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CONTENTS:

PART III.

ARTICLES.

	PAGE
KELANI VIHÁRA AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS (<i>Illustrated</i>). BY H. C. P. BELL AND A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA, MUDALIYAR.	145
KELANIYA IN THE 14TH CENTURY. BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE. ...	162
THE LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SINHALESE KINGDOM. BY THE LATE MR. C. M. FERNANDO, M.A., LL.M.	167
GASPAR DA FIGUEIRA. BY J. P. LEWIS.	174
SOME ELDLINGS AND OTHER EARLY COINS (<i>Illustrated</i>). BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.	178
THE "DHAMMAPADA" AND ITS COMMENTARY (<i>Contd. from Part II.</i>) BY SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA THERA.	180
THE DUTCH IN CEYLON: GLIMPSSES OF THEIR LIFE AND TIMES. BY R. G. ANTHONISZ.	185

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A PSEUDO-ROMAN COIN (<i>Illustrated</i>). BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. ...	202
PLACE NAMES. BY J. P. LEWIS.	203
PARÁKRAMA BÁHU VI. OF KÓTTÉ: DATE OF CORONATION AND DURATION OF REIGN. BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.	204
IS BUDDHISM OPPOSED TO FAITH? BY S. G. P.	206

LITERARY REGISTER.

THE MÁLDIVE ISLANDS, 1602-1607 (<i>Contd. from Part II.</i>) EDITED BY H. C. P. BELL	208
SOME NOTABLE SINHALESE WOMEN IN HISTORY. BY ANNA P. SENAVERATNE	212

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Part III.

KELANI VIHÁRA AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS.

By H. C. P. BELL & A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA, MUDALIYAR.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

THERE is no place in Ceylon, unless it be *Samanta-kúta* ("Adam's Peak"), round which older tradition centres than Kelaniya, situated up the river of that name five miles from Colombo on the west coast. It is referred to in the Buddhist "birth-story," *Valahassa Játaka*; and the existing *Déválé* to Vibhishana still connects it with the classical *Rámáyana* tale of a still more dim past many centuries before the Christian Era.

Later, according to Buddhist legend given in *Ceylon Histories*, this Island was thrice visited by Gautama Buddha; who converted the *Yakkhás* during the first visit, and at the second the *Nágas*.¹

Kelaniya was probably the Capital, as it has since been the chief place for the worship of Vibhisana, grandson of Pulastya, friend of Ráma, the conqueror of Rávana. The *Nágas* of Kelaniya appear to have been the most zealous of Gautama Buddha's followers in Ceylon, and their faith was rewarded by various relics. Gautama is said to have converted the *Nágas*, and settled a dispute between two Chiefs for a throne of gold and gems, which was subsequently offered to him, and is believed to be under the *dágaba* at Kelaniya. This *dágaba* was increased to its present size by Yatthála Tisa, tributary Prince and contemporary of *Dévanampiya Tisa*, about 280 B.C.²

On the occasion of his third visit, the Buddha repaired to Kelaniya at the special invitation of the *Nága* Chief, *Maniakkhika*, whose colossal figure in *messo relievo* dominates the larger shrine of the *Rája-Mahá-Viháraya* at this day.

¹ *Mahavamsa*, (Geiger) I; XV, 161-165, ² Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, I, p. 152.

The *Mahāvansa*³ thus records the episode :—

The Nāga-King Maniakkhika of Kalyāni, mother's brother to the Nāga Māhōdara, who had come thither to take part in the battle, and who, aforetime, at the Buddha's first coming, having heard the true Doctrine preached, had become established in the refuges and in the moral duties, prayed now to the Tathāgata : " Great is the compassion that thou hast shown us here, O Master. Hadst thou not appeared, we had all been consumed to ashes. May thy compassion yet light also especially on me, O thou who art rich in loving-kindness, in that thou shalt come yet again hither to my dwelling-country, O thou peerless one." When the Lord had consented by his silence to come thither, he planted the *rājāyatana*-tree on that very spot as a sacred memorial. * * * In the third year after this, the Nāga-King Maniakkhika sought out the Sambuddha and invited him, together with the brotherhood. In the eighth year after he had attained to Buddhahood, when the Vanquisher was dwelling in Jetavana, the Master set forth surrounded by five hundred Bhikkhus, on the second day of the beautiful month of Vesākha, at the full-moon ; and when the hour of the meal was announced the Vanquisher, Prince of the Wise, forthwith putting on his robe and taking his alms-bowl went to the Kalyāni country, the habitation of Maniakkhika. Under a canopy decked with gems, raised upon the spot where (afterwards) the Kalyāni Chetiya was built, he took his place, together with the brotherhood of Bhikkhus, upon a precious throne-seat. And, greatly rejoicing, the Nāga-King with his following served celestial food, both hard and soft, to the King of Truth, the Conqueror, with his followers.

When the Teacher, compassionate to the whole world, had preached the Doctrine there, he rose, the Master, and left the traces of his footsteps plain to sight on *Sumana-kūta*.

Coming nearer to historical times, the earliest allusion in the Chronicles is of a very romantic nature. It is made conveniently to synchronise with, and account for, some great inroad of the sea, which without doubt once overwhelmed and completely submerged a portion of the western sea-board of Ceylon.

Major Forbes⁴, with fair approximation to the narratives recorded in the *Mahāvansa*⁵ and other histories, thus summarises the story :—

The beautiful Queen of Kelani Tisa, having been seduced by his brother and their intercourse detected he fled to Gampola ; from whence he sent an emissary disguised as a priest. This person was instructed to mix in the crowd of those who went daily with the High Priest to receive their alms ; at which time he might find an opportunity of delivering a letter to the Queen, who always assisted at this ceremony. The letter was full of the misery of the writer, and stated that his affection was undiminished ; but neither the place from whence the letter came, nor the name of the writer was mentioned. The disguised messenger dropped the letter, and the King hearing it fall, seized and read it. The writing convinced him that it was from the High Priest, who was ordered to be thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil ; the Queen was bound, and cast into the river ; the messenger was cut in pieces. It afterwards appeared that the King's brother, having been a pupil of the High Priest, had acquired the art of exactly imitating his writing.

Not long after these events, the sea began to encroach rapidly upon the west and south coasts of Ceylon. The King, believing that it was a judgment against him for the cruel and unjust death of the Priest, determined to sacrifice his virgin daughter, as an offering to the god who controlled the waters. Having secured her in a covered canoe, on which was inscribed her fate and its cause, the canoe was launched into the ocean. The flood still increasing, the King mounted his elephant and proceeded to view the destructive effects of the raging waters ; whilst thus employed the earth opened, and the King disappeared amidst flames which burst from the sinking wreck of his richest provinces. Before the waves ceased to encroach on the land, 640 villages (470 of which were principally inhabited by pearl divers) had been overwhelmed, and the distance between Kelaniya and the sea-coast had been reduced from twenty five to four miles. The canoe in which the young Princess was confined, having been driven towards the south-east of the Island, was discovered and brought to land by some fishermen. This was in the Māgan Pattuwa, at that time a separate kingdom under Kavan Tisa Rāja ; who hearing of the canoe and its mysterious appearance, went to examine it. On perceiving the writing, he released the Princess whom he named " Vihāra Dēvi," and afterwards married.

Vihāra Dēvi became the mother of Dutugemunu, a Prince who restored the Sinhalese power, and expelled the Malabars, to whom Kelani Tisa and Kavan Tisa had been tributaries.

Strangely, no further mention of Kelaniya occurs in the *Mahāvansa* (with one very minor exception)⁶ for a thousand years, save the construction there of an Upōsatha Hall by Kanittha Tisa (A. C. 165-193).⁷

³ *Mahāvansa*, I, 63-67, 71-77. ⁴ Forbes, *loc. cit.*, pp. 154-6. *Mahāvansa*, XXII, 13-22.

⁶ In Dutthagāmani's reign "Kalyānika Vihāra" was occupied by 500 Bhikkhus.—*Mahāvansa*, XXXII, 51.

⁷ *Mahāvansa*, XXXVI, 17.

Indeed, but for three casual references to the place, two in connection with military events,—first in the reign of Jaya Báhu I, (accession, *circa* A.C. 1120), when Vikrama Báhu pursued Mánabharana and his brothers thither from the Pasdun Kóralé, and, again, during Parákrama Báhu the Great's civil war, as a recruiting base for continued operations, ⁸—and the third its inclusion among the chief places visited on tour by Nissanka Malla ⁹ the veil remains drawn over Kelaniya till mid 13th century.

Kelaniya had probably not escaped the wide-spread pillage of Ceylon towns, when in that century the hordes of Kálinga Mágha, "wicked disturbers of the peace of mankind, stalked about the land hither and thither" ravaging by every form of "frightfulness," the Kingdom of Lanká, "even as a fire doth a forest." "They broke down the image-houses," says the Chronicle, "and destroyed Chetiyas; they took up their dwellings in the Viháras, beat the pious laymen therein; and sorely distressed the five ranks (male and female) of the religious orders."¹⁰

It was upon the ashes of this destruction that the Kelani Viháraya gradually rose under Vijaya Báhu III. (A.C. 1236), and his even more famous son, Parákrama Báhu II. (A.C. 1240), till it reached the zenith of its glory in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. (A.C. 1415-67), two centuries later.

Vijaya Báhu III. found the Vihára shrines in ruins, and commenced their renewal:—

At the Kalyáni Vihára also the King (Vijaya Báhu III.) renewed the Great Cetiya which the mighty men of the Tamils had destroyed, and set a golden pinnacle on it, and built a gate also on the eastern side thereof. He also repaired the breaches in the image-house and the rampart and all the other buildings that stood there. ¹¹

Parákrama Báhu II continued his father's good work, adding to the buildings and making liberal offerings to the Temple:—

And he (Parákrama Báhu II) made great repairs to the decayed Temple of five stories, that was built aforetime by King Yatthála Tisa in the excellent city of Kalyáni; and he finished it with plaster-work and restored it to its former state. He also repaired in the selfsame City, the house wherein the image of the King of Sages lay, and also the image-house called the *Tivanka*. There also the lord of the land levelled the square courtyard of the great Cetiya, and paved it in proper order with broad stones. Moreover he constructed in proper manner a large open hall in front thereof. And after this the lord of the land, with great devotion made offerings of flowers, lamps, and food at the feasts that were held by him in honour of the Bódhi, the Cetiya, and the Supreme Buddha—offerings of no common order, many in number and pleasing to the people—and obtained merit (thereby).

Furthermore, the King caused a beautiful grove of cocoanuts to be planted in his name, nigh unto the Viharé, and dedicated it thereto, that so a feast of lamps might be held in the Viharé daily. ¹²

Of "the sacred city of Kelaniya," as it existed at the close of the 14th century, the *Nikáya Sangrahava* ¹³ has preserved for us this striking picture:—

Nobly the city of Kalyáni shines forth, with its houses, Bó-trees, grand promenades and pavilions, (with its) city walls, halls, image-houses, relic shrines, attractive bazaars, gates and porticoes most handsome,—(a city) surrounded by ramparts like unto the Sakvala rocks, possessing palatial buildings in ranges, which rival the Kailása rock in plastered whiteness, of one storey, two, three, and five stories, &c.,—beautiful in its walks, its pillars, and its stairways, ornamented with varied paintings,—(a city) resplendent with Viháras, ornate in courtyards containing relic shrines, Bó-trees, image-houses, ambulatories, spacious halls, and lines of gates,—(a city), furthermore, marked by a network of broad streets thronged with men of many climes—(a city, in brief), which abounds in all kinds of wealth.

How its many and beautiful shrines appealed to the poets in the halcyon days of Parákrama Báhu VI. of Kótté, may be read in the *Vritta Máláwa*, the *Selalihini Sandésaya*, and other poems of the period.

⁸ *Mahāvansa*, LXI, 35, 39; LXXII, 184. ⁹ Inscriptions at Polonnaruwa. ¹⁰ *Mahāvansa*, LXXX, 60-69. ¹¹ *Mahāvansa*, LXXXI, 59. ¹² *Mahāvansa*, LXXXV, 64-70. ¹³ *Nikáya Sangrahava*, 1908, p. 52.

That the like prosperity still followed this, the chief Buddhist Temple in the low country of Ceylon, into the succeeding century the *Raja-Maha-Kelani Viháraya* Inscription of A.D. 1527 fully bears out.

To their lasting dishonour, it was left to the Portuguese, before the close of the same century, first to confiscate its revenues, and twenty years later to destroy ruthlessly this Vihára—one of Ceylon's choicest Temples, hoary in its old-time fame.

With the enthusiasm of the new convert Dharmmapála (in 1555) transferred to the Franciscans the *Rája Mahá* and *Kit Siri Méwan*, Temples, which face each other across the river at Kelaniya; with the *Daladá Máligáwa*, and the incomes of all the Temples in the Island, including the fields, gardens, rents and services which had been dedicated to their use, for the maintenance of the Colleges which they proposed to found in the country. St. Anna in the *Orta* of Kelaniya, and St. Bartholomew on the southern bank, at the site of the *Pas Mahal Paya* where Bhuwaneka Báhu (VII) was murdered (in 1551), were the speedy fruit of the new Sannas of the King.¹⁴

In 1575 the Captain of Colombo, Diogo de Melo, after capturing Wattala from Rája Sinha I's forces, and defeating his elder brother Mahá Rajjuru Bandára at Kaduvela, turned on the General Vikramasinha encamped at Kelaniya, and "succeeded in burning his deserted encampment and destroying the great Temple, in spite of the resistance of the villagers, who rallied in defence of the sacred shrine, several of them being driven into the river and drowned."¹⁵

For a hundred years no serious attempt seems to have been made by the Sinhalese to re-occupy the Kelani Viháraya. The war with the Portuguese, in which the Hollanders, striving for their own hand, played much part in the first half of the 17th century, rendered this impossible. But the Dutch had barely settled down, after ousting their European rivals, before their policy of establishing Christian Schools and Churches among the natives on the sea-board encountered serious opposition, notably at Kelaniya.

A lively dispute between the Clergy and local Government arose thereanent.¹⁶ In 1689 The Ceylon Dutch Consistory wrote in to the Representatives of the United East India Company:—

The Portuguese, the late occupants of the country, destroyed the *dágabas* and heathen edifices, and did not tolerate the public exercises of devil-worship. We also issued in 1682 strict *Placaats* against all such ceremonies, and inflicted heavy penalties. Heathenism, which for the last years had lost its influence to a great extent, so that many left it for Christianity, has of late begun wonderfully to bestir itself through the agitations of certain ill-disposed persons, who, not content with their present improved state, have, not only by ingratiating themselves with the new King of Kandy (Vimala Dharmma Súryaya II) and his courtiers, been seeking to be absolved from the existing orders and regulations respecting schools, but have also effected a demand from the Court of Kandy for the re-erection of *dágabas* in the lower provinces, and the restoration of the lands, whose revenues formerly supported the *dágabas* and their priests; and consequently for the revival of idolatry. If this be conceded, the orders respecting native churches and schools can no more be enforced, and defection from Christianity will be on the increase.

With the hope of checking the public exercise of what the Dutch termed "heathenism," "the Clergy had applied to the Civil Power for permission to convert a certain site which stood a short distance from the foot of the hill of *Calany* (Kelaniya), where the ruins of an ancient and renounced *dágaba* existed, into a Christian school." They requested the Representatives to aid them "in the contest between the Kingdom of Darkness and of Light, that the cause of God might prevail over the cause of the Devil," by enforcing the application of the *Placaats* of 1682 against the public exercise of "heathen ceremonies" at Kelaniya:—

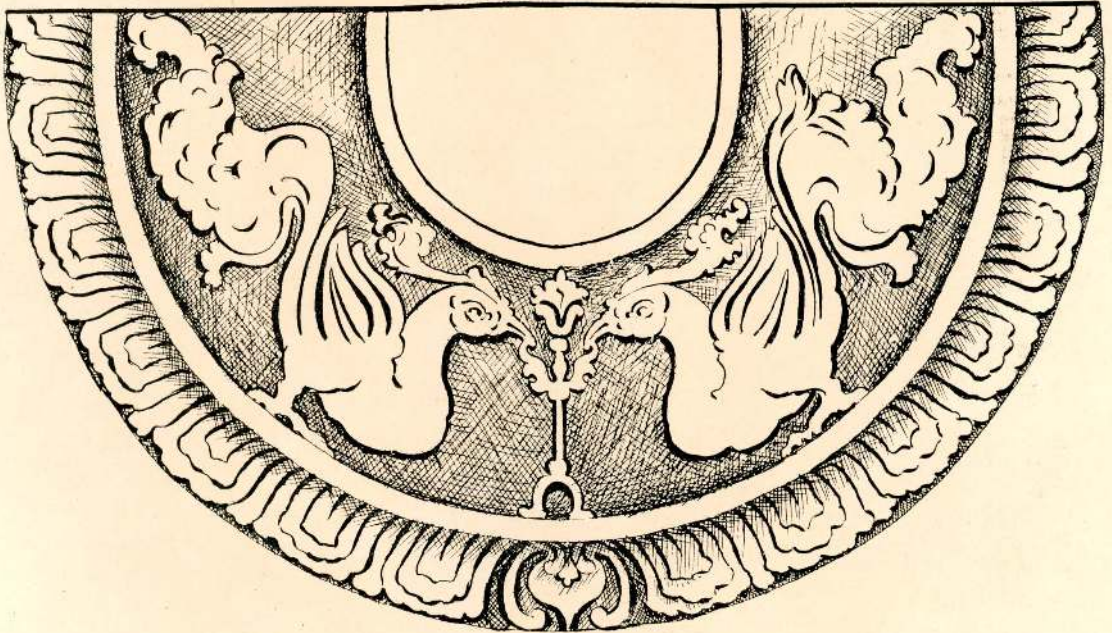
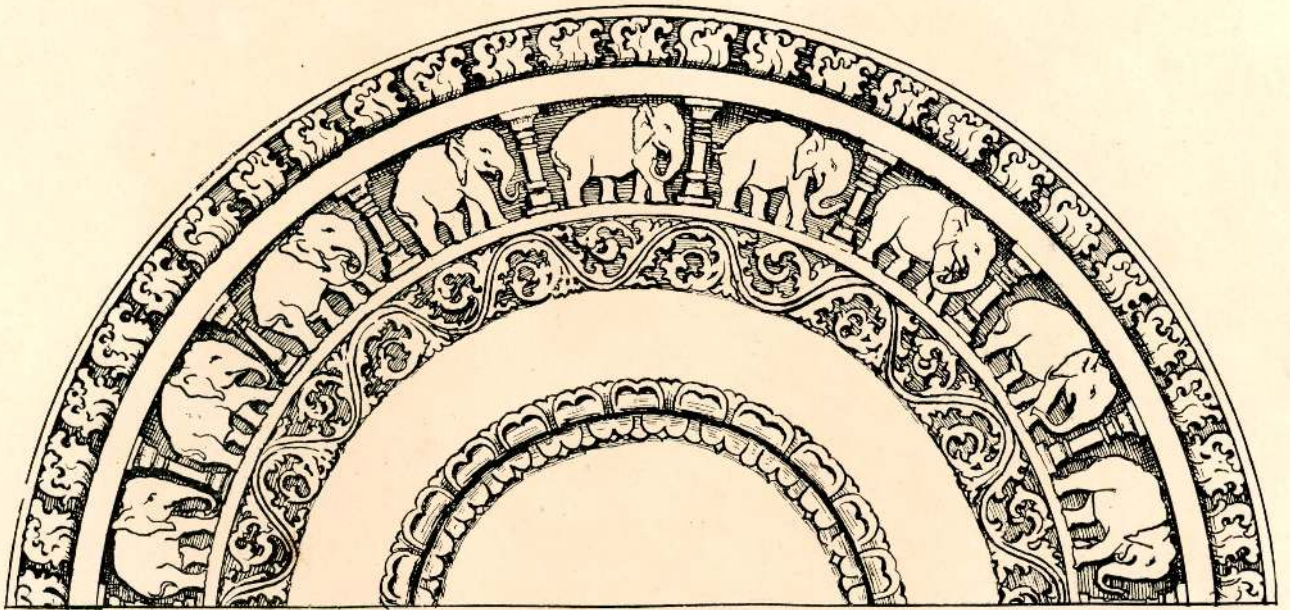
14 Pieris, *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era*, I, 140.

15 "The bank of the river at Pallemulla, a few yards from the existing temple, is studded with granite remains of the ancient buildings," Pieris, *loc. cit.* I, 196-7, 521.

16 Journal, C.A.S. 1847-48, pp. 30-34.

RAJA-MAHA-KELANI VIHARE.

PLATE VII.



MOONSTONES.

*D. A. L. Perera
del.*

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What would the prohibition in other places avail, if *Calany*, which was the seat of Buddhism in the Company's territories, and that in the vicinity of Colombo, were allowed freely to exercise its superstitions, under the immediate eye, as it were, of Government. Heathenism would continue in full force; the people would remain Buddhists; the priests would pervade the land, and practise their worship in defiance of the Clergy.

The local Government were disinclined to taboo Kelaniya lest it should displease the Court of Kandy, and especially a certain *Ganebandaar* (Gane-bandára),¹⁷ and thus prevent the establishing of permanent peace with the Kandyan King, or at least weaken the existing Treaty which was about to be renewed. They were of opinion that natives who professed "heathenism" should not be forbidden the exercise of their religion; but only Christians prevented taking a part therein, and punished when detected.

Contra the Clergy urged that if Kelaniya was allowed to be "the throne of Heathenism" the evil would spread, and "vain would be all preventive measures;" that it was impracticable to discover among the concourse of pilgrims to Kelaniya those who professed Christianity; that its prevention was impossible in individual cases, and should be universally enforced throughout the Company's territories; that it was doubtful whether the professed wish to rehabilitate Kelaniya originated in the Kandyan Court, and whether prohibition would affect the Peace or weaken the Treaty—the whole matter being "only the pretence of the *Bandaar*, and the instigation of the lower-provinces."

The Dutch East India Company supported, in 1692, the appeal of the Clergy that no "heathen" practices should be allowed in the neighbourhood of Kelaniya. Accordingly the Clergy "opened an establishment there", and ordered the Buddhist priests to depart.¹⁸

Of the ruined Temple little then remained:—

At the hill (Kelaniya) there are still a few insignificant remains of one of the most renowned and frequented *dágabas* in the Island, to the honour of Buddha named Goutama, the God of this world, whom they call *Callioegoe* and reckon the fourth. Of his doctrine and religion, though much pains have been taken, we cannot obtain certain and satisfactory information.¹⁹

This action naturally led to occasional trouble with Buddhist monks hankering after the right to worship at Kelaniya. Thus in 1699 a genuine, or *soi-disant*, priest (*ek sanghayávuhanse kenek*) tried to get to "Kelaniya which is not more than a *gawwa* from Colombo." His advent much exercised the mind of the Dutch Governor (Gerrit de Heere), who appointed two officials to investigate the priest's professed objects. As his belongings were limited to a *dhátu karanduwa* (casket of relics), palanquin, three white flags, sun shade, and fan (*watápota*), with escort of four drummers, and as he had no letter of authority, the priest's credentials were mistrusted; but orders were finally given "for this occasion alone" to put "no obstacle whatever" in the way of "that person" carrying out his desire (*me mosamatu pamanak yam tahanamak netuvoe kiyana ayage kemeti karaganna setiyata*).²⁰

17 *Ganebandára*.—His duties were apparently as much lay as clerical, and permitted of the holder undertaking secular duties on occasions. Thus Kobbekaduwe Ganebandára Hámuduruwo, Náyaka of the Poya Malu Viháraya at Kandy, and a Basnýaka Nilame, was also *Disáwa* of Puttalam about A. C. 1740. Thereby hangs a quaint tale, *ben trovato* at least. Once, prior to his appointment to the *Disápatikama*, as the Ganebandára was writing some report to be submitted to the King, he heard a Temple *abittayá* say: "Lunu ne," "There is no salt (for the daily meal)"—a statement that the Náyaka unconsciously inserted in his report. His Majesty on reading the words, bethinking himself of the *máris* incident which traditionally led to the erection by King Dutugemunu of Mirisavetiya *Dágaba* at Anurádhapura, and deeming the statement a just reflection on his piety, immediately appointed Kobbekaduwa to the charge of Puttalam with its profitable salt-pans

18 Journal, C. A. S. 1847-48, p. 73.

19 *Loc. cit.*, p. 38. The *Kálí-yuga* (Era) is confused with the Buddha himself.

20 Letter from Gerrit de Heere to the Kandyan Court, 1699 (*Dutch Records*, Colombo).

In time Churches and Schools fostered by the Dutch nominally increased. But even forty years later (1730) the low ebb to which Christianity in the Island had sunk is thus deplored :—

Heathenism had revived among nominal Christians ; temples and sanctuaries for images exceeded in number the churches and schools which had often to be closed on account of Buddhist priests who had settled almost in every village, to destroy what had been built up with much care, and who were more esteemed than the Clergyman. In the Colombo District the outlook was somewhat less dark : there was at least no public manifestation of Heathenism.²¹

But in 1749 there were only two ministers at Colombo and one at Jaffna : Galle had been destitute for three years. The Roman Catholics were steadily forging ahead, particularly in the Negombo District ; where, within ten years, they grew so insistent as to create a serious disturbance, which had to be put down with a firm hand by a military force.²¹

This pronounced friction between the rival Christian denominations inevitably heartened Buddhism, and paved the way for the resuscitation of its worship at sacred sites long abandoned on compulsion.

An incident, recalling that of 1699, occurred in 1750. A "Chief Priest," supported by Kandyan Officials, by suddenly descending upon the Dutch from the hill-country with a large following, tried to gain a permanent footing at Kelani Temple. The Dutch refused to believe the plea of sickness put forward as excuse : the attempt failed.

The Dissawe of the Three and Four Corles informed the Governor by *ola* that His Majesty had thought fit to send down with him a sick Chief Priest, who wished to put himself under the treatment of the Dutch doctors at Colombo. The said Chief Priest shortly after came down quite unexpectedly through the Hina Corle, accompanied by 32 inferior priests and a considerable escort of lascoreens, standard bearers, and drummers, with music and flags, and took up his abode with the (Kandyan) Ambassadors present at that time at Colombo. He requested that suitable accommodation might be provided for him and his retinue at *Calanie*, as he had chosen that place for his residence.

This request was, however, refused, under the pretext that the inhabitants of that place might perhaps treat this priest with disrespect. He was given, instead, a convenient residence on the road to the *Pas*, as we apprehended difficulties in getting him away when once settled at *Calanie*; for at that place there was a heathen *pagoda*, and the Holland doctors had given their unanimous opinion that the Chief Priest was in perfect health, and was only simulating illness.²²

In what circumstances exactly the Kelani Viháraya was once more enabled to secure, later in the 18th century, a renewed lease of life under Atthadassi Unnánse of Dehigaspé, a pupil of the great *Sangha Rája* Velivita Pindapátika Saranankara, remains uncertain. That the Dutch probably showed special consideration to this ancient Temple is borne out by the *sannasa* granted in 1780 by Kirtti Sri Rája Sinha, King of Kandy, to Buddha-rakkhita Unnánse²³, pupil of Atthadassi, implying at least a tacit understanding between that King and the Dutch that the Temple would not be molested.

Since the advent of the English the Kelani Viháraya, assured of full toleration, has, under the *sishya paramparáva* succession of six or seven incumbents,²⁴ steadily thriven and reassumed its recognised position as the most important Buddhist shrine in the Maritime Districts of the Island, though for ever bereft of virtually all its pristine architectural beauty. *Ichabod* is everywhere written large at Kelaniya.

21 Journal, C. A. S. 1847-48, pp. 52, 63, 66.

22 *Beknopte Historie* (Journal C. A. S., 1889, Vol. XI No. 33, p. 130).

23 *Kalyán Vihára Varnanáva*, 1890, pp. 15, 16. See *infra* p. 161.

24 (1) Mápítigama Buddha-rakkhita, (2) Mápítigama Dhamma-rakkhita, (3) Mápítigama Sangha-rakkhita, (4) Dompé Buddha-rakkhita, (5) Mápítigama Dhamma-rakkhita (Nos. 4 & 5 pupils of No. 3), (6) Mápítigama Sangha-rakkhita (7) Mápítigama Buddha-rakkhita (present incumbent), with (8) Dhamma-rakkhita (pupil of No. 7).

RAJA-MAHA-KELANI VIHARAYA.

At the present day the *Raja-Maha-Vihāraya*²⁵ at Kelaniya is reached by a short approach from the driving road.

Two staircases footed by ancient "moonstones"²⁶ lead on to the raised ground of the sacred precincts. Here the Dāgaba—whose lines compare poorly with the like shrines at Anurādhapura—faces the observer on the right; the Bó-tree *maluwa* on the left; with the painfully modern *Pilima-gé*, or *Vihāraya* situated between, but unduly jostling the Dāgaba, directly opposite the stairways (Plate VI). The *Pansala* and *Upósatha-gé* lie to the left; and are approachable under shelter by a roofed passage-way open to the air on its inner face—a make-shift cloister made bright by lighted lamps during special festivals, and hence styled *Pān-gé*.

The modern Vihāraya (image-house) consists of two lofty, oblong rooms—outer and inner shrines—with a verandah mounted from *sanda-kada-pahan* (semi-circular slab steps).²⁶ The sanctum with the sacred images is only accessible from the vestibule chamber.

The salient feature of this vestibule is the colossal statue, in bold relief, of the Nāga King, Maniakkhika, resting his back against the middle of the right wall, with two figures of Nāga *Kanyāvas* painted on the wall to either side; the three being flanked, beyond the pair of inner door-ways, by *Doratu-pālayó*, warders, also of superhuman size and in similar relief.

The greater portion of the walls is taken up with panoramic delineations of well-known *Jātakas* (Vessantara, Dahamsonda, Sachchankira, Maha Silava, Telapatta, Maha Kanha, Dharmma-pāla, Devadharmma, Sāma), the *Nava-grahayó* (planetary gods), and the Zodiacal signs.

The front wall shows, in addition, Maniakkhika seated with the Rahats after their arrival through the air; below at one end are silhouette figures of the first three High Priests of the present Kelaniya succession, Buddha-rakkhita, Dhamma-rakkhita, and Sangha-rakkhita. Similarly, on the opposite, or further, wall are portrayed the two Kings Yatthāla Tisa and Kelani Tisa; and, high up, the *Sat Satiya*, or first Seven Weeks of Gautama's Buddhahood. On the left wall are also displayed the *Solos-masthāna* (Sixteen Sacred Shrines) and *Māra Yuddha* (attack of Māra Demons upon the Buddha.)

Passing into the long, but narrowed, inner shrine, the long stretch of the wall at back is seen to be lined with images²⁷—in the middle the *Seta-pilimaya*, or prone figure of the Buddha "of 18 cubits"; at his head are ranged two *ot-pilima*, or sedent Buddhas (one "the old *Samapatti* stone image"), and two *hiti-pilima* (erect Buddhas) of wood. Beyond the feet of the *Seta-pilimaya* stand gigantic statues of Nátha, Vishnu, and Kanda-Kumāra (Kārtikéya); above is painted the *Su-visi Vivaranaya*, or Twenty-four Approbations accorded to the Buddha.

²⁵ For fuller particulars see that useful little "guide-book" the *Kalyāni Vihāra Varnanāva*, 1890; where the main authorities regarding the Kelaniya Temple are quoted, as well as a version of the Inscription No 2. of Parākrama Bāhu (IX), and the *sannasa* of 1780. A.D.

²⁶ There are six "moonstones" in all, progressively increasing in number from one to three at the successive stairs up to the Vihāraya. All but two are plain, or bear simple lotus on their surface. Of the two figured in Plate VII, the lower (6ft. 3in. by 3ft. 5in.) is at the second flight of steps. The design is very unusual—perhaps unique. Outside a plain middled lotus, separated by a narrow fillet, two peacocks with conventionalised tails pluck, from either side, at a flower like a honey-suckle in a straight stem holder; beyond is a border of *pala-peti* (water-leaf) fringing the semicircular slab.

