *Selan*, *Salam*, *Silam*, *Seylan*, *Seilan*, *Zeilan*, *Zeilam*, *Zellum*, *Celan* and *Syla* are cited. Other names quoted are *Ilanare* employed by J. de Barros, *Illelare* used by Diogo de Conto, *Tranate*, *Terarisim*, *Hibenaro* of the Portuguese historian Lopez de Castaneda, *Ilam* and *Salabha*.

The preceding commentary on Burnouf's memoir would show clearly that the problem of tracing the ancient names of Ceylon is no easy task. Where one view has been adopted another point of view which is equally plausible has been proposed; which only demonstrates that the significance of many of the terms is still shrouded in obscurity and remains an unsolved problem. Some of the correspondences sought to be established have been shown to be unsatisfactory.

With all the inadequacies the memoir still has an interest. It is worth noting by how many different names. Ceylon was known both in the East and West. Burnouf has cited only some of them. As it was remarked earlier the work is of more limited scope than the writings of others. As the title itself indicates, the author was primarily interested in the geography of the Island. He examines the names by which the Island was known and attempts to fix the sites of some of the principal towns. In the act of circumscribing the field of inquiry one is able to discern the approach of a research scholar. It is well to bear in mind that the work was written over one hundred years ago. In the light of these considerations it may be concluded that the treatise remains one of the most interesting contributions to the study of the historical geography of Ceylon.

TWO PIONEERS OF EPIGRAPHY IN CEYLON

By T. VIMALANANDA

IN THE year 1874, the Government of Ceylon appointed Dr. P. Goldschmidt as its Commissioner of Archaeology. Cunningham had been appointed as the Director-General of Archaeology in India in 1847 on the insignificant salary of Rs. 450 per month. Goldschmidt immediately began his exploration of the ancient sites of the Island with a view to preparing a list of inscriptions. He investigated Anuradhapura and the surrounding districts and submitted to Government a report entitled : *A Report on the Inscriptions in the North-Central Province.*

He made a collection of eighty-three inscriptions, and after some study was able to read them. He describes the process when he says : "By finding out the links between the old Indian alphabet and the modern Sinhalese, I was enabled, after a short time, to decipher inscriptions of all ages."¹ However, he points out that owing to the deliberate destruction of epigraphs by the villagers, a small number only, of them, was in a good state of preservation. Moreover, many were in a state of decay, due to natural causes. Besides examining the inscriptions at Anuradhapura and Mihintale, Goldschmidt combed the jungle in various other districts in search of inscriptions. Like Turnour, Goldschmidt admitted that as the history of the Sinhalese kings is comparatively well known from the chronicles, and that as statements about the culture and the development of the people are rarely met with in the Orient—either in historical books or in inscriptions—the chief result to be derived from a compilation of the Sinhalese inscriptions was naturally a linguistic one. However, scholars have now, available in Ceylon, plentiful material for tracing out a continuous history of the Sinhalese language. Goldschmidt sums up the result of his survey by saying : "Sinhalese is now proved to be a thorough Aryan dialect."²

Goldschmidt continued his search for inscriptions in the following years. He describes how he was stopped in his further progress in the jungle by continuous rains.² The rainy seasons he utilised in re-examining some of the inscriptions he had collected at Anuradhapura. The very caves which afforded shelter to Mahinda, the first great Buddhist missionary to Ceylon, now afforded shelter to this pioneer epigraphist. As a result of his labours, he was able

1. *A Report on the Inscriptions in the North-Central Province, 1875.*
2. *Further Report on the Inscriptions found in the North-Central Province.—Ceylon Sessional Paper, XXI., 1875.*

to bring out a most comprehensive report on the epigraphy of Ceylon. The report on the inscriptions of Hambantota contains every inscription he copied and photographed there. So for the first time the inscriptions of Ceylon were arranged in chronological order along with full texts and translations. At first, Goldschmidt classified these inscriptions on palaeographical grounds, though he was able to make the necessary chronological readjustments with the help of the *Mahavamsa* and other historical works. His grouping of inscriptions was as follows :—

- I. From the Introduction of Buddhism to the beginning of the Christian Era.
- II. From the beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourth Century A.D.
- III. From the 4th Century A.D. to the Eleventh Century.

