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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

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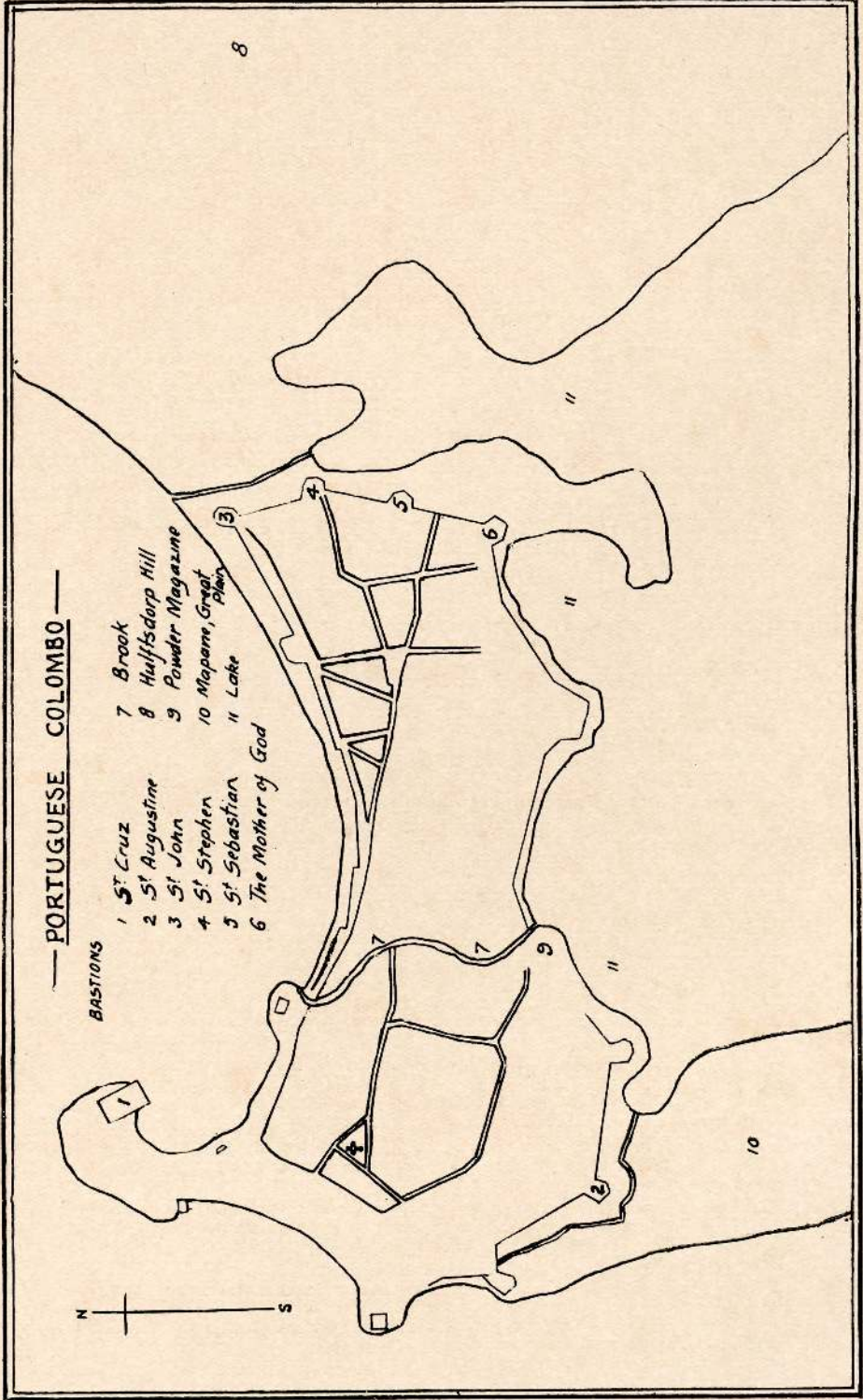
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The Ceylon Antiquary

and

Literary Register.

Published Quarterly.

Vol. VIII.

April, 1923.

Part IV.

COLOMBO IN THE 17th CENTURY.¹

By L. J. GRATIAEN.

I propose in this paper, besides shortly sketching the circumstances under which Colombo fell into the hands of the Dutch East Indies Company, to describe the outward aspect of the town both when the Portuguese held it, and after the Dutch replanned and rebuilt it, collecting together, so far as I am able, the information found scattered in many books.

Let us first of all carry ourselves back in imagination some 270 years. Let us go back to the year 1655. We are not surprised to find ourselves in a very different Ceylon from that of to-day.

Ceylon, in 1655, contains three different governments: Kandyan, Portuguese, Dutch; and they are at war. For a century the Portu-

1. The following are the chief authorities relied on in this paper:

- (a) Memoirs issued from the Government Archivist's office—Van Goens (1661), Van Goens, Junior (1679), Van Bhee (1697), Simons (1707).
- (b) Accounts of Ceylon of which translations appear in Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.): Ribeiro (R.A.S.42), Saar (R.A.S.39), Schouten (R.A.S. 40), Daalmans (R.A.S. 35), Beknopte Historie (R. A. S. 38), Correspondence of Raja Sinha (R. A. S. 55).
- (c) Accounts of Ceylon of which translations appear in the *Ceylon Literary Register*: Schweitzer (C.L.R. 1839), Langhans (C.L.R. 1883), Hustaard (C.L.R. 1895), Thunberg, *Batavia Dagh Register*.
- (d) Baldaeus.

The sketch plans are based on the present map of Colombo, the plan of the Fort of Colombo given in the Government Archivist's *Report on the Dutch Records*, and maps in Baldaeus, Cordiner and Perelval, a number of which are reproduced in an article by the late Mr. E. Sueter in a 'Times of Ceylon' Christmas Number.

guese have carried on war against the Sinhalese; they have conquered district after district; and when their new subjects have revolted they have "pacified" them with fire and sword. They have left only the mountaineers unconquered, and even the mountain Capital they have more than once taken and burnt.

Now the tide has turned. King Rájá Sinha of Kandy has called to his aid the Dutch East India Company, who have driven the Portuguese from the eastern and southern coasts and from Negombo. The Dutch now garrison the forts of Galle and Negombo, and, but for war in Europe, would by this have marched on Colombo, the Portuguese capital. From 1652 to 1654 they have been fighting the English in the North Sea. Now in September, 1655, General Hulft reaches Galle with 16 fine ships and 2,500 men. He has come to capture Colombo.

As the Dutch march north, 3,000 strong, a force of 700 Portuguese, flushed with a great victory over the Kandyans, meets them at Moratuwa, and only 200 of the 700 escape from the battle. Soon all the Portuguese troops are withdrawn within the walls of Colombo, and the Dutch sit down to besiege it. General Hulft establishes himself in a "fine residence" on the hill that still bears his name. On the other hills—St. Thomas', St. Sebastian, Wolvendaal—batteries are erected, and begin to play on the town.

Colombo is at this time a fortified town. To twentieth century eyes it may seem a small place, for it occupies only the area between the lake and the harbour; but in the seventeenth century it was considered "large and spacious,"² "a beautiful large town."³ On all sides except the west, where the rocks are considered a sufficient defence, it is surrounded by walls of cabook, with 14 cabook bastions, placed chiefly on the east and the southwest, where the protection of sea and lake is lacking; and the defences are here strengthened by means of moats.

The names of the bastions are given by three writers, but we can be reasonably certain of the names of six only. These are St. Cruz or Holy Cross at the point of the harbour; St. Augustine, the great central bastion looking towards Galle Face; and those on the east—St. John, "built high up with stone," near the sea; next St. Stephen; then St. Sebastian; and last the Mother of God. The confusion about the other names seems due to the fact that each

² Schouten.

³ Saar

writer names only 12 bastions, possibly the original number. "On all the bastions were bells to quickly make known everywhere what was going on."⁴

In the walls are 3 gates : one on the South, by the Bastion Augustine, leading to the Great Plain or Mapane, a name sometimes extended to the bastion, and two in the eastern wall : a big one by St John's Bastion, through which one goes north to the Kelani ferries ; and the other south of St. Sebastian, called the Queens' Gate, through which the road leads over an arm of the lake to St. Sebastian hill and then, by way of what is now Maradana Road, to Cotta.

The town is divided in two by a brook, running from near the present landing jetty to near the old Fort railway station. To the west of this are gardens, for the most part. It is along the two roads leading to the eastern gates that the buildings chiefly stand. They include a Town Hall, a Royal Hospital, and the Convents of five religious orders, including the Jesuits, who conduct a school where Latin and Philosophy are taught, and where the pupils sometimes give dramatic entertainments. All these fine buildings and lofty churches and numerous large houses are built "spacious, airy and high, with stone walls, as if meant to stand for ever, according to the Portuguese manner of building."

The inhabitants, who live "in affluence and state,"⁵ enjoy a certain amount of self-government, having their own 'Camara' or Council.⁶ They are, for the most part, not Portuguese, but Porto-Sinhalese, the offspring of the mixed marriages which the Portuguese Government vigorously encourage. It is a rule in the Portuguese army that a soldier who marries is immediately discharged and becomes a "citizen." He continues, however, to serve in the town forces.

We have no certain information about the number of inhabitants in the town. Ribeiro says that some years before this there were 900 noble families and 1,500 minor officials and tradesmen. Besides this there were, of course, large numbers of domestic slaves, not to speak of a large garrison. All citizens did military service, being enrolled in special companies.

The siege began in October. The Dutch Army numbered about 3,000, while the Portuguese had about 1,300, of whom 500

4. S. ar.

5. Schouten.

6. Ribeiro.

were regular troops—many of them natives of Colombo—300 “married people” or ex-soldiers, who served without pay, and the rest lascorins. The fortifications were not very strong.⁷ The carriages of the great guns were so rotten that some fell to pieces after the first discharge. But spirit made up for all deficiencies.

The first plan of the Dutch was to take the town by one overwhelming assault. When they tried it on November 12th they were beaten back with very great loss. Hulft was himself wounded, and Saar says that when he was taken to his quarters he kept crying: “O my fine soldiers! O my fine soldiers! Would I had my soldiers back.” He decided the town could not be taken without reinforcements, and having asked for them from Batavia he sat down to wait and see what famine could do. The garrison were forced to eat elephants and buffaloes, dogs and cats and rats. Hundreds of starving wretches were driven out of the gates. The Dutch shot them down between the town and their trenches. For 5 months the Dutch waited and the Portuguese starved. Then the Dutch received reinforcements, and General Hulft, going down into the advanced trenches to examine the position before making an attack, was struck by a shot from the walls and killed. There was consternation for a moment, but preparations were pushed on for the final assault.

Early one Sunday morning, when most of the Portuguese troops were in Church, the Dutch made a surprise attack on St. John’s Bastion and took it, and could not be dislodged. In a few days the town offered to surrender. The defending force was now reduced to 90 soldiers and 100 armed inhabitants, including officers and many maimed. On the 12th of May the garrison marched out with ensigns displayed, and drums beating, to the Dutch General’s quarters, where they laid down their arms. These were followed by the citizens, sick, wounded and crippled. Then the Dutch army marched into Colombo, and towards evening the Prince’s standard was planted in the water-fort, and the boom of cannon from the walls proclaimed that the Dutch East Indies Company was master of the town.

Colombo was thus formally transferred to the Dutch, but their title was not unchallenged. The Dutch had promised Rája Sinha that when the town was taken it would be handed over to him,

7. Many of these details are from the Portuguese account of the siege in Baldaeus.

but this they had now no intention of doing⁸. They asserted that while they had spent blood and treasure fighting the Portuguese, and gained no profit from their conquest, Rája Sinha had harassed them and their subjects, and failed to pay their expenses, which he had guaranteed. They would, therefore, hold the districts on the south-west coast as security for the payment of the King's debt. Rája Sinha's troops were forbidden to enter the town. He could not think of going to war with the Dutch, but he could harass them, as he had done before. He ordered that no provisions should be brought into Colombo from the surrounding districts.

"Therefore," says Saar, "famine reigned again in the town; and so many died, that our slaves, whom we had with us in the camp, had nothing else to do three or four days long but to bury. There died in one day twenty to thirty, and this caused a great stench, so that many even amongst us fell sick and died, although we had large quantities of rice and salt-meat from the ships to live upon."

As it was determined to hold the town so strongly that Rája Sinha would be afraid to molest it, the Dutch were not satisfied with repairing the Portuguese defences, which were old fashioned, and owing to their great extent required a large force to man them. They decided to build a new fort or Castle on the western side of the town, between the sea and the brook. A series of large bastions were built,⁹ partly on the sites of the Portuguese ones, and connected by strong walls. On the east, and so much of the south as was not washed by the lake, broad and deep moats were dug. This new castle became the residence of the officials and the Government and business centre.

Though the Portuguese officials and troops and many citizens sailed away after the town was captured, the bulk of the inhabitants must needs remain, and the Dutch had promised that they should be "civilly and favourably treated, and remain in quiet possession of their estates." Perhaps it was the presence of these "natural enemies" which led the Dutch to build their Castle in such haste. At all events most of the houses of the Portuguese city had stood at the eastern end of it, and this old town continued to be the Portu-

8. Beknopte Historie.

9. Named Leyden, Delft, Hoorn (on the East), Rotterdam, Middleburg, Kliffenburg and Enkhuysen (on the South), Briel and Amsterdam (on the West).

guese quarter. So late as 1689 we are told that only 24 Europeans lived in the old town.¹⁰

The defences of this old town were not neglected. The eastern bastions battered by the siege were rebuilt more solidly,¹¹ and were further strengthened by the cutting through of the land that projected into the lake at the southern end. On the north and south, too, walls were built from the ends of the eastern wall as far as the Castle moat. On the west only there were no defences. Here a large space of low swampy ground called the *buffalo's plain* was left open, as part of the scheme of defence of the castle. In time of danger it could be put under water by opening a sluice. The only means of communication between the castle and the old town was to the north of this plain, along an embankment near the shore.

These extensive works could not of course be completed in a year or two. It was estimated they would take ten years, and at first work was pushed on rapidly, but later it must have been carried on more leisurely, and by the end of the century one gate at least was not covered over.

In June, 1681, Van Goens thought Colombo had been "brought to a fair condition for defence," and was giving orders that the masonry work on the inner side of Point Victoria should be completed. After this the work at Point Kandy was to be commenced, Rájá Sinha enlarged, and both points connected by a curtain. "When this is done," he says, "the town will be sufficiently fortified on the Negombo side, and with God's help will be strong enough to withstand a powerful enemy." Eighteen years after this, however, we read that "the fortifications are nearly ready."¹²

Most of the work of fortification was done by slave labour. The Company at one time had four thousand slaves of different nations in Colombo,¹³ over whom were Dutch overseers. At the same time the authorities were anxious to set as many of their slaves as possible to work in the rice fields, in their unavailing efforts to grow enough rice to make the island independent of India as regards food. When they thought the defences strong enough, they evidently diverted much of their labour force to

10. Schweitzer gives the new names of the town bastions as follows: Victoria (St. John), Constantia, Concordia, Haarlem, Enkhuysen; but Van Goens in his *Instructions* (1661), after referring to Point Victoria as "the chief point of defence of the town" on the east, goes on to speak of Point Kandy and Rájá Sinha also as parts of the eastern defences of the town. Elsewhere he gives the following partial list of the bastions of both castle and town:—Zeeburg, Victoria, Middleburg, Sandenburg, Raja Sinha, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam, Sodenburg. Baldassus refers to the "Queen's Gate" as "Rajua."

11. Schweitzer.

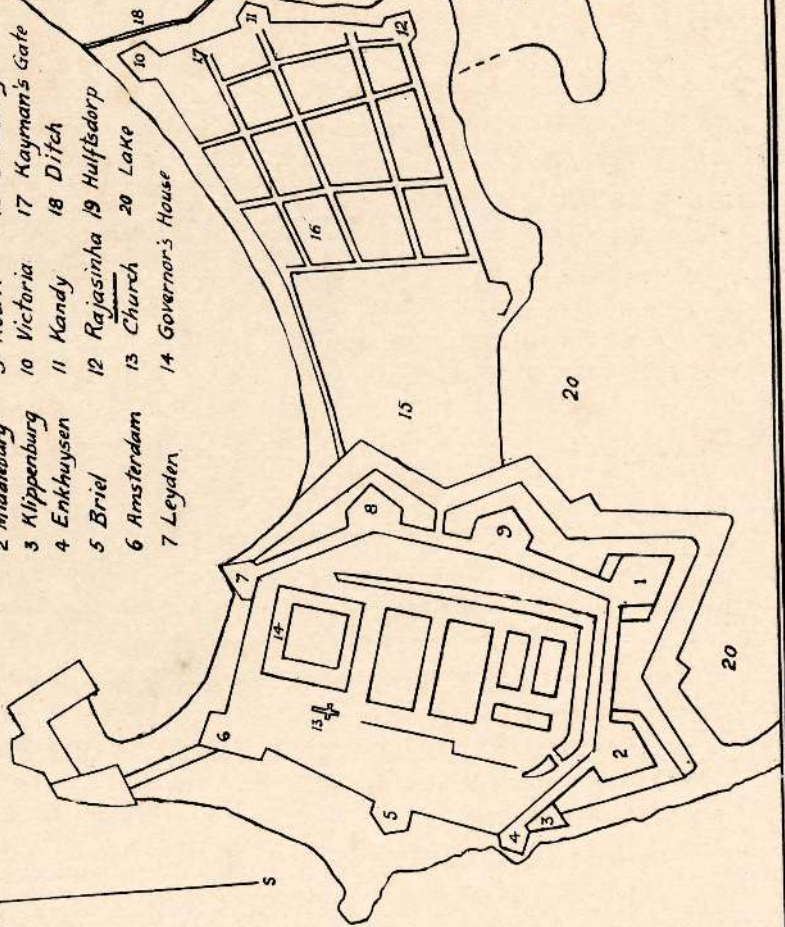
12. Van Goens, Junior

13. Schweitzer, p. 156.

—DUTCH COLOMBO—

BASTIONS

- 1 Rotterdam
- 2 Middleburg
- 3 Klippenburg
- 4 Enkhuysen
- 5 Briel
- 6 Amsterdam
- 7 Leyden
- 8 Delft
- 9 Hoorn
- 10 Victoria
- 11 Kandy
- 12 Rajasinha
- 13 Church
- 14 Governor's House
- 15 Buffalo's Plain
- 16 Cemetery
- 17 Kayman's Gate
- 18 Ditch
- 19 Hulftsdorp
- 20 Lake



this work. The slaves we cannot say "lived," but "lay at night" in little thatched huts, outside the western wall of the fort.