The other, and larger, moonstone step (7ft. 2in. by 3ft. 4in.) shown on the Plate is the third to right at the Vihāraya verandah. Its motive is of the well-known Anurādhapura type, viz., raised central lotus, surrounded by concentric belts of floriated scroll-pattern and animals. But in lieu of the procession of Elephants, Horses, Bulls, and Lions in one band, here is only a single row of Elephants (9), between ornamental pilasters of spreading plinth and capital—a further devotion from the Polonnaruwa design of successive semicircular bands for the two (or occasionally three) animals found on the *sanda-kada pahan*. The Elephants are separated by a broad fillet from the fringing "cobra-leafy border": between the scroll band and the lotus all is bare.

²⁷ No Buddhist pilgrim would ever venture so much as to touch lightly these sacrosanct images of the Buddha and the dread gods who share his shrine—the more impressive and fearsome from the awe evoked by the silent colossi half discerned in the "dim religious light" of the sanctum. Yet here at Kelani Vihāra (and elsewhere) the illadvised Temple authorities have done their best to dispel all sense of innate reverence by casing in the images in glass, as though, for sooth, they were just "lay figures" in a modern shop-front window!

The wall opposite the recumbent Buddha bears, at one end, coloured representations of Hanuman, Gana Deviyó, and Mahésvara; at the other end, Saman and Vibhishana; with the *Satara-waram Deviyó*, or Four Guardian gods, between the doorways.

KIT-SIRI-MEWAN-KELANI VIHARAYA.

The *Kit-Siri-Mewan Viháraya*²⁸ at Kelani-mulla is accessible either by crossing the Kelani-ganga from the *Raja-Maha-Viháraya* and carriage road on the right bank, or by a cart track off the road from Colombo, which runs through Sédawatta, not far from the river's left bank.

The modern temple is unimpressive. It comprises within a limited enclosure only a *dágaba*²⁹ and small *viháraya*, with a humble *pansala* adjoining. Except a *sri-patul-gala*, or altar slab (about 2ft. square) bearing conventionalised impressions of the Buddha's feet surface-carved in low relief, and an *adona* (or *pádona*) *gala* (rough hand, or foot, basin of granite) there is nothing left of the old carved stone-work within the Temple premises. A few stone pillars are said to be lying half buried in a neighbouring garden.³⁰

INSCRIPTIONS.

There are in all four inscriptions at the two Kelani Viháras.

Of these the oldest by nearly a hundred years is the slab (No. 1) now lying at the minor Viháraya, *Kit-Siri-Mewan*, located not far from the left bank of the Kelani-ganga, in Kelani-mulla. On its face the record bears the date A.B. 1887 (A.C. 1343-44); but would seem to have been engraved a century later.

The next inscription in age (No. 2) is carved on the shattered, but rebuilt, slab standing in the premises of the *Raja-Maha-Viháraya*, the chief Temple at Kelaniya of the present day, near the right bank of the river. It is dated in the month Navam, the 19th (regnal) year of a king called Parákrama Báhu (IX.), which works out to A.C. 1527, February-March.

One (No. 4) of the other two stone inscriptions—both also at *Raja-Maha-Viháraya*—affords intrinsic historical evidence of having been cut after the English conquest, or later than the year of the 18th century (A.C. 1779), in which it professes to be inscribed.

A taint of similar "faking" naturally attaches to the connected record (No. 3), made to date a few years still earlier (A.C. 1767.)

INSCRIPTION, No. 1.

(KIT-SIRI-MEWAN-KELANI VIHARAYA.)

The inscribed slab (broken off close to where it was sunk into the ground) lies inside the enclosure wall near the *Kit-Siri-Mewan Viháraya*—the upper part, raised at its head, resting on the bottom portion.

The stone (Plate VIII.), which was roughly dressed, measures 6 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 10 in., with an average thickness of 7 inches; its top edges are slightly rounded, as in the case of the larger stone (Inscription No. 2, Plate IX.) at the *Raja-Maha-Viháraya*. On to the front face (A) were crowded as many as 51 lines of writing; 15 more lines of imprecation are given on (B) the right-hand side of the slab, accompanied by *sun* and *moon* emblems and figures of *crow* and *dog*. The engraving is rough, and no ruling separates line from line; but the inscription is still legible nearly throughout.

In its dating the record displays, on its face, aggravating inconsistency. It is not possible to reconcile the professed year given on the stone, viz., B.V. 1887 (A.C. 1343-4), either with its smaller form of script, that of the 15th century, or with the reference in the text to the tenth

²⁸ *Kit-Siri-Mewan Kelani Vihára* is referred to in the *Seláthini Sandésaya* (verses 40, 41):—"At e'en enter (the Buddhist temple) *Kit-Siri-Me* adore the *Dágaba*, great *Bó*, and Image there."

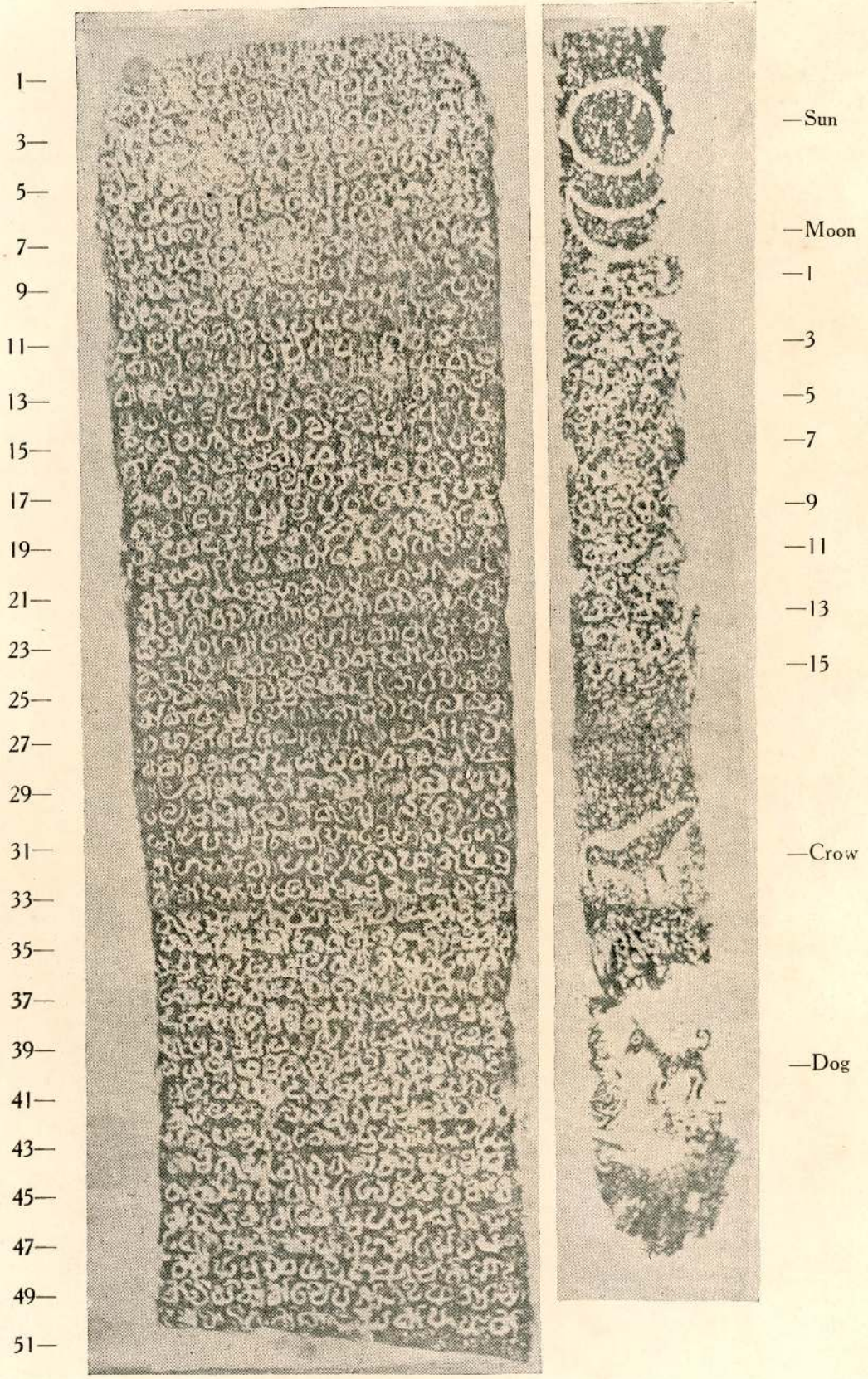
²⁹ Traditionally believed to be the *Sivuru Dágaba* specified in Inscription No. 2.

³⁰ A *Chammuka Dévalé* is said to have once formed one of the shrines of *Kit-Siri-Mewan* Temple. *Chammuka* "six-faced, an epithet of *Kartikeya* or *Kandaswámi*."

KIT-SIRI-MEVAN-KELANI VIHARE.

PLATE VIII.

INSCRIPTION, No. 1.



Alagakkonára; or, finally, with the name of the Hierarch who carried out the repairs, &c., for the benefit of the Temple. All known inscriptions of the middle 14th century are cut in bold letters of a somewhat archaic script.³¹ Moreover in A.C. 1343-4 Nissanka Alakésvara, or Alagakkonára, had not risen to greatness,—was but starting on his subsequent brilliant career as Prime Minister to successive Kings; and it is he who is referred to in the inscription as the first member of the family.³² There is no definite mention of any Vilgammula Maha Himi in the 14th century: the Mahá Thera of that name, with his nephew Gatára, Vídágama, Sri Ráhula, Wanaratana and others of that famous galaxy of monks, flourished during the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI.³³ Lastly, the style conforms to that of recognised inscriptions of Parákrama Báhu VI.

It seems certain, therefore, that this inscription must have been ante-dated—and quite probably by exactly a century,—the stone mason through inadvertence substituting *ata* for *nava* when engraving the date of the Buddhist Era. Read as B.V. 1987 (equivalent to A.C. 1443-4) the record would present little or no difficulty. The character is suitable; the tenth successive member of the Alagakkonára ilk in name (not generation) might well have been alive; and Gatára Unnáse then in residence at Kelaniya.

TEXT.

A.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ශ්‍රී බුඛ වජ්‍රී එක්වා දහස් 2. අට සිය සතාසු හවුරුද්දක් 3. ගිය කල ශ්‍රීමත් ගහනලා කල 4. මබව උන් පරපුරෙන් පැවිණි ශ්‍රී 5. වන්ත විල්ගම්මුල මා ගිමිසො 6. කිත් සිඳි මෙ රජසෙ පටන් ගත් පර 7. මිපරාවෙන් හා බක්කු පරම්පරාවෙන් 8. දස පරම්පරාවක් එක් සන්තතියෙ 9. පැවත ආ කිත් සිඳි මෙවන් කැලැණි 10. විහාරසෙ පිළිමගෙය පස උඵ වා 11. සල් තුන් මඛපය දැගැබ් බොධි 12. කොටු දෙක පවුරු [. . . .] 13. රුණුයෙ නිණ ගෙවල් පස ඇතුළු 14. වූ සියලු රජාස කම්මාන්ත කුග 15. ලය විසිඳව වම්පරපුරෙන් පැ 16. මිණි නිස්සංක අලගක්කො 17. හාර නම් අමානෙතනමයා 18. ණන්ගේ පරම්පරාවෙන් පැව 19. ත ආ දසවනි අලගක්කො 20. හාර නම් අමාන්තෝත්තමිය 21. න් උපසඵමහ කරවා ගෙනැ මුල ප 22. වන් කරවන්තා සේ කරවා මහ බො 23. ගිත්වහන්සේගේ කොත් දසතු 24. තක් පැලැඳු වච කුලක් සන්මහ 25. බොධි කොටුව මුල පටන් කරවා නම් | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 26. න් කැරැවු බොධි කොටුව හා බොධින් 27. වහන්සෙ බොහො කලක් පැවැ 28. ත්ත මනා වේදිසි සිතා රාජ දන්තයෙ 29. න් ලත් මැඤ පාණ්ඩුන්තේ බද පො 30. ලොන්තාවෙන් කුඹුරු බිඳුවට දෙ 31. යාල පසමුණක් හා මෙහි බද ගෙව 32. තු ගස කොල වල් පිට ඇතුළුවූ 33. තැන් හා පොලොන්තා මුඤ දෙවා ඇ 34. තුළුව ගැනු පිරිමි නිලයෙන් මිනිස් 35. පසලොසක් හා රාත්‍රි බණ කීමෙන් රා 36. ජ පුසාදයෙන් ලත් මිනිසුන්ගෙන් 37. කොත්තනි දෙවා වේදන් රකා බො 38. ද ඇතුළුව මිනිස් පසලොසක් ඇ 39. තුළුව මිනිස්නිල නිසක් හා මෙකි 40. සියලු ගම් කුඹුරු මිනිසුන් ආදි 41. වූ දෙය පන්දසක් අවුරුදු පවති 42. නා ලෙස බොධින්වහන්සේට ඉර 43. සඤ පවුණු කොටා පුදවා වදලසෙ 44. ක මතු ඇතිවන බක්කු පරම්ප 45. රාවෙ ගනාඤ පිඳිවෙන් සිටි නැන 46. න් විසිනුත් සෙසු උභයවාස 47. යෙ මහ සංඝයාවහන්සේ විසිනු 48. න් රජ යුවරජ මහ ඇමති ආදි 49. න් විසිනුත් මෙ පින්කම අනුමො 50. දන්වා පිරාක් කාලයක් පැවැත් 51. විය යුතු |
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31 Lithic records of this century occur at Gadalađeniya, Lankátílaka, Hapugastenna, Kalagomuwa, and Gampola.
 32 For particulars of Alakésvara Pratrírāja, see *Nikāya Saṅgrahava*, *Saddharmma Ratnākara*, *Mahāvansa*. He was greatly in evidence during the reign of Bhuvanaika Báhu IV., Parákrama Báhu V., Vikrama Báhu III. and Bhuvanaika Báhu V.
 33 *Vilgammula Maha Himi*: Vilgam-mula (Sinhalese), the village where the Thera was born, is identical with Sarasingama-mūla (Páli). The *Tisara Sandésaya* mentions a Vilgama (Kegalla District). *Maha Himi* was a term for the *Saṅgha-rāja* or Hierarch. The Mahá Himi of the inscription may be identified with Vilgammula Mahá Thera of the colophon to the Sinhalese paraphrase of *Súrya-Satakaya*, which appears to have been written in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., of Kotte. *Gatára*, second Sthavira, composed the *Vutta-māla-Sandésa Sataka*.

B.

1. මෙ කුසල	6. ම එක් සි	11. රු සතු
2. යට අටු	7. ය සනිස්	12. න්ගෙන්
3. ලක් කල	8. නරකයෙ	13. පටුත්
4. කෙනෙක්	9. න් . . .	14. ගන්නා
5. ඇත් න	10. . . . මු	15. ග.

Translation.

When one thousand eight hundred and eighty seven (1887) years of the illustrious Buddhist Era had elapsed, the celebrated **Vilgam-mula Maha Himi** (Hierarch), a descendant of the lineage which dwelt at *Gangatala Kalambava*,³⁴—with the patronage solicited and received from the noble wife of the Minister **Alagakkonara**, the tenth in succession of the lineage of the great **Nissanka Alagakkonara**, a descendant of the distinguished *Vanchi* race—, caused the execution of the meritorious work of effecting thoroughly (*lit.* from the foundation) all (needed) repairs to the **Kit Siri Mewan Kelani Viharaya**—which was maintained continuously for ten generations of the lineage which originated with King **Kit Siri Me** (*Kirtti Sri Mēgha Varna*) and that of his relations—including the three-tiled pavilions at the gates by the side of the image-house, *dāgabas*, two enclosing walls of the *Bó*-tree, the parapet wall and the five leaf-thatched houses.

Having had built from the foundation the seven walls round the great *Bó*-tree with the new edifice adorned with thirteen spires, and deeming it well if the *Bó*-tree enclosure built in his name, and the *Bó*-tree, do last for a long time, he caused the donation to be made to the *Bó*-tree to last for five thousand years, engraving (on this stone figures of) Sun and Moon in token thereof, (*viz.*) a field of the sowing extent of two *yālas* and five *amunas* from *Polonnāva*³⁵ appertaining to *Menda Pānabunna*,³⁶ with houses, gardens, plantations, jungle, and meadow appertaining thereto, which were received as a donation from the King; (besides) fifteen men out of the officers, men and women, including *Polonnā*, and *Munda-devā*, and fifteen men out of the men received as Royal favour for preaching *bana* (Buddhist scriptures) at night, including *Kottani devi-vedan*, *Rakā*, and *Bodā*, making a total of thirty male officers,—all these said lands, fields, men, and other items.

It is proper that the merits of this act be participated in by the monks living in **Gatare Pirivena**, descendant relatives (of the donor), by other monks of the two fraternities (as well as) by Kings, Crown Princes, Chief Ministers and the like (officers) to come, and that (the Temple) be maintained for a long time.³⁷

If any one harms this work of merit he will descend to the one hundred and thirty six (136) hells,³⁸ and suffer the sin of the who killed animals.³⁹

34 *Gangatala Kalamba* (or *Kadamba*): If the reading "*Kalamba*" is correct (only the second letter is at all doubtful) it may not perhaps be extravagant to explain the words as meaning "at the harbour town (*Kalamba*) situated on the Kelani River (*ganga*) flats (*talāva*)." Ibn Batuta gives "*Kalamba*" as the name of the Port in A.D. 1344; and *Gangatala Kalamba* may have been included in the particular quarter of the 14th century settlement of Colombo (Pieris, *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era*, I. 490 (28), called by Portuguese writers "*Mapane*" (*Maha ponnai* or *pitiya*), "the Great Plain, which extends from the heights of Colombo Fort across Kollupitiya, Bambalapitiya, Wellawatta and Dehiwala, up to the rising ground of Mount Lavinia by the small bay of Galkissa."

35 *Polonnāva*: Probably the original form of *Kolonnāva*, now part of Maradana, Colombo.

36 *Pānabunna*: This division (*rata*) is mentioned in a *Kadayim-pota* just before *Kelani Degam-boda rata* said to contain the Kelaniya Temple, the Vibhishana Dēvalé and the abode of the Nāgas. "It was called *Pānabunna*," says the *Kadayim-Pota*, "because at a time when the King of Ceylon was engaged in making a religious offering of lights (*Pān puja*) the Tamils destroyed (*bun*,) the lamps (*pān*), but were afterwards defeated by the Sinhalese."

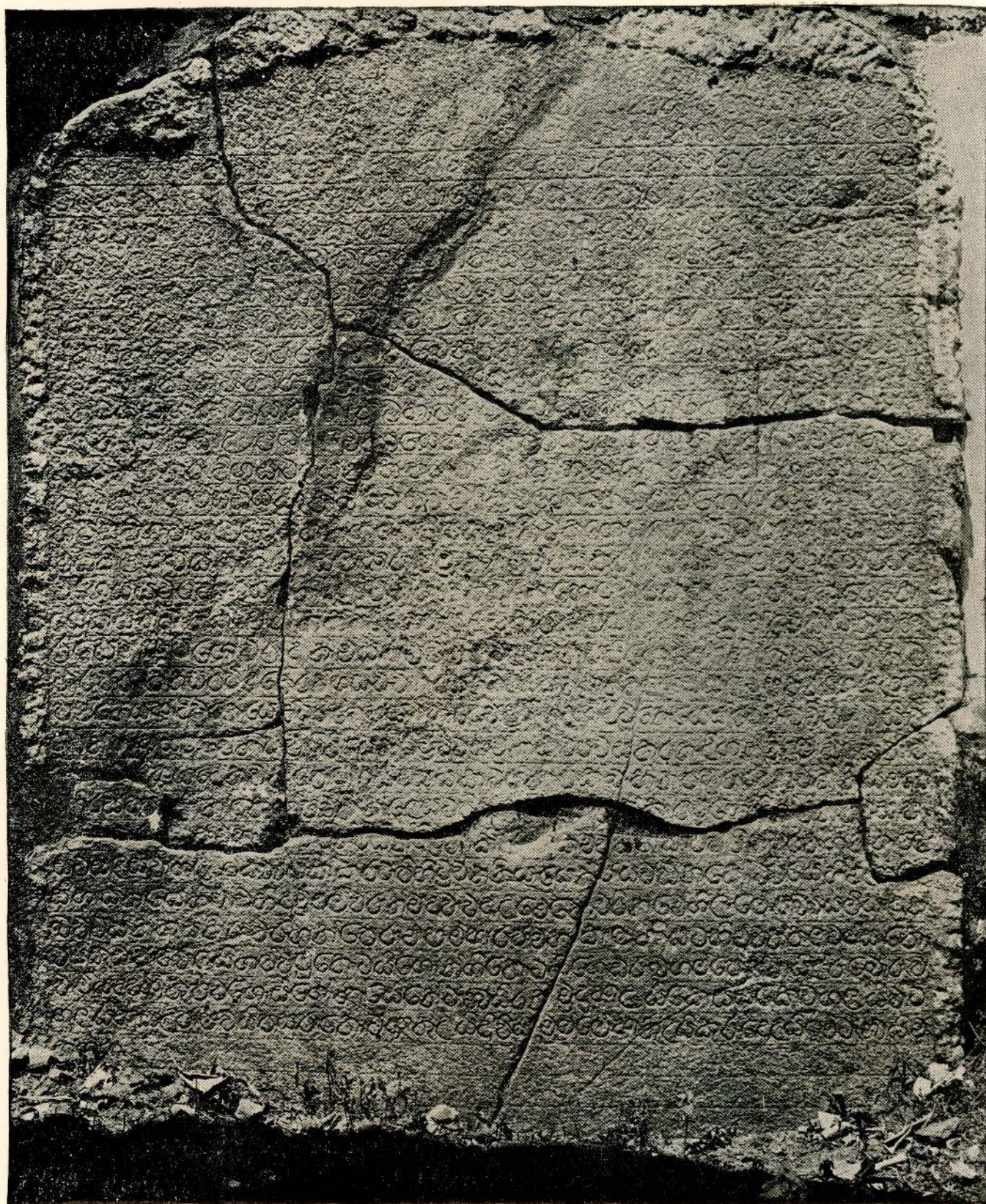
37 Cf. the *Pepiliyana* Inscription (*Journal C. A. S.* 1882 Vol. VII. No. 25 p. 204).

38 *One hundred and Thirty Six Hells*: According to Buddhism there are 8 principal hells, *viz.*, *Sanjiva*, *Kalasutta*, *Saughata*, *Roruva*, *Maha-Roruva*, *Tapana*, *Patapana*, and *Avichi*, to each of which are attached 16 minor hells. The number is thus made up, 8 (principal hells) + 128 (minor hells appertaining to the 8 principal hells), = 136. See too *Pepiliyana* Inscription (*Journal C.A.S.*, Vol. VII., No 25, p. 204).

39 In *Lawrie's Gazetteer* (I, 339, Hendeniya; II, 666, Owilla), are similar imprecations.

RAJA-MAHA-KELANI VIHARE.

INSCRIPTION, No. 2.



INSCRIPTION No. 2.

(RAJA-MAHA-KELANI VIHARAYA.)

This inscription is carved on the front face of a large slab of granite. Where this slab originally stood is not known ; but it was not spared in the wanton destruction of Kelani Vihāraya wrought by the Portuguese in the 16th century. The half a dozen pieces into which it was then broken have since been reset, and the slab erected to the left of the stairs which mount on to the Temple precincts.

The record consists of 32 lines, covering a smoothed surface 5 ft. 3 in. high by 4 ft. 8 in. broad, between ruled lines save for the first two. On the whole the writing is well preserved ; except here and there the text can still be read with little, or no, difficulty and doubt, especially the lower lines.

The inscription is dated on the 11th day of the bright half of Navam, the 19th year of (the reign of) *Siri Sanga Bó Sri Parákrama Báhu* who ascended the throne in the Buddhist Era year 2051. Its date, therefore, (according to the usual calculation in Ceylon for the *Parinirvána*), is equivalent to February-March, A.C. 1527. This, therefore, attaches the record to the King styled Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX., who reigned at Kótté.

It details repairs executed at the *Raja-Maha-Kelani Vihāraya* through the agency of the *Gana-náyaka* and the Minister *Parákrama Báhu Vijayakkónnāra*.

This inscription was edited for the Ceylon Asiatic Society, and published in its Journal of 1871-72,⁴⁰ by Louis de Zoysa, Mahā Mudaliyār and Chief Translator to Government. The Mudaliyār dealt most thoroughly (as might be expected) with the contents of the inscription, and the historical puzzle afforded by its date. He remarks :—

There is nothing remarkable in the inscription calling for special remark, either as regards its language, which abounds in high sounding Sanskrit words and inflated epithets characteristic of the age it was written in, or in the forms of letters used, which are, with very few exceptions, identical with those in use at present.

The Mudaliyār then proceeds to bring out the discrepancy between the dates of the inscription of Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX., at Kelaniya, and that of Vijaya Báhu VII., his brother, at Dondra.

The King alluded to is Dharmma Parákrama Báhu, in whose reign, "the Portuguese first landed in Ceylon, and were permitted to trade." Both the *Mahāwansa* and *Rājaratnākaraya*, however, entirely omit his reign, making his brother and immediate successor Vijaya Báhu supply his place ; while the *Rājavalīya* gives a graphic and interesting account of his reign. Preference, as regards authenticity, should be given to the *Rājavalīya*, as it bears internal evidence of being a contemporaneous record ; while the *Rājaratnākaraya* is comparatively a recent work, and this portion of the *Mahāwansa* was compiled so recently as 1758.

But in the Dondra Inscription (published by Mr. Rhys Davids in Journal C. A. S. 1870-71, p.p. 25-28⁴¹), it is stated that Vijaya Báhu (VII.) ascended the throne in Saka 1432 (A.D. 1510), thus seeming to support the *Mahāwansa* and *Rājaratnākaraya*, and contradict the *Rājavalīya*, which is backed by the present inscription.

I shall not, at present, attempt a solution of this strange historical problem, beyond expressing my belief that the assumption of the sovereignty by Dharmma Parákrama Báhu was disputed by his brother Vijaya Báhu, and that, at least for a time, one part of the nation (probably those in the south) acknowledged the latter as sovereign, while the rest adhered to his brother.

40 Journal C.A.S. 1871-2, pp. 36-14.

41 "It is extremely strange that in the year 1432 of Saka, which is 1510 of our era, the reigning Cakrawartti, or Overlord, (as given in Turnour's list) was not Sanga Bo Vijaya Báhu who came to the throne in 1527, but his brother Dharmma Parákrama Báhu." (Rhys Davids).

The crux has been renewed of late, and to some extent solved, by others who have worked round the period ;⁴² but the last word has not been said, and more light is needed on a curious point of Sinhalese history, before it can be settled satisfactorily.

De Zoysa's text suffered in clearness from being printed so as to run on without marking each line. It contains more than one misreading ; but, on the whole, is very correct. The present revised, line by line, version can be read for the most part from the stone itself, and with the less difficulty, now that a photograph (Plate IX.) is made available.

The title of *Sri Rájaratna Pirivan Thera* was conferred by this *gal sannasa* on the incumbent of the time : it further specifies the several shrines, &c., then comprised in the Temple purlieu, and the boundaries of the lands, &c., attaching to it.

Few of these original shrines remain ; but most of the villages mentioned are in existence to this day.

Text.

1. සවසති ශ්‍රී සබ්බිමාබිරාජ ත්‍රිකුචනානඤ්ඤකර ඤාකාස කුල
2. නිලක සකල ලොක දිවාකර අමෘත මහානිච්චාණ දායක ගෝතම
3. සඵඤ්ඤ රාජොත්තමයාණන්වහන්සේට දෙදස එක්පණස්වනුව ලංකා රාජ්ජයට
4. පෑමිණි ත්‍රි සිංහලාබ්බවර පර රාජ රාජේඤ්ඤ සාමන්ත රාජ කිරිවරතන [. . . .]
5. සෙවිත පාදමිඤ්ඤ ශිශිරකර කිරණායමාන කිරිති බන බනුර [. . . .] ඉණ
6. රත්නාලංකාරා වග්ගව බුබුබුකර ශ්‍රීමත් සිව්සහසෝ ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු චක්‍රවර්ති
7. සවාමීන්වහන්සේට දසනවවනු නවමැ පුර එකොලොස්වක රජමහා කැලණි
8. විහාරයෙහි බුදුන් වැඩඉඳ වලදු බමීම දේසනාකලාවු උතම සථාන
9. යෙක එහි මෙ දවසට ජරාවාසව නිබෙන පින්කම් කවරේදුසි නියමදැන වෛතසා
10. දිවු සියලු තැන් ජිණිණව නිබෙනැසි අසා රජගෙන් නොයෙක් විසදමුත් දි කර
11. වන්ට කියා ගණ නාසකනැනට හා පරාක්‍රමබාහු විජයන්කොතාර අමාත්‍ය
12. ණන්ට භාරකල පසු වෛතසයෙහි සුණු පිරියම් ආදිවු සුන්බුන් කම්මානන්
13. කරවා උතුරු දිග සැට රියන් කළුගල් පවුරක් හා නැගෙනහිර සදකඩ පහනකි
14. න් සුභත ගල් පඬියකුත් බදවා සමාදි පිළිමගෙය නා පිළිමගෙය මෙම විහාරයෙ
15. හි පුළුදිග වාසල මෙම තැන ගල්පඬිය කුඩා ක්‍රිවන්ක ගෙය තෙල්කවාරගෙය සාංඝික
16. වැසිකිලිය බස්නාහිර වාසල ඇතුළුව තැන් මුල් පිසකරවා පස්මහල් පාය සලපිලි
17. මගෙය සිවුරුදුගෙය යනාදිවු මෙකි තැන් කටු කොහොල් හරවා අනිකුත් විහාරේ නො
18. යෙක් සුන්බුන් කම්මාන්තන් පිරිමස්වා සමෘධිකරවු පසු ශ්‍රී නාමයෙන් මෙ කියන විහා
19. රයෙහි අපගේ විරිදු නාමයක් පවත්නව උවමැනවයි ගෙණෙහි නාසක තැනට
20. ශ්‍රී රාජරත්න පිටිවන් හෙරත් අස්වා විහාර සන්නකයෙන් ඇත්තල අස්සල මුළුතැන්ගෙය උණු
21. පැන්ගෙය ආදිවු නොයෙක් බුරාවෙ අයට හා දෙමල සිංහල අය ආදිවු නොයෙක් දෙනාට මිලයට සිටි
22. යෙන්හා අය පුවෙණියට සිටියෙන් බිජුවට අමුණක වපට සතර නැලිය ගන්නා ලාසෙන් වී දෙ
23. පැලක් අය දෙනවන් පොල්ගස් දසයට පණමක් බැගින් පවුරු දෙනවන් නියමකො

42 Journal C.A.S. Volume XXII, No. 65 p. 285.

- 24. ව නිරසද පවත්නාහෙක් පවතිනා ලෙසට පින්කම මුදුන් පත්කරවු හෙසින් එන දවස පැ
- 25. මිණෙන රාජ රාජමහා මානාදීන් විසින් දිසුණව වඩිනකරවා පින්පුරවා ගන්නා ලෙ
- 26. සට සලස්වා ශිලා ලෙකඩයක් කරවා පිතිටුවන නියායෙන් ජයවසිත කෝමටයෙහි ශ්‍රී මාලිගාවේ
- 27. සිංහාසනයෙහි වැඩිතිද මුදලිවරුන් මැදවැ වදුල මෙහෙවරින් මේ ශිලාලෙකඩය ලියා දුන්
- 28. බවට සන්සස් නිරුවරහන් පෙරැමාළුමිහ රජමහා කැලැණ්සට හිමි වන්තල මල්සන්හො
- 29. වසි කුසා මාබොලසි ගල්වලුභොටසි ගොන්තිභොටසි ගොඩරැබ ගල් පොනනසි උරැබොරැව
- 30. වැලියද්ද ඇතුළුව ගොස්ගෝණ සේනෝ වැඩසි රන්මුදු ඇලසි කෙස්ස කෙටු ගලසි වට
- 31. ගලසි ඇසල පාචවසි පසුරැභොට ඇතුලසි දිවියාමුල්ලේ ඇතුලසි කරන් දෙලසි ඉම්වැඩසි ම
- 32. හ ගහසි.