Goldschmidt concluding this great pioneer report said : “ New inscriptions, though probably pretty modern, will certainly be of great interest, for their language as well as the account of the historical matter, they are likely to contain.”¹

Tragically, the hardships he had to undergo in the jungle in search of the inscriptions, and his labour in preparing his extensive report in the intervals of the rainy season, undermined his health. As a result he died in 1877. Dr. Edward Muller, who succeeded him as Commissioner in Archaeology, paid him the following tribute : “ He went on translating the inscriptions and writing notes on Sinhalese Grammar, until his strength failed, and he died on the 7th May, 1877, much lamented by his friends and all those of the inhabitants of Ceylon who took a real interest in the history of their country.”²

Goldschmidt, like Turnour, had raised a good deal of interest amongst European scholars in the epigraphy of Ceylon by his contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*.³

Muller's first report on his epigraphical investigations was based on the same principles as that of his predecessor. But his approach to the problems of epigraphy in Ceylon was rather that of an historian than a linguist. He writes as follows : “ These are the inscriptions I could find, partly by inquiring from the natives, partly with the help of the Government Archaeological Returns ; but I am convinced that if a systematical research would be made

1. A Report on Inscriptions found in the North-Central Province and in the Hambantota District.—*Ceylon Govt. Sessional Paper, XI., 1876.*
2. *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon* : Edward Muller, p. 5.
3. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 189.

by the Government, in all the temples of their province, a great many more inscriptions would be found, which, perhaps, might give us some valuable information in addition to what we know from the books on the ancient history of Ceylon."¹

His report on the inscriptions of the North-Western Province is his only contribution to the subject, but this was conceived on a large scale. His main work was the compilation of a *Corpus* on the lines of the first volume of the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* of being able to make profitable use of the various works on Indian epigraphy, which were being published at this time. *The Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* greatly facilitated his reading of the early inscriptions; and also the *Elements of South Indian Palaeography* by Burnell proved of the greatest use in reading the Sinhalese inscriptions of later centuries. Also, it should be noted, that the papers on which Goldschmidt had been working at the time of his death were entrusted to Muller; of these he says: "Unfortunately, his papers were in great disorder."² Notwithstanding the disorder in Goldschmidt's papers, Muller had apparently his principles, and followed his chronological order. He writes of Goldschmidt's work: "The chief interest of his report is the chronological arrangement of the inscriptions, and the attempt that is made here for the first time to identify the names of kings as given on the stones with those of the *Mahavamsa*."³

It must be admitted that since the publication of Muller's *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, the study of the epigraphy of Ceylon has naturally become more detailed. Many errors which had crept into his work, owing to incorrect reading or wrong literary interpretation or erroneous listing of inscriptions, were subsequently corrected and the corrections brought to the notice of scholars in *Epigraphia Zeylenica*. But as a *Corpus*, his pioneer work still holds, and must be admitted to be the foundation of all later study.

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1. A Report on Ancient Inscriptions in the North-Western Province.—*Ceylon Govt. Sessional Paper, XI., 1879.*
 2. *A. I. C.*, p. 5.
 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Higher Pali Course for Advanced Students—By A. P. Buddhadatta Thera. (8vo. xi., 289 pp., Colombo, 1951).

The publication of *The Higher Pali Course for Advanced Students* by the Ven. A. P. Buddhadatta Thera invites the attention of all teachers and students of Pali, both in Ceylon and elsewhere. In the interests of the students for whom the work is primarily intended it should have been reviewed more widely. It should also have been afforded greater publicity in the columns of the press as well as in scientific journals. But, unfortunately, the work has not so far received the attention and publicity it deserves.

The work comes from the pen of an author whose reputation as a Pali scholar is established and who hardly needs an introduction. It is a completion of the set of Pali books entitled *The New Pali Course* by the same author and, as the title itself indicates, is designed to meet the requirements of advanced students of the subject.