Not only was the town re-fortified. It was re-built on a regular plan. It is worth noticing how regularly the streets of the Fort and Pettah were laid out. New streets have been made since then, but otherwise there has been little change in the streets for more than 250 years. Of the "three straight and broad streets lengthwise and three broadwise" of the Pettah, Keyser Street, Prince Street, and Second Cross Street still keep their Dutch names, very slightly altered; Front Street was then the Market Street, Main Street the King's Street, and First Cross Street Haarlemmer Street. Bankshall Street and Maliban Street appeared later along the line of the walls, and since then the Pettah has grown by filling in parts of the lake and the harbour. The Fort streets, except Hospital Street where the Dutch had their hospital, changed their names after the English occupation, but they still retain vestiges of the avenues of shade trees which the Dutch planted by the roadside and before all the houses, so that the fort was "full of pleasant walks." Of the "large trees and gardens" that were then a feature of the Pettah little remains, but a hundred years ago Cordiner saw there "fine houses and luxuriant gardens," and the streets bordered with *suriya* trees.

A number of descriptions of Colombo in the period following the Dutch occupation have come down to us from travellers. Following these and other writers let us in fancy visit the town and take note of some of its chief features. In the first place, ships anchor half a mile or even a mile away from the shore, for the reef makes it dangerous for large ships to come close in. At the angle of land where we come ashore are situated the warehouses of the Company, where goods are being loaded into boats or unloaded. Here, too, stand a boat-building yard, a windmill for sawing boards, a smithy, in fact, it is a general factory where everything needed by sea or land is made for the Company.

When we enter the Fort we come first to a bare stretch of land where Queen's House and the Gordon Gardens now are. In the midst of this stretch of bare ground stands a ruined Portuguese church, where the Dutch afterwards built their church.¹⁴ Across the road public offices stood where the Secretariat is to-day, but the central building is the hall of justice or court-house. The

14. This church fell into ruin about the time of the English occupation.

Secretary of the Government lives in the same range of buildings, near his work, and a little further on facing the harbour is the Governor's house. The third side of the square too contains Government offices. The garden of this Government Square is on a lower level than the streets, and is laid out as a flower garden in the celebrated stiff and regular style of Dutch gardens, as we gather from a picture in the Museum.

Other high officials, including the officer in command of the garrison, live in Prince Street, where the houses face the garden wall of the Governor's house, and so again the next street has back gardens on one side and house fronts on the other. Daalmans describes Bailie Street as "very bad," and Chatham Street as "the finest of all the cross roads." "In it are two or three lodgings of Europeans and the rest are mostly Toepasses and blacks." Only beyond Chatham Street are there houses facing Queen Street. There are ten or twelve, occupied by the Cashier, Dispenser, Shopkeeper, Ware-house masters, etc. Beyond these is a last Cross street. The Company builds houses in the Fort for all its servants, from the highest down to the foremen in charge of the blacksmiths' and carpenters' shops. Along two lengths of the rampart runs a canal, to supply water in case of siege.

If we cross this canal and pass through a gateway with ponderous iron-studded doors we shall see the "Great Plain," (or Galle Face) and the place of public executions, and beyond it a country richly filled with fruit trees.¹⁵ Colombo will not extend in this direction for many a long day. The last Cross street, now partly built over, takes us to York Street. On our left, as we go down it, are miserable hovels. Into York Street opens, besides the Cross streets, Hospital Street, so called because here are the hospital and the house of the head surgeon. Here too are many "miserable hovels." To reach the remaining half of the town we go through the Delft gate and along the embankment, which has shade trees planted along it and a deep ditch on the right. Beyond this ditch lies the buffalo's plain.

We come then to the Market after which the first street is named, and to the Cemetery, where are buried all but the highest officials, who lie in vaults under the floor of the Dutch Church.

15. In 1687, Daalmans saw the old Church in ruins and the ground marked off for building a new one close by, and in 1695 Langhans saw here a fine big Reformed church; which he says was built by the Portuguese: a very likely error to fall into.

Along the cemetery walls are rows of small, thatched, mud huts,¹⁶ where are sold "all the week long silks stuffs and linens by the Moors and Persians, and all sorts of fruits, dried fish, onions, sugar and rice."¹⁷ Fish, fowls and other things are brought here in great quantities.¹⁸ Going on to the end of "De Maarkt Straat" we may look out over the lake, where the crocodiles or caimans swarm. All that remains of them to-day is their name, which they have given to Kayman's Gate. As the years pass by and Kandians and other enemies cease from troubling, the walls of the "*oud stad*" are allowed to fall into decay, and by 1695 they exist only here and there.¹⁹ The pleasant walk along the lake becomes a fashionable evening promenade—the "Malieban." In the same way "godowns" or "*bangasai*" spring up along the line of the northern wall and give their name to Bankshall Street.

It matters little which of the streets we next go along, for they are very much alike, the houses with low verandahs, wooden pillars and low railing placed in one continuous line, all "compound" being at the back. But in front of the houses, as we have seen, shade trees are planted. The streets, we are told, are "always very clean, though it rain never so much,"²⁰ for there are strict laws ordering householders to keep the road clean in front of their houses. In 1676, householders were ordered to replace cadjan roofs by tiled ones, on pain of losing their property.

Among the public buildings in this part of the town are a Dutch hospital, "very well provided with able surgeons, and they with very good medicines,"²¹ and an orphanage, where "the boys are taught to read and write, and afterwards taken into the Company's Service as drummers or soldiers, or artisans." The girls are taught to read and write and sew, "and there kept to work till somebody comes to marry them, which commonly happens by that time they are 12 or 13 years of age."²¹

If we wish to get out of the town on this side we must make our way to the north east angle, near the Victoria Bastion, for the old "Queen's Gate" has ceased to exist with the bringing of the lake up to the walls. Whether the gate by the Victoria Bastion remains where St. John's Gate stood or has already been moved south to the present site of Kayman's Gate is not clear. At any

16. Schweitzer.

17. Daalmans.

18. Schweitzer.

19. Langhans.

20. Langhans.

21. Schweitzer.

rate it was not called "Kayman's Gate" in the 17th Century, but the Negombo Gate, or the Gate Victoria. Probably, therefore, it was when the walls began to fall into decay towards the end of the century that a "short cut" to the outer town was formed directly from the end of De Konings Straat. Before leaving the Gate we must not forget to notice that outside the walls near the Victoria Bastion are a few fishermen's huts and a fish-market. Amid all the changes of two centuries and a half, St. John's fish-market has stood firm.

Outside the town it will scarcely be worth our while to go. From the town walls to the line of hills which form the town limits is "the plain of the town," where no houses or huts are allowed, and jungle has to be cut down regularly by Chetties, Paravas and Moors living in the villages beyond.²² Through the plain and up the hills go the roads which still radiate like the spokes of a wheel from Kayman's Gate, and are connected by Hulftsdorp Street. On Hulftsdorp hill are the house and office of the Dessave,²³ whose jurisdiction commences at the hills. All the north and east is jungle, with scattered villages and patches of cultivation, through which go the roads to Pasbetal and Kotte.

Outside the old town lived not only Sinhalese villagers but colonies of Moors, Chetties, Paravas. These communities were treated with great rigour and suspicion by the Dutch, and not allowed to live inside the walls. Early in the next century they were each given a special location under their own headmen—in Old Moor Street, Chetty Street, etc., and so began an "Outer Pettah," a new Colombo.

Scattered about, at Wolvendaal, Welikade, Galle Face, Milagriya and other places are little schools, opened by the East Indies Company as part of their missionary activities. Daalmans speaks of them contemptuously, "nothing more than a wretched hut and a roof on sticks, that is open all round, and some covered with straw and some with tiles." No doubt they were primitive enough, like the instruction given in them.

At Grandpass was a "noble house"²⁴ where Kandyan envoys used to reside when they visited Colombo. Later on a house on Wolvendaal hill was set apart for the envoys, and the house at Grandpass became the Dutch Governor's country seat. Here began the cultivation of silkworms, which gave Sedawatta its name, and here, late in the next century, was formed the first cinnamon estate.

22. Van Bhee, p 56.

23. Van Goens, p 16.

24. Daalmans

THE PETA—VATTHU.

By DR. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, PH. D.

BOOK III.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, Part II, Page 145.)

III. The Peta Story of Rathakara.

NOW, while the Teacher was dwelling at Sávatti, he told the story concerning a certain Petí.

A long while ago, they say, in the time of the Holy Kassapa, a certain woman abounding in the practice of righteousness, very pious in her religion on account of her absolute dependence on virtue alone, built on a level with the ground an exceedingly beautiful residence which was well arranged and had many pillars and staircases. There she caused the monks to remain, served them with savoury food, and gave the dwelling into the possession of the Chapter of priests.

At a subsequent time she died, and on account of another act which was wicked she was reborn as a *vimánapeti* on Himavant, the king of mountains, near lake Rathakára. By virtue of her good deed in giving her house to the Fraternity there was produced for her a high *vimána* (magical palace), consisting entirely of jewels, on all sides very pleasing, charming, and delightful, having a lotus-pond, resembling the Nandana grove, and adorned; while she herself was gold-coloured, handsome, attractive, and amiable. There without men she dwelt, enjoying heavenly glory.

Dissatisfaction, however, arose in her, since she was spending the long night without a man. In her unhappiness she cast some celestial mangoes into the river, thinking: "Here, this will be a successful means." All is to be understood in the same manner as we found it in the *Kannamundapetavatthu* (P.V. II, 12). But in this case a certain man who lived in Benares saw on the banks⁸ of the Ganges one fruit of the mango and wished to know its origin.

8. Read *Gangáyatiresu*, B.

Going in due course and not seeing it, he came in the pursuit of his object to her dwelling place. Having seen him and having led him to her abode, she treated him kindly and took a seat. When he had seen the magnificence of her habitation, he asked her questions and spoke the following stanzas :

1. " You have ascended into a brilliant and shining celestial palace (*vimána*) that has pillars of cat's-eye gems and is variegated in manifold ways. There you remain, very powerful goddess, like the moon in her course in the day she is full.

2. " Your complexion resembles gold ; you have a glowing appearance and are beautifully adorned. Seated upon an excellent and matchless couch, you and your husband are not solitary.

3. " You have on all sides also these lotus-ponds with their many flowers and numerous white lotus blossoms. Their bottoms and banks on all sides are covered with golden sands. In that place there is found no mud or marsh.

4. " Beautiful swans also, which are a delight to my heart, continually move around on the waters. When they are all come together, they utter pleasing notes ; they have sweet voices like the sound of kettle-drums.

5. " You are refulgent and splendid with your comeliness, and you are resting in a boat. In your curved eyelash, in your laughter, in your agreeable speech, and in the elegance of every member you are brightly gleaming.

6. " This magical palace (*vimána*), free from dust, having pleasure gardens, and embodying the fulness of happiness and of joy, is standing upon the level ground. O lady of uncommon perception, with you I wish to enjoy myself here in gladness."⁹

When the man had thus expressed himself, the *vimána* goddess in reply spoke this stanza :

7. " Perform a deed which is to be known here, and let your mind be inclined hither. By achieving works which are manifest in this place, in that way you shall obtain me, who love pleasure."

When the man had heard the words of the *vimána* *petí*, he went to the haunts of men. There he reflected and as a result of that performed meritorious works. Ere long he died and was reborn there (in the lady's precincts).

In narrating the fact of his companionship with the *Petí*, the redactors of the Holy Scriptures wrote the final stanza :

9. *Nandane*, play on *Nandana*, name of a garden in Indra's heaven.

8. He promised her with the words "Very well," and fulfilled a (worthy) act which was to be conjointly known. After he had accomplished a deed which was obvious (to her) in that place, the man was reborn into companionship with her.

After they had thus for a long time enjoyed heavenly bliss, the man died after the effect of his good deed had expired. But the woman who had recourse to her merit, completed in that place one period between two Buddhas. Then when our Blessed One was reborn in the world and in due course was dwelling at Jetavana in the cycle of his excellent righteousness which he established, the venerable Mahámoggallána one day, while wandering through the mountain, saw the magical palace and the *vimánapeti* whom he addressed with the above first six stanzas. She in reply told him all her experience from the very beginning. The Elder, having heard this, went to Sávatthi and informed the Buddha, who made this incident his theme and preached a sermon to the assembled folk. After the people heard him, they performed meritorious acts consisting of charity and other virtues and found delight in righteousness.

IV. The Peta Story of the Chaff.

Now while the Teacher was dwelling at Sávatthi, he told a story concerning four Petas.

In a certain village not very far from Sávatthi a fraudulent merchant made his living with trickery, arrogance, and other methods. He took rice leaves, made them heavier by sprinkling them with red clay, and sold them after he had mixed them with red rice.

His son who in a fit of anger said: "She does not honour my companions and friends who come to the house," took the hide of a draught animal and gave his mother a blow over the head.

His daughter-in-law clandestinely ate some meat which had been kept for the sake of all, but upon being questioned by them, she took an oath, asserting: "If the meat was eaten by me, may I in various successive existences cut off the flesh which is on my own back and eat it."

Now his wife said: "There is no help at all for the beggars." When she was importuned by them, she falsely swore: "If it is not true, I say, in various rebirths I shall eat excrement."

These four people at a subsequent time died and were reborn as Petas in the Vindhya forest. There the fraudulent merchant,

as a result of his deeds, with both his hands took burning chaff which he sprinkled upon his own head, suffering great agony.

His son with iron hammers, even of his own accord, split his own head and underwent great pain. His daughter-in-law, in retribution for her deeds, with her very sharp and exceedingly wide and long nails, kept on cutting off the flesh of her own back, and as she ate it, she experienced great anguish. His wife received excrement which was of strong odour, perfectly pure, free from black specks, formed from rice food, freshly passed, forsooth, of mixed origin with various kinds of worms, exceedingly bad smelling and loathsome. This she seized with both her hands, and, as she ate it, she suffered great pain. Thus while these four beings were reborn as Petas and were undergoing great torment, the venerable Mahámoggallána, on a journey through the mountains, one day reached the place and saw them.

In the following stanza he asked what sin had been committed by them :

1. "One partakes of bits of chaff, another one, however, of rice, and this woman of the blood of her own flesh, while you eat filthy and loathsome excrement. Of what is this the result?"

In answer to the Elder's question the wife of the fraudulent merchant thus explained the deeds that were committed by them all :

2. "This one formerly injured his mother, but that man was a dishonest merchant. This woman ate meat and deceived with an untrue word.

3. "I, being a human being among men, was a house-wife, the mistress of a whole family. From the righteous men I hid (my belongings) and did not give anything from here. With a lie I made concealment, saying : 'This in the house is not mine ; if I do not speak the truth, may excrement be my food.'

4. "In consequence both of this act and of my falsehood my meal of sweet-smelling rice becomes ordure.

5. "Not barren are my deeds ; for not is an action without its consequences. I both eat and drink faeces that are ill-smelling with worms."

When the Elder had heard the speech of the Petí, he narrated the news to the Blessed One. The Venerable One made this matter his theme and preached a sermon to the congregation that was present. His exposition was attended with profit to many people.

V. The Peta Story of the Boy.

Now the Peta story of the Boy. What is the occasion for it ?

At Sávatthi, they say, many lay disciples built a great pavilion for a religious assembly which was to be held. They adorned their structure with cloths of various colours and betimes invited the Teacher and the clergy, whom with the Buddha at their head they seated upon benches upon which were laid valuable and precious cushions. They honoured them with perfumes, flowers, and other things, and they practised alms-giving on a great scale.

A certain man, whose thoughts were possessed by the sin of avarice, saw this, but unable to put up with the festival, spoke as follows : “ All this had better be thrown on the rubbish heap, and not given, I maintain, to these shavelings.”

When the lay disciples heard this, they became excited, saying : “ A serious sin, alas, has taken hold of this man by whom such wickedness was committed in the presence of the Buddha, in the congregation of the priests.” They reported the affair to his mother and said : “ Go to the assembly of his disciples and propitiate the Blessed One.”

She consented with the words, “ It is well,” and after she had scolded and enjoined her son, she approached the Blessed One and the assembly of priests where she confessed the transgression committed by her son and begged for pardon. Then she made an offering of rice gruel for a week to the Blessed One and the Chapter of priests.

Her son died just a short time afterwards and was reborn as the offspring of a courtesan who made her living by her wicked trade. Immediately at the moment of his birth she recognized him as a boy and had him exposed in a graveyard. There he, taking refuge just in the strength of his own merit and not annoyed by any one, slept comfortably just as upon his mother's hip. They say that angels took care of him.

Then when the Blessed One, filled with great compassion, rose at dawn and with his Buddha-eye surveyed the world, he saw the boy abandoned in the charnel house and at sunrise went to the graveyard. A great multitude gathered together, saying : “ The Teacher has come hither ; it must be for some reason in this place.”

The Holy One said to the assembled congregation : “ This boy must not be despised, even if he was left deserted and forlorn in this burial place. But since his righteousness has even been

discerned into the future, he shall attain the highest success in time to come." Then he was asked by these men: "Now, Reverend Sir, what wicked deed was committed by this one in his previous existence?" The Buddha declared: "The people held a great festival in honour of the Chapter of priests with the Buddha at their head; in that matter his mind was differently disposed, and he uttered an unkind and sinful expression."

With this and other explanations he declared the deed which had been committed by that boy and the prosperity he was to attain in the future. To the assembled congregation he expounded righteousness according to his idea and further preached a most excellent sermon. At the conclusion of the truths, eighty-four thousand people were converted.

A householder, whose property amounted to eight hundred million, took the boy and said: "In the very presence of the Blessed one, it is my son." The Holy One went to the monastery with the words: "This boy has been taken in charge by such a great man and has become a help for many people."

At a subsequent time when that householder died, he obtained the wealth which was bequeathed by him. He established a family and became a very rich householder in that same city, and found pleasure in pious deeds of almsgiving and other acts. Then one day the priests in their religious assembly had a discussion in which they remarked:

"Ah, surely the Teacher is compassionate to men; this same youth also, who some time ago was a forlorn child, now enjoys great prosperity in all details and performs noble and good deeds."