Translation.

Hail ! On the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Nawam, in the 19th year of the reign of His Imperial Majesty **Srimat Siri Sanga Bo Sri Parakrama Bahu**, Supreme Ruler of **Tri Sinhala**, (Ruhunu, Mâyá, Pihiti), Sovereign Lord of other Rájás, on whose lotus-feet have settled (like bees) jewels in the crowns of Kings of the neighbouring (countries) ; whose store of fame is bright as the beams of the moon ; who is adorned with delightful . . . qualities like unto gems ; who is an immaculate embryo Buddha ; and who ascended the throne of **Lanka** in the year 2051 of the Era of the omniscient and supreme Gautama Buddha, sovereign lord of the glorious and true doctrine (*dharmma*), who gladdens the three worlds (of gods, men, and Nágas), who is a *tilaka* ornament to the Royal race of Sákya, and who is the sun of the universe and the giver of *Nirvána*, great, undying.

(The King) having reflected that the Vihára at **Raja Maha Kelaniya** ⁴³ was a holy spot where Buddha had vouchsafed to sit, to partake of food, and preach his doctrine, ascertained by inquiry what works of merit by way of repairs there were to be executed there at this time ; and having heard that the *Chaitya* ⁴⁴ and all other edifices were in ruins, allotted much (money for) expenditure from the Royal Palace, and assigned the task of causing the work to be done to the **Gana-nayaka**, ⁴⁵ and the **Minister Parakrama Bahu Vijayakkonara**. (They) had the plastering of the *Chaitya*, and other repairs, executed ; built a parapet wall of granite sixty cubits (in length) on the north ; and constructed the eastern flight of steps with a *sanda-kada-pahana* (moonstone) ; and thoroughly rebuilt the *Samádhi-pilima-geya*, ⁴⁶ the *Ná-pilima-geya*, ⁴⁷ the Eastern Gate of the same Monastery and its flight of stone-steps, the minor *Trivanka* ⁴⁸ house, the *Tel-katára-geya*, ⁴⁹ the *vesikiliya* (latrine) of the priesthood, and the Western Gate ; cleared the rubbish in the *Pas-mahal-paya*, ⁵⁰ *Sala-pilima-geya*, ⁵¹ *Siwuru-dá-geya* ⁵² and other structures ; and repaired also various other dilapidations, and the like, in the Vihára.

43 *Raja-Maha-Kelani Vihára* : As distinguished from *Kit-Siri-Mevan Kelani Vihára*, across the river in Kelani-mulla.
 44 *Chaitya* : Sinhalese *seya* another term for *dágaba*.
 45 De *Zoysa* reads *Ayagawmáyaka*, and translates "Chief Officer of the Royal Revenue." *Gana-náyaka* (line 11) and *Genehí-náyaka* (line 19) appear to be identical in sense. *Gana-náyaka* is the compound (*samasa*) form of the latter. Here it should mean "Chief Priest of the Monastery or Community."
 46 *Samádhi-pilima* : The image of the Buddha in a state of supernatural abstraction. "The figure *Samádhi* in semblance perfected of Buddha." *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 67.
 47 *Ná-pilima* : Image of the Buddha seated on the coils of Muchalinda Nága Rája and sheltered by his hood, during the sixth of the *Sat Satiya*, or seven weeks of Buddhahood attainment. *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 65.
 48 *Trivankaya* : Name given to two special images of Buddha. *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 68.
 49 *Tel-katára-geya* : Image-house erected on the spot where stood traditionally the large cauldron of hot oil into which the Buddhist monk was cast. *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 70 ; *Mahávansa*, XXII.
 50 *Pas-mahal-paya* : The five-storied hall wherein *Maliyadéva* Terunnánse delivered a sermon, as the result of which sixty monks attained a certain status of sanctity : *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 61.
 51 *Sala-pilima-geya* : The shrine containing the stone image created by *Indra* when the land was overwhelmed by the sea in the reign of King *Kelani Tisa*. *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 60.
 52 *Siwuru-dá-geya* : *Dágaba* so called, built at the place where *Gautama Buddha* put on his robes after bathing. *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 60.

After the complete accomplishment of these works, (the King), considering it desirable that **His Majesty's** Royal name should be perpetuated in this Vihára, conferred on the **Chief Priest** of the Monastery, the title of **Sri Rajaratna Piriwan Thera**, and ordained that all who were in occupation of the lands of the Temple, (as well as) those who served in the elephant stables, the horse stables, the kitchen, hot-bath rooms, persons employed in various other occupations, Tamils and Sinhalese, and those who paid rent and owned land, should give (to the Temple) two *pélas* of paddy (measured) by the *laha* of 4 *nelis* for every *amuna* of sowing extent, and money payment at the rate of one *panama* for every ten cocoanut trees. (His Majesty) thus completed this meritorious work so that it may last so long as the sun and moon endure.

In obedience to the command delivered by **His Majesty**, seated upon the throne at the Royal Palace of **Jayawardhana Kotte**, in the midst of the *Mudalivaru*, that an inscription on stone should be made, in order that Kings and Chief Ministers and others in future ages may acquire merit by preserving and improving (the Temple), I, **Sanhas Tiruvarahan Perumal**, certify to the engraving and grant of this lithic record.

The boundaries to **Raja Maha Kelaniya** are, *Wattala*,⁵³ *Malsan-tota*, *Kudá Mábóla*,⁵⁴ *Galwalu-tota*, *Gongi-tota*,⁵⁵ *Godaruba-gala galpotta*, the stone pillar at *Gosgona-sena*,⁵⁶ including *Uruboruwa veliyadda*, *Rammudu-ela*, *Kessa-ketu-gala*, *Wata-gala*, *Esala-paluwa*,⁵⁷ *Pasuru-tota-etula*,⁵⁸ *Diviya-mulle-etula*, *Kurandole*, the boundary pillar, and the great river (Kelani ganga).

INSCRIPTION No. 3.

(RAJA-MAHA-KELANI VIHARAYA.)

This inscription, and the other of twelve years later, are cut on stone slabs now built into the back wall of the *Pán-gé*, or lamp-niched passage-way, which serves to partially connect the group of shrines and the *Pansala*, etc.

It (No. 3) professes to date from B. V. 2311, Vesak, (A.C. 1767, May-June), when *Atthadasst Thera Sámí* and his *Sámanéra* pupil of *Mápitigama* carried out repairs to the viháraya, *dágaba*, and one of the images at the *Raja-Maha-Viháraya*; but most probably—as its fellow (No. 4) for certain—was not inscribed until after the British occupation of Ceylon in 1796.

The inscription is very short, running only to 5 lines.

Text.

1. ශ්‍රී බුද්ධ වර්ෂයන් දෙදසක් කුංසිය එකලොස වන්නෙ
2. හි වෙසහපුර පහලොස්වක ලත් ගුරුදින අනුදසසි
3. තෙර සාමන් ප්‍රධානකොට එම සියවු මාපිටිගම සාමනේර
4. නම විසින් නවබුන්ව තිබු වෙහෙරවහන්සේ සහ විහාර
5. මළුව වැඩකරවා ගල් පිළිම නමක් නෙකා ප්‍රතිස්ථා කලාය.

Translation.

On Thursday, the 15th day of the bright half of (the month) Vesak, in the illustrious year 2311 of Buddha, the *vehera* (*dágaba*), and the terraced enclosure of the *viháraya*⁵⁹ (image-house) which were in ruins were repaired, and (the ceremony of) fitting eyes to a stone image was performed by **Atthadassi Thera Sami**, assisted by his pupil **Mapitigama Samanera** (novice monk.)

53 *Wattala*: In Péliyagoda Péruwa. Rágam Pattuwa. Alutkúru Kóralé.

54 *Kudá Mábóla*: Probably a division of Mábóla in Péliyagoda Péruwa.

55 *Gongi-tota*: In Mahara Péruwa. Adikári Pattuwa.

56 *Gos-gona-sena*: Now Gonahena, in Náranwala Péruwa, Adikári Pattuwa.

57 *Esala-paluwa*: There is a village Essela in Mábodala Paláta, Dásiya Pattuwa.

58 *Pasuru-tota*: Páhuru-tota, in Kalupahana division, Udugaha Pattuwa, Rayigam Kóralé.

59 *Vihára* (Sanskrit and Páli) "Buddhist temple" or "monastery": *vehera*, the Sinhalese equivalent, means "dágaba," probably owing to that being the principal structure of a temple. *Vihára* and *vehera* appear to be used here in these two senses. *Vehera vahansé*, in Inscription No. 4, clearly means "dágaba."

INSCRIPTION No. 4.

(RAJA-MAHA-KELANI VIHARAYA.)

The face-date of this lithic record of 23 lines is B.V. 2322, Navam (A.C. 1779, February-March); though the reference to the English Government in line 18 manifestly carries the age forward several years.

The inscription details the work of repairs to the *Kalyáni Caitiya* by the *ex-Sámanera* monk, *Mápitigama Buddha-rakkhita Unnánse*, incumbent of the Temple as successor of his *guru Atthadassi Thera Sámi*. Professedly the support of the Kandyan King (Kirtti Sri Rája Sinha) had been obtained and a *sannasa* granted.

The slab inscription was clearly a disingenuous after-thought intended to "bolster up" the *sannasa*, which is really dated a year later.

So obviously did the present-day monks mistrust this "tell-tale" record, that they had had the passage-way floor built up so as to hide the last seven lines!

Text.

1. සවසන ශ්‍රී සබ්මානිපති සඵලොක දිවාකර අප මහා ගෞතම සඵ
2. ඥ රාජොත්තමයානන්ධන්සෙ පන්සියක් ක්ෂිණාශ්‍රවයන් පිරිවරා නහසඵල
3. යෙන් වැඩ මනිනගන නාගෙඤ්ඤන් විසින් ඵලවනලද දිව බොජන් වල
4. ද බමිමදෙසනාකර වදලාවු උනනම සඵනග කලක් නටබුන්ව ජරා
5. වාසව ගිය නිසා ශ්‍රී බුඩ වමීයෙන් දෙදස් තුන්සිය දෙවිසිවන වමීයෙහි
6. නවන් මස පුර පසලොස්වකලත් රවිදින දෙහිගස්පේ අඤ්ඤසි සාමන්
7. ගෙ සියවු සඵාවියඹි සුපෙසල කලානානඤ්ඤාස ඇති මාප්‍රිච්චම බුබර
8. කනින නෙරුන්වගන්සෙ විසින් කලානි වෛගාස ජරාවාසව තිබෙනවා
9. ශ්‍රී ලන්කෙසවරවු උතුම් මහා වාසලට ඔපපුකල නැනෙදි වදල පනතින්
10. භාඛාරයෙන් දහස් ගනන් අය වියදමුන් ලැබ මානගන් ගමින් අවු
11. රුදුපතා වි දෙලසමුනක් දෙනලෙස ශ්‍රී සන්තසකුන් ලැබ නියමකර
12. වදලාසින් පසු උතුන්වු මහ වාසලින් දෙවාචදල මුදල් ඇතුළුව අප වි
13. සිනුන් දසලක්ෂ පනස් දහසක් ගඬොල්ද අළුසුනු අමනු එක් ලක්ෂ පනස් දහස
14. කින් වෙහෙරවගන්සෙ වැඩකරවා විහාර මඩප ලැගුන් පන්සල් භොජනසාලා බ
15. මීසාලා වැඩකරවා ඉසඵානෙට මතු පුද පුරා පිනිස පුරාකල ගන් කුඹුරු නම් ට
16. මම කැලනියේ බොඹුවල වි කුරුනි පහලොහෙ වපසරියද එම ගම අඹග
17. හ කුඹුරෙ වි දෙපැලකද ඊටිගහ වෙලෙන් වි දෙපැලකද පැලියගොඩ ඔලියාමුලෙ
18. ඔතුන් ඉහිරිසි ආඬුවෙන් විහාර නමට ඇරි ගොඩ මඩ වි දෙලොසමුනක්ද
19. අළුජ්ජම විරාඹිවිට වි යෙලමුනක්ද පිටියගෙදර කුඹුගහ ඹවිට වි පස්පැල
20. කද අළුන්කුරු කෝරලෙ දෙරනාගොඩ වානබඩ ඔතුලියදු වි කුරුනි පහලො
21. හකද මෙම විහාරවගන ගහබඩවගන පනිකකියා වගන අඹගහ වන්
22. න ඒ ඇරන් කලක් නටබුනවු කින්ශ්‍රී මෙවන් කැලනියද දෙරනාගොඩ විහාර
23. ද වැඹිදිවුනු කලාය මෙහි ලියවී තිබෙන දෙ වැඹිදිවුනු කරනලෙස නියමකලාය

Translation.

Hail ! *Mapitigama Buddha-rakkhita Terunnanse*,⁶⁰ who is marked by piety, zeal, good conduct and wise intentions, pupil of *Dehigaspe* ⁶¹ *Atthadassi Sami*, having submitted to **His Most Excellent Majesty**, Lord of the illustrious **Lanka**, that the *Kalyani Chaitya* had fallen into ruin—

60 The figures of the priests *Buddha-rakkhita*, (the *Sámanera* of inscription No. 3, and Incumbent of No. 4) and of his two immediate successors, *Dhamma-rakkhita* and *Sangha-rak hita*, are painted on the wall inside the image-house to right of the front (main) entrance. Since the time of this *Buddha-rakkhita* it has become usual for his successors to be drawn from *Mápitigama* in the *Kegalla* District, and to bear the name of one of the "three gems" of Buddhism (*Buddha*, *Dhamma*, and *Sangha*), with *rakkhita* ("protected") as affix, adopting such names in the regular order.

61 *Dehigaspè*: In *Morawak Kóralé*, *Mátara* District.

inasmuch as it is the pre-eminent spot where our great Buddha Gautama, the Lord of the glorious orthodox Law and sun of the whole world, alighted on coming through the air with a retinue of 500 passionless monks (*Arhats*), partook of the celestial food offered by Maninayana,⁶² Chief of the Nágas, and preached the doctrine—had become ruined and dilapidated since a long time, (he) on Sunday, the 15th day of the bright half of (the month) Navam, in the year 2322 of the illustrious Buddhist Era, received from the Treasury, upon His Majesty's order, revenue of several thousands (of coin of the realm) to be expended, and a Royal *sannasa* granting annually twelve *amunas* of paddy from Mánayangama.⁶³

After that order was made, by the expenditure of the money granted by His Most Excellent Majesty, and of ten *laks* (and) fifty thousand bricks, and one *lak* (and) fifty thousand *amunas* of slaked lime (supplied) by me (*lit. us*), I caused repairs to the *dágaba* to be effected; as also the repairs to the image-house, *mandapas*, dormitories, refectories, and preaching halls.

(The following are) the names of the lands and the fields gifted, with a view to provide for future offerings to this sacred place:—fifteen *kuruni* of paddy sowing extent out of Bómbuwala (situate) in this Kelaniya, two *pélas* (extent) of paddy out of Ambagaha-kumbura and two *pélas* (extent) of paddy out of Ritigaha-vela in the same village, a tithe (*otu*)⁶⁴ of Oliya-mulla in Péliya-goda,⁶⁵ twelve *amunas* (extent) of high and low lands allotted to the Vihára by the English Government,⁶⁶ one and half *amunas* (extent) of Vira-óvita at Alujjama,⁶⁷ five *pélas* (extent) of paddy of Kumbukgaha-óvita at Pitiyegedara,⁶⁸ fifteen *kuruni* (extent) of paddy of Wánabada-otu-liyadda at Doranógoda in Alutkúru Kóralé, the garden attached to this Vihára, Gangabodawatta, Panikkiya-watta (and) Ambagaha-watta.

Moreover, I also repaired and improved Kit-Sri-Mevan-Kelani Viharaya and Doranagoda Viharaya, which had been in ruins for a time. (Further) I ordered that the property herein referred to be improved.

SANNASA.

A copy of this *tamba sannasa* is printed in the "*Kalyáni Vihára Varnanáva*" (page 15.)

The original copper-plate grant is not now in the possession of the present incumbent, Buddha-rakkhita Unnánse, at Kelaniya Temple: it is said to have been removed clandestinely by some monk, and its fate to be unknown.

Be that as it may, the date and style of the copy are in favour of this being a genuine *sannasa* issued from the Court of Kírtti Sri Rája Sinha, in Saka 1701, Navam (A.C. 1780, February-March.)

62 *Maninayana*: More commonly "Maniakkhika"

63 *Manayangama*: The modern Mánayangama; in the Kégalla District.

64 *Otu*: See Sir John D' Oylly' (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume III, 1831) for definition of the three kinds of *otu*.

65 *Péliyagoda*: This village adjoins Kelaniya.

66 This damns the professed date of the inscription; the English did not occupy Colombo until 1796 A.C.

67 *Alujjama*: Corruption of Alutgama. The village meant is probably that now known as Alutgama Bogomuwa, Colombo District.

68 *Pitiyegedara*: There are two villages of this name in the Colombo District, one in Meda Pattuwa, Siyane Kóralé West, the other in Yatigaha Pattuwa, Hápitigama Kóralé.

Text.

සමසති ප්‍රශසනවර විරවික්‍රම සවදෙශ දෙශානුගත කිතීතිප්‍රබන්ධ බක්‍රුරවු කිතීතිප්‍රී රජ
සිංහ නිරෝද්‍රානමසාණන්වන්සේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාමිපසෙව එකාන පනුනන්වා රාජ්‍යශ්‍රී පදප්‍රාපනව
බ්‍රහ්ම සුරාසුර මුනි මනුජ වන්දනීයවු සවිඥාසනාතිවෘච්චිනියකර වදරණ සමයෙහි අප බුදුන්
මණ්ඩනන නාගෙඤ්ඤාගේ ආරාධනාවෙන් පන්සියක් ක්‍ෂණාශ්‍රවයන් පිරිවරා නිසාසනලයෙන්
වැඩ රන්න මණ්ඩප මධ්‍යයෙහි මාණිකාසපයකිකාරූචිව වැඩහිඳ නාගෙඤ්ඤන් විසින් එලවන
ලද දිව්‍ය භෝජන වලදු බ්‍රහ්ම සුරෝරගාදීන්ට බිම්මදෙශනාකර වදල සභානියෙහි පිහිටි
කලාණ්චෙවෙනස නවබුන්ව තිබෙන පවන් අසාවදරා එහි සුන්බුන් කම්මානන කරවන
සේ භාණ්ඩාරයෙන් දහස් ගණන් මුදලින් දෙවා මාපිටගම බුබරසනිනා කික්‍රුන්ට අවසර
දෙවු පසු පස්ලක්‍ෂ පණස්දහසක් ගඩොළයෙන් සනලිස් රියන් උස බදවා සුණු අමුණු පන්
සියයකින් සුධාකම්මානන කොට අවට ප්‍රාකාරයක් හා ප්‍රතිමාලයක්ද එහි උන්නම දශනාල
ලක්‍ෂණයෙන් විරාජමාන ප්‍රතිබිම්බයක් හා වහල්කඩක්ද ශිලාසොපානියක්ද බදවා පින් දක්වු
පසු උන කම්මානනය සමාධකරණලෙස සලස්වා මෙවෙති මහෝක්සාහිවු බුබරසනිනා කික්‍රුන්ට
මේම සභානය දෙවා වදරවින් මෙම කික්‍රුන්ගේ ශිෂ්‍යානුශිෂ්‍ය පරම්පරාවෙන් බිම්මවිනියධර
සුපෙශල කික්‍රු නමක් විසින් මතුමත්තෙතින් මේ විහාර සංරක්‍ෂණය පිණිස පවත්නා නියා
යෙන් හා අවුරුදු පනා මානියම්ගලින් වි දෙලසමුණක් දෙන නියායෙන් සලස්වා තබ පතලියා
දෙන්නෙයසි ශ්‍රීවිච්චිපුරයෙහි නවරත්නාලිකාන සවණි සිංහාසනාරූචිව ශක්‍රදෙවෙඤ විලාස
යෙන් වැඩහිඳ වදල මෙහෙවරින් ශකවම් එක්වාදහස් සත්සිය එක්වෙති විකාරී නම්වු මේ
විෂීයෙහි නවම මස පුර පසලොස්වක ලද රවි දින මේ තබපත ලියා දුන් සේදින්

Translation.

Hail ! When His Excellent Majesty King Kirtti Sri Raja Sinha, worthy of all praise, heroic,
and beloved owing to his great fame which had spread in this and foreign countries, having
attained the pre-eminence of sole monarch of the illustrious island of Lanka, had heard (at a time
when His Majesty was propagating the religion of the Omniscient One who merited the
adoration of Bráhma, Suras, Asuras, Sages, and Mankind) that the Kalyani Chaityaya—built on the
spot where our Gautama Buddha, accompanied by five hundred passionless monks, arrived through
the air, on the invitation of the Nága Chief Maninayana, seated on the ruby couch (placed) in the
middle of the gem pavilion, ate the celestial food offered by the Nága Chief and preached the law
to Bráhma, Suras, Nágas, and others—had fallen into ruin, His Majesty caused thousands of
gold coins to be bestowed from the Treasury for the repair of dilapidated and ruined structures,
giving permission to the monk Mapitagama Buddha-rakkhita (to carry out the work.)

He, thereafter, having had (the dágaba) built to the height of forty cubits with five
hundred and fifty thousand bricks and plastered with five hundred amunas of lime, and further
having had erected an encircling parapet wall and constructed an image-house supplied with
a splendid image adorned with ten accessory emblems, a portico, and stone steps, showed the
King the meritorious works accomplished.

His Majesty (thereupon) caused the remaining work to be completed ; and having en-
trusted this (sacred) site to the zealous monk Buddha-rakkhita, commanded that a writing inscribed
on copper be issued, decreeing that a monk well learned in the Dharmma and Vinaya belonging to
the pupillary succession of this monk be placed in charge of this Viháraya for its maintenance from
time to time in future, and that twelve amunas of paddy be given annually from Máníyamgama.

This writing on copper was inscribed on Sunday, the fifteenth day of the bright half of the
month of Navam, in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, named Vikári, of the Saka
Era, in accordance with the command given (by His Majesty) seated like Sakra, King of the Dévas
(gods), on the golden throne, adorned with the nine kinds of gems, at Srivardhana-pura (Kandy.)

KELANIYA IN THE 14TH CENTURY.

AS DEPICTED IN THE "MAYÚRA SANDÉSAYA."

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

"Kelani, like unto God Sakra's heavenly city" ¹

"Mighty Kelani, charming to all time and ageing never!" ²

OF undoubted historical importance, and by no means uninteresting in itself, is the picture of "Mighty Kelani,"—as it existed towards the close of the 14th century A.D.,—to be found in that earliest, and perhaps most elegantly written, of the known *Sandésas*—the *Mayúra Sandésaya*, a work hitherto untranslated.

True it is that it devotes no more than about a dozen verses to a description of the place its people, palaces, temples, etc.; but the prevailing general splendour is indicated in these few stanzas sufficiently for us to understand why it was that the poets of the period compared Kelaniya to a "heavenly city."

I have cast my somewhat free translation of the verses into the same "rough decasyllabic metre," which the late Mr. W. C. Maccready, C.C.S., in his translation of the *Selalihini Sandésaya* adopted with such happy effect.

The *Mayúra* or "Peacock"—the bearer of the Poet's message, which is addressed "to god Vishnu of *Devnuvara* (Dondra)"—³ is directed to start from *Gangásiri-pura*, then the Capital of the kingdom. Thence, in his aerial route, the bird is advised either to rest at, or note *en passant*, the respective scenic or other charms of *Ambuluvá-kada*, *Bulatgamuwa*, *Dikpitiya*, *Alapalávela*, *Gurugoda*, *Arandora*, *Dorawaka*, *Attanagalla*, *Opat-ela*, *Wéboda*, etc.

Proceeding from *Wéboda*, the Poet's instructions to the Peacock are to make for Kelaniya.

Mayúra Sandésaya

Text.	Verse 33	Translation.
කීරණ විනිදි පහකුළු තුඟු කොනින් සැ	දු	Do thou (next) ⁴ wing thy flight to Kelani,
නරණ ලියෙව් පියලන පිය ලියන් ර	ඳු	The noble city, prosperously endowed
දෙරණ නුසුලනමෙන් සව් සිරින් යෙ	දු	And full of charm; rich stored with every wealth
කලණ මහ කැලණිපුර පිරි සිරින් ව	දු	Which earth itself can scarce (the weight) support;
		And blooming with (bright) beauteous womankind
		Resembling Himálay's sweet flower-maids;
		(A city) decked with high-uprising spires
		Which crown the summits of the palaces
		Blazing with splendour ⁵ (in the noonday sun.)

1 උවම් කරන නිසි පුරවරට පුදු
උතුම් කැලණිපුර වදු කසද මිතු

රු } *Tisara Sandésaya*, v. 98.
රු }

2 කොව්, පැරණි විවිත්විට රමණීයවන කැලණි—*Selalihini Sandésaya*, v. 58.

3 දෙමිකුටරෙහි දෙවීරජකට උපුල්වන—(Verse 4)

4 Words which do not appear in the text are bracketed in the translation.

5 See *Selalihini Sandésaya* (verse 52): Kelani where are palaces, on all sides thickly hung with painted flags with bells bound on them; where, with streaming rays, brilliants are set into the topmost spires.

The literal meaning of the words නරණ ලිය is " Vishnu's wife," i.e., *Sri Kānta* (Skt.) or *Siri Katha* (Sin.); but ලිය also means " creeper," (Clough), and Eastern poets have often compared beautiful women to the *nāri-latā-vela* or *liya-tambara*,⁶ a Himālayan climbing vine of which the flower has the appearance of a woman " in all wise of perfect beauty, glorious in grace."

At the commencement of the season during which the *liya-tambara* bursts into bloom, ascetics are said to quit the neighbourhood for fear lest the sight of these flowers should, by inflaming their passions, disturb their meditation and so nullify the effect of their austerities.⁷

That the comparison is justified and that the women of Kelaniya possessed all the beauty and the fascination of the Himālayan " flower-maids " is apparent from the very next stanza wherein the poet cautions the Peacock :—

Text.	Verse 34	Translation.
කියඹු වන උදුල කැලලොතල	සේකර	With mind well pleased, yet, untempted, behold
පැලදි මැදි මලිනිය මලිනි	සේකර	The (city's) women,—creeping-plants (in grace),
ලියෙවි ලියන් කැලුමලු ලපලු	සේකර	Radiant with tender leaves and (pretty) wreaths
නොදක නොපටු සිනිවිලි සිතනො	සේකර	Of jasmine flowers bedecking (shapely) heads—
		Whose faces, like unto the crescent moon,
		Beam with (soft) tufts of neatly-combed hair ⁸
		Falling on forehead (thus concealed from view.)

If, then, the maids of Kelaniya were such " houris," surely their abode itself was " Paradise " ! But the poet is anxious not to be charged with having employed the language of hyperbole. And so,

Text.	Verse 35	Translation.
උචදක නොමිනි සුරභනයසි කල	මාන	Divine, 'twould seem, a place so resplendent
දනසක රඳන නවයෝනන් සොබ	මාන	With (signs unfailling of) prosperity,
දක දක මෙපුර වර සිරිසර අස	මාන	And beauteous forms of virgins wondrous fair
බසඳක මිසක් නොකියමු සුර පුර	මාන	That tempt the gallants young and, sense allured,
		Induce the thought : " These are celestial maids ! "
		But we ⁹ , the truth in order to maintain ¹⁰ ,
		Do not presume to call the city " Heaven."

The Peacock, however, is not to be beguiled by " women's fair looks " into forgetting a sacred duty which he has to perform at Kelaniya. He has a message to deliver, or rather a prayer to offer, to god Vibhisana¹¹ before he wings his way onward to *Devnuvara* (Dondra). And of this " prayer " he is next reminded :—

6 *Liya kinduru mala* ; Pali *latā kinnarānganā*

7 The following from the *Subhāshita* of Alagiyawanna is a verse in point :—

සනතින් පවන් අවකොල බුදින නවස	උ	" The sight of the <i>liya-tambara</i> flower disturbs the meditation
දසැතින් මිදෙන් දුටු ලලලදො ලිය නඹ	උ	(even) of the ascetic who lives on the leaves blown near him
බුදිමින් යමෙක් කිරිතෙල් දී රස අභ	උ	by the wind. If man who lives on food luxurious (rich),
ඉපුරන් දමන සිදු දුපිලෙම් මදර හි	උ	to wit milk, ghee, whey, etc., can subjugate his passions, even
		Mount Meru will float on the Ocean."

8 According to Clough, *kiyambu* means the " hair of the head ; also, the hair platted and tucked up behind the head." This is not quite correct ; *kiyambu* was the tuft of hair which, like the " forehead fringes," more popularly known as " donkey fringes " of modern times, was neatly and evenly cut and allowed to fall on the upper part of the forehead. This fashion of " dressing the hair " was common enough in former times and in even now adopted by not a few old-fashioned people, especially in the Kandyan Provinces where the old Sinhalese " toilet " still obtains more extensively than in the low-country.

The Poet's idea is clear. According to Eastern standards of beauty, the face full, round, moon-like is, *par excellence* the face beautiful. The faces of the maids of Kelaniya whom he describes were not altogether like the " full moon " since a part—the forehead—was hidden from view by the *kiyambu* tuft of hair falling over it. Therefore, he compared these faces to the " crescent (i.e. not perfectly round) moon."

9 The Poet.

10 *Lit.* in order to preserve our word.

11 Brother of Rāwana, Rama's fast friend, that god Vibhisana The lamp-gem to the Rāksha race of Sage Pulastya, master of the Vēdas three, (*Selathini Sandēsa*, verse 91).

Text.

Verses 36 & 37

Translation.

නොලිඳි ලොබින් බලවින් එපුරෙහි වෙසෙස	ස	Beholding then that city's charms (so rare)
අනඟි නලභනන් සභ රජගෙට පිටි	ස	Yet tarrying not too long by them seduced,
නලඟි රැඹුම් පුද අනතුරුවු විඟ	ස	Accompany the nimble dancing-girls ¹²
යසති කෙකාසන් කර සබමැදට බැ	ස	To Vibhisana's palace (near at hand).
විබිසණ සුරවරණ—සිරිසරණ වැද දන්ව	න්	Then when the sacred dances ¹³ terminate,
සිරින් මුදුන් නිරිඳුන් සභ බිසෝ	සඳුන්	Go thou into th' assembled people's midst,
කරින් බෙලෙන් දිසිතුන් බැ මෙහිම	සඳුන්	Screeching in peacock tones laudatory ;
තෙසු රජමැති ඇමති—ඇ සෙනග ඇම සමතින්		And, worshipping the god's most sacred feet,
දසරන එරම් නිරිඳුට ජයදුන් ලෙසි	නි	Convey to him this solemn prayer (of mine :
දසඅන කරම් වැඩි අණසක සලසම්	නි	"O God Vibhisana !) may'st thou protect,
සක සක අන මෙදෙවි ඇම	ට	"Throughout this kalpa,—yea, unto its end—
වැඩිසිරි දී රැහි විලස	ට	"Our glorious King endowed with wide-flung
සෙනකර රැකි කප් හිමකො	ට	pow'r,
සුන මෙපවන කිය දෙවිඳු	ට	"His queen and brothers three and all his hosts,
		"His officers, ministers (inclusive) ;
		"Give him such vict'ry as was giv'n of yore
		"To (famed) King Ráma, ¹⁴ Dasaratha's son—
		"That so may he dominion (firm) extend
		"In ten directions ; (also) bless them all
		"That greater prosperity may be theirs
		"Than Vishnu or God Sakra e'er enjoyed !"

These verses have historical interest. The "glorious King" referred to is presumably Bhuvaneka Báhu V (A.B. 1915, 1945), during whose reign the *Mayúra Sandésaya* was written, and who ruled at *Gangásiri-pura* ; but the mystery of this ruler's identity is rendered more inscrutable than ever.