It is important to note that whereas there are numerous treatises on Pali grammar and readers containing passages for unseen translation, there are hardly any books which attempt to teach Pali composition. To mention only a few of the grammars let us take some of the earlier works by European scholars :—Dr. F. Muller : *Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Pali Sprache*, Vienna, 1869 ; Ernst Kuhn : *Beitrag zur Pali-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1875 ; J. Minayeff : *Pali Grammar. A Phonetic and Morphological Sketch of the Pali Language*. Translated from the Russian into French by M. Stanislas Guyard and rendered into English by C. G. Adams, 1882 ; O. Frankfurter : *Handbook of Pali, Being an Elementary Grammar, A Christomathy and a Glossary*, Williams and Norgate, 1883 ; V. Henry : *Precis du Grammaire Pali* ; and more recently Geiger's : *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg, 1916. Of works published in Asia may be mentioned Tha Do Oung : *A Grammar of the Pali Language* (after Kaccayana), in 4 vols., Akyab, 1899 ; C. Duroiselle : *A Practical Grammar of the Pali Language*, Rangoon, 1906 ; C. V. Joshi's : *A Manual of Pali* (being a Graduated Course of Pali for Beginners), Poona, 1931 ; the works of the Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala and the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta himself. Of readers there are Dines Andersen : *A Pali Reader*, Parts I and II, Copenhagen, 1901 ; Duroiselle : *School Pali Series*, Rangoon, 1907 ; and recently Dr. E. W. Adikaram's : *A Pali Reader*, Colombe

Of the above works only Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera's *A Graduated Pali Course* and A. P. Buddhadatta Thera's *Palibhasavataranaya* and *The New Pali Course* (modelled on the latter work)

attempted to include in them sentences for translation into Pali as exercises in composition. The paucity of works in Pali dealing with the teaching of composition may be explained by the fact that the chief sources of inspiration for the study of Pali first available to scholars were the three principal classical grammars of the Pali language, namely, *Kaccayana*, *Moggallayana* and *Saddaniti*. On the *Kaccayana*, the oldest of the three works—(written by the celebrated Kaccayana Maha Thera)—were based many of the grammatical and commentarial works of subsequent authors. The *Balavatara* and the *Maharupasiddhi* are two of the best known among them.

It would not be out of place to consider here the usual difficulties which confront students of Pali in their attempt to acquire a grasp of the language. As a general rule those who approach the study of Pali with a background of Sinhalese literature, howsoever limited that knowledge may be, find little difficulty in mastering the first principles of the language and before long are capable of reading elementary Pali passages. They also get into the swing of the language more readily than others. The first text-books on Pali provide them with the necessary vocabulary to understand the meaning of simple prose passages written in the direct, narrative style which one encounters in the Jataka Stories and the *Dhammapad-a-tha-katha*. In many instances, such students are already familiar with the subject matter of the stories. The Classical Sinhalese prose works contain a good many of them. There are many stories in the Sinhalese works which are translations or faithful adaptations of the original. The position is further simplified by the intimate connection that exists between the two literatures, both in content and form. It is also soon realized that the order of words in Pali is not very different from that found in the Sinhalese prose works. Though there are instances of divergence, Pali prose follows the Classical Sinhalese word-order closely. Elementary Pali Grammar does not present a serious difficulty; and nearly all school books lay much emphasis on the study of the preliminary declensions and conjugations. Together with them are also included the elementary rules of syntax. With these basic requirements students are enabled to gain that degree of proficiency in the language required for reading and understanding simple Pali texts. Fortunately, too, most of the students who take up to Pali have a prior knowledge of Sinhalese. But if beginners are equipped with that knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, syntax and so forth, then their knowledge does not extend much further. Beyond the capacity to read and understand (and often read fluently) and a familiarity with the principal declension and conjugational systems together with an ability to translate a few simple sentences from English or Sinhalese into Pali, the students' proficiency does not extend. Beyond this, too, the available text-books afford little

help. It is just here that students are beset with difficulties. When it comes to a matter of composition, they find it an arduous task to make sufficient headway from the stage of translating sentences.

The theory and practice of composition serving as a means for acquiring a proficiency in the handling of a language for literary purposes is an essential condition in mastering it. This is no less true of Pali than any other language. In fact a very sure test of a language is the capacity to compose in it, to use it correctly and control it. The lack of suitable books having exercises in composition is one of the major drawbacks in Pali studies. In composition, too, what is most needed is exercises in continuous prose.

This difficulty does not affect merely the students. Teachers also are confronted with it.

It is interesting to note that whereas there are many books that teach composition in European languages, both ancient and modern, such works are lacking in the Classical Eastern languages. Even in Sanskrit such books are very scarce. Bhandarkar's *A First Book of Sanskrit* ends up with sentences of moderate difficulty to be rendered into Sanskrit and his *Second Book of Sanskrit* too, provides only difficult and complicated sentences and not any continuous prose passages. Apte's *A Guide to Sanskrit Composition* (incidentally one of the best available works for students on the subject) again has only complicated sentences and no continuous prose for translation. Oka and Modak's *Exercises in Sanskrit*, used by Ceylon students, appears to be the only work which compensates, in some measure, for this inadequacy. It contains exercises in continuous prose as well.

