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Cover design by Stanley Kirinde

The Sanskrit word *bhujāṅga* is a synonym for *nāga*, the motif on the cover. It is interesting to note that this particular term had been chosen to convey the meaning of "scholar", in ancient Java. The Old-Javanese word *bhujāṅga* "apparently denoted in ancient times in the kingdom of Majapahit a learned man belonging to the clerical order, a more or less official scholar who performed a spiritual and, occasionally at least, a political function."

தேசிய நூலகப் பிரிவு
மாநகர நூலக சென்னை
மாநில நூலகம்

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CONTENTS

	Page
Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679 : A Bio-Bibliographical Commentary <i>H. A. I. Goonetilleke</i>	81
Notes on the Concept of the Will in Buddhism <i>Bruce Matthews</i>	152

சென்னை நூலகம்
சென்னை நூலகம்
சென்னை நூலகம்

2408 (P) C.C

Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679.

A Bio-Bibliographical Commentary

INTRODUCTION

“Ah, next I think
Upon the merchant captain, stout of heart
To dare and to endure. “Robert”, saith he
(The navigator Knox to his manful son)
“I sit a captive from the ship detained;
This heathenry doth let thee visit her.
Remember, son, if thou, alas! shouldst fail
To ransom thy poor father, they are free
As yet, the mariners; have wives at home,
As I have; ay, and liberty is sweet,
To all men. For the ship, she is not ours,
Therefore, ‘beseech thee, son, lay on the mate
This my command, to leave me, and set sail.
As for thyself—”. “Good Father”, saith the son,
“I will not, father, ask your blessing now,
Because, for fair, or else for evil, fate
We two shall meet again”. And so they did.
The dusky men, peeling off cinnamon,
And beating nutmeg clusters from the tree
Ransom and bribe contemned. The good ship sailed,—
The son returned to share his father’s cell”

—**Gladys and her island.** Jean Ingelow
(1820-1897). Donald Ferguson dedicated his
Captain Robert Knox (1896-97) to her memory.
see notes to no. 51.

“I have writ nothing but either what I am assured of by my own
personal knowledge to be true, and wherein I have born a great and sad
share, or what I have received from the Inhabitants themselves of such
things as are commonly known to be true among them”—*Robert Knox*.
“The Epistle Dedicatory”, March 18, 1681.

Robert Knox, staid and puritanical gentleman-at-large, for over nineteen
years, in the Kandyan Kingdom of the redoubtable Raja Sinha II, and, if not the
most illustrious, certainly the most forthcoming Anglo-Saxon *detenu* in the
modern history of Asia, is, perhaps, the best-known Englishman to visit Sri Lanka.
Despite deep-seated prejudices and an artless naivete, he was, nevertheless, the
most sympathetic and percipient observer of traditional Sinhalese society, at a
time when its structure and forms were still alive and pulsating. Even now,
when that culture is in transition and lies desolate before the onslaught of new
materialist patterns and political and economic forces, released in the nine-
teenth century, the value of his report is inescapable. Age has not withered
nor custom staled the infinite variety and charm of his famous book published
in 1681, which Sir Christopher Wren praised for its “great Truth and Integrity”.

Robert Knox was born in London on 8th February, 1641, the son of a seafaring Englishman, *Captain Robert Knox*, and a God-fearing and extraordinarily pious mother, Abigail Knox, nee Bonnell. He had an elder sister, Abigail, and a younger brother, James. At the age of 14 he went to sea for the first time on his father's new ship, the *Ann*, trading along the Indian coast. He returned to London in 1657, to find his mother had died the previous year. He had already taken to the sea as a calling, despite his father's early protestations, and the refitted *Ann*, under the colours now of the English East India Company, sailed on 21st January, 1658, on "that fatall voiage in which", says Knox in his autobiography, "I lost my father & myselfe & the prime of my time for buisness & preferment for 23 years tell Anno 1680." (*A Historical Relation of Ceylon*...ed. by James Ryan, 1911. p. xxxvi) On the conclusion of this trading venture in India which lasted for over a year, the *Ann*, preparing to return, was severely damaged and dismasted in a cyclone off the coast of South India at Masulipatam on 19th November, 1659. Repairs could only be effected on the tree-studded East Coast of Sri Lanka whither the *Ann* limped. During their stay of between three to four months in Kottiyar Bay, Knox, his father, and sixteen members of the crew were taken prisoner by the King's men in April 1660 and removed to Kandy. How he employed his time during a lonesome and dragging confinement of nineteen and a half years, with fortitude, resource and exemplary self-discipline, is now a celebrated scenario, and needs no embellishment here. His beloved father and pilot of his life died on 9th February 1661, and Knox, then only twenty, remained for another eighteen years, living in four different villages close to Kandy before escaping from the last, Eladetta, on 22nd September 1679 and into the hands of the Dutch on 18th October, 1679 at the coastal fort of Arippe. He was taken from Colombo to Batavia arriving on the 15th January, 1680, and started his homeward voyage from Bantam on the *Caesar*, arriving in England in September 1680, almost 23 years after leaving on that ill-fated expedition with his father.

He had begun to write his "Booke" on that voyage home from Bantam, and gives the reasons for desiring to set down the record of his wondrous excursion into the interior landscape of Sinhalese society, in his autobiography. "3 reasons Induced mee so to doe: first to record God's great mercies in so plentifully sustaining me in the land of myne enimies in despite of those who boath invied & hated me & sent to mee thare his most sacred word the wholy Bible in my owne native language even whare the name of the true God is not known, & after a Detainement of 19 yeares 6 months & 14 days his providence so disposed of & directed mee to escape thence with the first & conducted me safe whome to my Native Country, all the perticulars thareof ought to be remembred by me to my lives end, for he hath fulfilled to me his promise;... Secondly: that after my death if had died by the way my Relations might know what became of my Father (& how & after what manner the Almighty had dealt with mee) which I could not but thinke they would be glad to be informed of. Thirdly to exercise my hand to wright for in all the time of my Captivity, I had neither pen Inke nor paper & now as a man new borne I came into the world, so made it part of my buisnesse to learne to write & for the afforesaid reasons, thought this would be a fitt subject to employ my pen one, but then intended it noe further" (*ibid* p. xxix-xxx). Modest and discreet to a fault, and also conscious of his lack of learning, publication was furthest from Knox's mind and great persuasion had to be used, as Robert Hooke, his devoted friend, for over twenty years, describes in his revealing and affectionate Preface. "Twas not I confess without the earnest Solicitations and Endeavours of my self, and some others of his friends obtain'd from him, but this uneasiness with it was not for want of Generosity and Freedom enough in Communicating

whatever he knew or had observed, but from that usual Prejudice of Modesty, and too mean an Opinion of his own Knowledge and Abilities of doing anything should be worthy the view of the Publick" (*ibid.* p. xlv). And "this", in Knox's own words" is the true cause how my Scribled papers came to be published in print which at the wrighting heere of I never thought worthy troubling the world with" (*ibid.* p. xxxi).

The first and most renowned book on Sri Lanka in the English language was duly published in August 1681, and became an instant success in Knox's lifetime, and plans for a second enlarged edition were afoot a few years before Knox died at the ripe old age of nearly eighty on 19th June 1720. His long and extraordinary captivity in Sri Lanka did not deter him, at the age of forty, from undertaking at least five more voyages to the East in the service of the East India Company, in which showing the flag, commerce, slave trading and congenial exploits of piracy and plunder were natural concomitants of the expansion of European dominance in Asia and Africa. In the rise of capitalism at home or abroad, religion, however Puritanical, provided little curb and less guidance, and Knox's own moral scruples and religious values offered apparently no resistance to the staple patterns of his profession. He concluded his last voyage when he was almost sixty years of age, and for the next twenty years till his death settled in Wimbledon, writing and ruminating on a life over which he had no reason to doubt the benisons of his God had been liberally bestowed. But his grand encounter with the island of Sri Lanka and its people remained the highwater mark of his career and imagination, and the growing interest in his book was to sustain his waning years. In 1708 he is purring in his autobiography, "my booke of Ceylon hath found such acceptance of this present generation that all the bookes that were printed are bought up & many more would have bin bought if were to be had" (*ibid.* p. 412). He lived long enough to bask in the well-deserved popularity of his book, "it being ye the onely thing will keepe my name in memory in ye world" (Letter to John Strype. 5 Oct. 1713. *Captain Robert Knox*; by D. W. Ferguson 1896-97 p. 53). This astonishingly accurate prediction is the major provocation for this contribution to Knoxiana, and represents the compiler's humble tribute to the memory of an unpretentious and resourceful Englishman whose work looms large in the narrow field of Sri Lanka bibliography, no less than in the larger world of scholarship on Sri Lanka.

Knox's book must have appealed instantly to a reading public not yet sated by the flood of literature in the burgeoning field of voyages and travels, which the era of maritime discovery in the 16th and 17th centuries had stimulated. "Charmed magic casements" opening on to islands of perpetual summer were greedily sought after, and Knox's narrative must have held its own among them. They provided, in the absence as yet of the novel, an exciting blend of fictional exhilaration, poetic fancy, and romantic imagination, laced by descriptions of exotic lands and their author's adventures in them. All kinds of readers were catered for, and in Hooke's words again in his Preface, "He has in this History given you a taste of his Observations. In which most Readers, though of very differing Gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The Statesman, Divine, Physitian, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may select something for their Entertainment. The Philosopher and Historian much more. I believe at least all that love Truth will be pleas'd,..." (*A Historical Relation of Ceylon*...ed. by James Ryan, 1911. pp. xlv-xlvii).

Knox's book, also, appeared almost at the high tide in Puritan taste, marked by the publication of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, of which the first part had appeared in 1678, and the second in 1684. There were 25 editions of the first part by 1738 and 15 of the second by 1732. Bunyan became as indispensable in every English home, however poor, as the Authorised Version of *The Bible*. The earliest contacts with culture were through *Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Bible*, *Paradise Lost*, and Defoe's novels, especially *Robinson Crusoe*. They figured in the reading of nearly every self-educated man, and, besides entertaining, had the capacity to enlighten and elevate the mind. They were the inevitable books on the tiny bookshelf of the decent working man for almost a couple of centuries. Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon in the East Indies* was in direct line of literary succession on many counts, not the least of them being the strong strain of Protestant devotion which impregnates his text, and the flavour and style of the Bible which influence his narrative method at every turn. The overwhelming piety learned at his mother's knee and his ingrained Puritan equipment kept temptation at bay during his long and tedious incarceration in a society, not distinguished for its overly strait-laced and inflexible sexual mores. Knox's adventure was evidently right down Defoe's street of fiction, fuelled as his imagination was by exploits of travel in far-flung lands. He certainly bought and read Knox, may indeed have known him (though Knox's tight-lipped correspondence does not mention Defoe), and quite clearly modelled *Robinson Crusoe* on him. *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1719, a year before Knox died, *Captain Singleton*, in which Knox's tale was digested, and the intrepid pirate even cast ashore on the island, in the next year. The debt of Defoe to his fellow-Englishman has been well described and analysed in the contributions of A. W. Secord and E. F. C. Ludowyk. Striking testimony to the popularity of Knox's book in his life-time is also provided by the fact that French, German and Dutch translations had appeared in little more than a decade after 1681, and John Harris had immortalised him already in the first edition of his monumental compilation of travels *Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca* in 1705. French and German epitomes had begun to appear not long after Knox's death.

It is fascinating to chart the sustained interest in Knox's work in his life-time and after, and the continuing influence he was to have on writers after Defoe, though in a different way altogether. Beginning with British designs on the island, and its eventual capture and complete subjugation in 1815, future overlords and later compatriots were introduced to a people and country little known, through the work of Knox, and relied for their information and insights on his memorable summation of the Sinhalese ethos and character, and his equally impressive and living picture of their daily life and occupations. Beginning with soldiers like Robert Percival in 1803, prelates like James Cordiner in 1807, scientists like John Davy in 1821, and missionaries like William Martin Harward in the same year, the relation of Knox began to be pillaged in the attempt to furnish nineteenth-century readers of all sorts with delineations of the new jewel in the expanding crown of Empire. The process continued throughout the century in later writings and compilations of authors like Jonathan Forbes (1841), Henry Marshall (1846) Charles Pridham (1849), Henry Charles Sirr (1850), George Barrow (1857) and the imperious James Emerson Tennent (1859). There were lesser writers too, who must have been subconsciously influenced by their reading of Knox. Authors, after 1817, were greatly assisted by the first English reprint of the complete text of Knox by 'Philaethes' (i.e. the Rev. Robert Fellowes) in that year. The last decade of the century was

marked by the indefatigable and dedicated researches of the learned Donald William Ferguson in uncovering by dint of patient investigation hitherto unknown details of Knox's life and career, culminating in his *Captain Robert Knox...Contributions to a biography* (1896-97). This set the stage for the 'discovery' of his long-lost manuscript autobiography in the Bodleian Library in 1900, and the inter-leaved copy of the book with Knox's additional notes for a second edition, in the British Museum Library in 1925. The first was edited and published in 1911 thus providing students of Knox with an invaluable new source in interpreting the man and shedding fresh light on his book, the full text of which was also reprinted for the second time only since 1681. The publication of the second by the Hakluyt Society, announced in 1955, is likely to set the seal of final approbation on this remarkable book, first recommended so warmly, and with intelligence by two such great contemporaries of Knox as Sir Christopher Wren and Dr. Robert Hooke. One must not fail to mention that contemporary anthropologists surveying peasant locale and rural organisation in the interior of Sri Lanka fall back on Knox's account as a periscope in their researches—while modern historians, examining the tides of history in the mediaeval period of the island's story, especially after the coming of the Dutch, still depend on his relation as a guide and outline.

This bio-bibliographical commentary on Robert Knox and his "Booke" is designed to present all the information of any substance and value in a form useful to students of the man and his writings. The copious and detailed annotations are intended to supply the relevant bibliographical, critical and historical comments, and this introduction is, therefore, in the nature only of a brief prologue or curtain-raiser. The bibliography is arranged in two main sections: (A) Editions, Manuscripts, Translations, Versions, Epitomes and Digests; and (B) Criticism: The Man and His Book. The first part, arranged in chronological order, further separates editions, manuscripts and translations, from versions, epitomes, and digests. The section of criticism which contains a comprehensive listing of writings on Knox and the character and impact of his book is arranged in alphabetical order of authors. Full and exact transcriptions of the title-pages of the leading editions of Knox are provided, and the bibliographical description is as complete as the design of the work required. The seven illustrations are designed to convey the character and style of the early editions and translations of Knox's book in his lifetime, and I am grateful to Nihal Fernando for taking the photographs with his customary skill and generosity.

It remains to point out that in my bibliographical explorations into the literature on Sri Lanka in the last twenty-five years, Knox's *Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* has occupied a leading place in my affections, an interest first kindled as a boy on coming across it, at the age of seven, in my father's library. A recent re-reading of Donald Ferguson's inspiring story of his single-minded espionage into the hidden details of this sober, sedate and solitary sea-captain's life sparked off the idea of this work. It is dedicated to the memory of Arthur Molamure, friend and fellow-*aficionado*, who first opened my eyes to the meaning and beauty in the surviving vestiges of Kandy art, custom and ceremony. Knox's book is likely to remain a perennial favourite and an ever-green item in Ceyloniana as long as the printed word retains its dominant place, and this commentary sets out to document its history and fix its position up to now.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A : (a) EDITIONS, MANUSCRIPTS and TRANSLATIONS

(in chronological order)

1. KNOX, Robert *An Historical Relation of the Island CEYLON, in the EAST-INDIES: TOGETHER, With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other Englishmen now Living there, and of the AUTHOR'S Miraculous ESCAPE.* Illustrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND. By ROBERT KNOX, a Captive there near Twenty Years. London, Printed by Richard Chiswell, Printer to the ROYAL SOCIETY, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1681. [24], 189 [3] p., 17 copper plate engravings on 15 plates, fold. map. folio (30 x 15 cms.).

The first unnumbered page contains the title-page of this, perhaps, the most celebrated book in the English language on Ceylon,* and certainly the most highly prized item in the antiquarian literature on the island in any Western tongue. The 2nd and 3rd pages are blank, the 4th contains the Imprimatur of the Court of Committees for the East India Company given on the 10th August, 1681 under the hand of Robert Blackbourne, Secretary, and the Recommendation by Christopher Wren, President of the Royal Society, to Richard Chiswell, the printer, dated August 8th, 1681; the 5th and 6th pages contain the Epistle Dedicatory of Robert Knox "To the Right Worshipful the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and Four and Twenty Committees of the Honourable the East-India Company, viz. Sir Josiah Child Baronet, Governor...", dated London, 1st August 1681; pp. 7-12 contain "The Preface" by Robert Hooke, dated August 1, 1681; pp. 13 and 14, the Epistle Dedicatory "To the Right Worshipful Sir William Thomson Knight, Governor, Thomas Papillon, Esquire, Deputy and the 24 Committees of the Honorable East India Company hereunder specified, viz. ... "dated London, 18th March, 1680/81. The contents are laid out on pp. 15-23, and p. 24 contains a list of "Errata. Besides divers Mispointings, and other Literal Mistakes of smaller moment, these are to be amended". Knox's text begins on the first numbered page, and is arranged in four parts. Pt. I consists of 7 chapters; Pt. II of 7 chapters; Pt. III of 11 chapters; and Pt. IV of 14 chapters. The text ends on p. 189, and the obverse is blank. The two remaining unnumbered pages consist of a list of "Books printed for, and sold by Richard Chiswel" (*sic*). The elaborate folding map faces p. 1 of the text, and is titled "A NEW MAP of the Kingdom of CANDY UDA. in the island of CEYLON".

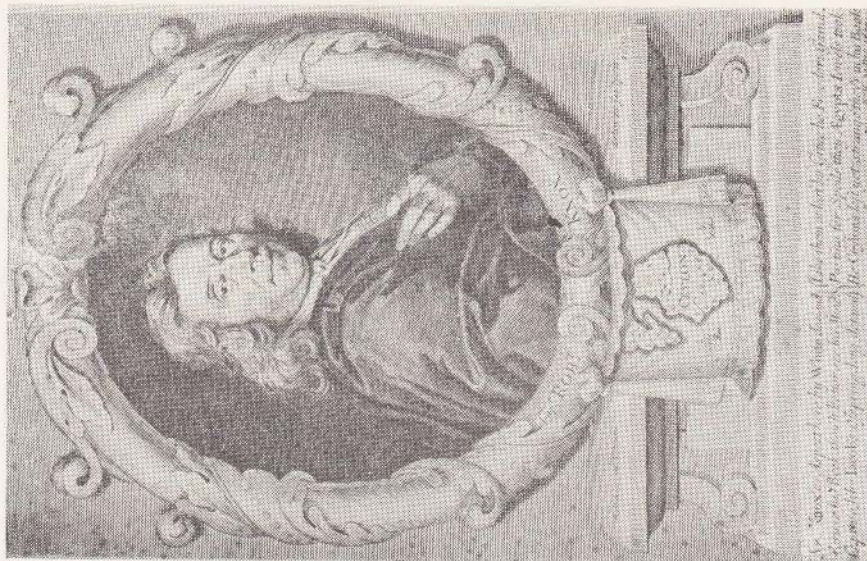
* Since the text is intimately concerned with the island of "Ceylon", as it was then known, I have retained this use in my commentary.

The portrait of Knox by Richard White engraved by White in 1695 for a projected second edition is sometimes found bound up with copies of the first edition. The 7 chapters of Pt. I occupy pp. 1-32; the 7 chapters of Pt. II, pp. 33-60; the 11 chapters of Pt. III, pp. 61-116; and the 14 chapters of Pt. IV, pp. 117-189. There are some mistakes in pagination: p. 40 is numbered "39", pp. 49 and 50 are numbered "39" and "40" respectively, and pp. 55 and 56 are numbered "45" and "46" respectively. It is probable that this was corrected in later copies, the methods of printing at this time offering ample scope for correcting the printed text at various stages. There are running headlines: "An Historical Relation of Ceilon," on the verso, and "An Island in the East-Indies" on the recto pages. The only printer's ornament is a single decorative capital "H" at the beginning of Ch 1 on p. 1. The whole book is a good example of severe, chaste and strait-laced typography, common at the time, but in keeping too with the sobriety of the author, to whom frills and furbelows must have been anathema. The pagination is in Arabic numerals.

The 17 illustrations are from copper-plate engravings, and though not great examples of artistic draughtsmanship, the drawings in their spare and solid dignity successfully match the austere and unadorned letter-press, and the homespun and unpretentious style of the narrative. They are in order: "The Manner of their Ploughing", and "The Manner of Smoothing their Feilds" facing p. 10; "The Manner of treading out their Rice" facing p. 11; "The manner of their Sheltring themselves from the Raine by the Tolipat leafe" facing p. 15; "An Execution by an Eliphant" facing p. 22; "A Wanderow" and "A Rillow" facing p. 26; "Their manner of Fishing" facing p. 28; "Rajah Singh the King of Ceylon" facing p. 33; "One Impaled on a Stake" facing p. 39; "A Vadda or Wild Man" facing p. 61; "A Tirinanxy or Chief Preist" facing p. 74; "The Manner of their Eating and Drinking" facing p. 87; "A Noble Man" facing p. 89; "A Gentlewoman" facing p. 90; "The manner of Extorting their Fine" facing p. 105; and, "The manner of burning their Dead" facing p. 116. Plates 1 and 5 have two engravings on each page, placed horizontally, the rest are devoted to a single subject placed vertically. The positioning of the illustrations in the text is indicated at the extreme right-hand top corner of each plate (eg. "p. 10"). The drawings are unsigned and the name of the artist is unknown. That they are not the work of Knox is clear from his attempts at sketching, in the inter-leaved copy in the British Museum Library. It is curious that, considering their number and seeming veracity

and deceptive accuracy of delineation, neither Knox nor Hooke mention the name of the artist in the Epistles Dedicatory or Preface, or anywhere else in their writings. Donald Ferguson conjectured, without any proof, that it may have been his younger brother James Knox, an artist, who died on 23 March 1681, about six months after his brother returned to England (*Captain Robert Knox* (1896-97) pp. 26 and 28). The "Graver" mentioned in Knox's second Epistle Dedicatory may well have been Chiswell's house artist-draughtsman, who followed the author's word pictures as faithfully as he could. There is no evidence that Knox personally stood over the artist's drawing board. Not having seen his subjects, the artist, however praiseworthy, and sometimes delightful his drawings, failed to do justice to Knox's instructions, and while the animals are near caricatures the human subjects are obviously based on more familiar European models. The aboriginal "Vadda or Wild Man", for example, is almost a pantomime figure of a be-whiskered seventeenth century aristocrat in a state of near-nudity, sporting a top-knot and an enormous pipe, clutching a stage bow and arrow gingerly in his right hand, standing at ease in front of a miniscule lean-to. These illustrations were imitated, adapted, or elaborated upon in later editions and translations of Knox, until James Ryan reproduced them faithfully in the 1911 edition.

One of the chief glories of the book is the map, and its publication, with its detailed picture of the central highlands, was a notable break-through in Ceylon cartography up to that time. In his treatment of the coastal areas, however, Knox depended heavily on Baldaeus's map (1672), going to the point of even reproducing the general decoration and the cartouche framing the title. But Knox was a pioneer in laying bare the inner core of the country, which the Dutch had failed as yet to capture even cartographically. R. L. Brohier and J. H. O. Paulusz in their *Land, maps and surveys*, Vol. 2 (Colombo, 1951) comment on it as follows: "The maps of Jansson (1657), Baldaeus (1672) and Visscher (1680) record steady advances in knowledge. But it was the publication of Knox's "Historical Relation" in 1681 with its full account of the central highlands that transformed the cartography of Ceylon; albeit, in his treatment of the seaboard, Knox was content to base himself on the map of Baldaeus even to [the] extent of copying the general decoration and the cartouche in which the title is enclosed" (p. 14). The details of the decoration are as follows: On left of cartouche, at top left-hand corner of map, a bare-waisted man carrying two bundles of cinnamon sticks pingo-wise on right shoulder; on right, a well-dressed man



Portrait of Knox engraved by White (1695)

<p>AN Historical Relation Of the Island CEYLON, IN THE EAST-INDIES: TOGETHER, With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other <i>Englishmen</i> now Living there; and of the Author's Miraculous ESCAPE.</p>	<p>Illustrated with Figures; and a Map of the ISLAND.</p>
<p>By <i>ROBERT KNOX</i>, a Captive there near Twenty Years.</p>	<p>LONDON, Printed by <i>Richard Chiswell</i>, Printer to the ROYAL SOCIETY, at the <i>Rose and Crown</i> in <i>St. Paul's Church-yard</i>, 1681.</p>

Title-page of first edition (1681)

(merchant?) standing with sword in left hand, and a naked boy clambering on cartouche with two bundles of cinnamon. Elephant in background with raised tusks and curled trunk. Bound bales on ground. At right-hand bottom corner of map, drawing of two naked boys, one with a pair of dividers plotting on a sheet, with a rolled-up sheet of paper on left. The scales are given in English and French; Spanish; and Dutch miles respectively. The boundaries of the Kandyan Kingdom, the Tamil Wanni area, and the Dutch occupied territorial limits are indicated, as well as the places where watches were kept. The route followed by Knox and Stephen Rutland, in their flight from Eladetta to Arippu is given as "The way of the Authers escape".