For, as stated in my Paper on "*The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology*,"¹⁵ popular opinion at the present day inclines to the belief (based on the *Rájavalíya*)¹⁶ that "Bhuvaneka Báhu began his chequered reign at Gampola, fled thence in fear to Rayigama on the approach of the Tamil hordes, returning to Gampola on the expulsion of the Tamils ; but, as the people refused to receive a pusillanimous King, turned his steps to Kótte where he continued to rule subsequently."

I repeat, however, there is no warrant in sober history for so romantic an episode in the life of Bhuvaneka Báhu V. The *Mahávansa*,¹⁷—contradicting the *Mayúra Sandésaya* on this point—says¹⁸ he ascended the Kótte throne ; and four at least of his *sannas*¹⁹ (Mámpe 4th year²⁰, Demaladúwa 10th year²¹, Ganégoda 26th year²², and Godagama 29th year²³), all issued from *Jayawarddhana Kótte*, indicate that he had no more than one Capital.

12 These were the Nautch girls attached to Vibhisana Déwála. See *Selathini Sandésaya* vv. 73-4:—
 "The dancing girls arrayed, the flickering flames
 Of lamps resemble, bearing on their limbs
 The lustre of gem-sparkling ornaments,
 Directing sidelong looks upon their hands
 Now raised and now depressed, whose girdle-folds
 On broad hips resting spread and wave in time."
 "Note all the beauties of the dancing girls
 Striking their lotus feet upon the earth
 To beaten measure, making tinkling sound,
 Clinking their golden anklets, and the zones
 Gem-spangled that surround their fair broad hips."

13 *Lit.* dance-offerings (*rengum puda*)

14 The husband of Sita and conqueror of Ravana,

15 Read before the Ceylon Asiatic Society, July 31st, 1914.

16 Journal, C.A.S. Vol. XVIII, *Alakesvara: His Life and Times*, pp. 287, 289.

17 Chapter XCI., verse 9.

18 See the *Adippola Sannasa* Case (D.C. Chilaw), where this is denied. The reading so "this (great) man" is connected, it was there contended, with the previous stanzas and refers to Alakésvara.

19 C.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXII, p. 290.

20 *Id.*, p. 271.

21 *Id.*, p. 272.

22 Bell, Report on the Kegalla District (S. P. XIX 1882) p. 91.

23 *Id.* p. 91; *Satyasamuchchaya and Jnánádarsaya*, Vol. IV., Pt. 44, Aug., 1900.

To make the general confusion "worse confounded," the *Mayūra Sandésaya* ²⁴ tells us that, while Bhuvaneka Báhu was reigning at Gangásiri-pura and Alagakkónára holding sway at Rayigama, there was actually another King ruling simultaneously at *Jayawarddhanapura* (Kótte) "who, by his decree, brought prosperity on Lanká and all her people," and whose "wheel of command spread abroad was such that the appearance of the mountainous boundaries of his *chakravála* ²⁵ city made it seem as if his enemies were in quite another *sakwala*." ²⁶

The reference to the King's "three brothers" is interesting, since it confirms the statement in the *Palkumbura Sannasa* ²⁷ that Bhuvaneka Báhu V was one of a family of several brothers, which is, so far as I am aware, the only bit of "family history" we have of this most mysterious and tantalising of modern Sinhalese Kings.

But to return to the *Mayúra*. His prayer to god Vibhisana having been offered, when "the shades of night were falling fast," he must seek some suitable haven; and what better can he have than the roof of the god's palace—the *Dévála*—which is the "roosting-place" of his brother-peacocks of the city?

Text.	Verses 38 & 39	Translation.
කැලීමන් වෙර වෙර ඉසි	න්ට	When beams the moon and all the world's aglow,
කොඳු වන වන පුබුදුව	න්ට	And lily ²⁸ -groves are all a-bloom (with white);
බමරන් මුවරදුර ය	න්ට	When honey-laden bees flit humming, and
මදරද දුනුකමට එ	න්ට	Youth-unnerving Anangya ²⁹ draweth nigh;
දිලිවිදුලිය නුවනින් බලමින් සොඳි	නි	Then, at that time, do thou seek (rest and) sleep
නතු සුව සැප පිළිවිසිනෙව් ඉම් බසි	නි	Upon the (glistening) moonstone ³⁰ palace-roof
වෙන සපැමිණි නසබඳගන කුලන් මෙ	නි	Soon resonant with voices (familiar)
ලකුතුරු රවිඳි ඉඳුම්ණි පා මුදු	නි	Of relations of thine own peacock tribe,
		Who, seeing thee with lightning (gaze of) eye,
		And as if asking in gruff thund'rous tones,
		"How art in health? How fares with thee the
		world?"
		Have, cloud like, swoopéd (swiftly) down to thee.

24 Verse 48 :—*අඹසක් පතල හිමිසඳකල නියෝ වී* කි
දකසක් සමග ලකසුලකල ගන ගලී කි
සුරසක් වලද ගල්හිම පූරු පා ගෙ කි
පරසක් වලක වැනි පරසතුරෝ ඉති කි

25 A range of mountains supposed to encircle the earth, and to be the boundaries of the world; and also, the limit of light and darkness, the sensible horizon. (Clough).

26 The Universe, comprehending, according to native geography, the various continents, islands, hills and *Brahma lókas* with Maha Meru in the centre and a circular range of rocks surrounding the whole. (Clough).

27 Laurie's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II., pp. 687-8 :—"He (Bhuvaneka Bahu) had one of his brothers admitted to the order of priesthood called Bhuwanayka Bahu Terunnase, who resided in the same city (*Jayawardhana Kótte*). After the King had attained heaven, this priest, accompanied by several of his brothers, set out from the city for the hill-country, and took up his abode in *Urulévatta* in *Udunuwara*."

28 *Konda*; the white esculent water-lily (*nymphaea esculenta*) which blossoms with the moon.

29 *Anangayá* or *Káma-déva*: the Hindu Cupid or God of Love, considered to be one of the most pleasing creations of Eastern fiction, was the son of Vishnu or Krishna by Lakshmi, then called *Máyá* or *Rukmini*.

තුනුවතාගේ පහ සර සර සඳ මද මරුව සත්වන දැ

"The autumnal moon, the gentle breeze, the forest in spring, &c., are the partisans of *Tunuvangá* or Cupid" (*Siddat-Sangaráwa*, p. 39).

රුදුරු ඕගෙනි තුන්හද දු දුරට පිළිබුකම්
 එහිදේහට කවොල දෙත්වත්තට වැරදු කොරකෙත්

"*Káma*, through fear of *Siva*, has entered the vacuum of women's hearts: even there he is distressed. How then in opposition to the great can any prosper?" (*Id.*, p. 72).

30 *Induminti*: According to Clough, "the emerald;" but here it probably means "moonstone" (*sandakenmitna*). See the references to *Kelaniya* in the *Selalihint Sandésaya*, verse 54: "Swollen with the dew that oozes from that city's palace (walls) of moonstone rare." The "moonstone" is supposed to absorb the rays of the moon; and, while emitting them again in the form of pure and cool moisture, to shed a soft radiance around, somewhat similar to that which Milton meant in his "storied windows richly dight, casting a dim religious light." (*Il. Penseroso*, l. 159).

That Kelaniya, 600 years ago, did not escape the taint of that same "social vice" which today is prevalent in all populous cities, is evident from the next verse. From his "coign of vantage" upon the palace-roof, the *Mayúra* is enabled to witness prostitution in all its baseness; and straightway the poet gravely cautions him to ponder and "keep cool."³¹

After such scenes, what more refreshing and purifying than a visit to the Temple and a bath in the famed Kelani river! So it is that the poet advises the *Mayúra* :—

<i>Text.</i>	<i>Verses 41 to 43</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
පාන ගොසින් නැති වැද මුනිවිමන් නො සේ	සේ	Arise at dawn and to the Vihāra
පාන වෙමින් අද වඩමින් කුසල් රැ	සේ	Proceed, to worship Buddha (at his shrine);
යාන සෙසින් යන පුරදර පුරය දෙ	සේ	Then, satisfied, and with much merit gained,
මාන ඔසින් යාගන් පින් පිඩක් ලෙ	සේ	Like some vehicle rolling to the East
මුනිදියනා පෙරදියනා කල දු	ලිය	Roll on thou, ball of merit, from the place
ඉන්දිවනා නොසදිවනා පුද කෙ	ලිය	Called <i>Māna Oya</i> ³² (which lies so near at hand)
ගහ බැසනා මගබැසනා කරති	ලිය	(Anon) alight and in the river bathe—
තොදවිසිනා බලවිසිනා මස්කෙ	ලිය	The same in which the All-Wise One, World-chief,
කිත්සිරිමේ වෙහෙරෙහි සෙත් පොදවන	ල	Aforetime bathed ; ³³ thus associating it
සන්ගන කුළුවන් දුම්පුන් වැද උදු	ල	With off'rings of the <i>Nāga</i> hosts divine,
පත්සා කප්පිල් කලඹින් ඇමද ලෙ	ල	Who sported in its waters joyously :
අත්පත්කර පින්පල විසුර මනක	ල	Then gaze upon the ford Maskeliya, ³⁴
		(So) charming to the eye, and please thy mind.
		(Thereafter) noble Peacock, worship thou
		The <i>Bo</i> -tree, radiant like an (evening) cloud,
		In Kit Sri Mévan Vihāra : (the spot)
		Where fell of old the sacred water-drops ; ³⁵
		Heap up great merit for thyself, (my friend),
		And sweep the compound with thy peacock-tail,
		(Which is) e'en like unto a leafy branch.

With this, the description of Kelaniya in the *Mayúra Sandésaya* comes to an end. The Peacock departs, winging his flight over *Jayawarddhanapura* (Kótte), Rayigama, Béruwala, Bentota, etc., on to Dondra; there to execute the mission upon which he was sent forth from his native Gangásiri-pura.

31 This verse (40) is not translated here for reasons of delicacy.

32 The *Kókkila Sandésaya* (verse 177) makes reference to a *Mānava Oya* lying between *Tóppuwa* and *Mārawila*.

33 The *Mahāvansa* makes no allusion to the bathing, though it gives other details of the Buddha's visits to Kelaniya.

34 See *Selalihini Sandésaya*, verse 51.

35 *Id.* verse 69: "The garment-shrine, built on the spot where, putting on the three bright shining robes, stood the Sage, passionless, when he had bathed in the cool river."



THE LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SINHALESE KINGDOM.

By the late MR. C. M. FERNANDO, M. A., LL. M.¹

THESE notes do not purport to be an exposition of the Sinhalese, or as it is now more commonly known, the Kandyan Law. Such an undertaking would necessitate a bulky treatise. The present object is but to glance at the development of the Sinhalese Law and Constitution, creatures of Aryan growth and descent, side by side with that of their Aryan sister, the Roman Law, which has exercised so great an influence on Western Jurisprudence, with a view to noting points of affinity and contrast. Both systems start practically with the same root-ideas gleaned from a common ancestor. But while on the one hand we have Roman Law expanding and bursting its bounds, with growth of Empire over foreign tribes and nations, and dissolving as it were into new elements under the solvent and liberalizing touch of Christianity; so we see Sinhalese Law still circumscribed and limited by the insularity of her kingdom, and dominated by the conservatism of a rigid Buddhism.

The written history of Ceylon commences from the year 478 B.C. and is mainly recorded in two Páli works, the *Mahávansa*, and the *Dipavansa*, which have formed the subject of careful scrutiny and comment by savants both of the East and of the West. One of them, George Turnour, the first translator of the *Mahávansa*, has said of these chronicles that "they are authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country." The erudite Dr. Reginald Copleston, [till recently the Metropolitan of India], has observed that "it is one of the peculiar distinctions of the Island that from early times it has possessed historians. The Sinhalese stand alone, or almost alone, as having had an interest in history. Their chronicles are the oldest, and for centuries the only, instances of histories in the Indian world."

In 478 B.C. Vijaya, a prince from Northern India, landed on the coast of Ceylon, the Taprobane of the ancient Greeks, with a party of some 700 followers, and settled in the Island. Ceylon seems, however, to have seen some centuries of Aryan civilisation by this time, judging from the details of what Vijaya saw when he landed. The *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*, the great epics of India, both refer to Ceylon as a civilised country; and the incidents recorded in those poems, when divested of their poetic panoply, must have occurred at least twenty centuries before Christ.

We know from Indian history that long prior to Vijaya a wave of Aryan conquest had flowed and inundated Southern India. The long and bloody war which Ráma waged against Rávana, the King of Ceylon, seems to have been on the march of this irresistible wave from Southern India into Lanká.² Stripped of its gorgeous Oriental trapping the story runs as follows:—Rávana, hearing of the beauty of Síta, the wife of Ráma then in exile, carried her off to Ceylon. After tedious search Ráma obtained clues as to her whereabouts. Having allied himself with the non-Aryan races of Southern India, he crossed over to Ceylon, gave battle to Rávana,

1. Mr. C. Hubert Z. Fernando, Advocate, son of the late Mr. C. M. Fernando, has very kindly offered this paper, hitherto unpublished, to "The Ceylon Antiquary"—Ed. C. A. & L. E.

2. The ancient Sinhalese name for Ceylon.

defeated him, and recovered Síta. The non-Aryan tribes of Southern India are described in the poem as monkeys and bears, probably because their religion must have been some form of animal worship; just as the inhabitants of Lanká are described as Yakkhó, because they must similarly have been demon-worshippers. Reminiscences of this ancient invasion are still found in the traditions which cluster round the Island of Ráméswaram; the ancient city of Sítáwaka still preserves the memory of Síta's captivity in Ceylon. Thus much, then, can we gather from the Indian Epics that kings—and, therefore, an organised state of society—were known in Ceylon centuries before Vijaya; that the use of weapons, the building of forts, and other accessories of civilised warfare were known to the pre-Vijayan inhabitants of Ceylon. Such a state of things is incompatible with the nomadic life of tribes who live by the chase; as is conclusively proved by our experience of several races still living in that way in different parts of the world. The Red Indians of America, Bushmen of Australia, Hottentots of Africa, and Veddás of Ceylon all afford examples of the wandering unsettled mode of life proper to such pursuits and manner of subsistence. In none of these races do we find cities, settled forms of Government, or any approach to the conditions prevailing in the island when Vijaya arrived.

What then were the conditions prevailing in the Island when Vijaya arrived? Did he come into a country peopled by savages who lived the precarious life of Hottentots or Veddás, or did he come into a country in which there were acknowledged marks of a state of organised society?

Before proceeding to review the conditions of life in Lanká at that time it would be as well to state something about Vijaya himself. It is said that a king of Bengal once married a daughter of a king of Orissa. Their daughter, the princess Suppadéví, mated with a lion and gave birth to twins, a son and a daughter. This legend is evidently meant to cover a clandestine marriage of the princess. The son named Sinhabáhu afterwards became the powerful king of a large tract of Bengal and had many children. The eldest was Vijaya. On coming of age Prince Vijaya was created sub-king, *Uparája*; but, like Prince Hal who afterwards became the wise and brave King Henry V. in English history, Vijaya showed such strong symptoms of a wild and reckless disposition as to jeopardise the security of his father's Government. The king, fearing on the one hand the danger of a civil war, and on the other loth to sacrifice his son to the violence of an enraged people, put Vijaya and his followers (seven hundred in number) into a fully equipped fleet, ordering them to seek their fortunes in some country across the ocean. Thus he came to Lanka and with his followers landed in the ancient isle, and founded that line of monarchs which for length of years is unequalled in history, and of which His Gracious Majesty our present King-Emperor is the present representative.

The *Mahávansa* recites how Vijaya landed in Ceylon and how he met a Yakkhini³ named Kuvéni seated at the foot of a tree and spinning thread. Vijaya having consented to marry Kuvéni and make her his queen, it is said that she distributed among Vijaya and his followers "rice and a vast variety of other articles." In the night the king hears the sounds of songs and music, and inquires from the queen where they proceed from. She replies:—

"In the city Sirivattha, in this Island, there is a Yakkha sovereign, Kálaséna, and in the Yakkhá city Lankápura there is another sovereign. Having conducted his daughter Pusamitta thither, her mother Kodanamika is now bestowing that daughter at a marriage festival on the sovereign there. From that circumstance there is a grand festival in an assembly of Yakkhás. That great assemblage will keep up that revel without intermission for seven days. This revel of festivity is in that quarter. Such assemblage will not occur again: Lord! this very day extirpate the Yakkhás."

3. Feminine of Yakká, demon worshipper.

The king accepts this advice, proceeds to the scene of the festival with his followers, and destroys the Yakkhás. He assumes the court dress of the Yakkhá chief Kálaséna, and his retinue dons the vestments of the other Yakkhás. After this victory Vijaya founds the city of Tambapanna⁴ which he makes his future home. The chronicle proceeds to describe how the followers of the Prince formed an establishment each for himself all over Lanká—Anurádha, Upatissa, Uruvela, and Vijita each establishes a city. Then, when the settlements have been formed, his followers beseech the Prince to assume the office of sovereign: this he refuses to do, alleging that he can do so only on his securing a Queen-consort of equal rank to himself.

All these chiefs, incited to exertion by their anxiety for the installation of the Prince, sent to Madura a deputation with gems and other presents.

They obtained audience of Pandava, the King of Madura, and explained to him that their mission was to search for a royal maiden as queen to Sinhabáhu named Vijaya, the conqueror of Lanká, adding "to admit of his installation bestow thy daughter on us." Pandava then sent his own daughter to Vijaya, and for the retinue of that king 700 daughters of his nobility. As dowry king Pandava bestowed elephants, horses, chariots, and slaves. Vijaya discards Kuvéni, makes the royal maiden his wife, and is inaugurated Sovereign of Lanká. Says the chronicle:

All the nobles having assembled, in due form inaugurated Vijaya into the sovereignty, and solemnised a great festival of rejoicing. Thereafter the monarch Vijaya invested with great pomp the daughter of King Pandava with the dignity of Queen-consort. On his nobles he conferred riches: on his father-in-law (King Pandava) he bestowed annually chank and pearls, in value two lacs. This sovereign Vijaya, relinquishing his former vicious course of conduct, and ruling with perfect justice and righteousness over the whole of Lanká, reigned uninterruptedly for thirty-eight years in the city of Tambapani.⁵

Vijaya brought with him and introduced into his new Empire the laws of his Aryan forefathers which had been fashioned on the laws of Manu; and, on achieving the ambition of uniting the country under his sole dominion, was, as we have said, inaugurated king in the Aryan manner. The *Mahāvansa* mentions only the fact of his inauguration, but omits to describe the ceremony. The following is a description⁶ of the inauguration of one of his successors, Dévanampiya Tissa 242 B.C., and is taken from the Páli commentary of the *Mahāvansa*. Tissa embraced Buddhism and made it the state religion at the instance of the apostle Mahinda, a son of the great Asóka. The Ceremony of Inauguration is instructive as giving us a glimpse into the constitution of Sinhalese society at this period:

Thus it is written in the Sinhalese commentary on that portion of the *Majjhima-nikáya* known as *Culla-sihanada-suttavannaná*: He who wishes to be duly inaugurated as King should obtain for this purpose three chanks, golden or otherwise, of water from the Ganges river, and a maiden of the Kshattriya (warrior) race. He himself must be ripe for the ceremony and be a Kshattriya of whole lineage, and must sit on a splendid *udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) chair, well set in the middle of the pavilion, made of *udumbara* branches, which is itself in the interior of a hall gaily decked for the ceremony of *abhiséka*.

First of all the Kshattriya maiden of gentle race, clothed in festival attire, taking in both her hands the right-handed sea-chank, filled with water from the Ganges, raises it aloft and pours the *abhiséka* water over his head, saying as follows: "Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiséka* all the people of the Kshattriya race make thee their *Mahá Rája* (sovereign), for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness and imbued with the ten Royal virtues: have thou for the Kshattriya race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude: let them (in return) protect and guard and cherish thee." Next, the Royal Chaplain, splendidly attired in a manner befitting his office, taking in both his hands a silver chank, filled with water from the Ganges, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiséka* water over his (King's) head, and says as follows: "Sire, by this ceremony of

4. Páli, *Tambapanna* "Copper-leaved" (from the copper tints of the foliage). Sanscrit. *Tamrapanni*; Greek, *Taprobani*. "To India's utmost isle, Taprobane" (Milton.)

5. The *Mahāvansa* translated into English by L. C. Wijeyesinha, Ceylon Government Press, 1889.

6. The translation from the Páli Text is mine, and was made as part of a Paper on the *Inauguration Ceremony of the King in Ancient Ceylon* for the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, [See Journal C. A. S. 1896 xiv. 47 pp. 126-7.]

abhiséka all the people of the Bráhmín race make thee their *Mahá Rája* for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness and imbued with the ten royal virtues : have thou for the Brahmin race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude : let them (in return) protect and guard and cherish thee." Next, he who holds the office of *Setthi*, attired in a suitable manner, taking in both his hands the golden chank filled with water from the Ganges, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiséka* water over his (King's) head, and says as follows : "Sire, by this ceremony of *abhiséka* all the Grahapati, for their protection, make thee their *Mahá Rája*. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness and imbued with the ten royal virtues : have thou for the *Grahapati* a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude : let them (in return) protect and guard and cherish thee."

Those who address the above form of words pronounce, as it were, a curse upon the king, as if they should say : "It is meet that thou shouldst rule the land in accordance with these our words : should it not be so, mayst thy head split in seven pieces !"

In this Island of Lanka, be it known that a Kshattriya princess, sent by Dharmmasóka, performed the ceremony of *abhiséka* over the head of Dévanampiya Tissa, with the right-handed sea-chank filled with water from Lake Anotata.

To be "ripe for the ceremony" meant that the King should have passed his sixteenth year of age. The "ten Royal virtues" were : *dhanam* (alms-giving), *silam* (observance of the precepts), *pariccaga* (generosity), *akkodha* (freedom from wrath), *avihimsa* (mercy), *khanti* (forbearance), *ajjavam* (rectitude), *maddavam* (mildness), *tapa* (self-mortification), and *avirodhana* (freedom from enmity.)

"The Royal Chaplain" was called *Purohita*. He was always a Bráhmín, and was the King's domestic chaplain. The *Setthi*, generally a wealthy merchant, was the King's Treasurer ; *Grahapati* was the head of a household ; "Lake Anotata" was the name of one of the seven great lakes of the river Ganges.

Thus it will be seen that there were four essential elements in the Constitution of the State. First, the Kshattriyas, or Royal Caste, from among whom the King, be it noted, was elected, corresponding in some degree to the proud Patricians of ancient Rome. Then come the Bráhmíns, a priestly caste, who were the object of special protection by the king. To them we find no analogy in ancient Rome where the "heads of religion were not a priestly caste, but were citizens in all other respects like their fellows, except that they were invested with the secret offices."

It must be remembered that at this period Ceylon was the great emporium of trade between East and West. The merchant ships of China thronged her harbours and carried away her spices and precious stones and ivory ; while in the streets of the capital city at Anurádhapura were the foreign quarter and the central mart in which the Hebrew and the Christian from Alexandria and Asia Minor jostled the Hindu and the Chinaman. A powerful class, into which was absorbed many of the more enterprising of the Sinhalese themselves, had thus sprung up ; in whose hands was the commerce of the State. These formed a caste by themselves, and were called the Vaisya, their chief held the office of *Setthi* or "Treasurer." The masses, as in Rome, were represented not by the individual but by the family, the family being the unit of the State. Each family was ruled by its head, the *Grahapati*, "lord of the house," corresponding to the Roman *paterfamilias*. The *Grahapati* of each village selected its own Council from amongst them to administer its affairs. The villagers were classified into districts, each administered by a District Council, which consisted of delegates from each village ; and the President of each District Council had *ex-officio* a seat in the Supreme, or Great, Council of the State, which exercised all the legislative and executive functions of the State ; and the Great Council in its turn was presided over by the *Mahá Rája* who had been duly inaugurated into that position.

Such then was the early Constitution of the Island. The Village Councils which had been allowed to die out in the low-country during the selfish rule of the Dutch in the eighteenth century have been partially revived by legislation by the British Government.

The ancient chronicles previously referred to were mainly written as a historical glorification of the religion of Buddha, and consequently do not summarise the laws of the country. The laws, as in England, were handed down by custom from generation to generation ; and up to the last King of Kandy were observed with the necessary increments which time and varying conditions brought on them.

In the first part of the sixteenth century Ceylon was divided by civil war between rival kings. The Portuguese at this time effected a settlement at Colombo, with the concurrence of the neighbouring King of Kótté ; and becoming his ally they fought with him and with his successor against their enemies. The last King of Kótté, Dharmapála, embraced the Christian faith ; and, dying without heirs, bequeathed his Empire to the King of Portugal, who thus acquired the maritime portion of the country.

A century later the Dutch invaded the territories of the Portuguese, took possession of them, and introduced the Roman-Dutch Law, which still remains as the common law of Maritime Ceylon.

The Dutch ceded their territories to the British in 1798. In 1815, the year of Waterloo, the Kandyan people, who still held the mountain zone, infuriated by the cruel despotism of the alien noble they had elected to the throne, invited the British to Kandy, and became subject to His Majesty King of England, on the condition that they were to preserve their ancient laws and customs.

Thus it would appear that, right through the centuries of Sinhalese rule, the Sinhalese monarchs were not hereditary kings, nor ruling by the fiction of divine right as in Europe, but *representative rulers elected of the people*. The Dutch Governor Falk elicited some information in 1769 A.D. "respecting the ancient Laws and Customs of their Country" in the form of question and answer from "some of the best informed Candian Priests."⁷ A few of their statements are quoted in corroboration :—

Q. What laws are there relative to the succession of the throne ?

A. The King, when his death approaches, may with the concurrence of the ministers, deliver over the kingdom to his son, if he has one ; otherwise, at the King's decease, the ministers appoint to the sovereignty any person of the *Rāja Wansa* (Royal race) whom they may be able to find in Ceylon. In case, however, this source should be exhausted, it has, from ancient times, been the custom of the Great City (*Mahā-Nuwara*, Kandy) to send presents to any Prince and Princess of the Race of the Sun, professing the religion of Buddha, who may happen to be residing at Madura, or in any of the countries adjacent, and to place them on the throne. If this is not done, a person is selected from amongst the nobles of the Empire, and invested with the regal power.

Q. Is there any law permitting the younger children to succeed to the throne, in preference to the elder ?

A. The succession is not regulated according to seniority ; but that Prince is appointed to the sovereignty who is most eminent for wisdom, virtue, and a good disposition. The second son of Mutasiva (who reigned over *Lakdiva* î, in the city of Anurádhapura) in consequence of his having been adorned with these amiable qualities, obtained the sovereignty, even during the life-time of his elder brother ; as is shown in the book *Rāja Ratnākara*.⁸

Q. Can the King, without the knowledge of the ministers and people, choose a person to succeed to the throne ?

A. In a case of great emergency, any relation of the King, who is justly entitled to succeed to the throne, may be nominated to the Sovereignty with the consent of the principal people ; but no such power is vested in the King alone. Unless, however, there is an urgent necessity for adopting the measure above mentioned, the sovereignty is conferred by the united voice of the ministers and established usage.

7. [Bertolacci, Ceylon, 1817 Appendix A.—Ed. C. A. and L. E.]

8. The Sinhalese form of *Lankādwīpa* (Sanskrit), the Island of Lanka.

9. A Sinhalese history of Ceylon published in the XVI. century.

The *Nikāya Sangrahawa*, a history of Buddhism in Ceylon of the highest authority, written at the close of the fourteenth century, gives the detailed list of the officers who formed, in addition to the representative *Grahapati*, the great Council of King Parākrama Báhu the Great, 1153-1198 A.D.

I quote, from a translation of this work into English made by me and published by the Ceylon Government in 1908, the list of the official Members of the Great Council as constituted in Parākrama I.'s time. They were :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Justiciar. | 8. President of the Council. |
| 2. Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. | 9. Director of Commerce. |
| 3. Heir apparent and Aide-de-Camp to the King, and virtually First Viceroy. | 10. Chief Legal Adviser. |
| 4. Heir Presumptive and Second Viceoy. | 11. Under Secretary and Keeper of the Rolls. |
| 5. Secretary of State. | 12. Chief Intelligencer. |
| 6. Minister of the Interior. | 13. Chief Medical Officer. |
| 7. Second Minister of the Interior. | 14. Chief Officer of the Calendar. |
| | 15. Minister of Education. |

It is clear, therefore, that it was in conformity with established Law and Custom that the still unconquered Sinhalese people of the Kandyan country laid aside in 1815 A.D. the unbearable yoke of Sri Rája Sinha, the tyrant, to accept as their sovereign His Majesty King George the Third, who thus became one of a long line of kings dating back from the fifth century before Christ.

The principle of regarding *the family* and not the individual as *the unit of the State*, while it was gradually weakened in the progress of the history of Rome, was only strengthened by lapse of time in the Sinhalese kingdom. It had far reaching consequences in family life in two distinct matters both dealing with the institution of marriage.

The precepts of Buddhism, upon which are based the superstructure of the Sinhalese law, were strangely silent as to the institution of marriage. The law itself was thus left free to develop on its own lines in this direction. The principle of monogamy came to be recognised as a result of this development. A man may have several concubines, but only one wife ; yet the children of a concubine, or even of a stranger, could become the member of a family, and be entitled to the rights of a child, by the artificial and formal process of an adoption as in the Roman Law.

All marriages are divided into two classes, *Diga* and *Bina*. A man who married in *Diga* brought his wife into his own family, she lost all rights of inheritance and all legal touch with her own family, and was absolutely merged in that of her husband. The converse took place with the man who married in *Bina*. He lost all legal connection with, and passed out of, his family to that of his wife's, in whose household he lived, and of whose family he became an integral part.

This law prevails untouched to the present day in the Provinces ceded in 1815. The unselfishness of the *Diga* married man in his "insane desire," as Dr. Johnson would call it, "to support another man's daughter," has been tempered by the system of dower, which happily now prevails among all classes of the Sinhalese community, and has proved a steady incentive to thrift on the part of prolific parents.

While polygamy was thus not countenanced by the law, polyandry, strange to say, was allowed by the law in a very limited sense, and in a manner which is believed to exist in no civilised form of society. This is again due to the maintenance of the principle of family life : it consisted in the fact that two or more brothers were allowed to take unto themselves a single wife,

her children being regarded as the children and heirs of all the brothers ; so that the children eventually succeeded to the family inheritance left by their grandparents.

This portion of the Kandyan Law has been abrogated by Statute, and civil marriage has been rendered necessary to prove the validity of a union. Further, bigamy has been made penal. But all these precautions have been found to be futile to destroy the force of custom, chiefly among the lower classes of the Kandyans ; and an elder brother is still well content in some instances to go through the ceremony of civil marriage with his wife and yet to actually share her bed with his brothers, the latter of whom thus dying intestate, the children again regain their grandparents' property.

These then are the points of similarity and contrast, both traceable to the same guiding principle to be noticed in the Roman and Sinhalese systems of law. They only suggest, what ethnology and philology have already established beyond reasonable doubt, that the Roman and Sinhalese nations, though living their lives thousands of miles apart, are descended from a common ancestor.



GASPAR DA FIGUEIRA.

By J. P. LEWIS.

FAMOUS as well as notorious among the Portuguese captains who fought against Sinhalese and Dutch is Gaspar da Figueira de Serpe; son of a Portuguese father and a Sinhalese mother.

Robert Knox describes him as "the last General" that the Portuguese "had in this Country," as "a brave Soldier: but degenerated not from his Predecessors in Cruelty."¹

Ribeiro, too, who was one of his comrades, bears testimony to his bravery and resourcefulness; but, of course, says nothing of his cruelty.² He describes several of his exploits in the field, including his last at the siege of Colombo when he directed the defence of the Gate of S. João and the casemates, and "did not escape being burnt when the hand-grenades, thrown by the Dutch, set fire to the pans of powder with which the bastions were well supplied."³

Though Ribeiro does not directly tell us so, Gaspar was taken prisoner when the city capitulated; for his next reference to the Captain-General is to mention that the King of Kandy "repeatedly urged the Hollanders to give him Gaspar Figueira de Cerpe, and promised a large sum of money for him;" but the Dutch, knowing that the King wanted to make use of his military ability and ingenuity and appoint him to the command of his forces, refused his offers. The King, in this design, was probably influenced by the fact that Figueira was half Sinhalese, and, as Ribeiro says, was "well-versed in their language and customs." Knox, however, expressly states that Figueira was taken prisoner by the Dutch "when the City was taken" and he tells us further that he "was afterwards sent to Goa, where he died." From which it would appear that the Dutch eventually handed him back to the Portuguese.

