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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

APRIL, 1916.

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Part IV

THE JESUITS IN CEYLON IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By Rev. FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

THE records of the Jesuit Missions of India have been exploited by the historian and the scholar for the valuable information they furnish about the social, political and religious conditions of the various peoples and Kingdoms of the Indian Continent.¹

The Jesuits were, in many cases, among the first Europeans to come in close contact with the different races, and to face the difficulties of the numberless Indian vernaculars. The services rendered by them from a linguistic point of view have been frankly acknowledged by modern scholars.

The Jesuit Fathers who first entered Nepal in 1661 appear to have made the language of that country their own in a very special manner. The translations which I saw in Rome were on a far higher grade of excellence than those into many Indian languages which issued from the Serampore Press more than fifty years afterwards.²

What Gruber and Donville did in Nepal for Nepali, de Nobili and Beschi did in Madura ; Roth and Tieffentaller in Mogor ; Calmette, Coeurdoux and Pons in the Carnatic ; Mosac in Chandernagor ; Bischofinck, Hanxleden, Pimental, Hausegger³ and Heriques⁴ in Malabar, for Sanskrit and the vernaculars. In fact the Asiatic Society of Bengal did but "take up the clue where it had been dropped by the Roman Catholic Missionaries."⁵

1. Journal A. S. Bengal, 1896, pp. 38-113; 1904 Pt. 1, No. I; 1910. No. 8; 1912. No. 5; Memoirs, A. S. Bengal., Vol. III, No. 9. *The Jesuit Mission in Madura*, Chandler, M.A., Madras, 1909.

2. G. A. Grierson, *On the Early Study of Indian Vernaculars*. Journal A. S. Bengal, 1893, pp. 41-42.

3. Journal A. S. Bengal, 1913, p. 150.

4. J. Da Camara Manoel: *Missões dos Jesuitas nos seculos XVI. e XVII.*; Lisboa, 1894, p. 130.

5. Journal A. S. Bengal, 1893, p. 50.

Till very recently, however, information about the Jesuit Missions was gleaned by painstaking students from various publications, not very easy of access even to the scholar ; and " few of the published histories do more than refer, in the briefest terms, to the remarkable incidents which the Jesuit records set forth, and the interesting picture of the times they present to us."⁶

Of late, however, Father L. Besse of Trichinopoly, and Father H. Hosten of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, have given to the public documents hitherto unpublished concerning the Jesuit Missions. The former has unearthed the records of the Ancient Malabar Province S.J. for information about the historic mission of Madura, of which he is at present the Superior Regular ;⁷ while the latter has busied himself especially with researches into the history of the Jesuit Missions in Mogor, Tibet, Bengal and Burma.⁸

Though the Jesuits laboured in Ceylon at about the same time as their brethren in India and with the same earnestness, the Ceylon Mission was neither so extensive, nor were the Jesuits in Ceylon able during their short mission to render any appreciable service to scholarship ;⁹ but they have left us interesting accounts of Ceylon in Portuguese times. References to the Ceylon Mission, however, are few and far between in published works ; and these have never been collated, except for some catalogues published by Father Besse for private circulation. The present writer, therefore, has endeavoured to get together all that he has come across on the subject.

The sources of information made use of for this sketch are twofold :—

First, the published works of the Jesuits ; in particular the "*Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu nunc primum edita a Patribus ejusdem Societatis*" (Madrid, 1894-1909), a truly monumental work, published serially and running on to thirty-six volumes, in which authentic documents are given with valuable historical criticism ; the various Histories of the Society and Biographies of its Members ; Letters of Missionaries, especially the "*Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc (1887) primum editae*" (Florence), which gives the texts of the letters in their original languages, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and Latin ; and the private publications of Father Besse.¹⁰

Secondly, the unpublished writings of the Jesuits preserved in the Archives of the Society. It is in these above all that the history of the Ceylon Mission must be sought for. They consist chiefly of letters sent by the Missionaries to their brethren, or Superiors, abroad ; the Annual Letters and periodical Reports of the local Superiors, and the Annual Catalogues of the Mission detailing the work of the Missionaries.

Through the extreme kindness of a brother Jesuit¹¹ the writer has been supplied with photographic copies of nearly all these Manuscripts, over two hundred in all, secured at great cost and trouble.¹²

The following sketch will, therefore, have the special advantage of representing the Ceylon Mission from within, from accounts drawn mainly, if not solely, from the reports of those engaged in the work, or of their brethren who wrote about them.

6. E. D. MacLogan. *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1896, p. 38.

7. Very Rev. L. Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Madure*. Trichy, 1914, *Appendices ad Cat. Miss. Madurensis* : 1907 et sq.

8. Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. In the *Journal*, and *Memoirs*, A. S. Bengal, "The Letters Edifiantes of Bengal." *Missionnaires Catholiques et langues indigènes du Bengal*. Bruxelles, 1913.

9. Vide Appendix for a list of Jesuit writings relating to Ceylon. A Sinhalese Catechism was composed at Goa, 1545. (Cf. *loc. cit.* n. 19.) A Grammar and other works in Sinhalese, at Matigama, 1612, and Colombo, 1626. (*Am. Lit.*)

10. *Catalogus operariorum Societatis Jesu qui in Insula Ceylon Aliquando laboraverunt.* (1913, Trichinopoly.)

11. Rev. J. Phillips, S.J., formerly of the staff of the Papal Seminary, Kandy, now of St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling

12. Translations of the most interesting of these MSS will be published in *The Ceylon Antiquary* from time to time.

The Jesuits had no mission properly so called in Ceylon until 1602 ; but as some of their Missionaries had visited the Island and laboured therein already in the XVI Century, the first part of this sketch will be devoted to an account of their work and the historical incidents connected therewith.

JESUIT MISSIONARIES OF THE XVI CENTURY.

The first Jesuit to set foot in Ceylon was undoubtedly the sainted Apostle of India, St Francis Xavier, one of the first Members of the Society of Jesus ; but how often he visited the Island, and when, and where, he landed can not be accurately determined for lack of decisive indications. It is said, on the authority of Juan de Mello Sampayo,¹³ that he landed at Mannár in 1545 : another witness testifies that the Saint thence proceeded to Delft (*Ilha das Vacas*, or Nedun Tívu), whence he is said to have made his way to Jaffna.¹⁴ However that may be, it was two events in the history of Ceylon that drew the Apostle's attention to the Island. They are mentioned by him in a letter addressed from Cochin on the 27th January, 1545, to the Members of the Society in Rome :—

The Island of Ceylon¹⁵ whither I went lately with Francis Mancias, is about 120 miles distant from the Indian Continent. There a Prince, son of one of the Rájas, had resolved to become a Christian. When the Rája¹⁶ heard of his intention he had him put to death. The persons present at his execution declare that they saw a Cross of fire in the heavens, and that on the spot where he was slain the earth opened in the form of a Cross. They add, that many of the inhabitants at the sight of these prodigies became disposed to embrace the Christian faith.

A brother of the Prince I have mentioned, touched by these marvellous events, persuaded a certain Priest to give him baptism. He has now taken refuge with the Governor of India in order to ask his assistance against the Rája who killed his brother. I met and talked with this Prince in the course of his journey, and I have great hope, from what he said, of seeing that Kingdom before long embrace the faith of Jesus Christ. The people are strongly moved by the prodigies and signs which have taken place and the Prince who has lately become a Christian is heir to the throne.¹⁷

This young Prince was placed in charge of the Jesuit Fathers in their College in Goa. He was soon joined by another, who according to some was his brother, according to others his cousin.¹⁸ On the 20th of November Juan de Beyra writes to the rector of Coimbra that a Captain

13. A. Brou : *St. Francois Xavier*, Paris, 1912, I, p. 323.

14. J. M. Cros : *St. Francois Xavier : Sa Vie et Ses Lettres*, Paris, 1900, p. 371.

[Pieris (*Ceylon : the Portuguese Era*, Vol. I, p. 478, note 22), basing his remarks on the *Orient Conq.* I, says : "In January, 1545, Xavier left Cochin . . . and in March himself sailed to Colombo and thence to Manár . . . From there he went on to the *Ilha das Vacas* and thence to Negapatão." Further, according to De Queiroz, while at Colombo, discussing the various changes which had taken place there, he (Xavier) remarked : "You see this ruin, gentlemen. It may be that the day will come when its place will be taken by one of the finest cities of India."—Ed. C. A.]

15. The *Monumenta Xaveriance* reads :— "En un reyno destas partes, que es a quarenta leguas, donde andamos . . ." "In another Kingdom forty leagues whither we went." That it refers to Ceylon is clear from the context.

16. Some biographers of the Saint thought this referred to the King of Jaffna, and so does Tennent (*Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 12) while others considered that he was the King of Kandy ; but from all indications especially from a letter of Andre de Sousa to the King of Portugal (Cros, *op. cit.* I, p. 284) it seems clear that the "King of Cotta" is meant here. By the expression "King of Ceylon" without qualification, Portuguese writers of the time mean the "King of Cotta." "Divide-se Ceylão em tantos Reinos, que não sabemos em qual delles foi o Príncipe martyrizado . . . Conjecturamos que devia ser o Reino da Cota, se por ventura não foi o de Candia, porque o Rei da Cota era por direito o legitimo senhor de todo Ceylão: e por esta causa os nossos Portuguezes lhe deviam chamar absolutamente o Rei de Ceylão sem outro additamento." F. de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado* I, p. 147.

[Mgr. Zaleski, however, in his *Les Martyrs de l'Inde* (1900), pp. 82-83, is positive on the point. He says : "Plusieurs auteurs de la Compagnie de Jésus semblent douter si le martyr était fils du Roi de Jaffna. Le P. Francois de Sousa . . . dit qu'il était fils du Roi de Cotta. Le P. Henri Coleridge suppose qu'il était fils du Roi de Kandi. C'est une erreur. Le jeune Prince martyr était fils de *Sagararajah*, Roi de Jaffna."—Ed. C. A.]

17. *Mon. Xav.*, pp. 369-370. Translation from Coleridge. *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, p. 282-283.

[Don Juan. Pieris (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 478, note, 20) presumes he "must be the Trincomalee Vannia."—Ed., C. A.]

18. Cros. *op. cit.*, p. 283.

of the King of *Cotta* and ten other gentlemen and hidalgos arrived at Goa. "Leaving behind their wives and children and wealth they came by land amidst great personal danger. They come every day to the College for instruction. We are writing the Christian doctrine in their language."¹⁹ The writer adds that St. Francis recommended both Princes to the care of his brethren in Goa. The prodigies and signs that occurred at the death of the Crown Prince are referred to by the young Prince, Don Juan,²⁰ in the letters which he afterwards wrote to the Queen and Infanta of Portugal, and by André de Sousa who was the young Prince's godfather and was mainly responsible for the conversion and flight.²¹

These events took place in 1543; and in the following year an event occurred which stirred the heart of the great Apostle and most probably led him to visit Ceylon. He thus describes it in the course of the letter above quoted:—

The Island of *Mannáar*²² is about 150 miles from this place. Its inhabitants sent me some of their people to beg me to go there to baptise them, as they had determined to become Christians. I was occupied on affairs of the greatest importance, relating to the interests of religion, and so could not go myself; but I persuaded a certain Priest to go instead of me and baptise as many as possible.

He had already baptised a great number,²³ when the Rája of *Jafanapatam*,²⁴ under whose dominion the Island lies, most cruelly put to death a large number of the converts, simply because they had become Christians. Let us give thanks to Our Lord Jesus Christ that even in our time He does not let us lack martyrs; and that while He sees so few souls avail themselves of all His divine mercy and indulgence to work out their salvation, He permits, in the mystery of His Providence, that human barbarity should fill up the destined ranks and number of the blessed.

The place of Martyrdom is said (Sousa) to be Patim, by others (André Lopez) to be Totavaly; and the number of Martyrs is reckoned at six (to seven) hundred.²⁵ The brother of the King of Jaffna had himself to flee the country for his life, and betook himself to the Portuguese in Goa for protection. According to a Letter of John III. to Juan de Castro, he seems to have met St. Francis.²⁶ The news of this massacre moved St. Francis deeply; and when it was publicly announced by John III. it aroused so great enthusiasm in Portugal that the Rector of the College of Coimbra says that the students of the College were only too eager to set out for the Missions if they were allowed.²⁷ St. Francis seems to have impressed on the Authorities in India the necessity of intervention; and a punitive expedition was speedily organised.

I do not doubt that the prayers of the converts, whom he has rendered martyrs, may win for him the grace to acknowledge his wickedness and blindness, and that after doing a wholesome penance he may obtain pardon from God for so much crime and barbarity.²⁸

The expedition, however, proved a hopeless fiasco. The officer in command was in secret correspondence with the tyrant, and by deliberate and treacherous inactivity (*par son immobilité*

19. "Después de llegados aquí estos principes, vino un capitán de su padre del mismo rey con otros diez caballeros e hidalgos, dejando mugeres, hijos y cuanto tenían, y vinieron todos por tierra mas de cien leguas con gran detrimento de sus personas. Todos los días vienen aquí y los instruimos en la fe y escriben la doctrina cristiana en su lengua, *Sel. Ind.* Ep., p. 9.

20. *Cros., op. cit.* I. 231-233.

21. *Ib. l.* p. 233-234.

22. "La isla de Manar" Cutillas, Tursellinus; but the *Mon. Xav.* reads: "De otra tierra, cinquenta leguas desta doude ando," "In another country 50 leagues from where I am."

23. Tennent asserts that it was the Saint himself who baptised the Mannár folk (*Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 10-11); and confuses this with the previous event.

24. "El Rey de aquella tierra," in the *Mon. Xav.* l. c.

25. *Epistolae mixtae*, I., p. 231.

26. *Cros., op. cit.*, p. 238. [According to De Queiroz, his name was "Vagru Tucury Pandáram," (*Pieris, op. cit.* Vol. I., p. 97)—Ed., C. A.]

27. *Epistolae mixtae* I., p. 231-232.

28. *Mon. Xav.*, p. 369.

calculée et criminelle) made it serve only the paltry interests of trade (*un misérable intérêt de négoce*) ;²⁹ and it was only fifteen years afterwards, in 1560, that Mannár was taken by Constantine de Braganza.

Many biographers of the Saint mention another visit to Ceylon about four years later. The circumstance that led to this visit was the strange episode of Kandyan history that may be gleaned from the following letter of the 5th November, 1546.

Writes N. Lancilotti to the Founder of the Society of Jesus :—

The two Sinhalese Princes who had become Christians and were at Goa, and from whom we expected great things died. But one of their kinsmen, the King of the Province called Kandy, has become a Christian along with many of his people ; for which we should render incessant thanks to God. As we all know such an event is the source of much good, for it is very difficult to lay the foundations of the faith in a country ; but when once the chief personages are seen to receive the gospel others easily listen to it.³⁰

That the King was already baptised in 1546, as is here asserted and was believed at the time, is rather doubtful; for on the 25th of December the Franciscan Friar, Simeon de Coimbra, wrote to John III. announcing the "forthcoming" conversion "of the King of *Cande* in the Island of Ceylon," enclosing a letter from King *Jayavira* himself, in which he asks for help and promises to become a Christian.³¹ The sincerity of the convert was, however, not less doubtful than his baptism ; for just a few days later Friar Antonio Piquino wrote to the Bishop of Goa :—

Before writing to your Lordship I wished to assure myself of the good faith of the King. I put his Christianity to the test and found it all a sham. As soon as he was free from the necessity which made him turn Christian, he at once began to dissemble. He does not believe in God ; does not want the Christian Doctrine to be spoken of in his hearing; nor to look at a Cross ; nor to make the sign of the Cross. He would not even let others, except slaves, become Christians ; and goes on building pagodas as before.

A year later, however, a Franciscan Friar (Pascal Gonsalvez) found him better disposed. The King could become a Christian without danger of a disturbance, and sent letters to Goa by the Friar ; asking nevertheless for soldiers for his defence in case of danger. (*Brou*, II, 26).

It was at this juncture that the old historians relate, on the authority of Sebastian Gonsalves, that St. Francis visited Kandy *viâ* Galle and "found the King much better disposed than he expected." But as St. Francis had absolutely nothing to do with the affair so far, and has made no reference to it at all in his Letters, modern biographers are loath to admit the historicity of this visit to Kandy.³²

Whether he visited Kandy or not, it is certain that he visited Galle at this time, or earlier, for a witness at the Process of Canonization, Mathew Fernandez, a Portuguese resident of Galle, narrates on oath that he received a miraculous favour from the Saint at Galle.³³ St Francis Xavier himself, writing to John III. on the 26th January, 1549, seems to imply more than hearsay knowledge of the King of *Cotta*; for he writes :—

29. Cros, *op. cit.* I, p. 302.

30. *S. Epistolae*, p. 13-14. The young Prince died of chicken-pox. [Pieris, (*op. cit.*, p. 99) says it was small-pox, and adds that the Princes, "who died within a month of each other," had been converted to Christianity. "They were interred with Royal honours in the Convent of Sao Francisco."—Ed. C. A.]

31. Cros, *op. cit.* I, 342.

32. Nor is such a visit narrated by Valignano, Tursellini, Polanco, Fr. Perez who gives the itinerary of the saint at this time (*Sel. Ind. Ep.*, p. 68) says nothing of the visit.

If the following refers to this event, it does not show any personal intervention: "Father Joam de Villa Condé, a faithful minister of God, who has had much experience of what is going on in the Island of Ceylon, is writing to your Highness concerning certain things which it is of importance that he should tell you, and that you should know for the relief of your Highness' conscience and of his own." Letter of St. Francis to John III. *Mon. Xav.*, p. 451. Col. *op. cit.* II., p. 6.

33. Process 1550. Goa n. 13.

We have heard it reported here as certain that the King of Ceylon is sending some very precious presents to your Highness, in return for the many great benefits which he daily receives from you. Now let your Highness understand as an undoubted fact, that in this man a most fierce and bitter enemy of Christianity reigns in Ceylon, and, what it is almost a crime to say, is authorised and furnished with arms for injuring the cause of Christianity and for oppressing our religion as much as he can—by no power on earth more than by the favours and the gifts he receives from your Highness." (*Mon. Xav.*, p. 510. Trans. Col. Life and Letters II, p. 80.)

Another episode of Ceylon history is related in the *Monumenta Historica, S.J.*, in connection with Fr. Henry Henriquez³⁴, a Jesuit Missionary on the Fishery coast, who was brought into relation with some Christians of Ceylon in the following manner.

The Chief of a Province called *Trichlinamale* (Tirikonamale) was a boy of 8 years of age, but sharp witted and very intelligent. When the Chief Men of the Province were disputing as to who should have the guardianship of the boy, some people—about forty—took the boy and sailed over to *Commorin* on the Fishery Coast, as they were friends of the Christians of the place. When the Christians were asked for help, they exhorted the boy and his rescuers to become Christians. The one who had charge of the boy agreed; and they were all eager for baptism though they had nothing to gain thereby. When Fr. Henriquez saw their constancy he baptised them all; and the *Paravars* were so happy when they saw their friends instructed and baptised that, though poor men themselves, they gave a thousand armed men who, with some Portuguese, determined to set the lad in possession of his Principality.

When they arrived in Ceylon they made other converts; but as the Province was in a tumultuous state of war and the protector of the Prince had not the wherewithal to maintain the Christians who had come to his help, he thought it best to send the young Prince away from the scene of danger. The boy was again brought to the *Commorin* Coast by the *Paravars* and the Portuguese, while the boy's uncle, a Christian, remained behind to look after his interests. The boy was taken to the Viceroy, who welcomed him, and sent him to the Jesuit College of Goa to be educated. It is to be hoped that when he grows up, and inherits his kingdom, his subjects will become Christians. The uncle who remained behind at Trincomalee came to terms with the rival Regent and agreed to govern the country jointly till the boy came of age.³⁵

FATHER EMMANUEL DE MORAES, S. J., 1551—1553.

The next Jesuit Missionary in Ceylon—practically the first to be stationed there—was Emmanuel de Moraes (*alias* Morales), who was Chaplain to the Portuguese in Colombo, 1551–1553. From Colombo he went to *Cotta*, where he laboured with such zeal and energy that his health gave way, and he was recalled to Goa, where he died, July 1553.³⁶ He is commemorated in the *Menology of Portugal*.³⁷

34. Father Henriquez, or Enriquez, born *circa* 1520, entered S. J. Coimbra, 1545; India, 1546, eventually succeeding Father Antoine Crimale as Superior of the Cape Comorin Mission. He died at Punical, 6th Feby. 1600, and lies buried in the church of Tuticorin. See Plate XI. for an extract from a letter (in Italian) of his, addressed to St. Ignatius, the founder of the Society of Jesus. He speaks in the letter of a King of Ceylon who persecuted the Christians, who were threatened with death but remained faithful. A translation of this letter is published by Mgr. Zaleski in his *Les Martyrs de L'Inde*, Ch. XXX, pp. 105–107.—Ed. C. A.]

35. At baptism the young Prince was named *Don Alphonsus* in honour of the Viceroy D. Alphonso de Noronha: " . . . o pequeno Rei que tomou por nome D. Alphonso em obsequio do Vice Rei." (*Sousa, loc. cit.*) Fr. Balthasar Dias refers to this young Prince as being in the College of Goa when the Prince of *Cotta* came there; (*Diversi avvisi dall' Indie* I., p. 187) "Il primo di Gennaro, che si fece la festa del Nome di Gesu, venne il Vicerè, ed essendosi confessato e comunicato, ed udita la predica nella chiesa nostra, ci lascio un' altro putto di circa 8 anni, che e il medesimo Re di Ceilan, cui suddito e l'altro Principe Don Alfonso, accio con gl'altri impari lettere e virtu christiane;" *Sel. Ind. Epistolae*, p. 182. Chr. S. J. V. 651.

36. "... se retirava para Cota, onde trabalhando com mais vigor de espirito que alentos do corpo, caiu enfermo rendido ao peso de tantas fadigas. Avisado o Padre Mestre Gaspar Barzeo da sua enfermidade o chamou a Goa, onde ainda mal convalescido tornou a continuar o exercicio da predica, e dentro em pouco tempo lhe sobreveiu um fluxo de sangue, que em breves dias lhe esgotou a vida" De Souza, *Oriente Conquistado* I., p. 182. Chr. S. J. III. 488–489.

[Writing on the Ides of January, 1553, Father Gaspar, Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa, says: "The King of Portugal has in that Island several Castles held by garrisons and here Father Emanuel Morales labours. He set out there a few days ago (?) at the written invitation of the Viceroy, in company of the Ambassador of the King of Seilan, a man of the greatest position, who had been well educated by us the previous year in the faith of Christ. His object was to sound the disposition of the King, and, if possible, to win him too for Christ . . . (he was assisted by "our brother Diaz" which, by the way, Father Perera points out, is a mistake for *Brother Diaz*, the mistake being Mr. Pieris', . . .) Up to this time, however, the King, I cannot say by what evil influence, has shown himself obdurate and stiffnecked, and the result has not been in proportion to the toil expended." *Epistolae Indicae*, p. 122. On 8th December, 1555, Father Antonius Quadrus mentions Emanuel Morales as still labouring in Ceylon (*Ibid.*, p. 194). But Arris Brandonius, writing 10 Calend January, 1554, says that Moralez returned from Ceylon and died of dysentery (*Ibid.*, p. 374).—See Pieris, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 489, N. 25.—Ed., C. A.]

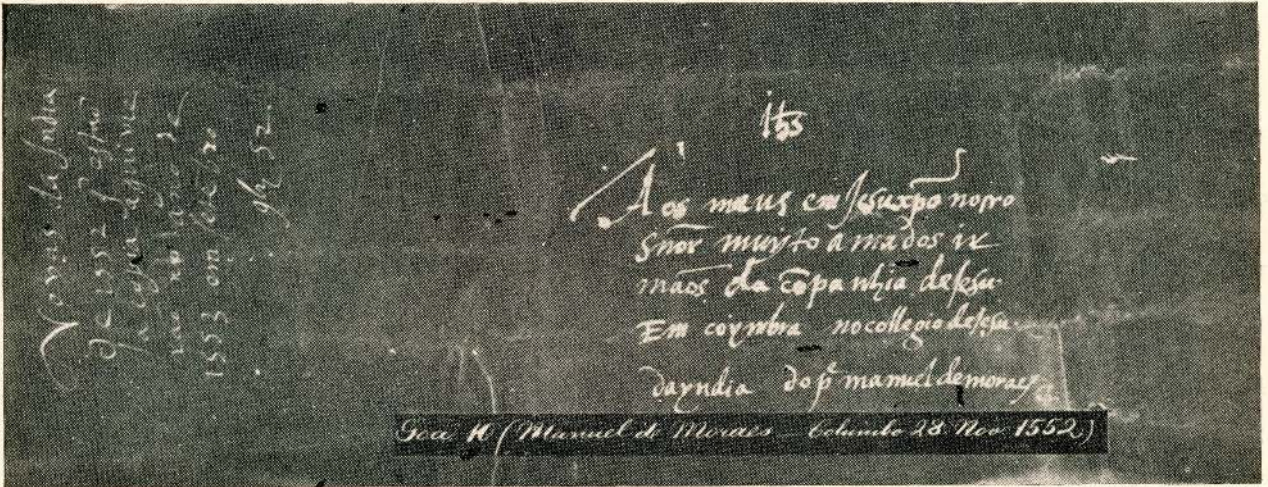
37. De Guilhermy: *Men. Aset. Port.* II 2nd August.

Father Moraes' Letter.

tigris, onças, boiões e outros m^{tos} animais, ha dozes de m^{tas} maneiras
 primeira mete aquia, veas, falcoens, açores, gaviões,
 gahinças e galos bravos e bompicos, pavoes, papapajos,
 e outras aves, frutas aa figos to da ilha, de por
 tugal e de terra, e outras frutas m^{tas} de quada terra. ha
 a canella q' laboay to da qua ha e outra parte, ha ta be pi
 meta e gengibre e outra especiaria q' chama cardamomo,
 ha pedras preciosas primeira mete rubis os mais finos q'
 se achã e outra nenhuma parte, ha topazes, e outros de q' avo.
 estas so as mais finas pedras desta ilha / outras m^{tas} ha como
 zafiras e diamas, mas na sa finos como estas. / isto vos es
 cuvo irmaos charissimoos nao por me parecer q' o de se fo na
 cobira destas cousas vos haera qua mais pa q' vos dozes
 deo q' ta boa terra e o q' as criaturas de de se ferne ode
 monio, e esta doo doos moza a q' verdes qua vir a judarno
 to a la cor fora pa q' todas as criaturas firmã a seu criador,
 por ora na mais se na q' peço m^{to} por amor de nosso sr^o sex
 m^{to} e comeda do de to doos meus dilectissimoos ps^{es}
 e irmaos q' nosso sr^o me dee o seu sacro espirito pa q' se
 pre to elle o firma e busque sua gloria e honra, o qual
 peço a sua diuina magestade nos dee a todos Amē.
 A nenhũ especefico de todos os meus charissimoos ps^{es}
 e irmaos por q' a todos tento de tro e minha alma
 da ilha de ceilam, da cidade de coluboa a 28. de nov^o de 1552.
 Servo de todos
 Manuel de Moraes

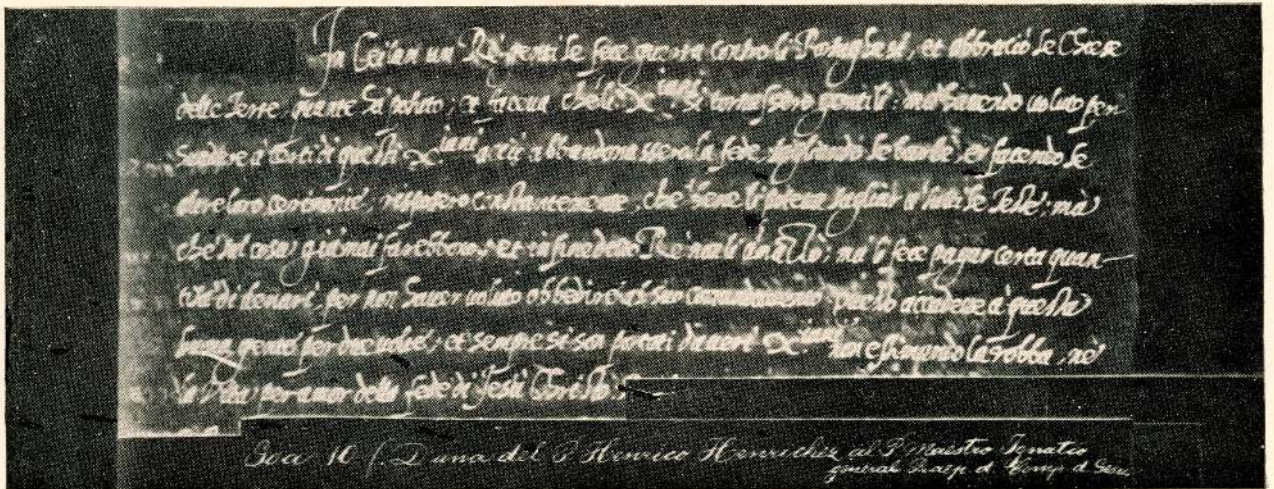
Goa 10 (Manuel de Moraes - Colombo 28. Nov. 1552)

Address of Father Moraes' Letter.



[The letter is directed to the Jesuits of the College of Coimbra.]

Extract from Letter of Father Henricus Henriquez.



[The letter, undated, is addressed to St. Ignatius (born, 1491), the Founder of the Society of Jesus, who died at Rome, 31st July, 1556. It speaks of a King of Ceylon who persecuted the Christians. Father Henricus Henriquez was born circa 1520, entered S. J. Coimbra 1545, India 1546, worked on the Fishery Coast, died at Punicael 6th February, 1600, and lies buried in the Church of Tuticorin.]

There is in my collection a photographic copy (Plate XII.) of a long and interesting autograph letter of this Missionary, giving a valuable account of the social condition of the Portuguese Colony in Colombo, and his dealings with the people of the Country ; with observations on the customs of the people and the natural features of Ceylon. The letter is addressed to the Members of the Society, and is dated "*da ilha de Ceilan de cidade de Colūbo de 28 de Nobro de 1552.*"³⁸

I translate the most interesting passages of the letter :—

I was sent hither, to the Island of Ceylon, at the request of the Viceroy. This Island is 200 leagues from Goa, and I came here to meet the King who has become a Christian, and to make myself useful to the Portuguese of whom there are not a few here. These, being so far away from the Viceroy, are in the habit of disregarding the laws of God and Man, and are committing evil with impunity. I came empowered by the Bishop of these parts to preach the Jubilee,³⁹ which I have publicly proclaimed both in *Colombo* and *Cotta*, and by the grace of God the people did penance with such fervour that I have scarcely seen the like elsewhere.