With these preliminary remarks the present work may be considered. As it was remarked earlier the work follows the same pattern as the author's *The New Pali Course* of which this is a completion. The first chapter deals with the exceptions in the declensions and conjugational forms. Chapters II and III are concerned with Denominative, Onomatopoeic and Desiderative verbs and passive formations. Chapter V deals exhaustively with the syntax of nouns wherein also are illustrated the uses of the cases. Chapter VII is a detailed treatment of the Indeclinables.

A departure from the traditional text-book is to be seen in the inclusion of a novel feature, namely, the section dealing with the analysis of sentences : Ch. IV ; and the Antithetic forms, Antonyms, found in Ch. VIII.

A very valuable and helpful section is the one giving an account of Idioms and Difficult Passages : Ch. VIII. The list of idioms

given contains that type of expression which comes in handy and serviceable in prose composition.

If a function of a text-book of Pali for advanced students is to impart instruction in order to attain a competence in the correct usage, handling and control of the language, then the present work goes a long way in that direction. But that competence can never be achieved without sufficient practice in continuous prose composition. It is in this respect that this work, like all other previous works of its kind, is deficient. It is to be hoped that even at a subsequent stage this deficiency will be made good. With due appreciation of the great boon rendered to students of Pali through this work which places them all under a deep debt of gratitude to the author, it may not unreasonably be expected that this lacuna will be filled. The inclusion of selected passages for prose composition is a desideratum. The present author is unquestionably one of the most suitable men to undertake the task.

A. S. KULASURIYA.

Marx on China, 1853-1860—with an Introduction and Notes by Dona Torr. *Lawrence & Wishart*—8s. 6d.)

As a correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune*, Marx, together with Engels, wrote a series of articles on the political, economic and social upheavals that characterised Europe and the world in the beginning of the latter half of the 19th century. This book is a reprint of the seventeen articles Marx wrote on China during the period 1853-1860, together with a useful introduction and notes by Dona Torr. Meant as they were for the newspaper reader, and published at irregular intervals, they do not form a complete treatment of the subject, but nevertheless the articles are valuable as the only writings of Marx on a country in which today, his ideas are being tested in actual practice.

The period 1853-1860 was one of immense change for China. It saw not only the final opening up of the Chinese market to the West European bourgeoisie but also the beginning of a hundred years of aggression, invasion and domination from which the Chinese people have just emerged.

The first of the articles, written three years before the war with China was launched, together with articles 5, 9 and 10 gives a lucid history of European trade with China. The problems of Chinese trade had arisen at the end of the 18th century, when the East India Company found itself faced with an increasingly unfavourable trade balance. The English needed increasing quantities of Chinese silks, tea and chinaware, but having nothing to give in exchange

to the self-sufficient "Celestial Empire" paid the balance in silver. To check this drain the export of opium was encouraged by the East India Company, which reaped a good revenue from holding the monopoly of its cultivation in Bengal. Defeated in the First Opium War (1839-42), China opened Canton and four other ports to the British and ceded Hong-kong, which became the "Opium Shop of China," smuggling the drug to the mainland where its import was still illegal. As Marx observes: "Our Government in India is dependent for revenue on the sale of opium in China, as much as the people of England are dependent for their breakfast and their evening meals on the produce of that Empire." Articles 2 and 3 in the book discuss the "supplementary treaties" that followed the treaty of Nanking, while articles 5, 8 and 13 deal with the advance of Czarist Russia towards Manchuria, which began immediately following the Chinese defeats of 1842.

In 1850 began a revolt of the peasants in South China, which, known as the Taiping rebellion, rapidly spread to Central China, where Nanking was captured in 1853. Partly inspired by the impact of Christian missionary ideas on the peasants and labourers, the Taipings forbade opium smoking and asked for a return to "the old virtues." But more striking was its social programme. Taxation was fought, land was demanded, mandarins, landlords and their supporters were killed, title deeds burned and the land divided, the poor were provided for and women treated as equal with men. The Taiping rebellion, the first social revolution attempted in the long history of China, continued for over fifteen years and left behind it traditions which were inherited by Sun-Yat-Sen and later by Mao-Tse-Tung. The Taiping rebellion, as well as the repulse of the rebels from Shanghai by European arms, is dealt with in article 1.