The Teacher heard this and explained: "Monks, he does not have such great prosperity, you must know; but verily at the end of this life he shall be reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven as the son of Sakka, king of the gods, and he shall attain great heavenly bliss."

When the priests and the multitude had heard that and had learned the event as reported, how the far-sighted Holy One assisted that youth by going thither to him there he had been cast into the charnel house of unburied bodies immediately at the moment of his birth, they praised the Teacher's excellence of knowledge and narrated his activity in this affair. This matter the redactors of the Holy Scriptures illuminate in the six following stanzas:

1. Of a wonderful nature is the Buddha's knowledge, as we note in the manner that the Holy One expounded man: "Though

- some have extensive righteousness, yet others, to be sure, have limited merit."

2. This youth abandoned in a burial place passed the night in the enjoyment of his thumb; not would spirits nor reptiles injure the boy who had accomplished good deeds; the dogs too licked his feet; the crows and jackals made their rounds about him.

3. Flocks of birds removed the filth of the womb, but the crows took the excretion from his eyes. There were no people who established protection for him or provided him with medicine or mustard fumigation.

4. Not did they learn even the moon's conjunction with the lunar mansion; not all the grains either did they scatter over such a one who had received the greatest misfortune in being brought at night and cast into the charnel house.

5. He who is worshipped by gods and men saw him trembling like a lump of butter, in a precarious condition, with some life remaining; and when the One of great wisdom had seen him, he declared: "This boy on account of his money will become the foremost householder of this city."

PIOUS LAYMEN. 6. "Whose religious vow is this? Now what pious act is this? Why does this performer of good deeds suffer this punishment? Since a misfortune of such a nature has befallen him, he shall individually enjoy such prosperity."

Now the way in which the Blessed One explained, as he was fed by the lay disciples, is made clear by the editors of the Holy Scriptures:

7. "The people did great honour to the Chapter of the monks with the Buddha at their head. On that occasion this one had a different opinion; he uttered a harsh and sinful expression.

8. "Since he had dispelled this thought and afterwards obtained joy and peace of mind, for a week he supported with rice gruel the Buddha as he dwelt at Jetavana.

9. "His is this religious vow; now his is this pious act. For this performance of good deeds, this is the result. Since a misfortune of such a nature has befallen him, he shall individually enjoy such prosperity.

10. "He remaining here in this world for a century and provided with all pleasures, at the dissolution of his body in the future goes to companionship with Vāsava (Indra)."

FIRST MAIL COACH IN ASIA.

The Colombo-Kandy "Royal Mail."

By D. P. E. HETTIARACHCHI.

"With rattling springs, and reeking crocks,
Piled up with mail bags on the box,
The (Kandy) coach now comes in sight,
Raising the dust as it jingles along,
Clearing a path thro' the motley throng."

Few portions of the British territories have developed lines of communication with so rapid a progress as Ceylon. Sir Emerson Tennent says "no portion of British India can bear comparison with Ceylon, either in the extent or the excellence of its means of communication."¹ Yet it is curious to reflect that over a century ago the greater part of the country was covered by thick forests, in which the elephant, the cheetah, and the bear roamed undisturbed. There was not a single road of any extent, save a few pathways which were the same as are given in some of the *Sandesa Poems*.²

The two routes which were taken from Trincomalie and Colombo to Kandy, by Boyd and Macdowal respectively, and which are indicated in a table of roads of the period given by Percival, totally disappeared in less than twelve months after they had been opened, and we find that Captain Johnston had to employ guides to show him the road, and the guides themselves lost their way.³ As regards bridges, there were none. All the rivers were forded by means of floating platforms made of heavy timber, or canoes. The latter were so small that Europeans were loth to use them.⁴ Over rivulets, however, the Sinhalese constructed cane bridges, one of which Cordiner describes as "one of the most curiously

1. Ceylon, Vol. II. p. 121.

2. Cordiner, writing in 1807, says "strictly speaking there are no roads in the Island." See Vol. I. p. 15. Mr. Denham in his *Census Review* for 1911 (p. 5), says "in the time of the Kandyan kings orders were issued by the king that no one should presume on pain of death to cut any roads through the impassable forests, wider than was sufficient for one person to pass."

3. Marshall's *Conquest of Ceylon*, p. 264.

4. "And for that reason," says Thunberg, "they used three boats tied together, and covered them with planks so as to form a floating bridge."—Thunberg's *Travels*, p. 192.

constructed and most picturesque which could be conceived. The principal part of it was suspended by withes from the boughs of large trees."⁵

How little an idea can modern travellers have of what the difficulties of travelling in Ceylon must have been in the *ante-road* period, when one had to trudge days and days, with great personal inconvenience, over scraggy rocks, precipices and ravines, or had to be conveyed by palanquins, in which the traveller was carried over hot and trackless wastes on the shoulders of over-wearied men.⁶ A very correct impression of the toil of travelling in those days may be gathered from *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, by Dr. John Davy, M.D., F. R. S., who was on the Medical Staff of the army in Ceylon from 1816-1820.⁷

Though the Governors North and Brownrigg could not effect any improvements to the then existing lines of communication during the periods of their rule⁸—a great portion of which was spent in warfare and in organising a system of Government,—it fell to the lot of their successor, Sir Edward Barnes,

“ The best, the greatest on the roll
Of those who here Vice-regal sway
Have held since that eventful day
When Lanka's line of Sovereigns closed.”⁹

He perceived “ that the sums annually wasted on hill-forts and garrisons in the midst of wild forests, might, with judicious expenditure, be made to open the whole country by military roads, at once securing and enriching it. Before the close of his administration, he had the happiness of witnessing the realisation of his policy; and of leaving every radius of the diverging lines, which he had planned, either wholly or partially completed.”¹⁰ One of those roads which were marvels of engineering skill and which, valuable in a military sense, were invaluable in opening up the country to industrial enterprise which it spread over the hills,

5. A view of the bridge is also given by Cordiner, Vol. II. p. 292.

6. According to *Government Gazette* of May 11, 1814, Sir Robert Brownrigg made a tour round the Island in a one-horse chaise. He left Colombo on February 28, 1814 and proceeded by Arippu, Jaffna, Trincomalee to Batticaloa which was reached on April 30.

7. Mr. J. P. Lewis' article on “ Some Vehicles of Ceylon,” appearing in the X'mas Number of *Times of Ceylon*, 1920, gives an interesting account of the wheeled traffic at this period.

8. Governor North is said to have ordered a survey of the existing lines of communication with a view to improvement. After the rebellion of 1817 had been quelled, Governor Brownrigg resolved to penetrate, by a military road, to the heart of the mountain region.

9. W. Skeen's *Knuckles*, pp. 80-81.

10. Tennent, Vol. II. p. 121.*

was the Colombo—Kandy Road (72 miles), which has been rightly called "the Simplon of the East."¹¹

On this road, it may be mentioned, ran the Royal Mail Coach, the first postal and passenger vehicle of the kind established in India, and (according to that eminent journalist and litterateur, the late Mr. A.M. Ferguson, C.M.G.), in the whole of Asia.¹²

Lest we soon forget an institution which for a period not far short of thirty-six years did good service to the Colony, especially in carrying up the country "the shoals of planters and loads of specie which have converted the once deadly and dangerous Kandian forests—in which British soldiers perished like rotten-sheep—into healthy and fruitful gardens,"¹³ it may be worth while putting on record its history.

His Excellency Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, whose administration was distinguished by the liberality of the measures devised and carried out, finding Sir Edward Barnes' great road made to his hand, encouraged the establishment of a Coach by a Joint Stock Company. In December, 1831, it was therefore proposed that two light four-wheeled carriages should run daily between Colombo and Kandy, and the following prospectus was issued:—

"It is proposed that two light 4 wheeled carriages shall run daily, between Kandy and Colombo, one leaving Colombo at 4 a.m., and the other leaving Kandy at the same hour every morning. The journey to be performed in about 14 hours from Colombo to Kandy, and in 12 hours from Kandy to Colombo.

"The carriage is intended to carry the mail, and light parcels. No luggage allowed.

"It is proposed that a sufficient number of horses shall be ready at each station for the private carriages of travellers. This, however, will depend upon the future demand; the present object being the establishment of a public carriage.

"The capital required for this undertaking (calculated at £2,000) is to be raised by shares of £50 each. The undertaking will not commence until this sum has been subscribed, which has been calculated to be sufficient to defray the estimated cost of the outfit £570, and also the expenditure for the first year, estimated at £1,065. These sums, with £365 for wear and tear, will amount to £2,000, the sum it is proposed to raise.

"The income, including the sum granted by Government for carrying the Mail, is estimated at £1,835, leaving a surplus of £405 to be divided among the Shareholders.

11. The road was commenced in 1820 and completed in 1825. This, of course, did not include the permanent bridging, draining and gravelling of the road, which was not finally perfected before 1833. Major Skinner in his evidence before the Public Works Dept., Commission states that metalling of the road was commenced in 1841.

12. *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, p. 160.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 160

"The entire management of the concern to be vested in a committee of 5 persons, viz : 3 at Colombo, one at Kandy, and one at an intermediate station on the road. The accounts to be balanced and laid before the shareholders, once every year by the committee, but a majority of the shareholders may demand a statement of their affairs at the end of every quarter.

"Tickets for seats and for post horses to be procured; and parcels received and booked at the Post Offices of Colombo and Kandy. Tickets for intermediate distances will also be issued by proper persons on the road.

"As an undertaking of so extensive a nature will require some time for its complete arrangement, it is in contemplation to establish a one-horse carriage, as soon as possible, for the accommodation of the public. Of this, due notice will be given in the *Gazette*.

"Government will guarantee to the shareholders the conveyance of the Mail for 5 years, provided that the letters during that period be carried at the rate now fixed.

"Government will receive £30 per annum in lieu of all tolls from the mail carriages, but if at the end of any one year the average profit of all the preceding years should exceed 7 per cent. upon the capital subscribed, a sum equal to the established tolls will be paid to the Government until the profits fall below 7 per cent."¹⁴

His Excellency Sir Wilmot Horton with most of the Civil and Military servants of the Colony took shares in the Joint Stock Co., then formed, and, as one of the most interesting results from referring to the list of original shareholders is the roll of familiar names associated with the early British administration, we shall insert it here¹⁵ :

	Shares	£		Shares	£
His Excellency the Govern-					
nor	6	300	Kickwick	1	50
Sir J. Wilson	2	100	Dr. Kinnis	1	50
Hon. R. Boyd, Esq.	2	100	Mr. Power $\frac{1}{2}$, Don Solomon		
			Dias Modliar $\frac{1}{2}$	1	50
Hon. W. Granville, Esq. 1	50		Colonel Hamilton	1	50
Mr. Tufnell	4	200	Captain Schneider	1	50
„ Layard	1	50	Colonel Clifford	1	50
„ Anstruther	2	100	Captain Pearson	1	50
„ Wright	1	50	Mr. Armour	1	50
„ Brownrigg	1	50	„ Vanderwick	1	50
„ Wilmot	1	50	C. De Saram Modliar and		
			others	1	50
„ Turnour	1	50	Mutusamy	1	50

14. *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. V, p. 392.

15. *Ibid.*

	Shares	£		Shares	£
Sergeant Davidson	..	2	100	C. Jayatileke Modliar and others	.. .. 1 50
Captain Stannus	..	1	50	The 1st. and 2nd. Adigars	1 50
Dr. Forbes	..	1	50	3rd Adigar and other Chiefs	1 50

In the *Ceylon Almanack* of 1834 we observe that the following gentlemen then composed the Committee of Management of the Kandy Coach :—

Dr. Forbes	Capt. Pearson
Col. Hamilton	W. H. Rough, Esq.
Hon. Geo. Turnour	Lieut. Atchison
H. Tufnell, Esq.	Capt. Parke, <i>Sec.</i> and <i>Treasr.</i>
Clerks :—Mr. Van Twest, Colombo; Mr. Keith, Kandy.	

The following instructions were issued by the Committee to be strictly observed by the drivers of the Coach :—

1. The harness, horses' shoes, and lynch pins, must be carefully inspected by the driver before he mounts the box, and also on arriving at each station, before the horses are put into the stable.
2. The driver must on no account leave the box to attempt to drive from any other part of the carriage.
3. The coach must never be driven at a rate exceeding 6 miles an hour.
4. Whenever there are no passengers, an extra coachman or horsekeeper must always accompany the driver.
5. The drivers are on no account to take up any person on the road, who may not be provided with a ticket.
6. Drivers are strictly prohibited from receiving any gratuity from passengers, they being amply paid by the proprietors.
7. Any driver found drunk or misconducting himself in any way will be dismissed on the spot, and forfeit all pay due to him from the establishment."¹⁶

Hardly two months elapsed since the idea of establishing a Mail Coach was first originated when the whole scheme was put into active operation. On 1st February, 1832, a light four-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse started from Colombo to Mahahena (a distance of about 37½ miles), whence it returned to Colombo, and here are the editorial comments on the event appearing in the *Colombo Journal* of February, 4th., 1832 :—

“So the *Mail Coach* has at last started, and the road to the interior is now opened to anyone who can muster 9 shillings; in

16. *Colombo Journal*, 1832, p. 44.

this scheme at all events, we have taken the lead of all India, and shown what energy and perseverance may effect in introducing English manners and customs into this remote quarter of the globe.

“We are sure that our readers will join wish us in congratulating the Proprietors and Managers on the successful result of their efforts; the practicability of the scheme may now be considered as proved; we understand that the distance to Mahahena, 37½ miles, has been performed in 6 hours, and the Kandy mails are in consequence delivered full 3 hours earlier than had been the case before. As the coach starts at 4, no sun as far as Mahahena, and the carriage being well provided with lamps, but little danger can ensue from the darkness of the night, particularly as the coachman must soon become perfectly well acquainted with the road. We have authority for stating that it is intended to continue the establishment along the whole road to Kandy, as soon as horses can be procured and the stables erected, and hopes are entertained that in the course of a few weeks the whole will be completed. As everything that has as yet been done meets with our fullest approbation—and *dimidium facti, qui bene coepit, habet*,—it remains with the public to show whether they are disposed to encourage so novel an establishment.”

In July, 1832, the daily carriage to Mahahena was discontinued and, instead of it, the Mail Coach ran the whole distance to Kandy 3 times a week. It started on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays from Colombo, and Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays from Kandy, leaving the coach office in Colombo precisely at 5 a.m. and the Office at Kandy at 4 a.m. One hour was allowed for bath and breakfast at Mahahena “Royal Hotel,” which was opened under the superintendence of the Committee for managing the Mail Coach and which laid in a large stock of everything necessary for the convenience and refreshment of travellers.

Passengers fares and parcel rates were as follows¹⁷ :—

		Fares.		
		£	s.	d.
“ From Colombo to Kandy :				
Inside Seats	.. ..	2	0	0
Driver’s Seat	.. ..	1	10	0
From Colombo or Kandy to Mahahena :				
Inside Seats	.. ..	1	0	0
Driver’s Seat	.. ..	0	15	0
From Colombo to Utuankanda :				
Inside Seats	.. ..	1	15	0
Driver’s Seat	.. ..	1	5	0
From Utuankanda to Kandy and vice versa :				
Inside Seats	.. ..	0	6	0
Driver’s Seat	.. ..	0	5	0

17. Colombo Journal, July 7, 1832

No charge will be made for any passenger's luggage not exceeding 5 lbs. Any weight over that will be charged for at the rate of 2d. per lb.

Parcels.

	From Colombo to Kandy.	£	s.	d.
Not exceeding 2 lbs.	..	0	0	6
Above 2 and not exceeding 4lbs.	..	0	1	0
" 4 " " 8 "	..	0	1	6
" 8 " " 12 "	..	0	2	0
All parcels exceeding the above weight 2d. per lb.				
From Colombo or Kandy to Mahahena and intermediate stations				
Not exceeding 2 lbs.	..	0	0	6
Above 2 and not exceeding 4 lbs.	..	0	0	9
" 4 " " 8 "	..	0	1	0
All parcels exceeding the above weight 1½d. per lb."				

It may not be uninteresting to follow the Mail-Coach route from the Maritime Capital to that of the interior. From Colombo to the Bridge of Boats¹ across the Kelani-ganga, the distance is 3¼ miles. To Mahara, where there was a Rest House, 5 miles. To the Mail Coach station of Kosruppe, 6½ miles. Thence to the rest-house at Henaratgoda, 2 miles. To Kalagedihena, Mail-coach station, about 5 miles. To Veyangoda rest-house, 3 miles. To Weweldeniya (Mail-Coach station), about 4¾ miles. To Ambepussa¹⁹ rest-house, 6½ miles. To the mail-coach station of Ambanpitiya, through Mahahena, 9¼ miles. To Utuankanda²⁰ rest-house and mail-coach station, 8½ miles. To Kadugannawa²¹ rest-house, about 7 miles. To Peradeniya, 6¼ miles, and thence to Kandy, 4 miles.

Major Forbes, in his *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, hails joyfully the era of the coach in these terms:—

"From Colombo I returned to Kandy by the mail-coach, and remarked the immense improvement that had taken place in the face of the country near the great road which was opened under the government of Sir Edward Barnes. When I first visited Kandy in 1828, this line was unfinished; and the numerous obstacles which had been overcome, or were in progress of removal, could not

18. The Bridge of Boats was constructed in 1822 by Lt. Genl. Fraser. It carried the whole of the Kandy Road traffic for 73 years, till it was replaced in 1895 by the Victoria Bridge for a view of this bridge see Ferguson's *Souvenirs of Ceylon*, p. 16.

19. Tennent calls this place "one of those treacherously beautiful spots which have acquired a bad renown from the attractions of the scenery and the pestilent fevers by which the locality is infested."—Vol. II. p. 183.

20. At one time the haunt of the notorious bandit Sardiel and his henchman, Mamalay Marikar. It is said that Sardiel used to turn back the Mail coach. In consequence of this an expedition was sent against him, which led to his capture on 21st March, 1864, by Mr. F. R. Saunders, the then Asst. Govt. Agent of Kegalla.

21. The road here passes through "scenery which combines the grandeur of the Alps with the splendour of tropical vegetation."