The most wicked vices reigned supreme in the Island, and men were given to lewdness and lust as there was no one to reprimand or deter them from evil except the Franciscan Friars, but as they had no ecclesiastical status they were hardly able to do anything, except by private admonitions which were of very little avail. There were many living in open concubinage with pagans and even Christians. They had completely neglected the observance of the Lord's Day and the Days of Abstinence. The greater part of them neglected the Sacrament of Penance ; and there were more women of bad life than honest matrons. In fact, women were worse than men in this regard, and these vices had become so habitual that they did not even seem to look upon them as sins.

I fulminated very strongly against these abuses in my sermons At first they did not seem minded to abandon their licentiousness, thinking perhaps that I would soon become wearied of ineffectual sermons ; but I persisted with great vehemence denouncing their impious doings in very severe terms. One Sunday on visiting a certain house at the invitation of the Captain I found labourers at work as usual. I expressed my astonishment that the Lord's Day should be profaned with such impunity, and threatened to leave the house unless they were sent away.

I preached twice on Sundays and Feast days, till at last the people began to awaken to a sense of their crimes and to confess their sins. I have to spend whole days in the Confessional, from early morning till sunset and often till late in the night. Those men I had spoken of as leading impure lives soon set things right, either by marrying their mistresses or sending them away, and doing penance to repair the scandal they had given their neighbours. The Franciscan Friars are equally busy, and now it looks as if the people are living like Christians at last.

The conversion of these men, and the manifest change in their lives, afford matter for praising God. Now they do not harass the natives as before, nor treat them unjustly ; for I have made it clear to them that such things are hateful in the sight of God. In consequence of this, the Gentiles, to whose care these things have come, show me unmistakable proofs of their esteem and goodwill, and not a few have come over to Christianity.

A few days ago a man of influence in these parts became a Christian, along with his nephew and another highly venerated Chieftain and several others of his household. He informs me that his wife is anxious to become a Christian, and wrote to me today to come to his house to baptise her, but to come before daybreak lest I should be seen by others, for noble ladies of this country consider it a disgrace to be seen by any other man besides their husbands.

Just now there are many others who wish to be received into the fold of Christ, and have made pressing requests for baptism ; but I let them wait for some time to test their sincerity. Besides, I am very busy at this Jubilee time preaching and hearing Confessions, and that gives me a very good reason for deferring their baptism. The Jubilee will be over at Christmas, and I shall then be free to attend to them.

In this country the Enemy of Mankind has sown many deadly tares—false beliefs, I mean. To uproot them in any manner satisfactorily would demand considerable time and trouble. I do not pretend to know their errors ; but I will briefly indicate some points.

According to the exaggerated notions of their religion they do not kill anything that has life, not even venomous snakes. They eat no meat of any kind, neither flesh meat, nor fish, even if they happen to be ravenously hungry.

38. A Latin translation appears in *Selectae Indicae Epistolae*, pp. 143-149.

39. A Jubilee is a Plenary Indulgence granted under certain conditions (Confession, communion, visiting a church, etc.) for a specified time during which ordinary Confessors are empowered to absolve penitents from Ecclesiastical censures.

To satisfy the needs of the body they eat the leaves of a certain plant (betel) which, like our ivy, entwines itself serpent-wise on other trees. They roll these leaves with lime, the same that is used for whitewashing walls, and when they are short of lime they scrape some from the walls. They make use of another fruit, not unlike the nut of the *cyprus*, very bitter, hard as stone and green (arecanut). These leaves, smeared all over with lime, is their usual food. . . .

There is another class of people who kill only what serves them for food. They would not, on any account, kill rats, salamanders, newts or lizards. (*ratos e salamategas, osgas e lagartos*), nor do they eat beef or the flesh of any other animal.

Another class of people, called the *Paravars*, kill nothing else but fish; though they make little of killing a man against whom they have a grudge, for their sect does not forbid it.

Still another class consists of those who kill hens, boars, and other wild animals; but cows they do not kill, for they believe that the souls of men pass into them after death.

They have idols of stone, bronze, and gold, and spacious temples to which they resort to worship these idols. They have different kinds of priests, some called ⁴⁰ *Jogues* and others *Cha(n)gatares*, who are to them what the Clergy are to Christians. They wear saffron-coloured garments, different from those in common use. None of these priests ever look me in the face; and, if ever we meet in the street, they avoid me whichever way I turn. I spoke to two of them who did not succeed in avoiding me, but they would not tell me anything about their beliefs or precepts—nay would not even answer my questions. When I have time and opportunity, I shall have a talk with a certain *Changatarum* who is a great man among them. He never leaves his dwelling and is looked up to with the utmost reverence as a man of great holiness.

When these gentle priests go out of doors, they carry a thin and slender covering, ⁴¹ which protects them from the sun, and serves to hide their faces from strangers. Their houses are by the side of the pagodas, secluded like cloistered monasteries, but ornamented with paintings like the pagodas. Some of these are more splendid than the most splendid Churches of Lisbon. Though the buildings are not so high nor so beautiful yet everything seems covered with pure gold. I once entered a pagoda which impressed me more than anything I had seen in Portugal or Castille, in both of which I have seen many a magnificent building. The pagoda was vaulted and there was a kind of chapel, larger than the rest, containing a statue with costly ornaments, on either side of which stood huge guardians with well-proportioned limbs made of metal but gilded.

Then follows the usual enthusiastic descriptions of the animals—elephants, *bufaros* (buffaloes)—and vegetation, the wonderful fertility of Ceylon, etc.

This country is more fertile than any other I know of, for it produces many things that are not found elsewhere. First of all there are various kinds of animals. The elephants are of such great size and strength that two of them can draw a ship to land and back again to sea. If you stand by an elephant you would fancy you are standing by a tower. They are captured young by huntsmen in the forest, and sometimes even grown up animals are thus caught. The elephants bring forth their young not only in the forests but even in towns, and are often seen going about the streets followed by their young ones. They are used for the same purpose as mules are elsewhere. They give no trouble to their keepers, and are trained with as much ease as cattle. They prostrate themselves on the ground to receive their loads, for otherwise one would need a ladder for the purpose.

There are bulls and cows wild and domesticated. There is also another kind of animal, of about the same size as oxen, called *meerus* [*ha outros animais q chama meerus q sa grades como bois*] Their flesh is very delicate and much valued, and is eaten by the nobles and the Portuguese.

There are other beasts of burden called *bufaros*. They are black in colour and are like ordinary bulls, and the natives eat their milk. There are wild boars which are hunted for food, and their flesh is considered a delicacy.

There are, moreover, many hares, porcupines, lions, civet-cats (*gatos dalgalia*) and monkeys. There are many kinds of monkeys, of which the best known are the *parasinae*, which are not so wicked as others but meek and humane. They are of the size of dogs and have tails 5 cubits long; they have white faces and black bodies.

I omit many other kinds of animals. Of birds, too, there is a wonderful variety. There are found eagles, falcons, hawks, hens and cocks, wild and domesticated, peacocks and many other species.

What shall I say about the vegetation and the multitude of fruits? In the very forests are found such sweet fruits as I do not remember to have tasted anywhere else. Here are found the figs of Portugal and those of India. All your cinnamon comes from here. There grows also pepper and other spices called cardamoms.

The abundance and variety of gems and precious stones is not less great. There are oenoliths better than those found elsewhere, topazes, and another which they call cats-eyes, of which this Island produces the best. There are sapphires and diamonds though of inferior quality.

⁴⁰ *Jogues* = *joques* = *diogues*. A general term applied to all (perhaps from *yogi*). The *Mon. Hart.* explains "*joques* vocant eos qui eremitae sancti apud gentiles habentur." Sometimes *clangatares*.

⁴¹ Velamine quodam tenui et subtili admodum utuntur—*Lat. Transl.* [? *Watahapota*, or priest's fan.—Ed., C. A.]

FATHER ANTONIUS SCHIPANI, 1592—1597.

Another Jesuit Antonius Schipani (Esquipano), a Neapolitan, was Chaplain to the Portuguese forces in 1589. He was wounded while ministering to the wounded soldiers at Kandy, probably in the Expedition undertaken by Pedro Lopez de Souza to enthrone Dona Catherina at Kandy. Father Schipani was taken prisoner, but was released after a short time and continued to labour in Ceylon, 1592—1597.⁴⁰

A few years afterwards the Society of Jesus began its Mission in Ceylon.⁴¹

(To be continued.)

APPENDIX.

The following is a list of some Jesuit writings referring to Ceylon. The list does not include Letters of Missionaries nor the Annual Letters of the Society.

1. *Ferdinand de Queyros : Conquista temporal e espirital de Ceilao, ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queiroz, da Companhia de Jesus, da Provincia da Goa. (Catal. dos MSS de nstituto Histor. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1884, p. 81, n. 126.)*

[Conquest of Ceylon, territorial and religious, compiled by Father Ferdinand de Queiroz, S.J.]

A copy of this very important work was procured by H. E. Mgr. Zaleski from the Brazilian Government. Another copy has been purchased for the Government of Ceylon by Mr. Paul E. Pieris, C.C.S. (v. *Ceylon.—The Portuguese Era*. Introd.), "My principal source of information," writes Mr. Pieris, "has been the great unpublished history of Fernão de Queiroz, a copy of which, now the property of the Government of Ceylon, I was fortunate enough to obtain from Rio de Janeiro. . . The text, excluding the Dedication, Introduction and Index, consists of 1,054 pages of 33 lines to the page. The writing is small and exquisitely formed, with hardly any erasure throughout. The work is divided into six Books and 168 Chapters; but a detailed description appears unnecessary in view of the proposed publication of the work by the Government of Ceylon."

Many other works of Father de Queyroz were unfortunately lost when the College of Goa was burnt down, 4th-5th December, 1664.

2. *Emmanuel Barradas : Relação da Viagem, e sucesso, que tiverao as Naos Aguia e Garca, vindo da India para este Reyno no anno de 1559, com huma descripção de Cidade de Columbo, enviada a outro Padre da Companhia morador em Lisboa (Hist Tragico-Maritima by Bernard Gomez de Brito. Lisboa, 1735, pp. 221-307.)*

[Account of the Voyage and adventures of the "Aguia" and "Garca" on their way from India to this country in the year 1559, with a description of the city of Colombo—addressed to a Jesuit Father in Lisbon.]

Cf. *Description of Ceylon in 1613* by P. Manoel Barradas translated by D. W. Ferguson (*Monthly Literary Register* IV.; quoted by Pieris, op. c. l., p. XII.)

3. *Vincent Alz : Summa Lusitana a R. P. Lopo de Abreu e Societate Jesu modo ex vulgari idioma in latinum conversa per R. P. Vincentium Alz ex eadem Societate.*

40. Juvencius: *Hist. Soc. Jesu*. III. p. 197. "Petro Lopez de Sousa P. Antonium Schipanum ex ora Fisca toria evocavit ut militibus operam navaret. Lopezio, in acie dum fortiter pugnat, caeso, Schipanus vulneratus et captus est. Pactae sunt paulo post cum hostibus induciae, solutus vinculis et redditus suis, P. Schipanus mox in Ceilano a Lusitanis data statio Societati fuit.

41. I have made no mention of the Jesuits who merely visited the Island, or exercised their ministry for a short time or *en passant*, as for instance Antonious Dyas, a lay brother, who was Fr. Moraes' companion in Colombo, and Melchior Munez who accompanied the Bishop of Cochin in 1566, visiting Mannar, Delft and Colombo.

On the title page of this work is the following inscription : " Philippus Baldaus, V. D. M. in India Orientali de spoliis Jaffnapatam me possidet in Jaffnapat. 6 Aprilis, 1658.

4. *Sebastian da Mayo : India Christiana.*

[MSS preserved in the Professed House S.J. Rome.]

5. *Manoel Silverio : Zeilan. Breve Relação, 14 January, 1641.*

[A short account of Ceylon.]

6. *Relação de Novas de India Oriental derte Monção de 1655. Goa fol. 512-523.*

7. *Gaspar de Aguilar : Arte Tamul, sive Institutio Grammaticae linguae Malabari-cae, idiomate lusitanico ex Majori Opere P. Casp. d'Aguilar S. J. confecta. (Bibliotheca MSS. Uffenbachiana Halae, 1720, Col. 697.)*

8. *Pierre Beguin and Ignatius Bruno*, are said to have composed many useful books in *Tamil* or *Sinhalese*. "Plusieurs Livres tres-fructueux en cette langue."

9. *Relation de ce que s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales Maracci, Paris, 1651, p. 63.*

10. For a *Sinhalese Grammar* composed by *Father Berguin, S.J.*, in 1645. See IV. C.L.R. 62 (Pieris o.c. II., p. 567, n. 79.)

11. *Emmanuel de Costa*, a Ceylonese (born in Ceylon of Portuguese Parents) also composed a *Sinhalese Grammar* and translated several other works, "linguae peritia adeo insignis ut *Artem Chingalensis linguae* egregie composuerit, alia multa transtulit in hanc, quae Catholicis ut in fide persaverarent et ethnicis ut errores suos execrarentur valde conducebant (Litt. Ann. 1626.)

12. A *Sinhalese Catechism* was composed in Goa (Sel. In. Ep., p. 7.)

13. At Malwana a Father translated the *Prayers, Life of Christ*, and *Anecdotes of the Saints* and composed a Catechism of Christian doctrine. (Ann. Litt. 1610.)

14. *Da fundação e origem do Collgo. de Columbo da ilha de Seilao, e das Rendas q̄ possue, e das obrigacoēs q̄ tem, e do numero dos Sogeitos q̄ nelle se podem sustentar, e das Residencias annexas ao ditto Collgo. 27 February, 1607.*

[Foundation and Origin of the College of Colombo in the Island of Ceylon, its revenues, and obligations, the number of persons it can support, and the Residences annexed thereto.]

15. *Antonio Dyas : Zeilan. 15 December, 1552.*

16. *Andre Lopez : Breve Relação das Christandades, etc.—1644.* A short account of the Missions.

17. *Manoel Roiz : Relação. Ao Pe. Nuno Mascarenhas Assistente da Compa-de Jesus em Roma, Colombo, 15 October, 1617.* (A Report sent to the Father Assistant of the Society in Rome.)

18. (Roiz)—*De como os Chingalas neste alevantamento matarão a dous Padres de Compa. q̄ estavam em Matigama* [How the Sinhalese in the recent rebellion killed the two Fathers of the Society who were in Matigama.]

19. (Roiz)—*De como El Rei de Candia tomou a nossa fortaleza de Balana* (How the King of Kandy took our fortress of Balana.)

20. *A Reporta que deu O Sñr Capitam Geral a El Reide Candia a cerca das pazes que pedia e de q̄ o Mesmo Rei respondeo. Os Capitulos que se-proposeram de nossa parte a El Rei de Candia sobre as condisoes que se aviam de guardar se quizesse pazes cõ nosco.* [The reply given by the General to the King of Kandy about the peace he asked, and what the same King replied. Terms proposed by us to the King of Kandy : the conditions he had to observe if he wanted peace with us.]

THE POLONNARUWA COIN WEIGHT STANDARD.

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

I. POLONNARUWA COINS.

IN the series of Polonnaruwa coins I include gold pieces, the '*Lakshmi*,' the '*Tanraki*,' and the '*Daraka*,' which are connected with the '*Lankésvara*' by No. 128 of the Colombo Museum, inscribed on the reverse '*Sri Lankika*.'

Sixteen of the *Lankésvara* coins weigh :—

68·2 gr.	67·2 gr.	67·3 gr.	67 gr.
67·4 "	67·4 "	65·2 "	66·7 "
67·6 "	66·9 "	66·3 "	67·6 " (worn)
68·5 "	67·6 "	65·8 " (slightly broken)	67·3 "

the average being 67·1 gr.

Of the fractional pieces the *Sri Lankika* weighs 33·02 gr., and nine specimens of the *Lakshmi* :—

16·4 gr.	14·7 gr.	16·3 gr.
16·5 "	15·9 "	15·5 "
16·08 "	14·06 " and	16·8 "

averaging 15·8 gr.

The weight of the *Tanraki* (six specimens) is :—

8·2 gr.	8·2 gr.	7·4 gr.
7·8 "	8·9 "	7·5 " (worn) and 7·7

That of the *Daraka* (nine specimens) is :—

8·2 gr.	7·4 gr.	8·6 gr.
8·0 "	7·7 "	8·1 "
8·8 "	6·8 "	8·1 " and 8·2

the average of the two being, in each case, 7·9 gr.

Rájarája gold coins range from 65 to 66·5 gr., and the silver from 66 to 67 gr.

Specimens (ten) of the gold and silver of Vijaya Báhu (A.D. 1055-1110) weigh :—

67·4 gr. (once ringed)	64·6	65·6
63·8 "	65·8	64·8
65·7 "	60·7	65·7 and 64·25 (once ringed)

giving an average of 64·8 gr.

Two minute gold pieces of the Ceylon type, perhaps Indian,¹ turn the scale at 3·4 and 2·8 gr.

The copper issues of Parákrama Báhu I. (A.D. 1153-1186) and his successors often fail to come up to the *Lankésvara* standard, though even here individual coins reach 67 or 68 gr. : the *eighths* of Parákrama Báhu weigh 8·5, 6·7, 8·7 and 8 gr., and the only known one of Dharmmá-sóka Déva (A.D. 1208-09)² 7·8 gr.

1. One in the Madras Museum; the other in the cabinet of Mr. H. C. P. Bell. The legend has been read *Sri Vijaya Báhu* (Madras Museum, *Catalogue of Ceylon Coins*, 1894), but there are only four *aksharas*.

2. In Mr. Bell's collection.

We thus find five varieties of weights :—

- | | | |
|---|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. The <i>whole piece</i> (Lankésvara, Rájarája, Vijaya Báhu and the later copper issues) | ... | with a maximum weight of 68·5 gr. |
| 2. The <i>half</i> (Sri Lankika), gold | ... do do do | 33·02 " |
| 3. The <i>quarter</i> (Lakshmi), gold | ... do do do | 16·8 " |
| 4. The <i>eighth</i> (Tanraki, Daraka, gold ; and the copper of Parákrama Báhu and Dharmmásóka Déva | ... do do do | 8·9 " |
| 5. The <i>twentieth</i> (Ceylon type) | ... do do do | 3·4 " |

2. WEIGHT SYSTEM.

The weight system of the period is given in the *Abhidánappadípiká* of Moggallána, thus :—

4 seeds of paddy=	1 <i>guñjá</i> (<i>S. olinda</i>)			
8	" = 2 "	= 1 <i>másaka</i>		
20	" = 5 "	= 2½ "	= 1 <i>akkha</i> (<i>S. aka</i>)	
160	" = 40 "	= 20 "	= 8 "	= 1 <i>dharana</i> .

The *dharana* in the Sinhalese tables is styled *kalanda*, which, with the *aka*, appears in payments of gold in the inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries: the above table, therefore, was probably in use before Moggallána's time. A system fundamentally the same appears in Southern India in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rájarája I. A.D. 985-1013, (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part I).

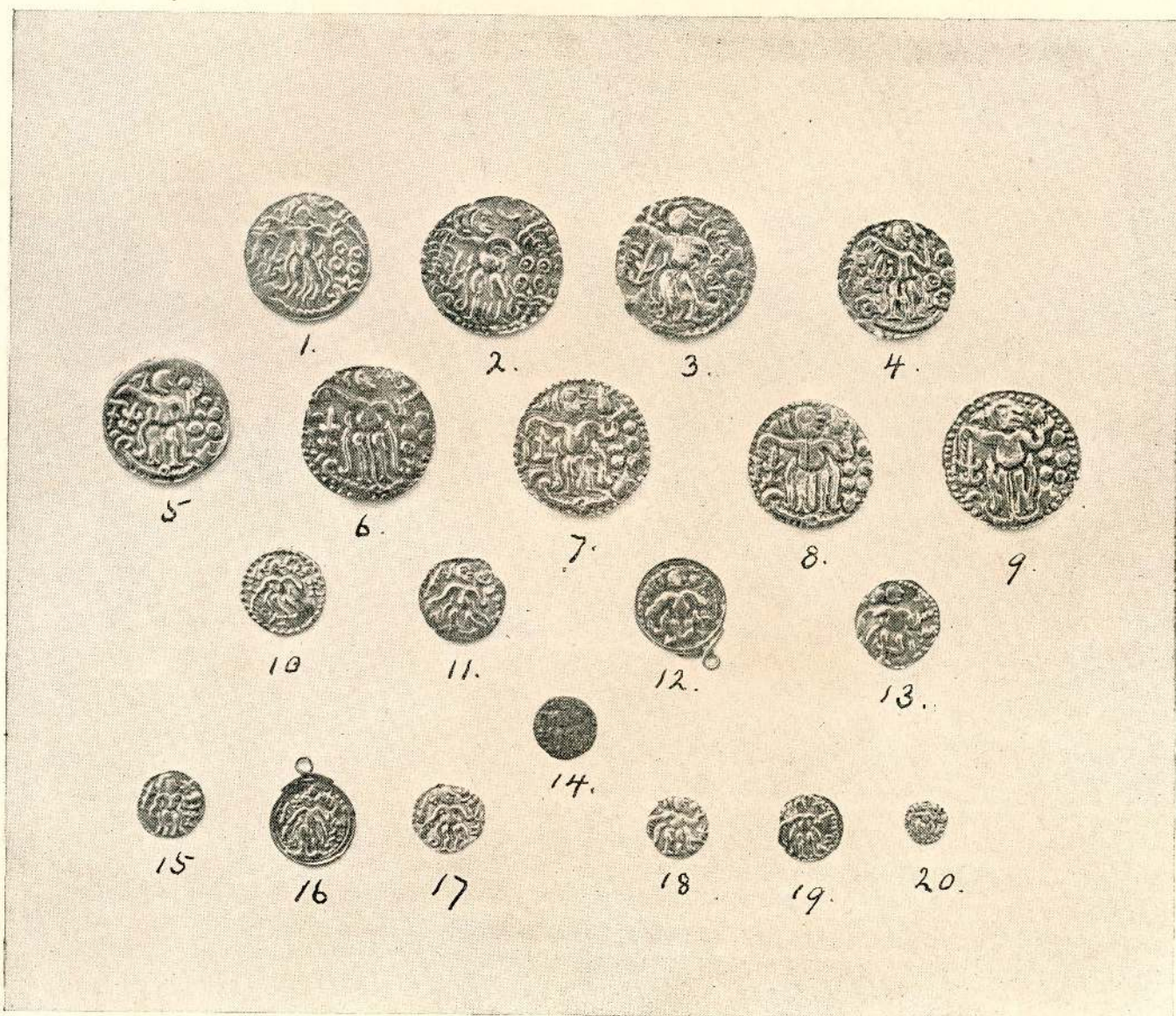
4 seeds of paddy =	1 <i>kunrumani</i>
8	" = 2 " = 1 <i>mañjádi</i> ,
160	" = 40 " = 20 " = 1 <i>kalañju</i> ,

for the *másaka* (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) was reckoned as a *mañjádi*, or *madeta*, (*Adenanthera pavonina*) as shown by the *vinayárttha Mañjusa* of Buddhanága Théro, who writes "*Másako náma poránakassa kahápanassa visatimo bhágo yá loke mañjetthiti pi vuccati*," "the *másaka* is the twentieth part of the ancient *kahapana*: in the world it is also called *mañjetthi*." According to Thomas' "*Ancient Indian Weights*" the *guñjá*, or *rati*, was about 1·75 gr. and the *másaka* of silver 3·5 gr.: the *kalanda*, therefore, should be about 70 gr. or one-half of the ancient copper *kárshápana*. The Tamil *kalañju*, however, weighs from 80 to 90 gr., being based on the *mañjádi* of 4 to 4·5 gr.

In Ceylon the *mañjádi*, or *madeta*, seed varies considerably with its place of origin. Thus at Puttalam in the dry zone :—

Average of 70	...	...	4·28 gr.
Average of 28, selected by sight as being the largest	...	...	4·60 "
Average, as selected by a goldsmith	...	...	4·40 "
while at Kégalla in the wet zone			
Average of 100	...	...	3·27 "
Average of 30, selected by sight as being the largest	...	...	3·6 "

POLONNARUWA COINS.

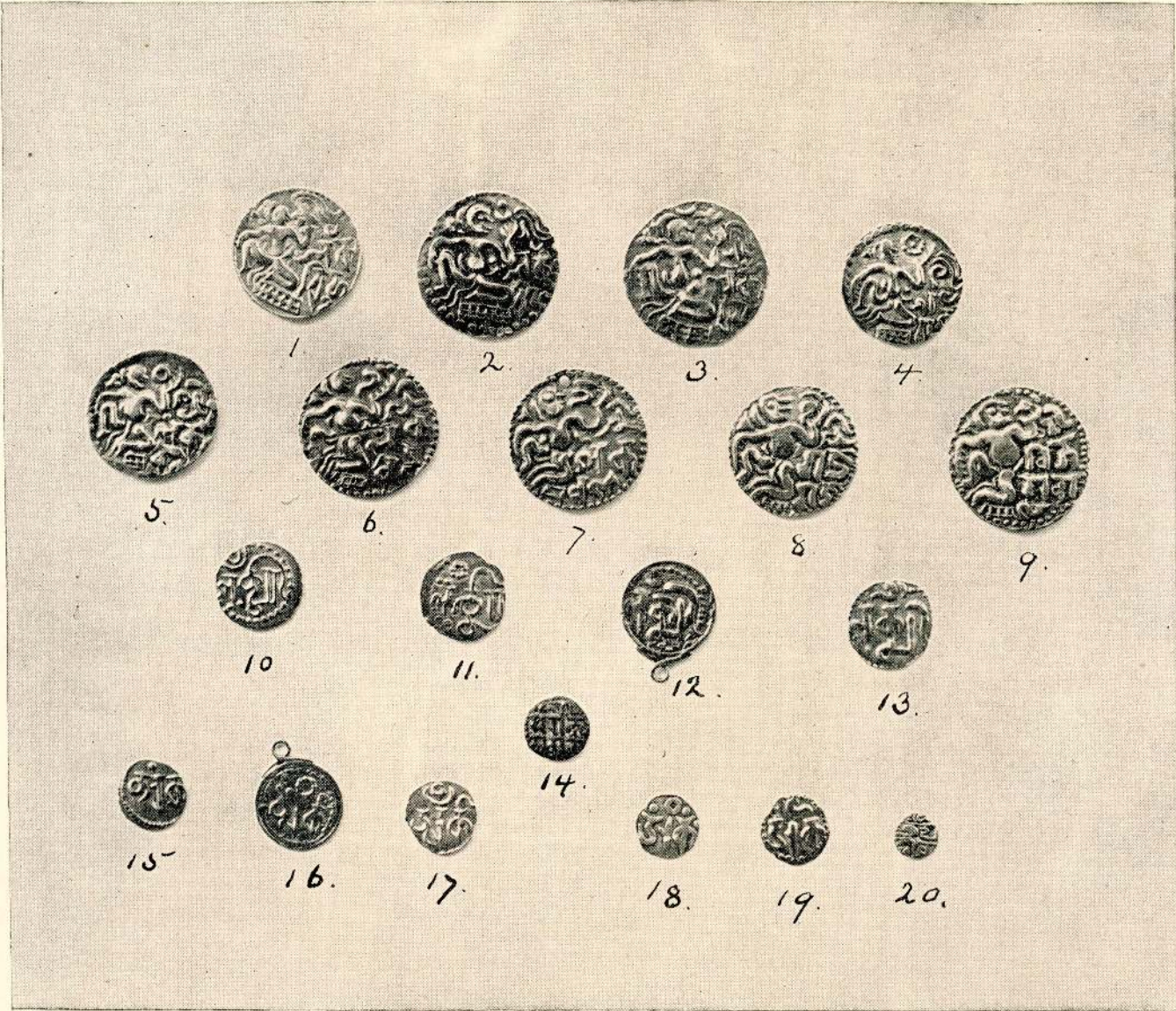


Apoth: Co: Photograph.

OBVERSE.

"Times of Ceylon," half-tone block.

POLONNARUWA COINS.



Apoth : Co : Photograph.

REVERSE.

"Times of Ceylon," half-tone block.

This agrees with Davy's (*Interior of Ceylon*, p. 243) experiments, by which the *madeta* was found to range in weight between 3 and 3.9 gr., the average, presumably of those used by the goldsmiths, being about 3.6 gr. The *olinda* seeds on the contrary are heavier in the wet than in the dry belt, the average of 100 at Puttalam weighing 1.6 gr., and of 30 from Kégalla 1.8 gr.

To ascertain the weight of the Sinhalese *kalanda* with any degree of accuracy we must come to modern times.

(a) The first European work which gives its weight is *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceilão* of 1551: here $52\frac{1}{2}$ *calanjas* are stated to be the equivalent of 1 mark, the *calanja* thus being 67.457 gr. Troy, and the *mangelim* or *mañjádi* 3.372 gr.

(b) In 1554 Nunes, in his *Lyvro dos pesos*, gives for Ceylon the following table:—
8 grains of rice = 1 *mangelim*

20 ,, = 1 *calanja*,

and adds that 8 *calanjas* 2 *mangelims* equalled in weight one *portuguez*. This coin, according to M. B. L. Fernandes (*Memoria das Moedas Correntes em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1856), weighed $712\frac{1}{2}$ *graõs* or 547.585 gr. Troy; the *calanja* and *mangelim*, therefore, were 67.603 and 3.380 gr. respectively.

(c) According to Robert Knox (1660-1679) 20 "seeds" made one "collonda," which was equal to one-sixth of the "piece of eight." By this reckoning the "collonda" should be 69.6 in 70 gr., and the "seed" or *madeta* 3.48 or 3.5 gr. He further states that 20 "collondas" make one "pallum" (*palama*); now a forty-*palam* weight in the Kandy Museum weighs 8 lbs. $1\frac{3}{4}$ oz. avd. or 56765.625 gr., giving 70.95703 gr. for the "collonda" and 3.54785 gr. for the "seed."

(d) An inscription on a gold bowl in the Daladá Máligáwa at Kandy, presented in Saka 1713 (A.D. 1791) by King Rájádhirája Sinha to obtain merit for his Chief Queen, states that with its cover it weighed 462 *kalandas* 9 *madetas*. The bowl itself weighs 3lb. $5\frac{3}{4}$ oz. avd. + 7 *madetas*: these last averaging 4.5 gr. each, the weight is 23547.125 gr. The cover was said to be lost, but that used for another bowl for which it was too large seemed to be the missing piece as it fitted it exactly and weighed 1 lb. avd. + 11 *madetas* or 7049.5 gr. The grand total thus obtained is 30596.625 gr. or 66.160 gr. for the *kalanda* and 3.3080 gr. for the *madeta*. The bowl has been in use practically thrice daily since its presentation, and has, therefore, seen considerable wear.

