

TRAVELS IN CEYLON

1700-1800

BY

Wintergerst (1712) Ives (1773)

Guyard (1763) Falck (1767)

de Jonville (1800)

Translated & Edited

By

R. RAVEN-HART

THE ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS OF CEYLON LTD.

TRAVELS IN CEYLON

1700-1800

by the same author

CANOE ERRANT (Murray, London)
CANOE ERRANT ON THE NILE (Murray, London)
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MODERN CANOEING (Folbot, London)
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THE HAPPY ISLES (Georgian House, Melbourne)
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HEYDT'S CEYLON (Government Press, Colombo)
GERMANS IN DUTCH CEYLON (Colombo National Museum)
THE PYBUS EMBASSY TO KANDY 1762 (Colombo National Museum, Supple-
mented in Spolia Zeylanica)
WAR WITH THE SINGALESE (Spolia Zeylanica)

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1700-1800

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by

MAJOR R. RAVEN-HART

THE ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS OF CEYLON LTD.

Lake House Colombo

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INTRODUCTION

THE five writers here presented offer a pleasing variety : Wintergerst, a German Master-Gunner in Dutch service, writing in Swabian-German ; Ives, an English Naval Surgeon, writing in English ; Guyard, a French Engineer-Officer with the Dutch, writing in somewhat illiterate French ; Falck, one of the greatest of the Governors of Ceylon, writing in Dutch ; and de Jonville, another Frenchman, Linguist, Cartographer, Botanist, Artist, in English employ but writing in French. As far as can be discovered none have been made available in English, with the exception of Ives ; and his book is a rare one, not generally available.

Together they well represent five successive phases of the century : the first decades of peace and prosperity (and incidentally Heydt, already translated and published, fills the gap between Wintergerst and Ives) ; the gathering storm, though not apparent to the foreign visitor ; the wars with Kandy ; the reorganisation after those wars, when the conciliatory policy of that Governor led to the Indian Summer of Dutch rule ; and the first days of English administration, still feeling its way and already disquieted by the thoughts of future relationships with the King.

Throughout the texts and notes the asterisk* refers the reader to the Index-Glossary. Nearly all the places identified are shown on the quarter-inch sheets of the Ceylon Survey maps : where they figure only on the one-inch sheets their locations relative to places on the quarter-inch ones are given in the notes.

My special thanks are due to the staffs of the India Office Library and The Hague Archives; to Mr. M.P.H. Roessingh for research at The Hague; and to the many experts who have enlightened my ignorance of botany, zoology, geology and other learned subjects.

THE WANDERING

on foot through Europe, by ship through Asia,
landing in America and Africa, and staying for
long in the East Indies

SWABIAN

or

AN ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS

carried out in 22 years in the said places, and what
of importance was seen and observed thereby.
Ornamented with fine copper-plates and set out by
MARTIN WINTERGERST OF MEMMINGEN

At the Publishers

JOHAN WILHELM MULLER, BOOKBINDER

1712

Nothing is known of the author beyond what he himself tells us, and this is summarised below. Naber, the editor of the 1932 edition (see overleaf) thinks it probable that he had the help of a local pastor, who intercalated the edifying remarks about Providence: if so, his help has not masked the character of an interested and usually-accurate observer, comparable to Knox but for the fact that he had less than five years in Ceylon against Knox's twenty, and these in Dutch surroundings.

THE WANDERING SWABIAN

[Martin Wintergerst was born at Memmingen in Swabia, probably about 1670, and trained as a baker. In February 1688 he left there "from a lust to see distant lands" and worked his way in his trade around southern Germany; in 1689 reached Venice, where he took service as an interpreter with the Master of a Dutch privateer. He now decided on a seafaring life, and served in various privateers, French, Dutch, Danish, Genoese, Dutch again, finding himself at St Malo (in prison after the capture of his ship), Plymouth, Lisbon, Marseilles, Gibraltar, Alicante, Genoa, Sicily, Malta, and Genoa again whence he went over land to Venice. Voyages followed in a Venetian merchantman, a Spanish warship, a Venetian warship (in 1692 as Gunner's Mate, rising to Master-Gunner before paid off in 1695), a Dutch merchantman, a Dutch warship (until the Peace of Ryswick in 1697), and another Dutch merchantman, arriving in Amsterdam in December 1698.]

The original edition is very rare, but there is a copy in the British Museum. S.P. L'Honoré Naber edited a new edition in 1932 with some notes: the following translation has been made from this, but the sections used were collated with the Memmingen edition, and only one serious error found (note 18). His notes are valuable, and have been made full use of.

The German text is heavily influenced by the Swabian dialect: the meaning of a few passages has had to be guessed at, the texts of these being given in the notes for the sake of better linguists.

CHAPTER XXI. Now the stern frost had laid an icy armour on the sea, and the snow had covered all the black fields with white, so that our skills lay on the shelf and we must demand of our money-bags, which we had fed well during the last voyage, that they should now do their part. We passed three days in Amsterdam, and I had now about 400 guilders* left. We saw no hope of employ in a warship, since peace now reigned; therefore we made for the so-called New Bridge in Amsterdam, which is a real hiring-place for mariners, to try for a merchant vessel. But, as I say, it was Winter, and moreover there was not a single ship ready, so that we met only with refusals. We heard however, that there was a Master in Rotterdam who was
1 to sail for the West Indies, so that we, both of us, joyfully made for there in the sure hope of being signed on; but we came too late, and the said Master had no need of more men. We tried to have him
1 take us on as Volunteers [unpaid] as far as Carsau, a Dutch town about 1800 miles from Holland, so as to join the privateers there, but he would not advise us to this, so that we made up our minds to stay in Rotterdam until the Spring. Then in March of 1699 we made for Zeeland, but found there no more employ than in Rotterdam; yet we now had good hopes of soon meeting a favourable opportunity, since they were beginning to engage men for the East-India ships. Also, since we had enough to live on, we were fortunate enough not
2 to fall into the hands of the "Sellers of Souls".

These are folk who make their living as follows: Anyone who has no money to support himself goes to a certain spot. There a "Soul-Seller" comes, and asks what employ he wishes for on board, and what he thinks himself fit for, a soldier, or a sailor, or an officer.

According to his reply a bargain is then struck with him, and a contract made, to the effect that he acknowledges himself indebted to the "Soul-Seller" for a certain sum (generally for a soldier 150, a sailor 200, and an officer 300 Dutch guilders*). Then the "Soul-Seller" takes him home and gives him proper food each day, and in addition daily an ounce of tobacco, a glass of brandy, and a new tobacco-pipe. This may continue for many weeks, though often only for a month; and although these folk are mostly poor men, yet they often have 15 or 16 people to feed. However, they meanwhile take bread, meat, brandy and all other provisions on credit. When now the time comes that the ships are being fitted out, they come with their lads and ask what jobs are vacant, and the Master can take on those he needs. When anyone is thus taken on, his host hands over the man's "Transport-Letter" to the clerk on board who keeps the Roll. If now this man deserts, or dies before he reaches Iceland, the host gets nothing; but if he is present at the check there, this "Letter" is sent back to the Government. Then those come who gave the provisions, and receive their due, and the remainder is for the "Soul-Seller": often he loses by it, often makes a good profit. Also if the delay is too great, and he needs the money, he will often go to Amsterdam, where there are rich so-called "Soul-Buyers" to whom he sells his contracts at 50 or 60 guilders* for 100.

Since we had money, as aforesaid, we did not need such help, but remained there until the first of May, when we joined an East Indiaman, which was bound for the East Indies with another ship of the East India Company (since no others may sail thither): our ship, named Sion, was for Ceylon, the other, Eiselmund, for Batavia. We were at once given two months' pay, and our ship was fully laden, not only with merchandise but with provisions for nine months, as is customary; butter, oil, meat, dried codfish, peas, oats, and biscuits for 160 men at the rate of 135 lb.* per head with 40 hundred-weight* in addition; also 40,000 quarts* of water, 200 casks of beer, 1500 quarts of brandy, and 4 cheeses per man. It should be mentioned here, that the Amsterdam ships do not carry so much water, since they have on board a still, in which the salt sea-water is boiled; but this needs very much wood, as the fire must be kept in night and day. We had 36 guns only, but of living things no lack, about a thousand hens and geese, some sheep, and ten young pigs for bacon, also two sows and a boar, so that the young were fully grown before we arrived, and ten more born.

We lay before Flushing until May 19, taking on board there 7 families of poor folk totalling 32 persons, which were later one of the causes that we must suffer so great hunger. Then we sailed, and as it was peace-time we took the shorter way through the English Channel, since otherwise the northerly route must be taken, about 340 miles longer. In the Channel we had to anchor a few times on account of the contrary currents but came safely through, and, when we had passed Cape St Vincent and came in sight of the Canary Islands, the sign that we were on the proper course for the East Indies, we steered for the so-called Pic di Canaire. And although all the

Canary Islands, belonging to Spain, are famous for the lovely fruits that grow there, and especially for the lovely Canary-sugar and the Seccs [Sherry] which is drunk like brandy, yet this is the foremost of them, since not only has Spain there an important fortress and a beautiful city, but there is this terribly high hill called the Pic, and although it is nothing but a rock or heap of sand, yet it is famous for its unusual height, which is said to reach four German miles* [*sic*], and makes it visible in clear weather for 60 miles* at sea. On this occasion we saw only its upper part stretching into the air from a thick mist below, so that we could not see it properly. But these islands are little touched by the merchant ships, except that now and then the officers take on some fresh stores there, since the region is somewhat dangerous because of the Turkish pirates always hanging around there, coming from Barbary in Morocco.