Knox escaped to the Dutch at Arippu on the 18th October 1679 after 19 years 6 months and 14 days of captivity, beginning his flight to freedom from Eladetta on the 22nd September 1679. He sailed from Colombo on 24th November 1679 and arrived in Batavia on 15th January, 1680. He left Bantam on 24th February 1680 in the ship *Caesar* and arrived in England apparently on the 6th September 1680. The statement in the introductory pages of his autobiography, "In my passage to England from Bantam, in Anno 1679 I wrote this Booke," (*A Historical Relation of Ceylon...* ed. by James Ryan. 1911. p. xxx) is inaccurate, and a 16-year delay in putting down the record may have played tricks with his memory. But it is quite clear that he began to fashion his remarkable tale on this voyage back to his country which he had left on that ill-fated journey in the *Ann* nearly 23 years earlier. The book was published within a year of his return, in August 1681; and it is not absolutely certain whether Knox had already left as Captain of the *Tonquin Merchant* for the Far East, before its publication, or very soon after. Early in 1681 the Court of Committees of the East India Company had evinced keen interest in his papers, and recommended their publication, "and by the assistance of my Cousen John Strype a Minister who composed it into heads and Chapters for my papers were promiscuous and out of forme with several enlargements one such heads as I had but touched briefly which then my memory was fit to doe haveing the very Idea or representation of what I wrote so perfectly in my mind, by my longe detainment and conversation thare as if they had bin visible to my sight and so it came to the booke you see (*ibid.* p xxx). Apart from the valuable assistance of his cousin Strype, to whom he was quite obviously deeply attached to judge from the correspondence over many years, he was also greatly indebted to that remarkable man Robert Hooke (1635-1703), who, as Secretary to the Royal Society from 1677-1682, interviewed Knox soon after his arrival in

London, and became interested in the manuscript of his remarkable adventure in Ceylon. His continuing interest in the publication of the work culminated in the affectionate and laudatory Preface to the book. It is very probable that Hooke edited the whole work prior to printing, correcting the spelling and polishing the language, for to judge by Knox's letters and manuscript writings, it is unlikely that the text as it finally appeared was his own unaided work. In any case, the close friendship of Hooke, who possessed a prolific and indefatigable mind, and an omnivorous appetite for intellectual inquiry, must have provided a stimulating source of encouragement to Knox at the time he was preparing "my Scribled papers" for the press. On March 18th 1681 he presented his manuscript to the East India Company for their approbation, and, on this being secured, lost no time in finding a publisher, in Richard Chiswell, Printer to the Royal Society. The copyright had evidently been sold to Chiswell to judge from a statement in the Autobiography: "I thinke fitt to incert this following Clause, vizt. that when I sold the Coppie of this Booke to Mr. Rich. Chiswell, Senr., I gave him my Bond that neither my selfe nor any for me should ever reprint the same" (1911 ed., p. 433). Printed it was, in the short space of four months, and Knox was able to offer his work again in its new dress, complete with illustrations, to the Court of Committees of the East India Company on 1st August 1681. The process of publication was hastened in the next few days, with Sir Christopher Wren, President of the Royal Society, setting his seal of approval on publication, on 8th August 1681, and the Court of Directors of the East India Company providing its imprimatur two days later. It has not been possible as yet for the compiler to discover how many copies were printed, and the price it was sold at. But it is clear that there was an avid readership for the book, and the importunings of Chiswell for a revised and enlarged second edition, soon after the favourable reception of the first, were a clear index to its popularity. Hooke's preface, dated 1st August 1681, afforded ample and glowing testimony to the great merits of this close and elaborate account, by a sensitive, dependable, resourceful and sympathetic observer, wielding a fascinating narrative style, of an exotic Eastern society, and its natural features. The following passage from his preface foreshadows the sentiments expressed in verse on 30th December 1695 at the foot of the portrait engraving of Knox by Richard White—"this Generous Example of Captain Knox who though he could bring away nothing almost upon his Back or in his Purse, did yet Transport the Whole Kingdom of Conde Uda in his Head, and by writing and publishing this

his Knowledge, has freely given it to his Country, and to You Reader in particular". The note to the following entry on the inter-leaved copy in the British Museum Library provides further information on the fortunes of the first edition of Knox's evergreen classic.

2. ———— *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*. (1681). Interleaved copy with supplementary notes in Knox's own hand. (Christy Library, 43 E. Department of Ethnography, British Museum, London).

There is little doubt that the publication of the first edition of Knox's curious and remarkable book in 1681, with the blessings of the Royal Society and the approbation of his employers, the East India Company, proved an immediate and popular success. The author, however, sailed away, as master of the *Tonquin Merchant*, on a two-year voyage to the Far East, almost as soon as the book was published, with a copy of the first edition in his personal luggage, provided by his publisher, Richard Chiswell. On his return at the end of August, 1683, he found himself famous. Among his readers had been the royal sybarite, Charles II, and a letter from his cousin James Bonnell to John Strype dated 12 December 1683 refers to his interview with the King, a great honour indeed. "Cos. Knox has been with ye K-, & had an hours discourse, many flocking about to hear it, wch will help Mr. Chizwel (*sic*) off with some copies. Mr. Hook (*sic*) persuades my Cosen to make some additions, & he will furnish him wth heads, wch wth a new title page & his pictur, will pass for a 2nd Edition. Mr. Ch. [iswell] was present at ye debate, & thout well of it. This yo may take from my Cos. in shorthand, in one or two nights being at your hous." (D. W. Ferguson *Captain Robert Knox* 1896-97, p. 32). Thus was Chiswell fired to bring out a second revised and enlarged edition as early as two years after the publication of the first. The letter also is revealing of the support and advice of both Robert Hooke and John Strype, his cousin, in the editing and supervision of Knox's writings. Hooke remained a warm friend till his death on 2 March 1703, Knox being the only person at his bedside when he died, while Strype continued his interest in the book up to Knox's death in 1720. In 1708 Knox notes in his manuscript autobiography: "Since my booke of Ceylone hath found such acceptance of this present generation that all the bookes that were printed are bought up & many more would have bin bought if were to be had, & also that it hath been translated into Dutch & french gives me cause to thinke that hereafter some may inquire or wish to know what became of the Author after his escape from Ceylone..." (*An Historical Relation of Ceylon*...ed. by James Ryan, 1911, p. 412). A typical best-selling author's

pride and lament are reflected in this characteristically unemotional statement. By 1693, four imprints in French, German and Dutch in that order had appeared, and in 1705, John Harris paid Knox's narrative the deserved compliment of including it in digest form in the first edition of his massive compilation of travels. Knox, strangely enough, seemed to have been unaware both of the black-letter German edition of 1689 in Leipzig, and Harris's recognition of the popularity of the work in English. That thoughts of a second enlarged edition were close to the author's mind are indicated in a revealing letter to Strype, written from London, where he lodged, on the 5th October 1713: "Cousen: the first voiage I went to sea after my booke of Ceylon was printed, Mr. Chiswell gave me a booke interleaved wth a blanke leafe, & desired me to make additions there one, which I did, & at my coming home returned it to him againe, some time before his death, he sent me ye same booke againe, desiring me to peruse it a second time, for he intended to reprint it which I did & made many more Aditions, & returned him his booke againe, & lately his man yt has his coppies, brought ye booke againe to me, desiring me once more to look it over for now he intended to reprint it, & being wholly at leasure I did dilligently review the whole book, and made many more Additions, finding nothing to alter, either in ye print: or manuscript yt I had made only ye King poysoning his Son: in for. 46 I wish I could have seene you here, to have had your Judgment one my Additions, which are onely historical, & matter of fact, not fitt, so to be crowded into a new impression, the methodizing thare of being beyound my Capasity, so yt I have fully finished all yt I intend in yt booke, in wch I have bin ye more dilligent, it being ye onely thing will keepe my name in memory in ye World" (D. W. Ferguson *Captain Robert Knox*. 1896-97 p. 53). This is the most revelatory indication of Knox's intentions for a second edition and his notes in the interleaved copy, and by this time he must have been beginning to be optimistic of the publication of a second edition in the near future. Now that Hooke had died in 1703, his dependence on his clerical cousin for revision and preparation is also apparent. Normally modest and discreet, he also lets slip his quite unabashed pride in authorship, having yearned from a young age to become versed in writing—in the event a most remarkable prediction! Plans for printing must have been in the offing, for we find Knox writing to Strype again from London on 5th February 1714: "And also-I thanke you for ye amendments you made to my Epistoll Dedecatory, but I hoped you would have added a beginning and ending to it as I wanted, & also what you say should be added to Sr Rich: [Sir Richard

Child, second son of Sir Josiah Child, Knox's benefactor in the East India Company on his return in 1680] himselfe, I dedecate, it to him for his fathers sake, & I know not what I can add as to himselfe, however thare is time enough, for they have not began to print by reason paper is very deere, wch they hope will be cheiper" (*ibid.* p. 53) The last mention of this interleaved copy of his book, so near and yet so far from publication, is found in a letter dated 8th Jan, 1717 to Strype, also from London: "I thanke you for your Kindnesse, but whatever Midwinter may be I beleeeve his pertener wants money, by obiecting paper is very Deare, did not he object to you as he hath done to others y^t in my new additions I have wrot things twice over: wch cannot make ye things to be ye Lesse true: tho may show ye infirmity of my Age" (*ibid.* p. 54). The plaintive tone of his references to the obstacles holding up the printing of the second edition, the manuscript of which was quite obviously in the publisher's hand, are reminiscent of a present-day author's plight in the diminishing world of current printing and publishing, afflicted by shortages of paper and the high cost of materials. After Chiswell's death, his business appears to have been taken over by Daniel Midwinter at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, Chiswell's old place. Midwinter was one of the three publishers of John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*...of which the first edition had appeared, with the Knox digest, in 1705, thus making it all the more inexplicable that Knox makes no reference in his writings to this only English reprint (however meagre) in his lifetime. That Midwinter, who must have encouraged Knox (and is obviously the man y^t has his coppies" of the 5th October, 1713 letter) after Chiswell's death, was not the villain of the piece, but his partner, is made clear in the letter. The latter was clearly disturbed by the volume of the additional materials to be incorporated, as well as their repetitive nature, and Knox admits that his advancing years—he was now seventy-six and approaching death—may have had something to do with the complaint. Perhaps if Hooke was alive the necessary revisions and proper amalgamation of the supplementary notes with the old text may have been achieved to the satisfaction of Midwinter's partner. Knox was in poor health and in decline till his death on 19th June 1720 in the Parish of St. Peter le Poor, and the publication of the second edition was lost sight of in this period, as there is no further reference to it in the few letters of these last years to his favourite cousin and correspondent, Strype. In his last will and testament dated 30th November 1711, and "Approved and Confirmed againe" for the last time on 4th April 1720 shortly before his death, he appointed Edward Lascelles, his

nephew, as sole executor. There is no mention of this inter-leaved copy for a second edition in the meticulous ordering and dispensation of his estate, though "all my bookes and papers, boath written and printed (Ceylon Excepted)" were left to Lascelles. The other copy of his book containing the manuscript memoirs ("my Booke of Ceylon with Manuscripts of my owne Life") was bequeathed to Knox Ward, another nephew, and it is this copy which was, 180 years later, discovered in the Bodleian. It is clear that he had no jurisdiction over the inter-leaved copy, as he had sold the copyright to Chiswell, as we have seen, and, in any case, the copy was in the hands of the publisher, awaiting the decision to print for a second edition. Its subsequent fate until it came to the British Museum Library in the eightennineties is covered in mystery. All that is known, until the Hakluyt Society publishes the long-awaited second edition, is that Sir A. W. Franks, a former Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, in the British Museum, had presented it in the last years of the 19th century to the Christy Library, where it was discovered and identified by H. J. Braunholtz, a later Keeper of the same Department. Its existence, both before and after discovery was unknown to students and scholars, especially those interested in Ceylon, as its presence was not recorded in either the general or special catalogues in the Library, or any of the published catalogues of the British Museum. News of its existence leaked out when the Hakluyt Society decided to publish it in their scholarly series of travels, presumably after its identity had been established and confirmed, and assigned its discoverer H. J. Braunholtz and the retired Ceylon Government Archivist, Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, to undertake the preparation of the manuscript. This was in 1955 or so, and each year thereafter, the *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts* of the Hakluyt Society carried the news that this work was "in active preparation". Braunholtz died a few years after commencing the project, and the editing devolved on Paulusz alone. On inquiry in May 1975, the Society has expressed the hope that the work "will be published within the next two years". This optimism is based on the knowledge that "the footnotes are at present being typed", signifying an end to the arduous work of editing. The publication of this definitive edition, with Knox's inter-leaved notes, has been eagerly awaited in the expanding world of Robert Knoxiana for the last two decades, as it is likely to shed a great deal of new light on some of the remaining enigmas of Knox's life and letters.

The additional material in Knox's hand, over a period of years stretching from around late 1681 to 1714 is contained in about 100 folio leaves, closely

written on, and bound into a copy of the first edition. There are also some marginal notes as well as some corrections of the printed text. In two manuscript passages, signed by Knox and dated 10th Dec. 1695, and 7th Aug. 1713 he states that he has carefully perused and diligently reviewed the whole of the text and manuscript three times, and has nothing further to add or alter. It is clear that no further additions or revisions were done after this date, as the correspondence with Strype also confirms. The supplementary notes amount to approximately 40% of the printed text. Their value and interest are quite significant, and of considerable substance, and, in conjunction with the autobiography should serve to round off the picture of a quite remarkable Englishman, who left so enduring a document of seventeenth-century Ceylon.

3. ———— *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon in the East Indies...* (1681). Bodleian Library, Oxford University. Shelfmark: fol. Δ 623 MS Rawl. Q.c. 15.

The Bodleian copy of the first edition of Knox's work, which is the identical copy bequeathed to his nephew Knox Ward, Clarencieux King of Arms, referred to in his will as follows: "my Booke of Ceylon with Manuscripts of my owne Life", has 6 pages of manuscript additions before the title page, and 127 pages of similar additions at the end of the printed matter, all written by Knox himself. There are also a few notes by him in the margins of the letter press. There is also a reproduction of the portrait engraved by Richard White in 1695. The manuscript portions, which comprise the autobiography, were written for the most part in 1696 when Knox was 56 years old, and again at various periods between 1697 and 1711. The six pages of manuscript at the beginning of the volume are dated June 19th, 1696. The manuscript autobiography is bound up with the copy of the first edition, and these pages are referred to by Knox as "severall remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapned since my deliverance out of my Captivity..." This precious copy lay unknown and ignored until the painstaking investigations of Donald Ferguson led to its discovery in the Bodleian Library in October 1900. Knox Ward died intestate on 30 September, 1741. Eight years later his library was sold at auction and lot 451 "Knox's history of Ceylon, with MSS additions, 1681" was acquired by that omnivorous collector Dr. Richard Rawlinson, who later bequeathed it to the Bodleian. It came to the Library in 1755, along with the rest of the vast and multifarious Rawlinson collection which the small library staff found too much to handle. Sir Edmund Craster, Bodley's Librarian from 1931-1945, had this to say of it; "a collection so extensive that it

swamped the meagre staff, and that, for a century to come, large parts of it lay unsorted in cupboards and obscure hiding-places". (*History of the Bodleian Library, 1845-1945* Clarendon Press, 1952. p. 15). In the case of Knox's manuscript autobiography this neglect seems to have lasted for nearly a century and a half, but though it was not formally referenced and catalogued until 1912, it had been discovered by Cuthbert Shields of Corpus Christi College, Oxford in October 1900. In the Bodleian Library copy of Donald W. Ferguson's *Captain Robert Knox* (1896-1897), Bodley's Librarian at the time, E. W. B. Nicholson, had fastened a slip which reads: "Knox's Historical relation inter-leaved with his notes is fol. Δ 623. MS. Rawl. Q.c. 15 ex relatione Cuthbert Shields 27 Oct. 1900 E. W. B. N." Shields himself, in an anonymous article "The first century of the East India Company" *Quarterly Review*, vol. 193, Jan. 1901, pp. 44-74, mentioned his discovery in a footnote on p. 63, "The long-missing additional notes, written in later life by Knox on his adventures and experiences, have recently been discovered in the Bodleian, fol. 623". C. S. Vaughan in his manuscript notes refers to "9 pages of MS additions before the title page, and 129 pages of similar additions at the end of the printed matter" (no. 98). In the only published version of the autobiography, (Glasgow, 1911) the editor, James Ryan, refers to the incorrectly numbered pages, and gives both incorrect and correct numbering of the original manuscript. At the tip of the second leaf occur the words (not in Knox's hand) "Liber olim Knox Ward armig Clarencieux Armorum Rex". This is undoubted proof that this is the identical copy bequeathed by Knox to his nephew. In a letter to John Strype dated "London, 8th Jan. 1717", Knox reveals that his autobiographical passages were prompted by Oliver Cromwell's third daughter Mary who married Viscount Fauconberg. "It was by ye advice of my Lady Fauconbridge (Oliver Cromwells Daughter) yt I wrot ye passages of my Life, wch she urged with this Reason viz. that God's providence had bin so remarkabbly over me one Ceylon, it would be wished by many to know how his providence disposed of me afterwards, which I think hath bin as remarkably as ye former: which now layes by me, and if after my Death should be printen I beleeeve would out sell a second edition of ye former" (D. W. Ferguson *Captain Robert Knox*. (1896-97). p. 54). This manuscript autobiography was edited and reproduced by James Ryan in the 1911 edition of Knox's book, and this remains the only published version up to now, apart from the reprint of the first six introductory pages only (photolithographically reproduced from the 1911 edition) in the *Ceylon Historical Journal* reprint of Knox's book in 1958.

The marginal notes by Knox in the printed text of the first edition were not reproduced by Ryan in the 1911 edition, however, due to an oversight by the publisher, but were supplied by Ryan in an article in *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* Vol. 3, no. 4, April 1918. *see also* nos. 4, 10, 13 & 86.

4. ———— "*Passages from my own life*": 173 ff. (The Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London, MSS. 3 Case A 67).

A manuscript transcript of the autobiographical portion written by Knox in the copy of the first edition in the Bodleian Library. The folio volume is bound in red leather, and a hand-lettered title-page is entitled "*Passages from my own life. R. Knox*" having at the foot "*C. S. Vaughan, Anuradhapura*". The transcription is on 173 right-hand leaves, with a few notes by Vaughan on the left-hand pages. Photographs of the White engraving of Knox (1695) and the first page of Knox's entry in the Bodleian copy are pasted in at the beginning. A copy of the James Ryan edition of Knox (1911) inscribed "*C. S. Vaughan, A'pura, June 1911*" is also in the library in the Vaughan collection of Knox material, with the numerous, mostly minor, deviations from the manuscript volume indicated probably by Vaughan himself. Ryan forestalled Vaughan's own carefully laid plans to edit Knox's autobiography, and there are some who think that Vaughan would have made a better job of it than Ryan did. It is fitting then to give here Vaughan's own comments on the manuscript autobiography, as contained in his notes on the Bodleian copy (*see*, No. 98)." The subject matter of the manuscript deals however not only with events in Knox's life subsequent to his escape from Ceylon, but also describes his boyhood and passages in his life during his 20 years captivity. As regards events after his escape, the subject matter is discursive and include his home coming, the compilation of his book, his subsequent voyages to Madagascar and the East Indies (we learn that Knox made in all seven voyages to the East between 1655 and 1700), his leaving the services of the East India Company, reference to his fellow captives, historical notes on the War of the Spanish Succession, and religious dissertations on the vanity of earthly things, interspersed with numerous Biblical quotations. The whole tenor of the autobiography bears evidence of Knox's Puritanical upbringing and train of thought".

5. ——— *Ceylanische Reise-Beschreibung ober Historische Erzehlung von der in Ost-Indien gelegenen Insel CEYLON, Und insonder heit derer. Mittel-landischen Begend/als welche noch biszanher grosten theils unbekant geblieben: Worinnen dann richt nur Eine ausführliche Beschreibung/ so wohl der Landschaft an sich selbst und was sie traget; als der Einwohner politischen Regiments/Gottesdiensts/Sitten/Gesetze/Runste/Sprache/Lebens-Urt und mancherley Gewohnheiten; Sondern auch Ein umständlicher Bericht/Von des Autoris in die zwanzig Jahr allda ausgestandenen Befangenschaft/und wie er woch endlich daraus wunderbarlich entkommen/zu befinden: In Englischer Sprache heraus gegeben Durch Robertum Knox, Schiff-Capitain ben der Ost-Indischen Compagnie in Engelland. Nebenst unterschiedl. zu Erklarung der Sachen dienlichen Rupfferstucken; und absonderlich/woranes fonst biszher noch gemangelt/Einer neuen und richtigen Land-Charte uberdiese Insel: wie auch einer Vorrede des Herrn HOOKII. Tetzo inshoch-Deutsche mit fleisz ubertetzt/und mit einen vollständigen Register versehen. Leipzig, Verlegts Johann Friedrich Gleditsch Anno 1689. [38], 411, [41] p., front., 15 plates, fold map. 4 to (21 x 18 cms).*

This extremely rare and little-known German edition is a small quarto in gothic letterpress. Knox was himself unaware of the publication of this German translation to go by the statement in his autobiography, and his ignorance was even more remarkable considering that this was the second translation of his work only eight years after the first English edition. The book is a typical example of German black-letter printing in the 17th Century. Outside the German-speaking countries roman and italic typography had supplanted gothic in general use after the 16th century. The German translation was obviously made from the English original, thus explaining the close adherence to the first edition in the matter of illustrations and map. The translators' name is not given. The map, facing p. 1 of the text, is the same as in the 1681 edition even to the extent of reproducing the decorations and cartouche, though the legend omits the words "A new map of" in the German translation of the title "Das Königreich Conde Uda auff der Insel Ceylon". The plates, all of which are reproduced, are also remarkably close and faithful copies of the original engravings, with very minor variants. The plates are printed separately and tipped or pasted in. The frontispiece, facing the title-page, is the only new feature of the book, and is an engraving depicting Raja Sinha II seated at a low table in a banqueting hall hung with heavy draperies, the roof being supported by ornate pillars. In the foreground are capacious oval dishes filled with fruits and a variety of food, besides vessels, with and without handles, of different shapes and sizes. The attendants wear cloth muffs round their mouths, and one is in the act of serving the king. Directly behind, another bears aloft a platter. Yet another fans him with an enormous fan in the shape of a peacock's tail. Two bearded priests

or secretaries stand on the right, holding small circular fans, and the one nearer to the King is handing him a long scroll on which are the words "Rob. Knox-ens Ceylanische Reis. Besch". The other looks out of the picture. The divisions of the text into 4 parts and 7, 7, 11 and 14 chapters respectively are preserved in both German and Dutch editions. The Preface by Robert Hooke alone is given in German "Vorrede an den Leser" in 12 pages, and the table of contents in the next 24. The Index "Register der vornehmsten Sachen dieses Buchs" occupies the last section of 41 unnumbered pages, at the foot of the last page of which is a tail-piece, "ENDE" in decorative lettering. There are other decorative tail-pieces (vignettes) at the end of Hooke's preface on p. [14], and at the end of the table of contents on p. [381], while the solitary head-piece ornament is on p. 1 of the text. The pagination is in Arabic numerals. The Dutch edition three years later, published by Wilhelm Broedelet at Utrecht, was based on this German translation.

6. ———— *T'EYLAND CEYLON in sijn binnenste, of't Koningrijk CANDY; Geopent, en Nauwkeuriger dan oyt te vooren ontdeckt door ROBERT KNOX, Scheeps-Capitain der Engelsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, die 20 Jaren langh in dit Gewest gevancklijck aengehouden geweest, en eyndlijck't selve door de Vlucht ontkomen is. BEHELSENDE een eygentlijke Beschrijvingh soo van't landschap in sijn selven, als der Inwoonderen Politie, Regeeringh, Godsdienst, Zeeden, Konsten, en meenigerley seldsame Gewoonten. Vertaeld DOOR S. DE VRIES. Met koopere Figuren en een nieuwe nauwkeurige Land-kaert van't geheele Eyland CEYLON. Tot UTRECHT, By WILHELM BROEDELET, Boeckverkoper, MDCXCII. [1692]. [14], 291, [29] p., front., fold. map, 8 pl. 4 to (20 x 15 cms.)*

This Dutch translation was clearly made from the German edition of 1689, though differing remarkably from it in the matter of the illustrations and map. The four parts of the English text are given in the same order. There is no table of contents. The Introduction by the translator Simon de Vries (signed "Utrecht, 6 April, 1692") titled "De Vertaler aen de Weet-geerige Lezers" occupies 4 pages following the title page, and precedes the Preface by Robert Hooke in the next 8 pages. The Epistles Dedicatory, Imprimatur and Wren's Commendation are left out. The Index, "Blad-wyser Van eenige der voornaemste in dit Werck verhandel de. Saecken" is a detailed one, and occupies 26 pages of the final unnumbered section, p. [27] is blank, and the facing p. [28] contains instructions to the binder on the positioning of the map and plates. The pagination is in Arabic numerals. The title-page contains a printer's ornamental device, and there are decorative tail-pieces on p. [14] at the end of Hooke's preface, and on p. [26] at the end of the index, which is the

last page of the book. There are decorative capitals for "O", "H" "H" "T" & "A" on pp [3], [7], 1,45, & [1] respectively, at the head of the translator's foreword, Hooke's preface, Pts. I & II of the text, and the Index.

The plates are separately printed and bound in, with the stubs showing. The illustrations, by Jan Luykens, of which there are 12 on 8 plates, are completely new engravings, though some are composite representations of two each of the original illustrations. The original illustrations were mainly of single figures or subjects, the new are portrayed on a larger canvas, with more detailed backgrounds, and depicting several figures and actions. They are also more animated in contrast to the original engravings which tended to look wooden and static. Buildings and landscapes are represented too. The frontispiece illustration is a copy of the one in the German edition three years earlier, with some minor changes—the bearded figure on the extreme right faces outward in the original and inward in the Dutch edition. The scroll inscription is "R. KNOX. Binnelants CEYLON". The map, facing p. 1 of the text, is a fairly faithful reproduction of the map in the 1681 edition, with the place-names and districts retained in English. The decorations at top and bottom, and the cartouche are different, and the legend "Het Coninkryk Conde Uda of Ceylon in syn Binnenste. naukeurigh verbeelt door R. Knox. Engelsman." is not a literal translation of the original. The two elephants depicted in the Southern district ("Matura") are missing. The cartouche is in the form of a square tablet, and two natives, one standing and the other seated on a stone, are examining the tablet. They are wearing mini-styled cloths, tucked up to the waist, the standing figure has a spear in his right hand, and the seated, a bow and arrow. Two bundles of cinnamon lie at the base of the tablet on the right side. An elephant, with dignitary and mahout astride, accompanied by three figures, well-attired, carrying spears, approaches on the right. A talipot palm is on the left of the tablet. At the foot of the map, torsos of a white man, holding dividers in right hand, plotting on a sheet of paper, with a nude black-bearded native looking on goggle-eyed.