(e) According to the Kandy goldsmiths the half-stuiver piece of 1815 weighing 67.5 gr. was reckoned as a *kalanda*; 3 Dutch challies were also counted as 2 *kalandas*, one of which, therefore, should weigh 66.8 gr.

It will be seen that the weight of the *Lankésvara* coincides with that of the *kalanda*, as ascertained to have been employed from the 16th to the early 19th century, with a remarkable degree of accuracy; and the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the *Lankésvara* was a gold *kalanda* of about 68 gr. A difficulty, however, arises in the use of the light *madeta* of some 3.4 gr., Polonnaruwa being in the dry zone of Ceylon. This may be due either to calculation

being then based on the *olinda* seed and not directly on the *madeta*, or to the local retention of the older *másaka* or *Phaseolus* weight, the one-fortieth of Manu's *kárshápana* of 140 gr. It is just possible that the use of the light *kalanda* was fixed by the currency in South India and Ceylon of the late Roman and Byzantine *solidus*, of which the latest specimen found dates from the reign of Heraclius I. (A.D. 610-641).³

3. KAHAPANA.

In the Vinaya the *páda* or quarter, the taking of which involved expulsion (*párá-jiká*) from the Community, is stated to have consisted of 5 *másakas* : 20, therefore, made the *kahápana* of the period, as explained by Buddhaghosa in the *Samantapásádiká*, and repeated by all the later Commentators.

As has been seen, in the twelfth century the *mañjádi* or *madeta* was considered to represent the *másaka* : the *kahápana* (S. *kahavanuva*) of 20 *másakas* must, therefore, be identical with the *kalanda* of 20 *madetas* or 8 *akas*, which indeed are said to make a *kahavanuva* in the *Abidanmaldana*.

This is confirmed by the *Purána Vinaya Sannaya* of Dimbulágala Médhankara and Sangharakkhita, pupils of Sárputta Théro who flourished under Parákrama Báhu I., where the sentence of the Vinaya "*Rájagahe pañcha másako pádo hoti*" "at Rájagaha five *másakas* were a *páda* (quarter)" is turned into Sinhalese : රජගහනුවර පස් මදවෙක් පලෙක් වේ (*Rajagaha Nuwara pas mandatek palek vé*) "at the city of Rajagaha five *mandatas* were a *pala* ;" and the value of a *pala* is given as two *aksa*.

Again the *Mulsika Getapada Vivaranaya* explains the phrase in the *Mulsika* පල් පොහොනාවතක් (*pal pohanawatak*) "goods worth a *pala*" by : පාරාජිකා පොහොනා වස්තුවක් හේවන් මසුරන් දෑකක් අගනා යමිකිසි වස්තුවක් මෙහි මසුරන් දෙ අකෙක්නම් දන් පවන්නා කහවනුවක් දෑකක් දෑකක් බැගින් සතර කොටසක් කළ කල්හි එහින් එක් කොටසෙකි. *Párájiká pohaná wastuwak hevat masuran dekek aganá yam kisi wastuwak. Mehi masuran de akeknam den pavatná kahavanuwak dekek begin satara kotasak kala kalhi eyin ek kotaseki* "goods of the *párájiká* extent, or any goods worth two *akas* of *masuran* (coined gold) : here two *akas* of *masuran* equal one part, if the now existing *kahavanuva* be divided into four parts each of two *akas*."

The *Lankésvara*, therefore, was a *kahavanuva* as well as a *kalanda* of gold ; and may perhaps have been struck first as a deliberate revival of the *kahápana* of the Buddhist Scriptures, supposed by the Commentators of the 5th century and their successors to have been a coin of gold.

3. The actual weight of the *solidus* in the reigns of Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Magnus Maximus is given in Mr. H. E. Craster's Paper on *Roman Gold Coins found at Corbridge* in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1912, Part III, p. 277. "An edict issued by Constantine in 312, and renewed by Valentinian I in 365, established the weight of the *aureus solidus* at 4.55 grammes (=70.22 grains.) With the exception of the Constantinople *aureus*, which weighs 82.2 grains, and an *aureus* of Maximus weighing 70.4 grains, all the coins in this hoard fall below the standard weight, and vary from 67.7 to 70.0 grains. This lightness of weight is not due to wear, since all the coins are fresh and in good condition, but is a general characteristic of late Roman gold coinage."

We can now give the following table of the gold coins with their denomination and weights :—

<i>Kahavanuva</i> (<i>kalanda</i>)	...	...	about 68 gr.
[<i>Ada kahavanuva</i>]	...	...	" 34 "
<i>Pala</i> or <i>déka</i>	...	...	" 17 "
<i>Aka</i>	...	...	" 8·5 "
[<i>Másaka</i>]	...	...	" 3·4 "

4. KEY TO PLATES XIV & XV

Coin. ⁴	Type.	Distinguishing Characteristic.
1. Lankésvara (AV.)	I	Vase
2. Do	I	Sun and moon
3. Do	I	Vase
4. Do	II	Jessamine bud and lotus
5. Do	III	Ball and annulet
6. Do	III	Jessamine flower and chank
7. Do (pierced)	III	Do do
8. Rájarája (AV.)	III	Do do
9. Vijaya Báhu (AR.)	III	Do do
10. Lakshmi (AV.)	II	Lotus and adahanda
11. Do	II	Adahanda and lotus
12. Do	III	Ball and annulet
13. Do	III	Jessamine flower and chank
14. Parákrama Báhu (eighth, AE.)	III	Do do
15. Tanrakí (AV.)	I	Vase
16. Do	II	Adahanda and lotus
17. Do	II	Double adahanda
18. Daraka (AV.)	III	Ball and annulet
19. Do	III	Jessamine flower and chank
20. Másaka (twentieth, AV.)	III	Do do

⁴ Coins 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 14, 16 in Mr. H. W. Codrington's collection; the rest in that of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.



THE "GAL-POTA," OR "STONE-BOOK," OF POLONNARUWA.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

THE Archæological Commissioner (Mr. H. C. P. Bell) has described this colossal block of grey granite lying inscribed amid the "Ruins on the Raised Quadrangle" at Polonnaruwa¹ :—

The *gal-pota* or "stone-book" (of King Nissanka Malla) lies north and south. Its exact measurements are : length 26 ft. 10 in. down its axis ; 26 ft. 7 in. at both edges ; breadth 4 ft. 7 in. ; depth varying from 2 ft. 2 in. to 1 ft. 4 in.

The upper surface of the slab was first smoothed ; then framed and divided into three partitions by narrow fillets (1½ to ¾ in.), horizontal and vertical, in imitation of the bare spaces on the palm leaves of *ola* Manuscripts in which holes are pierced at two convenient points for the uniting cord.

Within these partitions (9 ft., 8 ft. 7 in., 8 ft. 8 in., in width) the record was carefully incised in sharply cut letters, in size 1½ in., between ruled lines. Each partition is read by itself, the text running on from the first line at the top left-hand (south-west) corner of the stone slab. The inscription of seventy-two lines, containing more than 4,300 letters, is far the longest known in Ceylon. The record is a blatant panegyric on the greatness of Nissanka Malla's mighty acts and munificence as assessed by himself ; but is worthless of considerable value in throwing light on the events and internal administration of a busy if short reign, briefly dismissed by all the chroniclers. The *gal-pota* was raised on a brick podium, measuring (average) 31 ft. 3 in. by 13 ft. 6 in., and sheltered by a canopy supported on ten pillars, 5 ft. in height above the floor level. To bear the weight of so massive a slab the bottom was made to rest on "corduroy" underpinning of short pillars laid flat, crossways.

Both sides and ends of the slab are ornamented by double bands of *hansas*—two hundred and upwards in number—moving from left to right.² At the middle of each end is a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmi, holding flowers upon which a pair of Elephants, one on either side, pour water from a chatty—a frequent motive and occurring in Ceylon elsewhere.

This Polonnaruwa Inscription of 72 lines and of "more than 4,300 letters,"—undoubtedly the most interesting lithic record we have of Nissanka Malla, as also far and away "the longest known in Ceylon,"—has been very thoroughly edited in the last issue of *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Vol. II, Part 3, pp. 98-123).

The translation, which Professor D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe has so well rendered, markedly improves on that of both Mr. Armour (printed in the Appendix to Turnour's *Epitome of the History of Ceylon* in the *Ceylon Almanac*, 1834 ; reprinted by Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, 18 Vol. II, p. 343) and of Dr. Müller (*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, 1883, No. 148).

Before dealing with this translation critically, however, it will be well to touch upon one or two historical questions arising out of the inscription.

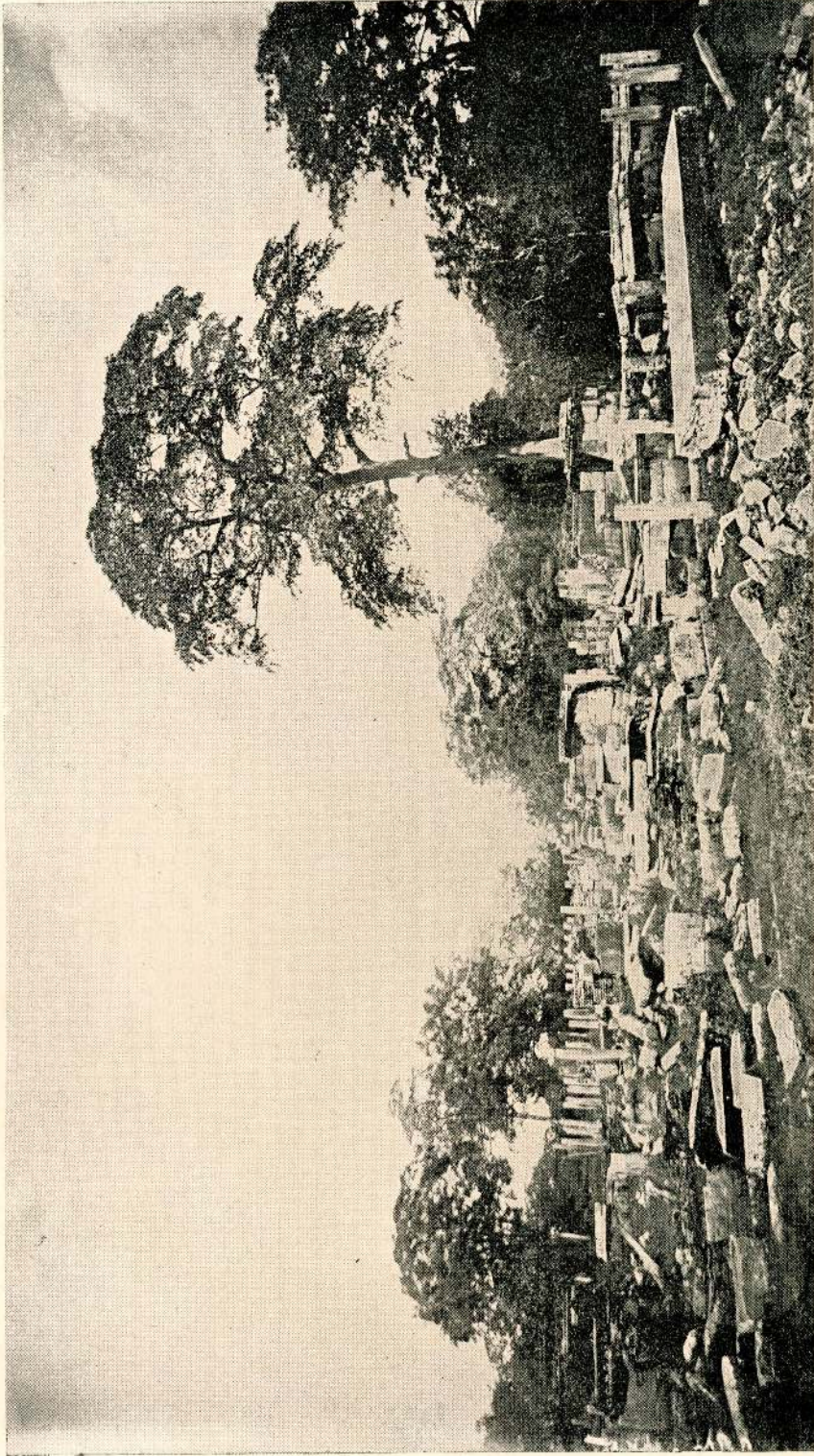
(I) Was the slab brought from Segiri (Mihintale), North-Central Province, or from Sigiri, Central Province?

Dr. Müller's ingenious suggestion (*A. I. C.*, p 66) of "Sigiri" for "Ségiri," to which Professor Wickremasinghe inclines, does not appear to be any the more "convincing" for the "two reasons" given by the latter.

1. Bell, *Archæological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report, 1903*, p 17. See Plate, xvi.

2. North, 9 top row, 6 bottom row east, 45 top, 42 bottom ; south, 8 top, 6 bottom ; west, 40 top, 55 bottom—in all 211.

POLONNARUWA.



Archl. Survey Photograph.

THE "GALPOTA" AND "HETA-DÁ-GÉ" RUIN.

"Times of Cepton," half-tone block.

Suggestions, especially when they are "ingenious," not infrequently predispose one, unwittingly, to attach undue importance to what are ordinarily accidental trifles of no moment or significance; and it may not improbably be the unconscious operation of some such feeling which makes Professor Wickramasinghe "seem to notice marks of erosion of the *i* vowel sign above the letter *s*, pointing to the probability (?) that the engraver suddenly changed his mind and altered *i* to \bar{a} before incising *gi*, the next *aksara*."

Even if the "marks of erosion"³ were really there (Professor Wickramasinghe himself is by no means *sure*) they would afford an argument equally strong, if not stronger, the other way, viz., that the engraver really began incising the *aksara* as *si*, but, apprised of his mistake—he was hardly likely to take the individual liberty attributed to him,—corrected it to *sé*.

Besides, the statement in the postscript to the inscription, that the stone was "brought from Ségiri by the Nissanka warriors," would surely be superfluous unless it was intended to impress the world with the magnitude, the Herculean character, of the laborious feat performed. And as Professor Wickremasinghe himself confesses:—

If we once admit the ability of Nissanka Malla's men to remove such an enormous block of stone, the distance would hardly matter much, especially as the ground which they would have to cover is more or less flat.

Mr. Burrows' suggestion,⁴ as supported by Mr. Bell may, therefore, be safely regarded as sound, viz., that:—

The sacred associations of Mihintale-kanda Ségiri, the great distance (upwards of 80 miles) to be traversed and the difficulties of transporting a block of granite so colossal, would doubtless stir the egregious vanity of that self-lauding monarch into this boastful *tour de force* merely to add special lustre to his name.⁵

Secondly, the proof sought for by Professor Wickramasinghe from quite another stone that "quarries did exist in the Sigiri district" is based on very doubtful premises.

The *Endéru-galla*, from which "the stone [slab] unearthed just outside Nissanka Malla's Privy Council Chamber was brought" is far more likely, as Mr. Bell had already stated, to have been the *Gopála Pabbata* just north of Rankot Dágaba at Polonnaruwa itself⁶ than the *Endéru-galla* of Inamaluwa, 23 miles distant. Such "proof," therefore, does not, in the absence of any other evidence, justify the presumption that the *Gal-pota* slab came from the Sigiri quarries.

We are not entitled with the evidence we have—as a matter of fact there is no evidence except the record as cut on the slab—to seek to question this "confirmation (in stone) of the local tradition referred to by many a writer on Ceylon"⁷ of the *Gal-pota* having been brought from *Mihintale*.

(II) The "Buddha-varsa" in use in Ceylon in the 11th Century.

In regard to the Paper I read at a Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on July 31st, 1914, on the subject of *The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology*, Professor Wickremasinghe says:—⁸

3. Mr. H. C. P. Bell, who, as Archaeological Commissioner, examined the record frequently during his twelve annual seasons' work at Polonnaruwa, assures me that "there are no such 'marks of erosion' on the slab itself," and that "the reading is undoubtedly *Ségiri* not *Sigiri*. The long vowel sign of Ḷ cut at the foot of Ḷ to right (ḶḶḶ) should be contrasted with the *ispilla*, or upper vowel sign, for Ḷ above Ḷ . Squeezes Exaggerate mere indentations of weathered stone into fancied vowel signs. Further, the usual spelling of *Sigiri* at the period was *Sthagiri* or *Sthigiri*."

4. Mr. S. M. Burrows was the first to note this interesting fact: see Journal C. A. S., Vol. X, No. 34, pp. 46-8.

5. Archaeological Survey, Ceylon, Annual Report, 1903, p. 17.

6. This is Mr. Bell's opinion. See Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 103.

7. *Epigraphia Zeylantica*, p. 99.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

It may perhaps serve a useful purpose to draw attention to Dr. Fleet's Article (*On the Origin of the Buddha-varsa*; *J. R. A. S.*, 1909) and state again that the *Buddha-varsa* in use in Ceylon at this period is undoubtedly the one reckoned from 544 B.C.; for the simple reason that it agrees with the details of the date given in the Polonnaruwa Inscription of King Sahasa-Malla, who ascended the throne within a few years of Nissanka-Malla's death. Mr. Senaveratne's contention that the older reckoning from 483 B.C. remained in use up to the end of the fifteenth century does not, therefore, hold good.

On which, for the present, I need only ask whether Professor Wickremasinghe has made sure that the details given in the Polonnaruwa Inscription of Sahasa-Malla do not fit my date A.D. 1260-1, and deprecate the *positiveness* without further supporting proof, with which he now *lays down* what till very recently he put forward only as a "theory" that he was "inclined to fall back upon," viz. :—

The theory that either the text of this portion of the *Mahāvansa*, as we have it at present, is faulty, or its author got confused regarding the traditional dates of this period.⁹

My "contention,"—set forth, I submit, with justifiable "enthusiasm" and reasonable "confidence," as being backed by weighty historical testimony,—still remains critically unexamined (and unanswered) *in its entirety*. This task I know of no Ceylon Scholar more competent to undertake than Professor Wickremasinghe himself; and I trust that he will find time to essay it.¹⁰

(III.) Text and Translation of the Inscription.

The uniform closeness and accuracy of Professor Wickremasinghe's able translation, as a whole, leaves practically nothing for general criticism. But, there are a few words and phrases, not unimportant, which seem to call for some further examination :—

(1). *Mahá* (p. 104, A. l. 5). "Great," would be better rendered here "chief" as at p. 106, B. l. 2.

(2). *Lovāssan . . . vālasinna* (p. 105, A. l. 8). The translated sentence might be improved, thus : "His great Majestic power is such that when, *whilst* hunting in the forest, a fierce savage she-bear sprang before him with a *deep* growl, etc."

(3). *Samudra-kridāvata* (p. 105, A. l. 10). "To enjoy sea-sports" is hardly defensible, even as an Anglo-Ceylonese "colloquialism." Suggested instead, "to take part in sea-sports," the King's journey to "Bana" being obviously for that purpose.

(4). *Gehila* (p. 105, A. l. 19). The tentative meaning offered for this "new" word is "domestic utensils," connecting it apparently with *grha bhānda*; but it might be better rendered "household ornaments," "decorations" (*grha alankāra*). "Utensils" has a somewhat narrow, restricted signification, as pertaining "particularly to instruments or vessels used in domestic business." I would suggest the broader term "household furniture."

(5). *Avunu* (p. 105, A. l. 20). This word (more probably meaning "embankments" here, as translated) has produced sharp divergence of opinion between Professor Wickremasinghe on the one hand and Drs. Müller and Geiger on the other, the latter being held to be "wrong in connecting it with *āpana*" (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II., p. 69, n. 10).

It would be presumptuous manifestly to venture "to decide where Doctors disagree;" but it is interesting to note in this connection that the Pāli (also Sinhalese) *āpana* ("bazaar or market, shop," Childers) is the same as the Sinhalese *sal-pila* which, according to Clough, not only means "shop," but also "an elevated bank or terrace (? embankment) in front of a house used

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 157; Vol. II, p. 65.

10. I shall always be ready to admit my mistake if, and when, it is proved conclusively that my contention is unsound.

as such." However that may be, Professor Wickremasinghe derives the *avunu* of the present inscription from the Páli *ammaṇa*: this word, according to Childers, signifies (a) "canoe," "measure of capacity, equal to eleven *Donas*"; (b) superficial measure, equal to four *karisas*; (c) the modern Sinhalese equivalent of *ammaṇa* is *amuna* the standard measure of paddy and other grains (d) also a superficial measure containing as much ground as an *amuna* of grain will sow."

May not this *avunu* be connected with *ávarana* which, in Sanskrit as well as in Páli and Sinhalese, signifies something in the nature of an "obstruction," "restraint" (Childers)—here, therefore, a dam or embankment for holding up and diverting water for irrigation purposes. ?

(6). *Visamburu-vata* (p. 105, A. 1. 20). This is the third time this strange term has occurred in inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*: the previous occasions being in Vol. II, p. 66, l. 22 and p. 93, l. 17 (it also occurs once again lower down in the present Part III, p. 138, B., ll. 3-4) and its exact signification is no more determinable now than when Professor Wickremasinghe was first constrained to confess that "the meaning of this agricultural term is at present not clear." True it is that in the present Part he suggests that it was "apparently a tax on fallow or barren land;" but this is clearly not the meaning it bears in the Rambéva slab-inscription (p. 66, l. 22—*visambur de-viyālá ávú Morondu-Mahasen-gamiye kumburu*—"from the fields with their produce in Morondu-Mahasen-gamiya in the two *viyalas* of *visambur*"). There is no indication in the above at least of any "tax," nor were the fields (with their produce) "fallow or barren land;" since we know, from the context, that they contributed even during a part of the year "at the rate of a *lahas* measure a week for the purpose of keeping alight the lamps of the stone-statue of the Lord Buddha at the market within (the precincts of) the house of the Sacred Bódhi-tree in Mahāvihāra."

In the absence of more decisive information, one can do no more than guess: it may, therefore, be permitted me to hazard the suggestion that *visamburu* is perhaps derivable from *visvambhara*, "the supporter, or nourisher, of all," i.e., the King. If this derivation be right, *visamburu-vata* would then be a tax (on certain lands, not necessarily "fallow" or "barren") due to the King himself—one of those Royal Prerogatives weighing more or less heavily on the people which Nissanka Malla was most likely to abolish in his eager bid for popularity among the Sinhalese.

(7). *Daru-kusalán, Manga-kusalán* (p. 106, A. ll. 23-24). The suggestion that these were probably "drinking vessels for children" and "drinking vessels on the roadside for travellers" respectively, is, I venture to think, not quite accurate. The two terms seem to signify here not so much the means—the instruments by which this form of charity was to be exercised—as the charity itself. In this view the sentence would read better: "He re-established offerings to gods; (also) the meritorious custom, as it existed aforetime, of providing drink to (thirsty) children and wayfarers."

(8). *Rájadhāni* (p. 106, B. l. 8). Not ordinary cities; but, to be accurate, "Royal cities."

(9). *Kridá-bhavanayak* (p. 106, B. l. 9). "Hall of Entertainment" would, I suggest, be better than "house of amusements."

(10). *Detunuvara* (p. 106, B. l. 10). Printer's mistake for *Devunuvara*.

(11). *Lag paminimi* (p. 107, B. I. 15). Better thus: "Then the General intimating that he himself intended to be (present at the battle-field) so as to ensure the conquest of Dambadiva, set out to wage war."

(12). *Ran-āngili* (p. 107, B. I. 17)—Professor Müller gives no translation of this, and Professor Wickremasinghe, who suggests "golden fingers," is fain to confess he does "not know what this expression really means." Mr. Burrows renders it by "gold rings"; and so does Mr. Bell (*Archl. Survey Ceylon, Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 103.*)

May it not, however, be rendered as "finger-shaped golden ornaments," i. e., ornaments in shape something not unlike the *āngili*, made of flour, with which the Ceylon "bread-man" delights the children of today? I have seen such antique "finger-shaped golden ornaments,"—set with precious stones and of very considerable value, though put to no apparent use in these days,—in the unique and priceless collection of jewellery belonging to Maduwanwala Kumárihámi.¹¹

(13). *Soli-ratin* (p. 107, B. I. 17). "From the Sólí country" instead of "from the country of the Cólás."

(14). *Ran ridi kap-ruk-se sarahá* (p. 107, B. II. 22-23). The sentence would read better thus: "Like unto 'wish-conferring trees' did he make these (houses) which he furnished with various objects, etc."

(15). *Lamká ättáha* (p. 108, C. II. 3-4). Better thus: "Considering that the Island of Lanká was a noble land that the living beings in it had lofty virtues, etc."

(16). *Saganneyā* (p. 109, C. I. 24). Professor Wickremasinghe translates this by "protects;" while Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka favours "conquers." Both are, of course, right, the word generally bearing both these, and other, shades of meaning. But, as the former rightly connects it with the Skt. *sam-grah* (Sin. *sagan*), it would, I suggest, be even more correct to render it here by "delights" (the "mind" or "heart") which is its primary meaning; and equivalent to the old cave-record epithet *mana-padasane*, "mind-pleasing."

In conclusion, I should state clearly that, without the advantage of discussing the present inscription with the Ven. Nánissara, High Priest, Súriyagoda Sumangala Théra, and one or two other learned priests and scholars, who have kindly lent their invaluable aid and support in the better renderings suggested, these tentative critical notes would not have been put forward.

11. This lady, it may be noted, is the "proud possessor" of not a few of the jewels and other articles of personal adornment which, just a hundred years ago, belonged to the last Queen of Kandy.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1802.

By A. E. BUULTJENS.

THE following document is translated from a Dutch MSS of 1801, purchased by me while in Holland in 1886. It contains the Petition by certain shareholders of the Dutch East India Company to the Batavian Republic urging reasons against Ceylon being given up to England at the Treaty of Amiens.

It should be remembered in this connection that the Stadtholder of Holland and the Dutch aristocracy were refugees in England when the Dutch Republican Party in Holland, joined the French Republican Party under Napoleon, and that Ceylon was ceded to the English in 1796 upon the written orders of the Stadtholder to the Governor, Van Angelbeck. As the Letters of Governor North in the Wellesley MSS, (published in the *Ceylon Literary Register* Vol. II., 1887-1888), shew, great efforts were made by the Dutch, as well as by the English, to secure Ceylon, which finally passed to the hands of England at the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

The MSS refers to the period after the preliminaries of Peace and before the definitive Treaty was signed.

PETITION.

Copy :
pp. Exh., 8th December, 1801.

To the State Government of the Batavian
Republic.

38.

Seal.

(The note on the margin is :—)

This, together with the enclosure, was placed in the hands of the Commission of Marine and Colonies for report without resumption.

Done in the State Government of the
Batavian Republic, 8th December, 1801.

Known to me.

(Signed) S. DASGEVAEL.

The undersigned partners of the Dutch East India Company, with due respect, make known :—

That the Petitioners, as well as the rest of their partners, have been obliged to share in the calamities and adversities, which have, for a series of years, continually assailed this Company, formerly so flourishing, and which have brought it from the highest degree of splendour and prosperity to the lowest state of humility; and with no less emotion than astonishment have they had to discover that Their High Mightiness, the former States General of the United Netherlands, have found it good by their Resolution dated December 24th, 1795, to change the entire form of the management of this Company, without the consent and concurrence of the partners, to dismiss their lawfully elected Directors from their posts, and in the most illegal manner against the principles so solemnly proclaimed at that very time, to drive out the true proprietors from all the possessions of the Company, and from the management of their properties, yea even almost from all participation in the administration of their affairs.

That the Petitioners,—at least the majority of them,—at that time, in the year 1796, laid before the then National Assembly, their grievances and complaints, on account of the aforesaid Resolution, in a proper way, by a Memorial, a copy of which they have the honor herewith to annex, with the result that the abovementioned Assembly resolved that the aforesaid Memorial with its enclosure be forwarded to the Members of the Commission to the Constitution, in order that they may pay that attention to it, which they, in their wisdom, should judge as necessarily appertaining thereto.

That, however much the Petitioners may have justly flattered themselves for the time being that, after a more careful consideration, their grievances would have been redressed, which, caused by too great a zeal for reform, in the first heat of the Revolution, must break out in no other way than to the greatest injury of the Fatherland itself, yet to their regret they have had to perceive that, on the contrary by the Government Regulation, introduced in the year 1798 and now annulled, these grievances were very considerably augmented, since they thought it proper even to confirm the taking over of all the properties and possessions of the East India Company by the Batavian Republic, without the Petitioners being ever heard in their interests, and without their being thus placed in the position of bringing their lawful objections against it.

That the Petitioners will not enquire how far this disposition of the partners' rights, and properties, wherein no change seems to be made by the present Regulation of Government may be considered to be legalised by *public necessity* or by *the common welfare*, since otherwise they would have every reason, if they had an opportunity, to place in the clearest daylight the injustice of the disposition, so that not only would they be convinced by the reasons to the contrary, but they would be in a position to judge for themselves.

That they would only point out here that the dissolution of such a trading body, as is the East India Company, is a matter of the gravest consequence; that even now very lately this important question was propounded on behalf of the French Government by the Board of Trade, viz., whether it would be profitable for trade to re-establish the great Companies which previously existed, such as *The East India, &c.*; and, if so, under what form, and upon what conditions should support be given to help them again. But, however that may be, and whatever fate may be hanging over the head of the Company, the partners at all events think that in conformity with the accepted general principles they are both able and ought to prove that they never (this is said with all respect) could really be deprived, by any power within this Republic, of their rights and the relations of partners, and the properties and possessions appertaining to them, and thus also they have not ceased to exist in relation to all the appurtenances thereof, before they have at least obtained the indemnity, which the general principles of Law as well as the past and present Regulations of Government grant to them in the most express manner.

That the Petitioners and well as their partners have never either expressly, or tacitly, resigned their rights; and, therefore, they think it their duty, whenever they see that a portion of their possessions runs the risk of being taken away from them, to watch against it, and to do everything in their power to prevent such a calamity.

That, therefore, at this present period, when it seems to them that, (just as in the former war with England, so also now), Peace with that Kingdom is likely to be bought at the expense of the East India Company, and indeed at their cost *alone*, they cannot neglect to join with those who, placed at the head of this Government, are situated in the position of watching over the interests of all the inhabitants thereof, and who will assuredly reckon it as their first duty to maintain and defend the same with all their might.

That from the preliminary Articles of Peace concluded between the French Republic and His Brittanic Majesty, in so far as they are publicly known, they, the Petitioners, see that England will restore to the Batavian Republic all the possessions and Colonies, which

have been possessed or conquered by the English Power during the present war, with the exception of the Island of Ceylon, of which His Brittanic Majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty ; so that just as the war has been disastrous in particular to the shareholders of the East India Company, likewise even now at the end of it, it seems that the Peace itself must be fatal to them.