In general one passes there in 5 or 6 weeks from Holland, during which time no great attention is paid to the provisions; but now it is decided with the Purser how these are to be issued in future. 7 men are set to a Mess, that is to eat together at one table; and to each Mess is given daily a quart* of beer (since to get more room on board the beer is drunk first, and the empty casks thrown overboard); and this is poured on the oats (which are first broken up like malt and boiled to a porridge) to be eaten cold. Also each received a sixteenth-part of brandy unless it were a meat-day (of which we had three each week), but on these an eighth-part of Spanish wine. At the start each was given 4 cheeses, and later each received weekly a half-pound* of butter. Also when the beer was finished each had daily a quart* of water. As to the biscuit and dried codfish, these were rationed as aforesaid. And those who issued the provisions had to keep proper accounts each month.

We therefore left the Canaries astern and sailed on, hoping to reach the East Indies without special hindrance and in due time; and came to 30 degrees north, whence we sought to cross the Tropic of Cancer. Thus far we had always good weather, and until we crossed the Tropic and reached 24 degrees; but then we met with adverse winds, or often none at all; and then wind again but for the most part East and South-East, so that at last we were driven right to America, and about 500 miles off our course, since instead of reaching St Paul's Island as we should have done, we came in 5 degrees north to the coast of Brazil, at Nova Guinea, where we had to anchor; and although we did not indeed land, the so-called savages or heathen brought us sugarcane, sweet potatoes (a fruit as large as a radish, with reddish skins, but much better than white turnips), also pumpkins*, and especially many Indian figs. These are said to be of the same sort as those from which our first parents made themselves aprons after their terrible Fall. This also seems not unlikely, since these fig-trees have the pleasing characteristic that such a tree is not more than six inches thick and only so high that one can readily reach its leaves; and these leaves are usually a fathom long, or often considerably longer, and an ell in width. The figs grow on the stalk, 70 or 80 of them, shaped like an ordinary

sausage, and after they are peeled with a knife are to be eaten like a doughy pear. But the tree, as soon as it has borne fruit, begins to rot at the root and falls away, and afterwards a new tree grows from this root, as if from a tulip-bulb. Such trees, with trunk and leaves, are especially good fodder for the elephants, which eat them with great greed.

As I say, we received a good quantity of such fruits from these savages, giving in exchange all sorts of worthless things such as knives, nails, and so on, since they would not take money, preferring what can naturally be of use to them, namely a knife, iron, or nail, while on the contrary they have no use for money.

We remained there three or four days, until God again sent us a favourable wind, when our desire for the East Indies pressed us to raise anchor and leave our wrong course astern. Now we sought to go from West to East, and the good wind bravely helped us to this, so that in a few days we reached the St Paul Islands, which we should have sighted some weeks before. Here we hoped to get some supplies, but in vain, a new misfortune now blossoming, in that we found in the said Islands (which are about three miles in size) neither water nor other provisions, except for many 1000 goats which were set there many years ago by the Portuguese to provide meat for seafarers, as they did also on other islands. These we had no trouble to capture, since they were as if of a tame sort, and unaccustomed to men so that they were not afraid of us. And so we went on our way, after we had left two dead and buried on the island as a gift to the goats.

Thus we reached the Equator, and had not the least wind there. The heat was such that it cannot be described, and we also suffered great hunger; and here we passed fully 6 weeks without making any progress, the said islands being always in sight. We had no water other than half a quart* a day which we got from the rain, and one cask of stinking water which we threw away.

It was our great good fortune that it often rained, since so soon as the rain began we took a large linen cloth, tied it up flat by the four corners and somewhat stretched out, set a bullet in the middle, and below this a vessel into which the water ran. Any of us who desired to preserve his share, and prevent worms from breeding in it, he heated red-hot a bullet or a piece of iron and plunged it in the water. It was not only the lack of water: in addition we now received only the half of our usual rations, and had there not been from time to time some flying-fish and a few dolphins, with which we somewhat combated our hunger, I believe that we must all have died.

This was as miserable a voyage as I ever endured in my life. The 7
5a poor families which we had taken aboard at Flushing were already so far gone in hunger and misery that they were glad if we only threw them something; but now we ourselves had not enough, and all
8 on board began to sicken, and many to die.

We had to endure in such misery and want until God again gave us a favourable wind, so that at last we crossed the Line, but already
8 with more than 40 dead. This apparent salvation caused us to make public thanksgiving to God for the good wind; but we were all in the greatest danger of death, since there was none of us that either did not have an attack of the scurvy, or fully suffered from it. And this is truly a sickness as bad as the plague, or even worse, since it happened to many when they were attacked that all their sinews and veins shrunk up: if then they desired to spare themselves, not working for a couple of days, it was usually all up with them, and every part of them became so inflamed that they could not move a limb. Indeed they almost rotted alive, since if they were touched somewhat roughly, at once the blood ran out; and the worst was that we could see no help or remedy. I also indeed received a visit from this evil guest, but God gave me strength not to let it master me, and I worked on as hard as I could, indeed even almost harder than I could.

In this continual privation we crossed the Line, to about one degree and some minutes [South], where we began to be greeted by a north-west wind. With the aid of this we sailed onwards, and little by little escaped from our misery, since we found here great plenty of fish, to the pleasure of our hungry stomachs. But nevertheless our longing was to see land, and we sought to reach Ascension Island if possible; but it was in vain, and now there began to be heard all sorts of grumblings on board because of the long voyage, and many mutinous utterances. Orders were now given forbidding on pain of severe punishment for anyone to speak even a word of such; and when two of our company went too far with such talk in spite of this prohibition, they were tied (as is customary) by their hands and feet to face the mast, so that their backs were exposed to chastisement. Everyone else on board had then to beat them with ropes' ends as scourges, and this to such an extent that both died of it within a few days; which did not well suit our Master, since they cost him some 100 Rxd*.

[CHAPTER XXII. To the Dassen and Seal Islands off the Cape of Good Hope, where fresh greenstuff cured the scurvy: description of these. XXIII and of the Cape and its products and people.]

CHAPTER XXIV. After we had been about 6 weeks there, and had replenished both ourselves and our ship, we took on fresh hands, so that we were now 100 in all, also 36 live sheep, two oxen, and other provisions including 6000 pounds* of rice; and set sail, intending
9 to pass between the hill called "The Lion's Tail" and Seal Island, and thence between the coast [of Africa] and the island of Madagascar, which lies some 700 miles* from the Cape. But we had continual adverse winds, so that we had to change our plans, and after leaving the said island on our left, steer for Dutch St Mauritio [Mauritius], 60 miles from Madagascar, so that our course was northerly from 34 degrees south to 20 degrees, and we thus recrossed the Tropic of Capricorn.

This island of Madagascar is the first belonging to the Indies, and is inhabited only by Moors*, ruled by their own King ; and as there is little special to be had there, the Dutch have never troubled to occupy some parts of it, as they could well have done, but have been content to be able to buy some slaves from the King each year.

As soon as we reached the island St Mauritio we dropped anchor and landed, to refill with fresh water what empty casks we had, and take on some provisions, especially sweet potatoes which are to be had here in abundance. And although in other places where these grow there are many rats which feed on them, here are none at all, and the natives say that long ago a Chinaman lived there who drove them out by magic. The finest tortoises are also to be found there, not large but exceptionally beautiful : a shell of one is no larger than for a tobacco-box, but a lovely golden yellow in colour with a black ring around it—the animals are not eatable. Apart from these there is little special in this island, for which reason the Dutch make little account of it, except for the abundance of timber that grows there.

10 The most valuable of this is the ebony, both black and green, which is exported to all the world. It grows as large as our largest limetrees, but only the inner part of it is usable, so that from such a thick trunk only a log as thick as a fair-sized fir can be taken. From such the inhabitants make the most pleasing boxes and church-pews, so fine that one piece will sell for 200 Rxd.* ; and these inhabitants are for the most part Europeans who have shown themselves unsatisfactory at the Cape and have been sent here by the Dutch, so that little by little it has been colonised by them.

We loaded some such logs of ebony in our ship ; and since we lay there for nearly 8 days, we found a splendid sport in deer-hunting. There are so many that we often captured 10 or 12 in half a day : it was not permitted to shoot them lest they should be scared off, but we hunted them with dogs, which held them until we could club them to death. But they do not have such long horns as ours, and somewhat long hair on their necks. At last we made for the Indies again, and since we were bound for Ceylon and not directly for Batavia we had to cross the Equator again : however it was not so difficult as at our last crossing, since we made good speed with a favourable wind. Nevertheless, so that all should not pass too smoothly, we had for our share at this time a tolerably heavy storm which drove the ship fast, and since we saw no sun for eight days we did not know where we were : until at last it cleared, and we found we were more than two degrees north of the Line. Knowing this we changed course and sailed northwards to get sight of the Maldivé Islands, which would show that we were on our proper course.