7. ———— *Relation ou Voyage De L'isle De Ceylon, dans les Indes Orientales. Contenant une Description exacte de cette Isle, la forme de son Gouvernement, le Commerce, les Moeurs, les Coutumes, et la Religion de ses Habitans: Avec un recit de la Captivité de l'Auteur et de divers autres Anglois, et de sa delivrance apres vingt annees d'Esclavage.* Par Robert Knox. Traduit de l'Anglois. Enrichi de Figures, avec la Carte de l'Isle. A Amsterdam, Chez Paul Marret, dans le Beurstraat, proche le Dam a la Renommée, M. D. C. LXXXIII (1693) 2v. in one, 12 mo. (16 x 10 cms). Tome I: [22], 218 p., front., 8 pl. (7 fold.), fold.map; Tome II: [6], 180, [28] p. 9 pl. (8 fold.).

Neue Beschreibung/ der Insel = Ceylon

Historische Erzählung
von der

in Ost-Indien gelegenen Insel

CEYLON.

Und insonderheit derer Mittel-ländischen Gegend/ als
welche noch bisanher größten theils unbekant geblieben:

Als nemmen dann nicht nur
eine ausführliche Beschreibung/ so wohl der Landtschafft an sich selbst/ und was
sie trägt: als der Einwohner politischen Regiments/ Gottesdiensts/ Sitten/
Gelezes/ Künste/ Sprachen/ Lebens/ Art und mancherley Verordnungen;
Sondern auch

Ein umständlicher Bericht/

Von des Autors in die zwanzig Jahr alda ausgestandenen

Gefangenschaft/

und wie er noch endlich daraus sonderbarlich entkommen/
ist finden:

In Englischer Sprache heraus gegeben?

ROBERTUM KNOX,

Schiff-Capitain der Ost-Indischen Compagnie in Engelland.
Derselb unterschiedt. zu Erklärung der Sachen dienlichen Kupffersstücken/

Es absonderlich/ werden et sonst beßer noch gemacht/
Emer neuen und richtigten Landt-Charte über diese Insel:

Wie auch einer Dorrade des Herrn HOOKII.
Sich ins Hoch-Äulische mit Fleiß übersehen und mit einem vollständigen Register versehen.

1689

Verlegte Johann Friedrich Gleditsch/ Anno 1689.

Title-page of German edition (1689)

CEYLON
T E Y L A N D

In sijn binnenste, of 't Koningrijk

C A N D Y;

Geopent, en Nauwkeuriger dan oyt te vooren ontdeckt
D O O R

ROBERT KNOX,

Scheeps-Capitain der Engelsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, die
20 Jaren langh in dit Gewest gevangenlijck aengehouden ge-
weest, en eyndlijck 't selve door de Vlugt ontkomen is.

B E H E L S E N D E

Een eygenlijcke Beschrijvingh, soo van 't Landtschap in sich selven,
als der Inwoonderen Politie, Regeringh, Godsdiens, Zee-
den, Konsten, en meenigerley seldsame Gewoonten.

Vertaald

S. D E V R I E S.

Met koppre Figuren, en een nieuwe nauwkeurige Land-karte van 't
gebete Eyland CEYLON.



Tot UTRECHT.

WILHELM BROEDEL, Boeckverkooper
an 't Noorderpoort

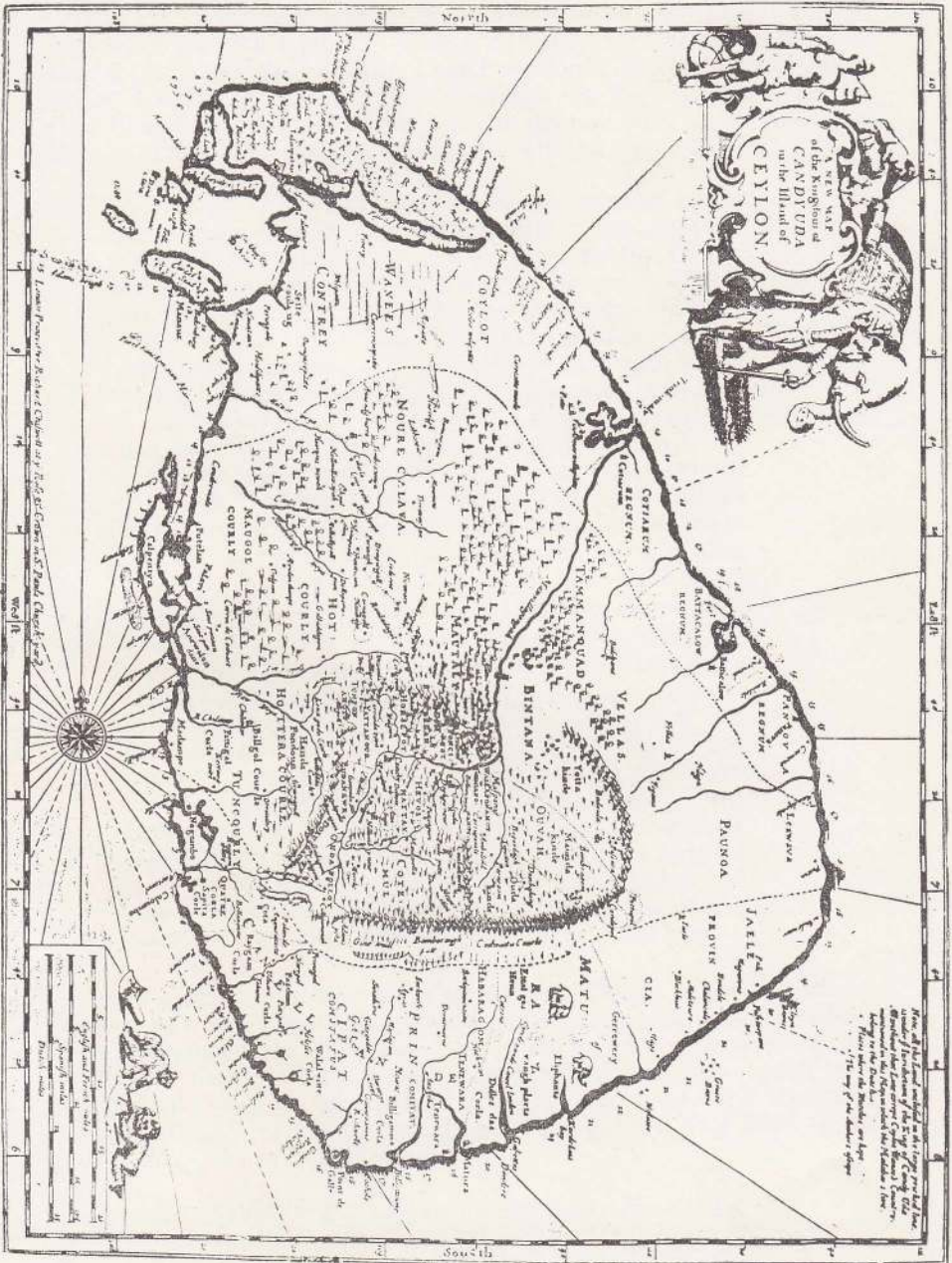
Title-page of Dutch edition (1692)

This French translation, though published in Amsterdam, is the best known French edition of the text of Knox. The two volumes, independently paginated, were bound as one volume. There are separate Tables of Contents to each volume. The title-page in Vol. 2 is the same as that in Vol. 1, but the important statement, "Traduit de l'Anglois", after the author's name, is left out in the title-page of Vol. 1, in some copies of this edition. There is a close link, therefore, between the original English edition and this French translation. In Vol. 1, the preliminary section is foliated, up to the sixth leaf, at the foot of the page. The French translation of the preface by R. Hooke takes up eleven pages, and the 'Imprimatur' by Blackbourne, and 'Approbation' by Wren are on the following page. The Table of contents to Vol. 1 occupy the next five pages, and a catalogue of books published by Paul Marret the next three pages. The four parts of the original have been re-arranged in different sequences in this French edition. Pts. 1 & 4 of the original became Pts. 1 & 2 in Vol. 1, and Pts. 2 & 3, became Pts. 3 & 4 in Vol. 2. The Index "Table des matieres" is in two separate alphabetical sequences at the end of Vol. 2 in 28 unnumbered pages—the index to Vol. 1 in 16, and to the other in 12 pages. All 17 illustrations in the original edition are reproduced, being fairly close copies of the ones in the 1681 original, but not as faithfully rendered as those in the German edition of 1689. Though this edition was printed in Amsterdam only a year after the Dutch edition printed in Utrecht, there is little connection in the matter of the illustrations or the map—a rather curious fact. The plates are printed separately and bound in, with the stubs showing. The pagination throughout is in arabic. The engraved frontispiece facing the title page is again different to that in the German and Dutch editions. It presents an animated scene of sailors landing off a long boat, led by a finely uniformed figure who looks like the captain, and being received by bare-footed natives in short cloths, wearing turbans. A ship is anchored in the bay, and in the right background there is a bluff with trees. It is meant, most probably, to depict Robert Knox or his father, captain of the *Ann*, making his ill-fated landing at Kottiyar Bay in April 1660. It is captioned "Relation de Ceylan".

The map facing p. 1 of the text, is a close reproduction of the remarkable map in the first edition, though the decorations at head and foot are different, as is the cartouche, though the enclosed legend is a direct translation of the inscription in the English edition "Nouvelle Carte du Royaume de Candy Uda dans l'Isle de Ceylon". The two elephants left out of the map in the Dutch edition of 1692, are restored, but drawn in

different attitudes, the one closer to the coast which directly faced the sea in the 1681 map, now faces the direction of Batticaloa, with a curiously extended trunk. The cartouche is a decorative tablet, with potted plants on either side. Two natives, one carrying a pingo of cinnamon bundles on the left, and a seated dignitary or official (merchant)? with outstretched right hand on the right. An elephant is half visible at the back of the tablet. A cask and bound bales are depicted in front of the tablet. At the foot of the map are four naked native boys, one with a pair of dividers poised over a sheet of paper, and two taking soundings or measurements in the sea which laps the base of the tablet on which the three scales are set out. At left bottom is the inscription "Pieter Schoonebeek drew the map. Copy of the 1681 map". There are decorative printer's ornaments (tail-pieces) at the end of the Table of Contents on p. [19], p. 218, and on p. [16] at the end of the index to Vol. 1; and decorative head-pieces on p. 1 of Vol. 1, and p. 1, p [1] and p. [17] of the index in Vol. 2.

There were three other French editions, the first and rarest of them all, the Lyon imprint of 1684 (2 vols in one in a duodecimo format), and the perhaps identical imprints of Paris and Lyon both in the year 1693. The compiler is not aware of the existence of any copies of these elusive imprints in any Ceylon library, institutional or private, and has not come across copies in any of the libraries he has used in the United Kingdom or the United States. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses a copy of the Lyon edition of 1693, and this has been listed and described from the information supplied by M. Roger Pierrot, Le Conservateur en chef, Department des Imprimés, of that Library, who also kindly provided a photo-copy of the title-page, from which the transcription has been made. (see no. 8) There is a clear reference to the rare Lyon imprint of 1684, the first translation of Knox's text to be published, only three years after the original book was issued in London, in *Bibliothèque asiatique et Africaine ou Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Asie et à l'Afrique... jusqu'en 1700*; by H. Ternaux-Compans. (Paris, 1841; reprinted, Amsterdam, 1968) p. 250, no. 2462. "Relation du voyage de l'île de Ceylon dans les Indes orientales. Lyon, 1684. 2 vol. in—12". D. W. Ferguson also refers to French translations of "Paris and Lyon, 1684" (*Captain Robert Knox*. 1896-97. p. 28, footnote). The compiler hopes to make good the absence of this extremely rare French imprint of Knox in this bibliography if the opportunity of extending and revising the present contribution offers itself in the future.



Map in the first edition (1681)

8. ——— *RELATION OU VOYAGE DE L'ISLE DE CEYLAN, Dans les Indes Orientales: Contenant une Description exacte de cette Isle, la forme de son Gouvernement, le Commerce, les Moeurs, les Coutumes, et la Religion de ses Habitans: Avec un recit de la Captivite de l'Auteur et de divers autres Anglois et de sa delivrance apres vingt annees d'esclavage* Par ROBERT KNOX. Traduit de l'Anglois, Enrichi de Figures avec la Carte de l'Isle. A Lyon, Chez Pierre Guillimin rue belle Cordiere M.DC LXXXIII [1693]. Avec Privilege du Roy. 2v. in 1. 12 mo (15 x 10 cms) (Tome I: [15], 368p. (+ table des matieres), front., fold, map illus.; Tome II: [2], 300p. (+ table de matieres), illus.

This edition has not been seen by the compiler, and is described on the basis of a photocopy of the title-page of the first volume, and data supplied by the Bibliothèque Nationale, in whose collections a copy of this imprint is found. Going by the title-page, which is identical with that of the Paul Marret edition of Amsterdam in the same year, it is likely to have been a new imprint of the same translation in a pirated version—a phenomenon not uncommon in those times. A comparison of the two imprints would be interesting. It is also further testimony to the great popularity of the work, that French, German and Dutch translations of the original had appeared in at least four imprints within twelve years of the publication of the first edition in 1681. Neither in the Amsterdam nor in the Lyon imprint of 1693 is the name of the translator mentioned. It is very likely that a Paris imprint of 1693, which has sometimes been mentioned, was the simultaneous issue of the Lyon imprint in the capital, a practice common in French publishing of the period. No copy of this Paris imprint has come to light in the course of the compiler's searches. It is probable too, that the fugitive Lyon imprint of 1684 was the first edition of the French translation, re-issued in 1693, as it is unlikely that a new translation was done for the later imprint. It is probable, too, that the translator's name was mentioned in the first French imprint of 1684, a detail conveniently omitted in the editions nine years later.

9. ——— *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon, in the East Indies: together with an account of the detaining in captivity the author, and divers other Englishmen now living there; and of the author's miraculous escape;* by Robert Knox, a captive there near twenty years. Illustrated with figures, and a map of the island. London, Printed for Joseph Mawman, Ludgate Street, by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square. 1817. VIII, 383p., front (port.), 15 pl. 4 to (26 x 21 cms).

This reprint of the 1681 text of the first edition is the independently paginated second part of *The History of Ceylon from the earliest period to the year MDCCCXV*, by Philalethes, A. M. Oxon., printed in the same year by the same printer for the same publisher. The full transcript of the title-page of this work is: *The History*

of Ceylon, from the earliest period to the year MDCCC XV; with characteristic details of the religion, laws and manners of the people and a collection of their moral maxims and ancient proverbs. By Philalethes, A. M. Oxon. To which is subjoined Robert Knox's *Historical Relation of the Island, with an account of his captivity during a period of near twenty years.* Illustrated with a head of the author, with figures, and with a map of the island. London: Printed for Joseph Mawman, Ludgate Street, by J. F. Dove, St. John's Square, 1817. xxii, [2], 341p., fold, map.

There are separate title-pages for the two different works bound in one volume. The "Contents to Knox's History" are given as a part of the preliminary matter to the whole volume at the beginning (pp. xix-xxii), and not as part of the preliminaries to the text of Knox's narrative in the second part. The Epistle Dedicatory of 1st August, 1681, the Imprimatur, Wren's commendation, and Robert Hooke's preface are reproduced as they occur in the first edition. The second Epistle Dedicatory is not reproduced. The portrait is based on the engraving by Richard White (1695), but it lacks the verse by Hooke at the bottom of the portrait, found in the 1911 edition. In some copies the frontispiece to the whole volume is the Knox portrait engraving, and in others the folding map. Also in some copies the 15 plates are bound in one section at the end of the Knox text, and in others are dispersed at the appropriate points in the narrative. These plates are reproductions of line drawings based on the copper plate engravings in the 1681 edition, and in comparison are weak and anaemic. The portrait reproduction and line drawings, have been engraved and printed by J. Smith, 65, High Holborn, London, and published by Joseph Mawman in 1816. The map legend reads "Ceylon according to the latest survey. Engraved for Knox's History of the Island. Published by J. Mawman, 1st July, 1816". It bears no relation to the distinctive map in the 1681 edition, and may, perhaps, have been intended for Philalethes *History* and not Knox's narrative. It is likely too that the copy of the first edition used by the publisher did not have the map, as it would have been otherwise appropriate for the first reprint to have carried a reproduction of this invaluable cartographic key to the Knox narrative. The spelling of Knox's text has been modernised throughout for this edition. It is a large quarto size volume. The identity of "Philalethes, A. M. Oxon", the anonymous author of the *History of Ceylon*..(1817) was first revealed by William Skeen to be the Rev. Robert Fellowes, LI.D; and very recently this was established beyond doubt by the investigations of B. W. M. Gooneratne and Yasmine Gooneratne in their contribution "New light on the

identity of Philalethes, A. M. Oxon". *Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science and Letters* (Gangodawila, Ceylon) Vol. 4, nos. 1 & 2, 1971, pp. 66-75. The author in a brief "Postscript" to his Preface (pp. ix-x) mentions that this new edition of Knox is being published to "gratify the demands of an increasing curiosity", in view of its scarcity and being so much requested after the British conquest of the Kandy Kingdom in 1815. He goes on to offer this testimonial: "Of Knox's work the merit is so well known, and has been so generally acknowledged, that it is superfluous to expatiate in its praise. His narrative exhibits a lively picture of the state of the country and the manners of the people; and the account which he has given of what relates more immediately to himself, and particularly of his extraordinary escape from such a vigilant enemy, and in such difficult circumstances, combines the accurate details of a real transaction with the glowing interest of a romance". The Rev. Robert Fellowes performed a real service to his compatriots in reprinting for the first time after 1681 the complete text of the first English account of the country and the people, over whom the British found themselves masters in 1815. See also no. 14a.

10. ———— *An Historical Relation of CEYLON together with somewhat concerning Severall Remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapned since my Deliverance out of my Captivity.* By Robert Knox A Captive there near Twenty Years. Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons Publisher to the University MCMXI [i.e. 1911]. lxvii, [1] 459, [1]p., front (port.) 21 pl., fold map. 8vo. (23 x 15 cms).

An exact transcript of the title-page of this important edition is given. This edition by James Ryan was only the second complete publication of the text of Knox since the first edition of 1681, the first having been that of 'Philalethes' [i.e. Rev. Robert Fellowes] in 1817. One hundred copies of this book were printed on hand-made paper for sale in Great Britain and Ireland, and they were numbered and signed in manuscript with the publisher's initials "JM & S". These elegant copies were bound in a half vellum and red cloth binding, with gold stamps on spine and cover. It was a very attractive book typographically in a large octave format (23 x 15 cms.), and the general issue was bound in red cloth, with short title "Knox's Ceylon with Autobiography" and the publishers colophon (a shell) in gold at the top and bottom of the spine respectively. In this edition James Ryan, a member of the Ceylon Civil Service, provided to the expectant world of Ceylon scholarship the long looked-for autobiography of Knox, discovered in manuscript form bound up with a copy of the first edition in the Bodleian Library in October, 1900. The six pages of

manuscript at the beginning, dated London 19th June 1696, are given on pp. xxix—xxxvii, and the 127 pages of manuscript at the end are given on pp. 305-448, with the title “Concerning Severall Remarkable Passages of my Life that hath hapned since my Deliverance out of my Captivity”. In making the transcription for publication “the manuscript has been exactly followed, except that the contractions ‘yt’ for ‘that’, ‘ye for ‘the’, ‘wth’ for ‘with’, and ‘wch’ for ‘which’ have been extended; the letters i, j, u., and ff for F. have been used according to modern custom, and the punctuation, which in the manuscript is very irregular and sometimes altogether wanting, has been slightly modified. References to the folios of the original manuscript [except to the six pages at the beginning], and side notes, have been inserted in the margin, and where the numbering of the pages has been incorrectly made in the manuscript, both the incorrect and correct numberings are given” (Preface p. xxiii). The years corresponding to the passages of his life are given at the left and right hand top corners of each page. The printed text of the 1681 folio edition has been similarly modernised for this edition, and the original numberings provided in the margins. The opportunity to reproduce the sundry marginal notes made by Knox in the letter press of the Bodleian copy was lost sight of by the publisher, though it had been the editor’s intention to do so. (see nos. 3 & 86). To the original illustrations in the first edition, there have been added the 1695 portrait of Knox by White from the engraving found in the Bodleian copy, a facsimile illustration of Knox’s writing and signature from the manuscript autobiography, the Knox coat of arms, and a view of the tamarind tree at Kottiyar, under which his father and companions were resting when taken prisoner. A facsimile (fold.) of the title-page of the first edition is also included facing p. xlv, in addition to its reproduction in the text on p. ixl. There is an Index to both text and autobiography on pp. 449-[460], though the introductory pages of the autobiography on pp. xxix—xxxvii are excluded from its scope. On p. xxv Ryan provided “The itinerary of Knox’s flight as shown in his map”. The preliminary sections in the first edition, beginning with the advertisements are reproduced in their entirety on pp. xxxviii—[lxviii].

There is a preface by James Ryan on pp. ix—[xxiv], which is disappointingly patchy considering the significance and value of the material he was editing and having published for the first time, in conjunction with a reprint of the famous text of 1681, out of print since the edition of 1817. The opening sentence contains a serious inaccuracy, as Ryan places the discovery of the long-lost manuscript autobiography in the Bodleian

in the year previous to its publication in 1911. The fact of its discovery as early as October 1900, though a fairly well-kept secret, was certainly known to the library staff, as well as, more importantly, to Donald Ferguson and C. S. Vaughan, a colleague of Ryan's in the Ceylon Civil Service, who were both planning editions of Knox, with the autobiography. Ferguson died on 29 June, 1910, and Ryan must have become aware of Vaughan's project, as it is well-known that he jumped the gun on him. It is not surprising, therefore, to find no mention in the preface of Vaughan's interest. In both the reference in the preface and the caption to the illustration, Ryan is in error in stating that Knox and his companions were captured in 1660 under the tamarind tree in Muttur. In his preface Ryan makes little use of Knox's information regarding his early life, and his career after returning to England in 1680. His last will and testament, dated 30 Nov. 1711, is reproduced on pp. xviii-xxi, and apart from noting the specific link with Defoe (already noted by White *see* no. 101) gives the reader no new data concerning Knox, except for confirming his English stock. Ryan thanks Mr. J. P. Lewis and Mr. H. L. (*sic*) [i.e. W] Codrington, both members of the Ceylon Civil Service, for help in the preparation of this edition, and Donald Ferguson's widow for a copy of his *Captain Robert Knox* (1896-97) (inaccurately mentioned as "*Biography of Knox*" (*sic*), with many valuable manuscript notes. In 1958 the *Ceylon Historical Journal* published as its Vol. 6 (1956-1957) a new edition of Knox, which was a photolithographic reprint of the 1911 edition of Knox's text, shorn of the autobiography on pp. 305-448, but including the few introductory pages on his life printed at the beginning of Ryan's edition. There are 48 pages of introduction by Mr. S. D. Saparamadu of the Ceylon Civil Service. This edition was reprinted in 1966 by Tisara Press, Dehiwela, the publishers of the *Ceylon Historical Journal*. Ryan's edition, now exceedingly rare, survives as the only complete publication of the important Knox autobiography.

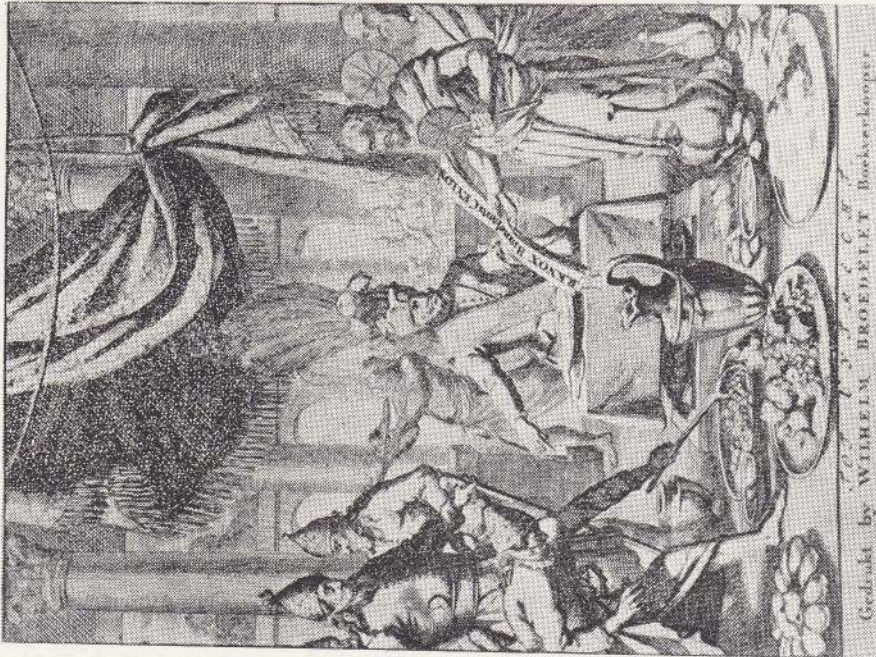
11. ———— *An Historical Relation*; tr. into Sinhalese by Ācārya Paravāhāra Vajirañāna Thera. Vol. 1 [Colombo], Printed and published by N. M. M. Panditaratne, Mahabodhi press, 1928. vi, 196p., port, 13 pl.

The English title-page precedes the Sinhalese title-page, which is කොක්කේ ලංකා ඉතිහාසය [Knoxge Lanka Itihāsayā]. The portrait of Knox by White faces p. vi. According to the translator's preface, this part was first published in instalments in the *Vidyodaya* magazine. The second part was not published, though a hint of its future appearance if the opportunity arose, is given in the preface. The difficulties of translation are mentioned, and the learned

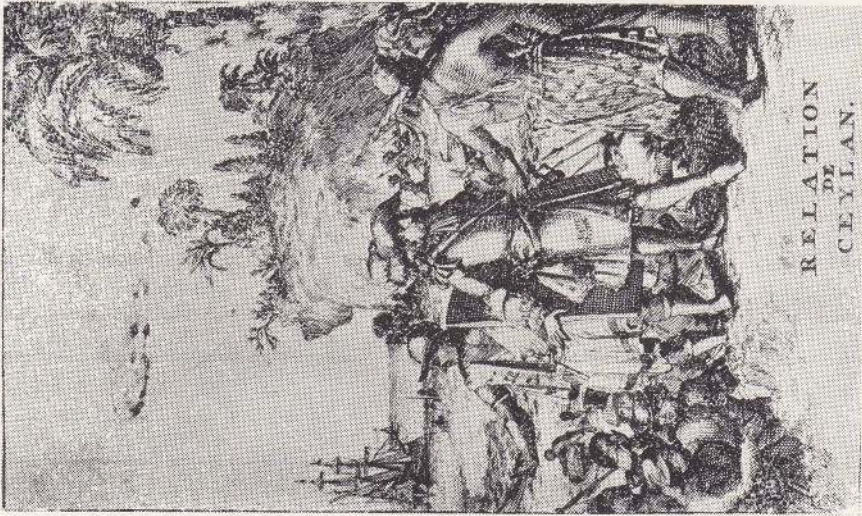
Buddhist prelate translator asks to be excused for possible errors in the rendering of 17th century English prose into Sinhalese Vol. 1 consists of Pt. 1, Chs. 1-7; Pt. 2, Chs. 1-7; & Pt. 3, Chs. 1-11. Pt. 1, Chs. 1-5 appeared earlier in *Vidyodaya: a magazine devoted to Oriental philosophy, literature, & c.* Vol. 1, 1926, pp. 17-20, 69-72, 126-129, 264-266, 305-308, 347-351, 391-394, 422-424; Pt. 1, Chs. 6-7 & Pt. 2 Chs. 1-3, in Vol. 2, 1927, pp. 27-30, 68-71, 108-112, 129-222, 248-250, 280-282, 334-336, and 368-370. The title under which it appeared in *Vidyodaya* was "Knoxge Lanka Itihāsaya ha jivita katāva. Knox's Ceylon with autobiography" The illustrations are reproductions of the engravings in Knox's original text.