That the damages and losses, brought upon the East India Company by this war, are absolutely incalculable ; for it has had to experience not only that, in the beginning of that war, many of its outward and homeward bound ships with their rich cargoes became a prey to the enemy, and, in the course of the war, that almost all its possessions were conquered by them, and its rich magazines were appropriated by them, whereby the Company has lost millions of treasure, whilst it has been attacked by the foe and partly robbed and plundered of the few possessions which still remain to it ; but that during the entire war it has had to remain deprived of the produce which the few of its remaining possessions would have yielded, and of which, during all this time, it has had to lose almost all the income ; but, on the contrary, when this Republic was not unluckily affected in the war, and it was possible to receive here on land the extraordinary riches, the returns for the years 1794 and 1795 destined for this country from India, the Company would not only have been in a position to perform its obligations, but also to push on its trade with vigour, and return again to its former splendour and prosperity ; which was proved in the most convincing manner and demonstrated with the clearest proof by the information of the Assembly of Seventeen to the provisional representatives of the people of Zealand on the 15th October, 1795.

That meanwhile all the aforesaid disasters and calamities have befallen the Company, during this fatal war ; and, above all, it has to be added that the Republic has been able to extend to its ships even less than to its possessions such protection as would defend them against its foes : to which protection the Company, however, had all the greater claim, according to the measure of the very substantial profits, which it brought to the country, and, according to the measure of the important amounts, which, during its existence, it brought to its custody, and which would amount to very many millions.

That it is neither the task nor aim at this time to expatiate at length about all the profits, which this Company, formerly so very flourishing, brought to this Commonwealth. But the Petitioners, nevertheless, trust that they may dispassionately set down here, that however weighty may be the services which the Republic, and especially the provinces of Holland and Zealand, have rendered to the Company by their important loans, yet these cannot counterbalance the considerable incomes, which the country's finances have enjoyed for a very great number of years from import and export duties on the Company's goods, from taxes on the shares, from warehouse dues and various other charges and imposts ; and especially cannot counterbalance the rich sources of prosperity, which this Company has spread among the mercantile inhabitants of this State, and thereby also among all the other classes of inhabitants, and throughout the State itself ; so that it is, therefore, in no way to be wondered at that the cleverest and most renowned men in our Fatherland have deemed the existence of this Company to be always of such importance for the whole of this Commonwealth, that they have considered the fate of both as inseparably bound one with the other, and the decline of the former as a foreboding of the fall of the latter, and this they have apprehended for all time.

That, after all this, the Petitioners do not need to demonstrate how painful it must be for the shareholders of the East India Company that, at the end of a disastrous and ruinous war, even now at the obtaining of a Peace, the fruits of which all the inhabitants of this Republic hope to enjoy, and by which also all its important possessions situated in Africa and America will be given back to it, it alone should be obliged to sacrifice one of its most important and most valuable possessions, namely, that of the aforesaid Island of Ceylon.

That it is not necessary to enlarge in detail, or to lay down all the advantages of the possession of this Island, because it is a matter of public and universal notoriety.

That it is indeed known to every one what a large and fruitful Island it is ; in what a favourable and healthy climate it is situated, very advantageous for trade, especially for that with the west of India ; with what fine harbours and havens it is provided ; and, above all, that in it is found the finest and most advantageous Bay in the whole of India, that namely of Trincomalee, a Bay, the equal of which is hardly known, in which a whole fleet may safely ride and remain in tranquillity, a Bay which is of such importance to the English, that it assures their sovereignty over the west of India, and places them in a position to defend their possessions, situated in that quarter, with much ease and good success against all European Powers.

That it is likewise known that, besides these advantages of its situation, the same Island is also no less profitable on account of the products grown on its soil.

There are these products, namely, pepper, linen, and especially the valuable and fragrant spice, *the cinnamon*, exclusively peculiar to this Island, which forms a large portion of the Company's sales in the Netherlands, so that from this last article alone every year more than two million *gulden*s worth used to be sold.

And just as this Island yields such produce of so much importance for the Netherland trade, so also it yields other products which are not less important for the Indian markets and for internal trade, such as, among others, arecanuts, elephants, chanks and pearls, which surpass everything in value, and which alone was sufficient to make the Company's profits and income there very considerable.

That, therefore, there is no necessity to prove that the possession of the Island of Ceylon is of the most extreme importance as well for the Netherland as for the Indian trade, and the absence thereof will cause a most severe blow to the East India Company.

That, therefore, the Petitioners cannot omit to bring this to the notice of this Mighty Assembly, with the most pressing request that it may be pleased to give the necessary orders on the subject to the Ambassadors from this Commonwealth at the negotiations over the definitive Peace of Amiens, to use all the endeavour which is in their power, as well with our Ally as otherwise, that a change or moderation be made upon this point, and that thus may be warded off the blow, with which the partners have been menaced, which will be disadvantageous in the highest degree not only for them, but also not less detrimental in its consequences for all the inhabitants of this Republic.

That in addition to the fact that already by the want of the products from this Island in the Netherland markets, a very great injury will be brought upon general trade, it is on all sides evident that not only will all the inhabitants of this Republic have to suffer in the loss of this possession itself, but indeed, as they alone will enjoy the fruits of the Peace, nothing would be more equitable than that they alone should participate in the price for which this Peace is bought, and that, therefore, in case the East India Company, or rather the Fatherland, has to endure this calamity, that so important a corporation should have to be deprived of its existence, then at all events there ought properly to be fixed, at the same time and together with all other properties and possessions of the East India Company, with reference to Ceylon also, a fair indemnification by the public, which certainly ought justly to be somewhat more heavy in proportion to the importance of the ceded possession.

That the Petitioners, moreover, cannot refrain from laying before this Assembly, that in the aforesaid preliminaries of Peace they have seen that to the French and the English nations will be allowed an equal free trade and commerce in the harbours of the Cape of Good Hope.

That it may be permitted to them to observe that such permission, when it is not discriminated with all possible precautions and proper provisions, is likely to lead to the very great prejudice of the East India trade, and the decrease of the Company's income, whilst the apprehension of the Petitioners about this might be considered so much the less as unfounded, or rather so

much the more reasonable, because it is openly declared by the principal Members of the Government of Great Britain, *that the Provisional Agreement concerning the Cape of Good Hope, namely that the Cape should be a free and always open harbour for England, would be not less advantageous than if England had virtually the possession thereof.*

So that in all respects it is to be apprehended that, in course of time, such an extension and importance might possibly be given to the aforesaid condition that, if provision were not made against it, the profits from the Cape would possibly have to be shared with Foreign Powers, and only the burdens of the possession would be brought home to the East India Company, or rather to this Republic and its inhabitants.

That the Petitioners think that they are also bound to demand in the most pressing manner, that this Assembly may be pleased to bring it about that the necessary stipulations may be made at the definitive Peace about this very important point that they may not again be made in that case to suffer any new damage ; and, moreover, it should be the duty of the public that the compensation for it be proportional to such a sacrifice, and, at the same time, as the price or condition upon which the Peace should be obtained.

That lastly the Petitioners remain in the certain confidence that, at the Negotiations at Amiens, care will be taken that there shall be given back, or repaid by England to the East India Company, the proceeds of all the ships with their lading and rich cargo, which, both the outward and homeward bound, were found at a time of Peace, and when relying upon the faith of the existing Alliance, in the beginning of the year 1795, in the harbours of England, or had just then arrived thither, and also of the return ships, which were detained at the Island of St. Helena before the declaration of war, by the English Government, and were afterwards transported to England. The value of all these ships and their freight amounts to several millions, and all these, as the Petitioners believe, they are given to understand, have been sequestered or confiscated by the English Government.

That the Petitioners trust that the less doubt can remain concerning the honesty of this claim, since the 12th Article of the aforesaid Preliminaries is limited in so many words :—" That all the sequestrations on both sides of the goods, revenues and monies, of whatever sort they may be, belonging to one of the contracting Powers, or to its citizens, or subjects, shall be given up immediately after the signing of the definitive Treaty," whilst at the same time it is resolved " that this Article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive Treaty by the contracting Powers, shall become applicable to the respective Allies, and the particular persons of their nation, upon condition of an equitable return."

From the above passage, the Petitioners also may and must expect with every reason the payment of the proceeds of all the aforesaid ships and cargoes.

That the Petitioners respectfully let themselves be persuaded that it is quite unnecessary to add to this anything more for the further elucidation of any of these proposals ; whilst they dare to trust that this Great Assembly will be so much convinced of the justice thereof, that they will take such a favourable resolution regarding the matter as they shall deem it most agreeable with the importance of the East India Company, and with the well-being of all this Republic.

For which act of goodness, etc.,

(Signed)

I. Neunaber,
Dan. Van Dam.
A. Feitama.
M. C. Van de Poll.
Widow N. Warien,
J. S. Van de Poll.
C. Sylvius Van Lennep.
Leonard Van Lennep,

Henrick Constantyn Cras.
Wm. Willink.
D. M. Van Gelder de Neufville.
Jan Willink.
G. de Graeff.
Gt. Hutges.
D. Hoosh, Gtz.
David Bierens,

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| M. W. Ruyghrock. | Barend and Martin Kooy. |
| A. V. Ketwich. | J. V. Loon Jansz. |
| P. J. le Jolle. | M. Alewyn. |
| Rs. Lubberts. | H. H. Van Haersma. |
| Hk. Klinkert. | H. Smissaert. |
| Jn. Fexier Gerbet & Co. | A. Q. Van Persyn. |
| as Liquidators of | Pieter Rocquette. |
| Jn. Fexier Angely & Co. | Dirk Letscher. |
| Josua Van Eik. | I. J. Hartung. |
| Josua Van Eik for C. de Wolff widow | G. ter Marsch. |
| Joost Van Eik. | J. P. Hebel. |
| Leons. Huysinga. | Joh. Portretje. |
| A. L. Van Harpen. | Leonardus Scheffer for |
| Jan. Danl. Mercker. | Willem Ebeling. |
| W. H. Hoopendaal. | J. V. Rumpt for |
| Pieter Van der But. | Widow Madame J. Clicquert. |
| Jan Krooneman. | Joh. Ed. Waterham. |
| M. Broen, Mz. Prive'en. | G. V. Dyk Jansz. |
| F. G. Windelaar. | Jan Fayspil Fr. Cornz. |
| J. Jarman, Prive'en. | Jan Van de Poll (junior). |
| Jan Van Schorrenbergh. | Barend Kooy. |
| | Pieter Boesyaar. |



ANDREAS AMABERT: 1764.

By H. C. P. BELL.

*Who'er thou art, with reverence tread
 This sacred mansion of the dead :
 Not that the monumental bust,
 Or sumptuous tomb, here guards the dust ;
 This simple stone records a name,
 Which shines with no exalted fame. ¹*

HOW few Ceylon residents who pass through Bentota by train, or, may be, spend "a week-end" at that "quiet sea-side resort," are aware of the historical interest attaching to the plain, oblong structure, some 80 ft. by 40 ft., single-storied and half-walled, which is situated on the local "Circular Road," not far from the modern Rest-house overlooking the confluence of the Bentara-ganga and the Ocean?

Yet has this building,—“poor, barn like” and unpretentious, but thoroughly characteristic of the erstwhile “village churches” put up in Ceylon by the Dutch during their occupation of the Island,—stood firm amid the changes and chances which its chequered life of over a century and a half has undergone.

Put for the nonce to ignoble uses (salt has, it is said, been stored there before now) the old-time structure,—as commonplace as the veriest Puritan could wish—has, of late years, renewed to some degree its honourable youth. It serves nowadays as the local Government Anglo-Vernacular School: again are the strident voices of native pedagogue and pupils heard within its walls, breaking harshly into that last sleep of the sacred dead. For at the very feet of the glib-tongued school children, gathered together daily, “there lies a lonely grave.”

Some forty years ago Magisterial duty ² took the writer from Balapitiya to Bentota, and, having to pass this little-known building, a short record carved in stone above the entrance caught his eye:—

FECIT.

C: A: S

A^o 1755

No one could then enlighten him at all regarding the three cryptic letters “C.A.S.” They were, he was told, presumably the name initials of some pious Dutchman who had, as in the case of the Ambalangoda building of the same class erected five years earlier—though there the donor had no desire for anonymity,—put up this village Church or School-house in 1755, and was either too well-known an official, or too modest, to record his full name.

1. Adapted from the epitaph in Hales Owen Church, Shropshire, England, to the poet “William Shenstone, Esq.: obit 11th February, 1763.”

2. Police Magistrate, Balapitiya, June 1875 to December, 1877.

Invited to enter the school, attention was arrested by a solitary gravestone of grey granite, sunk into the middle of the floor towards the south end of the room. The script on it reads³ :—

ANDREAS, AMABERT
VAN, GRENOBLE, INDAUPHINÉRIV, DÏSER
LUIJTENANT, MILITAIR, EN
COMMANDANT, TE PETIGELLE,
OBIJT
DEN 18^e JÛLY, ANNO DOM, 1764
TE
BENTOTTE,
LEGT, HIER, BEGRAVEN,
WAGT
OP, D, ZALIGE, OP, STANDINGE

Englished literally this means⁴ :—

Andreas Amabert, born at Grenoble⁵ in the River Isere (Department of) Dauphiné,⁶ Military Lieutenant and Commandant at Pitigala, (who) died on the 18th July, A.D. 1764, lies buried here, in hope of (lit : awaiting) the glorious Resurrection.

It was not then,—though natural so to expect—a Hollander, who had been laid to rest more than a hundred years ago in this humble out-of-the-way School-house, but a Frenchman—"a stranger in a strange land." From France to Ceylon is a far cry. *Que diable allait il faire dans cet galere?* How came a gentleman of proud Grenoble—cadet perchance of a noble house—to offer his sword to Holland, and sail from France to serve under an alien flag in a distant land? In what circumstances did this gallant "soldier of fortune" meet his death, and find lowly burial in an ordinary-looking building at a minor village of the Island, thousands of miles from hearth and home? Such thoughts, and the like, rose to mind involuntarily when looking down on that sad memorial slab.

3. See Plate XVII. The letters (divided arbitrarily as on the slab) are in places crowded together, tending to confusion.

4. For versions of the text of the inscription at the entrance, and of the epitaph on the gravestone, see *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. I, p. 72, 1886. No translation is there offered. Mr. F. H. de Vos reproduced (not quite correctly) these copies in *Journal C.A.S.* 1897-8 (Vol. XV, p. 276), and added a translation of the epitaph, which differs a little from that here given.

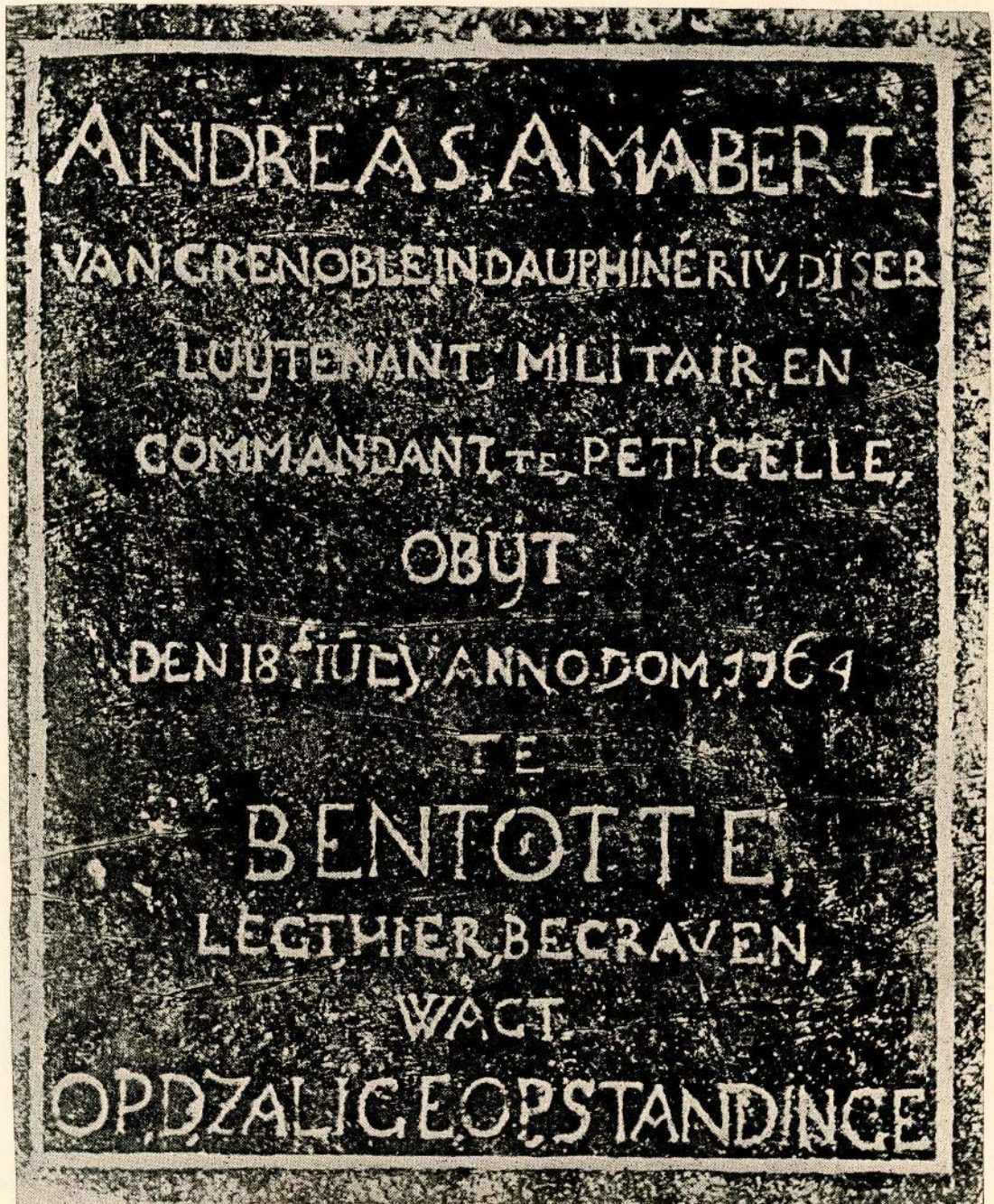
5. Grenoble, A fortified city of France, formerly the chief town in the River Isere Department of Dauphiné. Notable for its Cathedral of Notre Dame, (10th to 17th centuries), the Church of St. Lawrence (crypt of 11th century), and the Church of St. Andre (founded by the Dauphin Guignes Andre about 1220), The Palais de Justice, a striking erection of the 15th and 16th centuries, occupies the site of the old Castle of the Dauphins. Beside its University or Academy, Grenoble possesses a Lyceum, an Episcopal Seminary, an important Artillery School, and a great variety of special Educational Establishments. The Library is magnificent (nearly 180,000 books); there are, too, nowadays a Museum and numerous learned Societies and Benevolent Institutions.

In 1563 Grenoble (which followed the fortunes of Dauphiné) was sacked; in 1572 the energy of its Governor saved it from sharing in the massacre of St. Bartholemew. Taken by siege in 1690, in the name of Henry IV., it became important from its fortifications, quays, etc.

Grenoble was the first town to open its gates to Napoleon on that dramatic 7th of March, 1815, when, having escaped from Elba and not without much difficulty, made his way there, he faced, quite alone, the troops (including a battalion of his Old Guard) sent out to capture him with the historic words—"I am your Emperor: if there is a man among you who wishes to kill his Emperor, I am here." The day was won, and with it the Army and the Throne—to be lost for ever at Waterloo.

6. Dauphiné; Lower (western portion), and Upper (eastern portion). An ancient Province of south eastern France, now forming the Departments of Isere, Drome, and Hautes Alpes, which marched with Piedmont, Savoy, Provence, Comte' Venaissin, and the Rhone. It was afterwards successively comprised in the Burgundian Kingdom (first and second), the Carolingian Empire, the German Empire, and between the 9th and 12th centuries was broken up into small principalities, ecclesiastical and secular. The Counts of Albon, afterwards as Dauphins of Viennais, gradually extended their influence and possessions. When the Burgundian line died out in 1281, the Lordship passed through the house of La Tour de Pin (Guiges VIII and Hubert II), to Charles of Valois (grandson of Philip VI) in 1335, on conditions of independence, etc. Henceforward the eldest son of the King of France bore the title of Dauphin. The subsequent history of Dauphiné down to the Revolution consists mainly of the struggles of its brave inhabitants to maintain their liberties against the gradual encroachments of the Crown. Despite the harassment of Kings and Ministers the constitutional spirit of the people continued alive, and at times displayed itself in stubborn resistance.

BENTOTA.



Apoth : Co : Photograph.

GRAVESTONE.

"Times of Ceylon," half-tone block.

Not until ten years later was it that, by scrutiny of the Galle Dutch Records stored at Colombo, ⁷ the writer was enabled to lift a portion of the veil which enshrouds "Andreas Amabert of Grenoble," obtaining some light—unfortunately scanty—on the presence in Ceylon of this French officer, and the untoward fate which befell him in 1764.

By the middle of the 18th century the Dutch had fully clinched their grip on the seaboard. For nearly a hundred years they had held all the main ports round the Island: the entire west and south coasts districts, from Jaffna as far as the Mátara Disávani were in their virtually undisturbed possession. With that dogged persistence which marked Holland's policy, what had been conquered was held firmly ("*J'ay : maintainerai*") and consolidated systematically.

Hand in hand with the gradual strengthening of fortifications at the chief sea-coast towns and the increase of the military forces in the Island, the commercial exploitation of the low-country districts occupied had been steadily pushed since 1658, after the capture of Galle, Colombo and Jaffna. Trade in arecanuts, in salt, in elephants, the working of the pearl fisheries, and, above all, of the cinnamon monopoly, to say nothing of other minor industries, exhibited increasing vigour as decade succeeded decade.

Religion and education were as energetically prosecuted *pari passu*. Strenuous efforts, towards proselytising the native Sinhalese and Tamil who had come under the Dutch thrall, if not very successful at first, yielded in the course of a century flattering, albeit deceptive, results. The Portuguese had already sowed the seeds of Roman Catholicism which, kept under for a while, gradually became a source of real anxiety to the Consistories of the Reformed Dutch Church in Ceylon and even to the Civil and Military Administrators. Every means was employed to counteract this insidious, but irrepressible, growth, by planting local Schools and Churches at every promising village centre: with feverish anxiety Proponents, Catechists and School-masters—Holland clergy were at a discount—were appointed to spread Lutheran Christianity and Dutch-Vernacular education. Figures, nominal at least, were made to justify this continued war on "heathenism." ⁸

Thus it came about that in the Galle District there were, by 1759, eight schools, of which that of Bentota, with its recently erected Church and School-house combined, was "the best of all."

Regarding Adrian Oostdyck, Under-Merchant and Superintendent of the Galle Kóralé, builder of the similar structure, slightly earlier (A.D. 1750) in date, at Ambalangoda, there is no doubt whatever. He took care to leave his name, titles, and the year of erection inset in its wall, where they may be read to this day.⁹

Not so at Bentota. Here the simple initial letters C : A : S (the first two followed each by a colon), cut after F E C I T, offer a puzzle yet to be definitely solved.

An identification, exceedingly plausible but demanding proof which the contributor ("R.G.A.") was then unable to afford, appeared in the *Ceylon Literary Register* of 1891-92 (Volume VI., pp. 285-6):—

7. See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Part III.

8. *Journal C. A. S.* 1845-8, Vol. I: Palm. *The Educational Establishments of the Dutch in Ceylon*.

9. The text was printed in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, 1887; Vol. II, p. 75; also, with a translation, by Mr. F. H. de Vos in *Journal C. A. S.*; 1898, Vol. XV, p. 272. A *rusthuis* (rest-house) existed at Ambalangoda in 1735 (*Lapidarium Zeylanicum*, Plate 39)

At Bentota there is a Church built in precisely the same style as the one at Ambalangoda. It is now used as the Government Anglo-Vernacular School. Over the gateway is a stone slab bearing the following inscription :—

C. A. S. F E C I T. 1755.

Who was C.A.S.? The pious builder—we may well presume that he was pious—appears to have been careful to hide his identity from posterity.

At a little [*sic*] distance from Bentota is a village called Pitigala, where the Dutch had a military fort or redoubt and a garrison. Among the Commanders placed in charge here was, about the time in question, a French or Swiss Officer of the name of *Claude Antoine Scoffier*. He belonged to one of the Foreign Regiments hired by the Dutch; but, like many of those who thus came out in the service of the East India Company, he became a more or less naturalized subject of the United Provinces, embraced the tenets of the Heidelberg Catechism, and married a Dutch lady of the name of Johanna Jacoba Heymans. It seems more than probable that he was builder of the Church.

A tombstone placed in the middle of the floor is inscribed with the name of another Commandant of Pitigala Andreas Amabert [*sic*] a native of Dauphiné in France.

As for Andreas Amabert, the inscription carved on his tombstone vouches all too plainly to the fact that his body was laid to rest in the building nine years after its construction. But how about "Claude Antoine Scoffier? When did he serve at Pitigala?; and how came it that the Dutch left the erection of this Church of theirs at Bentota to a French or Swiss Officer? These points naturally need clearing up, before the credit of the pious act can be assigned to Scoffier, or any other individual of like initials.

Meanwhile, an alternative suggestion, (not unreasonable *primá facie*, though unconvincing), for resolving the tantalising letters into full words is thrown out tentatively for what it is worth. May not C.A.S. possibly stand for "*Christelyke Afgescheeden Sendeling (genootschap)*"¹⁰ or "Christian Reformed Mission"—a reading (if correct) which would at once connect the building with the Dutch Reformed Church? Perhaps "R. G. A." will lay this shadowy ghost ("vexed question" he elects to term it) once for all by further investigation among the Archives of the Dutch Record Office (of which he is now the immediate custodian), or those of Dutch Church Consistories, in Ceylon.

But this point, though not without interest in itself, is a side issue for the present Paper. *Revenons à nos moutons*—Andreas Amabert and his command at Pitigala in 1764.

What were the circumstances, which, at the middle of the 18th century, led to the Dutch retaining Military outposts on the borders of the Kandyan Kingdom, and, among them, that at Pitigala then, as now, at the back of the northern part of "Galle Kóralé" or District, and sixteen miles up the Bentara-ganga?

Trouble between the Kandyan Court and the Dutch, after a comparatively short lull, began to brew again in 1750—the tension becoming ever greater from year to year; but, by the tact of the Disáva of Three and Four Kóralés,¹¹ hostilities were staved off until Jan Schreuder—a "vain, and ambitious man," who, from "a common soldier," had risen to become Councillor Extraordinary—succeeded Joan Gideon Loten as Governor of Ceylon on March 17th, 1757.

10. This rendering is proposed as possible by Mr. C. L. V. Valabane of Kandy, to whom the writer also owes thanks for other aid. (see *infra* Note 20). Since this Paper was written [Mr. F. H. de Vos has sent me from R. P. Vander Bosch's "*List of Dutch Officials in Ceylon*" the following references to Scoffier, which help to settle the question of his connection with the Bentota Church :—Scoffier: 1754, *buiten emplot*; 1755, *opzichter der Gale Corle*; 1758, *tweeds visitateur Colombo*.]

11. Dumbara Rájakaruna Seneviratna Abhayakon Pandita Mudiyaंसé Rálahámi was Disáva of the Three and Four Kóralés and Sabaragamuwa in Saka 1677 Durutu (A.D. 1766).

The two German accounts of the causes which brought about the war, left by Eschelskroon¹² and Haafner¹³ (both intelligent writers who had personal knowledge of Ceylon but few years later), disagree almost *in toto* as to the responsibility for the imbroglio. The former lays the whole blame at the door of the King of Kandy: the latter is unscathing in his condemnation of Governor Schreuder. It is not possible to reconcile the conflicting views.

Eschelskroon writes¹⁴:—

This man [Governor Schreuder] saw through the views and intentions of the Emperor. He had intelligence that this latter had infringed the Treaty, and that he had dealings with the English, particularly in ammunition, cannon, arms and powder. He sent to him, desiring him to desist, and to call to mind the oath he had taken to deal only with his subsidiary Allies. The Emperor, however, set him at defiance, telling him, that he would not be dictated to any longer. This was the signal for war. M. Schroder immediately gave orders to cruize in all the bays and mouths of large rivers, round the whole Island, and to search every vessel, and, on refusal, to make use of force; the consequence of which was, that he had sufficient proofs to produce of the Emperor's treachery. Upon this, he ordered all the troops to be marching towards the mountains, in order, if possible, to bring the Emperor to reason. This latter, who had plenty of ammunition, turned out likewise, and a war broke out that lasted seven years.

On the other hand, Haafner (who loved Dutch Officials as little as he did the English), sympathises strongly with the Kandy Ruler¹⁵:—

A despotic Government, and continual infractions of the rights of the Emperor occasioned a discontent which did not cease to increase, until in 1759 war at length broke out between the Kandyans and the Dutch under Governor Schroder (a Hamburger)—a war that lasted seven years, and cost the Company more than ten million florins.

The Emperor, or King, of *Conde-ouda* [Kanda-uda], seeing all his complaints and all his representations to the Government of *Ceilan* and his efforts to persuade them to a more amicable conduct were absolutely fruitless, at last resolved to employ force of arms in order to get justice done, and deliver his subjects on the sea-coasts from the frightful burdens under which they groaned. This was exactly the step to which it was desired to drive him. Governor Schroder, a vain and ambitious man, caused a large number of troops whom he had already collected for that purpose to march into the interior, under the firm persuasion of soon capturing *Conde*, the Capital of the Emperor, and then the whole country; but he was cruelly deceived in his expectations.

There can be little doubt that Jan Schreuder, though given to "violent measures," would have, from his military training and natural ability, crushed all opposition in the end, and himself taken Kandy, had he not been forced to retire owing to underhand machinations at Batavia.¹⁶

It was thus left to his successor Lubert Joan Baron Van Eck, (who "followed his predecessor's plan" and reaped the fruit, but not for three years after assuming office on March 18th, 1762) to penetrate to Kandy ultimately—with treacherous aid, it is said—in 1765, and to wield precariously barren vicarious authority at that Capital for a short time; though he himself had hastened back to Colombo, broken in spirit, to end his days (if rumour spoke truly) by his own hand.¹⁷

As to the Peace patched up by the Treaty of 1766, Eschelskroon would have it that the conditions were dictated by the Dutch; but Haafner is probably nearer the truth in recording that:—

12. Eschelskroon, *Description of the Island of Ceylon*: Appendix (pp. 301-344) to J. C. Wolf's *Life and Adventures*, London, 1785.

13. Haafner. Born 1755; died 1809. He wrote three works on his Adventures in India and Ceylon (*Ceylon Literary Register*, 1890-91. Vol. V, pp. 82-3).