When we succeeded in this, we met there with a Moor*, who had 11 loaded in those islands nothing but sea-snails, to take them to Bengal, where they pass as if coins, 80 of them being worth about 6 of our pfennings* ; and this is indeed the greatest treasure these islands produce since apart from them there is nothing but poverty among these Moors*, who must subsist on their coconuts and dried fish.

They greatly desire to come under Dutch rule, and to this end offer them each year a silver shovel of earth, as a sign that they offer their land.

After we had left these poor Moors* astern, we tried to reach Ceylon as soon as possible, and at the end of January 1700 came near the Little Basses*, which are rocks a little below the water, and whenever a ship grounds there it is inevitably lost, although for what reason is not known. We had had no rain for a long time, and therefore greatly lacked water, and since now God gave us rain everyone busied himself in catching it and took no heed of the reefs, which also the heavy rain would have prevented us from seeing, so that we were within an ace of going aground.

We then sailed to the north-east [SW] towards the land, in pleasant weather but with very empty and hungry stomachs, and came to the Great Basses* and so along the coast until at last we reached Pont de Galle, where, as we were told, the discoverer of this island first heard the cocks crow, and therefore gave it this name. It was now 12 inhabited only by Dutch and is a very good harbour, and very safe although not large, and for commerce far more convenient than the Capital itself, Columba. We arrived on a Sunday as I can very well remember, since the folk had to leave church on our arrival, to bring us food for the staying of the hunger that so greatly afflicted us ; and this was something quite exceptional, since otherwise nothing of that kind is done of a Sunday. Being now revictualled and our hunger stilled we sailed on the Monday for Caltura [Kalutara] ; but the Commandeur* of Pont de Galle had already sent to that town by land to advise that we were in need of help, the half of those in 13 our ship being sick, so that they came out from there in a boat and took our invalids. We however sailed on with good weather, arriving 14 the same day at Columba, since it lies only 12 miles* from Pont de Galle.

This is the Capital of Ceylon, and belongs to the Dutch. It is said that the Portuguese thus named it in honour of Columbo, the discoverer of the New World, although he never came there. We must however remain in the outer roads until the Tuesday, when the 15 "Company-Master" came out to us and took over the whole ship, our Master now having no more to do with her ; also he had to make a report to the officials appointed for this, of the whole voyage almost hour by hour, for which purpose he [the Company-Master] generally brings out with him three Mates and a Geographer, so that everything may be closely investigated. This being done we were brought into the harbour, the soldiers were landed, and the ship was unloaded.

CHAPTER XXV. As regards the Government, this island is ruled by a King, who dwells in the centre of the island and is treated with all respect by the Dutch ; but he never dares to cross beyond his own frontiers for fear that he might be shown some courtesy that would not be to his liking [i.e. be taken prisoner, as below]. And for their

part the Dutch do not care to invade his lands, since they can as yet see no cause to do so : with few men they would attain but little, and a large expedition would not be worth its costs. What they hold of the island is more than enough for their trade, since they have all its shores in their control. The King indeed once asked for a port for his own pleasure, which request they did not refuse ; but he let the matter drop for the aforesaid fear.

Columba being the Capital a Dutch Governor resides there, having under him three Commandeurs* in the island, and one in the Malabar territory. Of these the first is at Jaffanapatang, a small island off Ceylon, where the richest Pearl Fishery is to be found : the people told me that previously so much was got there that it amounted to many thousand dollars* a day, and even now brings in three tons* of gold yearly ; also that all sorts of provisions are to be had there in abundance. The second Commandeur lives at the above-mentioned Ponto de Galle; the third at Malture. As to the smaller places such as Calpentria [Kalpitiya], Negumbo, Caltura and others, they are usually administered by Merchants*, who come directly under the Governor and are called the Head of the place. The Commandeur in Malabar is 36 miles* away at Tuto Curin, where there is a very large cotton-factory, which must deliver 60,000 pieces every year to Columba ; also the whole island gets its salt from there.

And further regarding the King already mentioned, he calls himself Emperor of Ceylon, King of Candea, Lieutenant of the Turks, Son of the Sun. Previously he drove out 4 Kings so that he now rules the whole island. He is on good terms with the Dutch, and they grossly flatter him; but only so that they may also befool him as they did his predecessor, from which indeed a long-lasting enmity took root, the cause being as follows (as we were told).

The Portuguese then held the Capital Columba, and ruled very oppressively, so that all the poor Singlese-Moors (as the inhabitants were called) longed for liberation from their yoke. Now the Dutch little by little made themselves masters of Ceylon, and besieged this place for a long time, it being of considerable strength and having very high ramparts : also the usual Rains* began, which ruined all their batteries, so that they decided to abandon the siege. The King learning of this sent an Envoy to their camp to encourage them, promising that he would send them fresh troops of his blacks, and so many that the Dutch could fill up the moats with them and cross over their bodies—so greatly did he wish to be freed from the Portuguese yoke. In return he asked only for the outer parts of the city. This suited the Dutch well, and thus they took the Fortress after several attacks had been repulsed. The King thereat came with his blacks to take possession of the outer city ; but the Dutch now showed their true colours, finding this greatly to their liking, and indeed larger and finer than the inner city itself, and the good King had to retire behind a hill called Osterstein. Also when he reminded the Dutch of their promise, he received the reply that those who had made it did so without having any authority, and also were now dead. This so angered

him that he threatened a terrible revenge, and this he held to all his life, never granting to them any grace or favour ; and although at various times they sent Envoys to him, he never received them well but almost always held them prisoners.

Although the Dutch now live on good terms with the present King, and show him all conceivable honour, sparing no cost to do him favours, yet he does not trust them fully, since he always lets himself feel that the old enmity still smoulders. Nevertheless when I was there a present worth more than 16,000 dollars* was sent, being a coach and horses, all ornamented and plated with silver, together with two of the most lovely large ostriches and a large English water-spaniel. In fact he may ask for what he will, and they will see to getting it for him : he was once told that the Dutch were able to use the wind to saw tree-trunks into planks, so that he asked for a small model of this device, which they sent him at once, and made in silver, from which he had a wind-driven sawmill made. He similarly asked for a ship, but then so as to see how ships sail on the sea he asked (as already mentioned) for a seaport, but did not accept it for fear of being taken prisoner there.

When he goes abroad 9 blacks with whips must always go before him to clear the way. He also has his Viceroy, who in their language is called the ‘King-by-Night’ and has 7 whips to precede him. And this black King follows the same custom as does also the Dutch Governor, in that white cloths must be spread on the ground for him to walk on, for which as a rule 10 pieces are needed.

The Dutch in their own interests now behave towards him with the greatest courtesy, since although they desire no territory other than what they hold around the island to a depth of 11 or 12 miles*, that is to say as far as the cinnamon grows, yet they must be polite to him in order to receive supplies. It happened once while I was there that, owing to a small misunderstanding, the King forbade his subjects to bring us provisions, so that neither butter nor cheese nor anything else reached us, and we had to bring everything from overseas at great expense. For the Dutch it is more a pretence than a real friendship, but on the contrary the King shows himself far more upright towards them : once, when he learned that our Governor had died, he immediately sent his Viceroy with 200 men, to guard the city until we again had a new Governor. When now the Viceroy approached, and the Dutch officials went out to meet him to refuse the offer most politely (since they much feared that he might act as treacherously as they had done previously), he was overwhelmed with astonishment that in such deep mourning they nevertheless came in coaches, since among his folk this would have been the gravest of offences. And so he marched back again.

His subjects are like their King, upright, simple, good, friendly and helpful, satisfied with a simple life, not greedy for gold (Oh, *rara avis* among Christians !) but content to live from one day to the next ; and if they have a weakness it is that they are not sharp-witted but somewhat slow. But they are proud of their station, and greatly

mock the whites, as they call us, because even if we are of noble blood we do not stand upon our dignity, but everyone does every sort of work: this they never do, since they have special folk to do the work for them, and a man would wear his cotton cloth until it fell to pieces rather than wash it himself; and they have similar ideas as regards cooking and other work. If one of them is a soldier, he ranks as a noble, and his children and children's children must marry into no lesser caste. Thus it is well shown in them that pride and self-esteem are common to all mankind.

They are heathen by religion, and I never saw any special ceremonies of worship there, except once when I was sent with 5 blacks (among them my Interpreter, a Christian) to bring large stones from an old ruined pagoda (or idol-temple) which the Dutch wished to use for a gate in Columba. We came to a hill on which such a pagoda once stood, its stones strewn about: on this hill their Barmanen [Brahmins, monks] or Priests had their huts and caves, where they behaved in all imaginable ways. We saw one who wept, another who did all sorts of acrobatic tricks, laughing and shouting; and thereto they use a certain herb, named Hatto, which they eat or smoke like tobacco, and when this takes effect it causes either violent laughter or pitiful lamenting and crying. We saw some of them even beat their heads so pitifully on these stones that one might think they would burst into 1000 pieces, so greatly did it excite them that we took their stones away. The common folk squatted here and there on these stones, burnt lights and so did their worship: my Interpreter doubted whether they would allow us to take them away, and feared that they would resist and kill us all, since they were so greatly attached to those stones and regarded them as holy. I therefore enquired in the nearest village for their Mondelaar [Mudaliyar*], which is the same as an Amman [Magistrate] or Bailiff, and showed him my Pass, which was written in two languages, Malabar [Tamil] and Singlese.