22. Bennet's *Ceylon*, p. 172.

be overlooked : The rock which had been blasted, the embankments that had been raised, were then bare ; and the forests through which we passed showed how much of energy and perseverance was required to trace the road which was then forming. Now these obstacles would hardly be credited by any one who had not previously seen the country ; for the shattered rocks and huge embankments were overgrown with vegetation, and the dense forest had almost disappeared from the vicinity of the road. In place of the rumbling ford and ferry of the Maha-oya, we crossed an elegant bridge at Mawanella, the design of Captain, now Lieut.-Col., Brown, R.E., and, instead of the clumsy ferry-boat at Peradeniya, a light and elegant arch of satin-wood, two hundred and five feet in length, spanned the Mahaweli-ganga."²³

Sir Edward Barnes and family, whilst on a visit to the Island in March 1834,²⁴ went up to Kandy by the Mail Coach ; and Sir Wilmot Horton, at a dinner given in honour of Sir Edward at the Race-stand on the Galle Face (Colombo), is reported to have said that he had the pleasure of travelling with Sir Edward Barnes in the mail to Kandy and witnessed the delight with which he viewed the perfection of the road and those bridges, of which he himself had been the projector—undertakings, not only great in themselves, but also of vast importance, the keystone to commerce and prosperity of the Island, as mainly contributing to a development of its internal resources.²⁵

The Coach consisted of a sort of ' family Bandy,' or, as this kind of nondescript conveyance was designated, a ' Sigrum Po,' which carried four besides the driver, and one outside and was drawn by two horses.²⁶ And here, perhaps, it may not be unacceptable to have an extract from Sirr's *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, that may serve as a general representation of the Mail Coach.

" The Royal Mails in Ceylon," he says, " are placed upon four wheels, and look like—what ? nothing to be seen in Europe now, but the vehicles have a slight affinity with, and bear a faint resemblance to, the lower half of an antiquated English stage coach, cutting off the upper half, and detaching the doors. The seat for the driver is attached to the coach, so that his back, and those of the passengers on the front seat, touch. The roof is made of leather, painted white and varnished, lined with cotton, and supported

23. Vol. II. pp. 192 & 193.

24. In 1831 Sir Edward Barnes left Ceylon for India to assume the office of Commander-in-Chief, but in 1834 he threw the post up from difference of opinion which sprang up with the civil authorities. Skinner's *Fifty Years in Ceylon*. p. 187.

25. *Colombo Observer*, 11-3-1834.

26. A drawing of the Kandy Coach in the sixties appeared in the X'mas number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1922.

by four slender iron rods, which shake with every jolt of the coach. To this roof, leathern curtains are hung, which can be either drawn to protect the passenger from the sun or rain, or rolled up to admit a free passage to the air. The roof of this antediluvian production projects over the driving seat thus covering seven persons, namely, the passengers in the body of the conveyance, the driver, and whoever may be seated at his side, and the horse-keeper, who indiscriminately perches himself on the top of the luggage, stands on the fixed protruding iron step or clings to any part of the vehicle most convenient to seize hold of."²⁷

The coachmen employed in the early days of the Coach seem to have been Englishmen, though the Malays were sometimes allowed to drive. The Sinhalese having very little idea of the horse, the horsekeepers were recruited from the coast with such results that Mr. J. P. Lewis remarks: "The Sinhalese want of capacity in everything connected with the horse still remains a characteristic of that race, but the Tamil horsekeeper has progressed, and he is now allowed to drive, sometimes with disastrous results, but usually with safety."²⁸

In the old coach days residents at any distance from the coach offices had to be up at the small hours of the morning in order to be in time for the Coach, and it not infrequently happened that the passengers were put to much inconvenience owing to the lack of punctuality on the part of coachmen. The reader may here be treated with a Pickwickian description of a scene in a Coach-office given by the writer above quoted:

"We reach the office," says Surr, "the door of which is closed, the dim light of a cocoa-nut oil lamp is seen glimmering through the crevices of the portal. Not a sound is heard from within the dwelling; all are, or appear to be, buried in sleep, and the Coach also is in a state of tranquillity, snugly ensconced in the verandah, and under the vehicle are comfortably reposing two natives. These sacrifices to the drowsy god are regarded by us as personal insults, especially as we have abridged our matinal slumbers, for the sake of not keeping the Coach waiting for us. Exasperated beyond endurance, we batter the house-door lustily for two or three minutes, which at last is opened by a yawning Cingalese, with hair streaming over his shoulders, who inquires in a sleepy tone: 'What master want?' 'Want, eh? That's too good. Why is not the coach ready that was to have called for us at gun-fire?' The coach-master, being aroused by these noises, comes forth from his sleeping apartment, and with many apologies, orders the Coach to be pre-

27. Vol. I. pp. 22 & 23.

28. *Ceylon in Early British Times*, p. 21.

pared forthwith, calling loudly for the horsekeepers. These gentlemen are still revelling in the arms of Morpheus under the Coach, and, despite the reiterated shouts of their master, continue to doze. Finding words useless, and patience exhausted, physical force is resorted to, and, by dint of sundry manipulations in the region of the ribs, the dormant faculties of the horsekeepers are aroused, and orders being given in some unintelligible Jargon (to us), away they start in quest of the horses; the master assisting the remaining awakened domestics to pull the Coach out of the verandah."²⁹

When the coach was first started by the enterprising gentlemen, it was horsed by selections from the local market, the maximum price for a horse being fixed at £25. In these circumstances the stable thus got together formed a 'Cave of Adullam' for Ceylon horses, for the discarded hack, the cast trooper and vicious nags were enlisted in the service. Startling incidents of a journey by coach are recorded by many a traveller. There was generally a change of horses at every eight or nine miles, and of the eight pairs that a traveller used to sit behind in a single journey, no one pair could be pronounced steady. Either they bit, or they kicked, or they jibbed, or they stood on their hind legs, or sat down upon them.

One pair, according to that amusing writer on Ceylon, Lieut. de Butts, stood fast when "the most approved mode was to attach a long rope to one of the fore legs of the refractory charger, and having beat up for volunteers amongst the natives, to haul away upon the same; while one party thus engaged the enemy in front, another detachment vexed his rear with such missiles and weapons as happened to be at hand."³⁰

Sir Guilford Molesworth, at one time the Director-General of the Railway and Director of Public Works of Ceylon, in his interesting article entitled "Ceylon in the Sixties," which appeared in the X'mas number of the *Times of Ceylon* for 1922, speaking of the coach horses, says that "in some cases a fire had to be lighted under them, which, in one case, induced them to move on only a few feet, with the result that the Coach was burned."

And it is said that when once these horses were got to start the sole object of the driver seemed to have been in those 'good old days' to keep them galloping at full speed till they had performed their stage. If the Coach was badly horsed, the horses were so badly treated that a writer on Ceylon feelingly remarks that "more gross ignorance in the management of the noble animal itself, and more wilful cruelty, I never saw practised. In England I should have had the greatest satisfaction in handing over every

29. *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, Vol. I, pp 20 & 21.

30. *Rambles in Ceylon*, 1841, p 110.

driver and horsekeeper that drove and abused the horses during the ten or twelve stages from Colombo to Kandy, to the 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,' and I should have done so with a perfect confidence in their conviction."³¹

En passant, it may here be mentioned that another writer says "it is amusing to hear the remarks of the horsekeepers along the road upon the horses which bear the names of the persons from whom they were bought.—There are for instance Turnour, Wodehouse, Saunders, Lee, &c., which afford a fine scope for satire."³²

Apropos of our subject it may be recorded for general information that a Bullock Mail, believed to be the first of its kind, was established by Mudaliyar Perera of Mahara in July, 1840. It ran between Colombo and Kandy for upwards of 6 months, leaving Colombo every second evening at 5 o'clock, and arrived at Kandy about 1 p.m. the next day; and leaving Kandy the same evening, returned to Colombo the next afternoon. It was somewhat of the same model as the Horse-mail and carried three passengers with the driver, and was drawn by single bullocks, which ran four-mile stages.³³

"Competition is the soul of business," and accordingly we find that no sooner was it first rumoured in 1843, that another Horse-coach was about to start between Colombo and Kandy, than the proprietors of the Royal Mail resolved upon starting a Coach every day both ways, and about this time they commenced importing coaches built to order in London, while they procured their horses from Bombay and Australia.³⁴ Nothing daunted, however, the new Company which consisted of Messrs. J. C. Orloff (Manager), J. P. Wolff, J. De Franz, Jamsetjee Jamasjee, C. F. Fernando, B. Sapoorjee, and Misses M. C. Orloff and P. Wolff, established a rival coach called the "Kandy Commercial Coach" on 31st July, 1843. This Coach, however, did not continue to run longer than 2½ years. The traffic proved insufficient for the support of two Coaches, and moreover, the "Commercial" did not secure the Government subsidy for carrying the mails, and in consequence had to pay all tolls. The Company quickly collapsed. The concern was purchased by the Royal Mail Company for £670, and the old "Royal Mail Coach" was left undisputed master of the situation.³⁵

31. Sullivan's *Bungalow and Tent*, p. 44.

32. Trip to Kandy by Mr. Jones—see *Colombo Observer*, 5. 8. 1841.

33. *Colombo Observer*, 21. 9. 1840.

34. *Ibid.*, 16. 2. 1843.

35. *Ibid.*, 13. 4. 1846.

• It is said that later attempts to establish a rival Coach shared the same fate.

In 1847, Captain W. T. Layard purchased all the shares and became the sole proprietor of the Coach. In 1857, Capt. (later Colonel) Byrde and Col. Layard became the owners of the establishment, and they again transferred it to a Company in 1860.

In 1862, a second Coach or Night Mail commenced to run, and just before the Railway to Ambepussa was opened, the Colombo and Kandy Coach was in its prime, well-horsed and well-driven.

In view of the change from Coach to Railway which the 1st of August, 1867, marked, the proprietors of the Kandy Coach sold the stock and good-will for the sum of £2,600 to the proprietors of the Galle Coach.

Lastly we may state that, with all the grand equestrian exhibitions which the passengers enjoyed in those days, there were very few accidents to the Coach. There are on record but three or four serious accidents, and in these not a single life was lost. We suppose this result was due principally to the moderate pace at which the Coaches were driven.

In this sketch of the first Mail Coach started in Asia, we have not only endeavoured to rescue from oblivion an institution made obsolete by the introduction of the Railways to Ceylon, but also to get together the information regarding it which has hitherto been scattered.



WHEN NORTH WAS GOVERNOR.

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

A book published in 1920, *Memoirs of the Arbuthnots of Kinkardineshire and Aberdeenshire*, by Mrs. P. S. M. Arbuthnot gives us a glimpse of Colombo as it was under the first British Governor, the Hon. Frederic North, after he had been at the head of the administration of the Colony for three years.

The Arbuthnots.

For two scions of the Arbuthnot family had been selected by him for appointment to posts in that administration; one of them kept a Diary, and that Diary is in possession of the grandson of the diarist, Mr. P. S. M. Arbuthnot. The book has been compiled by the wife of the latter. It contains several extracts from the Diary.

The Hon. Frederic North, as soon as he had, to his great relief, got rid of Hugh Cleghorn as Chief Secretary, nominated for that appointment another Scotchman, Robert Arbuthnot, a son of Robert Arbuthnot (Second) of Haddo, Rattray. Thereupon the new Chief Secretary, after the manner of his countrymen, bethought himself of his relatives, and applied for the appointment of a younger brother, George, as Deputy Secretary. This, through "Mr. North's kindness," he obtained, and as George remarks in a letter dated 1st October, 1801, "it is of all others that which I like the best, and in which (if I do not flatter myself) I may be of most use."

The brothers went out to Ceylon by the East Indiaman, the *Henry Dundas*, named after the Secretary of State, and arrived at Colombo on the 10th of September, 1801. George, who seems to have had the more active mind of the two, kept a Diary during the voyage and after, and from it we learn that, awaiting their arrival, "several gentlemen were standing on the Beach, one of whom who I afterwards found to be Mr. Fraser, the Accountant-General, took me to his house, and then carried me in his Gig to the Governor's Country House, about two miles from

the town." This "Country House" must have been the Governor's "Villa" at Hulftsdorp, described by Cordiner. Mr. Thomas Fraser of the Madras Civil Service had been Civil Auditor and Accountant-General since 1799, but he returned to Madras at the end of 1801 or beginning of 1802, and was succeeded in the former post by either James Scott Hay or Samuel Tolfrey, both of whom had arrived in the same ship as the Arbuthnots, and in the latter by Robert Boyd who arrived four months later by the *Manship*, which brought to the shores of Ceylon the ill-starred Major Davie, Chief Justice Sir C. E. Carrington, Mr. Justice Edmund Henry Lushington, and another batch of civilians.

Here it may be remarked that in the *Henry Dundas*, besides the two Arbuthnots, there were about a dozen "Civil Servants and Writers," of all ages from sixteen to double that age—George Arbuthnot was 29—and that among them were Alexander Wood, who became Sir Alexander Wood, one of Sir Thomas Maitland's favourite officials in the Levant, and John D'Oyly, the first Resident of Kandy, orientalist and baronet. But George Arbuthnot, who was in their company for months on the voyage, never mentions one of them in his diary.

Robert Arbuthnot was the bearer of a despatch from the Hon. Henry Dundas to Governor North on the subject of the qualifications of these candidates for the Ceylon Civil Service, and of the remainder of them who were to follow by the *Manship*, and he seems to have gone first to the Secretariat, but did not succeed in finding the Governor there. But George had better luck, for the Governor was at home and received him "with much kindness," and he "remained tête-a-tête with him for about four hours," before his brother arrived, who "was soon followed by Mr. Tolfrey and his son." Both Samuel Tolfrey and his son, Edward, had been fellow passengers of the Arbuthnots, but there does not seem to have been any co-operation between the Arbuthnots themselves or between them and the Tolfreys in their arrangements for getting out to the Governor at his country house.

Robert Arbuthnot had a short and uneventful career in Ceylon. He became, in addition to Chief Secretary, a Judge of the Lesser Court of Appeal, and on the embodiment on 8th March, 1803, of the "Colombo Militia," Major Commandant. He accompanied

the Governor to the Pearl Fishery of 1802, and after it on his tour to Jaffna, Point Pedro, Trincomalee, Mullaittivu, through the Vanni to Chilaw, and thence back to Colombo. He was with him too on his tour through the Seven Korales at the end of April, 1803, which ended in the interview with Pilame Talawwa at Dambadeniya which nearly had a tragic ending. He retired exactly five years after his arrival in Ceylon, to an oblivion which even *Memoirs of the Arbuthnots* has failed to dispel.

His younger brother had all the shrewdness with which the Scotch are usually credited, and also, as appears from his subsequent career, great business capacity. He writes to his friend: "The salary attached to my office is £1,000 a year, of which I think I shall be able to save one-half, but I must endeavour to lay up something more." He was not however satisfied with his prospects and was looking about "to see if there were any trade that might be carried on to advantage, and I have been attracted by one which I think might be managed without any impropriety in my present situation." He goes on to describe "the prospects of a trade in gold with the Coast of Coromandel." For at this time gold was extremely rare in Ceylon, the currency being entirely of copper and, for large sums, paper. "If gold coins were obtained in Coromandel, they could be disposed of in Ceylon at a considerable premium," and this traffic appeared to him as "both simple and lucrative."

To embark on it he wanted a sum of £2,000, and he suggested that this sum be advanced to him by the friend to whom he was writing, J. Trotter of the firm of bankers, Coutts and Co. It may be noted here that there was a connection between the North and Coutts families, for the Hon. Frederic's elder brother, the then Earl of Guildford, married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Coutts. But Mr. Trotter does not seem to have responded with the alacrity that was expected of him; for in little more than a year, George Arbuthnot, although he had considerably exceeded his estimate of possible savings, and had managed to save £700 out of his salary of £1,000, which, he thinks, was "pretty well" (letter dated 3rd January, 1803), accepted an appointment in Lauton & Co., Madras Bankers. He left Ceylon for Madras in October, 1802, on a visit, presumably to make arrangements for taking up his new post.

He returned to Colombo on 9th February, and resigned the Ceylon Civil Service on 20th April, 1803.

His visit to Madras was made in company with John Angus, who had been about six months longer in the Civil Service than himself and who apparently resigned it at the same time, for Angus did not return to Ceylon. Angus's appointment at this time was that of Sitting Magistrate of the Pettah in which he had succeeded the Corsican, Anthony Bertolacci, only about two months before. They made the voyage to Madras in a brig called the *Calcutta*.

The next twenty years of George Arbuthnot's life were spent at Madras, where he founded the firm of Arbuthnot & Co., which has ever since, I believe, been associated with that city. He acted there as Agent for the Ceylon Government. He married at Madras on 26th April, 1810, Eliza, daughter of Donald Fraser, solicitor, of Inverness. He made so much money that in 1824 he purchased the Surrey property of Elderslie in the parish of Ockley, and rebuilt and enlarged the house. He died there on 3rd November, 1843, in his 71st year.

The few passages in his Diary and letters relating to Ceylon are interesting as relating to the first decade of British rule. He describes the

Colombo Bungalow

of the time.—

“A house is a long strip of building consisting of a suite of rooms communicating one with another, and each Room has also a door of communication to the Verandah or Long Gallery, which extends the whole length of the building on both sides, and which, although sheltered from the rain, admits the wind on all sides, and gives thorough drafts of air to all the apartments. These verandahs are supported by clumsy wooden posts, but had they been built by Italians instead of Dutch architects, there would probably be Tuscan or Doric columns.”

This is the typical Dutch bungalow of the Pettah or Galle or Jaffna, but the Deputy Secretary was evidently bitten with the prevailing taste for classical architecture, or he would not have been so severe on the neat wooden pillars which are an appropriate feature of the tropical Dutch style, or wished to replace them with

the plastered sham "Tuscan or Doric columns" which succeeded them under the British.

But there was one good point about the Colombo Bungalows, their coolness.

"The houses in Colombo are the strangest looking, unfurnished and unfinished places that can be imagined, but they are extremely well contrived for coolness." But there were no 'up-stairs' bungalows (to use the Ceylon term).