14. Eschelskroon, *loc. cit.* pp. 303-4.

15. Haafner, *loc. cit.* pp. 84-5.

16. The Governor-General, Van Mossel, supported Schreuder fully until he died in 1761; but his successor, Van der Parra, did all he could to thwart him, in order to get the place for his own nephew.

17. See Letter E. (Postscript) to *Journal of Van Eck's Kandyan Expedition*, *Journal C.A.S.* 1899, Vol. XVI. 50 pp. 36-53.

Governor Iman William Falk, who replaced Van Eck, wishing to put an end to this disastrous war and save the few Dutch troops who still remained in *Conde*, offered peace to the Emperor, who consented to agree to it in 1766.¹⁸

With an extensive frontier to hold against the Kandyans, always ready to make incursions more or less serious into the low-country, the need for an elaborate system of outpost defences was vital to the Dutch throughout their long occupation of the Island seaboard.

Eschelskroon tells us¹⁹ :—

The coast, all round the Island (and for some twenty miles inland) belongs to the Dutch ; and is fenced-in as it were, in such a manner, with forts and fences, that at present it is next to impossible to carry on a very illicit commerce.

In consequence of the Island's being thus encircled with forts and outposts, there is nothing that can escape the observation of the Governor at Colombo ; it being from hence that the Emperor is watched with the greatest care, and indeed is so narrowly observed by his own subjects, that all his words and actions are minutely reported in the Governor's Cabinet.

In no quarter was the necessity for these outposts more urgent than along the hinterland of the south-west coast for the protection of the Company's cinnamon peelers, &c. The Forts of Galle and Mátara (with garrisons respectively of 300 men commanded by a Captain, and 140 men under a Lieutenant) kept in touch with "villages and unfortified towns, all invested by the Dutch with small detachments of the military." Of these "small places, all likewise a kind of outposts belonging to the Fort Garrison," was Pitigala up the Bentota river.

As to the nature of this class of minor defence, the following Notes²⁰ are much to the point :—

Pitigala must have been one of the small inland fortified encampments, generally called by the Dutch in the Far East by the Malay term "*benting*." These outposts were erected both at the mouth of rivers, and up stream, to guard frontiers, control Government trade and industries (e.g. in Ceylon, the cinnamon plantations, plumbago pits, mining, etc.)

A *benting* was a so-called "square" redoubt, as first designed by Menno Van Coehoorn, the Dutch Engineer. The redoubt was 1,160 Rhineland feet square, with 18 ft. bastions at the diagonal corners ; the walls being built of strong palisades, 11½ ft. high and iron-pointed at the top. The fenced-in enclosure should have one gate, of about 9 ft. width, shut by a *frish rijder* (spiked beam construction), open in the day-time but closed at night. Here the sentry stood. Inside along, and below, the palisade were the soldiers' quarters under a *banquet* 6 ft. in height, covered in, so that the defenders stood on them lining the palisade.

Bentings were erected in open places, and surrounded by *randjoes* (pointed bamboos, about 1½ ft. out of the ground) and pits, spiked (*wolfskuil*) and blind. The houses of the officers and the powder magazine were in the middle of the fortification : canteen, slaughter house, and any recreation rooms were outside. These small *bentings* were not defended by artillery.

A fortification such as Pitigala would generally have one Lieutenant as Commandeur, one European Sergeant, 3 Corporals, 52 men, 1 drummer and no resident Surgeon. In nearly all the Malay battalions the proportion of European to Malay soldiers was, and is, one in three. In case of alarm every man had his special place. The Sergeant with the most junior Corporal on one bastion ; the other two Corporals on the corresponding bastion.

Bigger forts mounted four or eight guns, three and six pounders, e.g. that at Kalutara.

18. Haafner, *loc. cit.* p. 92 ; Journal C.A.S. 1899 *loc. cit.*

19. Eschelskroon, *loc. cit.* pp. 303, 327.

20. The writer is indebted wholly to Mr. C. V. L. Valabane for the above information. Mr. Valabane, a tobacco expert of many years standing, was formerly an Officer in the Dutch Army, and, as such, studied military history and engineering. He is well acquainted with authorities regarding the Dutch occupation of Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago. For Plans of Dutch Forts in Ceylon see Plates given in Baldaeus' *Description of Malabar and Ceylon*.

The reference in the letters to "other officers of the Detachment at *Pittigelle*," and to the Surgeon (Volbragt Van Kersberg) ordered there, would go to show that the strength of the garrison at Pitigala was above the usual complement of such "*bentings*."

Whether this outpost—the most northerly of the "*Galle Kóralé*"—was first occupied during this "seven-years-war" with Kandy, or had been planted there previously, remains for the Dutch Record Office to reveal. Certain, however, it is that it was held for the Dutch in 1764 by a Detachment under a French Officer, whose ill-fated command was all too short. Andreas Amabert, Lieutenant and Commandant, took charge at Pitigala on March 15th of that year: on July 18th, or almost within four months, all that was mortal of this young soldier of the Dutch "Foreign Legion"²¹ was laid to rest at Bentota.

He shall not grow old nor weary;
The glory of youth shall abide:
For him the joy of morning;
No shadow of eventide.

But for his hapless death Andreas Amabert would, it may fairly be presumed, have been recalled from "outpost duty," some six months later, to see active service side by side with his brother-officers in Van Eck's Expedition against Kandy, and to share in its hollow success.

Of the French Officers who held trusty commands in the European force which took part in that expedition, and in subsequent operations through outlying districts hostile to the Dutch, special mention of two occur in the official Journal of the virtually abortive Expedition of 1765. These were Captain Pierre du Flo and Lieutenant Le Grand, promoted March 3rd 1765 to be Major and Captain respectively, on entering into a fresh engagement with the East India Company²²; which goes to show that this particular contingent of Officers from France—the date of whose arrival in Ceylon is not known to the writer—had already completed one period of service under the Dutch in the East.

The irony of fate ordained that Andreas Amabert was to find an obscure grave just when events were fast ripening for that advance into the enemy's country, for which the young *brave sabreur* of France must have chafed restlessly during his enforced relegation to the charge of a mere outpost.

The full story of his service, illness, and death has yet to be learnt. The letters on the subject brought to light so far number but eleven, and are one-sided, all, being written by the Galle Commandeur, Abraham Samlant to Andreas Amabert, Commandant at Pitigala, except two, one of which is addressed to Elias Theodore Baptist, Clerk of the Galle Kóralé. Reading between the lines of the letters, certain points stand out markedly. Chief

21. The Dutch employed foreign native mercenaries very freely for military service in Ceylon—chiefly Malays and Sepoys, with some Kaffirs. In addition Swiss, French, and other European Officers and soldiers were engaged on Special Agreements, e.g. the Regiment de Meuron and the Wurtenburg Regiment, which together outnumbered the regular Dutch Military Force. This, in 1764 comprised (exclusive of natives at small outposts, etc.), 11 Companies National Europeans, 10 of the Regiment de Meuron, 5 of the Regiment of Wurtenburg, 15 of Malays, 9 of Sepoys, 3 of Artillery, besides native Companies in the Wanné, and at Batticaloa, with the 4 Lascorins and Moor Companies at Colombo and Galle. (*Instructions of Governor Van de Graaf: Ceylon Literary Register* Vol. I, p. 327).

Major Du Flo and his companions may, at the period of their engagement, have been too few to form a complete Regiment, and, therefore, given individual commands.

22. The Dutch Records of this time contain many letters in French from Major Du Flo regarding military operations. See too *Journal of Van Eck's Kandyan Expedition*, Appendix B, "Instructions" to this officer for an expedition through the Seven Kóralés and Bintenna into Uva with alternative march routes for the return journey (*Journal C.A.S.* XVI, 1899, 50, pp 60-1).

among these are the precise directions, and firm, business-like tone of the Galle Commandeur's official letters and orders. Few Dutch Officers could have served the United East India Company with a stricter sense of duty, as judged by these missives, than did Abraham Samlant, whose mural tablet recalling his rule still holds pride of place on the walls of the Dutch Church at Galle.²³

The letters, interesting despite their matter-of-fact contents, are models of a high standard of official correspondence—clear, courteous, and decided; missing no point raised or likely to arise; offering help in every way possible, whilst condemning, in no uncertain terms, all irregularities and slackness.

Contrasted with the suave but determined spirit, characteristic of Teutonic nature at its best, which the letters breathe, ample indications are adumbrated therein of that "happy-go-lucky" *insouciance* of the Gallic race, which had helped, no doubt, to plunge the manifestly inexperienced French Lieutenant into "a sea of trouble." Evidently not very familiar even with Dutch, his ignorance of the native languages rendered him the easy victim of an unscrupulous Mudaliyar and rascally coolies. Can we not see the young Commandant, already perhaps racked with the fever which may have attacked him from the first at this malarious riverside post²⁴ jungle-bound landwards, with no Surgeon at hand, fretting at the damaged condition, and "leakage" in transit, of stores urgently needed; withal feeling the while that he was solely responsible for the well-being of his Detachment, and would be held strictly to account for all shortcomings,—his prospects perhaps for ever damned through no fault of his own, save that of temperament.

Just a word more. For over thirty years the Dutch, in whose service he had been "faithful unto death," were content to let the tomb of this ill-starred French Officer—"only a mercenary"—to remain unprotected against the virtual desecration incident to use of the building as an ordinary school. Since the British became their inheritors in Ceylon, more than a century has elapsed: nathless has the place where Andreas Amabert lies buried been wholly ignored—or worse. Where pure white flowers (*"manibus date lilia plenis"*), offered in silent reverence, might fitly deck the gravestone, *memoriae sacrum*, if once railed off against defilement of foot, dirty bags—tell it not in Gath!—of salt have been dumped down with unseemly clamour by callous coolies. To this latest hour the headless feet of merry, irresponsible, schoolchildren trample this holy "mansion of the dead," without restraint, and with never a momentary thought of the obscure "Gentleman of France" whose unhonoured dust lies below.

At no period would the enclosing of the stone which covers this solitary grave be more appropriate than now, when British and French are fighting, shoulder to shoulder, as Allies in a life and death struggle against modern "Powers of Darkness" for "ideals which are the staff of life for the Soul—the Rights of Humanity."

Blest be y^e man y^t spares thes stones,
And ebrst be he y^t mobes my bones²⁵

23. "Abraham Samlant (born in Colombo, 1713; died, 1766), whose name must be familiar to any one who has visited the Dutch Church at Galle, and seen the magnificent tablet to his memory, succeeded Casparus de Jong. This tablet, carved, painted and emblazoned in a very gorgeous manner, is the most elaborate mural tablet in any Church in the Island. With its martial insignie and armorial decorations, standing some ten feet in height, it has remained for more than a century the most imposing object in the Church. Commandeur Samlant had many local ties, his mother's family, Emans, having been associated with the south of the Island for some considerable time. His daughter Agnita Clara Samlant, became the wife of Willem Jacob van der Graaf, Governor of Ceylon." (F. H. de Vos, *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, pp 364-5).

24. The writer has still a lively recollection of a fortnight's misery, when in 1873-4, as a raw "Writer" but lately appointed to the Ceylon Civil Service, ignorant of the country and its languages, he had to proceed from the Colombe Kacheheri, during the most inclement of weather, to weigh up confiscated plumbago at the jungle-buried pits of Pelawatta, on the *oya* of that name, not very far from Pitigala, in the Pasdum Koralé, Kalutara District.

25. On the stone covering Shakespeare's grave, below the monument to that Poet, at Stratford on Avon.

LETTERS.²⁶

For the translation of these letters from the Dutch the writer is much beholden to the Government Archivist.²⁶

No. 1.

To the Valiant Lieutenant Amabert, Commanding the Military Detachment at *Pittigelle*.

Good Friend,

I have received safely your letter from *Bentotte*, informing me of your arrival there with the Detachment from Colombo on your way to *Pittigelle*.

The Clerk of the *Galle Korle*, Baptist,²⁷ returned here from *Pittigelle* last evening and delivered your letter of the 15th instant. I was pleased to understand from this that you had taken up duties at *Pittigelle*.

The Clerk, Baptist, in question reported to me that the necessary arrangements had been made for the comfort of the men, and that rice, *arrak*, salt, pepper, vinegar, and cocoanut oil for lights at night, and also live stock for daily consumption had been brought. I have no doubt this will be sufficient for the present. The other requirements you have applied for, (viz., a sum of money for expenses, a medical man with some medicines, etc.), will be sent as soon as possible. I have already despatched to *Bentotte* for the use of the Detachment a good supply of rice, *arrak*, salt, etc., which will be forwarded to you regularly from there.

To your enquiry what you are to pay the coolies who are with you, I am unable to reply, as I do not know what kind of people they are. I merely mention the following for your information: if they are *Singalese* coolies, you may give them daily $3/4$ *mediet* (measure) of rice with some salt and also two Dutch *stuivers* per head, and if Moorish *Oeliammers*,²⁸ the same; but if they are hired labourers they must be paid at the rate agreed upon with them as long as you find it necessary to employ them.

With kind greetings and much regard,

Galle, 20th March, 1764.

I remain,

Your Honour's Good Friend,

A. SAMLANT.

P. S.—I will send you a list of the things forwarded to you, including for the present 500 *rix-dollars* in rupees and *duits*, and later the salaries and allowances. I will not fail to do all I can to assist you, and hope that the inhabitants in your neighbourhood will come to you with foodstuffs when they have gained some confidence in you; because it is the custom of these people not to put in an appearance for the first few days. I have instructed the *Mudliar* of *Bentotte* to remain with you for the present and to assist you in every possible way.

No. 2.

Good Friend,

I write this to inform you that I sent you yesterday 500 *rix-dollars* in cash, of which 400 *rix-dollars* are in rupees and 100 *rix-dollars* in copper *duits*. I will next send such salaries and allowances for the whole of your Detachment for two months as you will find specified in the enclosed three lists, which were compiled to enable you to make the payments man by man. All this [money] is sent to you through the Clerk of the *Galle Korle*, Baptist.²⁹

26. Most of the letters were unearthed by the writer in the Volumes of the Galle Dutch Records at Colombo about some thirty years ago, and noted. Recently, through the courtesy and good offices of Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist, he has been enabled to get them translated for this Paper. He is, further, under much obligation to Mr. F. H. de Vos for the interesting information touching officials referred to in the letters, which he is specially competent to supply.

27. Elias Theodorus Baptist, Assistant, (Bap. Galle 10 Feb. 1726), son of Jacob Baptist (bap. Galle Ap. 1639=Isabella Caspersz), Jacob and a younger brother Jan (b. 1698) were sons of a Jan Baptist of Vincken=Christina Jansz. Jan had a son of the same name (bap. Calpentyr. 1749).

28. *Oeliammers*. See Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, 1817, pp 385-394; *Ceylon Literary Register*, *passim*. Under the Dutch all natives, except Sinhalese, had to pay an *oulian* duty or poll tax, in commutation of service on roads and buildings.—The rate varied from Rds. 12 to Rds. 8, or a little less, according to the prevailing price of labour.

29. See Note 27.

A Surgeon is to leave here to-day with some medicines to attend to your Detachment; and I am also sending some tools which I think may come in useful: a specification of these will follow.

Galle, 22 March, 1764.

With kind regards,
I remain,
Your Honour's Good Friend,
A. SAMLANT.

No. 3.

Good Friend,

Herewith comes the key of the medicine chest (which is to be sent to you), and also a list of the tools sent yesterday, together with an extract from the Regulations to guide you in the issue of the rations. These being too cumbersome for overland transport are being sent by sea to *Bentotte*, to be forwarded from there to you. I wish to mention for your information that, when the rations are issued to the men according to the Regulations, they must not receive double but only single allowances.

The salaries and allowances promised yesterday are to be despatched tomorrow, under Military escort; and I repeat the recommendation to have the issue made in terms of the copy of the Ordinances. The *commando* detailed for the convoy of the cash is expected to return to as soon as possible by the most convenient route.

Galle, 23rd March, 1764.

With kind regards,
I remain,
Your Honour's Good Friend,
A. SAMLANT.

P. S.—The Surgeon Myndert Huybertsz, ³⁰ left yesterday. The key of the medicine chest, herein enclosed, must be handed to him.

No. 4.

Good Friend,

The Surgeon Johan Lodewyk Volbragt Van Kersberg ³¹ is to leave here today, provided with a proper pass, to serve in your Detachment. On his arrival you must see that the chest with medicines sent lately from here is given over to him, and that the Surgeon Meindert Huibertsz, who has acted in your Detachment thus far, is sent back here as soon as possible.

Galle, 26th March, 1764.

With kind regards,
I remain,
Your Honour's Good Friend,
A. SAMLANT.

P. S.—In terms of the letter of the 23rd instant, the salary and allowances for the Detachment, according to the lists furnished, were despatched under Military escort; besides which you were also provided with 500 *rix-dollars* in cash. You must endeavour to make this suffice, as we are not able to send you extra cash so often.

No. 5.

Good Friend,

I read with pleasure by your Report of the 16th instant that the conditions in the district are satisfactory; which I hope will continue. I have also received the Statement regarding your circumstances, and am greatly displeased on account of the complaints regarding the rations of the Detachment sent from *Bentotte*. If these be well founded, it was wrong on your part to have been so long lenient.

I immediately despatched to *Bentotte* the Clerk of the *Galle Korle*, Baptist, and the two Commissioners, ³² who shipped from here all necessaries for *Pittigelle*; and have ordered them to make careful enquiry on the spot into the condition of the said provisions, and to report to you the exact state in which they were shipped by them from here.

Meantime you must yourself see that proper supervision is exercised in the handling of such things; because otherwise I shall be misled in my requisitions on your account, and unable to supplement what is lost from the generous supply of stores through (your) carelessness. Besides this, an account must be rendered of them. You must find a suitable man in your Detachment who can be entrusted with the daily supervision of these matters—the distribution of the rations and keeping a proper account of them; and also someone who can set down in the Dutch language whatever you have to communicate in your letters.

30. Myndert Huybertsz, Cherurgyn, (bap. Galle 22 May 1720=Galle 28 Nov. 1762, Elizabeth Gertruda van Statenberg) son of Jacobus Huybertsz=Johanna de Silva. His direct descendant, Dr. H. Huybertsz, retired Provincial Surgeon, is living at Galle.

31. Johan Lodewyk Volbragt van Kersberg. No information available at present.

32. See *infra*, Notes 33, 34.

I have no doubt the said Clerk, Baptist, and the Commissioners will arrange matters with you according to my instructions. Further, I have expressly ordered them to call upon the *Modliar* for an explanation in regard to your complaints against him.

Galle, 24th April, 1764.

With kind regards,
I remain,
Your Honour's Good Friend
A. SAMLANT.

P. S.—What weights you need, and what else is required, I expect you to state, to the Clerk Baptist ; but nothing superfluous, or unnecessary must be included, as this only causes unnecessary trouble.

No. 6.

To the Clerk of the *Galle Korle*, Elias Theodoris Baptist [now] at *Pittigelle*.

You are herewith instructed, along with the Commissioners De Rooy³³ and Meurling,³⁴ to use care that the provisions, rice, etc., for *Pittigelle* from *Bentotte* are taken there, and handed over duly to Lieutenant Commandant Amabert ; so that I may hear no more complaints on the subject, but may make sure that these matters are properly attended to.

You must also call the *Modliar* there to account in regard to the complaint made against him by the said Lieutenant Amabert ; and you will see that both he [the *Mudaliyar*] and the Postholder, as well as others, make good what is necessary, if you find they are at fault.

The said Lieutenant complains that what he has received as rations is bad, and that half has been stolen ; that the *Modliar* sent rice and *arrak* short, in unsuitable vessels from which half was lost ; that a cask of vinegar came with all its contents gone ; that the Postholder of *Bentotte* sent a little cask of olive oil which was not full, *carwaat*³⁵ which was very damp, bacon removed from the cask and put back again with a shortage, salt-meat the same, vinegar in a leaking cask, etc.

All these points require your attention ; and exact note must be made of all that is really missing, and also of what the Lieutenant needs in the way of small weights, buckets, etc., so that these may be sent to him.

Galle, 24th April, 1764.

I remain,
Your Friend,
A. SAMLANT.

P.S.—The enclosed letter, in which I am discussing these matters with Lieutenant Amabert, is to be handed to him. If the services of a cooper are indispensable you must let me know.

No. 7.

Good Friend,

The Clerk of the *Galle Korle*, Jan Baptist,³⁶ will hand to you the salary and allowances for the whole Department. I enclose four lists for your convenience, according to which the payments are to be made.

Galle, 5 May, 1764.

With kind regards,
I remain,
Your Honour's Good Friend,
A. SAMLANT.

P.S.—What you have asked for through the Clerk, Baptist, will be sent when opportunity offers ; also some one who is able to write in Dutch.

No. 8.

The enclosed letter is to be forwarded to Lieutenant Amabert's address at *Pittigelle* as soon as possible. I expect the cooper who was sent there, and as I hear has completed his work, to be sent back here without unnecessary delay.

Galle, 5 May, 1764.

Your Good Friend,
A. SAMLANT.

33. Isaac de Rooy of Hanan, Vaandrig, Colombo, 1764=Galle, 8 March, 1750, Wilhelmina Cornelia Grigorius.

34. Johannes Meurling of Vesterwyk (Sweden)=Cassandra Pietersz.

35. *Carwaat* probably Tamil *karawadu*, "dry fish."

36. Jan Baptist: Apparently a clerical error for Elias. They were cousins. See *ante* Note 27.

Good Friend,

No. 9.

Having heard, in a casual way, that your illness is so sharp as to compel you to lie up, I am writing to enquire how you are, and whether there is anything I can do for you.

With kind regards,

I remain,

Your Honour's Good Friend,

A. SAMLANT.

Galle, 18 May, 1764.

No. 10.

Good Friend,

I was very sorry to learn from your letter that you are [still] indisposed. I sent you by the European Drill-master of the Javanese [Malays] such medicines as my Chief Surgeon Marci³⁷ thought suitable for your malady after studying the report of your Surgeon. The said Drill-master left with these yesterday morning. I hope your condition will improve by their use. Let me know the effect as soon as possible, for the information of the Surgeon Marci, who expects these [remedies] will have the desired effect. In case of the contrary, I will despatch Marci himself to you as soon as possible, with all that you may need.

Those native doctors in whom I have any faith will probably not suit you, the more so as my Chief Surgeon could reach you quite as soon as they, when you let me hear.

Wishing you a speedy recovery,

I remain,

Your Honour's Good Friend,

A. SAMLANT.

Galle, 21 May, 1764.

No. 11.

Good Friend,

From your letter, as well as those of the other Officers of the Detachment at *Pittigelle*, I understand with regret that your indisposition had become worse, and that you were obliged to leave for *Bentotte* to seek recovery by the change: this, I hope, you will [soon] gain.

With a view to avoiding all confusion in case you should have to be away from the Detachment for some time, I have instructed the Provincial Overseer of the *Korle*, Mr. Shoebe,³⁸ to proceed to *Bentotte*, and, if necessary, to *Pittigelle*, to take an account of the cash and whatever else of the Company's effects is to be found there; also of what may be required for the Detachment; as well as [to ascertain] what payments were made out of the extra amount sent to you. I inform you of this arrangement now. Wishing you rapid convalescence.

I remain,

Your Honour's Good Friend,

A. SAMLANT.

Galle, 15 June, 1764.

This—the last letter so far discovered regarding Andreas Amabert—was written a month before his death. He had already had to leave Pitigala, seriously ill, for Bentota, where he lingered on until July 18th. There must be further particulars hidden away in other volumes of the Dutch Records.

37. Paulus Marci (Merci) of Cochin, Chirugyn=Galle, 25 October, 1760, Susanna Maria Runtsdoeff.

38. Balthazar Hendrick Stroebe=Assantia Claasz. Balthazar Nicolaas Stroebe, (bap. Galle, 3 April, 1476, Boekboulder=8 December, 1766, Helena Bultener.)

Notes & Queries.

MISSPELT PLACE-NAMES.

By J. P. LEWIS.

THERE are two Ceylon place-names that are constantly misspelled in the Ceylon newspapers.

(1) One is Madu, the name of the remote village in the Mannár District, which is the scene of the great annual pilgrimage.

The newspapers, especially those belonging to the Roman Catholic Missions, are very fond of writing the name "Madhu;" and the other day *The Ceylon Observer*, when referring to the pilgrimage, talked of "Madu or Madhu." There is only one form of the word and that is "Madu." Perhaps in the superfluous *h* there is supposed to be inherent something of dignity or of mystery. We take "*omne ignotum pro magnifico.*"

"Madu" is merely the tail end, or to use more scholarly language, the affix, of the name. In its full form the name is "Siléyina-maruta-madu." The first part of this word is perhaps a personal name: the rest means "the *kumbuk* tree tank;" for the affix *madu* is one of the numerous synonyms employed in the Vanni and Mannár Districts to signify "tank."

(2) The other name is Morowa (Kóralé).

The newspapers have an inveterate habit of turning this into "Morowak (Kóralé)," the only reason for it apparently being the fact that there happens to be a village in that Kóralé, situated on the high road and having a Rest-house, and therefore well-known, called Morowaka. Now in Sinhalese the name of the Kóralé is not written with two *ks*; neither did the Dutch so transliterate the name. To them it was always "Morrúa Korle," and it is only modern English journalists and correspondents who have transformed it into "Morowak Korale."

I imagine that the last part of the name of the village is an affix, peculiar to that name and having an appropriate meaning. What this is I cannot say or whether the affix is "*waka*" or "*ka*."¹ These questions I leave to Sinhalese scholars. I imagine too that the village derived its name from the Kóralé, and not *vice versa*.

1. Compare the name "Sitawaka;" other names may suggest themselves.

"THE TREE OF TEN THOUSAND IMAGES."

By A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA, MUDALIYAR.

IN the Kumbum (Koumboum) Monastery situate on the eastern border of Tibet and which, in 1845 and 1896, had nearly 4,000 resident monks, there is a tree whose leaves and bark are said to contain "well-formed" Tibetan characters.

This tree, which gave the famous Monastery the Tibetan name of *Kumbum*, which means "ten thousand images," is said to have sprung from the hair cut from the head of Tsong-Khapa, who, in the 14th century, reformed Buddhism in Tibet, (which was then in a very corrupt and degenerate state), re-established the old order of things, and founded what is known as the "Yellow Sect," who wore yellow garments in place of red which was in use at the time.

A full description of the tree and the opinion of the two Jesuit Fathers, Evarsite Hue and Joseph Gabet, who personally inspected the tree in 1845 and wrote that description, will be found in the annexed extract. On Vol. II., page 97 of the book from which this extract was taken, there is a picture of a leaf of the tree which clearly shows the characters. Mr. Perceval Sandon, author of "*Lhasa, an Account of the Country and People of Central Tibet and of the Progress of the Mission sent there by the English Government in the year 1903-4*" says (page 22) :—

The book which Hue wrote upon his travels in Eastern Asia is fluent and vivacious, and the picture which he draws of his own experiences in Lhasa is graphic and true; but of the natural and architectural features he says almost nothing, and there was wanting in him a realisation of the intense importance as well as interest, of his travels. It is true that many of his statements, which at the time were received with undisguised incredibility, have since received corroboration from later travellers.

In the "*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*" by Sarat Chandra Das, C. I. E. (edited by the Hon. W. W. Rockhill, and published in 1902), this tree is referred to as "the famous tree" and "miraculous tree."

Yet Capt. M. S. Wellby, who visited the tree in 1896, says in his work entitled "*Through Unknown Tibet*" (page 288) :—

Just in this corner, however, is the original "Sacred Tree,"¹ which sprung, according to some, from Tsong K'aba's hair; according to others, from his swaddling clothes. However this may be, the main fact remains, that on its leaves a true Buddhist believer can distinctly trace the figure of Sakya Muni, or his name in Tibetan characters. Some priests say that one thing is to be seen, some the other; but Mina Fu-yeh says that on some leaves the figure may be seen, on others the characters. As only firm believers can trace anything, the question is likely to remain in doubt, in spite of Hue's assertion that he detected images.

Can any reader remove the doubt raised by this writer regarding this apparently veritable botanical wonder?

EXTRACT.

At the foot of the mountain on which the Lamasery stands, and not far from the principal Buddhist temple, is a great square enclosure, formed by brick walls. Upon entering this we were able to examine at leisure the marvellous Tree, some of the branches of which had already manifested themselves above the wall. Our eyes were first directed with earnest curiosity to the leaves, and we were filled with an absolute consternation of astonishment at finding that, in point of fact, there were upon each of the leaves well-formed Thibetian characters, all of a green colour, some darker, some lighter, than the leaf itself. Our first impression was a suspicion of fraud on the part of the Lamas; but, after a minute examination of every detail, we could not discover the least deception.

1. Mr. W. W. Rockhill states that he was informed by Mr. W. B. Hemsley that this tree is the "white sandal-wood." (*Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, page 68).

The characters all appeared to us portions of the leaf itself, equally with its veins and nerves : the position was not the same in all ; in one leaf they would be at the top of the leaf ; in another in the middle ; in a third, at the base, or at the side ; the younger leaves represented the character only in a partial state of formation. The bark of the tree and its branches, which resemble that of the plane tree, are also covered with these characters. When you remove a piece of old bark, the young bark under it exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, and, what is very singular, these new characters are not unfrequently different from those which they replace.

We examined everything with the closest attention, in order to detect some trace of trickery, but we could discern nothing of the sort ; and the perspiration absolutely trickled down our faces under the influence of the sensations which this most amazing spectacle created. More profound intellects than ours may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation of the mysteries of this singular tree ; but as to us, we altogether give it up. Our readers possibly may smile at our ignorance ; but we care not so that the sincerity and truth of our statement be not suspected.

The Tree of the Ten Thousand Images seemed to us of great age. Its trunk (which three men could scarcely embrace with out-stretched arms), is not more than eight feet high ; the branches instead of shooting up spread out in the shape of a plume of feathers and are extremely bushy ; few of them are dead. The leaves are always green, and the wood, which is of a reddish tint, has an exquisite odour, something like that of cinnamon. The Lamas informed us that in summer, towards the eighth moon, the tree produces large red flowers of an extremely beautiful character. They informed us also that there nowhere else existed another such tree ; that many attempts have been made in various Lamaseries of Tartary and Thibet to propagate it by seeds and cuttings, but that all these attempts have been fruitless.

The Emperor Khang-Hi, when upon a pilgrimage to Kounboum, constructed, at his own private expense, a dome of silver over the " Tree of the Ten Thousand Images."

PARÁKRAMA BÁHU VI.

DATE OF CORONATION.

By W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, MUDALIYAR.

IN the last Part of "*The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*" (pages 204-5), Mr. John M. Senaveratne examines the date of the coronation of Parákrama Báhu VI., by comparing different dates assigned (according to him) to that event in various chronicles and other works. He arrives at the conclusion that the King's coronation took place in the year 1953 A.B. Further he makes Parákrama Báhu himself responsible for this conclusion.