12. ———— *Knoxgē Lankā Vistaraya. Sinhala rajakāle avurudu vissak pamana Lankāvē sira kārayeku sitti Robert Knox visin liyanalada grantayē sampūrna parivartanaya.* [Knox's Relation of Ceylon. Complete translation of the account written by Robert Knox a prisoner for nearly twenty years in the time of the Sinhalese Kings] Colombo, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, Ltd., 1931. 278p.
13. ———— *An Historical Relation of Ceylon.* With an introduction by S. D. Sapaṁadu. [Dehiwela (Ceylon), The Ceylon Historical Journal, [1958] [6], vii-iv, [3], lix-xcvi, 304, xcvi-xcviii, front. (port.), 18 pl., fold, map. (The Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-4, July 1956—April 1957). Reprinted. Dehiwela (Ceylon), Tissara Press, 1966.

This edition of Knox's work fuelled a great deal of controversy and incited the wrath of reviewers and Knox *aficionados*, who had hoped it would prove a distinctive contribution to Knoxian scholarship, or even supply the need of some kind of definitive edition. The four-page prospectus of the projected edition had whetted the appetites of student and collector—it promised the complete and unabridged text of the edition of 1681, including the preliminary matter, the manuscript autobiography, a bibliography of all the known published and unpublished works of Knox together with a complete list of writings on him, a glossary explaining the meanings of unfamiliar Sinhalese words, all the original illustrations and "maps" (*sic*) with a few illustrations from the Dutch and German editions, and an index. In the event, it merely turned out to be a photolitho offset reproduction of the text of James Ryan's edition of 1911, done at the Saman Press, Maharagama, but omitting the substantial autobiography in that edition which ran from pp. 305-448. The preliminary matter and the text of the 1681 edition were the same, and the index was also extracted from Ryan, leaving out the matter which concerned the autobiography. No attempt was made to include the introductory pages of the autobiography



Frontispiece in Dutch edition (1692)



Frontispiece in French edition (1693)

in the index, though this section had also been reproduced from the 1911 edition. As mentioned earlier, Ryan had also neglected to index this portion. The promised glossary, and the extra illustrations from the Dutch and German editions were not forthcoming, and the only new matter was a 48 page introduction by Mr. S. D. Saparamadu of the Ceylon Civil Service, and a deplorable bibliography of five pages (31 items), by the late Mr. Lyn de Fonseka, then Acting Librarian of the Colombo Museum. (see no. 45). Attempts to conceal the fact of its Siamese twin likeness to the Ryan edition of 1911 provide in the words of one reviewer, "an amusing combination of craftiness and artlessness", and for further strictures on this edition readers are referred to no. 78. The claim on the back of the title page that this was the "First Edition. . May 1958" of Knox's classic is palpably false, and the *suggestio falsi* and editorial apologia in the introduction, to cover up the tracks of its complete indebtedness to the 1911 edition, made depressing reading indeed. Nowhere has acknowledgement been made to the publisher of the 1911 edition or to Ryan's heirs for having embodied their work, and one can only presume that it was done after consulting them. The editor's introduction, in general a vivacious, enthusiastic and well-informed piece of writing, deals with Knox's life, the history of the book and its reliability, its value as a source for a reconstruction of Ceylon history, its literary worth and its influence on the writings of Daniel Defoe, especially on the character of Robinson Crusoe. The editor makes mention of the new material available in the inter-leaved copy of the first edition in the Christy Library of the British Museum (of which a photo copy had been made for the Colombo Museum Library in 1955). His statement "that none of the major libraries in the island had thought it worth their while to secure photostat copies of these records" is difficult to believe, as the bibliography in this edition was compiled by the Librarian of the Colombo Museum Library, in which the photo copy had been available from 1955! His description of this inter-leaved copy of Knox's work on pp. xlix-l of his introduction, leaves the reader in no doubt that the editor had access to this photo copy in Colombo. The editor's references to the Knox manuscript also indicate that they have not been clearly differentiated in his own mind. In the prospectus to this edition it was stated that the manuscript autobiography is "preserved at the British Museum". It is in fact in the Bodleian Library. It is the still unpublished inter-leaved copy of the first edition, with Knox's manuscript additions for a second, which is in the British Museum Library. On p. xlix of the introduction he takes Article 4 of the will to refer to the British Museum copy, whereas it clearly refers to the

Bodleian one. The statement on p. 1 that when Knox's nephew Knox Ward inherited the manuscript autobiography, he "in turn bequeathed it to the Bodleian library, where it was discovered and identified by C. S. Vaughan of the Ceylon Civil Service in 1910" is incorrect on all points. Despite these editorial, textual and bibliographical shortcomings, this new reprint does provide the average reader with the complete text of Knox's 1681 edition at a moderate price, and in a convenient, well-produced and printed octavo format in paperback style. That a reprint of the 1958 edition became necessary eight years later is proof of the indispensable authority and popularity of Knox's work. Even though half a loaf is better than no bread, a worthier presentation of this incomparable book, with the autobiography, is many years overdue.

14. ————*Eda hela diva*. Sinhalese translation of *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* by Robert Knox published by Richard Chiswell at London, 1681; by David Karunaratne. Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co., [1959]. ix, [4], 14-395p., 8 pl., 2 text illus.; 2nd ed. (1962). [2], VIII, (3), 12-338p., 8 illus., 2 text illus.; 3rd ed. (1972), xiv., 385p., 10 illus.

The original text is mutilated and re-arranged to suit the translator's convenience. The illustrations are pallid and lack-lustre copies (imitations) based on the engravings in Knox's work. Through careless numbering the first edition appears to have two chapters more than the second, but in actual fact they each have 34 chapters, as does the third. In the third edition of 1972, no mention of the 2nd edition of 1962 is made on the back of the title-page, where the 1972 reprint is recorded as being the 2nd ed. (1972).

- 14a ————*An historical relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies: together with an Account of the detaining in captivity the Author, and divers other Englishmen now living there; and of the Author's miraculous escape*; by Robert Knox, a captive there near twenty years. Illustrated by figures and a map of the island. Hildesheim, Verlag Dr. H. A. Gerstenberg, 1975. viii, 384p., front. (port.), fold map, 15 pl.

Photomechanical reprint of the 1817 London edition printed for Joseph Mawman, which was subjoined to *The History of Ceylon from the earliest period to the year MDCCCXV*... by Philalethes, A. M. Oxon. (1817). The first reprint of this edition of Knox's text. *see also* no. 9 and note thereto.

A : (b) EPITOMES, VERSIONS, and DIGESTS

(in chronological order)

15. KNOX, Robert. An Historical Account of the Island of CEYLON in the EAST INDIES: written by Robert Knox, a Captive there near twenty years. Improved with all necessary Additions taken out of the History of Capt. John Ribeyro, a Portuguese, who has also written about the said Island. *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: or a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of above Four Hundred of the most Authentick Writers*;...by John Harris, A. M. Fellow of the Royal Society. London; Printed for Thomas Bennet, at the Half-Moon, in St. Paul's Church-yard; John Nicholson, at the King's-Arms, in Little-Britain; and Daniel Midwinter, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1705. 2 v. Vol. 2, pp. 450-484.

Pts. 1-3 of Knox's text are condensed into 16 chapters, and Pt. 4 is digested into the introduction (pp. 450-453). which precedes the 16 chapters. Many liberties have been taken in the abridgement of Knox's text, and interpolating the additions from Joao de Ribeiro, but the general flavour and language of the original are preserved, considering that it was done only 24 years after the original edition had been published. Knox makes no reference to this in his writing or correspondence, and seems to have been surprisingly unaware of the inclusion of his work in Harris's monumental compilation in his own-life-time. Even D. W. Ferguson, the painstaking student of Knox and his book, makes no reference to it. The digest of Knox was omitted from the two-volume edition of Harris's *Voyages* in 1744-1748. It is an interesting point that one of the three publishers of this work was Daniel Midwinter who had succeeded to Richard Chiswell's business at the Rose and Crown after his death, and inherited also the interleaved copy of Knox with the notes for a second edition. It was Midwinter who pressed Knox for the last time in 1713 for a final revision and additions in this copy as he intended to reprint it. Though Knox obliged, this second edition was stymied, though Midwinter was not to blame.

16. DEFOE, Daniel. *The life, adventures and pyracies of the famous Captain Singleton: containing an account of his being set on shore in the island of Madagascar...as also Captain Singleton's return to sea, with an account of his many adventures and pyracies with the famous Captain Avery and others.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, publisher to the Shakespeare Head Press of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1927, [4], 335p.

A reprint of the text of the first edition of 1720. Defoe's special debt to Knox in the writing of *Robinson Crusoe*, published only a year earlier, is well known, and the inclusion of a Ceylon sequence and an epitome of Knox's adventure on the island in *Captain Singleton*

further reinforce the reliance. Singleton's piracies launch him upon a global sweep from the Atlantic to the Pacific, probing into the remotest parts of the East. But the novel is not mere travel-narrative. It reveals Defoe's deeper concern with the human predicament—man's vulnerability to sin under the pressure of circumstances, and his innate craving for redemption and divine grace. Captain Singleton's adventure in Ceylon is on pp. 274-288. This description leads directly to the brief abstract of the story of Knox in Ceylon, pp. 288-301. The succinct version is introduced by these words: "This Passage, when I related it to a Friend of mine, after my Return from those Rambles, agreed so well with his Relation of what happened to one Mr. Knox, an *English* Captain, who some time ago was decoyed on Shore by those People, that it could not but be very much to my Satisfaction to think that Mischief we had all escaped; and I think it cannot but be very profitable to record the other story, *which is but short*, with my own, to shew, whoever reads this, what it was I avoided, and prevent their falling into the like, if they have to do with the perfidious People of *Ceylon*. The Relation is as follows." (p. 288). Could "a Friend of mine" have been Robert Knox himself, who died in the year *Captain Singleton* was published? For Defoe's dependence on Knox and comparisons see the contributions by E. F. C. Ludowyk (nos. 70 & 71) and A. W. Secord. (no. 88).

17. KNOX, Robert. Voyage de Robert Knox dans l'isle de Ceylon (1657-1680). *Histoire generale des voyages, ou nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre...avec les moeurs et les usages des habitans, . . de plans, et de perspectives; de figures d'animaux, de vegetaux, habits, antiquites, etc....* par Abbe A. F. Prevost d'Exiles and others. Paris, Chez Didot Libraire, 1746-1770, 19v. Vol. 8, (1750) pp. 495-516.

Nouvelle edition, La Haye, Amsterdam, Pierre de Houdt, 1747-1780 25v. Vol. XI (1755) "Dans l'isle de Ceylan", Book 1. pp. 106-176, 9 pl. (engravings), fold, map, 2 charts. I: Voyage de Robert Knox dans l'isle de Ceylan (1657-1680), pp. 106-130; II: Description de l'isle de Ceylon (1679), pp. 130-136; III: Moeurs et usages de l'isle de Ceylan, pp. 137-155; IV: Histoire naturelle de l'isle de Ceylan, pp. 155-167, Supplement a la Description de l'isle de Ceylan: etablissements Hollands a Ceylon. pp. 168-176.

18. ——— Robert Knoxens Reise nach Ostindein, in Jahre 1657 und folgende. *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und [zu] Lande; oder Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen, welche bis itzo in verschiedenen Sprachen von allen Volkern herausgegeben worden, etc...* ed. by Johann Joachim Schwabe. Leipzig, ben Urtstee und Merus, 1747-1774. 21v. Bd. 8, Das XVI Capital, pp. 462-516.

This volume in Schwabe's collection was not an original German version as it was assumed to be by writers on Knox, but it was translated from the French of Prevost d'Exiles *Histoire generale des voyages* (1746-1770), Vol. 8. Schwabe's compilation embraced translations from English, French and Spanish (among others) collections of voyages and travel.

19. PERCIVAL, Robert. *Precis historique de la captivite de Robert Knox dans l'interieur de l'île de Ceylan. Voyage a l'île de Ceylan, fait dans les annees 1797 a 1800; contenant l'histoire, la geographie et la description des moeurs des habitants, ainsi que celle des productions naturelles du pays; traduit de l'anglais par P. F. Henry. Paris, Dentu, 1803. 2v. Tome second pp. 259-294; Notes, pp. 295-302.*

A summary of Pt. IV of Knox's *Historical Relation* containing his personal story. This precis does not form part of the original English editions of Percival (1803, or 2nd ed., 1805). Percival's translator Henry must have been moved to include this epitome realising Percival's reliance on Knox, "the narrative of our countryman, Mr. Knox" (1803, p. 213). He refers to this indebtedness in the preface to his translation in vol. 1.

20. CORDINER, Rev. James. *Knox's account of the King and Government of Candy in the year 1681. The King's Great Officers and Governors of the Provinces. Military strength and mode of warfare. A Description of Ceylon, containing an account of the country, inhabitants and natural productions; with narratives of a tour round the island in 1800, the campaign in Candy in 1803, and a journey to Ramisseram in 1804. London, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Aberdeen, A. Brown, 1807. Vol. 2, Pt. 2, Ch. 7, pp. 324-345.*

This chapter consists of copious extracts from Knox's own text, taken from Pt. II, Ch. 1-VI, relating to the King of Kandy and his administration. The extracts are pieced together, the spelling is modernised, and the punctuation altered even when quoting verbatim. The 'Imprimatur' of Robert Blackbourne, and the 'Approbation' of Christopher Wren are also reproduced at the end of the chapter. There are shorter extracts from Knox dispersed throughout Vol. I of this work, illustrating an early nineteenth century English writer's substantial reliance on Knox's description of the country, his countrymen were now in possession of. Cordiner notes in his preface: "and extracts from the old history written by Captain Robert Knox in 1681 exhibit a faithful picture of that country in its present state" (p. vi); and again, "The history of Ceylon written one hundred and twenty six years ago by our countryman Captain Robert Knox is so authentic, and the book is now so scarce, that it may gratify many readers to be put in possession of a few extracts

from it" (Vol. 1, p. 20); and yet again, "This book did not fall into my hands until after my own description was finished: and it is a matter of curiosity to observe how much they agree when they treat of the same subjects. Whatever extracts are made from it in this work may be considered as entitled to implicit credit" (p. 21). The extracts in Vol. 1 are on pp. 21-26 (topography); 126-131 (inhabitants); 141-153 (religion); 243-247 (elephants); 356-357, 358-359, 367-368 (flora); 394-404 (agriculture); 428-432 (animals); and 436-439 (reptiles).

21. KNOX, Robert. *An account of the captivity of Captain Robert Knox and other Englishmen, in the Island of Ceylon; and of the Captain's miraculous escape, and return to England, in September 1680; and after a detention on the Island of nineteen years and a half. Written by himself, and first printed in 1681. To which is prefixed, A sketch of the geography, civil and natural history, commerce, &c. of Ceylon, brought down to the year 1815.* London, printed for J. Hatchard, Bookseller to the Queen. No. 190 Picadilly, 1818. 36 [2], 147-324p. 12 mo.

The printer of this duodecimo version of Knox's text was S. Goshell of Little Queen Street, London. The peculiar collation is explained in the Advertisement on pp. 3-4. The original intention of the publisher was that this volume should have commenced with a more enlarged sketch of the history of Ceylon. Fearing that this would increase the size of the book to dimensions much above the pocket size contemplated, and as the main objective was to provide a new edition of Knox's tale "in the form of a Manual", the preliminary matter was greatly compressed.

The cause of the chasm in the pagination is explained by this change of plan in midstream. In fact, p. 36 is paginated thus "36-144". The brief historical sketch on pp. 7-36 is based mainly on the accounts of Percival, Cordiner and Philaethes (i.e. Rev. Robert Fellowes), and is anonymous. It is believed that the anonymous sketch of the history of Ceylon was written by the Rev. William Martin Harvard, and the opportunity to publish the extended version of the sketch came in 1823 when his *A narrative of the establishment and progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India...with an introductory sketch of the natural, civil, and religious history of the island of Ceylon*, was published in London, by Blanshard. (see no. 23) This 1818 edition was reprinted in Colombo by A. M. & J. Ferguson in 1908, minus the historical sketch. See no. 30

22. CLARK, Rev. T. pseud. [i.e. John Galt]. *A Tour of Asia, comprising the most modern voyages and travels; with introductory remarks on the character and manners of various Asiatic nations. Adapted for schools and young people.* By the Rev. T. Clark. New ed. Printed for J. Souter, at the School Library, 73, St. Paul's Church Yard, [1820?]. vi, 402p. front. map (fold), plates.

"Remarkable narrative of the captivity of Robert Knox, during a period of nearly twenty years, in the island of Ceylon, followed by a summary of his details relative to that island, and a brief sketch of its history, from the earliest period to the year 1815; from the text of Philaethes". pp. 345-374. The compiler was indebted to the reprint of Knox *An historical relation of the island of Ceylon in the East Indies.....*, subjoined to *The history of Ceylon, from the earliest period to the year MDCCCXV...(1817)*; by Philaethes, A. M. Oxon., i.e. the Rev. Robert Fellows. A digest of the personal narrative of Knox from capture to escape (pp. 345-362) precedes a brief sketch of his account of the island, its inhabitants, natural productions etc., which occupies pp. 362-374.

23. KNOX, Robert. *An account of the captivity and escape of Captain Robert Knox; an English Gentleman, who was treacherously detained nearly twenty years, in the Kingdom of Kandy, in the interior of the island of Ceylon; by Rajah Singha, then native sovereign of the Kandian Dominions*. Originally published by Captain Knox, in the year 1681, and dedicated to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company. And now re-published with an introductory preface, and notes, by W. M. Harvard, late Missionary in Ceylon. London. Sold by T. Blanshard, City Road; Simpkin and Marshall, Stationer's Court; and J. Harwood, Fenchurch Street [S. Cave, Printer, 14, Paradise Row, Islington Green], 1821. [2], xii, iii, [1], 152p., front., small 8vo.

The "Introductory Preface by the Editor" occupies the first sequence of pages in Roman numerals, and the "Contents" in Chapter I-XIII, the next iii pages. The frontispiece plate is a lithograph of an illustration from Knox of "An execution by an elephant". The Preface begins "Some years ago I met with the interesting work of Captain Knox from which the following account is extracted". This was before Harvard went to Ceylon on the mission founded by the Rev. Thomas Coke. His residence in the island a "few years afterwards" made him realise the worth, for the expression of the Christian presence in a heathen society, of the entertaining and instructive narrative of Knox's "sorrow and deliverance". Harvard "only included in the present publication, 'The account which Mr. Knox gives of what relates more immediately to himself', &c...I have greatly admired the general spirit of piety and acknowledgement of obligation to God, in which Mr. Knox has recorded his story; and from this it is to be hoped the reader will derive benefit of the most lasting kind...I have inserted a few notes in the course of the Narrative, which may perhaps prove acceptable to those who have not had many opportunities of acquaintance with oriental customs, &c." Knox's narrative has been digested into twelve chapters. The editor promised another book "of nearly the same size

and price which will be made to embody the substance of what Captain Knox has related concerning the country, customs, and varied peculiarities of the singular people, by whom he was so long detained in captivity; together with an account of the circumstances which occasioned the downfall (*sic*) of the cruel race of Kandian Sovereigns, and which led to the submission of that people, and the annexation of their country to the territories of the British Crown". This opportunity came two years later with the publication of Harvard's *A narrative of the establishment and progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India, founded by the late Rev. Thomas Coke...with an introductory sketch of the natural, civil, and religious history of the island of Ceylon*. London, printed for the author by T. Blanshard, 1823. [12], lxxii, 404p., front (col.), col. maps. 8vo.

The "Historical Sketch of the Island of Ceylon" in three sections is printed as the Introduction to the work, and occupies pp i-lxxii. Portions of Knox's narrative are used in the sketch, and a footnote on p. xxxv draws attention to the author's earlier digest of Knox. "The reader is referred to Capt. Knox's pathetic and interesting Narrative, who was thus detained several years; the account of whose captivity and escape has been re-published, with an introductory preface and notes, by the author of this work. Sold by Blanshard, price 3s. 6d."

24. *The Captive in Ceylon*. Revised by the Committee of Publication. Philadelphia, American Sunday School Union, 1827, 16p., front. (2nd series, no. 89).

A succinct version of Knox's sojourn in heathen climes, stressing his great reliance on the Bible as a source of consolation. It is interesting to observe that the American Christians, true to the "Pilgrim Father" strain in them, beat their English counterparts by over fifty years in the exploitation of this notable 17th century pilgrim's saga as a religious tract for missionary times, though William Harvard was active in propagating Knox's message between 1815-1823, through different means. But it is salutary to recall that Knox was no bigot, and never displayed the slightest proselytizing zeal. He was a true exponent of A. N. Whitehead's definition of religion as "what each man does with his own loneliness".

25. PRIDHAM, Charles. Abridged account of Knox's captivity in Ceylon, and his ultimate escape. *An historical, political and statistical account of Ceylon and its dependencies*. London, T. & W. Boone, 29, New Bond Street, 1849, 2v., fold map. Vol. 2, Appendix VIII; pp. 789-807.

A potted version in the author's words of Pt IV of Knox's narrative relating to his arrival, capture, sojourn and escape after nearly twenty years. The spotlight is on Robert Knox and his fellow-captives throughout, and the summary ends with his arrival back in England, and the publication of his book in 1681. Pridham's work was virtually an anthology or collation of the writings of many hands, both official and unofficial, skilfully assembled and compiled.

26. BARROW, Sir George. *2nd baronet*. An epitome of Robert Knox's "Historical relation of the island Ceylon" (1681). *Ceylon: past and present*. London, John Murray, 1857. Chs. 1-3, pp. 7-80.

The opening words of the Preface pinpoint the author's reliance on Knox as the chief stimulus in his Work. "My first object in undertaking this little work was to give some notion of the curious and interesting narrative of 'Robert Knox's captivity in Ceylon from the year 1659 till his escape in 1679, and of his description of the country—the inhabitants—and various other matters; for until 'Philaethes' republished it in 1817, the work was so scarce as to be little known; and it is still only embodied in the quarto volume of his friendly reviewer. But from the 'past' I was carried on to the 'present';..." The six-page Introduction is mainly a review of the importance of Knox's narrative as a description of Ceylon, and its influence on writers in the early British period. The testimonies of Philaethes and Major Jonathan Forbes (*Eleven years in Ceylon* (1840) are quoted, and John Davy's debt also noted. The digest is based on the reprint subjoined to Philaethes *History of Ceylon*, and begins with an account of the reason of his going to Ceylon and subsequent detainment, followed by a description of the country and its inhabitants, Pt. IV of the original text of Knox is summarised in Ch. 1, pp. 7-31; while Pts. I-III are compressed in Chs. 2 and 3, pp. 32-80. The author's method is to epitomise and comment in his own words with appropriate extracts from Knox's narrative interwoven throughout.

27. KNOX, Robert, *Nineteen Years Captivity in the Kingdom of Conde Uda in the highlands of Ceylon, sustained by Captain Robert Knox; between March 1660 and October 1679: Together with his singular deliverance from that strange and pagan land* [From *An Historical Relation &c.*, 1681. fol]. *An English Garner. Ingatherings from our history and literature*; by Edward Arber. London, E. Arber; A Constable & Co., 1877-96. 8 v. Vol. I (1877), pp. 321-455.

Arber collated the texts carefully with the originals. There is a facsimile reproduction of the title-page of the 1681 edition in this first edition of the *English Garner*. The two Epistles Dedicatory are reproduced

in chronological order, but Robert Hooke's Preface is omitted. The text is substantially a reprint of Pt. IV of the original, with some preliminary chapters as preamble. In this edition, only the last volume was published by Constable.

28. ————Nineteen Years Captivity in the Kingdom of Conde Uda in the highlands of Ceylon, sustained by Captain Robert Knox... *Voyages and travels mainly during the 16th and 17th centuries*; with an introduction by C. Raymond Beazley, F.R.G.S. London, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1903, 2v. Vol. 2 (*An English Garner* (2nd ed. by Thomas Seecombe) vol. 4) pp. 295-429. Reprinted: New York, Cooper Square Publishers., Inc., 1965.

This second edition of Arber's *English Garner* was re-arranged and classified under the general editorial supervision of Mr. Thomas Seecombe, and appeared in 12 volumes under the Constable imprint between 1903 and 1904. The Knox text was reprinted with very slight alterations in the fourth volume. There were four "Preliminary Chapters" (pp. 301-314) setting the stage for the account of the author's captivity, life in Kandy, and escape to the Dutch (pp. 315-429). The names of places in the original have been corrected by those in *Major-Gen. John Fraser's map of Ceylon* (1862). The old spelling is in most cases modernized. In the "General Introduction" to this volume, Beazley, introduces Knox's narrative on pp. xx-xxiv. "It is the earliest detailed account of Ceylon in English, and by far the most valuable study of the interior which had been made in any European language up to this time" (p. xx).

29. *The Cinnamon Island and its captives*; by the author of "The Bright City and the way there", "What we saw in Egypt" etc. London. The Religious Tract Society, [1884]. 80 p., front. (col.), illus.