As soon as he saw the Pass he at once ordered his folk to help us in everything, and took me to his house and showed me all honour: meanwhile the people had to bring down to the water 42 such stones, some 8, 10, or 12 feet long and half a foot thick, while others cut timber in the jungle, from which I had some rafts made for the stones, and so got them to Columba, only 3 miles* away. This is all I saw of their religious observances during this journey.

CHAPTER XXVI. As regards the country itself, Ceylon, like the Cape of Good Hope, has now such an entirely different aspect from that of 50 or 60 years ago or more, that it is evident that the air is improving as time passes. Before the days of the Dutch this was an island of bandits, since when anyone offended in Batavia he was banished to Ceylon, and it generally happened that he did not live long there but sickened and died. Thus what some have written of it is not untrue, that it was a wild and desolate land, and that the King had laid it waste for some miles [from the coast] to guard against invasion. But what I now tell of it is also true, things I have seen with my own eyes in the four and a half years I was there; and I

can add without boasting that a person of my standing can learn more of everyday matters in a year, than some others who remain there for many.

It is now more like a pleasure-garden and an earthly Paradise than a desolate land, since indeed I do not know what it lacks. There is great abundance of grain, and rice can be harvested three times in a year, since there are two sorts, hill-rice which is the best, and wet-land-rice which does not keep well. All fruits are also to be found there in plenty, and it is especially pleasing that the coconut-trees (like our juniper-bushes) bear simultaneously and all the year long both blossoms, unripe, and ripe fruits. *In Summa*, I cannot better describe it in few words than by saying that there during the whole year it is Spring, Summer, and Autumn all at once, since what these seasons bring to us one after the other, they here pour out all at once.

It is specially marvellous as regards the said coconut-trees that not only do they bear fruit all the year, but are granted so many blessings by the Creator, that their fruits can be enjoyed not only ripe but unripe, and even before their blossoming.

The tree itself yields no useful timber, and is hardly even fit for burning. It grows for the most part on sand, and is not deeply rooted, so that it is easily overthrown by the wind. Its character shows a secret sympathy [with mankind], in that from long experience it is known that it thrives much better where people dwell, and in fact where the human voice is much heard: for this reason the inhabitants give a poor man a little weekly pay to live in their plantations, in which there are many thousands of trees, nay even hundreds of thousands. The trunk grows straight up for many fathoms, but is not more than a foot and a half in diameter, and has no branches as far as the top. There it grows leaves a foot and a half long, each made up of a rib down the centre with other lesser leaves beside it, which the blacks plait together cleverly to roof their houses, this covering lasting for half a year before it needs renewal—this is the first of the benefits given man. Then, secondly, they make brooms of these leaves, since if they strip off the lesser leaves the rib remains, and by binding such together a good broom is made. Thirdly, there grows out at the top above the leaves something like the sheath of a hunting-knife, about one and a half feet long and three fingers thick, which they call Majang. When this opens, the flowers are to be seen within it; but before it opens they cut into it, and hang a little pot on it, and about half a quart* of a good liquid runs out. If this is let stand for a time, one has (fourthly) wine [toddy]; and if left longer (fifthly) sugar [jaggery*] by boiling it. If now it is buried in the ground, it then gives (sixthly) vinegar; or if it is not buried, it can be distilled to good brandy [arrack]—I knew a black who distilled weekly some 200 quarts* of such, since he lived somewhat far from the city and had nothing else to sell.

If the tree is allowed to bloom, and the nuts to grow, in general reaching about the size of a large skittle-ball, and a quart and a half in volume, then if the nut is cut open one finds in it (seventhly)

38 an ice-cold clear liquid. But if it is left to ripen more fully, there is in it (eighthly) a substance like a lovely white jelly; and when it is fully ripe, it has (ninthly) a kernel which is good to eat; and also if it is grated and water is poured on it little by little it gives (tenthly) the best milk, which no one can distinguish from natural cow-milk, and which is much used for boiling rice. Further (eleventhly) the inner shell is used to make spoons and rosary-beads; and the husk between the inner and outer shells is used (twelfthly) for slow-match and for making ropes of inferior quality. And I had also almost forgotten that when we wanted to eat European cabbage, and felt disinclined to climb, we cut down such a tree, and found (thirteenthly) above in the umbel as if an inner leaf, a thick tuft which they call Palmite, which when cooked tastes just like our cabbage. Truly here God's wonders, His goodness and loving fatherly care can well be seen, in that He pours out such blessings on His people for their refreshment.

This tree is indeed wonderful, but has a wonderful enemy, namely 39 large ants; and also bats, with wings larger than those of a goose, but good to eat. But care must be taken when they begin to fly in the evening, to drive them away by lighting fires, or shoot them down, though they seldom fall to earth but usually remain hanging in the trees, so that they must be climbed for.

40 As regards the so-called Indian Miracle-tree, this is described in other books of travels; and it truly seems that God has set them to grow where the heat is great, since they serve for nothing but to give a most pleasant shade, their branches stretching out so widely that our lime-trees are as nothing in comparison; and although they are classed among the uncultivated trees since they bear no fruit, yet they are more agreeable than any fruit-tree because of their shade, and are therefore spared by the inhabitants so that this may be enjoyed. Also when one of the branches has grown far enough outwards, it sprouts a new twig, like a willow twig; and as the branch bends more and more downwards so that this twig reaches the ground, it at once strikes root in the soil and grows to another similar tree; and it is because of this property that it is called the Miracle-Tree.

Of edible animals cattle are very cheap, as also pigs. I took the trouble once to buy a really large ox, merely to see how much I would have to pay, and got one for 21 Dutch shillings*. That is in our money 4 guilders* and 12 kreutzer*; and from it we made some 40 pounds* of candles. I bought also a pig for 1 guilder 30 kreutzer; but there are no sheep except those kept by the Dutch, I do not know for what reason. Wood is somewhat scarce, but since (as aforesaid) peace and friendship reign, the King gladly lets them cut it. I was 41 once sent with two other Europeans and 63 Malabar slaves (since the Singlese will die rather than become slaves) to go 11 miles* inland, 41 into the King's territories, to bring wood. We went to Canabella, one of his towns, where at once wood was pointed out to us, of which 42 we made and loaded 40 rafts. At first it was pretty bad, since although everything was very plentiful there we could not get anything to eat, because everyone who saw us ran away, until at last we had found

someone to whom we could explain what we wanted, when they were helpful in all respects.

43 While we were cutting the wood we saw a fine small scorpion, fully as large as one of our crayfish, and blue all over, which we killed and left lying: truly Christ may have intended such when He said 43 "Who among you, if his son ask for an egg, will give him a scorpion?"

44 We met also with many of the so-called Chameleons, which although they are classed as vermin are pretty creatures. They eat nothing, but live on air; are no larger than a large lizard and have on the head something like a plume, which however is sharp and serves them as a defence. Their usual colour is ash-grey, but in a quarter-hour they change this frequently of themselves, either when they are sorrowful, or when they see the joy or sorrow of someone else; also they have the really pleasing quality, that when they see a colour they imitate it. This sort of little animals are otherwise good for nothing, but on the contrary are venomous; but there is another sort which indeed look far more poisonous, but are very good to eat.

45 These are called Dallagoy, by the Dutch Legovan, by the Portuguese Orrumbo, and are from half an ell to an ell long: they are just like dragons, with a long tail. Like snakes, they dwell under the ground, and when the sun is at its highest they usually come out of their hole: in front of this a noose is laid, in which they become entangled as they come out and are thus caught. They are truly very pleasant to eat and have the most lovely snow-white flesh, and because they eat nothing but the finest herbs and roots they are usually prescribed for the sick, to be added to their diet.

Ceylon also breeds very many snakes of various kinds. One of 46 them is called Kupfferböller: these are the worst, and are about a fathom long, almost grey, and have very strong venom. They bear great enmity towards man: when they are angry they rear themselves up, and it is then very dangerous to have anything to do with them. 46 They are carried around by the snake-charmers, who for a small present cause 5 or 6 of them to dance in various ways. Another sort are no thicker than a little finger, but also a fathom long and 47 grass-green: these eat only leaves, and harm no one. There is yet 48 another sort, called "Graspers": these live in the trees, are not longer than one and a half ells, and as thick as an ordinary sausage. On their tail they have a hook like that used for angling, and when any man or beast passes below their tree they fall down on it, and throw themselves round its body so that this hook unites with their head. All is then over, since they also have a strong venom. The 49 inhabitants indeed have an antidote, the "snake-stone", with which they can combat the poison if speedily applied; but if this once gets the upper hand, one almost loses one's senses. Finally, there is 50 yet another sort of snakes there, which they call "Suckers": they are 50a about as thick as a Wissbaum and also a fathom long. They principally frequent the peasants' huts, where there are many fowls, ducks, pigs, sheep or the like: the snake creeps in through the fence, and if it can but breathe on an animal it sucks it towards itself until it has

swallowed it. Now that its belly is full it cannot go out again where it came in, and thus is caught, as I myself have once seen. They are very good to eat, having the finest flesh and fat, and are much eaten by the Dutch; but the Singlese will neither kill nor eat snakes, but regard them as a sort of gods.