Mr. Senaveratne would appear to be not quite correct in the synopsis he gives of the dates assigned to Parákrama Báhu VI.'s coronation. The accession of a king, as we know, is one thing ; his coronation quite another. There was an interval of four years between the accession and coronation of the Emperor Asóka.; and in our own day, we have seen the two events falling at least one year apart. Mr. Senaveratne may have justification for calling the years, as given, the *initial dates* of the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI., drawn from various authorities ; but he certainly has none for styling them the *dates of his coronation*, except in regard to the reference from *Ruwan-mala*, wherein the King's coronation is expressly spoken of. This reference, as quoted by Mr. Senaveratne, is :—

කැරැණ එක්දහස්
නවසිය එසින් ණගමන්
රූපු ගජමුළු නැහැ ලක
කැ එක්සත් බිසෙවි ලද

වියන පැරකුම්බා
සිරිසඟබෝ නරපවර
සියබස් නම් රුවන්මල්
පැහැයුම් වන් කෙළේ මේ

Its substance (also according to Mr. Senaveratne), is that the *Ruwan-mala* was composed by Parákrama Báhu, who, after destroying his enemies, "received coronation in the year 1953 A.B. current."

We are concerned only with the date and its incidence. Are they thus correctly interpreted? The relevant part of the passage is

කැරණ එක් දහස් නවසිය වසින් නගමන්

Here (a) එක් දහස්, *ek dahas*, means "1000," (b) නව සිය, *nava siya*, means "900," (c) නගමන්, *nagamat*, (as asserted) "53"; which totals 1953.

There is no difference of opinion regarding (a) and (b). But does (c) නගමන්, *nagamat*, mean "53"? According to the කටපය, *Katapaya*, notation, on which Mr. Senaveratne relies, every syllable in an expression commencing with a consonant stands for a numeral carrying a value on the decimal scale, according to its place. In the present instance, there are three syllables commencing with the consonants, *න na*, *ග ga*, *ම ma*. Of these, Mr. Senaveratne takes only the first two, omitting the third. To be consistent, he should have read නගමන්, *nagamat*, as "535;" and thus given the date as $1900 + 535 = 2435$ A.B., and = 1892 of the Christian Era.

But that is not the only peculiarity about this reduction of නගමන්, *nagamat*, to Arabic figures. In the *Katapaya* notation, the decimal scale rises from left to right, and in order to convert it into the European system, we have to read the figures in the reverse order. Mr. Senaveratne says this is the "usual" way.

Rather should he have said "invariable way," as much so as Arabic is read from right to left, English from left to right, or Chinese from top to bottom. No one uses the word "usual" (except loosely) with regard to these, as it might suggest that occasionally there is also an unusual, or exceptional, way. Mr. Senaveratne by "usual" assumes that the system sometimes admits of an exception, and reads *නග naga*, not as "35" which it should be according to the recognised way, but as "53" according to a possible exception.

Nor is this all against the presumed reading. The symbolic letter *න na*, in the expression *නග, naga*, is quite a new recension, now making its appearance for the first time. Admittedly, even in historical research, obvious errors in the spelling of a known word may legitimately be revised. But where, as here, the word happens to be an arithmetical expression, and its letter combination the very point on which the question at issue turns, it cannot be logical to change one of these letters to suit the case, and then adduce the expression as so changed to support that view.

In the printed editions of *Ruwan-mala*, the expression is *නග, naga*, which yields quite a different result. In all the manuscripts I have seen, the expression is the same.

Thus Mr. Senaveratne's reading fails in three points, at each of which the objection is fatal.

The correct version of the passage is as follows :—

කැරණ එක් දහස් නව සිය වසම් නගමන්

There එක් දහස්, *ek dahas*, = "1000;" නව සිය, *navasiya*, = "900;" නගමන්, *nagamat*, = "57," giving the total 1957 (A.B.) partly by numeration, partly by notation. "One thousand nine hundred" is numeration: then follows නගමන්, *nagamat*, of which the first part *නග, naga*, by the objective notation known as *භූත සංඝ්‍රහයා*, (*Bhūta-sangkhya*), in which known objects stand for numerals, represents "7." *Naga*, *නග*, means "rock;" and as there are seven imaginary walls of rock encircling the world, the value "7" has been assigned to it. The final syllable *මන්, mat*, being not of the *Bhūta-sangkhya*, is clearly of the *Katapaya* notation, by which it stands for "5."

Thus we have by numeration "1900": the word වසම්, *vasam*, (Sans. विशम, *vishama*, "inequality") shews that a broken number has to be added: then symbolically are given the two figures "75" from two systems, in each of which the decimal scale ascends to the right. Thus "75" means 7 units + 5 tens = 57. Therefore, the whole combination yields "1957" as the date.

This date, according to its place in the verse, applies rather to the year of the war in which the enemies were crushed, than that of the King's coronation. "Having made war in the year 1957" is a close translation.

In my Paper on Parákrama Báhu VI (*The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I., Part I.), I have shewn how this date exactly fits in with the rest of the Prince's history, as the date of his triumph over his predecessor, and of his accession to the throne, and how the year 1958 (A.B.), logically comes in as the date of his coronation. In that Paper, it was shown how different dates have been assigned by different authorities for the accession of this Prince, and how they all harmonise with the varied fortunes of his chequered career up to the date of his triumph and final investment.

IS BUDDHISM OPPOSED TO FAITH?

Reply No I. ¹

By SURIYAGODA SUMANGALA THERA.

IN Buddhism there are two ways of expressing the truth: "*Sachchani paramatthancha Sammutthi Chati dwetahim.*" These are, the popular way, and the philosophical way.

According to popular parlance, we talk of a man of good actions being reborn in a realm of happiness: according to Buddhist philosophy there is no entity which we can call a "man." Even if there is a man *he* will not be reborn, and there is no happiness in the conditioned world. The distinction between these two ways of expressing the truth must always be observed by students of Buddhism. If the line of demarcation is not observed, "if one can sometimes assert something of Buddhism, it is rare that he cannot assert and prove the contrary as well."

Again students who are dependent solely upon translations for their knowledge of Buddhism are on unreliable ground. Very often the translations are undependable. We need not travel far to find instances.

Thus "*Vinasayati asaddham gotamasāvako,*" has been translated to mean that preaching brings about the salvation of the believer and the damnation of the unbeliever.

Every word of that rendering—except the articles and prepositions—is grossly wrong. "Preaching" was said to bring about nothing of the kind; nor is there any reference to "salvation" and "damnation" nor to "believers" and "unbelievers."

Moreover, there is the greatest difficulty in matching Páli terms, employed in Buddhist Philosophy, with words of the language of a distinctly different culture, such as English. It appears that the entire discussion of the question is based on the assumption that the Páli word "*Saddha*" means "Faith," which is defined as "the acceptance of a statement as true on the strength of testimony."

¹ [The first of the "Replies" received to the Note (similarly headed) by the Rev. Father S. G. Perera, S.J., published in "The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register," Vol. I., Part III.—*Ed.*]

"*Saddha*" in Buddhist Philosophy is a "*Cétasika*," or, in other words, it falls under the ultimate category of mental properties. There are fifty-two mental properties, of which *Saddha* is one. It is one of these properties which occurs with other properties in fifty-nine out of eighty-nine types of thought.

In short, it is a mental property which occurs in all types of good thoughts. Its characteristic quality is thus defined: "*Saddha sampayutta dhammanam pasádana lakkhana*." *Saddha* clarifies the co-existing mental properties: its function is to remove turbidity. *Saddha*, therefore, helps to clear the turbidity of co-existent mental properties that occur in all types of good thoughts. A man may be absolutely devoid of faith, and a rank agnostic, yet he may be capable of thinking good thoughts. Even in such thoughts *Saddha* occurs. The result of *Saddha* is "*Buddhadisu pasado labbhati*" "*Saddha* causes one to appreciate the Buddha, etc."

In popular Buddhism *Saddha* is recognised as one of the ways of arriving at the Path. *Saddha* can bring a man up to the very threshold of *Nibbána*; but *Nibbána* itself should be entered through the door of *Prajna* or Wisdom. There is only one passport to *Nibbána*—that is *Prajna*. Therefore does Buddhism give the foremost place of rank and position to *Prajna* as Wisdom: all other mental qualities, however good and desirable, are regarded as occupying a position lower than it. Even here the "*Saddha*," recognised and regarded as desirable, is quite distinct from "Faith" in other religions, and from the definition thereof given in the learned Note of which this is a cursory criticism.

I trust that those who are interested in the subject may study it more deeply, on the lines suggested here, before arriving at any decisive solution of the question proposed.

Reply No. 2.

By THE VEN. SRI NANISSARA.

This question has arisen on account of the quotation from Subhadra Bhikshu's *Buddhist Catechism*, viz. :—Not to believe anything because it is believed by parents, etc.

Its origin is, I think, *Káláma Sutta* of *Anguttara Nikáya*. There the sentence "*Ma anussawena ma param paraya ma itikiraya, etc.*," implies "Do not accept, or believe, anything (without or against self-conscience) on account of what is given in tradition only, what is given in generation only, and what is given in news only, etc." Except this there is no opposition in Buddhism to "Faith" (*Saddha*). The only *Saddha* (faith or belief) not to be developed is that without knowledge, as it appears near to ignorance. Therefore *Saddha* (faith) should be developed with knowledge. In this way "Faith" (*Saddha*) is one of meritorious mental actions (*kusala cétasika*) to be increased, as taught by Buddha.

The *Káláma Sutta* of *Tika-nipáta* of *Anguttara-Nikáya*, as translated by Mudaliyar E. R. Gunaratna, is as follows :—

KÁLÁMA SUTTA.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Bhagawá was journeying in Kosala with a large retinue of Bhikkhus, and arrived at Kesaputta, the town of the Káláma Khattiyas. The Kálámas of Kesaputta heard that "Gótama, the son of Sákya, who had taken the robes, had arrived at Kesaputta. The good fame of the blessed Gótama was thus spread abroad."—The Bhagawá is sanctified, all-wise, endowed with knowledge and conduct, happy, knowing the universe, pre-eminent, a guide of men whose passions have to be quelled, the Teacher of gods and men, enlightened and venerable. He knows, having realized by His own knowledge, this world and the heaven world with the Samanas and Bráhmanas, and gods and men, the world of the gods, the world of Mára, and the Bráhma worlds. He preaches the *Dhamma* pleasant at the beginning, pleasant in the middle, and pleasant at the end, and explains the life of holiness, in the spirit and the letter, led by the sanctified, which leads to Arhatship. "The sight of such an Arhat is excellent."

Then the Kálamas of Kesaputta approached Bhagawá : having approached Bhagawá, some worshipped Bhagawá and sat aside ; some welcomed Bhagawá, and with agreeable greetings sat aside ; some placed their clasped hands on their foreheads and sat aside ; some stated who they were and sat aside, some were silent and sat aside.

The Kálamas of Kesaputta who sat aside thus addressed Bhagawá :—

2. "Lord, some Samanas and Bráhmanas arrive at Kesaputta. They explain and exalt their own belief and speak spitefully, and abuse and reject the belief of others. Lord, some Samanas and Bráhmanas arrive subsequently at Kesaputta. They also explain and exalt their own belief, and speak spitefully, and abuse and reject the belief of others. In us, who listen to them, doubts and suspicions arise as to who is speaking the truth and who is speaking falsehood."

3. "Kálamas, it is right to doubt ; it is right to suspect ; doubt has arisen in a matter which is suspicious. Kálamas, come, accept not what you hear by report (only) ; accept not tradition (only) ; do not (hastily conclude) : 'It may be so' ; do not accept it (only) on the ground that a statement is found in our books ; do not accept logically (only) ; do not accept from inference (only) ; do not accept (only) on the supposition 'this is acceptable' ; do not accept (only) on the ground that it is in accord with your belief ; do not accept (only) because you think it is right ; do not accept (only) because your informant is worthy to be trusted ; do not accept (only) because it is the saying of your teacher (in absence of self-conscience). Kálamas, if at any time you know of yourselves 'these actions are sinful, these actions are wrong, these actions are despised by the wise, and these actions are to the prejudice and grief of him who performs them and who adheres to them'—then eschew them."

4, 5, 6. "Kálamas, what do you think ? Do avarice, hatred, and ignorance arise in a being to his advantage or disadvantage ?"

"Lord, to his disadvantage."

"Kálamas, the being who is eager with avarice, hatred, and ignorance will be overcome by them, will be impressed by them ; he will kill beings ; he will steal ; he will commit adultery ; he will lie ; he will get others to join him in these acts to their disadvantage also. Will it not be to his prejudice and grief for a long time ?"

"Yes, Lord."

7. "What do you think, Kálamas"—are these dispositions productive of merit or demerit ?

"Lord, demerit."

"Are they right or wrong ?"

"Lord, wrong."

"Are they despised or praised by the wise ?"

"Lord, despised."

"When they are adhered to, connived at completely, are they productive of prejudice or pain or not ? What is your opinion ?"

"Lord, our opinion is that when they are adhered to, and connived at completely, they are productive of prejudice and pain."

8. "Kálamas, it is for this reason that I said 'Abide by what I say,' etc. [same as in 2 para : of section 3 down to "then eschew them"].

9. "Kálamas, abide by what I say, etc. [same as in 2 para : of section 3 down to "Kálamas"], if at any time you know yourselves 'these actions are not sinful, these actions are not wrong, these actions are not despised by the wise, and these actions are to the advantage and happiness (of him who performs them and who adheres to them),' then follow them."

10. "Kálamas, what do you think—'if now avarice does not arise in a being, is it to his advantage or disadvantage ?'

"Lord, to his advantage."

"Kálamas, that being, who is not eager with avarice, not overcome by avarice, not impressed by avarice, will not kill beings, will not steal, will not commit adultery, will not lie, will not get others to join him in these acts to their disadvantages also. Will it not be to his happiness and advantage for a long time ?"

"Yes, Lord ?"

11, 12. [Similar to paragraph 10 with the substitution of the words, "without anger and without ignorance."]

13. "What do you think, Kálamas [same as in section 7 ; the replies here being the reverse of the replies given in section 7].

14. "Kálamas, it is for this reason that I said [same as in section 7 substituting, then "follow them" for "then eschew them"].

15. "Kálámas, the holy follower who is free from intense desire, hatred, rightly guided, wise, thoughtful, with a feeling of love, compassionate feeling, feeling of gladness, and equanimity, lives spreading his affection in one quarter, in a second quarter, in a third quarter, and in a fourth quarter, up and down and across, with a powerful, lofty, unbounded, kind, sympathetic feeling towards all who live on, above, and in the middle of the world, he lives spreading his fame.

"Kálámas, that holy follower, with a kind, happy, pure, and clean mind, attains four states of consolation in this world.

16. "If there is a future world, and if there are results of merit and demerit, I shall, after death, be born in heaven." This is his first consolation. "If there is no future world, and there is no result of merit and demerit, I conduct myself without hatred and suffering, unimpeded and happy in this world." This is his second consolation. "If sins will be recompensed to me who think ill of none, and who commit no sin, in what way could there be suffering?" This is his third consolation. "To him who commits no sin, there will be no results from sin, perceiving that my mind is clean, in these two ways I live." This is his fourth consolation.

"Kálámas, thus the holy follower with a kind, happy, pure and clean mind attains these four stages of consolation in this world."

17. "Bhagawá, it is so; Sugata, it is so. The holy follower with a kind, happy, pure and clean mind attains these four stages of consolation in this world. If there is pure world [same as in 16 para: down to "attains these four stages of consolation in this world"].

"Lord, it is well said. From henceforth we take the Bhagawá, the word and the *Sangha* as our Guide. Bhagawá, consider us Thy followers from henceforth to the end of our lives."

TAMIL INSCRIPTION AT POLONNARUWA.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

THE pillar inscription in Tamil, exhumed in a Monastery near the North Gate of the Capital at Polonnaruwa—the text of which is published in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey for 1909,¹—raises an interesting question of identity.

The Archæological Commissioner (Mr. H. C. P. Bell) quotes the following comment on it by Mr. H. Krisna Sástri, Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, India, (*Report on Epigraphy*, 1911-12):—

The fragmentary Tamil inscription from Polonnaruwa . . . is dated in the 15th year of the reign of Gaja Báhu (II) and in the 38th year of Jaya Báhu, apparently ignoring in this way the intervening rule of Vikrama Báhu (I) for twenty-one years as stated in v. 18, of Chapter LXIII of the *Maháwansa*.

Accepting the initial dates given by Wijesinha for these Kings, the 38th year of Jaya Báhu exactly coincides with the 15th year (i.e. 1157 A.D.) of Gaja Báhu II. Consequently, the statement that King Jaya Báhu and his Queen, Mitta, died one year after accession, as Wijesinha has put it, may have to be accepted with modification. Perhaps the fact was that either Jaya Báhu did not die after one year, as stated in the *Maháwansa*, or that Vikrama Báhu ruled the Kingdom for him until his son Gaja Báhu II. was appointed heir-apparent in 1142 A.D.

To the above comments Mr. Bell adds³ :—

Mr. Krisna Sástri's allotment of this Tamil record to the 38th year of Jaya Báhu, successor of Vijaya Báhu I. (1065-1120 A.D.) is, *primá facie*, supported by the inscription in Sinhalese discovered in 1897 by the Archæological Commissioner at one of the picturesque, and almost unknown, caves which occur high up the slopes of Dimbulá-gala ("Gunner's Quoin") in Tamankaduwa.

The difficulty of reconciling the allotment by the *Maháwansa* of but one year to the reign of Jaya Báhu with the twenty-seven of the Dimbulá-gala inscription, and the absence of corroborative evidence *contra*, justified the Archæological Commissioner in then attributing the record to the extremely long reign of perhaps the greatest regenerator of Sinhalese rule after years of Southern Indian invasion and ascendancy, and reading "Jaya Báhu" as synonymous with Vijaya Báhu.⁴

1. Sessional Papers VI, 1914, pp. 26-27.

2. Archæological Survey, Annual Report, 1909, p. 26.

3. *Id.*, p. 27.

4. Compare Jaya Báhu (II) *alias* Vijaya Báhu (V), *Maháwansa*, XC, 105.

This Tamil inscription of Polonnaruwa would appear, however, to settle the point, though the total silence of the *Mahāvansa* regarding Jaya Báhu, after mention of his being hastily crowned on the death of Vikrama Báhu I seems strangely unaccountable.

Jaya Báhu, having been inaugurated King over the kingdom of Lanka, may have been forced, or may have preferred, to live in retirement as *de jure* Sovereign of Ceylon whilst his nephew Vikrama Báhu I reigned for twenty-one years, "although he was not anointed King;" and similarly Vikrama Báhu's son Gaja Báhu II may have succeeded to *de facto* rule, of which fifteen years, added to his father's term, would nearly cover the thirty-eight years of Jaya Báhu's nominal reign recorded on the Tamil pillar.

Mr. Krisna Sástri's identification may possibly be right, but the difficulties in the way are not to be lightly brushed aside. For these reasons:—

(a) The *Mahāvansa* ⁵ explicitly states that King Jaya Báhu and his Queen, Mitta, died about one year after their accession. The *Rājāvaliya*, ⁶ (which gives Jaya Báhu a reign of no more than three years), says that, "on his demise, Vikrama Báhu, son of Mahalu Vijaya Báhu," succeeded him.

(b) The intervening rule of Vikrama Báhu I for twenty-one years, as stated in the *Mahāvansa*, cannot be ignored.

(c) Gaja Báhu II was not appointed heir-apparent in 1142 A.D.

(d) Gaja Báhu II, (who is ignored altogether both by the *Rājāvaliya* and the *Pújāvaliya* and, apparently, also by the *Rājaratnākara*), is stated by the *Mahāvansa* ⁷ to have "reigned two and twenty years." As he commenced his reign in 1142 A.D., ⁸ his death would, therefore, fall in 1164 A.D. But this is demonstrably incorrect since we know that Parákrama Báhu I, "the Great," had already ascended the throne eleven years previously, i.e. in 1153 A.D. For, Professor Hultzsch, in confirmation of what had already been urged by Professor Wickremasinghe, ⁹ says in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1913¹⁰ :—

"The earliest absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon is that of the coronation of Sáhasamalla in A.B. 1743, as given in a Polonnaruwa inscription which has been published by Professor Rhys Davids (*J. R. A. S. VII, 356 ff*) and by Professor E. Müller (*A. I. C. No. 156*). Dr. Fleet has examined the details of this date, and found that it corresponds quite regularly to Wednesday, 23rd August, A.D. 1200 (*R. A. S. Journal, 1909, pp. 327, 331*). . . . According to the *Mahāvansa* the sum of the reigns of Parákrama Báhu I to Lilāvati, the predecessor of Sáhasamalla, amounted to forty-seven years. Consequently Parákrama Báhu I ascended the throne in A.D. 1200-47=1153. This date is confirmed by the Sinhalese Chronicle *Nikāya Sangrahawa* (*E.Z., I, 123*), and, approximately, by an Arpakkam inscription of the 5th year of the Chóla King Parakésarivarman *alias* Rájádhirájadéva."

Mr. Krisna Sástri's contention, therefore, that "the 38th year of Jaya Báhu exactly coincides with the 15th year (i.e. 1157 A.D.) of Gaja Báhu II" involves also, if correct, the admission that Gaja Báhu II and Parákrama Báhu I were joint sovereigns at one and the same Capital for eleven years at least, which is untrue.

But is no other, and more satisfactory, identification possible,—at least one which does not involve the rejection of otherwise reliable testimony?

I would offer the suggestion that the Jaya Báhu of the present Tamil inscription may be identified with the Jaya Báhu referred to in the following extract, which is taken from Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara's "Contribution to the History of Ceylon translated from the *Pújāvaliya*" :—

"He (Parákrama Báhu II) took up in his arms the Tooth-Relic lord, and, making an appeal to truth, spake thus :—

5. Id, v 1. See also Chapter LXI.

6. Ed. 1900, p. 59.

7. Chapter LXXI, v 5.

8. See Wijesinha's Chronological Table of Sinhalese Sovereigns.

9. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol, I pp. 156, 7.

10. p. 518.

'This Island of Lanka is fit only for princes who are of the orthodox faith. Accordingly, in days gone by, the Sinhalese King Asela destroyed the Tamil dealers in horses The Sinhalese King Dutugemunu destroyed King Elála. Walagam Báhu destroyed the five Malabar princes Dásenkeli destroyed the six Malabar princes Mahalu Vijaya Báhu destroyed about 96,000 Choliens and Tamils. I, (Parákrama Báhu II) too, wish to do good both to Church and State, after destroying the Tamil subjects of the Tamil Kings Mágħa and Jaya Báhu, who lived throughout the Pihiti kingdom.

In the next year (i.e. some time before the 11th), beginning to wage war with the Tamils, he (Parákrama Báhu II) sent Sinhalese soldiers in different directions and harassed the Tamils in many ways. Then the large Tamil army, about 40,000 fighting men in number, of the two Tamil Kings Mágħa and Jaya Báhu, who lived doing acts of violence during a period of forty years and had encamped in Polonnaruwa Kotusara, Gantala, not being able to remain in their several posts, assembled at the city of Polonnaruwa, and, consulting together, said: 'King Parákrama Báhu's power and the efficacy of his merits are great; even half of our Tamil people have become subject to him. In future, it will be impossible to live in the Sinhala country: let us not stay, but go to our own country.'

Now, the following facts would seem to emerge from the above:—

(i) The Jaya Báhu of this inscription is the only King of that name who, so far as we can gather from any historical chronicle, appears to have reigned for a period of thirty-eight years or more.

(ii) He was a Provincial Rájá, of "the Pihiti kingdom,"¹¹ and had much to do with Polonnaruwa.

(iii) He was a Tamil, and all inscriptions, grants, etc., by him would naturally be in Tamil.

In the light of these considerations, it is suggestive to remember that the present pillar inscription exhumed at Polonnaruwa (which, by the way, was in Pihiti-rata) is in Tamil, and is of the 38th of the year reign of a King Jaya Báhu.

Who King Gaja Báhu Déva of the inscription was,—whether identical with the Tamil King Mágħa of the above extract from *Pújávaliya* or a totally different person,—are questions which it is difficult to answer satisfactorily till more evidence is forthcoming.

As for the inscription in Sinhalese discovered in 1897 by Mr. Bell in one of the caves at Dimbulá-gala ("Gunner's Quoin") it may well be that his conjecture, hazarded nearly twenty years ago, is right after all, and that he was fully justified in "attributing the record to Vijaya Báhu I, perhaps the greatest regenerator of Sinhalese rule," and in "reading 'Jaya Báhu' as synonymous with Vijaya Báhu."¹²

TWO ORNAMENTAL DEVICES IN METAL.

By L. H. S. PIERIS.

CHAMELEON.

THE head of the chameleon formed the hilt of ancient swords and daggers of the Sinhalese, and continues as such in swords presented by the Ceylon Government for meritorious service.

The origin of this strange device is of interest. It does not indicate man's changefulness, or that the Sinhalese regarded the chameleon with fear or awe: protection and aid against Muhamedans is all that was intended.

11. He (Parákrama Báhu II) "massacred all the Malabars who were to be met with, from village to village; so that those who were not slaughtered saved themselves only by flight; and thus were all driven to the country called Pihiti Rata, which country excepted, the whole was entirely swept of the Malabars and governed by this valiant King." *Rájaratnákaraḡya*, (Upham's Translation), pp 94, 5.

12. Archaeological Survey, Annual Report, 1909, p. 27

Fleeing from his enemies, it is said, Muhammad once hid in a cave. His pursuers, unaware of the proximity of the Prophet's temporary refuge, would have passed it by, had it not been for a chameleon, which, by nodding its head, betrayed Muhammad's lurking place.

The Sinhalese at one time dreaded a Muslim invasion. They regarded the chameleon, which was instrumental in the capture of the Prophet of Islam, as the surest preventive.

Accordingly they had a chameleon's head embossed on swords, merely as a talisman, As contrasted with Sinhalese veneration, Muhammedan antipathy to the reptile is evinced even now in the ruthless destruction by Moor children of all chameleons they catch. ¹

COCK.

Another strange device is that found on ancient lamps.

This is the representation of the chanticleer ² who announces the dawn, when lamps are put out and man goeth forth to his work and to his labour. Often too there hangs from the beak of the cock a succulent worm—perhaps meant as an "object lesson" that "It is the early bird that gets the worm."

1. [Erasmus (*Convivium Religiosum*) speaks of the chameleon as "ever gaping, ever hungry" (*semper hians et semper jejunus*); adding that "the little creature (*bestiola*) has poison in him too, that you mayn't contemn him," and "only changes colour when he changes his place." A companion remarked: "I thought it had been a monster (*belluam*) bigger than a lion, and the name is twice as long!—*Ed.*]

2. "My lungs began to crow like chanticleer." (*As You Like It.*)



Literary Register.

THE MALDIVE ISLANDS: 1602-1607.

Edited by H. C. P. BELL.

PYRARD'S NARRATIVE.

(Continued from p. 215.)

CHAPTER X.

Description of the Maldive Islands, of their situation, and the people who inhabit them.

Symson.

The *Maldivy* Islands lie in Length from eight Degree of North Latitude, to four South,¹ being about 200 Leagues in Length, and 150 from Cape Comorin.

They are divided into 17 [*sic*] Parcels, call'd *Atollons*,² each of them parted from the others, and containing a Multitude of little Islands. It is wonderful to see each of those Parcels, so inclosed with a Ridge of Rocks all round, that no Art of Man could wall in such a Piece of Land more dexterously. These Parcels are all of them almost round, or else Oval, being each 30 Leagues in Compass, little more or less; and all lying in a Row, from N. W. to S. E. at small Distances, without touching one another, with Channels betwixt them, some wider, and some narrower. When in the middle of one of those Parcels, you may see the Ridge of Rocks I have mention'd quite round it, defending the Islands against the Fury of the Sea; for it is dreadful to come near that Ridge, and to see the Waves on every Side, coming in outrageous manner to break upon it, when the Foam is as high as a House, and as white as Snow, as I have often seen it; and it looks like a white Wall quite round, especially when the Sea runs high.

Within each of those Enclosures are the Islands both great and small, and almost innumerable. The Inhabitants told me they were twelve Thousand³: whether so

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The Maldives lie between one [*sic*] Degree N. Lat. and 4 S. Lat. being two hundred Leagues in Length, and thirty-five in Breadth.¹ They are distant from Spain, according to the Course of Sailing, 4,500 Leagues.

They are divided into thirteen Provinces, called *Attollons*,² each of which comprehends a great many small Islands, and is of a circular Form, containing about thirty-two Leagues in Circumference. These Islands are surrounded with a great Ridge of Rocks, which breaks the Shocks of the Sea, and raises prodigious Surges.

'Tis said the Number of Islands amount to 12,000,³ a great Part of which are nothing but uninhabited Hill-ocks of Sand; but the Inhabitants informed me, that

1. See *ante*, p. 133.

2. "Elles sont divisees en treize Prouinces, qu' ils nomment *Atollons*." Pyrard frequently writes *n* for *u*, as here,—perhaps his printers' fault.

3. For various statements regarding their full number, see *Hak: Soc: Pyrard* I, 95, footnote. Pyrard shrewdly comments on the number "12000."—"J' estime quant a moy qu'il n'y a apparence d'y en avoit tant, et qu' ils disent douze mille pour designer un nombre incroyable et qui ne se peut compter."

Symson.

many or not, I cannot decide; for there are very many no bigger than Sand-Banks, not Inhabited. The King uses that Number in his Titles, calling himself, *Ibrahim Sultan dolos assa ral tera athollon*,⁴ that is, Ibrahim Sultan, King of 13 Provinces and of 12,000 Islands. However it is, the [currents and heavy] Sea continually lessens the Number;⁵ as the Inhabitants told me, who said the Number of the People decreas'd proportionably, and that there were not so many as formerly [in ancient times]. A Man looking into one of those Parcels [Atollons] of Islands, would be apt to take them, and the Sea they are parted by, for one continu'd Shoal, and to believe they were anciently but one Island, since cut asunder, and divided into many; for those who sail along close to them see all the inside white, because the Sand is so upon all the Flats and Rocks [shoals and reefs]. The Sea within is very still, and not above [as much as] 20 Fathom Water in the deepest Places, and very few so deep; for the Bottom is to be seen almost everywhere.

There are scarce any other than Shoals of Sand or Rock, insomuch that at low Water it will not in most Places take a Man above the Middle, and sometimes half way of the Leg; and it would be easy going about to all the Islands of one Parcel [Atollon] without a Boat, were it not for fear of the *Sharks*,⁶ which devour Men, and because most of the Bottom is sharp cutting Rocks, that cannot well be gone on.