In October-December, 1856, the Second Opium War began. In articles 2, 3, 4 and 6, Marx speaks of the real causes of the war with a frankness which was possible only since his employer *The Daily Tribune*, was an American paper. The *Lorcha Arrow*, Chinese owned and manned, had been temporarily registered as British at Hong-Kong. The British license of doubtful legality had expired on September 27th. On October 8th, Chinese authorities at Canton searching for two pirates boarded the *Arrow*, which no longer flew the British ensign, and arrested twelve of the crew. The British consul demanded the prisoners back together with an apology, but on being refused by Governor Yeh, Canton was attacked. The widespread anti-western feeling caused in the East by this unprovoked attack on Canton are dealt with in articles 7 and 8, while articles 3 and 4 discuss the parliamentary debates in England over the "Arrow" episode, where, on being censured, Palmerston dissolved parliament and was returned with an increased majority after the elections.

On re-assuming office in April, 1857, Palmerston despatched Lord Elgin with far-reaching instructions (Article 15) allowing the use of force to gain a new treaty. Elgin's forces however were diverted to India on the outbreak of the mutiny while Palmerston himself had to resign in February, 1858, after a vote of censure. The new cabinet however decided to continue the China war while Elgin himself had now arrived in Hong Kong after quelling the mutiny. Canton was bombarded and captured. Advancing north, the combined British-French troops entered Tientsin. Czarist Russia however moved faster, and by the Russo-Chinese treaty of Tientsin got the cession of the Amur valley and positions on the Manchurian coast including Vladivostok. (Articles 8 and 13).

Articles 11, 12 and 13 deal with the Treaty of Tientsin signed in June, 1858 with the British, to be ratified in Peking the following year, while Articles 12 and 16 outline the plenipotentiary Elgin's legalisation of the opium traffic at Shanghai and his subsequent show of force on the Yangtze. In April 1859, however, Palmerston was back as Prime Minister, he would not be satisfied with the immense gains secured the previous year and ordered a resumption of war. Searching for a pretext, Elgin asked that the British be allowed to come to Peking up the Peiho to ratify the treaty. On being refused, Elgin launched an attack on the Taku ports and his troops entered Peking, where he ordered the Summer Palace to be destroyed. A final treaty was now drawn up with additional concessions to the British. These last phases of the war are dealt with in Articles 13, 14, 15 and 17.

This brings us to Marx's attitude regarding events in China. About the old China "vegetating in the teeth of time" he had no illusions. The significance of the Chinese wars to Marx lay in another direction. In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels had shown how modern industry by its cheap commodities and development of communications "compels all nations . . . to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves" and was making "nations of peasants" dependent on "nations of bourgeois," "the East on the West." But as Engels remarked in the *Neue Rheinische Revue* in 1852, the creation of new markets out of nothing in California and Australia "were not foreseen in the *Manifesto*." To Marx too, the discovery of gold in California was more important than the European revolutions of 1848, because the lands around the Pacific Ocean were being drawn into the world market. As in the great age of discovery three centuries earlier, so now for the second time "world trade was taking a new direction." In 1858 he saw that the optimism of the first lines of the *Communist Manifesto* could no longer be sustained, the expansion of capitalism in the

East due to the new markets not only of Australia and California but of China and Japan was bound to have a negative effect on the Socialist revolution in Europe. Bourgeois society would continue in the ascendent for still more time. In a letter to Engels written in 1858, Marx says :

“ We cannot deny that bourgeois society has experienced its sixteenth century a second time—a sixteenth century which will, I hope, sound the death knell of bourgeois society, just as the first one thrust it into existence. The particular task of bourgeois society is the establishment of the world market, at least in outline, and of production based upon the world market. As the world is round, this seems to have been completed by the colonization of California and Australia and the opening up of China and Japan.”

Karl Marx did not live to see capitalism pass from the ascendent to decline, from progress to reaction, but as he hoped, the “ second sixteenth century ” was not as fruitful to the bourgeoisie as the first, and today at its end there appears not only the emancipated millions of a New China but also a revolutionary fervour that grips the few remaining markets of the Western bourgeoisie in Asia.

S. D. SAPARAMADU.

The Biblical Period—By William Foxwell Albright. (MacMillan—5s.).