Before I close this chapter I will mention also something else that happened to us in the aforesaid Canabella: namely, that we met there an old English Ambassador, who looked more like a Singlese than an Englishman, since in colour, costume and all else he was like a native, and could hardly speak English. He was 70 years old, and had been 42 years a prisoner: he had married there, and one of his sons served at the Royal Court. He joined us, with another son, and travelled on one of our rafts to Columba, abandoning his wife and the other children, hoping, when he should reach England, to send a good sum of money to ransom them. As soon as we reached Columba he was clothed, and later sent with a ship to Europe; but we learned that he came no further than the Cape of Good Hope, where he paid his debt to Nature and remained as Death's prisoner. Thus to escape captivity, he risked death but journeyed many hundred miles to meet it, and never saw his country again.

CHAPTER XXVII. No one who knows Ceylon will deny that it has been granted two prerogatives by God: it produces almost the best cinnamon in the world, and the best elephants.

As regards the cinnamon the circumstances since the Dutch have been in control are as follows. The cinnamon woods produce great abundance, and many of them extend for over a mile* and a half. The tree grows on fine white sandy ground, half again as high as a man, and its thickest stem is about 6 inches in diameter; but from near the root grow many lesser stems, so that it looks more like a shrub than a tree. The leaves are like those of pepper-vines, except for the smell, so that for long I could find no difference either in colour or shape, until I was shown that the pepper-leaf has 5 ribs, the cinnamon 3 only. It produces small flowers, and these give small berries, which are greedily eaten by the birds, especially by the wild doves, called "Cinnamon-Doves" for this reason, and very good to eat. But the Dutch Authorities punish very severely anyone who breaks away even the smallest twig, and this is strictly controlled; but it happens nevertheless, and especially in those cinnamon-woods which are only a quarter-hour* from Columba, because many fruit-trees also grow there, and the people often go out there and lie in the shade of the large ones (as I myself have done) so that here and there the bushes are somewhat cut and damaged. I once brought back a few twigs to my lodging, but when my landlord came home and saw them lying on the table he was greatly concerned to learn whence this cinnamon came. When I told him that I had brought it, he earnestly begged me to lay it outside in the street, so that he might not be liable to punishment.

When the season comes that the sap rises in the trees, as in Europe in the Spring, the bark is peeled off, much as we cut May-Pipes.

The Governor has already received instructions as to how much the Company wishes to harvest, and at once informs the Captain of the Cinnamon. He calls the Captain of the Corla* (who is like a Head Forester, or Forest-Keeper), and they must now ride all around to see where it will be best to peel; since the same region cannot be peeled every year, but the trees must be left for two years to rest and grow their bark again. Then the peelers, or the Zaliers as they are called, are ordered to appear with their headmen in the Fort: these are a special race, and no one else is allowed to peel. So they come like a small army with the upper and lower officers, flags flying, and 100 of them bring a present to the Governor, consisting of the best eatables of the land. First, an agreement is made with them, how they shall be paid, since the rate of payment is already fixed, namely that for a light dollar* (which is for us 1 guilder* and 12 kreutzer*) they must deliver 80 pounds* of cinnamon, which however must be so dry that it can be snapped in two with one finger; but it is agreed whether they wish for half or three-quarters in money, and the rest in salt or cotton; and then the quantity that each village must deliver is fixed. When now the cinnamon has been delivered, and the direct ships from Ceylon to Holland have been loaded (usually 5) as also those to sail there via Batavia (usually 11 or 12), a day is set when all the cinnamon that could not be loaded in these ships is offered for sale at one Rxd.* per pound*; and if even a Heller* less than this is offered it is not sold, but all heaped together and burned. This the Company does so that no cinnamon shall be exported from Ceylon but in their ships. And so much for what regards the cinnamon.

The second prerogative is the excellence of the elephants which are taken in large numbers here, and are the largest as also the cleverest of all in the Indies, or almost in all the world, so that any who see their ability would rather think them of good sense than senseless beasts. The inhabitants told me that when other elephants meet one from Ceylon, they make him a reverence, or as they say "a Shalum" [Salaam] with their trunk. The largest taken in Ceylon are 18 fore-arms high (in all the East Indies an ell is the length of a man's forearm): I have indeed never seen such, but others so tall that when one sees them from afar off, one can well believe that the men sitting on them are floating in the air.

Only once while I was in Ceylon was an elephant-hunt ordered, since they are never hunted for sport, it being too costly, but only when the natives come and complain; since when such a little hare comes into a garden it does not eat only a few cabbage-leaves but ruins the whole garden entirely in one night; as also happened near where I lodged, that 200 banana-trees were destroyed in one night. Once every 3 or 4 years in a particular district the inhabitants are called together for 7 or 8 miles* around so that 7 or 8000 men assemble, who must come armed with all sorts of weapons such as boar-spears and also with many Fire-tubes (which are wooden tubes in which fireworks are let off, of which the elephants are terribly afraid). Then many thousand large trees must be assembled, to build the Elephant-Cral (the place where they are captured). Now this is

built like a theatre, fully half an hour* wide in front and narrowing towards the end, where a small opening is left into the so-called
 57 "Noth-Stall" which lies behind, and in which they are captured. This area must be closely stockaded with such trees, interlaced with
 58 Spanish Cane, which holds better than ropes. When this is done, all the men must spread out around the region, and then slowly close in towards the Cral, driving in not only the elephants but also other
 59 animals, especially deer, wild pigs and tigers [leopards], which however are trodden underfoot by the elephants as the space is lessened. Meanwhile some 40 or 50 tame elephants are waiting in the Noth-Stall with their Moors*. It is however curious that whenever one wishes to take these animals on the hunt, they show a natural dislike, as if they feared to sin in hunting their brethren; for this reason they are promised by their masters, as if they understood, that they will be given plenty of brandy [arrack] to drink and banana-trees to eat, for which purpose these trees are gathered in from the whole region, and paid for as much as two kreutzer* each. Also they are promised that if they behave well they will be given fine white sand, so that they can dust themselves with it and then bathe. Thus they let themselves be persuaded, and on the way to the hunt heaps of such sand are shown to them here and there, so that they may be reassured; but such promises must be kept, or no one ever after will be safe from them.

These tame elephants await the wild ones, which when they come in pretty deep within the stockade trample down everything before them; and when they near the Noth-Stall one after the other the trap-doors are raised and the men with the Fire-tubes set some off. When the elephants see this they fly from the fire into the opening, so that the mouse is caught; and if they are not too wild they are tied each to a tame one, or if necessary between two such, and so led
 60 away to Madara. Here there is a fine garden planted with coconut-trees in regular order, so that the captives can be tied with plaited canes between four, with a foot to each, and so tightly that next day the cane cannot be seen, so deeply has it cut into the flesh. Then it is pulled tighter, almost to the bone, until at last a liquid begins to flow out. This the so-called elephant-doctor observes, to see if it is time to release them, the wild [*sic*] liquid having all come away, since without this they will never be any good (N.B. it would be well if this could be done to some men); then a Moor* is ordered to bind up one foot after another, which he does to his best ability, and so greatly eases and benefits the beast that thereafter it obeys its benefactor in all things.

When the hunt is fully ended, the tame elephants are released to the white sand, and, after they have revelled in the brandy and the banana-trees, they take up this sand with their trunks and scatter it over their whole bodies; then they are led to the water where they rub themselves and recuperate and refresh themselves; and then they are led before the Governor's Palace, where they salute him by lowering and then raising their trunks, and thank him with a great cry; and so are led away.

On this occasion ninety-odd beasts were taken, of which however only 60 were kept, since the females are set free, and any that are scabby are shot.

Even as the elephant is a miracle of Nature when alive, it is almost as great a one when dead, considering its previous enormous size, since when such an animal falls dead, within a few days there is left nothing of it to be seen except the bones, all its flesh disappearing as if mere brine.

Also when it is dead there is nothing useful left of it but the teeth,
 61 and some little hairs at the end of the tail, which many regard as a great nostrum, so that when buying or selling elephants much attention is paid to these hairs.

CHAPTER XXVIII When now it was intended to hunt also in other districts, a Yacht came unexpectedly from Holland, bringing news of yet another "hunt", in that Bavaria and France desired to drive
 62 out the Swabians, and Ulm had already been taken: this was in 1703 I think. We must therefore cease our hunting, and my Gunner-Major [Major-Constabel, head of artillery] was ordered to make
 63 gunpowder, since the Dutch possessions on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel had to be supplied with this from Columba. We had to fill 5 powder-magazines: when these were cleared out, we found a large jar full of powder which had been stored there by the Portuguese, and was fresh, clean and good although over 50 years
 64 old. For that reason we also put our powder into such jars, each taking 7, 8 or 9 hundredweight.* These vessels were glazed inside, and had narrow necks above (yet large enough for a man to stoop into them): this had a wooden cover, and over it another of lead, sealed tight with clay or glue.

We had to work for all we were worth since we needed more than 5000 hundredweight,* and our commander had at first great difficulty, since although there was no lack of saltpetre and sulphur, we could
 65 get no suitable wood for burning to the charcoal needed to make the powder. He tried a dozen kinds of wood, until finally two sorts were found, one just like hazel-bushes but quite soft, the other somewhat like lime-tree wood, but the trees like large plum-trees, which they call Cappoc, and this [the seed-covering] looks just like silk. From these we had to cut away the bark, and where there was a thicker twig we had to cut it away also, so that nothing fat or sappy should come into the charcoal, which would have been most harmful.