Knox's indefatigable exercise of his enduring faith in the face of heathen blandishments proved a tempting source of missionary inspiration, and this religious tract contains an account of his adventures in Ceylon. Evangelistic institutions in the 19th century were quick to seize on such books portraying a white man's strenuous display of religiosity and pietistic fervour as exemplars for their workers and converts in Asia and Africa. Knox may not have approved, as he was only a child of his age, distinguished for its ascetic austerities and pious scrupulosity, of which the most notable exponent was John Bunyan. It is significant that the lists of all publishers at this time (including Knox's own publisher, Chiswell) were dominated by holy-minded and contemplative works. It is no surprise to learn that the only dowry which Bunyan's wife brought her young soldier husband aged 19 comprised two books—*The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and *The Practice of Piety*.

30. KNOX, Robert. *Account of the captivity of Capt. Robert Knox, and other Englishmen, in the Island of Ceylon, and of the Captain's miraculous escape, and return to England, in September 1680; after detention on the island of nineteen years and a half. Written by himself, and first printed in 1681.* London; Printed for J. Hatchard; Bookseller to the Queen. No. 190, Picadilly, 1818. [Colombo Reprinted by A. M. & J. Ferguson, 1908]. 182p. [i.e. [5], 6-182p.] 8vo.

This is a straightforward reprint of the 1818 London publication by J. Hatchard, omitting the brief historical sketch. The Title-page is a reproduction of the 1818 version, with a few changes. The initial 'An', the 'and' before 'after' and 'a' before 'detention' are omitted. Curiously enough the reprint information is only carried on the verso of the half title-page facing the title-page, instead of on the title-page itself or on the back of it. The intention of the printers in Colombo to have the pagination in Arabic numerals straight through is defeated by a misprint '6' on p. [4] of the preliminary matter. There are really four preliminary pages, consisting of title-page, blank verso, and two pages of contents, with the text beginning on p. [5] This reprint may well have been inspired by the work of Donald Ferguson during this period, and it is likely that he suggested the reprint to members of his family active in the world of printer's ink in Colombo.

31. ———— *Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom*; selected and edited by E. F. C. Ludowyk, with four photographs by the late Lionel Wendt. Bombay, etc., Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford Univ. Press (Indian Branch), [1948]. xxvi, [2], 175p. front., 3 pl., maps on endpapers.

This is an abridgement of the text of *An Historical Relation* and of some parts of the Autobiography in 20 chapters divided into three parts, by a former Professor of English, at the University of Ceylon, who has done a great deal of work in evaluating the literary and sociological aspects of Knox's work. Intended for the general reader, Knox's spelling has been modernised, and his seventeenth-century capitals reduced in accordance with modern usage. But his idiom and anglicization of Sinhalese words (except place names) have been preserved in the interests of its original flavour. The book is embellished with four striking photographs by the late great Ceylonese photographer Lionel Wendt, who spoke the commentary for the memorable and classic documentary film *The Song of Ceylon* (1935) directed by Basil Wright, which remains a lyrical high-water mark in the blending of sight and sound in cinematic terms. Passages from Knox were skilfully interwoven in the commentary. The map on the front end-papers is a reproduction of the map in Knox, and the one on the back end-papers is a contemporary map giving railways and roads, as well

as Knox's escape-route from Eladetta to Arippu. The introduction by the editor on pp. ix-xxvi is a model of its kind, placing Knox's work in the context of its value as a source-book on the Kandyan Kingdom, as well as its enduring influence on the course of English prose fiction beginning with Defoe. It is with his introduction that Ludowyk first sets out to show how greatly and significantly Defoe stood in Knox's debt, and to what extent Robinson Crusoe was cast in the mould of this dour, courageous, and long-suffering English puritan. "It is no more than a pleasing thought perhaps, but it recommends itself to the senses as one reads Knox's account of his life in the Kandyan Kingdom, that the man who tramped its 'narrow wayes' and high mountains was one of the forbears of Robinson Crusoe" (p. xxvi). Further explorations of the link between Defoe and Knox are found in Ludowyk (nos. 70 & 71).

32. WILLIAMS, Harry. *With Robert Knox in Ceylon*. Illustrated by Harry Toothill. London, Frederick Muller, 1964. 143 p, 18 illus. on 12 plates. (photos.), 15 text illus. (drawings), map. (Adventures in geography series; ed. by Robert Owen).

Intended for children aged 11-16, and the design of the series is to describe the geography of each country through the travels and adventures of the explorer. This version of Knox's tale for children is by the author of the well-known *Ceylon: Pearl of the East* (London, Robert Hale, 1st ed. 1950; 2nd ed. rev. 1963). The illustrations, with three exceptions, are contemporary photographs supplied by the Ceylon Tea Centre and Mr. C. N. Skuce. The three exceptions are photographs of three of the engravings in the 1681 edition. The line drawings in the text are by Harry Toothill. The map is a simplified version of that in the 1681 edition on a greatly reduced scale. The author embroiders on Knox's narrative and draws the long bow, sometimes to distorted lengths, in his attempt to serve up a rattling good yarn to English boys and girls avid for tales of the white man's derring do among strange people in unexplored lands. The King of Kandy is pictured as a bloodthirsty and tyrannous despot who ruled his kingdom for more than fifty years with unparalleled terror, while the Sinhalese villagers, among whom Knox's lot was cast, are depicted as apathetic and terror-stricken. In Ch. 4 "The wonderful map", the author pays ecstatic tribute to Knox's map as "an outstanding achievement—a detailed piece of geographical exploration. rarely equalled—which for some reason, never seems to have been accorded the recognition which it so clearly deserves". In his earlier *Ceylon: Pearl of the East* (both editions) he refers to Knox's account as "one of the most remarkable books ever written...his astonishingly accurate

book" (p. 60), and leans on his narrative in Ch. 6 "The Dutch Incident", pp. 59-64, and Ch. 9 "The Veddas", pp. 100-133. He seems convinced by Knox's description of the King, that Raja Sinha II was a half-crazed, bloodthirsty despot (pp. 60-61). On p. 198 he errs in good company when referring to Knox as having been captured under the notable tree in Muttur.

B : CRITICISM — THE MAN AND HIS BOOK

(in alphabetical order of authors)

33. ARASARATNAM, Sinnappah. *Dutch power in Ceylon, 1658-1687*. Amsterdam, Djambatan, [1958]. xxii, 246p., 6 illus., 2 maps.

A detailed analysis of three decades of Ceylonese history when the dominant theme was the impact of the Dutch power on the social and political life of the country. The antagonism between the King of Kandy representing Kandyan state power, and the growing interests of the Dutch East India Company is a notable feature of the politics of this period. Of the contemporary sources dealing solely or partly with the issues dealt with in the book, the most important, in the author's view, is Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* (1681). On pp. xv-xvii of his Introduction he discusses the value and relevance of Knox's frank, uninhibited, and unbiassed account of the political, economic, social and religious aspects of life in the Kandyan Kingdom. "As the only non-Dutch voice that comes out of Ceylon in this period, his work demands careful attention. Even in matters of detail, Knox serves to correct certain factual distortions found in the Dutch sources". At the same time he is aware of the pitfalls of too great a reliance. "The prejudices of Knox are only too clear on the surface to prove dangerous or misleading...A system that worked with the sanction of custom and tradition is looked at from the outside and not in perspective". The author also uses the supplementary information provided by Knox in the inter-leaved copy of the first edition discovered in the British Museum (Christy Library 43E). Illustrations of the defects of Knox's work are provided on pp. 25-26, and 113-114. The author taught history in the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya for many years, and is presently Professor of History at the University of New England, Armidale, Australia.

34. ——— William Hubbard, fellow prisoner of Knox in Kandy, 1660-1703. *University of Ceylon Review*. Vol. 19, no. 1, April 1961, pp. 30-39.

William Hubbard, a native of Salisbury, was captured at the age of 22, with 15 others, including Knox, of the crew of the "Anne", and after a 44 years captivity, escaped in 1703 to the Dutch in the maritime provinces of the island. Hubbard furnished to his Dutch saviours a brief account of the Kandyan Kingdom, and his own activities during the long period of incarceration. Originally written in English, it was translated into Dutch, and deposited in the Dutch East India Company's papers in the Hague. The editor retranslates it into English and reproduces the text with the title "Translation of a Report done in English by the Englishman, William Hebbert [i.e. Hubbard], Fugitive from Kandy rendered in Dutch", on pp. 36-39. The Introduction by the editor on pp. 30-35 is an evaluation of the points of interest in Hubbard's account, and he comments that "it can profitably be placed side by side with Knox's more picturesque relation", and laments his obvious illiteracy and taciturnity as preventing a more detailed record on the lines of his studious compatriot. Hubbard adjusted quickly to Kandyan society, taking a Sinhalese wife and raising a family of five boys and five girls, following Knox's advice that "it was better to marry than to burn". One of his sons, Peter, 33 years old at the time, accompanied him on his flight to freedom.

35. [BELL, H. C. P.] Robert Knox and the English captives in "Kanda Uda". *Ceylon Literary Register*. vol. 3, no. 45, May 24, 1889, pp. 358-360.

Letter to the Editor from a correspondent signed "B", dated Kegalla, May 1889. A transcript of two letters in Sinhalese given in English transliteration together with the English translations, which have been revised by *Mudaliyar* B. Gunasekara, from Dutch records in the Government Archives, Colombo. During Knox's last voyage to the East, while on the Malabar coast, he sent a copy of his portrait and a letter to the surviving fellow captives in Ceylon, through the Dutch Governor Gerrit de Heere in Colombo. The exchange of letters between the Governor and the Kandyan King, Wimala Dharma Surya, is the correspondence reproduced. The identity of the anonymous correspondent "B" was revealed as H. C. P. Bell, by D. W. Ferguson in *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries* vol. 4, no. 2, Feb. 1896, p. 28.

36. BLAKE, J. R. A brief notice of Robert Knox and his companions in captivity in Kandy for the space of twenty years, discovered among the Dutch records preserved in the Colonial Secretary's Office, Colombo, and translated into English. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* vol. 4, no. 14, 1867-70, pp. 143-150.

The first notice is in the 2nd volume of the Dutch Records, in a Minute of Council, dated Saturday 18th Sept. 1660, and refers to the departure of the *Ann* from Cottiar Bay, after Knox, his father and some of the crew were captured. The second notice is in the 7th volume, in a Minute of Council, dated Monday the 21st and Thursday the 24th October, 1669. This Minute contains an ola ms. letter to "Sir Edward" by John Loveland and R. Knox, dated 21st Aug. 1669, a letter to the captives by Rycloff Van Goens, the Dutch Governor at Colombo dated 22nd October, and a letter to the British Governor at Madras dated 23rd October 1669, conveying the information of the captives' plight, their letter to Sir Edward, and Van Goen's reply to them. The bearer of the ola was a Tamil man called "Perga". The "Sir Edward" of the letter was Sir Edward Winter, Governor of Fort St. George and Agent of the East India Company at Madras. The selection of correspondence in the second notice is reprinted in a section of No. 50, entitled "A letter from Loveland and Knox" *Monthly Literary Register*, vol. 4, no. 2, Feb. 1896, pp. 35-36. In this connection D. W. Ferguson says: "I have compared Mr. Blake's translation with the original, and have made a number of alterations, especially in the spelling of the names, Mr. Blake having taken some liberties in this matter". This correspondence is again reprinted, with a few emendations of J. R. Blake's translation by Edmund Reimers in his "Raja Sinha II and his British captives". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* vol. 30, no. 78, 1925, pp. 15-18.

37. BLAZE, L. E. Robert Knox. *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon*. vol. 3, 1910, pp. 32-46.

An account of Robert Knox based largely on D. W. Ferguson's *Captain Robert Knox: the twenty years captive in Ceylon...Contributions towards a biography* (1896-97). His adventure in Ceylon is also treated at length.

38. ——— Robert Knox and the Dutch. *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon*. vol. 4, 1911, pp. 13-18

Substantially a review of Ryan's 1911 edition of Knox containing the autobiography. The author, dwells on Knox's references to the Dutch in Kandy, their relations with the King, and Knox's own treatment by the Dutch, and his opinions of them.

39. BOXER, Charles Ralph. Ceylon through Puritan eyes: Robert Knox in the Kingdom of Kandy, 1660-1679. *History Today*. vol. 4, no. 10, October 1954, pp. 660-667, 7 illus.

An examination of Knox's book as a detailed and accurate commentary of the old Kandyan Kingdom. The author suggests that deeply ingrained Puritan prejudices sometimes stood in the way of a charitable and sympathetic appreciation of Sinhalese social and religious mores.

40. ———— An introduction to Joao Ribeiro's Historical Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon 1685 *Ceylon Historical Journal* vol. 3, nos. 3-4, January and April 1954, pp. 234-255, 3 pl. (facsimis).

A sympathetic appraisal of Ribeiro's *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilao*, whose account has been strangely neglected in comparison to the use made of de Queyroz and Knox as source-books for Ceylon history. Points out interesting features of the work, omitted by Paul Pieris in his introductions to his translations, and also makes a comparison of Ribeiro's work with that of Knox, as, in the writer's opinion, they supplement each other. Ribeiro wrote with enthusiasm and *con amore* unlike Knox, whose narrative, however, Ribeiro cannot rival or supplant, as it is much fuller, detailed, and accurate in both description and observation. Ribeiro's experience was virtually confined to the maritime provinces, as was that of Knox to the Kandyan highlands. Boxer provides interesting examples of how closely Ribeiro and Knox agreed in their accounts of the Sinhalese and their institutions.

41. ———— Captain Joao Ribeiro and his History of Ceylon, 1622-1693. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* 1955, Pt. 1, pp. 1-12, maps.

This article, a follow-up to the 1954 *Ceylon Historical Journal* contribution, summarises what has been discovered about Ribeiro and his work since 1890, and confines itself to considering points, which have not hitherto attracted the notice of his editors, translators, and commentators. As in the previous article, the writer emphasises the link between Ribeiro and Knox as the former was probably beginning his book when his illustrious contemporary was finishing his. The two works dovetail into and complement each other to some extent on many points, and a few interesting examples of comparison are given. Knox, however, remains unrivalled in his accuracy, powers of observation, and fullness, yielding the palm to Ribeiro only in the nostalgia and enthusiasm of the latter's attitude to the island and its charms.

42. CAVE, Henry William. *The Book of Ceylon*. New ed. rev. London, Cassell & Co., 1912. xii [4], 664p., illus., 5 maps, 3 plans.

In this popular and felicitously written book of introduction to the island and its beauties of nature and civilisation, illustrated by the author with his own photographs of distinctive and historic charm, he makes lavish mention of Knox in a section following "Location of Kandy Temples" (pp. 337-381), with the marginal title "Robert Knox" pp. 381-382. "No story of Kandy is complete without some reference to this remarkable man who, captured by Raja Sinha II in the year 1659, lived amongst the Kandyans for twenty years, at the expiration of which period he escaped almost miraculously, and has handed down to us an account of the country and people, the strict veracity of which is unquestionable, notwithstanding that in strange and romantic incident it surpasses most fiction". (p. 381). He goes on to wax nostalgic over the village of Eladetta where Knox passed several years of his life, and from where he eventually escaped. His description of the environment of his home is compared to the conjectured site of his dwelling in its modern bucolic setting. On p. 390 in describing the cycles of paddy cultivation, Cave again has recourse to Knox's account of harvesting.

43. COPLESTON, Reginald Stephen. *Bishop of Colombo. Robert Knox. Buddhism, primitive and present in Magdha and in Ceylon.* London, etc., Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. Note to Ch. 27, pp. 398-403; 2nd ed. (1908). Note 2 to Ch. 25, pp. 238-241.

This note on Robert Knox is given at the end of the chapter in each edition titled "From Parakrama to the arrival of the Dutch". It is a missionary appreciation of Knox's narrative in the light of its portrayal of the personal record of a Christian English gentleman's sojourn among a heathen and outlandish Eastern community. Knox's naive comments on the attitude of the Sinhalese to religion are torn out of context to present an attractive picture of the appeal of Christianity, as opposed to the popular ignorance and indifference of the natives to Buddhism!—a perhaps understandable episcopal fantasy.

44. DAVY, John. *An account of the interior of Ceylon, and of its inhabitants. With travels in the island.* London, Longmans, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1821. viii, 530 p., col. front., 13 pl., fold. map, text illus.

The doctor brother of Sir Humphrey Davy, himself a F.R.S. and scientist, was responsible for this early nineteenth-century counterpart of Knox, which supplies a mine of information on the central parts of the island, their sociology and culture. This work "formed from original materials", collected in Ceylon, during a residence on the Medical Staff of the

Army, from August, 1816 to February, 1820 provides a fascinating and sophisticated parallel to the work of his homely and rough-hewn seventeenth-century compatriot whose lot with the Sinhalese was cast in altogether different circumstances. In the final paragraph of the preface to his comprehensive work Davy pays due recognition to the pioneer investigations of Knox in these words: "To conclude this preface, I beg leave to remark, that the only book that has preceded this, expressly on the same subject, and written from personal knowledge is "The History of Ceylon" by Captain Robert Knox, published a hundred and forty years ago, which I have read with great pleasure, though I am not aware that I have borrowed from it. Knox's history has ever been popular, and must be so always, from its simplicity of style and narrative, and the good feelings of the author: and it may still be consulted with advantage for information on ordinary matters, that come within the sphere of his own observation". (p. viii).

45. DE FONSEKA, Lyn. Bibliography [of Robert Knox]. *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*; by Robert Knox. With an introduction by S. D. Saparamadu. Colombo, The Ceylon Historical Journal, 1958; reprinted 1966. pp. XCVII-CI (preceding Index).

This bare checklist of thirty-one items arranged in two sections (Editions, and Secondary Sources) was compiled by the former Librarian of the Colombo Museum Library, who died in 1968. There are many errors and omissions in the transcriptions of the English, Dutch, French and German title-pages, compounded by misprints, while collations are conspicuous by their absence, the bibliographical description being altogether of a meagre quality. The entry for the Dutch edition of 1692, for example, contains seventeen errors in the transcription of the title-page, while the distinctive letter-press, which fills the title-page of the German edition, has been pruned to just three lines. There are many omissions and inaccuracies in the list of secondary material too, and only one Sinhala translation is included. This bibliography falls far short of the expectations raised in the publisher's prospectus for this edition of Knox: "A bibliography of all the known published and unpublished works by Knox together with a complete list of writings on him". The opportunity to correct the mistakes and supply the omissions arose eight years later when a reprint was issued, but the "Bibliography" was also photolithographically reproduced along with the rest of the book.

46. DE LANEROLLE, Kenneth. Essays in Ceylon history, V. Robert Knox of Conde Uda. *Ceylon Men*. (Colombo, Y.M.C.A.) vol. 25, no. 8, August 1940, pp. 3, 12-14.

An appreciation of Knox and his account of the Kandyan kingdom. The veracity of the author and the authenticity of the descriptions are stressed, and his fortitude and piety bolstered by his Christian faith. The writer was at the time a teacher and later Principal of Kingswood College, Kandy, a leading Secondary school established by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission.

47. DE VOS, F. H. *compiler*. Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag-Register, Batavia, A.D. 1678-1680. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*. vol. 26, no. 71, 1918, pp. 181-198.

Extracts relating to the arrival of Robert Knox in Batavia along with the retiring Governor of Ceylon Rycloff van Goens (junior), on 15th January, 1680. A report regarding his captivity for 20 years, and subsequent escape to the Dutch at Arippu in the previous year given on the 13th February, 1680 and attested by Knox, appears on pp. 185-190. This confirms the report made by him to the Governor at Colombo in November, 1679. Knox gives 5th January, 1680 as the date of his arrival in Batavia. (*An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, 1911 edition p. 279).

48. DEWARAJA, Lorna Srimathie. *A Study of the political, administrative and social structure of the Kandyan Kingdom of Ceylon 1707-1760*. Colombo, Lake House Investments Ltd., [1972]. [12], 240p., 2 tables, 2 pl. (fold), end-paper maps.

A very recent piece of historical scholarship on the Kandyan period of Ceylonese history by a Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Ceylon, Colombo, which in turn is indebted to Knox for unravelling many aspects of the time, concerning which Sinhalese sources are either reticent or non-existent. In her Introduction, the author lays bare the extent of her own trust. "Among the British sources, the earliest and perhaps the most frequently mentioned in our study is the writing of Robert Knox, that inexhaustible mine of information regarding almost any aspect of the history of the Kandyan kingdom. Knox depicted the conditions he observed during his period of captivity from 1660-1679. These conditions tally very closely, except in minor details, with those given by British writers of the early nineteenth century, like the Reverend James Cordiner and John Davy. It is evident that, in spite of political changes, the life of the people had altered very little during the intervening period, so that we may rely on Knox with some confidence for many aspects of the history of the eighteenth century. He wrote long before British domination in the east had begun, and therefore his writing is free of many of the prejudices that characterize later British writers.

His testimony is all the more important, because his is a non-Dutch voice speaking from Kandy, at a time when the Dutchman were masters of the coast" (pp. 12-13). A contemporary Englishman, Dr. T. J. Barron of the University of Edinburgh, provides his own deposition in his Foreword to the book: "Despite this fascinating record, few historians have ventured to essay the domestic history of the Kandyan Kingdom. Nor is this surprising. The difficulties involved in searching out and examining local documentary materials from this period are prodigious. And this is not the only obstacle. The historian of the Kandyan Kingdom must extend his range to encompass European sources, where the work of interpretation, to overcome the bias and ignorance of the foreign observers, is an equally difficult problem. Scholarly reticence to undertake such a daunting task has left us still dependent for our knowledge of Kandy principally (and almost unbelievably) on a seventeenth century work by an Englishman who was for nineteen years a captive in the Kingdom—Robert Knox. Knox's account, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*, and a few nineteenth century British chronicles have perforce become the basis for all subsequent writing on the Kandyan kingdom in the period before its fall. Knox was a shrewd and attentive observer, but it has long been recognized that his survey is in serious need of some informed criticism".

49. The English captives in Ceylon. *Ceylon Literary Register*. Vol. 3, no. 53, July 19, 1889, p. 424.

A one paragraph extract of a brief reference to the detained sailors in Francois Valentijn's *Beschrijvinge van het Eyland Ceylon*, the fifth and last volume of his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam, 1724-1726), p. 200. Valentijn's work on Ceylon is more in the nature of an anthology or compilation of documents and extracts. He borrowed extensively from published and unpublished works without declaring his indebtedness. In the narrative of the history of Ceylon between 1660 and 1675 he borrows largely from Knox, whose work was available in a Dutch translation. Valentijn has other references to the English captives in Ceylon.

50. FERGUSON, Donald William. Captain Robert Knox. *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon*. vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 1896, pp. 5-20; vol. 4, no. 2, Feb. 1896, pp. 28-46; vol. 4, no. 3, March 1896, pp. 57-70; vol. 4, no. 4, April 1896, pp. 78-94; vol. 4, no. 5, May 1896, pp. 105-112.

The results of Ferguson's painstaking, indefatigable and dedicated researches into Knox's life from ancestry and parentage to last will and testament.

The information brought together has been culled from patient examination of the Court Books, Letter Books and Original Correspondence of the East India Company preserved in the India Office Library; the correspondence with the Rev. John Strype, Knox's cousin, preserved in the Cambridge University Library; and the testamentary documents from Somerset House. "The manuscript and printed treasures of the British Museum Library have also yielded information of value and interest". The whole account is an absorbing piece of bibliographical and historical investigation. The author concludes with the hope that the inter-leaved copy of Knox's *Historical Relation* with Knox's own additions, and the manuscript autobiography bequeathed to his nephew Knox Ward "may yet be discovered in some public or private library". The last will and testament is given in full on pp. 108-111. In the following year Ferguson issued these instalments, together with additional material, in the form of a monograph limited to one hundred copies. *see also* no. 51.

51. ———— *Captain Robert Knox: the twenty years captive in Ceylon, and author of "An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon, in the East Indies" (London, 1681). Contributions towards a biography.* Colombo (Ceylon) and Croydon (England), 1896-1897. [6], 72 p.

An exceedingly rare Knox item, as only one hundred copies were printed for private circulation, mainly to libraries in England and Scotland and to a few individuals. The copy in the University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya bears the inscription "Wm. Foster, Esq., M.A., with kind regards from Donald Ferguson". The first 58 pages, virtually a reproduction of the serialised instalments in the *Monthly Literary Register*, were printed while the author was in Colombo in 1896, and the Errata, Addenda, Index, etc. after his return to England the next year. The only addition to the instalments is a section on p. 58 at the end of the main text entitled "Hendrik Draak, Frans Has and Frans Van Den Berg", being further data to the notes on pp. 13, 18, 21, 23, and 24 regarding these men. The reader is asked, by Ferguson in the Preface, to make the corrections and note the additions given in the Errata and Addenda, Index, etc. "Should the printing and circulation of these documents with the life-history of Robert Knox lead to the discovery of his long-lost 'second edition' and autobiography, I shall be more than repaid for any trouble I have taken". The copy of the 1st edition containing the manuscript autobiography was found in the Bodleian Library a few years later, but the coming to light of the inter-leaved copy of the first edition, with Knox's additions,

had to wait till 1925. On being informed by Cuthbert Shields, of Corpus Christi College, of the discovery of the manuscript in October, 1900, Ferguson had the pleasure of spending a day in Oxford in November of the same year looking through it. He had ideas of undertaking its publication in connection with a new edition of Knox, but did not have this deserved satisfaction. Ferguson died on June 29, 1910 and James Ryan's edition of Knox with the autobiography was published the next year. Ferguson's work, short though it is, is a striking example of meticulous literary espionage. The Preface is dated "Croydon, August, 1897". The "Errata and Addenda" are on pp. 59-63; "Index", pp. 64-72, and [List of] "Contractions", p. 72. The book is dedicated to the memory of Jean Ingelow, the English poetess, who died on July 20, 1897, and a passage from one of her poems *Gladys and her island*, containing a reference to the misadventure of the Knoxes on the East coast of Ceylon is quoted as part of the Dedication on the verso of the title-page. Ingelow, a prolific versifier, is best remembered for her *The High Tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire*, 1571 (1863). "Her affections and gushings called aloud for burlesque, and received it. She wrote too much and too long"—George Sampson. *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*. 2nd ed. (1961). p. 730. This little-known poetic reference to Knox is reproduced as a curiosity at the head of this bibliography. It is a typical example of the affected quality of her verse. She must have been very much in Ferguson's mind when he wrote his Preface, her death occurring only a few weeks earlier.