Nothing, it would seem, is known as to the circumstances of his death.⁴

It is clear then that history only knows him as a brave soldier who did his best for his own people and showed little mercy to its foes; who spent his life fighting for his flag; and ended it peacefully after a period of captivity on his country's soil.

Now it is a curious thing that tradition—as embodied in the popular, or "folk," song of the Portuguese people still left in the Island—carries his story further, and has distinctly branded him as a traitor. History does not say why the Dutch returned him to the Portuguese—perhaps it was because he was a traitor, and they wished him to be dealt with by his own people. But tradition assigns him a more tragic ending.

Here it is, as recorded by Mr. Louis Nell:—

"When the Dutch were investing the Fort of Colombo, a deserter from the Portuguese came to the Dutch camp, and offered to lead the Dutch to a part of the works that was carelessly defended, on condition of being adequately rewarded in the event of the surprize proving successful. The Dutch Commander accepted the terms, and was accordingly enabled to make the assault which ended in the capitulation of the Fort. After the place was taken, and something like order restored, the Portuguese deserter, Gaspar da

1. He is said to have acquired the name *de Serpe*, "of the bill-hook," from his pleasant habits mentioned by Knox: "He would hang up the People by their heels, and split them down the middle. He had his Axe wrapped in a white Cloth, which he carried with him into the Field to execute those he suspected to be false to him, or that ran away. Smaller Malefactors he was merciful to, only cutting off their right hands." From which it would seem that he was born too early, and missed his vocation as a modern Boche.

2. Knox, *Ceylon*, 1681 pp. 177-8.

3. Ribeiro, (edition Pieris, 1909) p. 363.

4. Baldeus gives an account of him from the Dutch point of view; but I am unable to quote it here, his book not being available for reference. [Will be printed—Ed. "C. A. & L. K."].

Figueira, applied for the promised reward, little expecting that the Nemesis which sooner or later overtakes all traitors was preparing his doom for him. The Dutch Governor harangued him on the enormity of the offence of having betrayed his own countrymen, and as a warning to all traitors sentenced him to be bricked up on the top of the powder magazine. He was accordingly taken there, a loaf of bread and a bottle of wine placed beside him, and the sentry-box-like vault, which still stands, was built up and Gaspar da Figueira was immured alive. It is a singular fact that at the demolition of the fortifications of Colombo in 1872, this monument and the powder magazine have been left untouched. The old Portuguese ballad of

"Gaspar da Figueira
Cum sua bandera,"

faithfully recounts the story."⁵

This was written in 1875. I myself distinctly remember the "sentry-box-like" structure, associated with this tradition, which stood between the back of the Public Works Department Offices and the Barracks, when I first knew Colombo in 1877. A few years afterwards, when the canal—which took its course from the lake past the back of the Barracks, down York Street (cutting off Messrs. J. R. Bell's Stores and the old Public Works Department Offices from the street so that they had to be approached by a foot bridge), and then turned off at a right angle opposite the Grand Oriental Hotel, and went past the Fort Church towards the Customs—was covered in, this visible monument of the treachery of Gaspar was not demolished but also covered up, at the time the surface of the whole area hereabouts was raised.

Mr. Nell, it will be noticed, mentions the old ballad of Gaspar da Figueira as if his readers were quite familiar with it, and in any case would find no difficulty in referring to a copy of it. I endeavoured to do this, as long ago as 1888, but could find none; the fact being that the ballad only existed in an oral form, in the memories of members of the Portuguese community. I set to work to try and write it down from the lips of some such; but I have never been fortunate enough to find any member of that community who could repeat the whole of it.

In this way getting portions of it from time to time, and with the assistance of the late Mr. Donald Ferguson (who also had reduced to writing an imperfect version of it), I managed to record eleven verses. It seems, from this experience, that the ballad is dying out: it is just as well, therefore, that there should be a record of what remains of it.

I give, accordingly, so much as I have recovered, with a translation:—

	I.	
Gaspar (da) Figueira, Com sua bandera, Ali tem parado Baxo da jameira.		Gaspar (da) Figueira, With his banner, They halted there, Under the jambu tree,
	II.	
Almofada per raiz, Folhas d' esteira, Gaspar te dorme Baxo da figueira.		His pillow the root, Leaves for a mat, Gaspar is sleeping Under the fig-tree.
	III.	
Gaspar da Figueira, Cádi vossa gente Deitada na praia ⁶ Rangendo com os dentes.		Gaspar da Figueira, Where are your men? Stretched on the shore, Grinding their teeth.
	IV.	
Ja da per come Pão com wine		They gave him to eat Bread with wine,

5 "Street Nomenclature of Colombo," *Orientalist*, Vol. II, p. 109.

6. Another version of line 3 of verse III. is "Ala pria borde," "who were living in the plants in garden."

Gaspar (da) Figueira bebado
Ja deita na plain.

Gaspar (da) Figueira drunk⁷
Lay down on the plain.

V.

Gaspar Figueira sober,
Ja erigai da plain ;
(Na) Gaspar sob braco ;
(. .) em bottle wine.

Gaspar Figueira sober,
Arose from the plain ;
Gaspar under his arm
(Had) a bottle of wine.

VI.

Este sostenho
Per mia sorte,
Agor lo custa
Laste mia morde.

" This I suffer
For my destiny ;
Now this will cost
In the end my death."

VII.

Gaspar ja falla
Eu que lo morre
Da mia bandeira
Eu salta lo quere

Gaspar said
" It is I who shall die :
Give me my banner ;
I shall like to leap away."

VIII.

Gaspar ja falla,
Este mia sorte
Salto lo quere,⁸
Antesque mia morte.

Gaspar said,
" This is my fate :
I shall like to leap away
Before my death."

IX.

.....
Gaspar com doudice
Aque (eli) ja soste,
Per sua tradicao

.....
Gaspar with madness
That he sustained,
Through his treachery.

X.

Gaspar tem doenti
Ja bota no hospital,
Ja da per bebe
Huma purga de sal.

Gaspar is ill,
They put him in the hospital,
And gave him to drink
A purgative of salt.

XI.

Gaspar sob braco
Pão com wine,
Na caftua ja bota
No castel sobre a plain.

Gaspar, under his arm
Bread with wine,
In the dungeon they cast him
In the castle on the plain.

These verses are so disjointed and so sketchy, and in places so farcical,—as in the references to Gaspar drunk and sleeping it off on the plain ; and Gaspar sober but still with the bottle of wine under his arm ; also to his subjection to the salt's cure,—that one suspects them to be a corrupt and imperfect version of the original song, and that the recollection of the latter is dying out.

Some of the Portuguese words, too, which happen to be very like their English equivalents, have been entirely Anglicized. Thus *vinho* has become " wine," *sobrio* " sober," *plano* " plain," *castello*, " castle," and the English word " bottle " has been bodily appropriated to take the place of the Portuguese *garrafa*—evidence that the verses in which these words occur are a comparatively modern rendering of the original ballad.

7. Or as the Portuguese " Siñño " who interpreted the meaning to me, in Sinhalese leavened with English, described Gaspar's state, " *tikak* 'ight *una*."

8. This seems to be another version of verse VII, line 4.

But the burden of them is the treachery and the remorse of the celebrated Captain, Gaspar da Figueira, with the climax of his being shut up in a dungeon "in the castle on the plain;" to which further tradition has added the detail that he was bricked up alive into a wall of the same fort. It is possible that these episodes, unknown to written history but preserved by tradition, may be based on historical facts. The reference to Figueira's men "stretched on the shore" and "grinding their teeth" is interesting. The gate of St. João, the defence of which was in the hands of Figueira during the siege of Colombo, had a breastwork on the shore. The "loaf of bread" and the "bottle of wine" have survived in the ballad; but the use made of them seems pointless.

One of the objects of printing these verses, imperfect as they are, is to induce others (with better opportunities than I have myself) to supply the *lacunæ*, and correct the errors, in them; and, if possible, to procure a better and more complete version of the ballad before it is entirely forgotten.

That the Portuguese and Sinhalese heroes and tyrants of these times were commemorated in ballads we have the evidence of Robert Knox. Is the ballad about the Portuguese General Lewis Tissera and the manner in which the King of Kandy "scored off" him still known among the Sinhalese people? In Knox's time it was "sung much among the common people" in the King's dominions. The haughty Portuguese had sworn that "he would make the King eat *Coracan Tallipa*.....which is reckoned the worst fare of that Island. The King afterwards took this Lewis Tissera, and put him in Chains in the Common Gaol, and made him eat of the same fare." ⁹ This was just the subject for the ballad-writer.

9. Knox, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.



SOME ELDLINGS AND OTHER EARLY COINS.

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

THE following ten coins are in the cabinet of Mr. H. C. P. Bell :—

1. The eldlings, or punchmarked coins, found in the Island are either
 - (i) (a) thin, or (b) thick, the superficial area being much smaller in the latter case ;
 - (ii) either (c) rectangular, or (d) roughly circular. The silver pieces are figured in this

Note ; (Plate x) as, for Ceylon, they are exceptionally fine specimens.

Size.	Length and breadth.	Weight.
No. 1, rect. \ ...	... 21 × 19 mill. ; thin ...	... 45.1 grains
No. 2, oval ...	... 21 ; 1 mill. ; thick ...	... 50.4 ..

2 It is supposed that the punchmarks on one side of the eldlings were put on by the controlling authority, and those on the other by the various moneychangers through whose hands they passed. In process of time these punchmarks became fixed, though their relative position varied. Thus Nos. 3 and 4 bear on one side three such marks—(a) three men or a man and two women, (b) a peacock on a *chaitya*, and (c) a rectangular object, arranged as :—(c) (b) and (b) (c)

(a) (a)

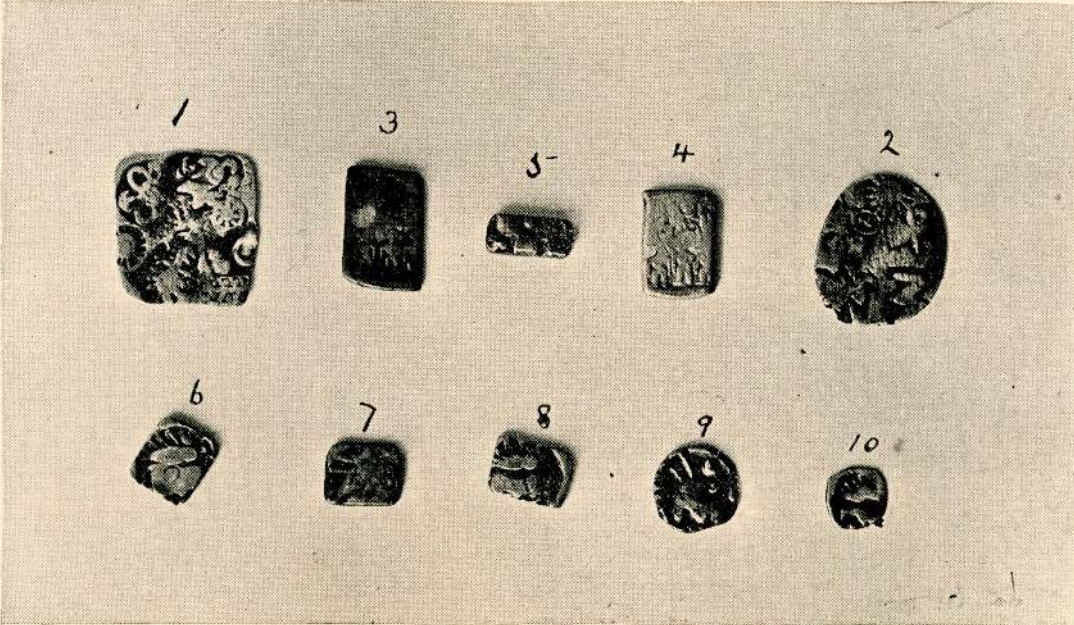
respectively, the reverse on both showing symbol (b). Pieces with these symbols appear in the *Catalogue of the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p.138, Nos. 37-40 : No. 37 figured therein on Plate xix, 3 is the same as our No. 3 and weighs 52.3 gr. Eldlings with similarly fixed symbols are shown in Loventhal's *Coins of Tinnevely*, Plate i ; Nos. 4, 5 and 6.

Size.	Length, breadth and thickness.	Weight.
No. 3, rect. ...	... 16 × 11 × 2 mill. ...	... 46.1 grains
No. 4, rect. ...	... 15.5 × 10.5 × 3 mill. ...	... 44.7 ..

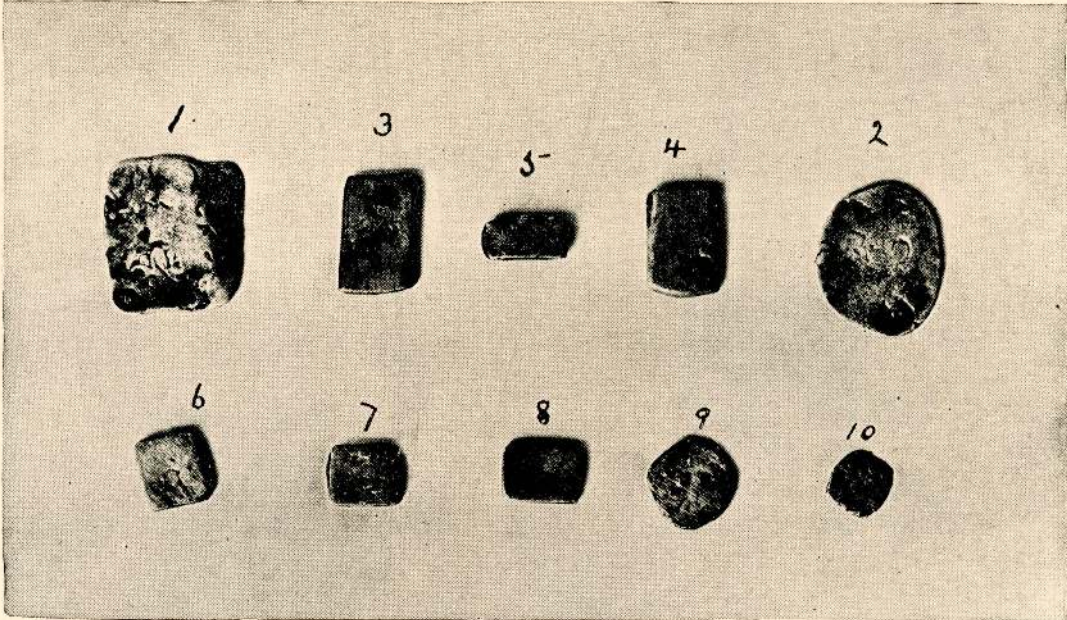
3. The next stage is the union of the various symbols in one die. Of this variety are the remainder of the coins shown on Plate x, with the exception of No. 10. The rectangular piece No. 5 is 12 × 5.5 × 3 mill. in size and 25.9 gr. in weight. The design seems to be a solar emblem, consisting of a central ball or boss, from which spring, cross-wise, four lines ending in similar balls ; in each space so formed is a taurine. The reverse is blank, but possibly has one indentation.

4. The residue of the coins form one set : with the exception of the last they are single die pieces. The design consists of a bull, or some such animal, in the lower half of the area, and a fish (?) from whose back spring long rays upwards and backwards in the upper half ; both objects face to the right and have before them three symbols, which appear to be (a) a crescent at the top, (b) the sun, and at the bottom (c) a taurine. The die in all was clearly circular. The reverse bears no impression of a die : it is blank in Nos. 8 and 9 ; No. 7, however, has a few indentations ; and No. 6 one, if not two, punchmarks. No. 10 is a double-die coin ; and the design on the reverse was perhaps similar to that on No. 5, but it is much worn.

SILVER ELDLINGS, &c.



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

Apoth: Co: Photo.

"Times of Ceylon" half-tone block.

			Size.		Weight.
No. 6, rect.	...	...	10 × 9.5 × 2 mill.	...	24.4 grains.
No. 7 "	...	...	10.5 × 8.5 × 2 "	...	24.7 "
No. 8 "	...	...	11 × 8.5 × 2 "	...	25.4 "
No. 9 ? circ.	...	...	12 × 2 "	...	20.6 "
No. 10 "	...	...	8.5 "	(very thin)	4.9 "

These coins, (which, it is believed, have not been published anywhere hitherto), fill a gap in Ceylon numismatics: they possibly may be connected with the copper pieces found at Anurádhapura and described by Mr. Still in Journal C. A. S. Vol. XIX, No. 58 of 1907, pp. 200, 201. With the exception of a circular one found at Vessagiriya, they are roughly rectangular: all are "more or less deeply concave on one side, and either flat or slightly convex on the other;" from which fact the conclusion was drawn that they were single-die coins. They are, however, so hopelessly corroded that it is impossible to make out the design, or to ascertain the original weights. Excluding two, which are broken, they now weigh grains 31 (Vessagiriya), 30, 30, 26, 23, 22, 19 and 17.

Mr. Still's deductions as to their age cannot be maintained; as, though they were discovered in the same place as the fourth or fifth century Roman coins, there is no evidence that they were actually found together. Similar copper pieces have been picked up at Tiruketisvaram, and weigh 74.9 and 26.6 gr. One weighing 29.2 gr. has what may be a fish with long fins on the stamped side: this, as well as our Nos. 6 to 10, may be, therefore, of Pándyan origin.

The silver coins Nos. 5 to 9 agree remarkably in weight, which seems to be the half of the old *kalañju* of 45 to 50 gr. or of the *eldling*. The full weight of this latter was 32 *ratis* or 56 gr., but the actual coin, at least in the later period of its currency, owing to wear can not have differed materially from the *kalañju*.



THE "DHAMMAPADA" AND ITS COMMENTARY.

Translated from the Original Pali with Critical Notes.

By SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA THERA.

(Continued from Part II, p. 109.)

VERSE III.

*Akkocci man avadhi man ajini man ahási me
Ye tan upanayhanti veran tesan na sammati.*

TRANSLATION.

*Anger is not appeased in those who
dwell (brood) revengefully on such thoughts as
'He has abused me, he has beaten me, he has
defeated me, he has robbed me.'*

VERSE IV.

*Akkocci man avadhi man ajini man ahási me
Ye tan na upanayhanti veran tesúpasammati.*

TRANSLATION.

*Anger is appeased in those who do not
dwell (brood) revengefully on such thoughts as
'He has abused me, he has beaten me, he has
defeated me, he has robbed me.'*

THIS doctrinal discourse (beginning with) "*Akkocchi man*, etc.," concerning the Elder Tissa, was preached by the Exalted One when residing at the Jétavana Monastery.

This venerable Elder,—the Blessed One's paternal aunt's son,—having entered the priesthood in his old age and enjoyed the gifts and offerings¹ bestowed on the Blessed One, became exceedingly stout, and used very often to be seated in the Reception-Hall, clad in beautifully fast-dyed (yellow) robes.

The Bhikkhu-visitors who came to see the Tathágata, presuming that he (Tissa) was one of the great Elders, used to go in to his presence and ask permission to minister to his wants, such as "massaging" his legs, etc. He (usually) remained silent.

Then a certain young Bhikkhu asked him: "How many years have you been ordained"²? "Not a year (as yet)," he (Tissa) replied: and added: "We have entered the priesthood in our old age."

1. *Ldhasakkáran* generally implies gains and honours, but in this particular instance it means the offerings made to the Buddha, i.e., *catupaccayan*: the four requisites or necessities of life of a monk, viz., robes, food, bedding and medicines.

2. Though a monk may be older in point of age, he must nevertheless always pay due obeisance to a younger monk if the latter is older in ordination (*upasampada*). Hence the custom of the Buddhist clergy, when one Bhikkhu meets another, to make enquiry preliminarily as to each other's "age of ordination."

"Old brother undisciplined! Thou dost not know thine own measure. Thou seest so many great Elders, yet dost not pay them in the slightest the regard due to them. When thou hast been asked for permission to minister to (thy) wants, thou remainest silent. Thou hast not even the least doubt of thyself (i.e., no recognition whatever of thy proper status)." And he (the young Bhikkhu) snapped his fingers (at him).

Possessing (all) the pride of the Kshatriya, he (Tissa) asked: "Into whose presence have you come?" "The presence of the Exalted One," replied they (the Bhikkhus.) "Who do you think I am?" (retorted the Elder); and, saying, "I shall get rid of (*lit.* root out) you all," greatly aggrieved and crying sorrowfully, he went to the Blessed One.

Then the Exalted One questioned him. "Tissa, why hast thou come crying in pained distress, thy face suffused in tears?"

Those Bhikkhus likewise, thinking that he (Tissa) might create some trouble there, accompanied him. After worshipping the Exalted One, they sat down aside.

Questioned by the Blessed One, he (Tissa) said: "These Bhikkhus, O Sire, abuse me." "Where wert thou seated?" "In the Reception-Hall in the middle of the Monastery, Sire." "Didst thou see these monks coming?" "Yes, Sire; I saw (them)." "Didst thou rise from thy seat and go to receive them?" "No, Sire." "Didst thou ask permission to take charge of their belongings (i.e. the personal requisites which they carried)?" "No, Sire." "Didst thou ask whether they needed anything, even water?" "No, Sire." "Didst thou place a seat (for them) and attend to (such ministrations as) massaging their legs?" "I did not, O Sire."

"All these duties, O Tissa, must be performed even by Bhikkhus who have entered the priesthood in their old age. He who does not (care to) attend to these duties should not stay in the Monastery. It was thine own fault: ask pardon from these monks."

"These (persons) abused me, O Sire, I am not willing to ask their pardon."

"Tissa, thou must not act as thou didst. It was thine own fault: thou must apologise to them."

"I can not apologise to them, Sire."

When those monks (thereupon) declared: "This person is disobedient, O Sire," the Exalted One said: "Bhikkhus, this person is not only at present disobedient, but even in the past was he so."

"We have (ourselves), Sire, observed his disobedience now. What did he in the past?" they asked.

"Listen, then, to me, Bhikkhus" (said the Exalted One); and he expounded the past to them (in this wise):—

"In the past, during the reign of a certain King of Benares, an ascetic named Nārada, who had resided eight months in the Himālayas, being desirous of living in the city for the purpose of indulging in (i.e. tasting) savoury food [*lit.* salt and sour] met some children at the city-gate and enquired: 'Where do the ascetics, who arrive in this city, reside?' 'In the Potter's hall, O Sire' (they replied.)

"Approaching the Potter's hall, he stood at the entrance (and asked of the inmates): 'If it is not inconvenient to you, may we dwell here for the night?' The Potter (replied): 'I have no work in the hall at night; the hall is spacious; make yourself comfortable, O Sire,' and he gave up the hall to him.

"When he (the ascetic) was seated there, another ascetic named Dévala arrived from the Himálayas, and asked permission of the Potter to stay the night there. The Potter, (in doubt) whether the first arrival would, or would not, agree to dwell with this new-comer, (and mentally resolving) 'I shall save myself (from trouble),' said: 'If the first arrival agrees, you may remain according to his wishes.'

"He (the new-comer) approaching him asked: 'If, O Master, it is no burden to thee, may we also stay here for the night?' 'The hall is spacious; enter and dwell (i.e. select a place) apart,' (replied the first ascetic). Accordingly he sat apart from the first arrival.

"Having exchanged greetings, they both made preparations to sleep. At the time for retirement (i.e., going to sleep) Nárada, having observed (i.e. made a mental note of) both the place where Dévala had gone to sleep and (the position of) the door, laid himself down. (But) Dévala, when about to lie down to sleep, (changed his mind, and) without sleeping at the place where he had already seated himself, laid himself down across the door (way).

"Nárada, having to go out in the night, (accidentally) trod on Dévala's hair-knot. 'Who trod on me?', (Dévala asked). 'Master, it is I.' 'You thieving rascal! After coming from the forests, you have trampled on my hair-knot.'

'O Master, I knew not that thou hadst lain down here; pardon me': and he went out, leaving the other (Dévala) crying.

"This other person (Dévala), thinking: 'That man, while coming back, might tread on me (again),' changed his position,—placing his head where his feet had been (previously),—and went to sleep. Nárada likewise, while returning, thought: 'I have already wronged the Master by trampling on him; now I will enter at the side where his feet were.'

"On entering, he (this time) trod on his (Dévala's) neck. When he (Dévala) asked, who it was, he (the other) said: 'It is I, Master,' 'O rascally ascetic! first you trampled on my hair-knot and now (you trample on) my neck; I curse you.' 'O Master, I am not to blame. I knew not that thou hadst lain down in this position. As I wronged thee the first time, I now entered thinking that I might pass in on the side where (thy) feet were; Pardon me,' he said 'Rascally ascetic! I curse you.' 'Nay, do not so, Master.'

"Without yielding to his entreaty he (Dévala) thus cursed: 'When the sun—which has a thousand rays, a hundred beams—rises, dispersing the darkness, may your head split into seven pieces!' 'O Master,' expostulated Nárada, 'I committed no fault: thou cursest me even after I say that I am not to blame. On whomsoever the guilt rests, may his head be split; but not (that of him) who is not guilty.' And Nárada himself repeated the same (curse).

"Possessing (as he did) great power, he (Nárada) was able to bring to mind (events covering a period of) eighty *kalpas*, forty in the past and forty in the future. Considering, therefore, on whom this curse would fall, he found it would be the Master. Out of compassion for him, through his *iddhi* power, he did not allow the sun to rise.

"As the sun did not rise, the citizens went to the gate of the King, and saying: 'O Sire, (even) though you are reigning, the sun (today) does not rise; (be pleased to) cause it to rise;' and they wept. The King, (mentally) reviewing his bodily actions and seeing (he had done) nothing unjust, self-communed as to the cause. 'It must be due to a quarrel among the priests' (he decided).

"Surmising in this manner, he enquired whether there were any ascetics in the city. When they said that there were in the Potter's hall ascetics who had arrived the previous night, the King immediately proceeded thither with (some) light-bearers. After worshipping Nárada, he seated himself on one side and said : ' O Nárada, industries are at a stand-still in the continent of Jambudípa. How has the world become dark ? Do thou, (thus) questioned, please enlighten me.'

"Nárada told what had occurred : ' I was cursed by this man for this reason. I said I was not at fault, and that on him alone, who had committed the fault, may the curse fall ; and I repeated the curse. After having repeated the curse, reflecting upon whom the curse would fall I understood that, with the appearance of the sun, the Master's head would split into seven pieces, Therefore out of compassion for him, I did not allow the dawn to appear.'

" ' How will it be possible to obviate harm befalling him ?'

' If he were to apologise to me, no harm would befall him.'

' That being so (you should) apologise,' (said the King to Dévala).

' This person, O Great King, trampled on my hair-knot and neck. I shall not apologise to this rascally ascetic,' (replied Dévala).

' Nay, but thou should'st apologise to him.'

' I will not ask his pardon, Great King.'

" Even when he (the King) said : ' Thy head will be split into seven pieces,' he did not apologise. Then the King (saying) : ' Wilt thou not of thine own accord apologise ?', had him [Dévala] seized by hands, feet, body and neck ; and made him bend his head at the feet of the ascetic Nárada.

" Then said Nárada : ' Rise, Master, I have pardoned thee ;' (and, turning to the King) : ' O Great King ! This fellow does not apologise of his own accord. There is a pond [lake?] in the vicinity of the city ; (be pleased to) have a clod of mud placed on his head, and keep him in the water up to his neck.' The King had this done as he (Nárada) directed.

" Calling to Dévala, Nárada said : ' At the fulfilment of my magic power, when the sun's heat begins to be felt, do thou dive into the water and, rising at another place, depart.'

" As soon as the sun's rays touched the clod of mud, it split into seven (pieces) ; he (Dévala), diving into the water, rose (as directed) at another place, and fled."

The Exalted One, having expounded this doctrinal discourse, (said) : " At that time, Bhikkhus, the King was Ánanda ; Dévala was Tissa, and I myself was Nárada. Even in those days, this fellow was disobedient."

Calling Tissa (the Exalted One said) : " Tissa ! In him who thinks : ' I am abused by so and so ; I have been beaten by so and so ; defeated by so and so ; and so and so stole my goods,' (the fire of) anger is not quenched. And in him who does not nurse revengeful feelings, anger is appeased," and he gave utterance to the stanzas ³ :—

* * * * *

At the conclusion of this discourse, a hundred thousand Bhikkhus attained to the first stage of sanctification. The discourse proved greatly beneficial to the people, and the Disobedient One, too, became obedient.

3. Quoted on p. 180 *ante*.

Here ends the story of the Elder Tissa the Stout.

(To be continued.)



THE DUTCH IN CEYLON.

GLIMPSES OF THEIR LIFE AND TIMES¹.

By R. G. ANTHONISZ.

Government Archivist and President, Dutch Burgher Union.

THE subject is a very wide one. It would be quite beyond my power to review with anything like completeness a condition of things, more or less progressive, which extended over a century and a half ; but I have thought that an attempt to present a few glimpses of the "good old times," of which our grandparents used to speak with so much feeling, needs no apology. I hope to draw from some of the sources of information available a few sketches of the life of the period.

It is proposed, therefore, to recall some of the incidents in the occupation of this Island by the Dutch ; and to endeavour to show, as far as possible, what manner of people they were, how they lived, and how they met the demands of the age and clime in which their lot was cast.

And summon from the shadowy past
The forms that once have been.

It is but a hundred and twenty years since the Dutch gave over the government of this Island to the British, a very short time after all in the life of a community ; yet those of us who are old enough to throw our memories sufficiently back feel how far the "Dutch times," of which we used to hear so much in our youth, are receding from us. The venerable men and women who formed the link between those times and ours are gone. Very few of us can now remember the sound of the old language which they spoke : their old manners, too, have disappeared. The generation which succeeded them, turning into decadent paths, thought that language unprofitable and discordant, and those manners frivolous and old-fashioned. Changes followed in rapid succession, until, now, it is left for the student and the archæologist to discover the traces which still remain with us of that olden time.

1. OCCUPATION OF CEYLON.

A weary recital of historical details will not be given ; but it seems necessary, to consider the events connected with the first arrival and the settlement of the Dutch in Ceylon. We have heard of the great renown of the Dutch navigators of the seventeenth century, and read of some of their exploits and adventures ; but, it is particularly interesting to us, as British subjects in Ceylon, to know that their spirit of daring and adventure had its birth chiefly in the struggle in which the Dutch and the English, as close Allies, vanquished the Invincible Armada of their common foe, Philip II. of Spain. By a curious irony of circumstances it was the action of this same Philip which brought the Dutch to these shores ; and which led, eventually, to the Portuguese, who were then his subjects, being driven out of the Island. Determined to thwart and harass the people whom he could not conquer, Philip threw every obstacle that he could in the way of the trade which the Dutch merchants of Amsterdam carried on with Lisbon, then the chief mart for the produce the Portuguese ships brought from the East. The outcome of this was the "Netherlands East India Company ;" under whose banner Dutch seamen undertook, on their own account, to explore the *El Dorado* of the East.

1. Revised from a Lecture delivered in 1905 in aid of the Building Fund of the Colombo Pettah Library.

The first Dutchman to visit Ceylon was the Admiral Joris van Spilbergen: he arrived with a fleet of three ships on the east coast of the Island in the year 1602. The Kandyan King, who was by this time heartily tired of the Portuguese, received him in the most friendly manner, and promised, in return for assistance against the Portuguese, every facility for trading and for building fortresses on the coast. Although the Dutch did not avail themselves of these offers for some time, this friendly reception prepared the way for the expeditions which followed.

The Dutch aggression actually began with the arrival, in 1637, of the Admiral Adam Westerwold, with whom the Kandyan King made a Treaty. Promises were exchanged, by which the Dutch became the Allies of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese. Then followed in succession a series of brilliant triumphs of the Dutch arms over the Portuguese, with the spilling of much blood on both sides. Batticaloa was taken by Westerwold on the 10th May, 1638; Trincomalee by Anthony Caen on the 1st May, 1639; Negombo by Philip *Lucasz on the 9th February, 1640; and Galle by Willem Jacobsz Coster on the 13th March following.