I was sent at that time with 18 men, after we had received permission
 66 and a Pass from the King, and marched along the river Mattaval down which we had previously floated wood, 5 miles upstream from Columba since there are many forests there; and reached a fort
 66 called Malavana where we found quantities of such wood, and took what first came to hand since we were in haste, so that we cut down many fine trees in front of the houses of the Moors.* Many of these would have given us something to leave them standing, but if we had granted this to one, all the others would have demanded the

same, so that we cut whatever we found ; and out of respect for the orders of their King they let this be done.

When we thought that we had enough wood for our powder-making we cut also large trees and made rafts, which later were used for battery-wood.

After we had been busy for 5 weeks cutting wood and burning charcoal we went back to Columba : too late I regretted that I had not more closely concerned myself with this river Mattaval, since very many of the finest rubies are found in it, but only after very hot weather when the stream is almost dried up. But the King most strongly forbids that any be taken away, so that if anyone is caught doing so he is impaled without mercy ; pilgrims and Bramanen excepted, and their Priests, who in all things have more freedom, and are allowed to collect them but must deliver them to the King's Treasury. But such stones can be had from them for a song, and had I then thought of it I could have got many good ones.

Meanwhile we filled up our 5 magazines with good powder. We never expected any trouble in Ceylon, but were within a hair's-breadth of having a "man-hunt" there also.

News namely arrived from two shareholders of the Company, that two ships had arrived in England with cinnamon. The Company was greatly perturbed by this, and sought to know who had sent it without its knowledge—whether the King contrary to the Treaty, or the Governor, or some other person, since the King has two small areas where cinnamon grows, though there is always a Dutch guard there. The Governor at once called for the Captain-Dessave,* which is like his Viceroy, as also the Cinnamon-Captain and the Captain of the Corla,* but nothing could be discovered. Then an Ambassador was sent to the King to learn where the fault lay, and meanwhile every citizen and inhabitant of the Fort was instructed to lay in provisions for 6 months as soon as possible, so that if it came to a breach of peace, and the King cut off their supply, they would be provided for, since we fully expected a war.

However the King was far more peacefully-minded than we had thought, and at once made diligent enquiries, and when he found some suspects he sent them to Columba with one of his Envoys (who, as always, resided at Osterstein not far from Columba). After close inquiry it was found that these were indeed the guilty persons, since they confessed that they had sold the cinnamon to the English, thinking that as no one ever peeled where it was taken, it was wild cinnamon. The King was advised of this, and replied, that the Dutch should punish them as they thought fit, to which it was answered, No, but that each should punish their own subjects. So they were sent back ; and at once they were impaled and the Governor advised of this by Envoys. In return he sent valuable gifts with an Embassy, and thus the cinnamon-war was ended.

[Friendship with a Swede ; mutual wills in each other's favour ; death of the partner ; legal difficulties in collecting the legacy.]

CHAPTER XXIX. I have so far gone astray with my legacy as with my description of Ceylon, that I do not know where I was : to resume my story, my time was now up as I had been nearly 4 years in Ceylon, and so I received my discharge ; and embarked in a ship, one of 4 sailing in company for Europe ; but first we had to bring cotton from Tuto Curin in Malabar to Pont de Galle. As soon as this was done and our ship unloaded, we set to work to load her for Holland, with saltpetre, Brazil-wood, East-Indian saffron, white sugar, cinnamon, and some cotton. All was loaded as best this could be done, and the space remaining filled up with many thousand sacks of pepper ; and so we sailed with God's protection from Ceylon, on December 28th, 1703, and passed the line southwards with good fortune and almost without noticing it. It is generally-easier to come out than to enter, and so it was also in this case, and in two months we covered 1600 miles with favourable winds, and reached the Cape of Good Hope fortunately and without any hindrance, in March of the year 1704, at the time when the Dutch ships coming from Batavia arrive there, which we had to wait for.

We were 17 ships in all, 4 of ours from Ceylon and 13 from Batavia ; and after we had lain there for 5 weeks and taken on all that was necessary our usual ferryman arrived, the South-East wind, without whom we could not travel, but which sets in every year with the Winter at about this time, that is in April ; and this wind now so favoured us that we were becalmed only two days on the Line, whereas in our outward voyage we had passed there 6 whole weeks.

After we had crossed it we took an entirely different course from that of the outward voyage, since as soon as we sighted the Island of St Paul we left this on our left, and sailed not very far from the Cap de Verd into the Sea of Grass. This bears the name because it seems as if one were sailing there on a meadow, since the water looks like one owing to little bushes like our bilberry-bushes. Anyone to whom this is novel often knows not what to think, since for miles around he sees nothing but meadows, and sails on most gently over them with not even the smallest waves. We were some 10 days in these watery pastures, although each day we covered about 15 miles.* There are various opinions as to the source of this greenery : to mention two only, some claim that it is so often thrown in from the Cap de Verd, but others, and I think more reasonably, say that it grows in the water.

As soon as we had left these watery meadows astern we sought to get sight of the Canary Islands and the so-called Pic, so as to know that we were on the right course. Meanwhile we amused ourselves with the flying-fish, of which there is a tolerably large number hereabouts, until at last we just managed to sight the said islands, though with great difficulty since a thick mist made them almost invisible. It was now June when we reached here, and although a considerable time had passed since we left the Capè, we had been fortunate enough to meet with nothing unusual ; since it is needless to say much of what occurs on the great ocean, where one sees something unusual such

day or each hour, so to speak, and much paper would be needed to write of it.

We were glad to lose sight of the Canary Islands, our course being now changed: we now sailed around behind England and Scotland towards Greenland. Here things altered, since whereas in the warm countries we had made little account of the dropsy which afflicted many of us, this being nothing new among the Indians, here now the cold so affected such sufferers that if we had taken much more time in our voyage, more than the half of us would have perished; but with great joy we saw the coast of Norway on the last day of July, and reached 65 degrees north, the latitude of Trondheim, a Danish town. As we had orders to meet our escorts there we made for it, but when we learnt that new orders had been given and that they would not meet us there, a Council of War was held, and it was resolved to sail through between the Shetland Islands and Norway, where 3 days later we met our escorts off Bergen, consisting of 16 vessels. These at once took charge of us, giving us provisions and accompanying us for our protection, and we now had to leave the responsibility entirely to them, since in this region the greatest danger from the French was to be feared.

5 They came with us as far as the Texel, where the Amsterdam ships entered, and then with the rest into the Maas, where those of Rotterdam and Delft made for harbour, and finally they brought us into safety to Zeeland and Flushing. Aha, then there was joy upon joy! We were at once greeted with a salute from the cannon, which was an honour for us since not even warships are thus greeted; and when we landed the Notables came to receive us with signs of special rejoicing since such a day when the East-Indies ships arrive is reckoned as the most joyful of the whole year. We were at once released with a fine speech of thanks for our great endeavours and the constancy we had shown, and after a few days each received his due to the last farthing.

CHAPTER XXX. [Leg wounded by anchor-rope: long sickness ate up legacy and accumulated pay.] In the meantime I had lost the wish to go homewards; and since even before I was fit many officers visited me and tried to persuade me to sign on again in a privateer; everyone knowing me well, I again found the desire to go to sea once more. But my Surgeon would not allow this until my leg was fully healed, which followed not long afterwards, God be praised.

Who now was happier than I to be free of this prison of sickness; and now I sought to journey again to the Indies, and in September of 75 1705 embarked in the ship Blois, 26 guns and 160 men. On October 2nd we sailed, with another ship, from Flushing, escorted by two 3 warships. We were about to take the shortest route through the English Channel, but on the day of sailing were ordered to take 76 instead the northerly route, arriving safely at Ferril Island between Norway and Iceland. From here it is usual for the warships to 76 return, as ours did also after the customary check of our Muster-roll, and left us to go on alone.

[Description of the cod-fishery.]

After a few days, when we had bidden farewell to these fishermen and to our escort, to our great good fortune we had a strong wind from the East, which blew so strongly that at every moment a wave like a great mountain struck our ship from astern, and once even 77 broke in all the windows. No one who has not seen it can imagine what a mighty force such waves have, how terribly and with what speed such mountains of water rage and foam; and had this wind been adverse I believe that no one would have been saved. It is indeed an evidence that some almighty Being must exist, Who can rule such forces, since there is no man who could resist even one of such waves.

Thus our ship went forward like an arrow shot from a bow; and although there was much work to do, so that no one could take his ease, we were all glad to come away from the terrible cold. Otherwise most of us must have died, since as aforesaid our first orders had been to sail through the Channel, and therefore no one had made 77 preparations for the cold. I will tell later how in this voyage we met with two ships whose crews could indeed tell a tale of it.

77 Our beloved storm-wind thus continued, to our pleasure, and for nearly 14 days always whistled behind us, so that we ran under bare poles almost to the Tropic of Cancer, that is to 25 degrees; and since fortune still favoured us we had here beautiful clear weather, and passed the Tropic with pleasure.