Besides, there are abundance of Branches of a thing I cannot determine, whether it is a Tree or a Stone, as resembling white Coral, being full of Branches, and sharp, not smooth but very rugged, full of little Holes and porous, yet hard and heavy as Stone. The Natives call this *Aquiry*,⁷ and use it to make Honey and Sugar of Coco-Nuts, breaking it into small Bits, and then boiling it with the Liquor of Coco-Nuts; whence comes their Honey and Sugar. This is very troublesome to those who wash, or go about in the Sea; and yet they often pass from one Island to another.

Abundance of these Islands are not inhabited [—as I believe, a large majority—];⁸ some have only Trees and Plants on them; others afford no Green, being only a loose Sand; and others are flooded at the Spring-Tides, and dry at other Times, and then quite cover'd with *Crabs*,⁹ or else with a sort of Sea-Fowl. They are call'd *Pinguys*,¹⁰ which lay and hatch there: there are such prodigious Numbers of them, that there is no going, as I have found by Experience, without treading either on the Eggs, or the Chickens, or other Fowls; for they are not very shy of Men. The Natives do not eat them, and yet they are good Food, being about as big as Pigeons,

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the daily Incursions of the Sea-Sand impaired the Number both of the Islands and the Inhabitants, and that the Isles of one *Attollon* were formerly one continued Track of Land.⁵

It is plain that the Seas which divide the Isles of one *Attollon* are so shallow that, at Low water, one might easily wade over, were it not that the Bottom is rocky and sharp, and apt to wound the Feet, and that those Seas are pestered with Fish called *Paimones*,⁶ which break Men's Legs and Arms, and devour 'em.

Another great Inconvenience, that going into the Water, proceeds from a rough, sharp, porous, hard and ponderous sort of Substance, not unlike white Coral, which they call *Aquiry*,⁷ and make use of in boiling it with Cocoa Water; for 'tis that which forms their Sugar or Honey.

A great Part of these Islands are uninhabited,⁸ and produce nothing but Trees and Grass, others are only a movable Sand, without any Green, and others again are overflowed at high Water. The rest are covered all over with great *Crabs* called *Cocouue*,⁹ and Cray-fish, or else with the Fowls called *Penguins*:¹⁰ insomuch, that one cannot place a Foot in any part without treading upon their Eggs and young ones, or upon the old Birds themselves, which do not fly far upon the Approach of a Man. This Fowl is as big as a Pigeon, with black and white Feathers, and is excellent Meat, tho' the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited sandy Islands appear at a

4. *Dolos* (M. and Sin.) "12"; "assa" (M), "dasa," (Sin.) "1000"; *ral* (M), *rata* (Sin.) "country"; *tera* (M. and Sin.) "13"; *athollon* (M. *atolu*, Sin. *etulu*). On coins the Maldiver Ruler is styled *Assullān bar wal bahr*. "Sultan of Sea and Land," (i. e. the world);

5. Attrition and additions to sea-shores have occurred at the Maldives, as elsewhere (Bell, *The Maldive Islands*, 1883, p. 2.

6. *M. femunu*.

7. *M. hiri*. Cf. Sin. *hiri-gal*, coral-stone, madrepore.

8. In 1836 the number of *inhabited* islands (Admiralty Charts) was 182; in 1911, according to the Census returns, it was 217—an average increase of about one in two years.

9. *M. kakuni*; Sin. *kakuluwa*,

10. Penguins are not found at the Maldives: Pyrard probably means manchots.

Symson.

and their Plumage black and white. The Islands I have said are not Inhabited at a Distance appear as if they were cover'd with Snow; by reason of the Whiteness of the Sand, which is as fine and small as that of an Hour-Glass, and so scorching hot, that it easily hatches the Eggs.

It is rare that they have any fresh Water; but most of the other Islands inhabited, or producing Greens, have; and such as have not fetch it from the neighbouring Islands, and take Care to gather the Rain. The Water, however, is better in some Islands than others; but that of Wells is never very sweet nor wholesome. Digging 3 or 4 Foot deep, even on the Edge of the Sea where it sometimes overflows, they find sweet Water: and I observ'd that it is very cold in the Day-time, especially at Noon, and very hot in the Night.

To return to the several Parcels, or *Atollons*.¹¹ The North Part, which is the Head, is by the Portugueses call'd *Cabeza das Ilhas*, that is, the Head of the Islands, and by the Maldivians, *Tilla don Matis*, that is, the Upper Point, which is in 8 Degrees of North Latitude, being the same Latitude as Cochin. The first of those Parcels is call'd *Tilla dou Matis*; the 2d, *Milla doue Madoue*; the 3d, *Padypolo*; the 4th, *Mulosmadon*; the 5th, *Ariatollon*; the 6th, *Male Atollon*, being the chief, in which is the Island of *Male*, the Capital of them all; the 7th, *Poulisdous*, the 8th, *Molucque*; the 9th, *Nillandous*; the 10th, *Collo Madous*; the 11th, *Adou Matis*; the 12th, *Souadou*; the 13th, *Addou* and *Poua Molucque*, being two little distinct Parcels, separated like the others, but very small; for which Reason they are reckon'd as but one.

I have been in all these several Parcels of Islands, and sail'd about them with the Natives. No Ship of Burden can pass between them, without evident Danger of perishing; and there are only four of these Channels that Ships can go through at all. I saw several Charts¹² in those Islands, which mark down all the Shoals; which they make their Way through very dexterously in their Barks, when the Channel is so streight, that those Vessels touch the Rocks on both Sides: this they practise under Sail, being wonderful bold at Sea, as being bred in it,¹³ and every Man having his Boat; for the Great Ones are as expert as the Poor. They never sail by Night among the Islands, but always lye ashore. Several of the Islands, in every Parcel, are hemm'd in with Shoals, and have only very narrow Guts for Boats to come up to them; so that, if the Men

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Distance as if they were covered with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour-Glass, is extream white, and withal so very hot as to hatch the *Penguins* Eggs.

These sandy Islands afford little or no fresh Water; but the covered Islands, whether inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit; abating for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forced to have recourse to the neighbouring Islands for Water, and make use of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain-Water. The Water of some Islands is better than that of others: their Well-Water is neither very sweet, nor very wholesome, but it is very plentiful, and very fresh, even within four Paces of the Sea-Side; for they dig not above three or four Feet, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night-Time, and extream cold in the Day, especially about Noon.

To return to the thirteen *Atollons*,¹¹ the first beginning from the North, is called *Tilla Don Matis*, i.e., the high Point; in this lies the Head or Cape of the same Name, called by the Portugueze, *Cabexa des las il bas*, situated in 8 N. L. The second is called *Milla doue Madone*; the third *Padypolo*; the fourth *Malasmadon*; the fifth *Aratellon*; the sixth *Male Atollon* in which lies *Male*, the head Island of the Maldives; the seventh *Poulisdows*; the eighth *Molucque*; the ninth *Nilandous*; the tenth *Collomadons*; the eleventh *Aloumatis*; the twelfth *Souadou*; the thirteenth *Addon* and *Polo Molubque*, these two being reckoned but one, by reason of their Smallness.

Each *Atollon* is separated from the adjacent Provinces by an Arm of the Sea, which is in some Places narrow, and in others broad. There are only four of these limiting Channels, that, being much broader than the rest, are navigable by great Ships, but not without Danger, especially in the Night, by reason of their Flats and Rocks; which are marked very exactly in some Sea Charts,¹² which I saw in that Country. The Natives have a wonderful Dexterity in avoiding these dangerous Places: I have seen them sail so nicely, as to rub upon rocks on both Sides, without any Damage. Both the Rich and the Poor are inured to the Sea from their Infancy, and fear not to encounter the most turbulent and foaming Seas, in little Boats and Barks¹³ the Number of which is unaccountable; for the poorest Man that is has one, and the Rich have

11. Pymar has:—*Cabeza da las ilhas; Tilla dou matis; Milla doue madoue; Padypolo; Malos madou; Ariatollon; Male atollon; Poulisdous; Molucque; Nillandous; Collomadous; Adoumatis; Souadou; Addou; Poua Molucque*. For the names of the Atolls more correctly transliterated see *ante*, p. 133.

12. *M. muruba*. See Tennant *Ceylon* I, 612, Note; *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. VI.

13. Pymar frankly describes his own fright and the islanders' amusement thereat:—"Travelling under their conduct, I suffered the gravest apprehensions: this often happened to me. But I was never so afraid as on one occasion when I was with some of them in a little boat of not more than four arm-lengths, in a sea towering above me two pikes high, more stormy and swollen than ever was. Every moment it seemed that a wave would carry me off the boat, wherein I had much trouble to hold myself, while they recked nothing of it, and only laughed;" (*Hak: Soc: Pymar* I, 100.

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were not extraordinary expert, their Boats would over-set, and their Goods be spoil'd: for the Men are such notable Swimmers, that they are never in Danger; and I have several Times seen them swim after Fishes, and catch them.¹⁴

However, Boats are sometimes cast away, by reason of the Currents, by them call'd *Oyuarou*,¹⁵ which, among the Islands, set sometimes East and sometimes West, and in several Parts of the Sea, about 6 Months one Way, and as long the other, tho' not precisely, but little more or less. The Winds are generally as settled as the Currents, only inclining towards the North or South.

It is observable, that the Parcels [*Atolons*] of Islands lying in a Line, as has been said, they have two opposite Openings on each Side, to go from one Parcel to another, without which there could be no Communication between them; for if there were but one Opening on each Side, there would be no passing, by reason of the Violence of the Currents, setting 6 Months East, and as many West; and if the Openings were only one East and the other West, they might easily get in, but not out again. When the Current sets from East to West, there is no crossing directly from one Opening to another; but then they go out at the East Opening, which is to the Windward, and so, striking athwart, put in at the West Opening of the other Island. These Mouths, or Openings between the Parcels of Islands, are some of them wider, and some narrower. The largest is not above 200 Paces, and some of them not above 30. On each Side of the said Openings is a small Island, on which if Cannon were planted, no Vessel could pass in.

As for the Channels¹⁶ which part the several Parcels of Islands, there are four of them, so good, that

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several. They never sail by Night, or out of Sight of Land, unless it be when they undertake some great Voyage; and, accordingly, the Provisions they have on Board, are calculated only for one Day. The greatest Part of the Islands comprehended in one *Attollon*, are surrounded with a common Flat or Bar, that is only passable at one or two narrow Places, which are not easily observed; and for that Reason it is necessary for them to be very expert in the Management of their Boats, or Barks, since the least Slip is certainly followed with Shipwreck, and the Loss of their Goods: as for their own Persons indeed, they have no great Reason to fear, for all of them swim admirably well.

Notwithstanding that wonderful Dexterity in Sailing, they frequently lose their Barks, which is occasioned by the Currents called *Oyvacious*,¹⁶ which run East and West, six Months upon the East Coast, and six Months upon the West; but with such Uncertainty, that the Change happens sooner or later, at one Time than another. Though their Winds are frequently fixed, as well in the Currents in the East and West Quarter, yet they sometimes shift to the North and East.

It is to be observed, that the *Attollons* lie all in a Line, the End of the one facing the End of the next adjacent, and that they have two Entrances or accessible Places on each Side, which is a wonderful Conveniency; for if there was only one Landing-place at each End, the Impetuosity of the East and West Currents would break their Communication with one another, or, at least, it would be impossible to practise it at all Seasons. The Necessity of four Landing-places in each *Attollon* will be evident, if we consider the following Instance. Suppose a Landing-place on the East Coast, almost directly opposite to the Entry of the other *Attollon*, and another on the West, opposite to that of the adjacent *Attollon*, if the Current runs from East to West, we can not cross directly from Entrance to Entrance, but set out from the East Coast, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it Sideway, steer for the West Entry of the other *Attollon*. In order to return we set out from the East Entrance, and overthwarting the Current, make to the West Entry of the other *Attollon*. When the Current changes its Course, we observed the same Contrivance in setting out from the Head of the Current, and entering the other *Attollon* at the Place which lies under the Current of these Entrances. Some are broad, and some narrow, but the widest is not above two hundred Paces over, and some of them are less than thirty. Each Entrance hath an Island on each Side, and if Cannon were planted on these Islands it would be easy to hinder any Ships to enter.

Of the Channels¹⁶ that part the *Attollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great

14. Lest this "fish story" be hard for ordinary readers to swallow, Pyrard is very insistent:—"Je les ay veu plusieurs fors—Je les ay veu dis je."

15. Pyrard: *oyuarou*; M. *oyivaru*; cf. Sin, *oya* "river."

16. The Maldivians call the first ("Moresby's Channel") *Dekunu Kadu*; the second *Kaharidi Kadu*; the third *Ariyadi Kadu*; the fourth (probably "One and a Half Degrees Channel") *Suvadú Kadu*. Pyrard omits the *Veimandu* (or *Kolumadulu*) *Kadu*; as well as, apparently, "The Equatorial Channel," that to the extreme south. See *ante*, p. 134.

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great Ships may pass through them ; as sometimes they do, tho' not without Danger, and some perish : nor do any pass by Choice, for all endeavour to avoid it ; but the Islands lying in such a Length athwart that Sea, it is sometimes hard to avoid them, especially when the Currents drive Ships upon them, either by reason of Calms, or contrary Winds.

The first of those Channels to the Northward, is that where we were wreck'd, on the Shoal of the Parcel of Islands call'd *Malos Madou*. The 2d, drawing nearer to *Male*, is call'd *Caridou*, in the midst of which is the greatest of all these Islands. The 3d is beyond *Male*, to the Southward, and call'd *Addou*. The 4th is *Souadou*, directly under the Equinoctial, and the largest of them all, being 20 Leagues over. The Natives do not make Use of the Compass, in sailing about the Islands, but only when they undertake longer Voyages, or are to cross this great Channel. All the other Channels between the several Parcels of Islands, are very narrow, and full of Flats and Shoals, and only passable in small Barks ; and even in them they must be very well known.

I observ'd, in sailing on the Channel which parts *Male* and *Poulidou*, and which bears the Name of *Poulidou*,¹⁷ and is about seven Leagues wide, that the Sea there looks as black as Ink ; but taken up, differs not from the rest. It is always bubbling up, as if it were over the Fire ; and it is dreadful to see that it does not, like the rest, move any way : the Reason of it I know not, but am sure the very Natives are not exempt from a sort of Horror when on it ; and there are often great Storms.

These Islands lying so near on both Sides of the Equinoctial, it is easy to judge that the Air is [very] intemperate, and the Heat excessive. The Days and Nights are always equal, and the Night very cool, and abundance of Dew falls ; which renders those Islands the more habitable and makes the Trees and Plants thrive, notwithstanding the scorching Sun. Winter begins in April, and lasts six Months, and the Summer in October, and holds the other six Months. In Winter there is no Frost, but continual Rains, and then the Westerly Winds are very boisterous : on the contrary, the Summer is extremely hot, and it never rains, and then the Winds are Easterly.

The *Maldivy* Islands are suppos'd to have been first peopled by the *Cingalas*, so they call the Inhabitants of *Ceylon*. But I do not find the Maldivians any way resemble the *Cingalas*, who are black, and not well shap'd ;¹⁸ whereas the Maldivians are shap'd much like us, the only Difference consisting in the Colour, which is a sort of Olive. However, they may have been much improv'd by the Mixture of other Nations ; for the People from *Male* Northward are more polite, well-behav'd and civilized ; whereas the others to the Southward, have a harsher Language, ruder Manners, worse

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Ships, and frequently visited by Strangers, when the Current carry them in against their Will.

To begin from the North Side, the first of the four washes the *Attollon* called *Malos Madou*, and it was in this that we were cast away. The second, called *Caridou*, has *Male*, the greatest of all these Islands, in the midst of it. The third, called *Addou*, lies to the South of *Male*. The fourth, called *Souadou*, lies directly under the equinoctial Line ; and in regard that it is the broadest of them all, being twenty Leagues over, the Natives don't sail upon it without a Compass, though they never use any in the Channels.

Besides these, there is a narrow Channel, which separates *Male* and *Poulistou*,¹⁷ in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the Water taken into a Vessel, looks like other Water. That Sea boils like Water over a Fire : it swells into great black Surges, but is not moved from one Side to the other ; which renders it very terrible.

The *Maldives* lie so near the Equinoctial, on both Sides, that their Climate is extremely hot. Their Day and Night are always equal, and their Nights are very cool and dewy ; which renders the Heat of the Sun more tolerable, and nourishes exceedingly their Herbs and Trees. Their Winter commences in April, and continues till October, at which Time the Summer begins, and lasts likewise six Months. In Winter they have perpetual Rains, but no Frost, and the westerly Winds are very boisterous. In Summer their Winds are easterly with an excessive Heat and no Rain.

It is said that the *Maldives* were in former Times peopled by the *Cingala*, or Inhabitants of *Ceylon* ; but it is observable, that the *Cingala* are black and ugly ;¹⁸ whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handsome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion. Though, after all, 'tis possible that the Climate, and Length of Time may have altered the Complexion and Shape to their Advantage : besides that a great many Foreigners being cast away on their Coast, are blended with them by Inter-marriages ; and by this Means it comes, that those who live about *Male*, between it and

17. Pyrard, *Poulidou*s ; M. *Felidu-Kadu*.

18. Pyrard knew little of *Ceylon*. The comparison of the ordinary *Maldive* Islanders with the villagers of *Ceylon*—*Kandyan* and *Low Country*—is much in favour of the latter.

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shap'd Bodies, and darker Complexions; and there are several Women of the poorer sort, who go naked, without any Shame, having only a Clout about their Waste to cover their Privities.¹⁹ The Reason of this is, because the Northern Parts have been always more frequented by Strangers; and therefore all the People of Quality live in the Northern Parts: there [too] they raise their Soldiers. However, the Southern Inhabitants are as understanding, and ingenious as the others.

These People in general, are very sharp Witted, much addicted to all sorts of Manufactures; and even to Learning and Sciences in their way, especially Astrology, which they are much addicted to. They are very discreet, and considerate, and subtle in Trade, and the way of living in the World; brave and resolute, dexterous at their Weapons, and very orderly in their Department.²⁰

The Women are Beautiful, bating their being of an Olive-colour; but there are some as white as Europeans: their Hair is always black, which they reckon a Perfection. They keep their Children always shav'd, from the eighth Day after they are born,²¹ till nine or ten Years of Age, leaving the Girls a small Edge of Hair on the Fore-head, to distinguish them from the Boys who have none [except the Eyebrows]; and this they say makes their Hair grow the blacker. The greatest Ornament of Women, is to have their hair very long, thick and black, which they often wash and cleanse with a sort of Ligh, and then let it hang loose, keeping within their Houses [house-yards] till quite dry; after which, they rub it with very sweet Oils.

Both Men and Women Oil themselves as often as ever they wet, that is twice or thrice a Week their Hair, and their Bodies [sometimes every Day oftener than once].²²

When the Women have thus Oil'd their Hair to dress them, they tye it all back very hard, that not a single Hair may be loose; and to make the more Show of it, by adding a long Parcel of other Hair, [man's, but as long as a Woman's], like a Horse's Tail; and to hold it the faster, adorn it next the Head with a Hoop, like a Taylor's Thimble, either of Gold or Silver, and set

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the North Cape, where most Shipwrecks happen, are more polished and civilized than those on the South Coast, who are not only blacker, but much coarser in their Language, Customs, and the Shape of the Body: nay, many of their Women, especially such as are poor, go naked, with only a small Cover for their Privities.¹⁹ This North Side of the Island is not only richer, and more civilized, as being the common Passage for all Ships, but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune; and when the King punishes a Criminal with Banishment, he only sends him to the South Parts. The Soldiers are all raised in the North Parts. But, after all, this Difference, I must say, that the Inhabitants of the South Parts are naturally as lively and quick-witted as those of the North.

In general, the Maldivians are very ingenious: they apply themselves with great Industry and Success to all sorts of Manufactures; and also to Letters and Sciences after this Manner, especially to Astrology, which they hold in great Esteem. They are a very wise, cautious People, and very sharp in their Merchandize and Way of Living: they are brave, and well skilled in Arms, and their Policy is very regular.²⁰

Their Women are very handsome, abating for their Olive Colour, and some of them are white as the Europens. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Ornament; and in order to turn it extremely black, several Women keep their Daughters' Heads shaved till they are eight or nine Years old, leaving only a little Hair on the Forehead, to distinguish them from Boys, who have none at all: I have seen some Children have half flaxen Hair which has turned very black by being shaved every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair; but the Women take a Pride in having theirs thick and long, which they wash and dress very frequently. They wash their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that Purpose; after which their Hair hangs dishevel'd in the Wind, till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moist and oily.

Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after washing; but tho' they wash their Bodies more than once in a Day, their Hair is not washed above twice or thrice a Week. They may wash their Hair when they please; but they are obliged to do it on Fridays, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Festivals for the Men.²²

After the Women have washed, rubbed and perfumed, they stretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving so much as one straggling Hair, and tie it behind, in a great Tuft, or Knot, which they enlarge by a Perrivig of Man's Hair made in the Form of a Horse's Tail; nay, some of them have two such Perriwigs: besides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

19. All Maldivian women are decently attired now-a-days.

20. Both Harris and Symson miss the meaning of the French. Pyrard writes:—"et qui vivent avec vne grande regle et police," "and they live under a complete system of law and police."

21. Pyrard:—"Depuis que les enfans sont nez, ils les razent de huit jours en huit jours."

22. Pyrard adds:—"They are not obliged to wash their hair except when they have company, and especially every Friday, which is their Sabbath, and on all the other great feasts; the men on the Fridays, and the women on the great feasts only, and besides then as often as they like or require. (Hak: Soc: Pyrard.)"

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with Jewels, according to their Ability; and some of them wear two of those Locks of false Hair, because they serve to knot their own Hair to, and to swell the Bulk.²³ To all this, they add sweet Flowers, whereof there is Plenty. All this is so curiously order'd, that not one Hair appears out of its Place.

As for the Men, none but Soldiers, the King's Servants, and Gentlemen, are allow'd to wear it long; and those generally have theirs as long as the Women, taking as much Pains to wash, perfume, and dress it [with flowers], as they; with this Difference, that the Men bind their Hair to one Side, or on the very Top of their Head, and not behind like the Women; nor do they ever wear any false Hair; nor are they oblig'd to let their Hair grow long, but may keep it either short or long, as they please.²⁴ When I was there, the King, Princes, and most of the Lords, wore theirs short; and most of those who had it long, when they grew weary of it, or that it would not grow any more, would cut it off close, to give, or sell it to the Women; for there are no Perukes made of any but Men's Hair, because the Women's is never cut off, either alive or dead. Most of those Perukes come from the Continent, as Cochin, Calicut, and the Malabar Coast, where all Men wear long Hair, which they cut off to sell to the Women [and foreigners.] Their Hair grows longer than in Europe, but never curls. They are extraordinary hairy all over the Body, which they value themselves upon, reckoning it a Sign of Strength, but it is not true; and if a Man is not so, they despise him, saying he is more like a Woman.²⁵

There are no Barbers by Profession, and every one trims himself. They have no Combs, but they have Copper and Brass Scissars, Looking-Glasses, and Steel-Razors, ²⁶ not made like ours, which they do not value.

The Men, who all go naked from the Waste upwards, shave some Parts of their Body, and leave the Hair on others [that it looks like a slashed doublet.] The Church-men [*Pandiares, Naibes, Catibes*], and those who have been in Pilgrimage at Mecca, and *Medina talnaby*,²⁷ wear long Beards, and all others short ones,²⁸ shaving just round their Lips, that what they eat or drink may not touch the Hair; which is so odious to them, that I have often seen them give away a Dish of such Provender as they had, to the Birds, or Beasts, because

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As for the Men, none but Gentlemen, and the King's Officers and Soldiers, are allowed to wear long Hair. These, indeed, wash, perfume, and dress their Hair after the same Manner with the Women; excepting that they make the Tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one Side, and they wear no Perriwigs. Their Hair grows much faster than ours, by reason partly of the washing and perfuming, and partly of the excessive Heat which occasions thick and strong Hair; and for the same Reason their Hair is black. They have no Combs but they have Scissers of cast Copper, and copper Looking-Glasses, which they make use of in shaving themselves, with steel Razors made after another Fashion than ours.²⁶

There are no Barbers in the Country, every one therefore shaves himself, excepting the King and some Lords, who are served by Persons that are proud of that Honour, without any Prospect of Gain; so that in all those Islands both Men and Women [after the age of fifteen] are provided with Utensils for shaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair, when it begins to be uneasy to them.

Their Beards are of two Sorts. Ecclesiastical Persons, and those who have performed Pilgrimage to Mecca, wear long Beards, shaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lips, all round their Mouth. The other sort of People have little Beards, without Mustaches, being shaved round the Mouth, and under the Chin. They are very careful in saving the Parings of their Nails, and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-yards, with a little Water; from a Notion, that they being Parts

23. See *Hak : Soc : Pyrard* I, 108 footnote.

24. Maldivians at the present day, from the Sultan downwards, shave the whole head.

25. Pyrard:—"Mais les femmes ne sont pas ainsi velués and elles n'ont du poil qu' aux lieux ordinaires."

26. Pyrard:—"Des ciseaux de cuire et de fonte, et des miroirs aussi de cuire."

27. Arabic, *Medinat-en-Nabi*, the City of the Prophet.

28. "All other people and the commonalty" wore the beard small and pointed, in the Spanish style.

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there happen'd to be a Hair in it, tho' they had no more to eat. They carefully preserve the Parings of their Nails, and Clippings of their Hair, and bury them in their Churchyards²⁹ [with a little water.] Use renders their Skins hard, for they only wet their Faces with cold Water, and trim with Razors which have very little Edge, insomuch that I thought they flead me³⁰ tho' I took care to lather my Face very well [with warm water.]

The Girls wear no Garment 'till the Age of nine or ten Years, but only a Clout reaching from their Waste below their Knees, which they have as soon as they begin to go; but the Boys have none 'till seven Years old, and after they have been circumcis'd. They say it is needless for Girls to wear any Cloaths before that Time, because then their Breasts begin to swell, and then they ought to be cover'd, it being a shameful Thing there to shew them: ³¹ then they let their Hair grow, and adorn it, in order to get Husbands; before which, it is unlawful to make Love to them.

It is time to return to the Islands. The Maldivies are very fertile, producing plenty of Fruit and other Necessaries, for the Support of Life. There grows abundance of Millet, by them call'd *Oura*; ³² and another sort of [small] Grain like it, call'd *Bimby*, ³² differing from the other in that it is black [like turnip seed]: both of them come twice a Year. They make Flower of them, and of it a sort of Hasty-Pudding [*la boüillie*] with Milk, and the Honey of the Coco-Nuts, as also Cakes, and other sorts of Food.

There are several sorts of Roots on which they feed, and among them, one call'd *Itelpoul*, ³³ growing in abundance, without being sow'd; being round, and as big as both a Man's Fists. They grate it on a rough Stone, then lay it [on a cloth] a drying in the Sun; and thus it becomes like a white Starch, and keeps as long as they will, serving to make Hasty-Puddings, and Cakes; being delicate Food, but somewhat heavy in the Stomach, and best eaten new.

There is another sort of very good Roots, call'd *Alos*, ³⁴ but they are sow'd and cultivated; some of them red, like Beete-Roots, others white, like Turneps and thicker, than a Man's Thigh. They are dress'd several ways, and preserv'd with Coco-Nut-Honey, and Sugar, to keep all the Year [for they are ripe only at the end of winter, in September], being a considerable Part of the People's Sustainance.

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of the Body, require Interment as well as the whole: for that Reason many of them chose to be shaved in the Porch of the Temples; for they would not for any thing in the World either trample upon these Excrements, or see them thrown in the Fire.

The Girls have their Heads shaved once a Week, from their Infancy to the eighth Year of their Age, at which time their Hair is suffered to grow to its full Length and Dress; for then is the Season here of looking out for Husbands. Before that Age they have no Cloaths, but only a Cloth that hangs down from the Middle to the Knees; and the Occasion of their being clothed afterwards proceeds from the rising of their Breasts, before which, they are looked upon as Children, and 'tis not allowable to discourse to them of Love Matters. The Cloth hangs down from their Middle to the Knees as soon as they begin to go; but the Boys have none till they are seven Years old and circumcis'd.

In order to give a particular Description of the Maldives, we shall begin with their Fertility. It produces great Plenty of Millet, called there *Pura* ³² and another little Grain called *Brinby*, ³² which resembles Millet, but is black like Rape-seed. These two sorts of Grain they sow, and reap twice a Year. They make a sort of Meal of them, of which they make Pottage, with Milk, Cocoa, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters.

The Country produces likewise several sorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one called *Nellpou*, ³³ which grows wild, being round, and as big as one's two Fists. They bruise it upon a rough Stone, and then expose it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white sort of Meal that eats admirably well in Pottage or Cakes; only it must be very fresh, or it is apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach.

Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is called *Allas*, ³⁴ which must be sown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh. Some of these sorts of Roots are red, and others white. The Inhabitants boil them several Ways, and make them the most of their Food, keeping them for a whole Year, for they come to Maturity only once a Year, viz., in September.

29 Demanding burial equally as the body, being part thereof. (Pyrard).

30. "Sometimes I thought they would rasp all my skin off and tear up my hair by the roots" (*Hak: Soc: Pyrard.*)

31. Pyrard:—"Comme chose qu' ils tiennent à aussi grande honte de montrer, comme icy les parties honteuses."

32. Pyrard: *Oura*, *M. ura*, *Sin. lanahá* (Setaria Italica): Pyrard: *Bimbi*, *M. bimbi*, *Sin. kurakkan* (Cynosurus corocanus) Another millet, *M. kudibai*, *Sin. meneri* (Panicum miliaceum), is also grown in the Southern Atols. Ibn Batuta (at the Maldives mid 14th century) speaks of only one fine grain (*only*), and as grown in the province of *Souwaíd* (Suwádiva).

33. Pyrard: *Itelpoul*, *M. hitala-fu*, *Sin. hiritala* (Dioscorea oppositifolia). Ibn Batuta found this flour, as cooked in coconut water, greatly to his taste.

34. Pyrard, *Allas*; *M. alu*; *Sin. ala*.

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No wheat nor Rice grows there, but they have plenty of the latter brought from the Continent.³⁵ It is cheap, and dress'd several ways, either without, or with, Fish and Flesh [chickens]. It is also dry'd and ground; and of the Flower they make several excellent Dishes, with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and Butter of the Coco-Nuts.

These Islands have great Variety of Plants and Trees, of which many bear Fruit, and others not; and of these they eat the Leaves, which are sweet and delicate: others serve for all Uses.