The Bible is rich in the stories and legends of the Biblical period: some doubt their historicity while those others who believe them, mainly because they are part of the “ Gospel Truth,” hardly pause to examine whether any corroborative evidence of these stories exists. Hence a book like “ *The Biblical Period*,” by William Foxwell Albright is not merely useful, it is essential. And when it turns out to be an interestingly written and easily read work, it should attract not only the student but also the general reader.

The Author starts his work with a section on “ Hebrew Beginnings,” in which he discusses the origins and the early traditions of the Israelites. He draws much of his material from archaeological evidence which according to the Author “ gives us a remarkably precise idea of patriarchal Palestine, fitting well into the picture handed down in Genesis.”

In the section on the “ Age of Moses,” the Author gives us a vivid picture of that vivid figure who ranks high among the Hebrew leaders, and discusses the background he grew up in. In discussing Moses and the wandering, he says : “ It took both Moses, unusual

qualities of leadership and a sequence of extraordinary events, to induce his followers to flee from their Egyptian aggressors into the desert."

After the capture of Palestine the Hebrews gained more followers, for according to the Author: "The religion of Moses was a missionary faith with dynamic appeal to the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of that time." After a period of Israelite succession and expansion, Israelite homes were attacked by nomads from the Syrian desert and by the Philistines. But according to the Author, in spite of these attacks, "In the course of two centuries there had been great development in the material civilization and social organization of Israel, inspite of the repeated blows from outside, some of them crushing in their impact."

In the section on "The united monarchy," the Author discusses the achievements of the popular hero Saul and the brilliant David. David's achievements were mainly in the military sphere. But Solomon's was much more. He established a powerful army to ward would be aggressors. "With this assurance against foreign invaders Solomon could turn his attention to the marvellous opportunities for trade and the development of the arts, of civilization that were opening up."

After Solomon came revolt and decline of the Israelite monarchy and Israelite power. The Author discusses this in detail and takes us through the captivity and restoration. And as the Jewish history of this period comes to an end, substantial evidence is also lacking, as the Author points out, and according to him "The fourth century is wholly without dated Jewish documents."

Thus in a bare sixty pages the Author takes us through the rise and fall of the Hebrew race, its triumphs under inspired leadership, its decline under the pressure of external attack. And after reading the book, Moses and Solomon and other Biblical heroes appear to us as more than mere names in the Bible, but rather real historical figures. And if Albright's work serves that purpose only, it has more than justified its ever having been written.

V. T. NAVARATNA.

Ceylon and World History For Standards VI, VII, VIII & S. S. C.—By S. F. de Silva. (*Sri Lanka Publishing Co.*—Rs. 1.50 ; 2.50 ; 3/- ; 4/-).

The four books of Ceylon and World History by S. F. de Silva will be welcomed by both students and teachers. As text-books they are suitable for providing a grounding in the history of Ceylon in particular and the world in general.

Ceylon and World History for Standard VI deals with an outline of Ceylon History and the world from 1500—1800 A.D. There are 4 chapters devoted to the History of Ceylon, and five to the European powers. In the main, it is only the bare outline that is provided but the simple language and the treatment of the material enable an intelligent student to grasp clearly the essential outline of the history, which as Mr. Silva points out is the purpose of the book. It is true that too much detail would hinder rather than help the student but it is as much true that at this stage of a student's study, that he should not learn details that later he may have to unlearn. A point in question is the voyage of Bartholomeu Diaz who turned back after doubling the Cape, not because he was frightened of storms but owing to a mutiny that occurred on board ship. Nevertheless, the book accomplishes the aim of its author to help the pupil to see some of the main currents of the history of this period. A number of ways facilitate the work of the student, and the teacher.

The book for Standard 7 deals with Ceylon and World History from 1800 to the present day of which five chapters are devoted to the History of Ceylon. A very useful chapter for the student of history, as well as the general student is Chapter V. This concerns itself with the development of nation-building services, *e.g.*, the co-operative movement. A fuller account of World History is given from Chapter VI—XVI. Here again the main trends of World History are succinctly presented. But a chapter outlining the economic conditions that created the second World War would have been much appreciated; and would have proved useful to the student to understand the fundamental causes for the second World War.

The third book, *i.e.*, Ceylon and World History is for Standard VIII. While maintaining the easy style and the simple language of the previous books, S. F. de Silva embodies the latest research in his treatment of Ceylon. *e.g.*, regarding Kassapa and Sigiriya. The scope of the book is much wider than those of the previous ones, with the result that the part dealing with world history has to be confined to the main trends.