CHAPTER XXXI. Thus far all had gone well, but now another "storm" threatened us, in that our ration of bread was decreased. 78 As I told in the first voyage, it was laid down that for each should be carried four and a half pounds* of biscuit per week, and this for 9 months, with a few hundredweight* over. Now this was kept in three storerooms, which should have been entirely filled up with biscuits; but sheer selfishness took up a great part of them, so that we now already lacked bread—namely that our Master well knew that brandy was much valued in the Indies, so that it could be sold there at twice what it costs in Holland (as I myself bought seven Thalers* worth and drank the half, and sold what was left for what I had spent in all). Therefore the said Master had stored a double layer of brandy-flasks under the floors of these three store-rooms, and then only filled them with biscuits, so that after we had voyaged for a few weeks only they began to run short; and now for the sake of his selfishness (or better said in atonement of it) we had to fast. We liked this but little, and if it had depended on us we would have made quite a different arrangement, and let our officers fast rather than we, but it was "needs must" and each of us had to look to it how to help out his hungry belly. We were indeed fortunate in that there was great plenty of fish to be caught in fine weather to our hearts' content: hardly a day passed but this brought us new pleasure, making us somewhat forget the lack of bread.

Among them were many of the so-called Krät [Albacoretta] and Bonnet [Bonito], all of 12 to 15 pounds*, and very many dolphins of

7 or 8 pounds ; and all these are among the most delicate of sea-fish, tasting almost like our pike, so that there is a common saying that "One eats albacores and dolphins only when there is wine to drink", meaning that they are food for aristocrats. All these fish were good eating if their fat were removed, and they were fried lightly in it: if they are then laid in a little vinegar they taste exceptionally well, since their flesh is by nature much drier than that of the fish caught near the land.

There were also a good quantity of the so-called Man-eaters or Sharks, of which we caught many of the smaller ones. But their flesh is quite red, and thus not good to eat: we therefore took and cut them in pieces, and since they have neither scales nor bones (but in place of bones only a cartilage) we put these pieces all together in a tub, and one of us then had to tread it under his boots as is done in making sauerkraut, until no more froth comes away from it. By this the red flesh becomes white and quite good to eat. Such beasts commonly swim close to ships, and often a corpse can hardly be thrown overboard before it is in the jaws of such a fish: one of them pestered us for several days, so that we did our best to catch him, and for this purpose put out a hook.

This is done as follows: a hook of 3 or 4 pounds* weight is taken, baited with 5 or 6 pounds of bacon, and attached to a chain at the other end of which is a piece of wood which floats on the water and keeps the chain from sinking. From this float to the ship there is a strong rope, and where it is made fast to the ship a bell is attached. Thus when the shark seizes the bacon this bell rings in warning, and everyone runs to haul him out.

We caught this fellow, about 18 feet long and 150 pounds* in weight in this way; and when we opened him up we found a whole pig in his belly, which we had thrown in just previously because it had died on us. Thus we had no liking for the fish nor the sow, but cut it in pieces and threw it into the sea again. In another of these fish we found the legs and bones of a man, and also the whole shroud, I mean the cloth in which the corpse had been wrapped: this fish also we left uneaten. The shape and nature of this fish is already well-known, so that there is no need to say much of it: I will add only that it is wonderful in that it does not have the jaws at the front like other fishes, but under the head, so that if it will bite it must turn right over. In these jaws there are always to be found little fish about the size of herrings, which have so to speak his free leave to swim in and out, and it seems as though he employs them as his workmen, to keep clean his teeth and jaws.

While we were busied with our fishing a sea-marvel appeared, which we all would have wished to be able to catch, so as to take off the skin and stuff it and take it to Europe. This was namely a snake
50a which came to the top of the water, about as thick as a Wissbaum, very lovely, in colour a golden yellow speckled with black spots like a tiger. We all agreed that we had never seen the like, and tried all ways to catch it, but in vain: as soon as it heard the noise on board

when everyone ran to look at it, it dived and nothing more was seen of it.

After now we had sailed a considerable distance with our fishing, the Master of the other ship wished to take a different course, and twice tried to part company from us. Twice we managed to persuade him not to do so, but the third time he slipped away at night, so that we did not know where he had gone. Soon after this we came to the Equator, indeed sooner than we had expected; and although then [in my first outwards voyage] we had so much ado to cross it, now instead all went well, in that not only did we pass it quickly but also with almost all of us in good health, except for some who had no doubt taken fever from eating the fish, of whom three in their delirium jumped into the sea and were drowned, but the rest were better watched after this.

After we had crossed the Line we tried to reach Ascension Island, but were prevented by contrary winds.....

[Saldanha Bay: Dassen Island.]

CHAPTER XXXII. At last in May (that is to say when it is the Autumn there, and they had the grapes already in the casks) we reached the Cape of Good Hope, finding there the other ship which had left us on the far side of the Equator and had arrived only the day before. Here we cast anchor, and our Master began to fear that the business of his brandy-bottles and our lack of bread might become known: therefore he did as follows.

As soon as we could land we got fresh bread and mutton. He now well entertained all the officers of our ship, before they left for shore, and thus put them under an obligation to him, so that when now they were interrogated, and had to declare on oath whether the voyage thus far had been made without any hindrance, they all steadfastly replied with Yes. But we had to remain silent, and none of us dared to say a word; and this to our great damage in that, since we had said nothing of the lack of bread, we also received no further supplies of it, so that later we not only had to go hungry but indeed suffer real famine.

I for my part was very glad to be here, since although I had been otherwise in good health during all the voyage, my foot still gave me much pain, the wound being still somewhat open; but now that I was come to this warm country, and bathed it, both the pains and the wound disappeared and I was fully fit. It seemed almost as if the air of the Indies suited me far better than that of Europe, and therefore I longed soon to see Ceylon and my old comrades again. In order to reach there in the good weather we left again after we had lain for 4 weeks and had been provided with everything necessary (that is in so far as we were allowed to say). Our companion after saluting us now made for Batavia direct, while we set our course as previously [in my first voyage] for Madagascar, and thence to the Maldives, and so to Ceylon.

But since we met with a north-easter we were driven off course, and though we passed the Tropic of Capricorn it was far from our route. Meanwhile we suffered famine, since our provisions came to be so scanty that we had to make do with one meal a day instead of three. But this time again God did not forsake us, since there was plenty of fish and of turtles, of which each had up to 50 pounds* of flesh ; and but for these truly most of us must have perished. We drove thus for some three weeks, coming as far as 10 degrees South, where we found an island which is not on the charts nor in accounts of voyages. Being now thus close to it we had to near it, to find out its nature and its latitude, so that it could be sketched and added to the charts. We found it at the above-mentioned latitude, but entirely barren, with neither man nor beast living on it. Hardly had we left there when the north-west winds began to rage, as if they alone ruled the ocean, and drove us with so much force that we came almost to the Islands of Sumatra, and even in sight of some of them ; but there we came "out of the frying-pan into the fire" as the saying goes, since many and severe storms are usual in these parts, and so we found it.

We would have borne with these gladly had they but brought us nearer to the Island of Ceylon, but as we had already been driven over 200 miles* beyond there we had now to turn and make our way back against them, to seek the Maldive Islands. For this purpose we again crossed the Line to the North, and after three days at last saw that we were near Ceylon, but did not know on which coast : we indeed hoped that we were not far from Columba, but this was far from the truth.

We now had in the ship nothing but a sack of peas, some oats, and half a sack of flour ; and when we were but a cannon-shot from land we ran onto the Elephant Rock, to our great alarm ; and at that very moment it began to rain all one could wish. Ah, what a confusion there was on board ! Everyone ran to catch the rain, and let the ship remain aground as she was : the Master and the officers wrung their hands and tore their hair, because she had come so far and should now be so miserably lost. But when almost all hope had been abandoned, God came to our help with a strong wind from landwards, which turned the ship about so that she came afloat. Then we sailed with the land on our left, and on July 16th arrived at Trinquemale, sailing into the fine harbour there : this is the best harbour in all Ceylon, but as it lies on the side where there is nothing but wilderness and desolation, useless for commerce and where no cinnamon grows, there is only a Commandeur* there, to guard the harbour so that no strangers may slip into Ceylon ; and when we now found full Summer there, in Columba it was Winter.

As soon as the Commandeur learned that Dutch ships had arrived, he sent us 30 goats, some rice and Cadiang (a fruit like small beans) ; and sent also a messenger overland to Columba to advise of our arrival. He sent also another to Batticolo, a fort not very far away, from where he could get supplies : since it is like a paradise there, and one can walk for two hours* under the coconut-palms. As

soon as the messenger for Columba had left, our Master applied for two months' pay for us to the Commandeur*. He said that if we would accept copper coins he would pay us : we agreed to this, and began to lay up our ship, since before August we could not go on to Columba—before then the Governor may admit none, or if they are damaged he would have to pay for it.

We had expected that the delay would not be great, that we could be there [Colombo] soon, and there were even many among us who now would have liked to stay there [Trincomalee] permanently, especially those who knew a trade, and the Master-Gunner there wished to keep me by force ; but next day, when we expected to receive our two months' pay, there came orders by night to the Commandeur* that we should set off head over heels for Tuto Curin in Malabar, since the Governor wished to resign and must therefore close the accounts everywhere. When our commander heard this he changed his decision, and gave us not a Heller* so that we had to set out, well-provisioned indeed but not with money.