The capture of Galle marks the date of the commencement of Dutch administration. For sixteen years it remained the chief seat of Government; while Colombo was still in the hands of the Portuguese, who, losing their fortresses one by one, determined to concentrate their whole strength in the Capital.

After repeated attacks and repulses, and the loss of a great number of lives, Colombo at last capitulated on the 12th May, 1656: Mannár fell on the 22nd March, 1658: Jaffna on the 21st June following. The Dutch thus became complete masters of the maritime districts of the Island.

As soon as Civil Government was established, the Dutch took steps to regulate and order the social condition of the people, whom they placed in the towns and fortresses they had conquered.

It must be presumed that the ships which brought the earlier settlers from Europe carried chiefly men fit to take part in the warlike operations which they had to look forward to in these unsettled regions, and that few, if any, women or children accompanied these pioneers to Ceylon. The absence of Dutch women during these early years appears, however, to have been, in some measure, compensated by the presence, in most of the conquered forts, of large numbers of Portuguese women and Portuguese descendants. These the Dutch soldiers were encouraged by the Government to marry.

In the meantime, the Directors of the Company in Holland lost no time in framing laws, and making provision for the emigration of men, women, and children from Europe, who were to populate and colonize the newly acquired dominions. Those who were desirous of going out to Ceylon, either singly or with their wives and children were accorded passages in the Company's ships free of cost or charge, upon their taking the oath of fidelity to the Company. Each person was allowed to carry with him as personal capital no more than 3,000 guilders.

Arrived in Ceylon, they were permitted to earn their livelihood by such occupations or industries as they were fitted for, and to carry on any trade, so far as it did not interfere with the commercial interests of the Company. To those also who wished to take up agriculture as a living, the Company offered free land proportioned in extent to each person's capacity of cultivation. But it was soon found that, in this respect at least, Ceylon was not "a white man's country." The climate and the circumstances were different from those at the Cape, where

they had already successfully embarked upon agricultural pursuits. In Ceylon, therefore, the Dutch left these occupations to the natives, while their own people confined themselves to the towns. Those who came out on the conditions mentioned were not at liberty to return to Europe till after fifteen years ; when the Company's ships were again at their service, but on payment of transport charges.

The Company's Establishment, Civil and Military, was also, from time to time, increased by the arrival of those who came out on Agreements of Service, and many of these brought their families with them.

Thus was formed in process of time the Dutch community of Ceylon.

It must not be supposed, however, that all those who came out in the service of the Netherlands East India Company were natives of the little Dutch Republic. A very large proportion of the servants of the Company, and many others who settled here, were drawn from the States of Germany, from Denmark, Sweden, France, and even from the British Isles. They came as subjects of the United Provinces, speaking the Dutch language ; and were here all classed together under the one designation—Hollanders or the *Hollandsche* (pronounced *Hol-lan-se*) which was shortened by the Sinhalese into *Lánsi*, a term which has survived to our day as the native name for the Burghers of Ceylon.

Of the free town-population other than Hollanders, to which I must perforce chiefly confine myself, there were yet two communities, occupying a lower status in the social scale. These were known as the *Tupasses* and the *Libertines*.

The former were a coloured race of Portuguese descent, with a large excess of native blood in their veins, whom the Dutch employed in various menial duties in their offices or *kantoor*s, or who earned a precarious livelihood for themselves by the practice of simple arts and handicrafts. Many of them were skilled players upon various musical instruments, often of their own contrivance, and they thus supplied the Dutch gentlefolk with the music for their dances and other entertainments. The word *Tupas*, or *Tupahe*, has survived to our own day : its use as applied to a particular class is, I believe, well known.

The *Libertines* were the emancipated slaves of the Dutch. They were an ever-increasing class ; because large numbers of slaves from time to time received their freedom on the death, or the departure, of their masters. Although kept distinct as a community for some time, they gradually merged into the *Tupasses*; and the name at length fell into disuse.

2. ESTABLISHMENTS.

A brief description of the Dutch Establishments is desirable. The Head of the Government, who was styled Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon, received his appointment from Batavia, the head-quarters of the Government of India. The selection for the post was usually made from among the Members of the Council of India ; and the appointment was subject to the approval of the Directors of the East India Company at home.

Some of these Governors were wise and good men, of whose acts and conduct copious records have been preserved : a few of them were distinguished for high statesmanship and great administrative ability. Joan Maatsuyker, (who afterwards became Governor-General of the Indies), Rycklof van Goens, and Cornelis Johannes Simons, of an earlier period, as Isaac Augustin Rumpf, Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff, and Iman Willem Falck, later, were among the ablest of them. The last-named had also the reputation of being a polished scholar.

In contrast to these stands out prominently the memory of another Governor, Petrus Vuyst, the mention of whose name was alone sufficient for a long time to strike terror into the hearts of the people of Ceylon. His case may be mentioned to show, how, in an age of slow communication and immature laws, it was possible, for an individual with a perverse and ambitious nature, to abuse his authority, so far as to perpetrate the grossest crimes and cruelties.

Vuyst was born in Batavia ; the son of an officer in the Company's service there. After being educated in Holland, and marrying a young lady of fortune, he returned to the East, where he rose rapidly in the Company's Service, chiefly, it is said, through the influence of his wife's relations. He was scarcely 30 years old when he was appointed Governor and Director of this Island. The accounts we have present him to us in the character, no less of a silly and fanatical, than a wicked and infamous person. His first act on landing at Galle, says a biographer, was to clap a plaster over one of his eyes, in order to show the people of Ceylon that he did not want two eyes to rule a land of such small dimensions ! He is also said to have vauntingly proclaimed that his administration of the Island would be marked by a vigilance and firmness which no predecessor ever exercised before. In the words, which it is related he often repeated,

*Met Solmon's wysheid :
En Vuyst's dapperheid*

he meant to rule "with the wisdom of a Solomon and the boldness of a Vuyst."

He had not been long in the Government before he sought opportunities to quarrel with his subordinates and some of the highest officials soon incurred his displeasure. Commandeur Schagen of Galle, the highest of the Company's Servants after himself, was removed from office on charges of mal-administration. The Military were attacked ; and, when they attempted to defend themselves against a systematically devised course of persecution, this was made the occasion for charges of treason. Then followed Inquisitorial Councils and a regular system of espionage : witnesses were compelled to give evidence under most painful torture. Among other diabolical inventions was that of having the victims' nails drawn out, and hot sealing-wax poured on the bleeding flesh. He went from bad to worse, until universal terror spread over the land. He dismissed his regular Councillors, and constituted himself judge, prosecutor, and executioner, all in one. Nineteen innocent men were done to death by modes of torture the most inhuman imaginable. Some were hanged on trees on the Esplanade ; some on gallows ; some had their arms and legs broken before being decapitated. But for three, Frederick Andriesz, Jan de Cauw, and Barent Schuurman, was reserved the most barbarous of all these modes of slaughter : after their bones had been broken, their flesh torn, and their heads struck off with an axe, the trunks were dragged on hurdles and their heads fixed on spikes.

The news of his atrocities at length reached Batavia ; and the authorities there lost no time in sending out a new Governor, who had orders to arrest the tyrant and send him in chains to Batavia. He was there tried by a special tribunal, and was condemned to suffer death by decapitation. His body was afterwards divided into four quarters, burnt, and the ashes thrown into the sea.²

2. Upon a stone slab let into the wall of a building in Baillie Street may still be seen the following inscription :—

*Door Gewelt gevelt ;
Door't Regt herstelt.*

" Destroyed by Might : restored by Right."

this was intended to commemorate the restoration of a building belonging to Lieutenant Andrias Swarts which Vuyst caused to be destroyed to revenge himself on its owner, who was cruelly executed.

This, probably, is the darkest shadow in the whole picture that may be drawn of the Dutch times in Ceylon. I have given it as a contrast to the many high-lights that present themselves on various sides. Happily most of the Governors were conscientious, God-fearing men, who sought to do their duty according to the lights vouchsafed to them.

The Governor was assisted by a Political Council, composed usually of ten of the highest Servants of the Company. Next in rank to the Governor came the Commandeurs of Jaffna and Galle ; who, as Provincial Governors, were aided in their administration by Political Councils of their own, subordinate to the Political Council of Ceylon. These Commandeurs had seats in the Political Council of Ceylon, and, whenever present in Colombo, took precedence of all other Members.

The Servants of the Company were divided into four classes, according to their functions, viz., Political, Naval, Military, and Artisan.

The Political Servants, who corresponded in some respects to the Civil Service of our day, consisted of various grades or ranks, each of which bore a complimentary commercial designation. The highest grade was that of *Opper-koopman* or Upper-merchant ; the next *Koopman* or Merchant ; then *Onder-koopman* or Under-merchant ; then *Boek-houder* or Book-keeper ; and then *Assistent* or Assistant ; while the Writers or Cadets were styled *Aankwekelingen by de pen*. This initial appointment was also often designated *Soldaat by de pen*, and sometimes *Soldaat* only. The salaries ranged from 9 or 10 guilders, in the lowest grade, to 120 guilders, the stipend of an *Opper-koopman*.

The Company's Servants were distributed among the various Stations in the Island, and attached to various Departments. Of the *Opperkooplieden*,³ or Upper Merchants, there were but four in the whole Service. These were the *Hoofd Administrateur*, who was the Chief Revenue Officer of the Government, and the *Dessaves* of Colombo, Jaffna, and Matara. The term *Dessave*, it may be mentioned, was a Sinhalese title, which the Dutch adopted as convenient to apply to certain Administrative Agents of their own nationality. The number in each of the other grades, from *Koopman* downward, increased in inverse proportion to their importance and dignity.

The Principal Offices for the transaction of Civil business were the Political Secretarial, in which the *Secretaris van Politie*, an officer of the rank of *Koopman*, presided over a staff composed of several *Onder-kooplieden* and a large number of *Boek-houders* and *Assistents* ; and where was carried on most of the writing and the principal epistolary work of the Government ; a *Negotie Kantoor* or Trade Office, devoted to all matters relating to the trade of the Company ; a *Zoldy Kantoor* or Pay Office, which concerned itself with all matters relating to disbursements ; and other Departments adapted to the various needs of the administration, each furnished with its full equipment of *Onderkooplieden*, *Boekhouders*, *Assistents*, and others, —the higher officers supervising and ordering the business, while the lower officers did duty as sworn clerks or copyists.

The Provincial Stations, Jaffna and Galle, which were called the *Commandements* of Jaffna and Galle, were, as already stated, each under a *Commandeur*, who, subject to the Governor of the Island, exercised both Civil and Military authority within his jurisdiction. The minor stations, except Matara, (where the *Dessave* of the Galle *Commandement* was the local chief), were placed under an *Opper-hoofd* or President, who was usually of the rank of an

3. Plural of *Opperkoopman*.

Onder-koopman. The establishments in all the outstations, though of course relatively of less importance than those at Colombo, corresponded in almost all particulars to those at the chief seat of Government.

Of the Judicial Tribunals, the Highest Court of the land was the *Raad van Justitie* at Colombo, which exercised both an original and an appellate jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction in Civil matters was confined to all suits between Europeans and European descendants, where the subject matter of the suit exceeded 120 rix-dollars in amount; and also in suits against Natives residing in the Fort of Colombo, and in any place within Kayman's Gate, where the same amount was involved. It also exercised an exclusive jurisdiction in Criminal matters. The President of this Court was the *Hoofd Administrateur*, and the Members were chosen from those of the Political Council.

The Court next in order was the *Landraad*, which exercised a jurisdiction over Natives in all disputes relating to land, and in matters of contract and debt, where the amount involved exceeded 120 rix-dollars. The Dessave of Colombo was the President of this Court, and the Members were, the Fiscal, one or two *Onder-kooplieden* and *Boek-houders*, the First Mahá Mudaliyar, the Attapattu Mudaliyar, and the Keeper of the *Thombus* or Land Registers.

After this came the *Civile Raad*, or *Hof van Kleine Gerechts Zaaiken*, that is, the Court of Small Causes, which dealt with all matters of contract and debt not exceeding 120 rix-dollars. This Court exercised jurisdiction over Europeans as well as Natives.

At Jaffna and Galle the Judicial Tribunals were modelled after those at Colombo. The *Raad van Justitie* was presided over by the Commandeur; while over the *Landraad* the Dessave presided at Jaffna, and the *Opziender*, or Superintendent of the *Korle*, at Galle. An appeal lay from the *Raad van Justitie* at Jaffna and Galle, and from the minor tribunals to the *Raad van Justitie* at Colombo in all matters, Civil as well as Criminal; while a further appeal was permitted from this Court to the *Raad van Justitie* at Batavia, in cases where the subject in dispute exceeded 300 rix-dollars, or where the accused in a criminal prosecution was above the rank of an *Assistent* or Sergeant.

In the smaller Stations, such as Mátara, Trincomalie, Mannár, etc., there was no *Raad van Justitie*; and the *Landraad* (from which an appeal lay to the *Raad van Justitie* at Galle or Jaffna), exercised jurisdiction over Europeans as well as Natives.

Passing over the Naval and Military Services of the Company, regarding which nothing will be said here, I come to the Artisan class—the *Ambachtslieden*. These constituted always a very important section of the Service.

The most important office in this class was apparently that of the *Baas der Scheeps en Huistimmerlieden*, literally, Master over the Ships' and House Carpenters,—an officer who, considering his position, the salary attached to his post, and the qualifications required for it, corresponded to that of Director of Public Works. In the *timmerwerven*, or work-yards under his charge, large numbers of skilled workmen were employed, supervised by *meesterknechten*, or foremen, with European training.

There was also a *Baas der Wapenkamer*, or Master of the Armoury, a *Baas der Smeden*, for the Smiths, a *Baas der Metselaars*, for the Masons, and a *Baas der Pannebakkerij* for the Brick and Tile Works; these posts being filled by men from Europe. But the arts and processes which they introduced and taught were soon acquired by the numerous local workmen whom they employed. That to this Dutch skilled labour must be traced much of the knowledge which the native artisans of the present day put into practice, and that to it we thus owe many

of the comforts we now enjoy, is a fact which I think is not sufficiently well known. Some of the very names of the tools which our present workmen use, and of the processes they employ, will be found to be words of Dutch origin.

Besides those who served the Company in the various capacities I have mentioned, a large proportion of the *Hollandsche* or Dutch community, consisted of Burghers, or, as they were also sometimes called, *Vryburgers*. These had certain privileges granted to them by the Company: they resided in the towns, and carried on trades on their own account. Periodical elections were made from among them to fill various honorary offices in the Town Council, the Court of Marriage Causes, and other Local Boards. Many of these Burghers were men who, having served the Company for a term, had applied for, and obtained, their discharge from the Service, acts of Burghership being then granted to them. There was thus no social distinction between the Company's Servants and the Burghers. Nothing was of more frequent occurrence than for several members of the same family to be alternative Company's Servants and some Burghers.

An institution with which the Burghers were closely associated was the *Burgery*, or *Trainband*. The officers of this armed force, of which each town had a Company, were selected from the leading *Vryburgers*; but the rank and file used often to be furnished from the *Tupasses*, who then were granted certain limited Burgher rights.⁴

3. INSTITUTIONS.

I now proceed to consider some of the Religious, Educational and Charitable Institutions of the Dutch in Ceylon.

First of all we have the Reformed Protestant Church, which, throughout their rule in this Island, they cherished and maintained with fostering care. No account of the Dutch times would be complete without some mention of the great interest which the East India Company took in the maintenance and promotion of what they were pleased to term the "true reformed religion."

With this object they built Churches in all the Stations they occupied, and always kept up a regular staff of Ministers. These Ministers were men of academical attainments, ordained and sent out by the Classes in Holland; and they were selected for their special fitness, their piety, and their missionary zeal.

Besides the regularly ordained Clergymen, two lower grades of Ministers were employed, who were called *Krankbezoekers* and *Ziekentroosters*, whose chief duty it was to make house to house visitations, to comfort the sick, and to perform many of those minor religious functions which fall to the lot of Ministers.

The Chamber of the XVII Representatives in Holland, from time to time, framed Rules for the guidance both of the regular Ministers as well as of these lesser Clergy; and the Civil authorities in the Island made Ecclesiastical matters a subject of special concern—a concern which the Clergy sometimes even resented. They now and then protested that if they stood too much *sub regimine mundano*, they were impeded in the full exercise of Church discipline. In spite of this we find that the Governor in Colombo, and the *Commandeurs* in the two Provincial Stations, exercised no little personal authority over the Ministers. They are said to have sometimes claimed the right, (in order, as they expressed it, to test the ability of the preacher

4. This rank and file of the *Burgery*, composed mostly of men of Portuguese descent, remained in Ceylon after the disbandment of their corps; and, being for the most part employed in various kinds of manual labour, acquired in British times the local appellation of "Mechanics."

and to maintain a strictly *ex tempore* style of preaching), of selecting the text for each Sunday's discourse, and sending it up to the Minister after he had mounted the pulpit."⁵

Associated with the Ministers, and composed of one or two Lay Members of the Church Council, was the *Censura Morum*, a body which took cognizance of all little moral offences which were committed by the Members. They visited these in their houses, remonstrated with them, and often recommended to the Clergy the suspension of some of these moral delinquents from admittance to the Lord's Table.

While the Company thus provided for the religious wants of their own people, they were no less mindful of the natives of the country, whose religious darkness they felt they were called upon to lighten. The Clergy received official instructions to propagate Christianity among the natives, "in order," as one of the Classes expressed it, "that God may make instrumental the conquests of the Netherlanders' arms to the extension of His Name and Kingdom among benighted natives."

Churches and Schools were established in each of the ecclesiastical districts, viz., Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle; and adults and children were taught and baptized: the former, after a searching examination into the candidate's knowledge of Christian doctrine, the latter, on the parents' profession of Christianity. The European Ministers were encouraged to learn the vernacular languages; native Proponents and School-masters were appointed; and the translation of the Scriptures, the Catechism, and various doctrinal works was undertaken.

As a means of making Christianity more acceptable to the natives, the plan was very early conceived of teaching it through men of their own race.

With this view, was at length established, in 1696, an Institution which played a very important part in the educational policy of the Dutch. This was the Colombo Seminary⁶—"the pet Institution both of the Government and the Clergy. No pains were spared to render it in every way efficient and flourishing; no letter was written to the Home Government and Church by the Consistory but the Seminary occupied a prominent place; and most ardent was the hope that, under Divine blessing, it might prove a successful instrument in propagating Christianity among the natives of Ceylon. Its main object was to train and qualify young men, both Sinhalese and Tamil, for becoming Native Preachers."⁷ The standard of education was gradually raised; until, in the course of time, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics, and Moral Science, with, of course, a sound knowledge of Dutch, were taught by men holding the highest attainments. Some of the students so well acquitted themselves at the public examinations which were held, that the Company undertook the cost of sending them to complete their studies in Holland: after a course of training in a theological institution, and graduating in one or other of the universities, they returned to Ceylon as fully qualified Clergymen. Two of the best known of these native youths were Willem Jurgen Ondaatje, father of the famous Dr. Quint Ondaatje; and Henricus Philipsz Panditaratna, a son of the Mahá Mudaliyar. Another great scholar, theologian, and Christian apologist, whom the Seminary turned out (though he never went to Holland), was Philippus de Melho, the author and translator of numerous well-known works.

5. The following story is told of a certain Governor, whose name is not mentioned, but who, it is stated, was noted for his avaricious character. On one occasion, either to try the Minister's tact and intelligence, or with a view to create a diversion, he sent up, instead of the usual text for which the pious man was waiting, a blank slip of paper. The Minister glanced at this, but nothing disconcerted, he held up the paper, so that the whole congregation could see it; then repeating aloud to himself: "*Er is niets hier*" "There is nothing here," he proceeded to give out his text: "*Wy hebben niets in de wereld gebracht, het is openbaar, dat wy ook niet kunnen iets daar uit dragen*" ("We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out.") This he made the subject of an eloquent invective against the sin of avarice.

6. The Sister Institution, the Jaffna Seminary, had been opened six years previously, viz., in 1690, through the agency of the High Commissioner Hendrik Adriaan Van Reede, Lord of Meydrecht.

7. Rev. J. D. Palm: *Educational Establishments of the Dutch in Ceylon*. (Journal C. A. S., 1848, Vol. I.)

The Company also prescribed the conditions under which other schools were to be opened. The qualifications required in the Schoolmasters, their duties, the subjects of instruction, the school hours, etc., formed the subject of State Regulations. It established a *Nederlandsche School* for the children of the Company's Servants and Burghers. There was a school attached to the *Weeskamer*, or Orphan Chamber, and another to the *Armen Huis*, or Poor House ; while some of the other schools were known as Company's Schools and Free Schools. All the schools were held throughout the year, without terms and long vacations. The only holidays observed were Christmas and New Year's Day, the day of Christ's Ascension, the Anniversary of the Capture of Colombo, and the days specially appointed for public rejoicing and for prayer and thanksgiving. All six week days were school days, except that the afternoons of Wednesday and Saturday were observed as half holidays. The school hours were from 8 to 11 in the forenoon, and from 2 to 5 in the afternoon.

All Schools and Educational Institutions were under the control of a body called the *Scholarchen*, which was composed, in Colombo, of the Dessave, the Clergy, and three or four of the Company's Servants, specially nominated by the Governor : in the Provincial Towns similar Boards were appointed with similar functions. The *Scholarchen* not only directed and supervised public education, but also examined schools and appointed masters. The Meetings of the Board were called *Scholarchse Vergaderingen*.

Of the Charitable Institutions which the Government maintained, partly out of public funds and partly out of voluntary donations, the *Weeskamer*, or Orphan Chamber, and the *Armen Huis*, or Poor House, are worthy of special mention. Both these Institutions were under the control of the Diaconate of the Church.

The *Weeskamer* was placed under a Regent appointed by the Government, whose duty it was to see to the internal management of the Institution. He had the services of a Matron, called the *Binnen Moeder*, to whom was entrusted the care of the young children and girls. The Orphans, boys and girls separately, were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and the usual prayers ; and when they were of sufficient age, the boys were taught some trade or livelihood, and the girls to sew and knit and make themselves useful in domestic matters. At the age of from 18 to 20 years the young men, as well as the girls, were required to leave the Institution. The boys were then provided with employment suitable to their ability, while the girls by the time they reached that age either married, or took service in the houses of the Dutch gentry. Each girl on her marriage, or on leaving the Orphanage, received, besides the clothes which had been supplied to her, a sum of 60 rix-dollars in cash.

The *Armen Huis*, or Poor House, was also under the management of a Regent, who was called the *Binnen Vader*. He had a staff of Native Assistants called *Mandadoors*, who personally tended and looked after the wants of the inmates. While care was taken that all those who were really destitute should find admittance into the House, certain restrictions were observed to safeguard its resources. Thus, no married persons were eligible ; nor were children whose parents were alive ; nor again parents who had children living in the town able to support them. Those inmates who were not disabled, and who were physically fit, were employed in different ways—the women in sewing and knitting, the men in various handicrafts ; while the older girls were trained in household duties.

A great part of the funds of the *Armen Huis* was obtained from legacies. Every pious soul in those days—and they all appear to have been pious as far as this matter went—at the hour of death, or in anticipation of the great change, felt it a religious duty to remember the poor and

the destitute. The wills, of which several volumes are preserved in our archives, bear abundant proof of this. They begin invariably with the old fashioned, sentimental preamble, in which the testator, "knowing the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the time and the hour thereof," resolves, "before he should be called upon to leave this vale of tears, to dispose of those worldly goods which the favour of Almighty God had bestowed upon him;" then, "yielding back to God his immortal soul and his mortal body to the bosom of the earth," he proceeds, first of all, to give to the *Armen Huis* of the town where he should depart this life such sum as his means would permit. Some of these legacies used to be large and handsome; but every one who had a will to make eased his soul by making a bequest.

4. SOCIAL LIFE.

Lengthy and formal, like the wills they executed, was the manner of most of the acts they performed. Their lawyers and their politicians revelled in pleonasm in their most ordinary transactions; while their clergymen preached long-winded sermons to congregations that patiently listened to them Sunday after Sunday. All Public Meetings and Assemblies, even those of the Political Council, opened with a long and formal prayer; while the graces before and after meet in every household were solemn prayers prescribed by the Church. Even in their speech and forms of address the fashion of the day demanded the use of an exuberance of words, and of long and high-sounding titles. For instance, the Governor of the Island was addressed *Groot Achtbaren en Hoog Gebiedende Heer*, meaning, as nearly as possible, "Greatly Venerated and Highly Empowered Sir"; a Commandeur, *Archtbaren en Wel Edelen Heer*, or "Venerated and Honourable Sir"; an *Opper-koopman*, *Wel Edelen Heer* or "Honourable Sir"; while a *Koopman*, or *Onder-koopman*, was styled *De Edele Heer*, or "Noble Sir." Military Officers and those of the *Burgery* had the title of *Manhaften* or "the Valiant," in addition to these honorifics, according to rank. Not only were these titles always used in writing, but persons of subordinate rank orally addressed their superiors by the titles which belonged to them.

So much verbosity and stiff ceremonial is perhaps suggestive to us of a mode of life cold and formal, without any of that lively social intercourse which we are accustomed to associate with the pleasures of life. Let us not, however, too hastily judge this primitive folk by any standards which have been created by our own surroundings. Their manners and customs, their modes of thought and action, were as much the product of the benighted age in which they lived, as the conveniences we enjoy, the wider knowledge we possess, and all our modern ideas of things, are the outcome of the great discoveries of our time. Steam and electricity and the teachings of science have imported into our life a movement and a bustle which they never knew. The time, which we find all too short for the demands that are made upon it, hung, perhaps, rather heavily on their hands. They came thus to be slow in thought and in action, and to do everything they did in a leisurely manner.

If, however, we look a little more closely into their lives, we shall, I think, catch glimpses of a quaint and picturesque existence.

A complete view of the social life of the Dutch in Ceylon during the long period the Island was under their rule cannot here be taken; but a very fair estimate of it may be obtained from an example which we will draw, say, from the middle of the eighteenth century.

Let us imagine ourselves taking a peep into a Dutch house in the Pettah of Colombo, the *Oude Stad*, or Old City, somewhere about the year 1750.

The house itself, its furniture and its surroundings, first engages our attention. In front of the house, stretching along its whole length, is an open paved platform called the *stoep* which we

have to cross in order to enter the house. Opening in from the *stoep*, is a wide portal set in a massive framework of wood with heavily panelled shutters, and surmounted by a fan-light filled in with a huge cipher monogram. On either side are lofty windows nearly four feet from the ground.

The door leads us in to the *kleine zaal*, which is a kind of lobby, or passage ; but it is wide enough for two rows of chairs to be ranged against the wall on either side. No other furniture is here, but the walls are decorated with a number of portrait engravings and historical scenes set in broad ebony frames. The portraits are those of the first *Stadhouder*, Willem the Silent, of his son Prince Maurits, of the Admirals Tromp and de Ruyter, and other heroes of Dutch history ; while the pictures represent the *Siege of Leiden*, the *Murder of the de Witts*, the *Escape of Grotius in a Chest*, and similar events which they in those days delighted to recall.

Two doors lead from the *kleine zaal* into chambers on either side ; but we will, for the present, pass on to the *zaal* or great hall, which is a wide and lofty room, stretching nearly the whole breadth of the building. It is the living room of the family. Here we come across a vast assortment of furniture and other interesting objects, though we must content ourselves with the mention of only a few. On one side is a long dining table of four square pieces, each standing on a single centre pedestal after the fashion of a round table. Around it are placed a row of high-backed chairs. An *eten kast*, which serves as a larder, and a *kelder*, or cellaret, of calamander wood bound with copper, stand close by. Along the walls are other chairs, of diverse shapes and sizes—some broad and roomy, others small and low. A *rustbank*, or settee, of ebony, with two footstools besides it, occupy a blank space of wall ; while by a window near it stands a small table with a *dambord*, or draught-board. By another window stands a *lessenaar*, or desk, of calamander or ebony, on which lies the *Staten Bybel*, a large folio Black Letter Bible in heavy wooden boards, covered with stamped leather and fastened by brass clasps and corners. In this Bible, if we opened and examined it, would be found the *stamboek* or family register, in which the head of the family kept a chronicle of domestic events. Often a genealogical tree would be attached to the *stamboek* to trace the family back to the first settler in Ceylon, or to some distinguished ancestor in the *Vaderland*. A couple of brass candlesticks, a couple of tall spittoons of the same metal a *kantoorje* or writing desk, and a book-case, are other objects which attract our attention. A large variety of porcelain jars, ivory boxes, and brass articles of various shapes appear on the tables. On the walls are pictures larger in size than those in the passage. Some of these are oil paintings—not on canvas, as we have them now, but on broad wooden panels. On a rack on the wall is a number of swords of various sizes and shapes, from the ponderous long sword of brass and steel to the slender weapon, silver-mounted and gold-chased, which the fashion of the day required every gentleman to wear as a part of his full dress. On the same rack are also displayed several three-cornered hats and a wig or two. Hanging from the ceiling are large square lamps : these are made of four panes of glass mounted in brass, with a centre support for a burner.

The other rooms which the house contains are a *visite kamer*, or reception room ; and several *slaap kamers*, or bed rooms. Over the *zaal* which we have described is the *zolder*, or attic. This, though mainly constructed for the reception of stores or lumber, is also serviceable as a dormitory, and is often so used.

Leaving the *zaal*, we pass out into the back verandah of the house, or the *halve dak*, so called because only half of the paved space is covered by the roof. From the *halve dak* we go down into a square, or oblong, bit of paved compound which is called the *plaats*.

On two sides of this are the side rooms, and the offices of the house. One of these rooms, larger than the others, which we enter from the *plaats* is called the *plaatse kamer*. It is a handy room for various purposes, and is variously used according to the will or the requirements of the owner. Another room, smaller than the *plaatse kamer*, is the *dispens*, or store-room. In the *plaats* stands also the well, with its masonry wall and cross-beam and pulley.

To some readers, I am sure, much of this description may recall distant memories of long-forgotten things and places, and from the old names I have used they will more readily recognize the objects referred to, which may bring to memory what was familiar in childhood: "Why, this is not a description of a house of the Dutch times: it is very like the houses we remember when we were young!"⁸; and so it is. How very typical those old houses of the Pettah of Colombo, of Galle, and of Jaffna are of the Dutch houses of an older time may be seen from the works of the old Dutch painters that are still preserved in Holland and elsewhere.⁹ The paved courtyard with its well, the broad *zaal* with its quaint furniture, the panelled doors and windows, and many other things, all familiar to us, are vividly depicted in the paintings of Jan Steen, of Gerard Dou, of Pieter de Hooch, and many other famous artists.

But let us now take note of the living occupants of the house: the master and the mistress, the children, and the numerous domestics who are to be seen flitting about the house.

It is early morning, but we find the whole household astir and busy. The master of the house attends his *kantoor* at 7 o'clock. He is, therefore, up betimes; and, while the morning repast is preparing, we see him either pacing the *stoep* in front of the house, or standing conversing with his next door neighbour—the contiguous houses being so built that only a rail or low wall separated the *stoep* of one house from that of another. Sometimes he has his chair brought out and sits watching the passers by. We observe that he is clean shaven, and that his *deshabille* consists of a loose garment in which comfort rather than elegance has been the chief consideration. We also catch a glimpse of *mevrouw* in her morning toilet of a crisp gingam skirt and long white jacket of spotless linen—as she sits in the *halve dak* and orders the servants about: her shrill voice rings through the house as she keeps constantly calling for them by such names as "Rosalie," "Belisante," "Aurora," or "Champaca." The children are preparing for school, which they attend at 8 o'clock: they go out, the boys in their *opperbroeks*¹⁰ (a sort of combination garment charming in its simplicity,) and the girls in skirts and short white jackets.