"In the whole city of Colombo, there is only one house of two stories, which is inhabited by General Macdowall." This was probably the house at Grand Pass built by the last Dutch Governor, which overlooked the Kelani. But I think the General lived for a time at 'Government House' in the Fort, now St. Peter's Church. Perhaps Colombo tradition can say.

The Climate of Colombo.

This, strange to say, he praises. "In the morning there is a freshness in the air that is quite delightful, and although the heat during the day is generally greater than we have it in England, yet there are here so many precautions taken against it, that upon the whole I do not think one can feel so much oppressed as you do on a hot July day in our own Country." With regard to this conclusion one can only say that England or Scotland must have got much colder in the last 120 years!

He is very severe too on the

Regime of the Dutch Company.

"You cannot imagine anything equal to the Ignorance, Pride, Incapacity and Brutality of the late Government of this Country under the Hollanders. The whole system of their legislation was founded on the maxim 'Oppose the natives,' and to be sure, they acted up to that doctrine to its fullest extent. These enlightened Rulers had a particular dread that the natives wished to enjoy some of the Comforts of Life, such as Light, Air and Shelter, and when Mr. North first arrived he received petitions from various quarters to grant permission to make windows in the Houses and to roof them with Tiles instead of Leaves. His answer was that he granted the permission required, and hoped soon to see every House in the Island with Windows, and as many

of the owners as could bear the expence sheltered from the weather with Tiles, or in any manner the Petitioners might find to their taste and convenience ; with which concession the Dutch Burghers were extremely scandalised. The Dutch Government had prohibited the people from making windows in their houses or tiling the roofs of them." Herein it copied the Kings of Kandy in the treatment of their subjects.

Governor North and his difficulties.

In a letter dated 17th September, 1802, addressed to Lord Glenberrie, George Arbuthnot remarks :

" Mr. North had many conflicting anxieties to disturb him. He had to deal with complaints from the Home Government, inefficiency and corruption among his staff, and many other difficulties."

Speaking of a letter which the Governor had recently received from Lord Hobart, who had wanted him to apply a " Geddes Axe" and had insisted on drastic economies in the administration of the Island, Arbuthnot says.—

" Although conveying an assurance of the King's continued approbation, and of general Compliment from his Lordship," (it is) " by no means a Sugar Plum." He adds :

" Notwithstanding that to his Lordship's observations on the general principle are joined some Retrenchments which cannot fail to be painful to Mr. North, yet I must say I am glad that Lord H. has been so explicit; and that he has put his Finger on particular objects rather than if he had made general complaint of our Extravagance ; and not told us expressly in what points he thought us so."

After dealing with various complaints in Lord Hobart's letter, George Arbuthnot quotes ' Boyd ' as saying that "the Governor, although as desirous to save the public Purse as any Man can be—and God knows, infinitely more so than he is to save his own—does not like to be preached Economy, either in the one or the other ; nevertheless he has taken Lord Hobart's lecture on the subject fully as well as could be expected, and I daresay his Lordship will have no cause to complain of his wishes being neglected."

Civil Service Retrenchments.

Arbuthnot goes on to detail some retrenchments Mr. North had written to propose to Lord Hobart a few days before his letter

arrived. A saving of £13,000 a year was proposed in the Civil Service charges, and after describing alterations suggested in the Revenue Board and the Supreme Court, he adds: "The Governor in his letter to Lord Hobart says that he will propose these Alterations and Reforms on the Civil Death of the present *Incumbents*."

The Boyds.

It is impossible to say now which of the two Boyds is intended—for there were two Boyd brothers as well as two Arbuthnots engaged in administering the affairs of the Colony,—whether it was Robert Boyd who had come out by the *Manship* and had succeeded Thomas Fraser as Civil and Military Accountant-General, or William Boyd, who had accompanied the Governor to Ceylon, had been his Private Secretary, had acted as Chief Secretary until relieved by Robert Arbuthnot and by George as Deputy Secretary; and was now Vice-Treasurer; but from his intimate knowledge of North's feelings on the subject of this despatch, it was probably the latter. The "Civil Deaths" that occurred before North relinquished his administration two years later were those of Thomas Fraser, John Angus and George Arbuthnot himself, but I do not know that any of their appointments were abolished.

Lord Glenberrie, it should have been explained, was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and a brother-in-law of North.

More Arbuthnots.

In later times two more Arbuthnots came out to Ceylon. One was Lieutenant Colonel C. G. J. Arbuthnot, who was in command of one of the line regiments quartered in the Island in the Thirties—the 78th, the 58th, or the 97th,—and who left in 1837; and the other that distinguished Peninsular officer, Major-General Sir Robert Arbuthnot, K.T., K.C.B., who was in command of the troops from 1838 to 1843. He belonged to an Irish branch of the family.

HOATSON'S SINHALESE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE AND MATERIA MEDICA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, Part III, Page 251.)

128. **Labu-kolla**

Cucurbita pepo

["*Labu*" is a general term for gourds, etc. Moon cites eight "species" and six varieties of "*Labu*" in his *Sinhalese Catalogue*. Clough (p. 545) gives "*Labba*,—pumpkin gourd, long gourd; see *Labugediya*," and under the latter name, "*Labugediya*,—*Cucurbita pepo*." "*Diya labu*" is *Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser.; "*Ratu-labu*," *Cucurbita moschata*. None of our botanical lists gives a Sinhalese name for *Cucurbita Pepo* L., which is not grown in the low-country. Hoatson, in the recipes, gives "*Labu*"—common pumpkin, by which he may mean *C. moschata*, *C. maxima*, or *Benincasa cerifera*. The last-named is the *Cucurbita Pepo* of Roxburgh.]

129. **Lapol mal**

Cocos nucifera

["*La Pol mal*" is young or immature coconut flower. "*La*" =young or unripe; "*Pol*" =coconut. Hoatson in the recipes gives "*Lapol mal*" as *Artocarpus integrifolia*.]

130. **Lavenia-mool**

Lavenia erecta

[*Lavenia erecta* Willd. is *Adenostemma viscosum* Forst.; neither Moon nor Trimen cites a Sinhalese name for this species. W. Ferguson, *in litt.* to Trimen, stated; "I once got from Kalutara, *Lavenia erecta* under *Lavenia* as its native name." The plant was recorded by Sherard (Ray, *Hist. Plant.*, III, 217), who edited Hermann's *Musaeum Zeylanicum*, as "*Chrysanthemum zeylanicum Lavenia dictum*."]]

131. **Lunu**

Murias Sodae

["*Lunu*,"—salt (Clough, p. 550). *Murias Sodae* is Sodium Chloride, common salt.]

132. **Maduru-kolla-isma**

Mentha sylvestris

[*Mentha sylvestris* var. *crispa* is cultivated in Ceylon, and occurs as an escape from gardens: Moon gives the Sinhalese name

"*Boo-kapuru-tala*." "*Maduru-tala*" is *Ocimum sanctum* L.; the leaves are used in cases of coughs and catarrh (Trimen): this is probably the plant intended.]

133. **Maele mal***Bauhinia purpurea*

[*Bauhinia purpurea* is commonly grown in gardens (Trimen). Only Moon gives a Sinhalese name for it in botanical lists, viz. "*Kobo-neela*" (cf. 125). "*Mayila*" is given by Trimen, Ferguson, and Moon for *Bauhinia racemosa* Lam., while Thwaites gives the name of the same as "*Myla gass*." Hoatson in the recipes, has "*Myila-dare*." Clough, however, cites "*Maila*, corruptly for *Mayila*,—the mountain ebony, *Bauhinia purpurea*" (p. 500).]

134. **Magul-karanda-isma, etta, and****mool***Dalbergia arborea*

["*Magul-karanda*" is *Pongamia glabra* Vent., of which *Dalbergia arborea* is a synonym; the seeds afford an oil used in skin diseases (Trimen). See "*Karanda*," No. 99.]

135. **Maha-root-katenne-potu-isma**

["*Ruk-attanna*" (see No. 195) is *Alstonia scholaris* Br. I have not met with "*Maha-ruk-attenne*."]]

136. **Mala boulat**

A dried betel leaf

[Moon and Clough (p. 465) cite "*Malaboulat*" as a variety of *Piper Belle*.]

137. **Mandresti**

["*Maanjesty*" or "*Mandresti*,"—thick slices of some root (Ferguson). "*Manjishtha*,"—madder (Clough, p. 476). *Rubia cordifolia* Linn., the Indian madder.]]

138. **Manosila**

(Imported)

["*Manomasela*," purchased by Ferguson, was described by him as a vermilion-red stone. "*Manosila*" is given by Clough as red arsenic. Ainslie gives "*Manahsila*" (Sans.), "*Manocillei*" (Tam.) as Realgar, or red orpiment (Ainslie, I, 499,501). W. H. Wright, in a list of drugs purchased in the Kandy Bazaar, 1862, recorded "*Manossela*," as Realgar.]]

139. **Massang-gaha**

["*Masan*" is the Portuguese name for *Zizyphus Jujuba* Lam.]]

140. **Mi-itta**

Bees' wax

["*Mi-iti*,"—bees' wax (Clough, p. 457). "*Mi-ettie*,"—wax (Ainslie, I, 470).]

141. **Mi-penni***Mel apium*

["*Mipenni*,"—Honey (Clough, p. 456). "*Mee panney*" (Sinh.), —Honey (Ainslie, I, 172).]

142. **Mi-tel**

["*Mi-tel*,"—oil of *Bassia longifolia* L. (Clough, p. 335)]

143. **Mi-wada**

Honeycomb

["*Miwadaya*,"—Honey comb (Clough, p. 456).]

144. **Mini-iskabal**

A piece of a human skull.

["*Hiskabal*,"—a skull (Clough, p. 735). "*Mini*,"—Corpse ; "*Minis*,"—human (Clough, p. 484).]

145. **Miris-kolla-isma**

Piper cubebo

[Grown near habitations (Hoatson). If so, this cannot be cubebs, which were not grown in Ceylon until introduced in 1891 by the Botanic Gardens, to which the plant is practically still confined. Trimen gives '*Miris*,' and "*Gam-miris-wel*," for *Piper nigrum*. Moon cites "*Miris*" as a name for Pepper or Chillies, of which he lists nine species and five varieties in his *Sinhalese Catalogue*. Clough (p. 485) also gives "*Miris*" as chillies or pepper in general. In Ferguson's lists, "*Walgamiris*" is given as cubebs (bought in the bazaar), but this is probably an error: "*Wal-gam-miris*" is *P. sylvestre* and *P. argyrophyllum*. Probably *Piper nigrum* is indicated.]

146. **Morunga-mool**

Hyperanthera moringa

["*Murunga*" is *Moringa pterygosperma* Gaertn., of which *Hyperanthera Moringa* is a synonym.]

147. **Mudira-palang-wael**

Vitis indica

["*Muddirappalam*,"—grapes (Clough). "*Muddrap-palam*,"—*Vitis vinifera*. Jaffna, cultivated, (Moon). For *Vitis indica* Trimen gives "*To-wel*" (Sinh.). *Vitis vinifera* would certainly not be accessible over the greater part of the Island, and in all probability Hoatson's interpretation is correct. The fruit of *V. indica* very much resembles that of the true grape vine, *V. vinifera*, but is bitter in taste (Trimen). Attygalle (p. 46) translates "*Muddra-palam*" as raisins.]

148. **Mudupenni**

Salt taken from the sand
on the sea side

["*Mudu pena*,"—cuttle-fish bone, considered to be the indurated foam of the sea (Clough, p. 732).]

149. **Mungala-alla**

[Clough (p. 450) gives "*Mangala*" as "bent grass with white blossoms, *Panicum dactylon*; white lotus, *Nelumbium speciosum*." It is not clear what is meant by the former; *Cynodon Dactylon* is used medicinally, but there does not appear to be any reason

why it should be described as having white blossoms. I am informed that "*Mungala alla*" is *Nelumbium speciosum*, but I have not been able to obtain anything under the name in the bazaar.

It may be noted that Hermann recorded "*Bangala*," with the note, "Radix transfertur ex Malacca in Zeylonam." According to a Mss. note by Trimen (who refers to L., Sp. II. p. 1468), "*Bangala*" is *Menispermum crispum* L. = *Tinospora crispa* Miers, the Sinhalese "*Tittakinda*," but this identification would not support Hermann's statement.]

150. **Muruwa-mool**

["*Muruwa dul*" is *Marsdenia tenacissima* Moon. Trimen recorded that the leaves were given as a remedy for flatulence. Clough (p. 49) gives "*Muruwa*" and "*Muruwa dul*" for this plant.]

151. **Na Mal**

Mesua ferrea

["*Na*" is *Mesua ferrea* L.: "*Na-mal*," the dried flowers of *Mesua ferrea*, were purchased in the Bazaar by Ferguson.]

152. **Nataraan-mool**

Citrus medica

["*Nataran*" is given by Trimen (*Hortus Zeylanicus*) for *Citrus medica*.]

153. **Navaritta-isma**

["? *Naparitta*,"—*Hibiscus furcatus* Roxb.]

154. **Nelung-alla**

Nymphaea flore albo

["*Nelun*" is *Nelumbium speciosum* Willd. Ferguson bought the stems of *Nelumbium speciosum* under the name, "*Nelun dandu*."]]

155. **Nerinja-alla**

[Hoatson says this was imported, cut into slices, in bags. "*Aet-nerinchi*" is *Petalium Murex*, leaves used in medicine, and "*Sembui-nerinchi*" is *Tribulus terrestris*, also used in medicine, but chiefly the fruit (Trimen; Moon). Ainslie (II, 248) cites "*Neringie*" (Tamil) alone for the latter, and the *Dictionary of Economic Products (India)* gives "*Neranchi*" (Sinh.). But both these grow in Ceylon. T. A. Pieris, in Paris Exhibition List, 1855, gives "*Nerinchi*" as *Tribulus lanuginosus* (= *T. terrestris*).]

156. **Niangalla-alla and mal**

Gloriosa superba

["*Niangala*" is *Gloriosa superba* L. Moon gave "*Niagala*."]]

157. **Nika-mool and dalu-isma**

Vitex foliis quinatis

["*Nika*" is *Vitex Negundo* L.: leaves used as fomentation in rheumatism; root used as a tonic (Trimen).]

158. **Nilika** Sulphur
 [See Gydegan, No. 60.]
159. **Nuga-mool**
 ["*Nuga*" is *Ficus altissima* var. *Fergusoni* King. "*Nuga*," with various prefixes, is applied to several species of *Ficus*, e.g. "*Maha-nuga*," *Ficus benghalensis*; "*Bu-nuga*," *F. mysorensis*; etc.]
160. **Olinde-kolla and dalu** *Abrus precatorius*
 ["*Olinda wel*" is *Abrus precatorius* L. The root is the well-known liquorice, *Glycyrhiza indica* of the older writers, and is used both internally and externally in Sinhalese medicine (Trimen).]
161. **Ook-dandi-isma** Sugar cane
 ["*Ukdanda*,"—Sugar cane (Clough, p. 73).]
162. **Ooks-hakuru** Brown sugar
 ["*Uksakuru*,"—Sugar (Clough, p. 74).]
163. **Ooluwa-hal**
 ["*Oolu-hal*" was purchased by Ferguson and identified by him as Fenugreek seed. Clough, p. 82, describes "*Uluwa-hal*," as a small grain or seed used by Sinhalese to put in their curries. Ainslie gives "*Oolowa*" as *Trigonella foenum-graecum* L.]
164. **Oundu-pieli** *Trifolium repens*
 ["*Hin-undupiyali*" is *Desmodium triflorum* DC.; "*Maha-undupiyali*" is *Desmodium heterophyllum* DC.; both used in cases of fever (Trimen). From Hoatson's identification as *Trifolium repens*, it would seem that one of these two species was intended, and probably the former.]
165. **Pahichi-pol-cudu** The kernel of a dried coconut.
 ["*Pehichcha*,"—cooked: "*Pol-kudu*,"—the refuse of the coconut after it has been rasped and the milk [i.e. oil, T.P.] expressed (Clough).]
166. **Palmanikun** *Sulphas cupri*
 ["*Palmanikan*," (Ferguson), "*Palmanicum*" (Ainslie, I, 510), "*Palmanikkan*" (Clough, p. 332),—Sulphate of copper.]
167. **Pamburu-kolla**
 ["*Pamburu*" is *Ardisia Missionis* Wall.]
168. **Panguru-kolla**
 ["? *Pengiri*,"—*Cymbopogon Nardus* Rendle, which Hermann recorded as "*Pengriman*."]]
169. **Pasa** Sand taken from where ducks sit at night.

[“*Pasa*” is Sinhalese for soil. “*Pasi*” is a general Tamil name for filamentous algae washed up on shore, and is given by Attygalle (p. 187) for “Ceylon Moss,” *Gracilaria lichenoides*.]

170. **Patpadagam***Hedyotis herbacea*

[“*Patpadakam*” (Tamil) is *Mollugo Cerviana* Ser.; much used in medicine in fever (Trimen). Moon and Ferguson give “*Patpadagam*,” with the same identification. We have no recorded Sinhalese name for *Oldenlandia herbacea* (= *Hedyotis herbacea*), but *O. corymbosa*, which is also used in fevers, is known as “*Wal-patpadagam*.”]

171. **Pawatta-kolla***Justicia adhatoda*

[“*Pawatta*” is the Sinhalese name of *Pavetta indica* L.; but “*Pavettai*” (Tamil) is *Adhatoda Vasica* (= *Justicia Adhatoda*) Clough (p. 348) gives “*Pawatta*” for either plant.]

172. **Perungkaium**

[“*Perungkaium*” (Ferguson), “*Perungyym*” (Ainslie, I, p. 20), “*Perunkayam*” (Clough, p. 375),—*Assafoetida*.]

173. **Pila-kolla***Galega purpurea*

[*Galega purpurea* L. is *Tephrosia purpurea* Pers., a common village medicine for children, “*Pila*” (Trimen).]

174. **Pilal-mal***Artocarpus integrifolia*

[“*Pila*” is a Tamil name for *Artocarpus integrifolia*. Probably Hoatson meant “*Palol*.” “*Palol*” is *Stereospermum suaveolens*, the flowers of which are used medicinally.]

175. **Pitcha-mal***Jasminum grandiflorum*

[“*Pichcha*” and “*Geta pichcha*” are cited by Trimen for *Jasminum Sambac* Ait., an old inhabitant of Ceylon gardens. *Jasminum grandiflorum* L. is also grown in gardens in Ceylon, and is given as “*Samanpichcha*” by Moon. See No. 200.]