52. ————*editor*. Letters from Captain Robert Knox to his cousin, John Strype, the antiquary; ed. by D. W. Ferguson. *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon*. vol. 2, no. 8, Aug. 1894, pp. 177-180; vol. 2, no. 9, Sept. 1894, pp. 196-198.

Eleven of twenty-eight letters written after Knox's return to England in 1680 to within two months of his death in June 1720. The first letter is dated 13 June, 1682 and the last 18 April, 1720. Vol. 5853 of the British Museum Additional MSS. contains a large number of letters to the Rev. John Strype copied in 1778-79 by the Rev. William Cole from the originals, which are now in the Cambridge University Library. These copies are reproduced by Ferguson with explanatory notes and footnotes where necessary. Summaries of the remaining seventeen are found in *Monthly Literary Register* vol. 3, no. 2, Feb. 1895, pp. 36-37. As Cole had taken liberties in transcribing these letters, Ferguson later provided his own transcripts after examining the originals in the Cambridge University Library. These are incorporated in his "Captain Robert Knox"

(1896) and the following monograph by the same title (1896-1897). The poor spelling and punctuation in these letters afford further evidence that Robert Hooke must have had a large hand in editing, correcting and shaping his friend's text for publication in 1681. The Rev. John Strype was Vicar of Low Leyton in Essex.

53. ————The letters of Robert Knox to Strype. *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon* vol. 3, no. 2, Feb. 1895, pp 36-37.

A follow-up to the transcripts of the eleven letters given in *Monthly Literary Register*, Vol. 2 (1894). Subsequently Ferguson consulted the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library where the originals of the 28 letters from Knox to Strype are found. The Catalogue gives a brief summary of the contents of each of the letters. This article reproduces the summaries of the seventeen letters, which had not been copied by William Cole, with notes and footnotes by Ferguson. The full transcripts of these letters are given in the author's "Captain Robert Knox" (1896) and reprinted in the monograph to the same title (1896-1897). see nos. 50 and 51.

54. ————The portrait of Captain Robert Knox. *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon*. vol. 4, no. 2, Feb. 1896, pp. 27-28.

Points out that there are three distinct impressions (or variants) of the portrait of Knox drawn and engraved by Richard White in 1895 when the subject was 54 years old. The differences are described in great detail. The author is of the opinion that the portrait was specially engraved as a frontispiece for the contemplated second revised and enlarged edition of Knox's book, for which Chiswell, the printer, had provided him with an inter-leaved copy of the first edition. This article, in the form of a letter, first appeared in *Notes and Queries: a medium of inter-communication for literary men, artists, antiquaries, genealogists, etc.* (London) 14th Dec. 1895. Due to several mistakes, arising from the author's inability to correct the proofs, the above reprint incorporated the corrections.

The portrait is in an oval ornamental border, resting on a broad plinth, with a bordered cloth suspended from it at the bottom, on which is depicted a very inaccurate map (*a la Pliny*) of Ceylon with a ship on each side. On the upper portion of the plinth, on each side of the portrait, are the words, "R. White ad Vivum-delin. et sculpsit", while in the blank space

below the plinth is the name "Capt. Robert Knox" in large script letters. Some copies of the first edition, of which there were, doubtless, in the fashion of publication at this period, more than one impression, had this first version of the portrait bound in before the title-page. (Ferguson, himself, purchased one through Quaritch, the antiquarian book-dealer). The second impression of the portrait had the following verse by his close friend Robert Hooke, the distinguished philosopher and scientist, inserted in the space at the foot of the plinth, instead of the author's name, thus:

"See Knox's Aspect here	Like them at last by Grace
by White designed.	he Freedom Gained.
Peruse his Book, thou'lt	Parting for Spoils they
better see his Mind.	AEgypt's Jewels took.
Captive like Jacob's	He Ceylon's left yet
Offspring, long detain'd:	(strange!) they'r in his Book.

R. H. 30 Dec. 1695".

The author's name, earlier in this space, was now placed in the lower portion of the oval frame, "Capt. ROBT", on the left and "KNOX" on the right. At the extreme right-hand corner of the plinth, the date "1695" is inserted, below and to the right of "sculpsit". The third impression has substituted for the map of Ceylon, Knox's coat of arms and crest, copied perhaps from the seal used by him. A detailed description of the Knox coat of arms and crest is found in D. W. Ferguson's *Captain Robert Knox* (1896-97) p. 55 (footnote). It is reproduced as an illustration in James Ryan's edition of the text and autobiography in 1911. The second impression of the portrait, found in the Bodleian copy, was also used by Ryan as the frontispiece to his edition.

55. ——— Robert Knox's Sinhalese vocabulary. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. vol. 14, no. 47, 1896, pp. 155-199.

Discovered by Donald Ferguson in the British Museum, while consulting the manuscripts of Dr. Robert Hooke, Secretary of the Royal Society from 1677-1682, and a close friend of Knox. The vocabulary of Sinhalese words, partly in Hooke's, but chiefly in Knox's handwriting, is contained in four folios, 162-165, of a volume of miscellaneous papers (Sloane, 1039). Ferguson opines that this vocabulary must have been compiled after the publication of the book. The vocabulary, with suitable revisions and helpful changes, is set out in tabular form on pp. 159-198. The categories are: Knox's vocabulary, meaning, Sinhalese word correspondence, and English transliteration. There are 767 words and phrases. The table is

preceded by a comparative list of Knox's and Hooke's systems of transliterating Sinhalese sounds, pp. 157-158. The words he has recorded are those of the everyday speech of the Kandyen Sinhalese villager of the 17th century. Many of the forms are, as may be expected, vulgarisms, and some are now obsolete. This glossary must have been provoked by his friend Robert Hooke's reference in the Preface to his book: "He could have given you a complete Dictionary of their language, understanding and speaking it as well as his Mother Tongue. But his Occasions would not permit him to do more at present". There is also a reprint of 44 p.

56. FERGUSON, William. Knox, Robert. List of writers on Ceylon: rev. and greatly enlarged by Donald W. Ferguson. *Ferguson's Ceylon Handbook and Directory for 1885-86*. pp. 299-304a-304s; 896. Reprinted Colombo, 1885. 24p.

A very telegraphic listing of eleven editions and digests of Knox from 1681-1884. The information provided is of the briefest, with only place, date of publication and format, but lacking titles except in the case of the 1st English edition. The partial reprint "by the Rev. W. M. Harvard, in 1 vol. 12 mo., London, 1824" has eluded the present compiler. It could well be confused with the duodecimo format one volume edition by J. Hatchard in 1818 or the W. M. Harvard version of 1821 in small octavo format. The entry relating to the epitome in "Smith's Works, London, 1854, i, pp. 79-93" is inaccurate. Sydney Smith's "Island of Ceylon" is a summary of Robert Percival's *An account of the island of Ceylon* (1803) and not of Knox's book. *The works of Sydney Smith*. New ed. London, 1854. Vol. 1, pp. 79-93.

57. FORBES, Major [Jonathan]. *Eleven Years in Ceylon. Comprising sketches of the field sports and natural history of that colony, and an account of its history and antiquities*. London, Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 1840. 2v. fronts, plates; 2nd ed. revised and corrected. 1841.

A typical example of a nineteenth-century work on Ceylon in the early period of British rule, in which the influence of Knox's sojourn in Kandyen territory is clearly visible. In Vol. I, Ch. 10 "Ancient capital of Anurādhapūra", he first refers to Knox's description of the ruins at Anurādhapura which he stumbled on during the last stages of his escape (pp. 209-210), and then summarises briefly the description of his captivity and escape on pp. 210-212, and pays this tribute. "This is a work of great interest, and was originally published in London in 1681. Nothing can be more

admirable than the extent of memory, acute observation, and inflexible veracity exhibited in his account of the country and people; nor can anything be more interesting than the simple narrative of his own sufferings. His perseverance, fortitude, and firm religious belief enabled him to overcome misfortunes, to rescue himself from a tedious captivity, and finally to regain his station as commander of a ship under the East India Company" (pp. 210-211). The page references are to the first edition of 1840, which is better known.

58. GIBSON, Ashley. *The compleat bachelor. Cinnamon and frangipanni*. London, Chapman and Dodd, 1923. Ch. 8, pp. 211-222. Reprinted: New ed. *Ceylon*. London, Dent, 1929. Ch. 8, pp. 193-200.

A delightfully irreverent account of Knox and his great adventure on the island of Ceylon, taking in the separate images of "the Quaker who so adroitly served God and Mammon", and his "deep-rooted aversion from the tempestuous petticoat".

59. GOMBRICH, Richard F. *Precept and practice. Traditional Buddhism in the rural highlands of Ceylon*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971. xiv + 366 p.

This painstaking investigation of the ideology and behaviour of the Sinhalese villager in the regular observance of his traditional faith—Buddhism—based on close observation, *a la* Knox, of precept and practice in a Kandyan village, about twenty miles from the area in which Knox lived for the major part of his captivity. The field-work was done in the middle and late 'sixties, however, and, though, as the author concedes "The Kandyan system... is known to us principally from the account of Robert Knox written in the late seventeenth century" (p. 298) the dangers of too close a reliance on him in the attempt to probe peasant attitudes and behaviour, is well illustrated in Gombrich's descriptions and analyses of the morals and ethos of Sinhalese society, into the special graces and flexible favours of which, Robert Knox was neither equipped nor motivated to enter. In pursuing the extent to which the *Panca Sila* (Five Precepts) are observed in the peasant locale, Gombrich falls back on Knox's estimate of the character of his fellow-villagers twenty miles away and nearly three centuries earlier, "which strike me as quite up-to-date and applicable to my own experiences... The difficulty is, of course, that neither Knox nor I have been similarly exposed to other peasant societies for comparison" (p. 259). The author quotes Knox in connection with a ceremony involving a Buddha image-*nētra pinkama* ('eye festival'), on pp. 114 and 138, and justifies his dependence on Knox in carrying out his essentially empirical aims with

this witness to his value as a literary source “justly the most celebrated is the first book ever written on Ceylon in English, may be still the best and certainly the most entertaining: Robert Knox’s *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* first published in 1681...Religion is the facet of Sinhalese culture he seems to have understood least well—he always kept his Bible with him—but even so his information is invaluable to us” (p. 26). In a note (35) on the same page, he states incorrectly that both editions of 1911 and 1958 of Knox’s text included Knox’s Autobiography—only the 1911 edition did so, as the 1958 reprint contained only the “Introductory pages of autobiography”.

60. GOODWIN, Gordon. Robert Knox; by G. G. *Dictionary of National Biography*; ed. by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode. Vol. XI (1892) pp. 330-331; repr. London, Oxford Univ. Press. Vol. XI (1922) pp. 330-331. Reprinted: *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon*, vol. 1, no. 12, Dec. 1893, pp. 269-270.

Some inaccuracies in biographical details. His father was not a Scot, but of honest to goodness English stock, being born at Nacton in Suffolk, as was his father in 1581. There was no connection with the redoubtable Scottish Reformer of the same name, for whom, however, Knox had the profoundest admiration. Date of birth is given rather doubtfully as, “1641?”, though it is now established that Robert Knox was born at Tower Hill, London on February 8, 1641. The date of death is incorrectly placed in July, as Knox died on the 19th June, 1720, a few months after his 79th birthday. In the *Concise Dictionary of National Biography* (1903), reprinted by Oxford Univ. Press in 1920, the date of birth is given as “1640?” (p. 735). Goodwin was also not aware of the German translation of 1689. This biography was written at the time when Donald Ferguson was laboriously unravelling the details of Knox’s life, which bore fruit in “Captain Robert Knox” (1896).

61. GOONETILEKE, H. A. I. Another Mr. Knox in Dutch Ceylon. *The Times of Ceylon Annual* 1973, [2] p., 2 illus.

A light-hearted comparison of two Knoxes in Dutch Ceylon—the one a studious prude who abjured strictly all the pleasures of a fun-loving flesh throughout his long incarceration, the other, supercargo of the *Fatty Salem* who came by his death on 18th December 1757 through an illness occasioned “by a cold he caught at Galle, in dancing with some ladies, who were just arrived from Europe”. The account of this other Mr. Knox is given in Edward Ives *A voyage from England to India in the year 1754...interspersed with some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs etc. of several nations in Indostan...* (London, 1773).

62. ——— Robert Knox on Ceylon. *A Bibliography of Ceylon. A systematic guide to the literature on the land, people, history and culture published in Western languages from the sixteenth century to the present day.* Zug (Switzerland), Inter Documentation Company, 1970. 2v. (Bibliotheca Asiatica-5). Vol. 1, Ch. 7, (E) pp. 183-189; Vol. 3 (1976) Ch. 7 (E) pp 78-79.

A total of 58 items, carefully described, but with the minimum of annotation. This essentially enumerative bibliography of Knox has served as the spring-board for the present elaboration and expansion. The opportunity has also been taken to correct misprints, amend mistakes, and, in general, to cover the ground with much greater system and detail.

63. GOONEWARDENA, K. W. Some comments on Robert Knox and his writings on Ceylon. *University of Ceylon Review.* vol. 16, nos. 1 and 2, Jan—April 1958, pp. 39-52.

Through a critical examination of Knox's own writings, including his inter-leaved additions to the copy of the 1681 edition in the British Museum Library, the author, presently Professor of History at the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya, draws attention to certain details and features of his account of Ceylon which have been hitherto overlooked by other writers or editors, "or not sufficiently emphasised when discussing the reliability and general historical value of Knox's work". This is the first attempt to place his *Historical Relation* under the critical lens of a professional historian, and to disturb the sentimental halo which a long period of uncritical adulation had fostered. The author shows that Knox was not the admirably keen and percipient observer that he is made out to be. His experiences were severely limited not only by linguistic and geographical constraints, but also the narrow range of his social contacts to which he was restricted in the village he lived in. His strong racial and religious prejudices too interfered with his judgements. The author also stresses his dependence on the Dutch Predikant Phillipus Baldaeus' work on Ceylon *Naawkeurige Beschrijvinge van Malabar en Chromandel...en het machtige Eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672.) In the author's *The foundation of Dutch power in Ceylon, 1638-1658* (Amsterdam, Djambatan) published in the same year as this article, he notes in his Introduction (p. xvii): "In passing it may also be noted that the work of Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* (London, 1681), while invaluable for its description of various aspects of the political, economic and social life within the Kandyan Kingdom, is not of direct use for the subject-matter of this study. As for Knox's picture of Raja Sinha as an unmitigated tyrant—it really does not belong to this period, although a streak of tyranny ran through some of his actions even at this time".

64. KHAN, Shafaat Ahmad. *Sources for the history of British India in the seventeenth century*. London, etc, Oxford Univ. Press [Mysore, Wesleyan Mission Press], 1926. viii, [4], 395p.

Knox references. (1) "[1659]. Receuil Historique. No. 4, Abstract of the travels of R. Knox in Ceylon [1659] from a French translation published in 1693. Stowe MS. 988, folios 11b-24b." (p. 48); (2) "1681. A Journal of a voyage to the kingdom of Tonquin bordering upon China in the East-Indies by Captain Robert Knox. 21 Sep. 1681. Sailed from the Downs in the *Tonquin Merchant*. Landsdowne MS. 1197 folios 12-13. This MS. is only a fragment with a detailed description of St. Jago, in the midst of which it breaks off". (p. 77).

65. Knox's residence at Bandara-koswatta; from a correspondent at Kurunegala. *Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon*. vol. 3, no. 9, Sept. 1895, p. 220.

Information regarding the remains of the house occupied by Knox and his father at Bandara-koswatte, about 30 miles from Kurunegala. They lived here till his father's death in February 1661.

66. LEACH, Edmund Ronald. Hydraulic society in Ceylon. *Past and Present*. No. 15, April 1959, pp. 2-26.

A refutation of Karl Wittfogel's general thesis of Eastern institutionalised autocracy in *Oriental despotism* (1957) through an examination of the classic feudal society of Ceylon based on hydraulic agriculture up to the 13th century. Knox's "outstandingly perceptive description" of the decadent Sinhala Kandyen State of the 17th century is analysed in the course of the argument, esp. pp. 9-11, 15, 17-20 and 23. Leach remarks, "But how far is Knox a good witness?..Plainly much of Knox's ethnography—that is to say his straightforward account of Ceylonese manners and customs—is excellent. But we need to remember that he himself was a citizen of seventeenth-century England, a country in which the divine right of despotic kings was still a prime political issue. Knox's detailed elaboration of the Kandyen king's tyranny is perhaps in part at least, a slanderous attack against monarchy in general". R. A. L. H. Gunawardana in his "Irrigation and hydraulic society in early mediaeval Ceylon" *Past and Present* No. 53, Nov. 1971, pp. 3-27, has pertinent observations to offer on Leach's analysis in the course of pointing out that conditions in Ceylon diverged widely in crucial aspects from Wittfogel's portrayal of the total power of the Oriental despot ruling through "an agro-managerial bureaucracy".

67. LEWIS, John Penry. Eladetta in Udu Nuwara, Kandy District; Legundeniya in Uda Palata, Kandy District. *List of inscriptions on tombstones and monuments in Ceylon, of historical or local interest, with an obituary of persons uncommemorated*; by J. Penry Lewis, Colombo, H. C. Cottle, Govt. Printer, Ceylon, 1913. p. 341.

Two inscribed stones erected by the author, when Government Agent, Kandy, to mark the probable sites in two villages where Knox and his companions resided. Historical, geographical and traditional notices of their connection with the places are given as introductions to the respective inscriptions. The Legundeniya extract is reprinted in *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. 3, no. 4, April, 1918, pp. 297-298.

68. ——— Villages connected with Knox. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. 10, no. 2, Oct. 1924, pp. 122-123, 1 pl.

An account of the author's efforts between 1906 and 1910 in having two memorial stones erected at two villages in the Kandy district to help to perpetuate their association with Knox and his companions in captivity. The plate contains illustrations (from photographs) of the two stones and their inscriptions. The villages were Eladetta and Legundeniya (Knox's 'Legendeny'), and only approximate sites were chosen since the actual residences were difficult to identify after two and a half centuries.

69. LUDOWYK, E. F. C. Between old and new. *The story of Ceylon*. London, Faber and Faber. 1962. Ch. 10, pp. 170-185; reprinted. 2nd ed. (1967). Ch. 10, pp. 170-185.

This chapter is given over entirely to an examination of Knox's account of Kandyan society in the 17th century, which in essentials changed little till the coming of a different brand of Englishman 150 years later. "His account of the Kandyan kingdom could even be given the particular value of anticipating some of the attitudes taken to Kandyan society by his countrymen in the early nineteenth century" (p. 171). "His career, though it was not a paradigm of the various roles the Englishmen has played in Ceylon, touches them at many points, and recalls them in the determination with which he pursued his interests". (p. 185).

70. ——— Robert Knox and Robinson Crusoe. *University of Ceylon Review*, vol. 10, no. 3, July 1952, pp. 243-252.

Traces a special indebtedness of Defoe to Knox in the writing of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). The well documented analysis of the narrative methods of Daniel Defoe by A. W. Secord (no 88) is only half the story

of this crucial dependence. The author, however, goes further than Secord in demonstrating Defoe's debt to Knox. He stresses that the portrait of a practical and industrious middle-class Englishman, truly Christian into the bargain, overcoming the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune and battling through to success, more than any situation, familiar narrative devices, or seeming resemblances repeated in Robinson Crusoe, is the clue to the impact on Defoe. "Not the chance correlates of any seventeenth century travel book, but the special significance of yet another human being's triumph over circumstances is likely to have impressed Defoe".

71. ————Two Englishmen and Ceylon. *Ceylon Observer Annual*. 1949, pp. 23-26, 1 illus.

A comparative estimate, in which Defoe's debt to Knox in the casting of Robinson Crusoe's character is analysed. The author suggests that the idea of Robinson Crusoe was provoked by the image of Knox in the loneliness of his captivity in the Kandy Kingdom. "Knox was the catalyst which transformed Defoe's vague intuitions about mankind into a new compound". The following tribute paid to Knox's work in the course of this contribution is worth quoting: "Of all records of Ceylon in English—whether one thinks of novels or documents—the most impressive is Knox's book. What have we to place beside it? Only Tennent's omniscience and Leonard Woolf's sensitiveness. Besides, Knox has another claim on our attention—he was the first of a long line of Englishmen who remembered Ceylon in the books they wrote."

72. MARSHALL, Henry. *Ceylon: a general description of the island and its inhabitants, with an historical sketch of the conquest of the colony by the English*. London, William H. Allen, 1846. xvi, 287p., front. (map); New ed. Kandy Printers, 1954. xii. 222p. (This was an abridged reprint minus the map;) Complete and unabridged reprint. Dehiwela (Ceylon) Tisara Prakasakayo, 1969 [4], v, 201p., front. (map).

Along with John Davy's account of 1821, perhaps the two most reliable and scientific studies of Kandy society and culture to be written by contemporary authors, and in the tradition of Knox, both as regards accuracy of description and minuteness of observation. Marshall, a Scotsman, served in Ceylon from 1809-1821 as Surgeon to the 1st Ceylon Regiment, and had a unique opportunity of travelling in the interior. He quotes the "veracious Knox" on many subjects, and has nothing to add or subtract on his summing up of the moral character of both Highland and Lowland Sinhalese. "Knox is, in general so well informed, so accurate, and so truthful, in regard to the Kandyan

country and its inhabitants, and it is very seldom safe to differ from his conclusions. Oriental nations are very slow in changing their habits, or modes of thinking and acting: and perhaps Knox's character of the inhabitants of Ceylon is as true now as it was when he published his work in 1681". (p. 14 in 1969 ed.)

73. MUDIAPPA, T. A. A naturalist in ancient Ceylon. *Loris: a journal of Ceylon wild-life* (Colombo). vol. 7, no. 6, Dec, 1957, pp. 474-478.

Robert Knox's descriptions of animals, reptiles and birds in Ceylon.

74. MULLER, Erin. Robert Knox's 'Ceylon'. *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* (Colombo) vol. 52, nos. 1 and 2, Jan-June, 1962, pp. 1-5.

A popular account of Knox and his book stressing its importance both on historical and literary counts.

75. NANAYAKKARA, Vesak. The captives. *A return to Kandy. Over Balana and beyond*. Colombo [Arasan Printers, for the Author], 1971. pp. 165-186, 1 pl. (port. of Knox), 3 illus. (drawings by Stanley Kirinde).

The story of Knox and some of his fellow-captives, beginning with the death of his father in 1660. This article was first published as "The captive" in *Tourist Ceylon*. vol. 4, no. 1, July 1971, pp. 45-56, 1pl. (port). 3 illus. (drawings by Stanley Kirinde). The book, a nostalgic evocation of the author's special affection for the lost glories of the Kandyan kingdom, was published in October 1971.

- 75a. NOBLE, Rev. Walter James. *Yarns of Ceylon*. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1930. 63p. ("Yarns" Series-13).

1. "The Prisoner of Ceylon c. 1660", pp. 5-11; Additional notes and questions for discussion, pp. 58-59. This is a concise version of the Robert Knox adventure in Ceylon in the 17th century. The author, a Methodist missionary priest, who laboured in Ceylon for many years, presents these narratives, based on historical episodes, for the enlightenment and elevation of club leaders, brigade captains, or scoutmasters and their charges.

76. PADMANABHA, Jayanta. The tercentenary of Robert Knox: Pts. I-III. *The Ceylon Daily News* (Colombo) 21 Jan. 1958; 22 Jan, 1958; and 23 Jan. 1958.

Written to mark the 300th anniversary of Knox embarking on "that fatal voyage" which brought him to Ceylon by chance, and where he was to remain a captive for nearly twenty years. Knox sailed with his

father, master of the *Ann*, on 21 January 1658 for India, on a trading enterprise along the Coromandel Coast. Only the accidental dismasting of the *Ann* in a cyclone at Masulipatam on 19th November 1659, when they were preparing to return to England, led him to Ceylon.

77. PIERIS, Ralph. *Sinhalese social organization: the Kandyan period*. Peradeniya, The Ceylon University Press Board, [1956], x, [7], 4-311p., illus., tables, diagrs., map.

The first comprehensive account of Sinhalese society in the Kandyan period, i.e. in the three centuries, prior to the British occupation of the interior of Ceylon in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The study attempts to present a 'model' of the complex social relations which constituted social structure as elements of a functioning social system in mediaeval Ceylon. It analyses a social order, in which the village community, the village council, caste and polyandry were living institutions, and is based on a wide range of historical data. A primary contemporary source is the work of Knox, discerning observer and detached recorder that he was, and the author relies heavily on his testimony throughout this work, quoting profusely at every turn. On p. 267 in "A Note on Sources", he has this to say, while also providing a tribute from T. W. Rhys Davids: "The first important historical work concerning Ceylon to be written in English was Robert Knox's *Historical Relation* (1681). It was designed to introduce English readers to the strange ways of an exotic people, and in it the author produced a veritable ethnographic monograph. The book describes the state of Sinhalese society in the seventeenth century in much the same way as a modern social anthropologist would portray the social life of a "primitive" community. If Knox's perennial classic is remarkable for its almost uncanny accuracy, it also exhibits the intimacy which can only be gained by a participant-observer who has spent a considerable time among the people he studies, participating in their way of life. As the product of 'near twenty years' of such participant-observation, Knox, has for well over two centuries been an undisputed authority on 'mediaeval' Sinhalese society. Rhys Davids assesses the work as follows: 'This most valuable work is thoroughly trustworthy. Knox and his companions were not confined in any prison, but in separate villages, where they were allowed to go in and out among the people. Most of them acquired property, and marrying Sinhalese women, became Sinhalese peasants; but Knox himself never gave up the hope of escape, and ultimately effected his purpose. His mode of life in Kandy was the best possible for gaining sure knowledge of the habits of the people; the simple straight-

forward style of his book must convince every reader of his truthfulness; and the more one knows of the state of society among the Sinhalese in the remote districts who are little acquainted with Europeans, the more one learns to value the accuracy of his intimate and careful observations. [*On the coins and measures of Ceylon*. London, Trübner, 1877. p. 33].” The author was sometime Professor of Sociology in the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. In the Sinhalese translation of this work *Sinhala samāja samvidānaya: Mahanuvāra Yugaya* (Colombo, Saman Publishers, 1964) produced in a handsome large quarto format, the section of illustrations at the end of the book included twelve of the seventeen illustrations in Knox’s edition of 1681, further underlining the author’s reliance on his work.