While many of these things are familiar to us, (because the Dutch were a very conservative people, and the fashion they observed fifty or a hundred years previously came down very little changed to our own early days), the appearance of the domestics strikes us at once as unfamiliar. Instead of the fine-featured, brown-complexioned Sinhalese servants who now take employment in our houses, we find here a swarthy, woolly-haired, and thick-lipped race of men and women engaged in several household duties. They are variously clad: some of the men are in pantaloons and jackets, others in waist-cloths; while most of the women wear skirts with short tunics of coloured stuff. The men as well as the women wear ear-rings—the latter generally heavy ones, which weigh down and stretch the lobes of the ear; and all go bare-footed. It is scarcely necessary to mention that these are slaves. Yet they are not all of pure African descent: traces may be observed in many of them of an admixture with higher types; and some have come from Tanjore in Southern India.

8. This Paper was first delivered in 1903 as a Lecture to an audience chiefly composed of Dutch Burghers.

9. The subject of "Dutch Architecture in Ceylon" has been ably treated by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., in a series of articles in the *Architectural Review*, 1902–1907. The illustrations there given will be found very interesting.

10. The *opperbroek* which was used by Burgher children in Ceylon half a century ago must be familiar to many of the older generation now living. It is still used in Batavia.

It is not my purpose here to consider how these slaves came to be employed by the Dutch in Ceylon. We now look upon all such traffic as wicked and inhuman. But it must be mentioned that Holland itself was always a free country, where slavery was unknown ; and that, if the Dutchman abroad claimed the right to treat certain races of mankind as marketable stock, he was only following the fashion of other colonists of those days. In the treatment of his slaves besides there was nothing for which we of this enlightened age should execrate his memory.

On the whole the slaves in old Ceylon fared very well at the hands of their masters. Pious "Uncle Tom," for instance, had he lived in Ceylon in the eighteenth century, would have had a better fate than the one he suffered in America ; for no Christian slave could be sold here, and such piety as his was sure to have been respected. Cases may, no doubt, have occurred of masters and mistresses who were unduly harsh with these unfortunate creatures ; but instances of positive cruelty were rare indeed. Nor does it seem that the management of these slaves was always an easy or pleasant business, or that they were an exceptionally amiable lot.

We find that in the year 1778, after many previous efforts in the same direction, the authorities were obliged to pass a law "with a view," it is stated, "to restrain the vindictiveness and insolence of the slaves, and their audacity, which not infrequently amounted to violence in the public streets, to murders and homicides, and prevent their obtaining the upper hand over their masters." This Regulation, after citing several instances of recent outrages, draws a distinction between the various classes of slaves, and prescribes the Rules to be observed in dealing with them and the punishments to be inflicted on them for different offences. It may be said, therefore, that the lot of slaves in Ceylon was not so hard as we may be led to imagine. They were more or less contented with their lives, and few cared for anything better. Many instances of remarkable fidelity on the part of some of them, and of tender care and solicitude on the part of the masters and mistresses, have come down to us. The *huisboorlingin*, or house-born slaves, may be mentioned specially as a very faithful and trustworthy class.¹¹

After this digression we will go back to the house where we left the inmates just about to begin their day's occupations. The morning repast, consisting of tea or coffee, with bread, butter, and cheese, and supplies of "hoppers" and other local comestibles,¹² is over.

The master of the house now issues forth arrayed in the picturesque garb of the time. He has changed his loose *deshabille* for a long surtout, knee-breeches, silk stockings, and buckled shoes, while a three-cornered hat rests on his well-powered wig. He now steps into the street, where his faithful slave Philemon is waiting with a large umbrella of talipot leaves, which he holds over his master's head, walking behind him all the way to the office. Here the business hours are from 7 or 8 to 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and from 2 to 5 in the afternoon : at 11 o'clock all the officers and employees return to their houses.

The *middag maal*, or midday meal, is partaken at 12 o'clock. It is the chief heavy meal of the day, and consists of soup, fish and poultry, ham, bacon, eggs and vegetables, with curry and rice. The Company's ships, which were sent out from home in the months of May, August, and December, brought varieties of cured meat and large supplies of butter, cheese, and other food-

11. It is said that when, in later times, our great-grandparents were induced to petition the Prince Regent of Great Britain to pass a law for a general emancipation of slaves in Ceylon, many of these faithful creatures, hearing of the proposed change in their condition, wept and prayed that they might be left as they were. The law was eventually passed, but no practical change occurred in their lives ; for most of them continued to live peaceful and contented lives with their masters and their masters' children until the day of their death. Some of these, old and feeble, lived even up to our own days.

12. A remarkable feature in the character of the Dutch was the facility with which they adapted themselves to the ways of the people with whom they lived. They thus readily took up, and often improved upon, many native usages of which they approved.

stuffs : and these were stored in the *pakhuizen*, or warehouses ; from which they were issued at stated times. But the Ceylon Dutchman also put into practice many meat-curing and dairy processes which he had learnt at home ; so that bacon, butter, and cheese of local manufacture were also always to be had. He also borrowed from the Portuguese many a delicate dish which took his fancy, and imported from Java most of the richly-dressed and highly-spiced culinary preparations, the names of which have come down to our own day.

The interval between the *middag maal* and the next office hour was spent by the chief inmates of the house in a short siesta. This was characteristic of all the Dutch in the East, who firmly believed in the need of some midday rest to counteract the enervating influences of a tropical climate.

By 5 o'clock all offices and places of business are closed for the day. The children return from school, and the grown up folk, as well as the little ones, give themselves up to recreation and amusement.

In the treatment of their children the Dutch followed certain quaint usages, which may seem odd and intolerant to us in this uncharitable age ; yet they are, worthy of mention.

We have already seen how stiff and formal they were in many of their affairs. This same spirit led them to emphasize differences of age by placing a marked barrier of reserve between the young and the old. For instance, no child, even after he attained years of discretion, would indulge in any familiar talk, or gossip, with his parents. He would not take wine or spirits, or smoke, in their presence. If seated, he would stand up when they entered a room. Every boy was also taught to raise his hat to any elderly person of respectable appearance whom he met in the street, whether he was personally known to him or not. So also the younger children in the family were not allowed to address their eldest brother or sister by the Christian name : this was considered disrespectful. The eldest brother was always *broer*, or brother, and the eldest sister *sus*, or *susje*, to the younger ones. All the elderly friends of the family, whether relations or not, were *oom* "uncle" or *moei* "aunt" to the young men and women : yet their lives were probably no less harmonious than most lives of the present day ; the children played and romped about very much as children do in our days.

The mention of their little games and amusements may remind some of us of the games we played when we were young. ¹³

Some of their Nursery Rhymes too are very suggestive to us of familiar things. Here is one in which they commemorate the famous exploit of one of their national heroes. It is one I learnt when I was a little boy :—

<i>Piet Pietersz Heyn :</i>	Piet Pietersz Heyn :
<i>Zyn naam is klein,</i>	His name is small,
<i>Zyn daad is groot ;</i>	But his deed is great ;
<i>Hy heeft gewonnen de</i>	For he has captured
<i>Spaansche Zilver Vloot</i>	The Spanish Silver Fleet.

This was the Admiral Piet Heyn, who, at a time when the Dutch exchequer was very low, and the Government at its wits' end how to meet the expenses of the State, sailed out into the

13. I feel tempted, to describe one simple old game of theirs, which is probably not unfamiliar. One of a party is sent into a room with a handkerchief which he is to conceal in some out of the way nook or corner, while the others stand outside waiting for the summons to enter. As they come in and the search begins, he cries out : "*Ver van daar ! Ver van daar !*" "Far from there" or "*Dat's naar by ! Dat's naar by !*" "That is close by", just as they wander away from, or approach, the place of concealment. He is to remain in the room till the article is found, and then try to make his escape before the finder can catch and whack him with the handkerchief. Then the game begins again, the finder, if he does not catch the other, taking his place, while the rest go out.

Atlantic, and meeting the Spanish fleet from Mexico convoying ships heavily laden with silver, captured the whole fleet and its valuable cargo, and brought them in triumph into Amsterdam.

The Dutch also had their domestic animals. Besides dogs and cats, which of course they kept, almost every house had its parrot in a strong and heavy cage. The parrot appears to have been the favourite bird of these old colonists; they loved to teach it various little phrases and salutations, and sometimes bits of nonsensical doggerel.¹⁴

The hour for "making calls" was usually between 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening. These were neighbourly calls, free from any of that formality which the fashion of our day has created. Tea and cakes, *zuikerbrood*, *Fransche koekjes*, and other confections were served, and homely chat indulged in. The ladies usually gossiped inside the house, while the gentlemen smoked their pipes on the *stoep*. Sometimes two neighbours would sit down to a game of draughts, cards, or *gandenspel* "goose game": when they parted for the night they usually pledged each other's health in *borreltjes*, or little nipperkins, of Geniever, bowing in stately fashion, and repeating, as they lifted their glasses to their lips: "*Gezondheid mynheer!*" "Your health, sir!" The day's round was finished off by supper at 8 o'clock.

Of out-door games, or exercise, these old-fashioned folk had none worth mentioning. Their outings appear to have been limited to constitutional walks in the early morning or in the evening: they were, on the whole, inclined to be somewhat inactive.

Short journeys in the neighbourhood of the town were usually made in a little vehicle called a *triekel*, which resembled a child's perambulator only larger: it was pushed from behind, while a wheel in front enabled the occupant to steer himself. This was the conveyance by which ladies usually went to Church on Sundays.

Longer journeys were made in palanquins, which were of various patterns, some box-shaped, with wooden panels and shutters, and others open, with hanging curtains after the manner of a four-post bed, their construction and ornamentation depending on the wealth and position of the owner. They were usually borne by four men, but this number was increased to suit the length of the journey and the nature of the road. For instance, in the journey from Colombo to Galle, twelve men were often employed, with relays on the way; as this used to be then a rather heavy track, very different from the metalled road of our days. At almost every step the loose sand hampered bearers and, what with the ferries to cross—for there were few bridges in those days—and the need for rest and refreshment on the way, the journey occupied from three to four days. While the palanquin was the conveyance generally used for long journeys and for State purposes, there was another vehicle sometimes used for short trips. This was the *tonjon*, afterwards commonly called a "Tom John," which differed from the palanquin in having a body like that of a gig. The traveller sat in it as in a rickshaw, and it was carried by two men, one at each end of a pole

14. Like the following:

"*Ruiter dier, wat doet gy hier?
Wyn en bier wy tappen hier*":
"*Dat is goed voor de papegaai.*"

"Gallant bird, what dost thou here?
Wine and beer we turn out here":
"That is good for the parrot, Sir."

Then followed a refrain of laughter, which the parrot was taught to prolong.

These parrots are often unfaithful creatures who little deserve the care and affection bestowed upon them. They will bite the hand that feeds them, and are rarely too tame to fly away if the chance offers. The story is told of an old lady at Galle, who had a parrot which she cherished for many years, with the greatest love and care, feeding it always with her own hand. Among other things she taught it, was to greet her every morning with "*Goet morgen, Mamma!*" "Good morning, Mamma." One morning it managed to make its escape from the cage, and the lady, on coming out of her room, was saluted with "*Goet morgen, Mamma!*" from the top of a tree in the garden. Efforts were made to get it down; but from tree to tree it flew, the only answer the disconsolate lady got to her appeals to it to come back being "*Goet morgen, Mamma! Goet morgen, Mamma!*", as it finally disappeared from sight.

While on this subject, it is of interest to relate, in illustration of the difficulties of travel and the slow life of the time, the following incident which is on record. In 1723 Governor Rumph died rather suddenly in Colombo from shock on learning the death of the Fiscal Barent van der Swaen and his wife, who were murdered by their slaves. The Government, according to the Constitution, devolved, in such an emergency, on the Senior *Commandeur* and the Political Council of Colombo. In this case the Senior *Commandeur* was Arnold Moll of Galle,¹⁵ in whose absence the Political Council, by themselves, could take no action of any kind. So, express messengers were despatched to Galle to convey the news of the death of the Governor, with urgent request to the *Commandeur* to hasten to Colombo. The messengers took two days in reaching Galle, and, though the *Commandeur* lost no time in setting out, his journey could not be performed without the state which his office and dignity demanded. From stage to stage, the procession moved on, while from each station on the way—Ambalangoda, Bentota, Barberyne, and Kalutara—letters containing instructions were sent by the *Commandeur* to his Council at Galle. When at the end of three days Colombo was reached, preparations were made for the State Funeral which followed, the body of the Governor having meanwhile been embalmed.¹⁶

The subject of funerals reminds one of some of the quaint and ceremonious usages of that time : of the *aanspreker*, or funeral agent, in *rouw band and mantel*, who busied himself, first, in the arrangements for the funeral, and, afterwards, in the entertainment of the guests in the house of mourning ; of the long row of mourners following the bier in single file with cloaks and trailing crape bands ; of the *draggers* or bearers who bore the body, and of all the numerous and ostentatious trappings of woe. When the deceased happened to be a person of any consequence, the attendance of the Military and the stateliness of the procession invested it with a weird magnificence worthy of mediæval times. One prominent feature in the procession was the hatchment, shewing the family arms of the deceased emblazoned in all its heraldic brilliancy, and borne in front of the bier by a person of suitable birth and position.

The Dutch appeared to have had a special veneration for their dead, and to have endeavoured to keep their memories green by the erection of monuments, and tombstones in their graveyards and churches. These ponderous tombstones, with long and stately epitaphs and elaborate heraldic embellishments, are still preserved to shew us their zeal in this matter. Some of the engravings on these stones are fine works of art, cut in strong relief and displaying the greatest skill. Their knowledge of heraldry seems also to have been very extensive. Many of the arms depicted on the gravestones and mural tablets have been drawn with such a careful attention to every minute detail, as to challenge the closest scientific scrutiny.¹⁷ Of the painted and emblazoned mural tablets the best preserved are those of Governor Falck in Wolvendal Church, of *Commandeur* Anthony Mooyaart in Jaffna, and *Commandeur* Abraham Samlant in Galle.

Most of the well-to-do Company's servants and Burghers had their *buiten plaatsen* or "country seats," to which they repaired during certain seasons of the year. These were bungalows usually built in large gardens planted with various trees, and were constructed with an eye to comfort and convenience rather than ornament. A garden wall with a large gateway usually surrounded the premises, and the gate-posts bore stone slabs inscribed with appropriate

15. It may be mentioned as a matter of history that the seniority of *Commandeur* Moll was in this instance disputed by Jacob de Jong, *Commandeur* of Jaffnapatam.

16. For a full account of the State funeral of Governor Rumpf, see Valentyn, Vol. v., p. 359. (Ceylon, *Byzondere Zaken*.)

17. In a Paper of mine entitled "Heraldry, as represented in Dutch Seals and Monuments in Ceylon," in the *Dutch-Burgher Union Journal*, Vol. ii., p. 33, 56, I drew attention to the interesting and instructive study which these memorials afford, shewing, at the same time, some of the few points of divergence between British and Dutch heraldry.

mottoes, such as the following :—" *Vryheid-Blyheid* " "Freedom and Happiness"; "*Buiten Zorg*" "Free from Care"; "*Weltevreden*" "Well Satisfied." Sometimes the owner's name appeared, as in "*Vuyst's Wyk*" "Vuyst's Retreat," or "*Dondyn's Rust*" "Dondyn's Rest." On one old gateway in Galle there used to be, during my childhood, the curious device : "*Dwaal : ik wacht u*" "Trespass—I see you."

I have now briefly sketched some of the incidents belonging to the Dutch occupation of Ceylon : there are many other points of interest in regard thereto which space do not permit me to dwell on here.

The policy which the Dutch pursued in their intercourse with the native races who came under their dominion, their most important transactions with the Kandyan Court, and the social events and changes which immediately followed the Capitulation of Colombo in 1796, are subjects which must be reserved for some other occasion. A great deal relating to the Dutch in Ceylon still remains to be written.

Of their commerce, their industries, their political and social life, no history worthy the name has yet been presented to English readers. When such a history comes to be written, when the voluminous records contained in our archives, dealing with every question of political importance and with the minutest details of public and social life, are made to unfold the wealth of information so long buried in them; then, we may be sure, would impartial judgment be pronounced on the Dutch and their doings in Ceylon. Fair credit would then be given to them for wholesome reforms which they effected, or at least endeavoured to effect, in the condition of the people and the country. For the present I have here merely recalled such incidents as are calculated to give us some notion of their life and times.

Much of what we see in the life and character of these Dutchmen of old perhaps falls short of our recognized notions of excellence. In our own daily life, and in our thoughts and feelings we have very much changed during the century that divides us from those times, and especially so within the last generation. What a past generation contemplated with feelings of respect and veneration has grown distasteful, and even contemptible, to us. Yet to many of us, there is a good deal that is familiar in these few glimpses of the life of this bygone age : we are forcibly reminded of the fact that we are not completely dissociated from it. True the forces at work around us now have compelled us, little by little, to cast away most of the semblances we bore to these ancestors of ours; but many traits still remain which link us to them and their time. The contemplation of their sober and restful lives, the simplicity and homeliness which characterized their social relations, their thrift and their prudence, ought to make us feel proud of any connection established with them. We should be thankful that, through all the changes and chances of life, we still have the memory of those times left to us.

Time, the ruthless, idol breaker,
Smileless, cold iconoclast,
Though he rob us of our altars,
Cannot rob us of the Past.

Notes & Queries.

A PSEUDO-ROMAN COIN.

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

THE Subject of this Note is a thin gold piece of the following design:—

Obverse: Male bust, right, of pronounced Oriental features, earring in ear, hair long, drapery or necklace on neck: within double line circle, a wreath of scroll-work (*geta-liyavela*) parting on either side at the base.

Reverse: A cross, the lower limb of which is longer than the others, a ball at the end of the upper and transverse limbs, all within a wreath of foliage with jasmine buds, rising from a curved band, from which depend four short lines arranged in two groups: within double line circle, a circle of balls or dots.



Four specimens are known to have been in existence:—

1. Colombo Museum, No. 197 (Mr. Still's catalogue): provenance; Kamanchodai Tank, Negombo.
Diam. 19 mill. Weight, 55.2 gr. Troy.
2. Mr. H. C. P. Bell's cabinet: provenance; Ceylon, place unknown.
Diam. 12 mill. Weight, 51.3 gr.: clipped.
3. British Museum: purchased at the sale in 1855 of the Collection of Mr. Hart.
Weight, 57.3 gr.
4. Another specimen: (In the same sale catalogue.)

It has been suggested that these coins are the work of an enterprising Sinhalese, with a view to sale to passengers; and it is true that Nos. 1 and 2, (the only ones which I have been able to examine), have been struck, to all appearances, from the same pair of dies. But forgeries in Ceylon always are (a) based on known coins, and (b) cast. The worn parts of the surface are not in the same relative positions in Nos. 1 and 2; and the trouble of making the dies and then giving the finished coins such a genuine semblance of wear, would seem to be quite out of proportion to the probable profits; for until recent years gold coins were to be obtained for little over the actual value of the metal.

If these coins are genuine, they seem to have been modelled upon the small gold and copper Roman pieces of the late fourth and fifth centuries; as such, the head of the emperor, or empress, appears on the one side and the cross within a laurel wreath on the other.

This design, however, has not been followed slavishly in the present instance; for the bust is clearly Eastern, and the wreath in the reverse, while retaining a semblance of the band and ribbons of its Roman counterpart at the base, has been developed in a style similar to that found in Anurádhapura decorative art.

The small Roman copper coins with the cross are found in the Island and copies of these, and of other late Imperial base-metal pieces, were undoubtedly issued in Southern India or Ceylon (see *Journal C.A.S.*, Vol. XIX No. 58).

The weight of the coins under discussion is not Roman, but agrees with that of the *mádai*, or double *kásu*, of 14 *mañjádís* (about 58-60 grains), the standard which prevailed in Southern India until the heavier coin of the Ceylon type was introduced.

PLACE NAMES.

By J. P. LEWIS.

THERE are several villages in the Jaffna District the names of which end in the affix *pai* (or *páy*?) Now it is very doubtful whether this is a Tamil affix, and whether the names in which it occurs are of Tamil origin. These may be, as I am inclined to think, Sinhalese, or of hybrid construction. This affix is not to be found in any other Tamil place-names in the Island, neither is it given in Colonel Branfill's *Names of Places in Tanjore* published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1879. From this latter circumstance it may be inferred that it is not used by the Tamils of South India: nor have I found any Tamil scholar who can explain its meaning. The following is, I believe, a complete list of the Jaffna villages in which it occurs:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Chandrippay or Chandilippai | 3. Kopai |
| 2. Katirippai | 4. Mánippai |

and in the Punaryn Division, ten miles south of the village of this name and two miles off the Mannár road, is a ruined shrine of the goddess Pattini which is known as "Pattinippai." I have seen two of these names, by the way, Kopai and Mánippai, explained (by Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillay of Jaffna) as meaning "royal village" and "the respected or Brahmin village;" but it is not stated what grounds there are for attaching the meaning "village" to the affix in question.

But, if we turn to the Sinhalese parts of the Island, we find an affix very much like it occurring in place-names. I allude to the affix *pé*, occurring in such names as Mádampé, Mámépé, Bopé, Mipé, Nupé, Halpé and no doubt many others, which means "grove," and hence "shrine," so that these names signify "the grove of *mádan* trees," etc. Now I suggest that the Jaffna affix is merely the Sinhalese affix in its Tamil form; for the *é* long in Sinhalese is often represented in Tamil by *ai*. This can be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to study the names of Railway Stations in the Sinhalese parts as Tamilized on the name-boards for the benefit of the travelling Jaffna-man or the bewildered Tamil cooly.

Holding this theory, I find "Pattinippai" (which if it were a Railway Terminus would soon be corrupted in the Anglo-Saxon fashion into "Putney Pie") easy of explanation—"the shrine of Pattini." For the other four names, it only remains to discover what trees they respectfully indicate; a task that I cannot well undertake here. I decline to believe that there is anything "royal" about Ko(pai), sacred to Church Missionaries, or anything Bráhmínical about Mánip(pai), though it be "respected" on account of its hospital.

It is not merely, however, in some of its names that the Jaffna Peninsula shows evidence that it was formerly Sinhalese.

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU VI. OF KÓTTÉ.

DATE OF CORONATION AND DURATION OF REIGN.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

I. Date of Coronation.

THE following List of authorities will show how conflicting is the evidence as regards the exact date of coronation of King Parákrama Báhu VI. of Kótté:—

	A.B.
<i>Rájávaliya</i> ¹	1945
<i>Mahávansa</i> ²	1953
<i>Mogallána Panchiká Pradipa</i> ³	1955
<i>Ganitasinha</i> ⁴	1955
<i>Námávaliya</i> ⁵	1955
<i>Kávyasékharaya</i> ⁶ and <i>Saddharmaratnákara</i> ⁷	1958
<i>Pepiliyána Inscription</i> ⁷	1958
<i>Saman Dévála Inscription</i> ⁸	1958
<i>Vanni Rájávaliya</i> ⁹	1974

Now, of these different dates, only one can be correct for the coronation. Which then is the correct date?

Happily, we have the testimony of Parákrama Báhu himself on the point, evidence which, it is surprising, scholars have hitherto failed to avail themselves of to settle the vexed question finally.

The *Ruwan-mal Nighantuwa* or *Námaratana Máláwa*, a lexicon (in blank verse) of the Sinhalese language, was compiled by Parákrama Báhu VI. himself:—

1 B. Gunasekara's Edition in p. 68: "Having caused Alakésvara to be put to death he (the Elder, Visidágama) raised the Prince to the throne under the name of Sri Parákrama Báhu: of the Buddhist Era 1944 years had (then) expired."

2 Ch. XCI., 15-16.

3 Written by Totagamuwè Sri Báhula.

4 An Astrological Work.

5 Written by Parákrama Báhu's Secretary, named Nallurutana.

6 Verse 6: බුදුමසිනෙන් දහස නවසියයට පණස්වස, &c.

7 Journal C.A.S., Vol. VII., No. 25, 1882.

8 The Inscription itself has not been published hitherto.

9 Ola MS. in possession of the writer.

Text.

චීන පැරකුම්බා
සිරිසඟබෝ නර පවර
සියබස් නම් රුවන්මල්
පැහැසුම්වත් කෙළේ මේ

Translation.

The learned King Parákrama Báhu Sri Sangha-bódhi has compiled, as an ornament, this lexicon of the Elu language known as "*Ruwan-mal*."

An earlier stanza (750), gives the date of Parákrama Báhu's accession :—

Text.

කැරැණ එක් දහස්
නවසිය වසින් ණග¹⁰මත්
රුසුගජ මුඵ නැහැලක
කර එක්සත් විශේචි ලද

Translation.

In the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three, after waging war, destroying enemies (who were) like unto elephants and bringing Lanka under one *chatra*, or canopy of dominion, (he) obtained coronation.

We have, therefore, the authority of Parákrama Báhu himself that he was crowned "in the year 1953 A.B. current."

The words at the end of the above stanza *bisév lada = abhisékha laddávú* "obtained coronation," make it impossible to accept the suggestion made by Dharmaráma High Priest¹¹ and Mr. E. W. Perera,¹² that the *abhisékha*, or inauguration ceremony, of Parákrama Báhu took place in 1958 A.B. Some other explanation must be found for the origin of this latter date.

2. Duration of Reign.

The generally accepted extent of Parákrama Báhu's reign is fifty-two years; but Vidágama, in the colophon to his *Kávya Lakshana Manimálá*, says :—

Text.

මෙලක එකසත් කල
සිරි පැරකුම් නිරිදු හට
පනස් සිව් වසැ කෙලෙ මේ
කිව් ලකුණු මිණිවල්නම්

Translation.

This *Kivi-lakunu-mini-mal* was composed in the 54th year of King Sri Parákrama Báhu, who brought this Lanka under one canopy of dominion.

We have therefore the following historical facts established :—

- (i) Parákrama Báhu VI's coronation (*abhisékha*) according to himself took place in 1953 A.B.
- (ii) The duration of his reign was *fifty-four years at least*.

10 According to the ancient *Ganan chakra* more familiarly known as *Kata-payá-diya*, 53. Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, who, since this note was written, has referred (*Ceylon Antiquary*, Part I., p. 60, Appendix H.) to this passage, makes 54 equivalent to 57. This is not correct, as will be seen from the Table given below :—

"Kata-payá" Numerals.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
ක	බ	හ	ඝ	ඞ	ච	ඡ	ඣ	ඤ	ඦ
ට	ඵ	ඹ	බ	භ	ඹ	ඹ	ඹ	ඹ	ඹ
ප	ඵ	බ	හ	ඞ	*	*	*	*	*
ය	ර	ල	ව	ශ	ඡ	ඣ	ඤ	ඦ	*

Each letter in this Table represents the respective figure or zero under which it is placed. This Table is used to represent dates, &c., which, but for this symbolical method, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to express in metrical compositions. Where the "*Kata-payá*" numerals are used in Sinhalese literature, they are usually read from right to left: the present case is an exception.

11 Vide his Edition of *Panchiká Pradipa*.
12 Journal C.A.S., Vol. XXII. No. 65, 1912, p. 356.

IS BUDDHISM OPPOSED TO "FAITH"?¹

By S. G. P.

BUDDHIST writers often disclaim, with great insistence, anything like "Faith;" which, it would seem, has no place in Buddhist philosophy. Thus to quote only a few:—

The teaching of the Buddha appeals to all . . . who are bold enough not blindly to follow authority, but to think for themselves; who do not want to believe but to know. (Subhadra Bhikshu, *Buddhist Catechism*. Introduction.)

Buddhism is the only religion that teaches not to believe anything because it is believed by parents, teachers, learned men . . . or because it is said that it came down for generations as a tradition; . . . or because one's conscience says it is true . . . but to believe a thing if it agrees with one's reason, investigation and practical knowledge. (*Singularity of Buddhism*, p. 4.)

Buddhism is opposed to "simple faith" . . . and appeals to reason. (*C. A. & L. R. Pt. I., p. 12., footnote.*)

What are we to understand by these disclaimers?

Faith consists in accepting a statement as true on the strength of testimony.² If the testimony is divine we have Divine faith, the faith of the Christian; which is the counterpart of revelation and presupposes it. When the testimony is human we have Human faith; on the strength of which we accept so many truths of history and biography, &c., sacred and profane. A good part of our knowledge comes to us through this channel; and, as a matter of fact, it is the sole possible means of knowing certain truths, those namely which do not fall within our personal experience, nor are self-evident, nor deducible from self-evident or known premises.

Now it is obvious enough that there is no place for Divine faith in Buddhism; but it is not the only kind of faith said to be excluded from the Buddhist system; for Buddhists are not believers but knowers: they are taught not to believe a thing because it is handed down by tradition, &c. Thus even Human faith is disclaimed.

But Human faith can not only not be disclaimed, but is even necessary, especially for a "book religion" as Prof. Rhys Davids calls Buddhism (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 11.); for if faith is foresworn the Sacred Books must go overboard. Is it not on the testimony of others, on uninterrupted tradition from teacher to pupil (*Guru-sisya-parampará*) that the Buddhist is assured of the authenticity of the scriptures—nay even of the very existence of the Master? Such a tradition involves several acts of faith.

It is said that the teaching of the Buddha appeals to those who are bold enough to think for themselves, without following authority; but when one has been bold enough so to do, how is he to know that what he has thought out, what appeals to him, is the teaching of Buddha? If he does not accept the authority of the *Pitakas* he has, it seems to me, no right to call the product of his thinking Buddhism. If nevertheless he calls it the teaching of Buddha he must needs accept the authenticity, and likewise the historicity, of the Sacred Books, and that on faith.

Nor is this all. Some Orientalists give it as the result of their researches that Buddhism is essentially a faith:—

Que le Bouddhisme soit essentiellement une foi, l'adhésion à la parole de l'Omniscient, du Veridique, de celui qui connaît par soi-même, des esprits aussi distingués et d'ailleurs aussi différents que E. Hardy et M. R. Pischel ne s'en sont pas rendu compte en dépit des remarques substantielles et catégoriques de M.

1. I have been at some pains to avoid giving the appearance of controversy; which is altogether foreign to my purpose.—S.G.P.

2. Faith is not blind, nor independent of reason and investigation; for reason must investigate whether the testimony is worthy of belief, whether the person who testifies is able to know and does not intend to deceive. When reason is assured of the knowledge and intention of the testifier it accepts the statement. Hence the popular conception of faith as "blind" is a misconception. Blind faith is credulity.

Kern. Les témoignages sont nombreux, à toutes les époques de l'histoire Bouddhique, qui mettent ce point hors de doute (Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme : Opinions sur l'histoire de la Dogmatique*, p. 132.³)

At any rate it cannot be denied that it is on faith, faith in Gautama Buddha, that the Buddhists accept some at least of the truths enunciated by him—those truths for instance about which reason and investigation and practical knowledge are all powerless; for the good reason that the matter does not fall within our practical knowledge, nor can be deduced by reason. Take for example what is related in the first part of the *Dutiya Bhānavāram* of the *Brāhma Jāla Sutta* (Grimbolt, *Sept Suttas Pāli*, pp. 23-25; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II., pp. 30-32.) This must be admitted on faith, or not admitted at all, for no amount of reasoning will lead to the facts related therein.

Did not the Buddha himself say that some truths are profound, difficult to be perceived, hard to be comprehended, *not attainable by reasoning (atukkāvacarā)* (Grimbolt, *op. cit.*, p. 16.)

Truths beyond our ken are called mysteries, and Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 101) enumerates four such *acknowledged mysteries*. That Buddhists accept such truths only on faith seems to have been pretty well admitted. It is said in the *Anguttara* that the Buddhist must sometimes say "I admit this on faith" (Vallée Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 136); and the *Sumangala Vilāsini* gives faith as the root of correct views (*cf.*, p. 134). To take a more modern instance *The Smaller Buddhist Catechism* (p. 7) gives faith in the statements of others (*saddheyya siddhi*) as one of the ways of "comprehending" Nirvāna.

Hence faith was not only not excluded, but was even looked upon as meritorious, and preaching was said to bring about the salvation of the believer and the damnation of the unbeliever—"vināsayati asaddham saddham vaddheti sāsane . . . Gotamasāvako."

Again we read in the *Tevigga Sutta* that on hearing the truth one has *faith in the Tathāgata*, faith which is enough to make him go forth into the homeless state (*i.e.*, of a *bhikshu*) (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, II., pp. 187-188.)

The usual set phrase often found at the close of the argumentative discourses of the Buddha seems to imply faith. "May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, &c., (*cf. Sacred Books of the East* xi., p. 97.)