176. **Pol-mal and mool***Palmae Cocos nucifera*

[“*Pol*” is the usual term for coconut.]

177. **Ponaritaraan**

[“*Ponarridaraan*” (Tamil),—Golden-coloured orpiment, *Arsenicum auripigmentum* (Ainslie, I, p. 499).]

178. **Potu-mool**

[“*Pota-wel*” is *Pothos scandens* L.]

179. **Pous-wael-potu**

[“*Pus-wel*” is *Entada scandens* Benth.; the juice of the wood and bark is used as an external application to ulcers (Trimen).]

180. **Pupula-mal**

[“*Pupula*” is *Vernonia zeylanica* Less., used as an external application to wounds (Trimen). Moon gives “*Wael-pupula*” for this.]

181. **Puscure** Rosin

[Imported in boxes, common rosin (Hoatson). Clough; p. 369, says “*Puskara*” is borax, used as a flux. On the other hand, I am informed that resin is sold in the bazaar as “*Puskara*.” Attygalle gives “*Puskara*” as borax, and that appears to be the common use. Crude borax was obtained under this name in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 (det. A. Bruce).]

182. **Radelia-wael-potu**

[“*Radaliya*” is *Connarus monocarpus* L.]

183. **Rahadia** or **Rassadia** *Mercurium purificatum*

[“*Rahadiya*,”—Quicksilver (Clough).]

184. **Rambuc-bada-isma**

[“*Rambuk*” is *Saccharum arundinaceum* Retz. Clough gives *S. procerum* Roxb., a synonym of the above, while Moon’s name is *S. daemonum* K., another synonym.]

185. **Rana-wara-kolla-kudu**

[“*Ranawara*” is *Cassia auriculata* L.]

186. **Rassakinda-wael** *Menispermum cordifolium*

[“*Rasa-kinda*” is *Tinospora cordifolia* Miers. See No. 116.]

187. **Rat-handung** Red sandalwood

[“*Rat-handum*,”—Red sandalwood (Moon). “*Rat Sandun*,”—Red sandalwood, *Pterocarpus santalinus* L. (Clough, p. 523).]

188. **Rath-nitool-mool** *Plumbago rosea*

[“*Rat-netul*” is *Plumbago rosea* L., commonly grown in gardens as a medicinal plant (Trimen).]

189. **Rat-mal** *Ixora coccinea*

[Moon cites “*Rat-mal*” as Red flower, and gives various species. Clough gives “*Rat-mal*” as *Ixora coccinea* (p. 523). *Ixora coccinea* L. is used medicinally, but the Sinhalese name usually employed is “*Rat-ambala*.”]

190. **Ratte-el-den-moutra** Red cow’s urine

191. **Ratte-inghuru** *Amomum Zingiber*

[Clough, p. 521, gives “*Rata inguru*” as a species of ginger. Moon has “*Ratu-rata-inguru*,”—*Zingiber rubens*, Bengal. *Zingiber rubens* Roxb. does not occur in Ceylon, and its specific name refers to the red flower. Hoatson stated that this is imported, and the

roots are boiled before drying. Whether this is ordinary ginger reddened by treatment, or some other species, is not clear : ordinary ginger is sometimes scalded before drying.]

192. **Ratte-loonoo** Shallots

[“*Ratu loonoo*,”—Shallots, cultivated (Moon). “*Ratu lunu*,” small onions (Ferguson).]

193. **Reru-kolla**

[Moon, in his *Sinhalese Botany*, lists “*Seru*” or “*Reru-gaha*,” with the English name, Teal tree. “*Bu-seru*” is *Premna tomentosa* Willd., probably the species intended. “*Gal-seru*” is given by Moon for *Canthium didymum* var. *lanceolatum*.]

194. **Riditutang**

[Imported in bags.—a hard bark well dried (Hoatson). Ferguson described “*Redi-tulhan*” as a heavy grey stone. Ferguson gives the synonyms, “*Redetootam*” (S.), “*Toottano*” (T.), “*Kurparum*” (Sans.); this makes it impure Calamine, “*Tutanagam*” (T.), “*Kharpara*” (Sans.). Attygalle gives “*Ride Tutian*,”—a natural zinc ore composed chiefly of carbonate and sulphate of zinc.]

195. **Rukatanna-potu-kolla isma and mool**

[“*Rukattana*” is *Alstonia scholaris* Br. The bark is a valuable astringent tonic ; much used in fevers : it is an official drug in the Indian Pharmacopoeia (Trimen).]

196. **Sadika** *Necus moschata*

[“*Sadikka*,”—nutmeg (Ferguson : Clough). The modern scientific name of the nutmeg tree is *Myristica fragrans*.]

197. **Sadilingam** Native cinnabar

[“*Sadilingam*” is given as Vermilion by Clough (p. 264). Ainslie records “*Shadlingum*” (Tamil) as artificial cinnabar (I, 542). Ferguson described it as a coarse vermilion red stone.]

198. **Saebo-kolla or Haebo-kolla**

[*Achyranthes aspera* L., See Nos. 61, 97.]

199. **Sahinda lunu** *Sal Ammoniac*

[“*Sahinda lunu*,”—rock salt (Clough). “*Savinde lunu*,”—rock salt (Ferguson, in Pieris’s list). “*Savinde lunu*,”—rock salt (Ainslie, I, 372).]

200. **Saman-pitcha mal** *Jasminum grandiflorum*

[“*Samanpitchcha*” is given by Moon for *Jasminum grandiflorum* L.]

201. **Sarna-mool**

[?“*Sarana*.” Thwaites gives “*Sarana*” as *Trianthema decandra* L., which is used medicinally. Trimen cites “*Maha-sarana*”

for that species, and "*Hin-sarana*" for *Trianthema monogyna* L. Ferguson identified "*Sarana-mool*" as the root of *Trianthema* sp. For the contraction cf. Hermann, who cites "*Puksarna*" or "*Puksarana*" for *Canna indica*.]

202. **Seriteko**

[Imported in small sticks in bags (Hoatson). Clough (p. 685) gives "*Siritekku*" as *Siphonanthus indica*. *Clerodendron Siphonanthus* R. Br. (*Siphonanthus indica* L.) is used medicinally, but the roots of *Clerodendron serratum* Spreng. constitute "*Cheru-tekka*" (Mala.), "*Chiru dekku*" (Tamil), *vide* Dictionary of Economic Products of India. W. Ferguson identified "*Seritekko*" as *Premna herbacea*.]

203. **Sevie-mool**

["*Siviya*" was recorded by Ferguson as the roots of a *Piper*, *Chavica sviya* Miq. Trimen states that *Piper chavya* Ham. (*Chavica Chuyya* Miq., Thw. Enum. 428) is a variety of *Piper Belle*, and is known as "*Siviya-wel*."]]

204. **Sid-inghuru**

Dried ginger

["*Siddinguru*,"—dry ginger (Clough, p. 635).]

205. **Sillu-mondu**

[This substance is not procurable in the Kandy bazaar. It may be *Flueggea leucopyrus* Willd., "*Challa manta*," "*Sale manta*" (Hindu)]

206. **Sina mool**

["*Sina mul*" is China root (Clough, p. 821). Ferguson's lists have *Cheena-mool*. *Gynura pseudochina* DC. is grown commonly in gardens under the name of "*Ala-bet*" or China root (Trimen).]

207. **Sine**

Sugar of any sort.

["*Sine*,"—sugar (Clough, p. 638).]

208. **Sine-hakuru**

Soft sugar (jaggery)

["*Sarkara*,"—Jaggery (Clough, p. 629).]

209. **Sinukaraan**

["*Sinakkaran*,"—Alum (Clough, p. 688). "*Chinakaram*" (Sinh.) —alum (Ainslie, I. p. 11). "*Senakkaran*" (Ferguson).]

210. **Siwanguru**

[Hoatson says, "imported in bags, a gummy substance." "*Suwanguru*," purchased by W. H. Wright in the Kandy bazaar in 1862, was described by him as red chalk. Ferguson enumerated it as a red stone. Clough gives "*Sivanguru*" or "*Siwanguru*" as red chalk or red arsenic (pp. 158, 167, 517). "*Tsze-hwang*"

is the Chinese yellow sulphuret of arsenic, which is exported to India. "*Siwanguru*," purchased in the Kandy bazaar in 1916 was determined on analysis as "clay coloured with iron" (A. Bruce), apparently red ochre.]

211. **Sudu-duru**

["*Sudu-duru*,"—white cummin (Clough, p. 255); small cummin (Ferguson). *Cuminum Cyminum* Linn.]

212. **Sudu-handoong** White sandalwood

["*Sudu handun*" (Ferguson: Moon: Clough)—*Santalum album* L.]

213. **Sudu-loonoo** *Allium sativum*

["*Sudu-lunu*,"—garlic (Ferguson): "*Soodo-loonoo*,"—Garlic (Ainslie, I, p. 150). *Allium sativum* L. is garlic.]

214. **Sudu-passanum**

["*Sudu-passanum*,"—white arsenic (Clough, p. 628). "*Sudu-passanum*,"—*Acidum arseniosum*, (W. H. Wright, Kandy Bazaar, 1862).]

215. **Suendel-alla** *Musa*

["*Suwandel*" is a variety of the Plantain.]

216. **Tala-tel and etta** *Sesamum orientale*

["*Tel-tala*" is *Sesamum indicum* L.]

217. **Tal-mool-isma** Palmyra tree root

["*Tal*" is *Borassus flabellifer* L., Palmyra.]

218. **Tal-wakaru** Arrack from toddy

["*Tal wakara*,"—arrack of the second distillation (Clough, p. 205).]

219. **Tam-bapoo-hal** Boiled rice220. **Tana-kiri** Woman's milk

["*Tana-kiri*" (Clough, p. 202).]

221. **Tebu-mool-isma**

["*Tebu*" is *Costus speciosus* Smith.]

222. **Tipili** *Piper longum*

["*Tippili*" (Trimen: Moon: Ferguson), "*Tipillie*" (Ainslie).]

223. **Titta-wael-isma**

["*Titta wel*" is *Anamirta paniculata* Colebr. The seeds are very bitter and poisonous, and are known as *Cocculus indicus* in pharmacy and trade (Trimen).]

224. **Totila-gaha-potu** *Bignonia indica*

["*Totila*" is *Oroxylum indicum* Vent. (= *Bignonia indica* L.). The bark is much used as an astringent tonic (Trimen). "*Totilla-potu*,"—bark of *Bignonia indica* (Ferguson).]

225. **Trikatuka** By this term Singhalese understand Ginger, Black Pepper, and "*Tipili*," mixed together.
 ["*Trikatuka*" (Clough, p. 226).]
226. **Trusta-wael-mool** *Convolvulus turpethum*
 ["*Trastawalu*" is *Ipomaea Turpethum* Br. (= *Convolvulus Turpethum* L.). The root affords a glutinous milky juice, much used as a purgative (Trimen).]
227. **Vilendi** Toasted paddy
 ["*Vilanda*,"—fried grain, parched corn (Clough, p. 600).]
228. **Vira-kolla-isma**
 ["*Wira*" is *Hemicyclia sepiaria* W. & A.]
229. **Vissa-du-vili**
 ["*Wisaduli*" is *Centipeda orbicularis* Lour. For information re the erroneous identification of this name by Moon and others, see Trimen I, 146; III, 42; IV, 180.]
230. **Wadakaha-alla**
 ["*Wadakaha*" is *Acorus Calamus* L. The aromatic rootstock is used medicinally (Trimen). Ferguson identified the bazaar "*Wadakaha*" as the rootstock of *Acorus Calamus*.]
231. **Wagapool or tipili** *Piper longum*
 ["*Wagapol*" (Moon), "*Wayapol*" (Trimen), is *Curculigo recurvata* Dryand., a common plant. Clough cites "*Wayapol*" as *C. recurvata*, and "*Wagapul*" as *C. recurvata* or *Piper longum*, colloquially known as "*Tippili*" A third version is provided by Ferguson, who records that "*Wagapul*," purchased in the bazaar, was 'no doubt the dried flowers of *Careya arborea*,' The latter were obtained as "*Wagapul*" in the Kandy bazaar in 1916, but I am informed that "*Tipili*" (long pepper) is substituted in the boutiques.]
232. **Waha-tellae-kolla** *Convolvulus obscurus*
 [*Ipomaea obscura* Ker is "*Tel-kola*" according to Trimen, and "*Boo-tael-kola*" in Moon. Trimen gives "*Kaha-tel-kola*,"—*Ipomaea chryseides* Ker. "*Waha*" or "*Wasa*" means poison. Moon has "*Wasa-tael-kola*," without Latin name, and "*Boo-wasa-tael-kola*" for *Breweria cordata* Bl. "*Rasa-tel-kola*" is *Ipomaea sepiaria* Koenig.]

233. **Walanga-sal**

[*Embelia Ribes* Burm. The fruit when dried looks like black pepper, and forms the bazaar drug known as "*Walanga-sal*" (Trimen).]

234. **Wal-tipili-mool***Piper longum*

["*Wal-tipili*" should be a wild pepper: the name is given by Moon for *Piper diffusum*, by which *P. argyrophyllum* Miq. was probably intended.]

235. **Wang ipola***Justicia adhatoda*

["*Wanepala*" is *Adhatoda Vasica* Nees., of which *Justicia Adhatoda* is a synonym.]

236. **Wara-kolla-mool***Asclepias gygantica*

["*Wara*" is *Calotropis gigantea* Br. (= *Asclepias gigantea* L.). The bark of the root is employed as an alterative tonic (Trimen).]

237. **Wassa-wasi**

Mace

["*Wasa-wasi*" (Clough; Ferguson), "*Wassa-wasie*" (Ainslie),—Mace.]

238. **Watchinabi-mool**

["*Watchinabi alla*,"—Imported in bags cut into slices (Hoatson). ? root of *Aconitum napellus* (Ferguson). "*Wachchanavi*," "*Watsanabha*,"—an active poison, apparently the root of a vegetable said to be brought from Nepal (Clough). "*Vachanabhi*" (Sinh.), *Aconitum ferox* Wall. (or other spp.), *vide Dictionary of Economic Products of India*.]

239. **Watesse-isma**

["*Wata-essa*" is *Drosera Burmanni* Vahl. Moon and Clough give the spelling "*Wataressa*"]

240. **Wel-kassambilia-mool and dalu**

[*Wel-kahambiliya* is *Tragia involucrata* L.]

241. **Welmi***Glycyrrhiza glabra*

["*Welmee*,"—liquorice root (Ferguson). "*Wellmie*,"—liquorice root (Ainslie, I, p. 199). The root of *Abrus precatorius* L., see Olinda, No. 160.]

242. **Weni-wael-ghaetha**

["*Weni-waela-gaeta*" was given by Moon for *Cosciniium fenestratum* Colebr. Trimen and Ferguson recorded it as "*Weni-wel*."]]

243. **Wuncara-lunu**

["*Venkaram*" (Tam.), "*Vengaram*" (Sinh.),—Borax (*Dictionary of Economic Products of India*).]

244. **Yakinaraan-kolla**

["*Yakinaran*" is *Atalantia zeylanica* Oliv.]

245. **Yakuvanassi-kolla-isma**

["*Yakwanassa*" is *Anisomeles ovata* Br. The plant is much used in medicine; the smoke of this is believed to keep off devils (Trimen).]

The following names appear in the paper, but are not given in the lists:—

1. **Dehi-kolla-isma** *Limonia acidissima*

[*Limonia acidissima* Auct. plur. non L. is *Limonia crenulata* Roxb.; neither Trimen nor Moon gave a Sinhalese name. "*Dehi*" is the lime.]

2. **Dombagaha**

["*Domba*" is *Calophyllum Inophyllum* L.]

3. **Haepedi**

[I have not found this name elsewhere. It is not known in the Kandy Bazaar.]

4. **Hinguru-putta**

[? "*Hinguru potu*." "*Hinguru*" is *Acacia caesia* Willd.]

5. **Kapu tellae**

["*Kapu*" is cotton. ? error for "*Kapu kolla*," cf. recipes for snakebites.]

6. **Khotimburu** *Coriandrum sativum*

[Moon cites "*Kotamburu*" or "*Kotamalli*" for *Coriandrum sativum*. See No. 112.]

7. **Leva-lunu** *Murias sodae*

["*Lewa lunu*,"—sea salt made in a saltern (Clough, p. 552).]

8. **Nelli** *Phyllanthus emblica*

["*Nelli*" is *Phyllanthus Emblica* L. The acid and astringent fruit is an important Sinhalese medicine (Trimen)]

9. **Rat-kolla**

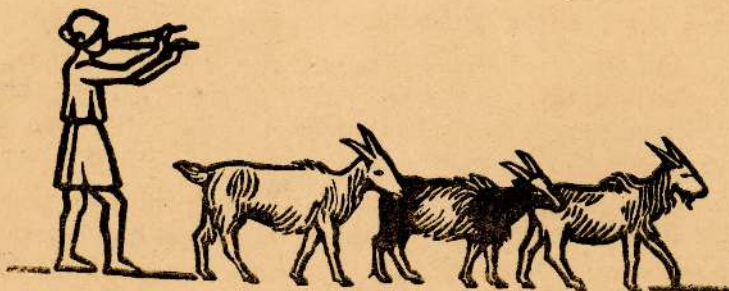
10. **Suanda-hota**

["*Suanda-hota*" is given as *Khus-Khus*, *Vetiveria zizanoides* Stapf, by Ferguson in a list of Sinhalese medicines copied from some unnamed Sinhalese medical work: he cites the synonyms, *Suanda hota* (Sin.), "*Elamidoo*" (Tam.), "*Usira*" (Sans.). The Sinhalese name now given for this is "*Saewandara*."]]