78. ——— Knox, Robert. *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*; with an introduction by S. D. Saparamadu. (The Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. VI —July 1956 to April 1957—Nos. 1-4). First edition. May 1958. Rs. 10. (A review article). *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*. (Peradeniya). vol. 1, no. 2, July-Dec. 1958, pp. 223-225.

A searching analysis of the claims made by the publishers of this straight photolitho offset reprint of the text of the 1911 edition of Knox, edited by James Ryan. The writer passes certain justifiable strictures, in the light of accepted conventions of scholarship and the laws governing literary property, on this new “first edition” of 1958. He concludes, “With all its shortcomings, and the questionable *modus operandi* of the editor, there is no denying that this edition will be a boon to students, being the only complete reprint of Knox available at a moderate price.”

79. POWELL, Geoffrey. Jahangir’s turkey-cock. *History today* (London). vol. no. 20, no. 12, Dec. 1970, pp. 854-858.

On p. 858, Knox’s reference to the menagerie of Raja Sinha II in the mid-17th century, containing turkeys, is used to establish their rarity in India and Ceylon. Raja Sinha’s passion for collecting rare and strange animals and birds was well known, and the Dutch fed this appetite.

80. ——— *The Kandyan wars: the British Army in Ceylon 1803-1818*. London, Leo Cooper, 1973. 320 p., 29 illus, 2 maps, front end-paper map. (19th century military campaigns).

In this scholarly, professional and balanced account of the successive skirmishes, marches, sieges, and small-scale wars of the British in their attempt to penetrate the mountain fastnesses of the Kandyan kingdom in order to capture the city of Kandy, the long and valiant

resistance of the Sinhalese is sympathetically detailed. His reliance on Knox is pivotal as is evident from the following passages: "Knox's book provides fascinating insight into seventeenth century Ceylon, its customs, and the court of the great Raja Sinha" (p. 39); "Despite the prejudices inherent in Knox's Puritan background, his twenty years' enforced stay among the Kandyans did not give him cause seriously to criticize either the character or the customs of his captors. Living for so long as one of them, speaking their language as if it were his own, and free to travel about in the country, Knox's *Historical Relation* is a uniquely accurate and sensitive travel book. Because the standard of living and outlook of the seventeenth century Sinhalese and English villager were far from disparate, Knox's understanding of his hosts (for they were this rather than jailers) was peculiarly perceptive. What is more Knox could view the Kandyans as his equals" (p. 45). There are other references to Knox's observations on the character and disposition of the Sinhalese.

81. RAVEN-HART, Major Rowland. Captives in the hills—Knox and Hanguranketa. *Ceylon: history in stone*. 2nd ed. Colombo, Lake House Investments Ltd., 1973. Ch. 23, pp. 178-184.

An account of the Knox saga by an Englishman who loved Ceylon, and travelled its long untrodden paths re-surveying historical trails. Knox is quoted throughout the text—"the book is so infernally quotable that I could use it on almost every page" (p. 179).

82. RAWLINSON, Hugh George. The adventures of Robert Knox. *Indian Historical Studies*. London, Longmans, 1913. Ch. 8, pp. 146-168, 1 pl. (of a Dutch fort).

A tribute to this fascinating story of the Sinhalese and the shrewd personality of the author. "His book is probably the most entertaining narrative of adventure in that adventurer's El Dorado, the East Indies of the seventeenth century, which has ever been written."

83. REIMERS, Edmund. Raja Sinhala II and his British captives. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*. vol. 30, no. 78, 1925, pp. 13-36, 2 pl. (facsimis).

The author's special concern is with the shipwrecked mariners from the *Persian Merchant*, through an analysis of two interesting letters of 1683 and 1696 found among the Dutch records in the Government Archives in Colombo. Robert Knox's testimony about these fellow British captives is quoted, and the letter to Sir Edward Winter at Madras written by John Loveland and Robert Knox referring to the English prisoners in Kandy is reproduced on p. 15. Knox was taken into custody "a year and a half"

after the *Persian Merchant's* men. The letter to Sir Edward Winter, with the accompanying Dutch correspondence, is also given in Blake (no. 36) and Ferguson (no. 50).

84. Robert Knox; by Aussie. *Buddhist. Organ of the Young Men's Buddhist Association.* (Colombo). new series. vol. 9, no. 6, 17 Feb. 1923, pp. 1, 3.
85. Robert Knox and his Bible. *The Friend: a monthly magazine of literature and religion in Ceylon* (Colombo) vol. 1, no. 1, July 1837, pp. 18-19.

How Knox acquired his Bible, and an extract from his book relating to this episode.

86. RYAN, James. Robert Knox and the Englishman's tree. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.* vol. 3, no. 4, April 1918, pp. 296-298.

The author admits the wrong ascription of the tree at Kottiyar in his 1911 edition of Knox, pointed out by Herbert White (no 102), and confesses that he had no opportunity of correcting the proofs, except the Preface, where also the error is found, as he was in Italy at the time. He also indicates "several faults" in the index which also need correction. Mr. Ryan also reveals that the sundry notes made by Knox in the Bodleian copy, which formed the basis of the 1911 edition, and which were intended to be reproduced, had been omitted by an oversight of the publishers! He gives these notes here under the heading "Marginalia by Robert Knox in his Private Copy" (pp. 296-297). Ryan concludes his short contribution, with some comments on Knox's handwriting. A note by J. P. Lewis reproducing his account of the Legundeniya inscribed stone in his *List of inscriptions...*(1913), is added at the end.

87. SAMARAWEEERA, D. Knox's Historical Relation of Ceylon as a source book in the teaching of history. *Journal of the National Education Society of Ceylon.* vol. 12, no. 1, March, 1963, pp. 45-52.

An interesting study of Knox's work as a significant source book in the Sixth Form for making a study of the reign of Rajasinghe II of Kandy. The four units of work analysed are (1) the character of the King; (2) the administration; (3) economic and social aspects; (4) the military factor. Two of these units—the administration, and economic and social aspects—have been worked out in the article for purposes of elucidation.

88. SECORD, Arthur Wellesley. *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe.* Urbana, Ill., 1924. 248p. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 9, no. 1).

The fact that Daniel Defoe drew on Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* for material for his later works of fiction is well known. The similarity between the prose of the two writers was first pointed out by Herbert White (no. 101) and James Ryan mentioned it in his 1911 edition of Knox. John Masfield in *A Mainsail Haul* (1913) cursorily noted the indebtedness, and took it for granted that Knox and Defoe were acquaintances. It was left to Prof. Secord, through a meticulous examination of the narrative methods of Defoe, to make out the strongest case for the dependence of *Robinson Crusoe* on Knox's work. He concludes that certain things occur in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Captain Singleton* (1720) because he had read Knox, and even further that he is likely to have had access to Knox's manuscript notes. "This relation of Knox's with which we know Defoe was familiar has narrative devices and situations identical with those of *Robinson Crusoe*. So similar in tone are the two works that many such passages could be transferred bodily from one to the other without noticeable effect upon them" (p. 34). A number of incidents and details derived from Knox are indicated. Ludowyk in his contributions on the same theme much later (nos. 70 & 71) suggests that Knox's work was very much more than a happy hunting ground for narrative modes and congenial situations to Defoe, and that the true reliance had to be looked for in the portrayal of the character of Crusoe. As Ludowyk notes "To Defoe *Robinson Crusoe* was an allegory of his own life, but if you peer into the features of the allegoric counterpart of Defoe you will see something of the man who was not the lonely inhabitant of a desert island, but who lived in an alien land among strangers, cut away from his own countrymen, supported by the strength of his resolution to resist acceptance of his fate, and striving hard not only to return but also to employ profitably wherever he might be the single talent that had been given him...Where then is Defoe likely to have found those traits of worldly wisdom, of Christian professions and of determined opposition to all that fate could bring that marked Robinson Crusoe? I suggest that he found these in Knox. Knox's situation was much like Crusoe's"; (Introduction to *Robert Knox in the Kandyen Kingdom* (1948) pp. xxiv-xxv.)

89. SIRR, Henry Charles. *Ceylon and the Cingalese; their history, government, and religion, the antiquities, institutions, produce, revenue, and capabilities of the island; with anecdotes illustrating the manners and customs of the people.* London, William Shoberl, Publisher, 20, Great Marlborough Street, 1850. 2v., fronts., plates, map.

Sirr refers in Vol. 1, Ch. 8, to the capture of elephants, and quotes Knox's account of a kraal (pp. 190-191). In Ch. 10, Knox's account of the King (Raja Sinha II) is made use of in discussing the Dutch presence in the island at the time (pp. 254-260). Sirr quotes extracts from Knox's work, throughout his book, in discussing the Sinhalese and their social and economic organisation, as well as the long reign of Raja Sinha II, and his dealings with the Dutch. On p. 254 the author mistakenly refers to Knox as the master of the vessel *Ann*, and also that the ship was wrecked off the East Coast of Ceylon. The first is a not uncommon error, as his father, the captain of the *Ann*, bore the same name, while as regards the second, the *Ann* had put into Kottiyar Bay on the east coast of the island for refitting, after a cyclone had seriously damaged it off Masulipatam in India, in November 1659.

90. SOMANADER, S. V. O. The white man's tree in Ceylon. *Ceylon Fortnightly Review* (Colombo) vol. 7, no. 1, May 14, 1954, p. 27.

Captain Robert Knox, the master of the *Ann* and father of Robert Knox, was captured at Muttur under this tree. This large tamarind tree, protected under the Fauna and Flora Ordinance, was completely uprooted during the December 1964 cyclone which ravaged parts of the Northern and Eastern coasts—a case of an ill wind that bloweth a historic tree no good! A part of the trunk and root were to be removed to the Jaffna Museum, while the inscribed slab, placed under it in 1893, is in the Colombo Museum.

91. Some notices of the Knoxes, captives in Ceylon. *The diary of William Hedges, Esq., (afterwards Sir William Hedges), during his agency in Bengal; as well as on his voyage out and return overland (1681-1687); illustrated by copious extracts from unpublished records, etc., by Colonel Henry Yule.* London, Hakluyt Society, 1888. Vol. 2, Pt. IV Miscellaneous papers, No. 7, Kedgerree*, (H), pp. ccclii-cccliii; reprinted with notes, by D. W. Ferguson. *Ceylon Literary Register* vol. 3, no. 33, March 1, 1889, p. 264.

Brief notices of the Knoxes, father and son, from 1657-1694, in the Court Books of the East India Company, Mr. William Hedges' name occurs in the list of names in the Epistle Dedicatory of Knox, dated 1 August 1681, to his book. The Court Books contain very brief minutes of matters that came before the "Court of Committees" of the East India Company.

92. STOREY, Harry. Knox's Ceylon: a note on the itinerary of his flight. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*. vol. 4, no. 2, Oct. 1918, p. 111.

* Kedgerree, an Anglo-Indian word meaning 'hotchpotch' or 'medley'.

The author disagrees with James Ryan's identification of "Hill Bocawl" with Bokalawela in Harispattu as the place through which Knox passed in his flight from Kandyan territory. He suggests another Bokalawela in Galasiya Pattu, with an unmistakable hill, as the more likely identification. This probability is strengthened by the situation of the next place mentioned in the itinerary—"Eckkrowat", modern Ikiriwatte.

93. ————Ryan's "Knox's Ceylon". *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, vol. 4, no. 3, Jan. 1919, pp. 172-173.

A strenuous rebuttal of Ryan's calling in question of Knox's veracity on p. XVII of his Preface to the 1911 edition. Ryan's doubts as to Knox's honesty are fed by his references to the tonnage and gunnage of the *Tonquin Merchant*, on which Knox sailed from England in September 1681 soon after his book was published. The author also points out that Knox's version of the spelling of 'Yatinuwara' was 'Yattanour' and not 'Tattanour' as Ryan and other writers suggest. The close resemblance between the old Y and the modern T was, perhaps, the cause of the confusion. Storey knew his Ceylon, and was well-versed in the topography and natural features of the island, and is best-known for his popular *Hunting and shooting in Ceylon* (London, 1907; repr. Dehiwela (Ceylon), 1969).

94. (SUCKLING, Horatio John) *Ceylon: A general description of the island, historical physical, statistical, Containing the most recent information;* by an Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles. London, Chapman & Hall, 193, Picadilly, 1876. 2v. vol. 1, p. 334.

On pp. 333-334, Suckling gives a brief description of the vain attempts made by the British Government, through its Agent at Fort St. George, Sir Edward Winter to obtain the release of the English sailors detained by Raja Sinha II. In this connection, the remarkable episode of Robert Knox, "who wrote one of the most accurate accounts of Ceylon ever published" is mentioned. Strangely enough, despite this tribute, the author does not mention him at all in his detailed account of the earlier works on the island in Portuguese, Dutch and British times in his preface, pp. v-xii! A comparatively little known Portuguese work *Rebellion de Ceylon y los progressos de su conquista en el gobiernode Constantino de Saa y Noronha*; by Joao Rodrigues' de Sa y Menezes, published in Lisbon in the very same year as Knox's book, is however, mentioned.

95. TENNENT, Sir James Emerson. *Ceylon: an account of the island physical, historical, and topographical with notices of its natural antiquities and productions*. 4th ed, rev. London, Longmans, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860. 2v., fronts., maps, diags., text illus.

It is tempting to compare the patrician omniscience of the mid-nineteenth century Tennent with the plebeian scholarship of the late seventeenth century Knox, the former's heavy-footed and knightly erudition with the latter's down-to-earth and closely observed lore. Each holds his own in his respective sphere, the one, ponderous and encyclopaedic, the other affectionate and insightful. But even Colonial courtier inclines his head to Puritan pilgrim and acknowledges the worth of "the charming narrative of his captivity, published in the reign of Charles II" (Vol. 1, p. xxxii), and, in his account of the monkeys in the island, quotes from Knox's description of both, "the Rilawas...And the Wanderoos" prefacing his remarks with the observations, "Knox, in his captivating account of the island". (Vol. 1, p. 129). In Vol. 2, pp. 65-66, in discussing Raja Sinha's strange penchant for the detention of white men as prisoners in his territory, and the ineffectual attempt of the English in 1664 to obtain their release, Tennent makes mention of Knox's own experience in captivity in a footnote. In Vol. 1, p. 210, he quotes Knox's description of the mode of fishing in pools or running streams, and reproduces his illustration of the ingenious contrivance and method in operation (pl. 6 in 1681 edition).

96. Twenty years' captivity in Ceylon. *Gentleman's Magazine* (London) new series, vol. 76, May 1906, pp. 356-363.

A biographical account of Knox and his great adventure in the Kandyan Kingdom of Ceylon. The author's name is not known.

97. VAUGHAN, Charles Stuart. Identification of a site mentioned by Knox. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch). Notes and Queries*. Pt. 5, March 1916, No. 6, pp. xc-xci, 2 pl.

A possible identification of the rock on which Stephen Rutland and Knox took a breather on the way from Anurādhapura to the Dutch fort at Arippe. A rock called Aligala along the old path from Nuwarawewa to Kaluwila (Knox's "Colliwella"), about a mile on the Anurādhapura side of the Malwatu Oya, is the author's surmise. The plates show two different photographs of the boulder which resembles a recumbent elephant. There is a reference in Vaughan's official diary on "18th June, Sunday, 1911" of a trip to Aligala to take photographs, and ending up with "I will ask Mr. Bell [H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner] whether he can put up an inscription from his vote". Vaughan was Government Agent, North-Central Province at the time.

98. ———— *A folder containing 26 folio pages of manuscript mainly in Vaughan's writing, concerning in the main the Bodleian copy of Knox's first edition, with manuscript notes of his autobiography* (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London. Mss. 3 Case A 67). [26]p.

The first nine pages contain an account of the Bodleian copy of Knox, with a selection of extracts from Knox's manuscript notes of his life and work, and Donald Ferguson's investigations leading to its discovery in October 1900, headed "The copy of Knox's 'Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon' now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford." Pages 8 and 9 refer to Ferguson's labours, and Vaughan quotes from a letter to him by Ferguson dated November 1908. These two pages are copied in another more legible hand on the following two pages. Succeeding this there are two pages in Vaughan's hand of the "Marginal notes in Bodleian copy of Knox's Ceylon in Knox's handwriting". These marginal notes were to have been reproduced in the 1911 edition, prepared by James Ryan but had been omitted by the publisher through an oversight. They were published in 1918 (see. no. 86). The final 13 pages comprise a collection of miscellaneous notes in manuscript and typescript (some in Vaughan's writing) relating mainly to Knox, the last 4 pages containing a list of Sinhalese words, phrases and proverbs written in a bold and legible Sinhala hand. There is a photocopy in the University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya. C. 915.48 (Reserve). 259082. *see also* nos. 3 and 10.

99. WAINWRIGHT, M. D. & MATTHEWS, Noel. *compilers. A guide to Western manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to South and South East Asia*. London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1965. xix, 532 p.

Knox references: (1) British Museum. p. 20 "1638 (sic) [i.e. 1659]—An abstract in French, made by J. Le Fanu, of the travels of Robert Knox in Ceylon... (Stowe 988, no. 4, ff. 11b-24b)"; (2). "1681. Journal of a voyage to the Kingdom of Tonquin [Tongking] bordering upon China, by Captain Robert Knox. A fragment only. 1681. (Lansdowne 1197, ff. 12-13)"; (3) University Library, Cambridge pp. 280-281. "Strype correspondence"; (4) Bodleian Library, Oxford. p. 322. "1696-1711. A printed copy of Robert Knox's *Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (London, 1681). Before and after it is a manuscript autobiography of the author, composed in 1696, with continuations to 1711. The writer describes his life, before and after his captivity, in the service of the East India Company, followed by an account of his captivity in Ceylon, an account of the coconut tree, and religious meditations. (MS. Rawl[ins]on]. Q.c. 15.

Edited, with the printed text, by James Ryan, Glasgow, 1912". (*sic*) [i.e. 1911]. The first two references correspond to the two sources cited by Khan at no. 64.

100. WARE, Edith. "Knox, Robert". *Bibliography on Ceylon*. Coral Gables, Florida, University of Miami Press, 1962 (i.e. 1964) pp. 99-100.

A thread-bare listing of 16 Knox items, sparsely catalogued, and excluding every single edition, in any language, of Knox's great book. The only edition listed anywhere in this bibliography is on p. 41 where Ryan's edition occurs bleakly as "Knox's Ceylon with autobiography. Glasgow, 1911" in a section entitled "Description and travel: 17th century". The treatment of Knox is symptomatic of the general design and scope of this extremely slipshod bibliography.

101. WHITE, Herbert. Notes on Knox's "Ceylon" in its literary aspect. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* vol. 13, no. 44, 1893, pp. 23-24.

A sympathetic analysis of the book as a piece of literary workmanship. The author, by pinpointing the influences on Knox's literary style, attempts to highlight the charm of the personal narrative. Certain philological aspects of Knox's use of English are also dissected. The author goes so far as to consider it in style the equal of Defoe's masterpiece *Robinson Crusoe* in another genre, the first time such a comparison was made.

102. ———. The Englishman's tree, Cottiar. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*. vol. 2, no. 4, April 1917, p. 275.

Points out inaccuracies in James Ryan's reference in his 1911 edition (Preface, and caption to illustration of the tree facing p. xii) that Knox and his companions were captured under the tamarind tree. It was his father Captain Robert Knox and several of his men who were taken prisoner under this tree on April 10, 1660. The younger Knox had come ashore earlier on April 4th and was detained subsequently some distance away (12 miles is his estimate) from Cottiar Bay, where the *Ann* had anchored for the purpose of replacing her main-mast and repairing other damage suffered in a storm on 19th November, 1659 off the Southern coast of India, at Masulipatam. White, a colleague of Ryan in the Ceylon Civil Service, was a knowledgeable student of the topography and culture of Ceylon, and compiled the well-known *Ceylon Manual* for 1904 and the year following.

103. YALMAN, Nur. *Under the Bo tree: studies in caste, kinship, and marriage in the interior of Ceylon*. Berkeley, & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967. (repr. 1971). xii (2), 406 p. front., (map), 11 maps, 41 tables, 38 text illus.

Modern anthropologists probing traditional peasant organisation and behaviour patterns in the highland villages of contemporary Ceylon find themselves in the congenial and instructive company of their Puritan pioneer. Knox's minute, objective and almost total observation, unflagging in its intimacy, of the daily life of a complex society still remains a classic of ethnological reportage, while being at the same time, a warm and living portrait of family life and human beings. In this Turkish anthropologist's close study of the social system of a remote mountain village in its historical and ecological setting, in what was once the domain of the King of Kandy, he refers to "excellent accounts of this kingdom... by perceptive eyewitnesses like Robert Knox", and obviously relied on his "delightful book" as an introduction to his work. He uses extracts from Knox as motif-heads in his chapters on the Kandyan Sinhalese; the marriage alliance; the structure of the micro-caste; a visit East: Uva Province; the low country; and the cross-cousin relationship.

H. A. I. GOONETILLEKE

Notes on the Concept of the Will in Early Buddhism

While recently researching the concept of *tanhā* in early Buddhism,¹ I became increasingly aware of the paucity of studies that have specifically focussed on the issue of the will in the Nikāyas, and of the fact that many contemporary students of Buddhism have failed to see the crucial place a doctrine of the will plays in early Buddhist soteriology.² It is partly in response to these deficiencies that this paper is offered, but it should also be noted that rather than establishing a theory of the will, I am more interested here in raising a facet of Buddhism which up to this point has not been adequately discussed, in the hope of provoking or stimulating discussion on this topic.

Our first responsibility is to define what is meant by 'will' as it pertains to the Nikāyas. Only when this is done can we go on to demonstrate the soteriological significance of this doctrine, which we will argue forms the most general basis of Buddhist emancipation.

In the west, with its traditional psychological categories of cognition, conation and affection, the will has frequently been pigeon-holed as a problem of conation only. Recently, however, many theorists³ have argued that this classical structure is artificial, and that in fact cognition (perceiving, judging reasoning), conation (exertion, struggle, volition) and affection (mood, emotion, temperament), if they exist at all as separate categories,⁴ overlap in so many places as to make distinctions between them blurred. I am in essential agreement with this criticism, and in my investigation of a concept of will in the Nikāyas, I have found that the most meaningful and useful definition is one that straddles the traditional conative, affective and cognitive 'roles', that embraces such terms as *virīya* (energy, striving), *chanda* (desire, intention) and *dvārāṇi suguttāni* (guarding the doors of the senses).

1 Matthews, V. B. *The Concept of Craving in Early Buddhism*. Hamilton: Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. McMaster University, Ontario. 1974.

2 Soteriology means a doctrine of salvation. Although frequently found in a specifically Christian context, it is not a term confined only to that religion. G. Kittel (*Theologisches Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. 7; trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids; W. B. Eerdmans. 1971. p. 965f) points out that *soter* and *soteria* were common words in the Attic Greek (pre-Christian) world. They had the general meaning of saving, benefiting and preserving. H. Liddell and R. Scott (*Greek-English Lexicon*, N.Y. Harper Co. 1855. p. 1462) also demonstrate many non-Christian applications of the term *soteria*. Soteriology has a definite religious focus then, and can be legitimately used to describe questions related to freedom or salvation in any religious tradition. It is in this sense that we apply the word to Buddhism in this article.

3 i.e. H. B. and A. C. English. *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psycho-analytical Terms*. N. Y. Longmans. 1958. "Historically, conation was co-ordinate with cognition and affection, and was often conceived as a mental faculty. It is now seldom used for a specific form of behaviour, rather for an aspect found in all (three categories)."

4 Perhaps the most celebrated critic of this specific arbitrary mental classification is Gilbert Ryle (*The Concept of the Mind*. Aylesbury: Penguin Books 1968) who argues that the 'will' is more of an "occurrence of processes or operations", and "not a Faculty, Immaterial Organ or Ministry". p. 62f.

I justify this definition by arguing that if 'will' is categorized as simply 'energy' or 'striving', much of its moral and essentially ethical nature is lost, and likewise if it is categorized only in ethical terms, it loses that sense of positive drive so apparent in much of the Buddhist *magga*, or soteriological path. Western students of early Buddhism have frequently failed to see that the concept of will has these dimensions, with sometimes disastrous interpretative results. The mischief begins with Arthur Schopenhauer (c. 1854), whose own celebrated doctrine of the will as an "unquenchable thirst"⁵ approximates the Buddhist concept of *taṇhā*. The fact that Schopenhauer was recognized to be at least partially indebted to the Buddhist *dhamma*, and the fact that he was responsible for introducing some idea of what the nature of Buddhist psychology was to a Europe still very much in the dark about the mysteries of eastern thought, helped to identify the Buddhist concept of the will with his own pessimistic doctrine of the will.

This impression that willing in Buddhism is always associated with 'thirst' or 'desire', and that 'desire' in turn is always deleterious, was also reinforced by the early translations of the Pāli texts into European languages. Mrs. Rhys Davids points this out in one of her best and most creative essays, "On the Will in Buddhism",⁶ when she observes in a comparison of various English translations with the originals "that the one English word "desire" is made to do duty for no less than seventeen Pāli words (for example, *taṇhā* (craving), *ākāsaṃ* (space, "puffed-up state"), *visattikā* (dart of lust), *chātātā* (hunger), *sitā* (clinging)... not one of which means desire taken in its ordinary general sense, but rather in that of perverted, morbid, excessive desire".⁷ She also found that much was the same case with the French and German translations of Burnouf, Foucaux, Oldenberg, Max Müller, Fausböll and Neumann. For these translators, 'desire' in the context of the Pāli Nikāyas was always bad, though in the West it had not lost its neutral moral connotation. Mrs. Rhys Davids further emphasizes that the languages which have grown up with the traditions of western philosophy "do not afford equivalents for Oriental standpoints" and that this is especially serious when one approaches "the Buddhist attitude in relation to the volitional side of the human mind".⁸ Even for those who are familiar with the Indian languages, not enough care, she insists, is being exercised in distinguishing between psychological words which have closely parallel but not exactly synonymous meanings. She reminds us that when the Pāli Canon wishes to convey ethical values in terms of willing, either distinct and special words are used, or else the expression of willing is explicitly qualified as referring to an object of perverted desire or to "a morbid state of will". Thus want or wish (*ākaṅkhā*) becomes craving (*taṇhā*), desire (*chando*) becomes lust (*chandarāgo*), love (*kāma*) becomes lust (*kāmarāgo*) or sensual delight (*nandirāgo*).