As for Fruit, there is an infinite Quantity of Pomgranates, Limons, and Oranges; also Bananas, by the Europeans call'd *Indian Figs*,³⁶ and by the Maldivians *Quella*. But no Tree is so beneficial as that of the Coco-Nut, which the Natives call *Roul*,³⁷ and the Fruit of it *Cate*,³⁷ whereof there is greater Plenty in the Maldivies, than in any Part of the World: therefore several Countries are supply'd with it from thence.³⁸

Wood for firing is so plentiful, that it is not sold, but every Man takes what he has Occasion for, there being whole Islands cover'd with it.

Nor is it less wonderful, that amidst this Variety of Fruit, every Parcel of Islands produces something peculiar; so that no one of them can well subsist without the Help of another. Besides, the People themselves have contributed towards making this Commerce necessary; for the several Trades are also distributed into several Parcels of Islands, as the Weavers in one; the Goldsmiths in another; and so the Locksmiths, the Mat-makers, the Potters, the Turners, and the Joiners, each of which live on several Islands.³⁹ But the other Islands partake of them after this Manner: they have Boats with a small Deck, and go about from Island to Island, working and selling their Ware, being sometimes a Year Abroad, before they return Home. They carry with them all their Male Children, from four to five Years of Age, to teach and use them to it; and generally lie, eat, and drink in their Boats.

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They have no Rice³⁵ but what is exported from the Continent. However they have it pretty cheap, and use much thereof, either boiling it with Water or mix'd with Spices, boiled with Milk and Sugar of Cocoas, with Pullets, Fish, or turned into Meal after drying and bruising, and then made into Cakes and Fritters, with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Cocoas.

This Country is likewise furnished with Herbs and Trees, some of which bear Fruit, and others not though the Natives eat their Leaves, they being sweet and well tasted.

As for Fruit, they have infinite Plenty of Citrons, Pomegranates, and Oranges of [*sic*] Bananas, called by the Portugeze *Indian Figs*,³⁶ and by the Maldivians *Quella*, which is a large, delicious, and nourishing Fruit, insomuch that it serves their Children instead of Broth. The most profitable Fruit is the Cocoa, or Indian Fruit, called by them *Coal*,³⁷ which is more plentiful in the Maldives than any other Part of the World; so that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might supply all the Necessaries of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk, and Butter; besides that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, most of their Utensils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves, and Nutshells of this Tree.³⁸

In fine, the whole Country is shaded, and refreshed with Trees, many of which serve for no other Use but burning so that there is no Occasion to buy Fire-wood. Besides that, there are whole Islands covered with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they please.

It is very remarkable, that though all the thirteen *Attollons* are in the same Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce such different Commodities that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one, is scarce in another, or at least, is not so good. This occasions a Necessity of mutual Commerce: and the Inhabitants have likewise so divided themselves, that one Province cannot live without another; for the Weavers repair all to one Island, the Goldsmiths to another, and so on.³⁹ Now to render the Communication easy, these Artificers have little Boats with Cheeks, where they work, sleep, and eat, while they are sailing from one Island to another to vend their Manufactures; and sometimes they are a Year out before they return to their fixed Habitation.

35. "Wheat, which is called *Godam*, and rice, called *Andouc*, do not grow at all: but plenty of rice is brought from the mainland by the merchants, and therefore they use it much, and it is cheap." (*Hak: Soc: Pyrard.*)

36. *Pyrard: figes d' Inde; Portuguese, figos da India; Pyrard, Quella, M. keyo, Sin. kehel, Hind: kela.*

37. *Pyrard: Roul; M. ru, cf: Sin. ruk "tree"; Pyrard, Cale (probably misprint for care), M. karhi.*

38. *Pyrard* descants further on the coconut here, and (more fully) in his *Treatise*.

39. "You would say," comments *Pyrard*, "that God had willed that these people should visit each other, such diversity is there; what is plentiful in one island is rare in another" (*Hak: Soc: Pyrard.*) So is it to this day: *jewellers* at Ribadu and Huladeli (Nilandú Atol); *toddy drawers* at Ullgan, Beramadú, Tiffandú (Tiladumati Atol); *tinkers* at Takanadu (Tiladumati Atol); *mat-weavers* in Huvadú Atol; *cloth-weavers* in Malos-madulu and Huvadú Atols chiefly. Similarly in parts of Ceylon there are villages exclusively occupied by distinct castes.

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As for living Creatures, Hens are so numerous that they cost only the Trouble of taking them, for they are wild; and in the Market they are sold for the Value of a Penny [*vn sol*], as are 36 Eggs; and this is the most common Food, next to Fish. There are also Multitudes of Pigeons, Ducks, Railes, and a Sort of Birds in all Respects like our Sparrow-Hawkes, ⁴⁰ mottled, black and grey, not feeding on Flesh but Fruit, with many other Sorts, all wild.

The Daws are very troublesome to the Natives, being so bold as to go into the Houses to take what they find; and are not frightened tho' there be Men present; insomuch, that at first I thought they had been tame. [They are so numerous as to be beyond counting, and the people do not kill them]. The Bats are big as Crows. The Gnats [Mosquitos] are there very troublesome; for they sting to the Quick, and are as numerous as in any Part of India.

But the greatest Plague, is that of Rats, Dormice, and Pismires, with other Sorts of [animals and] Vermin, which destroy all their Provisions and eatable Commodities; to prevent which, they are oblig'd to build Ware-houses and Granaries, on Piles in the Sea, 200 or 300 Paces from the Shore.

There are no venomous Creatures, besides some Snakes; and in the Sea is a Sort of them very dangerous.⁴¹ There are also Cats, Martins [polecats], and Ferrets; which are all the Animals I observ'd in those Islands; for what others there may be, are brought from Abroad. They have no Beasts of Burden, nor other large Creatures, either wild or tame; for Bulls and Cows have been lately imported, and belong to the King in the Island of *Male*; being considerably multiply'd [to four or five hundred]; because none are ever kill'd above four or five times a Year, when the King has one slaughter'd for some great Entertainment, or else as a Favour to some foreign Ship. The King has likewise some few Sheep. Dogs there are none, and the People abhor them: during my Stay there, two were sent the King as a Present [by the Portuguese] from *Cochin*, and he immediately caus'd them to be drown'd.

The Sea abounds wonderfully in Fish of all Sorts, large and small, because it is calm, and shallow [within the *Atollons*] between the Islands, without any other Secret⁴²; and therefore Fishing is the principal Employment of the Natives, and Fish their chief Food [either fresh or dried]. Besides, they send great Quantities of it away to *Achem* in *Sumatra*, and other Parts. But the Sharks are very mischievous. ⁴³

Harris.

As for Animals, they have prodigious Numbers of wild Pullets, which are sold for a Penny a Piece, and the same Price will fetch three Dozen of Eggs; next to Fish, this is the most of their Food. They have a great Plenty of Wild-Pidgeons, Ducks, Rayls, Birds resembling Sparrow-Hawks,⁴⁰ black and grey Muskets, living not upon Prey, but upon Fruit, etc. As for domestick Fowl they have none.

The Crows are here very troublesome; for they are so numerous and so bold, as to take Things out of their very Houses before the Peoples' Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens; and their Gnats, or *Musketos*, bite more severely than in any other Part of the Indies.

But they are most incommoded by Rats, Dormice, Pismires, and other sorts of Vermin, which over-run all their Houses, and spoil their Grain, Provisions, Fruit, and perishable Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Ware-houses on Piles, or Stakes in the Sea, at the Distance of two or three hundred Paces from the Land; and most of the King's Magazines are built after the same Manner.

They have no poisonous Animals, except Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind frequent the Sea.⁴¹ Cats, Pole-cats, and Ferrits, are likewise found there: but there are no great Beasts, either wild or tame, save a few Sheep, and some three or four hundred Cows and Bulls in the Island of *Male*, which belong to the King, and of which they never eat but on Festival-Days, and solemn Occasions; for these Kine are imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs; nay, they abhor them so much, that when the King of Portugal sent two as a Present to the King, he ordered them to be drowned immediately.

The Sea affords Plenty of all sorts of Fish, especially between the *Attollons*, where the Sea is shallow and calm. The Fishery is the most constant Exercise of the Natives, who feed mostly upon Fish, when fresh, with Rice, or other Meat fried with the Oil of Cocons, or boiled in Salt-water, and dried for keeping. They send every Day Ships loaded with Fish for *Sumatra*, *Achen*, and other Places. Many of the Fishermen have lost Arms and Legs that have been bit off by a sort of great Fish frequent in those Seas. ⁴³

40. *M. dindi-koveli*, the spotted Indian Koil.

41. Two of the sea snakes of their seas, *Hydroplius Spiralis*, (*M. ven-harufa*) and *Pelamis bicolor* (*M. merida*), are specially dreaded by the *Maldive* Islanders.

42. *Sic*. Symons murders *Pyrard*, who has: "outré quelque autre propriété de ce parage," "and for other reasons peculiar to those shores."

43. "Mesmes il s'en fallut fort peu qu'ils ne me desorassent" shudders *Pyrard*.

Symson.

This mighty Plenty makes it very cheap living there ; for 400 Coco-Nuts are sold for a *Larin*, which is worth eight Pence [*sous*], and 500 Bananas for the same Price ; as also at [about] the same Rate they sell 100 large Fishes, or a Dozen of Pullets, or 300 Pounds Weight of Roots ; and so of other Things. Thus Strangers soon grow rich there, the Trade being good, and Provisions cheap ; but the Natives are never rich, being satisfy'd to live at their Ease, without being disturb'd by Avarice or Ambition. **

The chief Island, as I have said, is call'd *Male*, and gives its Name to all the rest ; for the Word *Dives* ** signifies many small Islands together. It is almost in the Middle of all the others, and the Compass of it is about a League and a half. It is the most fruitful of them all, the Place of Resort from all the others, and of Strangers, the Residence of the King and Court, and consequently the most populous ; ** but certainly the most unhealthy, which they say is occasion'd by the Kings having resided there Time out of Mind ; so that many die, and the Island is all full of Graves, whence they fancy the scorching Sun exhales unwholesome Vapours. The Water there is also very bad ; for which Reason it is brought for the King and his Family from another Island, where no Man is bury'd ; and the same is done by all the best of the Inhabitants.

There are no wall'd Towns throughout the Islands, not even in *Male* ; but all that Island is full of scattering Houses, of Nobility, Gentry, and the common Sort, as in the others. However, the Houses are regularly dispos'd in Streets and Quarters.

The Houses of the meaner Sort, are built of Coco-Tree Wood, and cover'd with the Leaves of the same Tree, laid double, one upon another. The great Men build Houses of Stone ** taken out of the Sea, where enough is to be had, of a convenient Length and Thickness. It is smooth, well shap'd, very white, but somewhat hard to work, and loses its Hardness, and turns black, by being long in the Weather and the Rain.

The Manner of taking it out of the Sea, is remarkable. There grows in the Islands a Sort of Tree they call *Candou*, ** as big as our Walnut-Trees, the Leaf like that of the Asp, and as white, but extraordinary soft. It bears no Fruit, and is not [even] fit for Fuel : when dry, it is saw'd out into Boards, which they make Use of as we do of Fir. It is the lightest Wood that can be found. When they have observ'd the Stone they have a Mind to in the Water, they make fast to it a good Cable ; for, as I have before mention'd, both Men and

Harris.

This great Plenty of all Necessaries causes an easy Purchase ; four hundred Cocons cost but a *Larin*, which is Eight-pence ; the same Price will purchase five hundred Bananas, a dozen of Fowls, or three hundred Weight of Roots, or a hundred large Fish, etc. In fine, there is no Part of the Indies where a Stranger can get an Estate so soon as here ; for it lies conveniently for Trade, and requires but an inconsiderable Charge for Maintenance. The Natives, it's true, don't grow rich, and that I take to proceed from their cheap and easy Living, which encourages them to Negligence and Idleness. **

Male, the principal Island, gives Name to all the rest, ** *Dives* signifying a Cluster of little Islands. This Island stands almost in the Middle, and is one League and a half in Circumference : it is the most fertile of them all, the Staple-port and Magazine of all the rest, and the Residence of the King and the Court. By this Means it is better peopled, ** but at the same time, it is not so healthy ; for which the Natives give this Reason, viz., the King and the Court having resided there Time out of Mind, and the Corps of all that died being interred a-part, the whole Surface of the Island becomes a continual Series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Rays of the Sun extract pernicious Vapours ; and accordingly the Water is here so bad, that the King and Persons of great Quality send for Water to other Islands.

In all the Islands, even in *Male* itself, there is no such Thing as enclosed Towns, but the Houses lie scattered here and there ; though not without some Order and Distinction of Streets. The Common-People's Houses are built of Cocoa-wood, and covered with Cocoa-leaves sewed double one within another. Persons of Quality and Fortune have Houses built of Stone ** taken out of, and from under, the Flats and Rocks. This sort of Stone is very smooth and white, and somewhat hard to cut, but when it is wet with Rain, or fresh Water, it loses its Hardness and, at last, becomes all over black.

The Manner of taking them out of the Sea is very remarkable. There grows in that Country a sort of Tree called *Candou*, ** which is as big as our Walnut-Tree, and resembles the Aspin in its shaking Leaves and Whiteness, but is extremely soft, and bears no Fruit, and is not proper for burning ; when it is dry they saw it into Planks like our Fir-Deals. This Wood is lighter than Cork. This premised, we come to shew how they draw out the Stone. Being the expertest Swimmers that can be, they dive under Water, and having pitched upon

44. "So they have a proverb, that they themselves will never get rich, but only the foreigners. In my opinion, it is the easy means of living which renders them indolent and negligent, and this prevents them getting rich. (*Hak : Soc : Pyrard.*)

45. *Divehi-mihun* ("Island men") Maldivians ; *Dives Akuru*, the old written character of the Maldivian Islands.

46. The Census of 1911 made the population of Malé to be 5,236.

47. The use of stone for houses has not survived to any degree : wood, or wattle and daub (with coco-leaf thatch) dwellings are mostly in vogue.

48. *Pyrard : Candou*, *M. kadu* (pronounced *kandu*), *Sin. kenda*. Two kinds ; *mas-kadu*, and *vava-kadu* (lighter). The latter alone is put to the use here mentioned.

Symson.

Women are [half fish and very] excellent Swimmers, and dive in 14 or 15 [15 or 20] Fathom Water, where they will stay a considerable Time, and view the Bottom, sometimes to see whether it be fit to anchor in; and if not, will make fast their Cable to any Rock. When they have pitch'd upon the Stone to be taken up, and fix'd their Cable to it, they take a Piece of that *Candou* Wood, which they make fast to their Cable, directly over the Stone, and then lay over it a Number of other Pieces of the same Wood, as Occasion requires; 'till that, being wonderful light, and floating on the Water, raises the Stone, tho' it weigh an hundred thousand Pounds: which I have often seen done.

The Cannon, Anchors, and other heavy Things belonging to our Ship, were thus weigh'd, in the Sight of all of us, who thought to have given them some Advice; but they knew better than we. In the same Manner I saw them in less than a Fortnight cleanse the Port of *Male*, which was choak'd up with Stones, and they made it safe for Ships to anchor. They either dragg'd the Pieces of Rock ashore by the Help of that Wood, or else convey'd them out into the Deep, where they dropp'd them, cutting those Cables, which are made of the fine Bark of Trees.⁴⁹ When that Wood is much soak'd in the Water, it must be again dry'd in the Sun, or else it will not float.

I will add two other Ways they make Use of the *Candou*-Tree, since I have said so much of it. The one is, that they take five or six large Pieces of Timber, and bind them together; over which they lay Planks of the same Tree very smooth and level, like a Float, enclosing it all about with other Planks, and making Seats. This serves to pass over from one Island to another; and I have been the tenth Person in one of them. They also serve for Fishing, and every Man has one of them, because a single Person can manage it, be the Weather what it will—I mean within the Parcels of Islands and Channels, not out at Sea. There is no Danger of its oversetting; for [that wood always floats and] it is so artificially made, that all is equally pois'd. They call these Floats *Candoupatis*,⁵⁰ from the Tree they are made of.

Another Use of this Tree, is, that rubbing two Pieces of it together, they soon take Fire, and serve those People as Flints and Steels do us.⁵¹

As for Lime, they make it of the Shells they take out of the Sea, and it is very good.

Since I have spoken of the People, I will add a few Words concerning their Language. There are two in Use. The first is peculiar to the *Maldivies*, and very copious. During my five Years Stay there, I learnt it

Harris.

a Stone fit for their Purpose, fasten a great Cable to it; then they take a Piece of the *Candou*-wood, and having bored it, run it along the Cable quite up to the Stone; after this they run on such a Number of Pieces as they have Occasion for, till the light and floating Wood drag up along with it a Stone of 100,000 Pound Weight.

It was by this Contrivance the Natives took up the Cannon and Anchors of our Ship that was cast away; and I was Eye-witness to their clearing, by the same means, in the Space of fifteen Days, the Harbour of *Male*, which was choaked with great Rocks, insomuch that no Ship could come in. When the *Candou*-wood is once soaked in Water, it must be dried in the Sun before it be [again] used; otherwise it will not float.

Upon other Occasions they take five or six large Pieces of Wood, and having ranged them all in a Line, raise Planks on them of the same Wood, to sit upon; and so pass from one Island to another: and it is by this Contrivance they generally manage their Fishery. In the Canals that run between the *Attolons* one Man can work these Instruments of Navigation, though they are not proper for the Sea: for they know how to trim their Deal-seats so well, that there is no fear of over-setting; and if that happens, their Plank will always swim, all the Danger lies in disjoining the Pieces. This sort of Float is called *Candou patis*,⁵⁰ from the Wood of which it consists.

The *Candou*-tree has yet another strange Property, namely, that when one Piece of it is struck against another they will extract Fire; and this serves them in the Place of Tinder-boxes.⁵¹

Our Method directs us, in the next Place, to speak of their Language, which lies in two Channels; the first is the *Maldivan*, properly so called, which is very copious; the second is the *Arabick*, of the same Use as

49. *M. digga wakka*, bark of the *digga* tree.

50. *Pyrard: Candoufatts; M. kadufati.*

51. Only the *mas-kadu* can be thus used; the *vara-kadu* is too soft.

Symson.

as perfect as my Mother-Tongue. The other is the *Arabick*, which they learn as we do Latin, and daily make Use of it in their Prayers. Besides there are the extraordinary Languages of Cambaya, Guzaratte, Malaca, and even the Portuguese, which some learn on Account of the Trade with those Nations. In the Parcel of Islands [*Atollon*] call'd the *Souadou* and the Southern Part of the Maldivies, they have a Dialect hard to be understood, harsh and clownish, but still it is the General Language.⁵²

Harris.

Latin in a Popish Country, being the Language of their devout Addresses. I pass over the Cambaya, Guzaretta, and Portugueze Tongues, which are derived from their Commerce ; and shall only take Notice that, in the Southern Parts they speak a coarse unpolite Language, which, after all, is the common Tongue of these Islands.⁵³

(To be Continued.)

SOME ANCIENT RUINS IN ÚVA.

Communicated by H. C. P. BELL.

THE Province of Úva is virtually an unworked field for archæological research. A certain number of lithic inscriptions have come to light ; but of many others, as well as of numerous ruined ancient Buddhist Temples, both cave and structural, which must still be buried in jungle virtually nothing has been placed on record.

The following Notes on a few sites, albeit admittedly somewhat sketchy, may, therefore, *faute de mieux*, prove of interest, until fuller particulars regarding the antiquities of Úva are published.

No. 1. Maligá-vela.¹

There are some wonderful remains at a place now called "Máligá-vela" about five miles South East of Okkanpitiya, three miles east of the Kumbukan Oya, and ten miles south of the road from Wellawaya to Tuppane. It must have been a celebrated place at one time.

These remains are in the heart of very fine forest. There is a profusion of stone pillars, and walled enclosures ; some walls as much as 4½ feet high standing intact with a fine smooth surface, the stones fitting together to a nicety. All sorts of objects are lying about. The place must have been very extensive.

Specially noteworthy is a colossal figure of Buddha now on its back, and the head broken off but lying in its place. The length of this image from neck to bottom of robe is 31 feet, and 11 feet across and—a single stone :² no rocks near it. The head evidently was part of the same piece.

The figure stood on a pedestal (close to which it lies) which is 15 feet across at top. The stone is circular and all one piece of rock : part broken away and a crack extending to centre aperture. The stone is hollow underneath, and has evidently been explored for treasure.

No. 2. Ul-gala.³

The Ruins of an old Rock Temple I accidentally discovered are situated about a quarter of a mile from Ul-gala, on the western side of the hill near its base.

52. Information regarding the Maldivian language and vocabularies will be found in Pyrard II. (edition 1619. end) ; Christopher, *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. vi. o. s. 1836 ; Gray, *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. x 1878 ; Bell, *The Maldivic Islands*, 1883 ; Geiger, *Maldivische Studien I, II, III*, 1900-02.

1. Extract from letter of Mr. G. A. Baumgartner, Government Agent, Uva Province, dated 20th July, 1897, Sketches of (a) the Buddha, (b) a lotus-pedestal (*mahá-padma*), (c) a conventionalised *makara* balustrade to doorway steps, and (d) moulded coping (plentiful) accompanied the letter.

2. This statue must rank next to the colossal figures at Awkana Viháre (North-Central-Province), 38 ft. 10 in. and Seséruwa Viháre (North-Western Province), 39 ft. 3 in. See *Archæological Survey, Annual Report*, 1895, pp. 6-7, 12-13.

3. Copy of Report by Mr. B. Stork, of the Survey Department, dated March 17th, 1911. Sent to the Archæologica Commissioner by Mr. C. F. Halliley, Superintendent of Surveys.

About four years ago, while engaged in Triangulation, I had occasion to visit the Trigonometrical Station on Ul-gala hill; and as there was no known track to it from the Buttala side, I decided to cut my way through the jungle.

To do this, I set out along the path from Buttala to Kataragama, and, when about three miles from Buttala Rest House, turned into the jungle towards the hill. After about a mile the jungle grew less thick.

On a gradual slope upwards I found several plain stone pillars, squared; some of these were still standing quite erect amongst the forest trees.

About fifty yards to the south of these pillars I came across a flight of steps (partly rock-cut), which led between two large rock boulders, to the entrance of a cave.

The entrance is about 10 feet wide and about as high. On the rock above it there seemed to be an inscription, and a chiselled "drip-line" to carry away the rain water.

Entering the cave the dust on the ground lay about six inches deep, and as soft as the finest toilet-powder: under foot it felt like a costly pile carpet. The still air of the cave was laden with a strong pungent smell. All this was due to swarms of bats, which must have occupied the cave for centuries. Elephants and bears too seem to have been inside the cave.

Lying in the bat-dung dust, I found four images of Buddha, about four feet high, cut out of lime-stone. I started to set these up on their pedestals, and found that the necks of two of the images had been broken.

At the cave, far end, on a dais, was a large recumbent image of Buddha. This image was made of clay and lay on its left side, the head resting in the left hand, with the forearm as a support. It looks down on the temple towards the main entrance.

On the right side of the cave there was only a small portion of a brick wall left, the greater part being in ruins: through it I passed into what might have been the vestibule of the southern entrance.

Some 20 yards from this entrance there is a small pool of crystal-clear water, hidden under an overhanging rock: although the water was flush with the brim, there was no overflow; nor did the removal of three or four large bucketfuls make any appreciable difference. There was no other water anywhere near this spot; and the animals in the jungle seemed aware of the never-failing supply under the rock, for I found tracks of deer, leopards and bears near it.

Centuries ago this little rock basin of sweet water must have supplied the Cave Temple, which now lies hidden and unknown in the solitary forest.

No. 3. Buduruwá-gala.⁵

A

On being informed that there were some ancient shrines close to the village Medagoda in Kandapala Kóralé of Wellawaya in the District of Úva, I (A. M. Pulle, Dispenser of Kaharagalla Estate), and some others, wended our way to the site called "Buduruwá-gala" on the full-moon day, September 18th, 1910.

There is a rock, about 200 feet long and 36 feet high, on the east face of which are to be seen a rock-cut figure of Buddha, 18 cubits long, and images of Vishnu, Kataragama, Saman Deviyó, and another god; also of King Vessantara, with his queen, and faint traces of the faces of his two children: also weathered frescoes showing how children made food offerings.

B⁶

In company with eighteen other persons, who are well acquainted with the rock in question, I proceeded to Buduruwá-gala and inspected the rock.

It stands in the midst of thick forest close to Medagoda in Gampaha Wasama of Kandapala Kóralé, six or seven miles from the 127th mile post on the Koslanda-Wellawaya cart road in the direction of Telulla, and about 8 miles from Wellawaya Rest House.

The place can be reached by going along the dry bed of the stream called Gal-mqtara from Wellawaya side.

The rock faces the east, and that part of it has a flat surface on which seven images are carved: the other three sides of it slope down to the ground. One can reach the top easily. According to tape measurement its length is 305 feet, and the height at the highest point 70 feet.

The dimensions and appellations, of the images in order, are as follows:—

(i). Supposed to be that of the Bráhmín Juthaka; 20' 3" × 5' 9". The lower portion of this image from the hip downwards has not been completed.

(ii). Supposed to be that of King Vessantara; 24' 0" × 7' 7". The mortar work is still in sound state—except a small portion which has been separated from above the abdomen.

(iii). Supposed to be that of Mádíri Lévi, Queen of King Vessantara; is 21' 8" × 6'.

These three images are on the left side of the rock, and have reference to incidents in *Vessantara Játaka*.

4. Very unusual, if on the left side and left hand.

5.—Translation of a communication by Mr. D. W. Perera published in *Sinhala Bauddhaya*, November, 1910. Forwarded by the Archaeological Commissioner, to the Government Agent, Province of Úva, a Report, (No. 333, May 9th, 1911, copy of which appears below), was obtained from the Ratemshatmaya of Wellawaya.

(iv). This is the largest image, as it is that of the Buddha: it measures 42' 8" x 16' 3." The nose is broken off—from a gun shot discharged, it is said, by a Portuguese soldier.

(v). Supposed to be that of Kataragama Deviyó; 20' x 7' 10". The lower portion of this image too has not been finished.

(vi). Supposed to be that of Mahá Vishnu; 23' 6" x 8'.

(vii). Supposed to be that of Saman Deviyó; 19' 7" x 6' 9".

The faint faces of the children referred to in the translated extract are not visible.

There is a small cutting on the rock to the right of the image of Buddha on the same level with its feet.

Crevices in the rocks above the images show that a roof existed in old days.

The existence of these ruins is well known to most of the elderly people of that part of the Division. It is not visited by pilgrims now-a-days owing to the distance and natural impediments.

My companions availed themselves of the opportunity to give practical proof of reverence for this ancient place of worship, by clearing the jungle near it, and offering flowers and lights.

No. 4. Maligá-tenna.⁵

From Buduruwá-gala we next proceeded to "Maligá-tenna" (where other ancient ruins were reported) in Yalabowa of Wellawaya Kóralé, taking the Wellawaya-Telulla cart road, in the midst of thick forest. This is about 2½ miles from Buduruwá-gala, and is about 4 miles from Watta, or Anda-wala-yáya, in Telulla Wasama.

The following were noted:—

(i). Stone-paved cistern; measurements: length 12' 10," breadth 8' 3½", height 8' 4".

(ii). Ruined dágaba; 40 feet in height by 160 feet in circumference. Trees are growing in the ancient brickwork. A hollow in the top of the dágaba indicated that it had been dug for treasure.

(iii). Thirty-six pillars of squared stone; some lying on the ground, some slanting, and others standing erect. Their height varies from 5 feet to 10½ feet, the girth from 3 feet to 3½ feet.

These are probably the sites of ancient *Viháres* or *Pansalas*.

We had to clear the jungle to reach this as well as the other spots referred to in this Report.

No. 5. Gala-meda-gaia.

From this place we next proceeded to Gala-meda-gala, which we reached at about 6 p.m., and there spent the night.

There are two rock caves, and a hollow on the top of the rock containing water.

No. 6. Riti-wellana-gala.

Just below this there is another Rock (with cave) called "Riti-wellana-gala" with suitable arrangements to prevent water getting into the cave. Evidently it must have been the abode of somebody in those days. It is near Buduruwá-gala.

No. 7. Gal-budun-tenna.

A⁵

About four miles from this Rock there are (a) a sixteen-pillared *mandapa*, (b) two broken images of Buddha, (c) an eight-pillared *mala-sun-gé* (shrine where flowers are offered), (d) a *dharmma-sála* (preaching hall), (e) a dágaba (breached by treasure hunters), (f) other structures, (g) steps leading to the ancient lake (similar to those leading to the river at the Kelani Viháre, Colombo), and (h) some more stone pillars.

No inscription was found.

Further there were also (i) a small engraved mortar, (j) another large one sculptured on an extensive rock, and (k) a basin (cut on a slab) used for sprinkling water on flowers that are to be offered.

Trees of 6 ft. to 7 ft. in diameter have grown up on these buildings which prove that they were erected during the time of ancient kings.

B⁶

On the following morning we proceeded to "Gal-budun-tenna" which is about 4 miles from the 127th mile post on the Koslanda-Wellawaya road. There we found

(i) Six sites of ancient buildings of which the stone pillars, and in some cases flights of some steps and stone gates in ruins, are the only remains.

(ii) Two stone statues of Buddha at one of these sites; respectively 5 feet in height and 1' 3" across the chest; and 8' 3" in height and 2' 2" across. One of the images lies on the floor with the head separated the feet of the other are detached.

(iii) A dágaba in ruins, 40 feet in height.

(iv) A stone tablet, evidently a *malporuwa*, or receptacle of flowers, 8' 3" x 3' and resting on four stone supports, is also to be seen here.

- (v) The stone mortar and the engraved basin cut on a rock alluded to in the translation (A) exist.
 (vi) There is also something cut from stone which may be a lamp.

Nos. 8, 9, 10. Other Ruins.⁶

(i) A ruined *dágaba* called "Kinkini Vehera" stands between the 46th and 47th mile stones on the Wellawaya-Telulla road in the direction of "Máligá-tenna," about 4 miles on this side of it. Being in close proximity to the road it is occasionally visited by pilgrims.

(ii) The ruins of small *dágaba* called "Malattewela *Dágaba*" exist in the midst of the forest, about one mile from the 130th mile post on the Koslanda-Wellawaya road towards Gal-budun-tenna.

(iii) A ruined anicut at Nikapitiya in Gampaha wasama is said to have been fed by Diyaluna-Oya to supply water to the places referred to above. Remains of an ancient *ela* are traceable from the said anicut.

The above are the only ruins, the existence of which was brought to my notice, and which I could trace. There may be ruins of other ancient places hidden in the dense forest, the existence of which is not known to any of the villagers.

6.—Report by J. C. Lankatilaka, R. M., of Wellawaya.



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