11. **Wang mutu alla** *Andropogon schoenanthus*

["*Wam-mutu*" is *Cyperus rotundus* L., colloquially "*Kalanduru*" (Clough, p. 566). Hoatson is consistent in his misidentifica-

tion; See No. 87. He appears, in some way, to have obtained his information from Linnaeus (*Flora Zeylanica*), where, through some confusion of Hermann's specimens, Linnaeus, in No. 465, enumerated an undetermined specimen as "*Kalanduru*" and added "Pharm. Schoenanthi Herba." *Fl. Zeyl.*, 465, is now taken as *Andropogon Schoenanthus*. The name "*Kalanduru*" was not cited by Willdenow for *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, and Moon, in his copy of Willdenow, has added the Sinhalese name "*Pengiri Mana, Oova*," indicating that *Andropogon Schoenanthus* was known by that name in the district in which Hoatson was stationed. Hoatson's misidentification, consequently throws some doubt on his statement that he determined the meaning of the Sinhalese name from specimens of the plant brought to him, unless, perhaps, it was another instance of an accepted substitution.



THE PATICCASAMUPPADA

Or the Chain of Causes in Buddha's Doctrine.

By REV. ED. FRUTSAERT, S.J.

THE *Paticcamuppāda* or the *Chain of causes*, is well known to such as are acquainted with Buddhism. It runs as follows :

In consequence of ignorance, merit and demerit ;
 in consequence of merit and demerit, the consciousness ;
 in consequence of consciousness, the body and the mental faculties ;
 in consequence of the mental faculties, the six organs of sense ;
 in consequence of the six organs of sense, touch or contact ;
 in consequence of contact, the sensations ;
 in consequence of the sensations, desire ;
 in consequence of desire, the attachment to existence ;
 in consequence of attachment to existence, a place of birth ;
 in consequence of a place of birth, decay, death, grief, weeping, pain, discontent and dissatisfaction are produced.¹

This formula is capital in the doctrine of Buddha. It forms together with the "Four Noble Truths" the pith of his philosophy. All the scholars in Buddhism agree upon it ; but all too, feel disconcerted by its apparent obscurity. Some say " it is very unphilosophical and confused " ; others call it a metaphysical puzzle, and declare that " it is utterly impossible to trace from beginning to end a connected meaning in this formula." It seems that even the ancient Buddhists found there a stumbling-block.²

1. The text has been translated from the Pāli. The translations are slightly different : cf. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, London, 1908. p. 39 (*paccayā* = in consequence ; *sankhāra* = merit and demerit ; *sambhavanti* = is produced)—cf. Copleston, *Buddhism*, London, 1892, p. 121, (*paccayā* = from ; *sankhāra* = conformations ; *sambhavanti* = comes)—cf. Warren *Buddhism in translations*, Cambridge 1896. p. 166 (*paccaya* = on ; *sankhāra* = Karma ; *Sambhavanti* = depends). More accurately, *paccayā* (after), *Sambhavanti* (is found, is met with) express the idea of succession, of antecedent and consequent. Conformations (all adaptations), as translated by Copleston, is the practical conduct that adapts, conforms itself to ignorance, i.e. *Karma*, merit and demerit. (cf. below.)

2. Gogerly, op. cit. pp. 39, 40.—Copleston, op. cit. p. 122.—Oldenberg, edit. *Vinaya pitaka*.

In this article, we shall attempt to see our way as far as we can. It seems to us that this text must be interpreted in the light of Buddha's doctrine as gathered from other passages of the sacred books, and studied with a special exegetic method.

Our process will be as follows. After a general and summary view of Buddha's system, as far as our purpose is concerned, we will pick out in the "chain of causes" the prominent concepts; under these we will group the particular and more secondary ideas, and with the aid of a few observations, we will endeavour to reduce the formula to a simple and concise expression of the metaphysical basis of Buddha's doctrine.

General and summary view of Buddha's Doctrine.³

Buddha's system rests on *two fundamental principles*, not altogether unconnected, as is evident from their very statement.

Existence is misery, sorrow and suffering, and,—what is the greatest of all miseries,—Existence is to be perpetuated in an endless series.

This twofold principle suggests a problem to be solved: How is man to be delivered from that existence which will be continued after death? How will he escape re-birth and all the evil it involves? The solution evidently depends on this other question: What is it that causes existence to be renewed beyond the grave? To this Buddha has two answers, which supply the compound cause that is responsible for existence and re-birth.

The first answer is: The cause of existence and re-birth lies in the merit and demerit, i.e. in the good and bad actions performed in a previous existence, those good and bad actions being considered under the specific aspect of their moral value. That cause is termed *Karma*.⁴

The second answer is: The cause of existence and re-birth is the desire of, the clinging to, individual existence.

Buddha speaks in a general way of desire; but as often as not, he calls it the desire for existence. To him all the desires, good as well as bad, are the expression and the manifestation of that clinging to existence: they make it up, and it ultimately resolves itself into them. It is called *Tanhá*.

Both these causes constitute the total and complete cause: *Karma and Tánhá*; but they produce their common effect under

3. We confine ourselves to the theoretical or metaphysical part of Buddha's system. His moral system and practical teaching lies beyond the exigencies of our present study.

4. *Millinda* 11, 2—Gogerly, p. 36—Copleston, p. 118.

two different formalities: *Tanhá* causes existence and re-birth as such; *Karma* causes existence and re-birth as affecting such or such a condition of existence, higher or lower in the scale of beings, happy or miserable along all possible degrees.⁵

That there is a close connexion between *Tanhá* and *Karma*, i.e. between the good and bad desires that make up the former on the one side, and the good and bad actions that constitute the latter on the other side, everyone will admit. It is indeed too evident that our actions are the result of our desires and, so to say, embody them.

In short, the total cause assigned to existence and re-birth may be expressed thus: *Tanhá and Karma, as loaded with their moral value.* They build up the moral character of man.⁶

Buddha comes now to a practical conclusion: The only way to be delivered from existence and re-birth is to attack it in its very cause. He straightway directs his efforts against *Tanhá* and, the scheme of salvation he proposes, is to destroy it; by the very fact he will do away with *Karma*,—and existence and re-birth will have received the fatal blow.

As to the way of destroying the clinging to existence, Buddha points to the "noble eightfold path" developed into the whole of his moral system. Contemplation, moderate asceticism, life of perfection, aim but at the destruction of desire.⁷ To believe in the teaching of the Enlightened one, to be convinced of the truths he has unveiled, and above all, practically to conform one's behaviour to it, is the only true knowledge, the only true wisdom. Not to know his principles and method, and, to overlook them in practice is the only ignorance, ignorance above all.⁸ Such as theoretically and practically realise his doctrine, are delivered from existence and re-birth, and from all the sorrows and sufferings essentially connected with them. They go to *Nirvána*.

5. Cf. Subhadra Bhikshu: *A Buddhist Catechism*, Colombo 1908, p. 23, q. 83. "What is the difference between *Tanhá* and *Karma*?"

6. *Ibid.* p. 23. qq. 80, 81.

7. Here lies—as it appears to us,—one of the differences between the Brahmanism of the *Upanishads*, and Buddha's system. Both are convinced that the desire of existence is the true cause of evil; but, while the Brahmin aims at destroying the desire of existence indirectly, by reaching the conviction of his identity with the impersonal all-God, Brahma, the Buddha attacks the desire of existence directly in itself. Hence the elements that are common to both schemes, such as contemplation, asceticism, moral perfection are not viewed and proposed in the same way: to the Brahmin, asceticism (in its extreme form) and moral perfection are supposed to promote contemplation in which the final and saving conviction is attained; to Buddha, contemplation is directed to promote asceticism and holy life, by which the desire of existence is extinguished.

8. About ignorance cf. Warren, op. cit. p. 170—translation from the *Visuddhí Magga*, Chap. XVII—Copleston, Chap. VII, Abolition of ignorance, p. 103.

Exegetic Study of the Chain of Causes.

From the foregoing exposition of Buddha's doctrine, we now take out the outstanding concepts, with which our particular study is concerned, viz., *Ignorance, Karma and Tanhá*.

IGNORANCE, as has already been said, is the absence of theoretical and practical knowledge of Buddha's teaching. The immediate result of that ignorance is to leave untouched *Karma* and *Tanhá*.

KARMA AND TANHA. The ignorants of that sort neglect to destroy the desire of existence, and the actions which the desire implies. Both remain with their moral value. These *Tanhá* and *Karma* appear in the formula: *merit and demerit, desire of existence*. They have been sufficiently explained in the exposition of Buddha's doctrine.

But there appears in the chain of causes a term that was not mentioned in the exposition of Buddha's doctrine, the term *consciousness*. To Buddha consciousness is one of the various elements that make up individual existence.⁹ It is clear from other texts that the individual and its relations with the outer-world, result from many factors: consciousness, bodily organisation, mental faculties, sensation, desire, etc. but it appears too that consciousness plays in that aggregate of phenomena a prominent part. It is connected with all the other faculties and their activity, as a general and all-pervading condition. So, the term consciousness is an apt substitute for individual existence¹⁰

Now that we have interpreted the chief concepts, we are able to reduce the concerned formula to a simple expression.

9. One must remember that, whenever Buddha mentions existence, he understands individual existence. This is indeed the existence that is to be perpetuated, and that is but suffering and sorrow. Buddha conceives it as made up of the static and dynamic phenomena which constitute the individual and his activity (body, mental operations, organs, sensation and desire). Neither those phenomena nor the individual existence that results from them, are anything like permanent. They constantly change, and the passage from one existence to another (re-birth) is but a more prominent and more striking alteration.

This continuous flow of the phenomena is set on and kept up, by one of them, namely by desire. Hence, individual existence has in its very constitution the fatal power that unceasingly generates and preserves it through the endless series of changes and rebirths. As the will-to-live abides in the very essence of individual existence, and, as the latter changes without solution of continuity, it seems impertinent to attack Buddhism by pointing at the absurdity of a will-to-live, that has no substratum. The difficulty has a larger bearing: it affects the whole aggregate of individual existence. Buddha could have turned to the necessary complement of his philosophical statement, I mean, to the pantheistic views of the Upanishads. But we know how he looked upon such speculations as irrelevant, and how he reduced his metaphysical teachings to such a minimum as was sufficient to the practical character of his scheme of salvation. To complete his philosophy in this way, would be to expose his doctrine to all the attacks that are directed against pantheistic speculations at large.

10. This is undoubtedly confirmed by *Samyutta-Nikaya* text XXII,53; cf. Warren, op. cit. p. 162—*ibid.* translation from *Mūḍapanna* (82), Warren p. 182, 28. Consciousness.

“ In consequence of ignorance, merit and demerit ; in consequence of merit and demerit, individual existence ; in consequence of individual existence, the desire of existence ; in consequence of the desire of existence, existence itself—”

Or in a schematic form :

- I. *Ignorance.*
- II. *Karma.*
- III. *Existence.*
- IV. *Tanhá*
- V. *Existence.*

A few observations are necessary here.

I. The chain starts from any given existence in the endless succession of transmigration, and proceeds to show the uniform causation of *two successive existences* or re-births (III & V). The existence taken as a starting point, is necessarily supposed to be infected with ignorance (I) and as an inevitable result with Karma (II). This unlocks, so to say, the energy of causation.

II. The reduced formula shows that the cause of existence (and re-birth) is now termed *Karma* (II) then, *Tanhá* (IV). We have seen in the general view of Buddha's teaching that the total and complete cause is *Karma and Tanhá*, but, from the considerations we made about the intimate connection between *Karma* and *Tanhá*, it is clear, that the use of one or other of the component causes instead of the integral cause, is thoroughly justified. It is moreover a way of variety, and we shall further hint at the obvious fact that the sacred books are extremely fond of *variety* and *synonymy*.

III. If we compare the reduced scheme with the fully developed formula, we notice at once, that *existence* (re-birth) in the two instances (III, V) is expressed in a different way.

In the first place (III) it is described in its *constitutional elements* (consciousness, body, mental faculties, &c...), of which the principal one, as it was said, viz., *consciousness*, may stand for the whole individual existence.

In the second place (V) it is presented in its essential and necessary *circumstances* (viz. its first appearance, and local position = birth and place of birth)—and in its general character of dreariness (bodily and mental sufferings).

And this twofold way of introducing existence is but another instance of variety.

Such a variety, in philosophical teaching, might be distasteful to a European mind; but it is far from being at variance with the general style of the Buddhist Sacred Writings. It is as clear as noonday that they denote little care for uniformity in the expression, and that they reveal a special liking for repetition, enumeration and synonymy.¹¹

The observations we have just now made, account for the criticism with which the formula meets in the world of Buddhist Scholars.

IV. What is the relation between the various concepts of the *Patīccasamuppāda*?

The words "*paccaya*" and "*sambhavanti*," which by themselves mean nothing but mere *succession*, do not, in any way pre-judge the solution in the sense of causality.

What was Buddha's *conception of causality*? He compares cause and effect with two bundles that rest against each other: one cannot possibly stand without the other.

And this seems to be the *general* and uniform *relation* existing between the various concepts expressed in the *Patīccasamuppāda*: There is between them a *connection of necessary dependence*. *Karma* and *Tanhā* are the inevitable result of ignorance; individual existence is the fatal outcome of *Karma* and *Tanhā*; consciousness is the essential condition of all the phenomena that build up the individual; those phenomena themselves are to each other in the transcendental relation of faculties and correspondent activities; Existence cannot possibly be imagined without its beginning (birth), and without a determined place (place of birth); Existence moreover—according to Buddha's conception based on experience—cannot possibly be but miserable and sorrowful.

From this statement we may see that, although the *general concept* of intimate dependence is common to all those sets of ideas, yet that dependence is not everywhere of the same *specific description*. There is logical and ontological dependence, there is the dependence of result on position, of a conditional fact on its condition, etc.

But the relation that is fundamental in Buddha's doctrine as well as in the formula we are at present concerned with, the relation that the author of the chain of causation has in view and

11. A look at the texts in the sacred books will convince anyone. We quote a few references. *Mūlīndapanha* (62)—*Majjhima-nikāya* (Sutta 38)—*Maha Vagga* V. 1, 9, etc.

which he wishes to point out, is the relation between *Karma* and *Tanhá* on the one side, and individual existence on the other.

The simile used by Buddha to express that relation seems to imply a more rigorous causality.

"A tree produces fruit, from which fruit another tree is produced, and so the series continues. The last tree is not identical with the first tree, but it is a result. If the first tree had not been, the last tree could not have existed. Man is the tree, his conduct, the fruit. The vivifying energy of the fruit is desire; so long as this continues, the series will proceed. The good or evil actions performed give the quality of the fruit, so that the existence springing from those actions, will be happy or miserable as the quality of the fruit affects the tree produced from it."¹²

We give below a complete scheme which shows the contents of the formula :

	<i>Ignorance</i>	
a. <i>In any existence of the endless series</i>	<i>Karma-Tanhá</i>	(The former being expressed, the latter implied.)
b. <i>A first re-birth</i>	<i>Existence</i>	In its constituting elements; consciousness, body, mental faculties, organs of sense,—condition of their activity and their activity itself: contact, sensation, desire...
	<i>Tanhá-Karma</i>	(The former being expressed, the latter implied.)
c. <i>Another re-birth</i>	<i>Existence</i>	(In its necessary circumstances: place and birth—and with its dreary view: decay, death, etc...)

If thus understood, the formula "*Paticcasamuppáda*" conveys to us a summary and sententious expression of Buddha's metaphysical teachings, about the causes of recurring existence and re-birth. According to the general appearance of all the sacred texts, we find here the few capital links of the chain developed in all their details, with such a variety and multiplicity as to leave the impression of an endless transmigration.

12. We quote this passage from Gogerly op. cit. I. p. 9.

Notes & Queries.

NOTES ON THE "MAHAVANSA."

IV. Abhayanāga and his Uncle Subhadeva.

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

THE *Mahāvansa* at Chap. XXXVI, vv 42-48 has the following :
 "This King's (i.e. Vohārika Tissa's) younger brother, known as Abhayanāga, who was the Queen's lover, being discovered in his guilt, took flight for fear of his brother and went with his serving-men to Bhallatittha and, as if wroth with him, he had his *uncle's hands and feet cut off*.

"And that he might bring about division in the kingdom, he left him behind here and took his most faithful followers with him, showing them the example of the dog, and he himself took ship at the same place and went to the other shore. But the uncle, *Subhadeva*, went to the King and, making as if he were his friend, he wrought division in the kingdom. And that he might have knowledge of this, Abhaya sent a messenger thither.

"When *Subhadeva* saw him, he *loosened the earth round about an areca-palm, with the shaft of his spear*, as he *walked round the tree*, and when he had made it thus to hold but feebly by the roots, he *struck it down with his arm* ; then did he threaten the messenger, and drove him forth. The messenger went and told this matter to Abhaya."

Geiger apparently does not seem to have been struck by the absurdities of the passage which I have italicised above, for he has no note on the subject.

And yet Abhayanāga's uncle, Subhadeva, is credited with some impossible achievements. For what do we find? Subhadeva has his "hands and feet cut off" and yet contrives to *go to the King*. Let us presume, however, that he was carried thither. But the next thing that the armless and legless Subhadeva does is to loosen the earth round about an areca-palm with the shaft of his spear as he *walks round the tree* and then to *strike it down with his arm* !

What is the explanation of this impossibility? Obviously Subhadeva's hands and feet were not cut off, though the Pali text is positive they were—*hatthapādā ca chedayi*.

FATE.

A Song of the Swing.

By H. DON CLEMENT.

Oh red,—red, glows the morning sun,
And purple robes him round.
Sun-birds chirp on the emerald trees :
What truth the doves have found ?

Hark !—hark !—the magpie¹ robin sings ;
The drongo,—it mimics well.
The cuckoo marks the blanks between ;
What does the bulbul tell ?

“ There is hope and fear in all hearts ;
There are wars of loves and hates ;
But, in all the world, in all parts,
Fate pairs the suited mates !”

THE SINGING FISH AT BATTICALOA.²

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

IN connection with this subject attention might be invited to a letter from Dr. George Buist of Allahabad, dated 10th June, 1860, which appeared in the *Athenaeum*, and with a letter from Sir James Emerson Tennent, was reproduced in the Proceedings of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (*Journal*, Vol. III, p. xi). Dr. Buist criticises Sir James's theory that the sounds are caused by shell-fish, and contends that he, Dr. Buist, has “very clearly made out that musical fishes do exist in abundance,” but suggests that “as it is very difficult to conceive in what way the sounds are made under water, it would be well to have the subject

1. The Magpie of Ceylon really sings. It does not chatter as said in the dictionary.
2. The *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. III, page 53.

more minutely inquired into." The same phenomenon has been observed in a salt water creek near Bombay, at Vizagapatam on the Coromandel Coast, 498 miles north of Madras, and off the mouth of "the river of Borneo."