By pointing out how complicated an issue "will" was in the Nikāyas, and how inconsistent most western interpreters of the Buddhist texts are when it comes to translating Pāli words related to the general concept of 'willing'

5 Schopenhauer, A. *The World as Will and Representation* II. N.Y.; Dover Press. 1966. pp. 311f.

6 Rhys Davids, C. A. F. "On the Will in Buddhism". *JRAS (GBI)*, London, 1898.

7 *Ibid.* p. 54, 57. It is recognized that *visattika* emphasizes the clinging aspect of desire and that 'attachment' is a superior translation to Mrs. Rhy Davids somewhat mellifluous 'dart of lust'.

8 *Ibid.* p. 48.

(*cetanā*, *viriyam*, *tanhā*, etc.), Mrs. Rhys Davids has made an important cautionary statement. From another point of view, however, the real contribution of her essay is in her argument that will as such, desire as such, are not to be repressed, but that the culture and development of them are "absolutely indispensable to any advance towards the attainment of Buddhist ideals".⁹ Here she lashes out against Schopenhauer and all other critics whom she suspects of imprinting Buddhism with the distasteful and misleading stamp of pessimism.¹⁰ By arguing that neither will, nor the "preciousness of life" can be said to be repressed in Buddhism, Mrs. Rhys Davids shows that as a soteriology, Buddhism seeks "to foster and strengthen aspiration and resolve in the effort to persevere towards complete attainment of what it held to be the noblest kind of life".

Scholars of Buddhism today would be well advised to reflect again on what Mrs. Rhys Davids proposes in this important article, for all too frequently what she has said has either been ignored or forgotten. The same negative attitude towards Buddhist volition that Mrs. Rhys Davids found in 1897 is still exhibited in more recent studies, for example when Arnold Toynbee asserts that "inward peace" in Buddhism looks "unattainable" since desires cannot be given up without cultivating the desire to give them up,¹¹ and that the Theravāda further taught "the suppression of desires that are ordinarily regarded as being altruistic, such as love and pity". Even in some of the most contemporary Buddhist scholarship, the position that the will has no significant place in the Buddhist soteriological system persists. Thus Dhammasuddhi observes "so long as there is will, freedom cannot exist. Will, itself, is conditioned by selfish desire, attachment, ignorance of truth and so on... freedom... means freedom from the will".¹² Likewise, when D. K. Swearer writes "where the biblical tradition focuses on man's will in its interpretation of the human situation Buddhism focuses on man's mind",¹³ he appears to emphasize only one aspect of the soteriological problem, and consequently of the soteriological solution.

The interpretations which minimize the role of the will in Buddhist soteriology seem to have drawn a legitimate contrast with Christianity and then exaggerated it. From the Nikāyas, however, it can be readily demonstrated that the will does enter into the Buddhist soteriological path, and that it is regarded as a positive instrument on that path. It is this issue in particular that we want now to develop.

The Positive Characteristics of the Early Buddhist Concept of Will

Although there are doubtless several ways in which this theme is indicated in the Nikāyas, I have chosen to demonstrate it by looking at three situations in which the will plays a strategic soteriological role. First, we will look

9 *Ibid.* p. 50

10 "The stony, stultified, self-centred apathy we often hear ascribed to the Buddhist ideal is supposed to be the result of a Schopenhauerian pessimism as to the worth and promise of life and the springs of life. If, however, the critic would dwell more on the positive tendencies in Buddhist ethics, he might discern under the outward calm or mien of the Buddhist sage in literature and art, a passion of emotion and will not paralyzed or expurgated, but rendered subservient to and diffused around deep faith and high hope." *Ibid.* p. 55

11 Toynbee, A. *An Historian's Approach to Religion*. London: O. U. P. 1956. p. 64.

12 Swearer, D. K. *Secrets of the Lotus*. N.Y.: MacMillan Co. 1971. p. 17.

13 Swearer, D. K. "The Appeal of Buddhism: A Christian Perspective". *The Christian Century*. November, 1971. p. 1290.

at the place of volition in the structure of the *magga* (path); secondly, we will see how the Nikāyas carefully distinguish between wholesome and unwholesome aspects of willing; and thirdly, we will demonstrate how the will is employed in the crucial development of the senses. This should provide a fairly wide scope of the use of the concept of will in early Buddhism, and allow us to come to some appropriate conclusions.

Initially, then, we want to emphasize that the whole perspective of the Buddhist *magga* (path) is based to a considerable degree on positive willing. This is hardly a novel idea, and the texts easily support it. In the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*) the first factor in the meditation (*samādhi*) section is "right effort" (*samma-vayāma*), indicating that the mental energy of proper intention and desire undergird *samādhi*.¹⁴ Other factors of the Eightfold Path also point to actions that demand resolve and positive intention i. e. right speech, action and livelihood—*sammāvācā*, *kammanta*, *ājīva*). Nor is the Eightfold Path alone in stressing the importance of the will in the search for freedom. For example, in another list known as the thirty-seven "qualities belonging to awakening" (*bodhipakkhiya dhammā*) (D. 2.119f), the emphasis is evenly divided between the will to acquire enlightenment, and the method of meditation.¹⁵

A second way the Nikāyas point out the significance of positive willing is seen in the fact that they make a clear distinction between unwholesome (*akusala*) and wholesome (*kusala*) volition. The P.T.S. dictionary notes that *kusala* is especially applicable in a moral sense, and that *akusala* "is practically equivalent to *pāpa* (evil)".¹⁶ Even where the actual adjectives *kusala-akusala* are not used, the Nikāyas generally make clear in just what sense, wholesome or unwholesome the volitional term under discussion is to be understood. This is especially the case with such nouns as *chanda*, *rāga*, *pipāsa*, *lobha*, *upādāna*, *anusaya*, *parilāha*, *nandī*, synonyms which Johansson calls "the adhesive tape of *taṇhā*".¹⁷ Some of these synonyms, notably *rāga* (passion) and *parilāha* (fever of passion) are never used in a positive (*kusala*) volitional sense. There are examples, however, where the other synonyms are used positively to express a sense of the reformation and cultivation of will and desire. Let us look at some of these examples more closely.

One of the most versatile volitional words in Pāli is *chanda* (*skandh*—to jump: impulse, intention, desire). Although *chanda* is frequently used as a

14 Katamo c'āvuso sammāvāyamo. Idha...bhikkhu anuppaññānam pāpākaṇaṁ akusālānaṁ dhammānaṁ anuppadāya chandaṁ janeti vāyameti viriyaṁ ārabhati cittaṁ paggaṇhāti padahati. *Majjhima Nikāya* ed. Robert Chalmers, London, 1899, Vol. III, p. 251.

"And what, your reverence, is right endeavour? As to this...a bhikkhu generates desire endeavours, stirs up energy, exerts his citta and strives for the non-arising of evil unwholesome states."

15 Of particular importance in that *bodhipakkhiya dhammā* are the Four Right Efforts (*sammapadhāna*), which, as the P.T.S. Dictionary points out, are *samvara*°, *pahāna*°, *bhāvana*° *anurakkhana*°, or exertion consisting in the restraint of one's senses, the abandonment of sinful thoughts, practice of meditation and guarding one's character (viz *Digha Nikāya*, ed. J. E. Carpenter, London, 1911, Vol. III, p. 225; *Āṅguttara Nikāya* ed. R. Morris, London, 1955, Vol. II, p. 16).

16 cf. *Itivuttaka*, ed. E. Windisch, London, 1948, Sec. 31; *Sutta Nipāta*, ed. D. Anderson and H. Smith, London, 1965, Sec. 591.

17 Johansson, R. *The Psychology of Nirvana*. London: Geo. Allen and Unwin. 1969 p. 212.

synonym for unwholesome *tanhā* (S. 5.272), it is also often used as part of the path leading to *nibbāna* (M. 2.173). This ambivalency is everywhere apparent in the texts,¹⁸ a good example of which is S. 5.272, where *chanda* is first censured as gross craving, and then encouraged as that kind of desire that leads to arhatship. In this passage, Uṇṇābha the brahmin asks Ananda what the point of living the life of a brahmācariya is. Ananda replies 'chandapahānattham... Bhagavati brahmācariyam vussatī ti' ('for the sake of abandoning desire... the holy life is lived under the Blessed One'). Ananda then goes on to develop the way (*maggo* leading to the abandonment of desire (*chanda*):

"Idha...brāhmaṇa bhikkhu chandasamādhīpadhānasāṅkhārasamannāgatam iddhipādam bhāveti viriyasamādhī cittasamādhī vīmaṃsā sāmādhīpadhānasāṅkhārasamannāgatam..."

"Herein, brahmin, a bhikkhu cultivates (the four bases) of *iddhi* (psychic power), of which the features are desire (*chanda*), together with the factors of meditation (*samādhī*) and struggle (*padhāna*), also that of energy (*virīya*) and 'thought' (*citta*) in meditation, and that of investigation (*vīmaṃsa*), together with the factors of meditation and struggle."

Uṇṇābha the brahmin is confused, and cannot see how one desire can be got rid of by means of another desire, but Ananda goes on to point out that desire is useful in provoking the *arhat* to attain *nibbāna*. Only when this state is achieved is this "desire which had arisen therein" as the P.T.S. translation prefers to put it, or, "appropriate desire", calmed (*yo tājjo chando so paṭipassaddho*). The most striking feature of this passage is that gross *chanda* has been channelled to a more acceptable kind of *chanda*, a desire which in the end is not described in terms of liquidation and expurgation, but as that which can be allayed, quietened and satisfied (*paṭipassaddho*). The fact is that the emotional and volitional features of *chanda* are not paralyzed. They are developed and refined until at last they are incorporated into the soteriological path.

The place of *chanda* in this path varies from text to text, however. In the above passage and in certain other contexts (i.e. S. 5. 268), *chanda* is closely involved with meditation. Elsewhere (M. 1. 480, M. 2. 173), *chanda* is part of a process leading to enlightenment which places far more stress on striving and energy than on meditation. This is best seen in M. 2. 173.¹⁹ There is nothing

¹⁸ cf. P. T. S. Dictionary references to *chanda* as impulse, excitement, intention, resolution, will, desire for (as virtue). Nyanaponika Mahathera, basing his observation on the commentaries, points out that *chanda* has the following application in the Nikayas: the desire or wish to do (intention), sensual desire and righteous desire.

¹⁹ "Saddhājāto upasāṅkamanto payirūpāsati, payirūpāsanto sotam odahati, chitasoto dhammam suṇāti, sutvā dhammam dhāreti, dhāritānāṃ dhammānaṃ attham upaparikkhati, attham upaparikkhato dhamma nijjhānaṃ khamanti, dhammanijjhānakkhantiyā sati chando jāyati, chandajāto ussahati ussahitvā tūleti, tūlayitvā padahati pahitatto samāno kāyena c'eva paramasaccam sacchikaroti, paññāya ca tam ativijjha passati." *Majjhima Nikaya*, ed. R. Chalmers, London, 1951, Vol. II, p. 173.

"When trust (faith) is born, he, having approached and sitting (with the teacher), thus sitting he turns his ear, and after listening to the dhamma, and after having heard the dhamma he holds (in mind); he then examines the meaning of the dhamma which he has held (in mind); having examined the meaning of the dhamma and understanding it, he is able to approve (khamanti: endure) of it. (Then) desire is born when there arises patience of understanding the law. Desire being born, (such a man) makes an effort; having made an effort he considers; having considered, he strives; having striven, indeed with his own body he experiences the highest truth, and sees it having pierced it with his wisdom".

negative about the function and purpose of desire in the process of conversion outlined in this text. In this regard, *chanda* evidently plays a crucial role in Buddhist soteriology, and the fact that many early critics failed to recognize this understandably provoked Mrs. Rhys Davids to remark: "now we cannot afford to impoverish our ethical concepts by squandering this term (*chanda*) outright on (gross) *taṇhā*, and thereby, so to speak, make the devil a present of all desire—even of that *dharmachanda* that drove the Buddha from home to Bo-tree. Much harm has been wrought by translators, whose cheapening of the word 'desire' has justified the superficial criticism which perennially speaks of Buddhist ethics as the 'negation' or 'extinction' of all desire'.²⁰

There are several other volitional words that have both positive and negative connotations. It could be argued that even *taṇhā* is on the rare occasion used in a positive sense, although it is admitted that there is little strong evidence for this position. However, in D. 3. 216, the use of *nirodha taṇhā* may reflect a craving for the cessation of *dukkha* (the commentary prefers a traditional interpretation, explaining *nirodha taṇhā* as lust (*rāga*) connected with the view of annihilation), and in Th. 1. 1091f, although *taṇhā* is not directly called *kusala* (as it is, for instance, in the later Nett. 87),²¹ Tālaputta's whole yearning for *nibbāna* is structurally tied to *virīya* (energy) and *taṇhā*. Other passages in the Nikāyas speak of rooting out gross *taṇhā* by using *taṇhā* as the instrument (i.e. A. 2. 144).²² These instances may suggest that *taṇhā* is not always outright evil (*pāpa*), but at the same time, there is not enough evidence to suggest that *taṇhā* was ever conceived to be karmically wholesome.

It is significant to point out, however, that *upādāna* (grasping), a close synonym of *taṇhā*, is not infrequently referred to as the positive though perhaps somewhat misdirected zeal that urges one to progress in meditation. Thus, in M. 2. 265, the "best of graspings" (*upādānasetṭham*) occurs in the eighth *jhāna* (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatanī*). Only in the ninth and final *jhāna* are the *āsavā* and any hint of grasping at last eradicated (i.e. D. 2. 97). This kind of grasping is good in the sense that it is not perverted or unwholesome, but it is of course still part of man's inadequately developed insight into the finally transcendent experience of *nibbāna*.

So far the concept that we have been developing of wholesome and unwholesome desire, and its place in a general concept of volition, agrees substantially with the early judgement of Mrs. Rhys Davids. Nor is this argument

20 Rhys Davids, C. A. F. (Ed.) and Aung, S. Z. (*Compendium of Philosophy*. London: P.T.S. 1920. p. 245.

21 "Tattha taṇhā duvidhā: kusalā pi akusalā pi. Akusalā saṃsāragāminī, kusalā apacaya-gāminī pahāṇataṇhā." *Netti-pakarana*, ed. E. Hardy, London, 1961, p. 87.

"Here, craving is of two kinds: wholesome and unwholesome. While the unwholesome kind goes with saṃsāra, the wholesome kind leads to the giving up of craving."

22 Writes K. N. Jayatilleke concerning this issue: "the self-centred desires are to be eliminated by depending on desire (*taṇham nissāya taṇham pahātabbam* A. 2.146)—namey the desire for *Nirvāna*. But this latter master-desire, it is pointed out, is not on the same footing as the first-order desires, for unlike the self-centred desires, which continually seek gratification from time to time without being permanently satisfied, the master-desire would achieve final satisfaction and be extinguished with the eradication of the self-centred desires and the attainment of *Nirvāna*, which coincides with it". *Buddhism and Peace*. Kandy: P.B.S. 1969. p. 12.

It should be noted that the commentary to the *sutta* points out that the first mentioned *taṇhā* is to be made an object of reflection with the aim of abandoning it, and that although this *taṇhā* is *akusala* (unskillful), it still should be made use of.

without support in contemporary Buddhist scholarship. Thus Malalasekera observes "it is not (a) freedom from desire as such, but freedom from enslavement to blind and shifting desires".²³ In a similar vein, Jayatilleke remarks that it is a freedom "which consists in changing the basis of our motivation from greed, hatred and ignorance to selfless service, compassion and understanding".²⁴ A careful reading of the Nikāyas justifies these opinions, and indicates that the Buddha did not hold up as an example of emancipation an *arhat* totally devoid of all volitional response or desire. Nor was the way to enlightenment a way of repression. Unwholesome desires were to be understood and then eradicated, but the energy of desire was not to be expurgated. It was rather to be directed from gross aims towards higher and more positive ethical and intellectual objectives, thus directly contributing to the attainment of enlightenment.

This leads us directly into a third way of analyzing the soteriological role of the will in early Buddhism, for at the same time as volition is purged of its moral impurities and redirected to higher purposes, the Nikāyas also urge that the senses should not be atrophied, but brought under control and developed. The teaching of the Nikāyas urges the cultivation of a new attitude towards the senses, a recognition of how they contribute to the nature of volitional response. Once the operation of the senses have been understood, one undertakes an attempt to master one's reaction to the stimulation of the senses and thus regulate the quality of volition.

Initially, then, the individual must understand how the senses provoke unwholesome volition. The Nikāyas are very explicit about the close relationship that exists between the senses and volition. A good example is A. 1.1. where lust, built upon excitation of all the senses, is said to affect the whole 'mind' (*citta*, or, as Johansson prefers to translate it, 'personality').²⁵ Many other passages from the Nikāyas also point out the grip that the senses have over the mind and consequently over the nature of willing (D. 1.26, S. 4. 15, M. 1. 15, 85, 2. 253). But once the senses have been analyzed and their dangers marked out (Dhm. 362f), the next responsibility is to recognize the need to struggle against the forceful but ill-directed volitional current of unwholesome desire, which is excited by the senses. The bond that exists between the senses and this unwholesome volition, and the urgent necessity of overcoming their control over the individual is clearly set forth in the well-known Parable of the Man in the River (Itv. 114). In this passage, a man is said to be carried along in a river by a current. In his ignorance, he does not pause to think that sooner or later the current will turn into rapids and whirlpools. The Buddha as an observer on the bank calls out a warning about the hazards ahead, and the need to struggle against the current in order for the individual to save his life. The whole sequence is then developed as an analogy thusly:

"Upamā kho me ayaṃ bhikkhave katā atthassa viññāpanāya. Ayaṃ cettha attho: Nadiyā soto ti kho bhikkhave taṇhāy' etam adhivacanāṃ; piyarūpasātarūpaṃ ti kho bhikkhave channetam ajjhakkānaṃ āyatanānaṃ adhivacanāṃ, heṭṭhā rahado ti kho bhikkhave pañcanāṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ samyojanānaṃ adhivacanāṃ; saummīti kho

23 Malalasekera, G. P. "Some Aspects of Buddhism". (*Buddhism and Culture*, ed. by S Yamaguchi, Kyoto: Nokano Press, 1960. p. 62.

24 Jayatilleke, K. N. *Buddhism and Peace*. *op. cit.* p. 12.

25 It is recognized that the translation of 'personality' for *citta* may not appeal to many interpreters. Johansson has already spoken exhaustively to this topic, and I fall back on his excellent discussion in "A Psychosomatic Investigation: Citta, Mano and Viññāna" *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. 23, 1965, p. 178.

bhikkhave kodhūpāyāśassetam adhivacanam; sāvatto ti kho bhikkhave pañcannetaṃ kāmāgūṇāṇaṃ adhivacanam; sagaho sarakkhaso ti kho bhikkhave mātuḡāmaṣṣetaṃ adhivacanam; patiso to ti kho bhikkhave nekkhammasetaṃ adhivacanam; hatthehi ca pādehi ca vāyāmo ti kho bhikkhave viriyārambhasetaṃ adhivacanam; cakkhumā puriso tīre tīto ti kho bhikkhave Tathāgataṣṣetaṃ adhivacanam arahato sammāsambuddhassa ti.”

“This simile, bhikkhus, I use to make my meaning clear. And in this case the meaning is: “A river current” is a name for craving; “looking delightful and charming”, bhikkhus, is a name for one’s own sphere of perception; “the pool lower down”, bhikkhus, is a name for the five fetters belonging to this lower world. “With waves”, bhikkhus, is a name for anger and trouble. “With whirlpools”, is a name for the five pleasures of sense. “With monsters and demons”, bhikkhus, is a name for women. Bhikkhus, “against the stream” is a name for freedom from craving. “Struggle with hands and feet”, bhikkhus, is a name for the exercise of energy. Bhikkhus, “The sharp-sighted man standing on the bank” is a name for the Tathāgata, the arhat, the perfectly enlightened one”.

In this strategic analogy, the emphasis is upon the “struggle of energy” (*virīya*)²⁶ needed to overcome misdirected desire and its reliance on the senses. What this terminology seems to indicate is the need for a right volitional attitude in coming to grips with the senses. It is important to point out that in this text there is no suggestion that the aim of the struggle is to deaden the senses. On the contrary, the very analogy of a ‘struggle’ presupposes cultivation and development rather than neutralization.

The individual above all learns to separate cognition from thirst, to liberate all his senses from service to gross desire. He does not let his senses shrivel up, but perceives that when the senses stimulate egocentric craving they present a counterfeit world which pays no attention to the three characteristics of reality (*anicca, dukkha, anattā*). Thus the way of salvation is also the way of right cognition, a cognition that sees not only transience and painfulness, but likewise how the senses contribute to all notions of egocentric volition, and how this kind of volition is a potential spiritual hazard. One who is aware of this has a constant responsibility in keeping a watch on his senses, but his reward is freedom from unwholesome volition.

“Cakkhu sotañca ghāṇaṇca jivhā kāyo tathā mano
etāni yassa dvārāni suguttāni—dha bhikkhuno,
bhojanamhi ca mataññu indriyesu ca saṃvuto
kāyasukhaṃ cetosukhaṃ sukhaṃ so adhigacchati.
Adayhamānena kāyena adayhamānena cetasā
divā vā yadi vā rattim sukhaṃ viharati tadiso ti.” *Itv.* 24.

“Eye, ear, nose, tongue and body and also the mind, if a bhikkhu keep these gates guarded well, in eating with restraint and control, in the sense faculties he meets with ease, with ease of body and with ease of mind (*ceto*). With a body that does not burn, with a mind that does not burn, he lives at ease by day and night.”

26 Commenting on a somewhat similar passage (A. 2 115, the Parable of the Goad), H. V. Guenther writes “only by energy (*virīya*) can we obtain the goal. *Virīyam* is the behaviour and activity of the energetic man.. energy is not just physical output, but that which permeates the whole attitude or mental outlook of man dealing with the problems to attain spiritual maturity... it is will-power”, *Philosophy and Psychology in the Abhidhamma*, Lucknow: Pioneer Press Ltd. 1957. p. 200f.

This passage warrants a detailed exegesis of the phrase *dvārāni suguttāni* (guarding the 'doors', viz. the senses) in order to bring out its significance. Here, *dvāra* refers to the sense organs, what the P.T.S. dictionary describes as the "in-and outlets of the mind". *Suguttāni* (*su + gutta*, pp of root *gup*) means literally "well-guarded", "watchful", "constrained". The P.T.S. dictionary gives other references to texts where *gutta* is used specifically with *dvāratā* (i.e. D. 3.213), always in the sense of "control over the doors of one's senses". Certainly this passage should not be interpreted to mean that the *bhikkhu*'s life must be devoid of all sense pleasure. There are texts which clearly point out that not all sense pleasures are considered dangerous, but only those other sense pleasures not necessarily associated with unwholesome states of mind are considered to be acceptable, as M. 3.231 indicates. In the final analysis, what we find in the *arhat*, then, is a new attitude towards the use of the senses and the kinds of satisfaction they give. The *arhat* never deliberately destroys or represses his sense functions, but refines them and uses them as instruments to see behind the world of ignorance. There are doubtless some critics who do not accept this interpretation, and appeal to certain texts in the *Nikāyas* which seem to indicate a sense of crushing the senses rather than developing them (an example might be Dh. 360f: 'cakkhunā saṃvaro sādhu...sabbathā samvuto bhikkhu sabbadukkhā pamuccati'. "Restraint in the eye is good etc.... a bhikkhu who is restrained in all things is freed from painfulness"). It would be a misinterpretation of one of the major focuses of Buddhist soteriology, however, to read into such a text any concept of "cutting off" of the senses. Even in enlightenment, the *arhat* still uses his senses, and still experiences physical pain and pleasure. But at this stage, being freed from egocentric craving, sensory stimulation of any kind has no real effect on his spiritual equilibrium and he is neither troubled nor excited by his senses because he is in complete control of their action and the volitional responses which stem from them (cf. Udāna 8).²⁷ In other words, he uses his senses but remains detached from them. At this point the senses are truly divorced from unwholesome volition, and the *arhat* enters *nibbāna* (Iv. 38).

Up to this point we have looked at how Buddhism teaches the overcoming of deleterious responses to gross volition by the cultivation of wholesome volition and a proper development of the senses. We have seen how the *arhat* still acts with a positive will, how he is still active, but, because he is without unwholesome desires, he is emotionally 'cool' or 'tranquillized' (*sītabhūta*, Sn. 542,642), and how, therefore, his cognitive processes also become more objective and realistic (A. 3:378). We have argued that one of the principle soteriological aims in early Buddhism is the re-direction, and not the suffocation, of the energy of the will, whether it is seen from a cognitive, conative or affective posture.*

Bruce Matthews.

27. Tasmātiha te Bāhiya evaṃ sikkhitabbam; diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattam bhavissati, sute sutamattam bhavissati, mute mutamattam bhavissati, viññāte viññātamattam bhavissatiiti... es ev' anto dukkhassati.' *Udānam*, ed. P. Steinthal, London, 1885, p. 8.

'Then, Bāhiya, so you must train yourself: in the seen there will be just the seen, in the heard only the heard, in the imagined thought only the imagined thought, in the cognized only the cognized.... even so that is the end of painfulness.'

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CONTENTS

	Page
Conrad's Victory Reconsidered <i>D. C. R. A. Goonetilleke</i>	1
The Analysis of Pre-colonial Social Formations in Asia in the Writings of Karl Marx <i>R. A. L. H. Gunawardana</i>	8
Moral Evaluation in Early Buddhism <i>P. D. Premasiri</i>	31
Creolization, Legend and History: An Aspect of the History of the Veddas of Sri Lanka <i>K. N. O. Dharmadasa</i>	46
A Note on the Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I <i>P. E. E. Fernando</i>	57
A Tamil Slab-Inscription at Nilāveli <i>S. Gunasingam</i>	61
The Bounds of Religion and the Transition from Tao to Mao <i>Ninian Smart</i>	72
Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679: A Bio-Bibliographical Commentary <i>H. A. I. Goonetilleke</i>	81
Notes on the Concept of the Will in Buddhism <i>Bruce Matthews</i>	152

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