It is true there are some to whom the Law is said to be evident (*paccañha-dhammā*). Sometimes the full illumination of the disciple is explicitly affirmed. This was the case with Kondañña; but the event was so remarkable that the Master himself gave utterance to an exclamation of joy. "Kondañña has realised it: Kondañña has realised it. And so the venerable Kondañña acquired the name of Aññata Kondañña" (*id.* p. 155.) From this one may safely infer that such cases were not of very frequent occurrence.

I am mindful of the fact that other passages in the Buddhist Scriptures support the disclaimer. In fact "if one can sometimes assert something of Buddhism, it is rare that he cannot avert and prove the contrary as well."⁴ But when intuition is held up as the one goal to be arrived at to the disparagement of faith, one must not, I fancy, press the statement to its literal conclusion in the face of other passages not less emphatic in favour of faith.

I have shown, I trust, that the matter at least requires elucidation. I, therefore, offer this query in the hope that someone, learned in the Law, will throw light on the subject for the benefit of those who desire to understand the Buddhist point of view.

3. That Buddhism is essentially a faith, adherence to the words of the Omniscient, of Truth itself, of the one who understands by his own power, has not been grasped by scholars so distinguished, yet so unlike, as E. Hardy and Mr. R. Pischel, in spite of the solid and categorical observations of Mr. Kern. Numerous are the testimonies at all periods of the history of Buddhism which place the matter beyond doubt.

4. Si on peut parfois affirmer quelque chose du Bouddhisme, il est rare qu'on ne puisse affirmer et démontrer le contraire (Vallée Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 139.)

Literary Register.

THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602—1607.

Edited by H. C. P. BELL.

PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from page 139).

HARRIS (1744), whose summary of Chapters V and VI is fuller than Symson's (1715), most unaccountably slurs over Chapters VII, VIII, IX, compressing Pyrard's narrative into a dozen lines of half-column. For this remissness he had the less excuse, in as much as Symson, only some thirty years before, had dealt more or less fully with each of these three Chapters.

Harris' very brief notice is here placed first, instead of side by side with Symson's account.

Harris.

CHAPTERS VII, VIII, IX.

[The Governor] sent me to *Malé* with Recommendations to the King; and both the King and his Queens were so well pleased with my saluting them in their own Language, and according to the Custom of the Country, and with the Account I gave them of the Things that were taken out of our Ship, the Manners of the *French Ladies*, &c., that they took particular Care of me in a Fit of Sickness that lasted for many Days.

In a Word, I rose, by the King's Favour and Bounty, to a Competency; and having, by Virtue of a long Stay in the Country, an Opportunity to inspect their Constitution, Customs, Laws, &c., am now going to gratify the Publick with what I have learned upon that Subject.

Symson.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of a lord bearing the King's commission to the Island of Paindoue, who at length takes the author back with him.

Three Months and a half we had been in the Condition above-mention'd, when the King sent a Great Man to gather up whatsoever had remain'd of the Ship-wreck.¹

The manner of his Reception, which I saw, was thus. The Bark, or Vessel, that Minister came in, and which they call *Ody*,² made a Signal, putting out red Colours, lowering their Sails, and coming to an Anchor, about a Musket Shot from the Island. Then the Governor of the Place sent to inquire who was aboard, and having receiv'd Information, went out to receive that Nobleman, attended by all the Men and Boats that could be got together, leaving only the *Catibe*,³ or *Curate*, and four or five *Monsroulits*,⁴ or ancient Men, in the Island. The Boats were laden with Coco-Nuts, Bananas, Betele, and other sorts of Fruit the Island

1. For the disobedience of his orders, and pilfering, by his brother-in-law, the first Commissioner despatched to the wreck (see *ante*. p. 139), the Sultan, says Pyrard, was "so enraged" that he even—bathos profound—bozed his ears! The new Lord sent was the most trusted of the highest Nobles at Court; his name was *Assant Caoumas Calogue* (M. Hasan . . . *Kalóge-fánu*); and he was assisted by another lord named *Oussaint Ranamandy Calogue* (M. Husain, *Ranahamádi Kalóge-fánu*.) The title "*Ranahamádi*" survives to this day, and is held by a Chief of the *kalásti* ("sailors"), who is distinct from the *Velána*, or Admiral.

2. *M. odi*: Tamil *odam*.

3. Pyrard, *Catibe* or *Curé*; M. *Katibu*: Arabic *Katib* "Scribe."

4. Symons misspells the word. Pyrard has *Mouscoulits*. (M. *Muskult*.)

abounds in, all decently put up in white Baskets, made of Coco-Tree Leaves for that Purpose, and which serve only that Time, as is usual upon other Occasions ; because there is such Plenty of those Leaves, and they are so expert at making those Baskets, that they never use them twice ; besides, they are so made, that there is no taking out what is in them, without cutting them in Pieces.

The Governor of the Island makes this Present, going aboard his Vessel first, and saluting him in these Words, *Sallam Alecon*,⁵ which is the common Salutation, bowing and touching his Feet with his right Hand, which he afterwards laid on his own Head, to denote he would lay his Head under his Feet. All the others attending him, did the same, carrying the Presents which hung on a Pole, between every two of them.⁶ Then the Governor of the Island made his Speech, intreating the other to go ashore, and do him the Honour to accept of the Lodging provided for him ; which was done, and all the Company attended him.

When the Great Man came near the Island, the *Catibe*, and the others, who were left ashore, stood ready on the Strand, and went up to their Wastes into the Water to meet him, each of them carrying his Turbant on his left Arm, being a Piece of half Silk, and half Cotton, red, and curiously wrought, about an Ell and a Quarter long, and three Quarters broad. The *Catibe*, and the others, saluted him after their manner, and making a Speech, offer'd him those Pieces of Stuff, and other Presents, which he receiv'd courteously. When that Nobleman was to land, one of the Chief of the *Catibes*, or *Monsroulits*,⁴ offer'd him his Back, and look'd upon it as a great Honour to be admitted ; and the other mounted him, with one Leg over each Shoulder, as if he were a Horse-back, and so he was carry'd ashore, special Care being taken that he did not wet his Feet, which they look upon as a great Dishonour.

Then he was conducted, by all the People of the Island, to the Lodging provided for him, where having discours'd with him about half an Hour, every Man took Leave, and withdrew. Next, a warm Bath was provided, and when he had wash'd, they brought him very sweet Oil to anoint himself, as is us'd throughout all *India*. That done, they gave him some of the most delicious Liquor of the Coco-Tree, that could be had, with several Plates of Betele, curiously cut and season'd, as I shall mention in another Place.⁷

Having sufficiently rested and refresh'd himself, he went to the chief Mosque, which they call *Oucouroa Misquitte*,⁸ and having pray'd about half an Hour, return'd to his Lodging, where he was treated in the best manner the Island could afford, during his Stay there. All Persons of any Note, or Ability, sent him Presents of Eatables, Fruit, Betele, and the like, carry'd by Women, with much Ceremony.⁹

When this Solemnity was ended, that Lord went over to the Island of *Pouladou* ;¹⁰ where several of the Inhabitants [even the Women]¹¹ were tortur'd to oblige them to discover what Money they had got of any of our Men, and much of it was found and seiz'd [but not all, for the King's people could not then discover the full quantity].

Nothing of that sort was done in the Island of *Paindoue*, because we answer'd for them ; on which Account they lov'd me ever after, and sent me Presents whilst I continu'd there ; and in Reality they had receiv'd nothing.

This Lord having executed his Commission,¹² at his Return to the King, ask'd me ; Whether I would go with him [to *Malé*], for he had taken a Kindness to me, because I spoke some little of the Language.¹³ It was the only thing I desir'd ; but when we came to part, my Companions [at *Paindoue* and *Pouladou* piteously] wept to see themselves left behind, and it griev'd me to the Heart. The Nobleman, who was very good-natur'd, ask'd [me, as their interpreter,] the Cause of our Sorrow, and being told it, said he could not carry all the others away, who were six in Number, without acquainting the King ;

5. Arabic *Saldm Alakum*, the customary salutation among Muhammadans.

6. "This salutation and present is called *Vedon a Rouespou*" (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*) ; *M. vedun aruwai fu*.

7. *Voyage de Pyrard*, 1619, II ; *Treatise*, Chapter VIII.

8. *M. Hukuru miskita*. "Friday (Sin : *Stkurá-dá*) mosque."

9. "Not that he has not always his own kitchen and dally meals : sometimes, indeed, he neither eats nor tastes any of all these things ; but such is the custom of all these islands" (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*). Save that women do not carry and serve the *adukku*, &c., the custom was (and, to some extent, still is) observed in the Kandyan districts of Ceylon.

10. See *ante*. p. 138.

11. "He had their thumbs put into cleft sticks, squeezed and bound with iron clasps. that by this pain they might be constrained to admit the truth—as in fact they did, and gave up the money" (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*.)

12. After visiting other neighbouring Islands, including *Touladou* (*M. Tuladú* in *Málosmadulu Atol*) ; to which place he took *Pyrard*.

13. *Pyrard* harps frequently on the great advantages his knowledge of the Máldivian language gained him : "I have remarked that nothing served me so much, or so conciliated the good will of the people, the lords and even the King, as to have a knowledge of their language ; that was the reason why I was always preferred to my companions, and more esteemed than they." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*.)

yet in Compliance with me, took one of [my two companions at *Paindoue*] who was my particular Friend, promising to intercede that all the rest might be sent for to the King's Island.¹⁴

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of the author at the island of Malé, where he salutes the King. The putting to death of four Frenchmen for attempting to escape. Arrival of his other companions, and the reasons which prevented the King from sending them to Sumatra.

That Night we came to a little Island, called *Maconnodon*,¹⁵ where we lay, because those People never sail by Night. The next Day the Lord told me he durst not carry my Comrade any farther, without the King's Leave, but that he had given Charge to have special Care taken of him; and he was left there.

In fine, we arriv'd at *Malé*: our Great Man went to give the King an Account of what he had done, and order'd one of his Servants to carry me to his House. He having mention'd me to the King, I was immediately sent for, and being admitted into his Presence, saluted him in the Country-Language, and in proper Manner, as I had taken Care to learn, at which he was highly pleas'd; and he kept me to show him what Use several Things were put to, which, had been brought from our Ships. I did so in the best manner I could, and Night drawing on, he order'd the Lord, who had brought me to take Care of me.

The following Days I was often with the King, and at other Times with his Queens, who inquir'd of me concerning the Affairs of *Europe*,¹⁶ and were pleas'd to hear me give an Account of our Customs, Habits, etc.

Here I was inform'd, that four of our Men, attempting to get away [from *Malé*] in a Bark, had been taken and put to Death,¹⁷ and that the twelve I mention'd before,¹⁸ to have escap'd from the Island of *Pouladou*, arriving at *Coilan*, had been seiz'd by the *Portugueses*, and sent in Irons to *Goa*.

There were none in the Island of *Malé*, but I and two *Flemmings*,¹⁹ and having begg'd of the King, that my Comrade, who I said was left behind, might be brought to me, it was immediately done; so that there were four of us in Company. Two Months after, I prevail'd to have [the] five others, who were dispers'd in several Islands [near the scene of the wreck], brought to that of *Malé*, being then nine, four *French*, and five *Flemmings*, all courteously treated by the King, and those about him.

CHAPTER IX.

Grievous sickness of the author, which left him in evil plight. Escape of four Flemmings, and the ill-favour of the King towards those who remained.

I continu'd in [passing good] Health four or five Months, in the House of the Nobleman, who brought me, being as well treated as his own Sons, who had an extraordinary Kindness for me. After that Time, I fell sick of that [a severe burning fever very common there, and very dangerous], the Natives call

14. Upon which Pyrard comments:—"That did not console them much, seeing that I was going and they were remaining; so that they continued, or rather increased, their tears and lamentations. This distressed me, though I dared not show it: for I had already learnt the humour of the natives on this point, which is that they cannot tolerate in their presence sad and melancholy persons or dreamers, saying that such persons are plotting some treason or mischief in their minds. Soone who wishes to be well received among them must be happy and joyous, must laugh and sing if he can, although without occasion or desire, nay, though the contrary be the case." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, I, p. 74) Mr. Albert Gray aptly compares Caesar's opinion of Cassius (*Julius Caesar*, Act I, Scene 2.)

15. Pyrard, *Maconnodou*; *M. Makunu-dá*, a small isle in North Malé Atol.

16. Pyrard relates ingenuously the veiled sarcasm with which the Sultan met his (doubtless insufferable) discourse "upon the greatness of the Kingdom of France, of the generosity of its noblesse, and their dexterity in arms." "He (the Sultan) was surprised, he said, that they (the French) had not conquered the Indies, but had left it to the *Portuguese* who had given him to understand that their King was the greatest and most powerful of all the Christian Kings."

17. These four men included the English pilot of the "*Corbin*." Their preparation for escape had been observed, and reported to the King. Seized, *flagrante delicto*, they were taken out in boats, beheaded, and their corpses flung into the sea. "It is high treason, death, and unpardonable to steal a barque or boat, and to depart beyond the realm—even though the boat were one's own—without special and precise permit of the King. This crime is called *odican anpou*." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*) *M. odí gengosfu* "having taken away a boat."

18. See *ante*, p. 139.

19. A Frenchman had died a week after his arrival, reducing the number of captives to the two *Flemmings* and Pyrard.

20. But the French and *Flemmings* did not hit it off together at all well. Pyrard puts this "discord" down to the latter's suspicion and jealousy at his companions being more favoured, and to himself "more courteously received than they were, and well liked, and esteemed by the King—always at his side, and in consequence graciously entreated by the nobles" Pyrard's asseveration of impartiality: ("yet verily the truth was far otherwise,") does not carry conviction. *Nemo debet esse iudex in propria causa*,

Maleons,²¹ and the *Europeans in India, the Maldivy Fever*; I was at Death's Door with it two Months, and ten Months before I quite recover'd; [being] all that Time carefully attended in the Nobleman's House, and the King and Queens daily sent me whatsoever was most delicate to eat, and order'd one of the *French Men* to bear me Company.

This was the Distemper most of my Comrades dy'd of, and few Strangers escape it; but such as once recover are after it out of Danger; whence a Stranger, whom the Natives call *Pouradde*,²² when he has once gone through this Tryal, is by them call'd *Dives*,²³ that is Naturaliz'd; for that Kingdom, in their Language, is nam'd *Malé-rague*, that is, the Kingdom of *Malé*; and by other *Indians, Malé-divar*,²⁴ and the People of it *Dives*. The Natives in that Distemper drink lukewarm Water, with pounded Pepper in it, which prevents the Swelling that otherwise would follow after it; yet I, for the Space of eight Days swallow'd nothing but fair Water, which is very bad: accordingly when the Fever left me, my Thighs and Legs swell'd prodigiously, as if I had been in a Dropsy; besides, I could not see ten Paces from me, and was much afraid I should be quite Blind. My Lungs²⁵ were also swollen, which occasion'd a Stoppage of Breath.

When the King saw me in that Condition, he order'd I should have all Medicines from him, for he keeps an Apothecary's Shop²⁶ for the Service of the Poor, and takes care to bury such as dye in Want. Notwithstanding all the Medicines apply'd, the swelling of my Legs never abated, 'till the Skin broke, and the Water ran out, and then I recovered my Sight, but the Sores left in my Legs, at which the Humours discharg'd themselves, gave me no Rest, and there was no healing of them.

I was four Months in that Condition, as well look'd to as possible, 'till the King, hearing of a Man in a little neighbouring Island, call'd *Bandos*,²⁷ who was famous for the Cure of that Distemper, sent for him, order'd him to take me in hand, and promis'd him a good Reward. He said the Cure would be the sooner perform'd, if he might carry me to his Island, because the Air and Water were better there; which was accordingly done, the King giving Order that I should be supply'd with every thing that was necessary, and accordingly I was well attended, and cur'd by that Man [in two months]. During this Time, four of the [five] *Flemmings*, I said before were in the Island of *Malé*, seiz'd a Boat, and attempted to make their Escape, but perish'd in a violent Storm.²⁸

The King was so offended at it, that he took away the Allowance of Rice he had 'till then given the others,²⁹ who were now reduc'd to two *French Men*, and one *Flemming*, my Friend [the ship's clerk, of *Vitré*] dying of Sickness; however they made a shift to live 'till the King, hearing they design'd also to make their Escape,³⁰ sent two of them to the Cluster of little Islands [*Atollon*]³¹ call'd *Souadou*, eighty Leagues South of *Malé*, and the common place of Banishment. The other was left to bear me Company, the Great Man³² having taken a Kindness to him, because he was a good Taylor and Trumpeter. I was also some Time in Disgrace, but at length admitted into the King's Favour more than ever.

21. Pyrard. *Mâlé ons*; M. *Mâlé hun* (Sin. una "fever"). This baleful "Maldive fever" has laid low most foreign sojourners at the Islands, from the time of Ibn Batûta (13th century) to the Indian Navy Surveyors (1834-6).

22. Pyrard. *Pouradde*; M. *Furadi mîha*. "voyage-man."

23. P. *Dives*; M. *Dives* or *Divehi*. Thus *Divehi mihum* "Maldive Islanders," *Dives (Divehi) akuru*, the older Maldive alphabet.

24. P. *Malé-rague*; M. *Mâlé Râjje*, or more commonly *Divehi Râjje*.

25. Symson mistranslates Pyrard's *une eufleure de rate*. "This spleen disease is common among them—they all have it rather large. They call the disease *out cory* (M. *hun-korht*);"

26. *Sic*. Pyrard really wrote:—*le Roy tenoit pour l'ordinaire quantité de drogues, de médicaments, et de receptes de toutes sortes, pour les malades, jusques a ces remedes de sortilege*. The Sultan's care of the sick and poor stamps him a most humane ruler. "He at once bade his attendants see to it (my illness), and sent to find men who were skilled in curing the ailment, and told them to take the unguents from his own stock The people would go and ask for them; and he was well enough pleased to do this kindness to all comers; and by this means also to know who were ill, who recovering, and who dying, and so to provide for the burial of those who died. It was his wont to do this for the poor and for such as were without means, in manner suitable to the degree of each" (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*).

27. M. *Bođu Bados*. The smaller Island (*Kuda Bados*) of the name is uninhabited.

28. The details of the escape are omitted by Symson. About eighteen months after the wreck of the "*Corbin*," the men, by the aid of "an Indian of Cochin—a Christian, though a bad one,"—embarked at night-fall in a small boat of 8 cubit length called *Donny*, but perished the same night "in the most violent storm imaginable." "I reflected," comments Pyrard with smug sententiousness, "that by God's assistance, amid so many tribulations, I had never engaged in these attempts at escape, which all turned out ill."

29. "Not however, preventing those who would from giving them victuals. For his (Sultan's) part, he would never again believe a Frenchman." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*).

30. Pyrard (whose action was not above suspicion) only saved himself from banishment with the others by the good offices of a Chief's son. The other Frenchman owed his retention, as stated, mostly to sartorial skill which "gave him much custom and acquaintance in all ranks."

31. Pyrard has: *un Atollon, nommé Souadou*. Suâdiva and Addû Atols, with Fua Mulaku Island (intermediate), were formerly classified by themselves ("rei das ilhas de Maldiva e de tres Patanas de Cuaydu" *Archl. Port. Or. Fas. 3*) They have always been the place of exile for undesirable political opponents, and offenders generally.

32. Should be "Great Men," Pyrard has: *des Seigneurs*.

Two Years after, my other two Comrades were brought back from *Souadou*. The Occasion of it was, that one of them being a curious Workman in Wood, and having Leisure enough, made a Ship about half a Yard long, *Dutch* built, with all the Sails, Rigging, and every other Part belonging to a Vessel of 500 Tons, extraordinary curious; which he sent as a Present to the King, who was so taken with it, that he recall'd him, and his Comrade for his sake: so that we were again four of us together, and continu'd for the Space of fifteen Months.³³

The King gave me a House near his Palace, a daily Allowance of Rice, and a Servant to wait on me, as also some Money and other Presents; so that I was indifferent Rich for that Country, and endeavour'd in all Things to observe the Customs of those People, to gain their Affections. I Traded with such strange Ships as touch'd there, so that I had gain'd Credit among them, and they would leave Goods with me to dispose of, or to secure 'till their Return, making me a good Allowance for the same. The King continu'd always his Favour to me; I waited on him every Day, and was much made of by all the great Ones. I had many Coco-Trees of my own, which is a sort of Wealth there, and hir'd Men to dress them. In short, I wanted for nothing but the Exercise of my [Christian] Religion, which was a great Greivance, as it was, to think I should never return into *France*.

My long Stay in those Islands, having made me perfectly acquainted with them, and the Inhabitants, their Customs, Manners, and all other Particulars, I have thought fit to give [below] a particular Account of all I observed.

(To be Continued.)

SOME NOTABLE SINHALESE WOMEN IN HISTORY.

By ANNA P. SENAVERATNE.

(Continued from Page 144.)

7. Asokamala Devi.

OF Vihára Dévi's many titles to fame, not the least interesting is perhaps that she was the grand-mother of a Prince who, by renouncing a throne for the love of a low-caste maid, fills a unique page in Sinhalese History.

The *Mahāvansa* devotes no more than a bare half-dozen lines to the story of the love of Sálirāja Kumárayá, Dutthagámani's "famous son":—

Greatly gifted was he and ever took delight in works of merit; he tenderly loved a *Candála* woman of exceedingly great beauty. Since he was greatly enamoured of Asókamálá Dèvi, who already in a former birth had been his consort, because of her loveliness, he cared nothing for kingly rule.¹

The story in Páli is, however, told at length in the *Tiká*²: The two were husband and wife in an earlier existence. Once upon a time the husband received a pig from a hunter as payment for some smiths' work which he had done. He prepared the animal for food, and expressed the wish that eight prominent *théras* might come and take part

33. Pyrard with two other Frenchmen and one Flamming. These four (the only survivors at the Máldives of the forty or so who had landed from the wreck of the "*Corbin*") were rescued, and taken to India, in 1607 by the fleet from Bengal which attacked Málé and killed the Sultan.

1. *Mahāvansa*, Ch. XXXIII, vv. 2-3.

2. *M.T.* 439, 7-441, 13, to *M.* 33, 3, *sambaddham pubbajātiya*; Geiger, *Dip. and Mah.*, p. 37.

in the feast: his wife supported him in the belief that the wished-for guests would certainly come. The husband decorated the house, prepared ready eight places, strewed the path with sand from the house to the entrance of the village, and there waited for the arrival of the guests. The Théra Dhammadinna in Piyangu-dipa had divined the man's wish, and with seven companions he set out on the way to the village. The monks were here welcomed with joy by the host and entertained: after they had eaten and expressed their gratitude, they went on their way. The man was afterwards re-born as the son of Dutthagámani as a reward for his liberality.

It is then further explained how the wife, who was so virtuous, was re-born as a *Candála* maiden: this was as punishment for an offence in another existence. She was the youngest of the seven daughters of a carpenter, and was one day scolded by her mother for her untidiness. This angered her, and she replied to her mother in abusive terms similar to those that had been used to her: for such undutiful behaviour she came into the world in her next existence as the daughter of a *Candála*.

The Prince Sálirája Kumára grew up surrounded by splendour and riches, and distinguished himself by liberality to the Church. One day he heard the song of the *Candála* maiden as she gathered *Asóka* flowers in the garden. Feeling strongly drawn to her, he married her; and when his father died, he resigned his title to the throne rather than renounce his love.

The throne passed on to his uncle Saddhá Tissa, his father's brother, and then respectively to his cousins Thúlathana, Lanja Tissa, Khalláta Nága and Vatta Gámani.

The two Queens of Vatta Gámani merit some slight attention.

Anula Devi and Soma Devi.

The former, who was the wife of Vatta Gámani's deceased brother Khalláta Nága, he made his Queen-Consort, adopting her son Mahá Cúlika as his own son, while Soma Devi was his Second Queen.

Within a year of Vatta Gámani's accession, there was a Tamil invasion of the land and he was compelled to take refuge in flight. Accompanied by his little son and his two Queens, he mounted his car and fled from the scene of his defeat; but the car was overweighted. Anulá Dévi, who was with child, could not be left unprotected behind; and so

to lighten the car the King gave to Soma Dévi his splendid diadem-jewel and let her, with her own consent, descend from the car.³

They escaped, but not Soma Dévi whose beauty fired with passion a Tamil chief who forthwith took her away to India as his prize.⁴

Fifteen years later, Vatta Gámani had come back to his own. The Tamil menace was over; and Soma Dévi, whom he had sent for from India,

he raised again to her rank and built, in her honour, the *Somaráma* bearing her name. For this fair woman, who had alighted from the car at this spot and had concealed herself in a thicket of flowering *kadambas*, saw in that very place a *Sámanéra* who was relieving his need, using (decently) his hand for concealment. When the King heard her story, he built a *vihára* there.⁵

3. *Mahāvansa* Ch. XXXIII, v. 46.

4. The *Rājāvalīya* (Ed. 1900, p. 44) speaks of Somá Dévi as the chief-queen.

5. *Mah.*, Ch. XXXIII, vv. 84-86.

The *Somárāma*, also called the *Manisomárāma*, must be sought today near the Abhayagiri Vihāra, possibly in the place of the building which is now popularly known as the "Queen's Pavilion."⁶

Fifteen years after Vatta Gāmani's death, his son, Cora Nāga was on the Sinhalese throne, and this Cora Nāga's spouse, the infamous

8. Anulā,

soon began that life of public sin and licentiousness which culminated in her own violent death and won for her name eternal obloquy.

Anulā, who to Ceylon History is the Catherine of Russian History, first poisoned her husband Cora Nāga⁷ and married his step-brother's son, Kudā Tissa, who succeeded him.

Within three years she tired of the youthful Tissa and, putting him to death by poison, married the Palace Guard, Siva,⁸ who governed the country for one year.

At the end of this period Siva met the fate of his predecessor and gave place to a Tamil carpenter, of the city, Vatuka by name, who shared the throne with Anulā for a year and two months.

Vatuka was then, in turn, poisoned by Anulā, who next transferred her affections to a wood-carrier named Tissa,⁹ whom chance had sent across her way. His span of life as King-Consort was likewise of short duration, no more than a year and one month; for Anulā poisoned him, too.

In his stead she raised to the throne a Tamil named Niliya, a Brāhman who was the Palace Priest.¹⁰ In this case, also, it was a fateful "triumph of hope over experience" for the new temporary husband who was poisoned within six months¹¹ of the consummation of the union.

Six such husbands¹² had been foully done to death; and Anulā, "who desired to take her pleasure even as she listed with thirty-two of the Palace Guards,"¹³ now carried on the government single-handed.

But it was only for a very brief period; for, four months later, her second husband's brother, Kutakanna Tissa,¹⁴—who had fled through fear of her and had become a monk,—returned with an army, and, putting her to death, got back the throne which, for well-nigh ten years, had been occupied by Palace menials (gate-keepers, guards and wood-carriers.)

Within a hundred years, however, of this event, the throne had passed again to a gate-keeper Subha Rāja,¹⁵ whose undoing was brought about by a clever and resourceful woman named

6. "The Lankārāma Dāgaba, to the N. W. of the Ruwanweli Dāgaba seems to have been held in less estimation than the other great structures of the kind, and if it is again mentioned in the histories the monastery at which it was erected was known as the Manisōma Vihāra, or Sōmārāma, which the same King is stated to have built (*Mah.* i. p. 131.) We find the Manisōma Vihāra mentioned with the Thūpārāma, Miriswaeti, and Dakkhina monasteries, this connection indicating that all were at Anurādhapura." Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 311.

7. This is in accordance with the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 34, v. 14), but both the *Rajavaliya* and *Pūjāvāliya* say that he was slain by the inhabitants of Lanka. The *Pūjāvāliya* adds that, "being born as the great *Prēta Kālakanja* by name, he became a vessel of *Prēta* sorrows to be endured throughout the whole of this *kaipa* in the *Lō-endiri* (Lokantarika) hell." This is how the priestly historian damns the King who "destroyed 18 vihāras."

8. *Pūj.*, Balat Siva; *Rāj.*, Surakit.

9. *Pūj.*, Bela Tissa.

10. That is, "family-priest"—*Purōhita Brāhmana*.

11. According to the *Rāj.*, "one year."

12. Henry VIII. of England.—the nearest historical parallel to this,—had as many wives, but he did not murder them all.

13. *Mah.*, Ch. 34, v. 27. This passage is described as occurring in all the groups of *Mah. Mss.*, but is nevertheless regarded as being "a later addition." Cf. Geiger, *loc. cit.*

14. Both the *Rāj.*, and *Pūj.*, name him Makalan Tissa and describe him as the son of Anulā's second husband. I have, however, followed the *Mah.*

15. The *Rāj.*, names him Suba Balatā.

9. Pottha,

wife of a Commander of the King's troops. The story runs in this wise:—

A current prophecy declared that a person named Vasabha should be the next King; and the insecure Subha Rája suddenly ordered the massacre of every Vasabha in the kingdom. The General had serving under him a nephew named Vasabha, born of the powerful Lambakanna clan, and this nephew he resolved to deliver up to the King. Before the pair started for the King's residence, Pottha,

to guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put betel into his hand but without powdered chalk [chunam]. Now when the Commander, at the Gate of the Palace, saw the betel without chalk, he sent him back for chalk. When Vasabha came for the chalk, the Commander's wife spoke with him secretly, gave him a thousand (pieces of money) and aided him to take flight.¹⁶

Within two years Vasabha,¹⁷ "strong in men and munitions," marched on the Capital, defeated Subha Rája in battle and thenceforth occupied the throne, thus fulfilling the old-time prophecy. His uncle, the Commander of the Troops, had fallen in battle, but Pottha, his wife, was alive; and her the grateful Vasabha raised to be his Queen.

Subha Rája, the deposed King, had however, before his flight, entrusted his daughter

10. Mahamatta

to a brick-worker, together with his mantle and the Royal insignia. Upon Vasabha's death, the brick-worker adopted the girl as his daughter. The story proceeds:—

When (one day) in a thicket of flowering *kadambas*, she saw an (ascetic) who was in the seventh day of the state of *nirodha* [trance], she the wise (maiden) gave him the food [she was taking to her foster-father]. When she had then prepared food afresh she carried the food to her father; and when she was asked the cause of the delay she told her father this matter. And full of joy he bade (her) offer food repeatedly to the *théra*. When the *théra* had come out (of his trance) he said to the maiden, looking into the future: "*When Royal rank has fallen to thy lot, then bethink thee, O maiden, of this place.*" And forthwith the *théra* died.¹⁸

In time King Vasabha's son, Vankanásika Tissa, had grown to man's estate and his parents searched for a fitting wife for him. When the wiseacres who "understood the (auspicious) signs in women" saw Mahámattá in the brick-worker's village, the King sent for the maiden; and, soon apprised of her Royal birth, he gave her in marriage to his son.

In due course Vankanásika Tissa¹⁹ succeeded his father on the throne; and Mahámattá, now his Queen, lost no time in collecting money to build a *vihára*, bethinking her of the *théra's* words: "*When Royal rank has fallen to thy lot, then bethink thee, O maiden, of this place.*"

Before the work could be taken in hand, her husband died; but Mahámattá aided by her son, the valiant King Gaja Báhu, jointly founded the Mátuvihára "on the place of the thicket of flowering *kadambas*." The undertaking was shared in this wise: The mother bought the plot of land and constructed the monastery buildings; the son built the *thúpa* and presented the necessary lands for the inmates of the monastery.

Mahámattá was the last great Sinhalese woman of the *Mahávansa* or "Great Dynasty." The tale of her illustrious sisters of the *Suluvansa* or "Lesser Dynasty" may be told another time.

16. *Mah.*, Ch. 35, vv. 62-64.

17. Both the *Ráj.* and *Páj.* name him Vehep.

18. *Mah.*, Ch. 35, vv. 104-107.

19. *Ráj.*, Vannesinambapa, Sinanambapa; *Páj.*, Waknehe Tissa.

The delay—which is in no way the fault of the Editors—in publishing this number has been unavoidable, but we express our regret to all subscribers.

THE PUBLISHERS.