The following communication from Mr. T. Stanley Green of Tirrukovil Estate, Akkaraipattu, Eastern Province, appearing in the issue of the *Times of Ceylon* of 27th August, 1917, will be read with interest in this connection:—

"Your extract from Mr. Fowler's notes on the above subject, appearing in your issue of the 21st instant, is most interesting; and, as one who has had more opportunity of hearing the famous singing fish than most, I may perhaps be allowed to add a few words to what has been already written on the subject. I should perhaps preface my remarks by explaining that I run a service of motor boats on the Batticaloa Lake, which boats, being made of thin sheet steel, are excellent conductors or, I may say, collectors of sound, and I can state without any exaggeration that I have heard the singing fish many scores of times when sitting in the cabin of one or the other of my boats, with the greatest ease and distinctness, both during the day and night, and I found that if I applied my ear to the gunwale of the boat the sound becomes so loud as to be almost startling. Mr. Fowler says "that it is hardly within the bounds of possibility that the sounds are caused by fish," but I should like to know his reasons for this opinion.

It is well known that some fish are capable of making a sound when caught, and I know from personal experience that there is a small fish in the Batticaloa Lake which cries out on being taken from the water. I do not, of course, suggest that this is the "singing fish," but it appears to me possible that a fish which can make a sound when out of the water may be able to do so when in its native element. That the sound is produced by a fish or mollusk of some kind I feel perfectly convinced, and am certain that the suggestion that the sound is caused by the rubbing together of shells lying at the bottom of the lake is absolutely incorrect for the following reasons—The rock mentioned by Sir E. Tennent as the spot where he heard the "singing fish" (locally known as Elephant Rock), does not intersect any channel, but is situated in a comparatively shallow area on the eastern shore of the lake, the main channel (where I do not think the sound is ever heard) lying much more to the west, and except in flood-time, when the sound cannot be heard at all owing to the rush of water, I do not think there is ever sufficient current to disturb shells lying at the bottom. If this spot were the only one in the lake where the sound may be heard, bearing in mind the fact that there are loose shells lying at the bottom of the lake in this locality, there might be something in the suggestion, but I have heard the sounds much more plainly than I have ever heard them at Elephant Rock, in portions of the lake miles distant from Batticaloa, viz., at Manmunai, which is about seven miles from Batticaloa, where the lake has a muddy

bottom, and so far away as Paddiruppu, which is about 16 miles from Batticaloa, where the lake is very deep and the bottom consists of many feet of black oozy mud. This, I think, disposes of the "shell" theory. With respect to the nature of the sound itself, I do not think that the simile given in your article, "that it is like the faint vibration of a wine glass when the rim is rubbed with a wet finger" is at all a happy one. To me it has always resembled the note of a Jew's Harp, or the string of a cello when twanged, varying in tone from medium tenor to deep bass, with any number of intermediate tones. I remember on one occasion, when I spent several nights on one of my boats at Manmunai owing to engine trouble, that the "singing fish" treated me to such a concert that I found it difficult to get to sleep, not that the sound was so loud as to keep me awake, but was so clear, distinct and varying in note that the weirdness of it almost placed sleep out of the question. I may add that this was on a dark moonless night. Mr. Haughton's statement that the sounds are heard most distinctly on moonlight nights is generally accepted as correct in Batticaloa, but this is, I think, due to the fact that no one would dream of venturing out on the lake on a dark night; but I can state with perfect confidence that the sounds are as audible on a dark night as on a moonlit one. A still night is of course absolutely necessary, as with a wind rippling the surface of the water, there would be no chance of hearing the sound distinctly, if at all.

With respect to Mr. Fowler's note as to Mr. Searey's statement that a musical fish is known in North Australia, I may say that when in Australia myself in 1896, on my describing the Batticaloa singing fish to a friend, he assured me that a lake in the northern part of Australia boasted a similar phenomenon, which rather confirms Searey's statement, in spite of his tendency to "tall yarns."

I must apologise for the length of this letter, but the singing fish of Batticaloa has always appeared to me to be such an interesting subject for investigation that I feel that the testimony of one who has had ten years' intimate experience of the Batticaloa Lake, under every possible condition, may be of interest to your readers, and help to throw some little light upon what has so far proved itself an obscure subject."

AN-KELIYA

By ROBERT J. PEREIRA.

AN-KELIYA is the ceremony of pulling horns or forked sticks to propitiate the goddess Pattini in times of epidemics.

According to ancient legends it was a pastime at which the goddess and her husband Pálanga took sides. They are said to

have emulated each other in picking flowers with forked sticks, the husband standing at the top, and the wife at the foot, of a tree.

The *An-Keliya*, as its name imparts, partakes more of the nature of a village sport than of a religious ceremony. There are two sides engaged, called the *Uda-pila* and *Yati-pila*. It is conducted in a central spot, in the midst of a group of villages set apart for the particular purpose, called *An-pitiya*, and commenced on a lucky day after the usual invocation by the *Kapurála* who brings with him to the spot the *Halan* (a kind of bracelets), the insignia of the goddess. The two *Pil* select each its own horn or forked stick; the horns or sticks are then intertwined—one is tied to a stake or tree and the other is tied to a rope, which is pulled by the two parties till one or the other of the horns or sticks breaks. The *pila* which owns the broken horn is considered to have lost, and has to undergo the jeers and derision of the winning party. If the *Yati-pila*, which is patronised by the *deviyo* (Pattini) wins, it is regarded a good omen for the removal or subsidence of the epidemic.

The ceremony closes with a triumphal procession to the nearest *devále*. A family belongs hereditarily to one or the other of the two *pil* (*Dickson*).

Robert Knox says:—"There is another sport which generally all people used with much delight, being, as they called it, a sacrifice to one of their gods; to wit, Pattiny Dio (Pattini Deiyo). And the benefit of it is, that it frees the country from grief and diseases. For the beastliness of the exercise they never celebrated it near any Town, nor in sight of women but in a remote place. The manner of the game is thus. They have two crooked sticks like elbows, one hooked in to the other, and so with contrivances they pull with ropes, until the one breaks the other; some siding with one stick and some with the other; but never is money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick, that party that hath won doth not a little rejoice. Which rejoicing is exprest by dancing and singing and uttering such sordid beastly expressions, together with postures of their bodies as I omit to write them as being their shame in acting, and would be mine in rehearsing. For he is at that time most renowned that behaves himself most shamelessly and beast-like. This filthy solemnity was formerly much in use among them; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty of a forfeiture of money. So that now the practice hereof is quite left off. But though it is thus gone into disuse, yet out of the great delight they had in it they of Gampola would revive it again; and did. Which coming to the King's ear he sent one of his noblemen to take a fine from them for it."

Literary Register.

IN CEYLON A CENTURY AGO.

The Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society.

WITH NOTES BY T. PETCH.

(Continued from Vol. viii. Pt. iii, Page 283)

1824.

AT the Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 15th January, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt., L.L.D.

The Hon'ble & Ven'ble Thos. J. Twisleton, D.D.

Charles Farrell, Esquire, M.D.

Henry Augustus Marshall,

Esqr.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram, A.M.

John Deane, Esqr.

The Revd. Andrew Armour

John Henry Reckerman, Esq. Captain Thos. B. Gascoyne, Secy.,

William Granville, Esqr., Treasurer.

The Society proceeds to ballot for the election of the General Committee for the current year.

The Secretary notifies that the Revd. Mr. Glenie and the Revd. Mr. Lambrick have withdrawn their Names from the Society.

Roman Coins.

The Secretary reads a paper presented by Sir Hardinge Giffard relative to 28 Ancient Coins (also produced) found near Pantura, one of them bearing the Effigy and Superscription of Tiberius Caesar.

The thanks of the Meeting are presented to Sir Hardinge Giffard for his interesting communication.

Potatoes.

The Secretary produces a specimen of Potatoes grown at Fort MacDonald transmitted by Lieut. Theodore Mylius with a Letter

which is read recommending that station as a fit place for forming a plantation.

Resolved that the Secretary do return Mr. Mylius the thanks of the Meeting, and acquaint him that the Society will be happy to adopt his plan, and will transmit shortly some Seed Potatoes, and that he do further request Mr. Mylius to have a certain portion of ground cleared and inclosed for their reception and the expences attendant on which the Society will defray as well as all others connected with the undertaking.

A statement of the Accounts of the Fund having been laid before the Meeting, the Balance in the Hands of the Treasurer was found to be Rds. 1654. 11. 3.

The Ballot being closed the following Gentlemen are declared duly elected :—

Henry Augustus Marshall, Esq. The Revd. Andrew Armour.

John Deane, Esq.

Major Philip Delatre

Henry Matthews, Esq.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram

William Henry Hooper, Esq.

J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.

Lieut.-Col. George Warren Walker.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the 16th February, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

J. H. Reckerman, Esq.

Captn. Thos. B. Gascoyne.

Resolved that His Excellency the Governor Sir Edward Barnes be invited to become again the Patron of the Institution.

Arrowroot.

Resolved that about 100 copies of the Sinhalese Translation of that part of Mr. Moon's Paper on the Arrowroot which relates to its culture be printed for distribution to Gentlemen who may apply for it.

The meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Fifteenth March, 1824.

Present.—

His Excellency the Governor.
The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.
Charles Farrell, Esqr., M.D.
William Granville, Esqr. The Revd. Andrew Armour.
John Deane, Esqr. J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.
Captn. Gascoyne

Potatoes.

The Secretary reads a letter from Lieut. Forbes at Maturatta, reporting the progress of the Potatoe Plantation.

Resolved that when the crop is ripe they shall be sold publicly at Kandy or such part of them as may be required, and the remainder transferred to Colombo to be sent into the Market, the Price to be fixed by the Secretary in reference to the expences attendant on the culture.

Publications.

Resolved that a Committee be called on Monday the 23rd instant at 12 o'clock to select such Papers of those which have been presented to the Society as they may consider fit for publication.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the 13th April 1824 for the purpose of selecting from the Papers presented to the Society such as are proper for Publication.

Present.—

Henry Matthews, Esqre.
The Revd. Andrew Armour.
John Deane, Esqre.
Captn. Gascoyne.

The number of the Members present not being sufficient to form a Quorum, the Committee adjourns sine die.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held at Colombo this 28th day of April 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt.

Henry Matthews, Esqre. The Revd. A. Armour.

John Deane, Esqre. The Revd. J. H. De Saram

William Granville, Esqre., Acting Secretary.

Publications.

The Acting Secretary having read the List of Papers which have been from time to time submitted to the consideration of the Society for the purpose of selecting such as might be fittest for publication, it was resolved that the following should be recommended for publication accordingly.³¹

“Description of a Turtle (*Testudo Coriacea*) caught near Colombo, by Dr. Farrell.

“Paper on the Culture and preparation of *Maranta Arundinacea* or Indian Arrow Root, by Mr. Moon.

“Observations on the Rock called the Drunken Sailor, by Lieut.-Col. Wright.

“Observations on the Barometer as applicable to Ceylon, by Lieut.-Col. Wright.

“Description of a Species of *Mantis Urbana*, by Mr. Marshall.

“Paper on the Culture of Cochineal, by Dr. Reyne.

“Additional Observations on the Culture of Cochineal, by Dr. Farrell.

“Observations on Iron Ores and their Composition, by Mr. Russell.

“Observations on Materials fit for constructing Iron Furnaces, by Mr. Russell.

“A new System of Indo-Roman orthography, by Professor Rask.

“Singhalese Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica, by Mr. Hoatson.

“Essay on the Molluscae of Univalves, by Mr. Collier.

“Observations on the Egress of Mercury in his Transit over the Sun's Disk, by Mr. Lusignan.

“Observations on a Variety of the *Hirundo Esculenta*, by Mr. Russell.

“Account of some Ancient Coins found near Pantura, by Sir Hardinge Giffard.

The Meeting is adjourned.

31. Apparently this was not carried into effect.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Saturday the 15th May 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.

William Granville, Esqre.

W. H. Hooper, Esqre.

Captain Gascoyne, Secretary.

Copper Sannas from Ratnapura.

Sir Hardinge Giffard presents to the Society a Copper Sannas or Charter granted by Rajah Singa to a person who presented him with a precious Stone as large as a Cucumber. The Charter was sent by George Turnour, Esqre., Agent of Government at Ratnapoora. This donation is accompanied by a Translation and Explanatory notes by Revd. A. Armour.

Sculpture and Inscription from Gampola.

Sir Hardinge Giffard likewise presents to the Society a drawing of a remarkable Sculptured Stone found near Gampola, and a copy of an Inscription found upon another Stone discovered in the vicinity of that Fort, both of which were transmitted by Mr. A. Moon, to these Sir Hardinge has likewise annexed an explanatory Paper.

Publications.

Resolved that a Special Committee be appointed for the purpose of superintending and directing the printing of the Society's papers, and that the following Gentlemen be requested to undertake this Office.

Dr. Charles Farrell

A. Armour, Esqre.

William Granville, Esqre.

Captn. Gascoyne

W. H. Hooper, Esqre.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Tuesday the Fifteenth day of June 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

Doctor Farrell

The Revd. Andrew Armour

J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.

Transplanting of Paddy.

A Paper on the transplanting of Paddy sent by J. F. Lorenz, Esqr., Sitting Magistrate of Matura, is submitted to the Meeting.

Resolved that it be referred to John Deane, Esqre; for his consideration and report.

Potatoes.

Letters from Messrs. Forbes and Mylius reporting the progress of the Potato Plantations are read.

Resolved that Mr. Forbes be requested to forward so much of the Potatoes as he may have, to Colombo in such manner as may be most convenient.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Thursday the 15th July 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.

The Hon'ble Sir Richard Ottley

Lieut.-Colonel Walker

H. A. Marshall, Esqr.

J. H. Reckerman, Esqr.

Captn. Gascoyne, Secretary.

Import of Seeds.

The Secretary having reported the arrival of a packet of Garden Seeds received by the Ship Thames,

Resolved that He do deliver the Investment to Daddy Parsee³² to be disposed of for Ready Money, and that he be empowered to charge Ten Per Cent. in addition to the Prime Cost as Agency for the Sale.

Resolved that the Secretary do procure Bill for these Seeds and transmit it to Messrs. Ronalds and Sons in Payment.

Potatoes.

Letters from Messrs. Forbes and Mylius reporting the Progress of the Plantation are read.

32. Daddy Parsee kept a general secondhand shop at No. 4, King Street.

His Excellency the Governor proposes Lieut.-Col. Churchill as Member of the Society.

Ordered that Lieut.-Col. Churchill be balloted for at the next General Meeting.

This being the month in which the Annual Subscriptions are collected, Resolved that Mr. Granville, the Treasurer, be furnished with a List of the Subscribers and requested to undertake it.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Sixteenth August 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.

Doctor Farrell

The Rev. Andrew Armour.

Henry Matthews, Esqre.

Lieut.-Col. Walker.

Captn. Gascoyne.

The Meeting proposes (*sic*) to ballot for the election of Lieut.-Col. Churchill as a Member.

The Society (*sic*) reports the following Members having withdrawn themselves from the Society.

Major Delatre

Hospital Assistant Knox

Surgeon Armstrong

Henry Wright, Esqre.

Statues and Inscriptions from Batticaloa.

The Secretary reads a letter from J. N. Mooyart, Esqr., at Batticaloa enclosing Copies of inscriptions found by him among some Ruins in that Province, and reporting his having sent two mutilated Statues, and two other Stones bearing Inscriptions.

Resolved that the thanks of the Institution be communicated to Mr. Mooyart.

Moon's Botany.

The Secretary presents Copy of Mr. Moon's Botanical work.³³ Resolved that the Secretary do remit the Amount of it.

Potatoes.

Resolved that the principal part of the Potatoes about to be dug up at Fort Macdonald be sent to Colombo.

33. The copy in the Peradeniya Library bears the date of publication in Moon's hand-writing. The writing is unfortunately blurred, but it appears to be June 4th, 1824.

The ballot being ended, Colonel Churchill is declared duly elected.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Saturday the Sixteenth October, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard.

Doctor Farrell.

Captn. Gascoyne.

Inscriptions and Hot Spring at Batticaloa.

The Secretary lays before the Meeting a Letter from Mr. Mooyart with Copies of Inscriptions found in the District of Batticaloa, and a Drawing, and Specimens of the Earth in the vicinity of a hot spring discovered by him.

Onions.

The Secretary also produces a Specimen of Bombay Onions grown from Seed at Fort MacDonald.

The Meeting is adjourned.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Monday the Fifteenth day of November, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard

The Hon'ble Sir Richard Ottley

The Revd. Andrew Armour.

The Revd. J. H. De Saram

C. A. Prins, Esqre.

On this day no business was transacted owing to the absence of the Secretary at Kandy.

At a General Meeting of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society held on Wednesday the Fifteenth December, 1824.

Present.—

The Hon'ble Sir Hardinge Giffard, Knt., L.L.D.

Charles Farrell, Esq., M.D.

William Granville, Esq.

The Reverend Andrew Armour.

Captn. Thomas B. Gascoyne.

Red Ants and Caterpillars.

Sir Hardinge Giffard presents a Paper containing observations on the destruction of Caterpillars by a certain species of Red Ants.

Potatoes.

The Secretary having notified that Lieut. Forbes, 45th Regt. and Lieut. Mylius, Ceylon Regiment, have been relieved at their stations at Maturatta and Fort MacDonalld, It is resolved that the thanks of the Society be communicated to them for the assistance they gave in the formation and culture of the Potato Plantations.

Import of Seeds.

There having been Seven Tin Cases of the last Investment of English Seeds remaining and not likely to be disposed of, the Secretary is desired to make a present of them to Mr. Moon, to dispose of to the best advantage he can.³⁴

Potatoes.

The Secretary reads a Letter from Lieut. Mylius, Ceylon Regiment, dated the 12th November containing an account of the flourishing state in which he was about to give over the Garden at Fort MacDonalld, and it is resolved that the thanks of the Society for this communication be added to the preceding one voted to him at this Meeting.

The Meeting is adjourned.

34. The import of European vegetable seeds was undertaken by the Royal Botanic Gardens when Gardner was superintendent, but met with no greater success, and was abandoned by Thwaites in 1850.



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