The fourth and the last book is a Text-book for the S.S.C. students. It deals comprehensively, without overburdening with details, the History of Ceylon and the world from 1789. It provides a sound back-ground for higher studies giving a lucid framework on which the student could reach further. It is evident that S.S.C. students cram a mass of facts for their exam. History, however, is not a mere mass of facts, but the story of man in his environment. Mr. Silva's book guides the student to an intelligent study of history.

Mr. Silva's books taken as a whole, provide a graduated study of the history of the world and Ceylon, without over-tasking the students' mental capacities, nor making one lose interest in the panorama of history. The number of simple maps will help the students to grasp the problems and trends of historical events. Mr. Silva, as noted by him in his preface to the first book has been careful to avoid teaching too much to students; and undoubtedly the value of the books will be appreciated, not only by educationists, but much more by an intelligent student.

D. AMARASINGHA.

The Growth of Modern Germany—By Roy Pascal. (*Past and Present Studies in the History of Civilization*, Vol. 2. Cobbett Press—2s. 6d.).

Professor Pascal here sets out the various factors and phases of development that have led to the evolution of Modern Germany. The introduction sketches the outstanding features of the Old Germany, the Germany of the Holy Roman Empire and of Frederick and the Prussian Junkers, semi-feudal and socially backward, but a vast reservoir of potential economic and intellectual wealth. Then follow chapters dealing with the emergence of German nationalism under the Napoleonic regime; the reaction that followed with Metternich after 1815, and the attempt and failure of liberalism to establish itself in Germany in 1848. Prussia's successful creation of the Reich in the years 1848-71; the history of the Second Reich itself, with its social and economic complications leading to the Great War and the 1918 Revolution are next dealt with. A useful chapter follows on the Democratic Republic, 1918-30 and the study is concluded with sections on National Socialism, the end of the Republic and a somewhat cursory glance at Hitler in power.

The study concerns itself almost exclusively with the economic and social aspects of the problem. The basic thesis of the discussion would seem to be that the German Middle classes that had arisen after the Napoleonic wars found itself hindered by two factors—firstly the lack of unity in Germany itself, and secondly the lack of constitutional government. The liberal minded bourgeoisie of the Metternich era when put to the test in 1848 showed itself weak and inexperienced, gaining neither unity, nor parliamentary democracy. After the failure in the Revolution of 1848 to establish a unified democratic state, the longing for unity, provoked by fresh humiliations, came to oust all rival principles and made the liberal middle classes the willing victims of Prussian power politics. The belatedness of the unity, once it was achieved meant that most positions of vantage in the world were already occupied by other

powers, so that a feeling of undeserved inferiority lent a peculiar aggressiveness to German nationalism. German industry, also late to develop, demanded a high degree of organization and enlisted the support of the State in the effort to outdo foreign rivals, so that German industrialists became ardent upholders of authoritarian and aggressive government. With the rapid growth of industry, there arose also the organized movement of the industrial working class, social democracy, with its challenge to nationalism, capitalism and traditional democracy. Caught, before they had come to political power, between the efficient and rapacious ruling class, and the highly organised socialist movement the middle classes, fearing the extension of democracy to the masses, sought to preserve their privileges by clinging to strong authoritarian leadership, and never developed a confident democratic faith or a sure democratic purpose. Though this tendency is seen in the later years of Bismark and in the reign of the Kaiser, it becomes most noticeable when the German middle classes handed over the Republic to Hitler when the depression had made their economic bases insecure. The German bourgeoisie, says Professor Pascal, "found compensation for this lack of power in extravagant nationalist emotion and self-indulgent fantasies regarding their great cultural mission in the world. It was no accident that in the ranks of their scholars there developed that disastrous longing for despotic rule and ruthless cruelty (Nietzsche, Spengler, etc.) which was to culminate in Nazism."

The work remains a very able exposition of the Marxian interpretation of German evolution and considering the size of the book most of the problems have been adequately treated. One would however have wished for a better and lengthier analysis of certain aspects. Thus, for example why did, the Social Democratic movement, considering the economic basis, throw away the German Revolution by refusing an alliance with the Communists and why did it ultimately destroy itself by allowing its members to vote for the Enabling Act of 1933 that gave Hitler dictatorial powers. Despite such omissions however, the book is well-written and a useful addition to the already plentiful literature on the subject of modern Germany.

S. D. SAPARAMADU.

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