Now we learned that we had a pretty long way to go, and a round-about one, since they said that if we could manage the journey in 6 weeks it would be soon enough. To reach our goal we had to cross the Line again to the South, and then try to reach the channel in the latitude of Cape Comorin in Malabar, 6 degrees north ; and since we had a favourable wind we sailed along the coast of Ceylon until at last we lost sight of it.

After three weeks we reached Cape Comorin, and thence followed the land as far as Ponto Ceul, which is a place specially used by the merchants in the cotton-trade. Here we spent the night, and came next day to Tuto Corin, where orders already awaited us to make for Columba with all haste.

I have already written of this Tuto Corin, that it is an excellent place where the finest cotton is made : and it is as valuable to the Dutch as any place in India, and this because it brings in good profits and costs but little, only 30-odd men being set in garrison there. The country around it is however very poor, and nothing but sand, so that there is not a tree in the whole region and all the wood has to be brought from Columba—hence there is the proverb that he is hanged who breaks a branch from a tree at Tuto Corin. For this reason it is pretty sure that no enemy will come there, since he could not maintain himself.

Therefore we made no delay there, but tried to cover the 36 miles* to Columba as quickly as possible, arriving there in the evening of the following day ; but as we did not know where we were, and the fishermen at Negumbo, 4 miles* from there, had lighted many fires, we thought that this was our destination and made for it. Next day we arrived there, but found that we were 4 miles* astray, and had to get back the same day to Columba. When we arrived there we were at once brought into the harbour, and the sick landed ; and then the ship had to be unloaded head over heels. This was done so rapidly that in three days she was both unloaded and re-loaded, although we

took on nothing but the Governor and his people, and enough sand-ballast to give the ship her proper weight in the water ; and so we sailed again for Tuto Corin. As the distance was but small and the wind favourable the passage was a quick one : then the Governor landed and completed his business, while we unloaded the sand and took on 1400 bales of cotton, which, with the Governor, we took back to Columba. He remained there, but we had to take the cotton to Pont de Galle, where all Dutch ships must load ; and as soon as our ship was unloaded we were ordered to Tuto Corin for more cotton, since 4 ships for Holland already awaited their cargo, and meanwhile were carrying out repairs and taking on provisions for the journey.

[Cochin, slave-buying. XXXIII Description of Cochin: Cranganore : Cannanore : Barsalore : Goa. XXXIV West-coast ports. XXXV Barsalore : Calicut : Cochin.]

Our orders were to sail for Batavia as soon as we had loaded pepper. Before we sailed there was a comic affair : since we had last left there more than 100 slaves had been bought for us to take to Batavia. One of these had a wealthy father, and (like some Europeans) wished to make sure of his inheritance even while his father was alive ; and for this had found no better opportunity than to sell his old father. . . . But he did not succeed : the Administrator found it unjust, and took the young one instead, giving his father 10 Rxd* for him.

From there we came with good weather and a favourable wind to Pont de Galle, where four ships awaited our pepper to take it to Holland. Since there was no cargo for us we loaded sand for ballast, and sailed for Batavia. Here I felt almost as I had felt in Italy, that I knew this region as well as my native land, or better ; and when I first crossed the Line I felt I had done something noteworthy, but now it was as if I had gone for a trip of a mile on the Bodensee, since I had now already crossed it at least 13 times.

[Bantam : Batavia : Surat.]

CHAPTER XXXVI. [Description of Surat : April 1708 thence to Barsalore : Cochin : with slaves to Batavia : ordered to Negapatam.]

90 So we sailed for there, and reached Trinquenemale in Ceylon, and from there with the land to our left hand to Pont St. Peter near Jaffanapatan, where there is a fine Pearl Fishery, but only at certain fixed times.

91 It is done thus : the Pearl-Fishers, or Divers as they are called, tie a basket to a rope, which is made fast to a small boat above, and take a stone between their feet and so go down about 10, 11, or 12 fathoms deep, but not more. When now they find an oyster-bank where the shells lie as closely together as if they had been sown, they quickly fill the basket and pull on the rope so that it is drawn up : they also drop the stone from their feet and come to the surface.

92 This is almost an imitation Holland, both as regards position and site, as also in [the abundance of] water, and the Dutch have indeed

made here a New-Holland, since one finds here Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelburg, Flushing, and other places named for the Dutch towns.

93 When we were revictualled we sailed from St. Peter, and saw the so-called Adam's Bridge, which stretches from Ceylon to the Coromandel Coast, and is more than 2 miles* long ; but why this large sandbank got its name no one could tell me. In Ceylon they show also Adam's Hill, or Adam's Peak as the Dutch call it, with a spring near it called Eve's Spring ; and the old Ceylonese insist that Paradise lay there, but in my opinion without reason. There is also an old tradition that in old days Ceylon was joined to the Coromandel Coast, but because of the great impiety of the folk God separated them, this large sandbank, or Adam's Bridge remaining as a testimony. It is very difficult to sail across it, so that although the Moors* sail almost daily in their small vessels along this coast to Columba, we with our large ships must sail almost all around Ceylon to arrive there.

[Description of Negapatam. XXXVII Batavia until January 1709, and description : the notes on pineapples and jakfruit are relevant to Ceylon :]

94 Here [Batavia] as in Ceylon there are neither apples nor pears, although other fruits such as melons and pumpkins* are available. They have also another fruit, which they consider the King of all Fruits, called Anassa. It grows as large as a turnip, and has a crown of leaves above, in form very much like an artichoke. The flesh is beautifully yellow, but so terribly hot that when one wishes to eat of it one must first cut some slices and lay them in water, or else they will burn the lips like hot coals. The taste is like that of strawberries.

94 They have yet another fruit, which they call Sorzac. This grows on a tree like a large limetree, and the most surprising thing is that this fruit, weighing fully 25 to 30 pounds* and shaped like a good large well-filled haversack, yet hangs on so thin a stalk, no thicker than a little finger. When this fruit is cut open a slimy substance clings to the knife ; and in it lie as if little kidneys, which are golden yellow, and with a kernel that tastes like sugar.

[Further description of Batavia. XXXVIII Bantam: Cape of Good Hope : Faroe Islands : between Shetland Islands and Norway : Holland : with Tyrolese bird-dealers through Germany on foot : Darmstadt : Ulm : Memmingen. XXXIX On foot again through Italy : Como : Bergamo : Brescia : Verona : Padua : Venice : Trieste : Bolsano : Partenkirchen : Augsburg : Memmingen, apparently now settling down as a baker.]

CHAPTER XXXX. Thus ended my long journeyings, although there would be many other things to tell, which however would have been too much to write; also I have not set down all the details, fearing to fatigue the reader. Also I do not remember everything, since it is not possible to describe travels lasting 22 years, unless I had kept a

Journal during them ; but it was never my intention that my account should be printed. And since I have forgotten to write of many things I will end with a few notes as a bonus.

First Note. I have already mentioned above that when I first came to the Indies I was 4 years on Ceylon, and I have told of various things, but not of what I myself did during that time. To wit, I worked most of that time in the Arsenal and was not able to make
95 many excursions, since our Chief, although a good fellow . . . was a real scatter-brain. Whenever anything came into his head he told me or someone else to do it at once, and if any of us excused himself that he could not or did not know how to do it, he at once insisted that this was only our imagination, and that so long as anyone thus imagined he could not do something, he would in fact be unable to do it. Once he thus got an idea, and ordered me to take some blacks and burn bricks. As I had never in my life seen how this should be
96 done, I excused myself ; but it was of no avail, I had to set out with my blacks and instruct them in work which I neither knew nor understood. Therefore I let them do it as they had been taught : they tempered the loam by walking oxen over it in a circle. Finally we got together some 1000 bricks, half-bricks, and tiles. When however the fire was out, everything was all burnt up and scorched, and we got just so much as we had put in, namely half-bricks and fragments. As I could find not even one whole brick among them I was pretty scared when our Chief came to inspect our masterpiece ; but he only laughed, and said it did not matter, we should start again : at last we indeed succeeded, and he was well pleased with us.

Second Note. Of a man who had a tree in his body. This was
42 a really bad thing which happened to a soldier, from Saxony, who had been for a long time in Ceylon. He once fell sick, and no one could make out what was the cause : he tried all sorts of medicines but all in vain, and it seemed as if he were drying up little by little—he became quite deaf, and suffered great pain. After a considerable time, when his cure was despaired of, he fell into the hands of an Elephant-Doctor, who was able to recognise his sickness and ordered him a remedy, which worked so well that after a very short time a little tree came out of him, about a span long, and the stem as thick as one's thumb, with twigs just like a little bilberry-bush. At first everyone was astonished at this, but later we were told that it was
97 quite natural, since there is a grain there (which they call Caraccan, and looks like millet-grains) : this when properly ground makes excellent cakes, which taste as if made from pure sugar or honey ; but if such a grain comes whole into the body there must unfailingly grow such a little tree from it, and if it is not dealt with the man will die of it. This man pregnant of a tree was indeed cured, as said, but was pale ever after, and never really well.

Third Note. Of Opium, or, as the Indians call it, Affau. I myself was never harmed by eating any of the last-mentioned grain, but once the Opium, as it is called, had a considerable effect on me. It is very much used in the Indies, and especially in Batavia ; and so

far as I know is made from the stems and leaves of a certain plant. It looks like juniper-extract, and if one takes a little too much of it one is driven completely mad ; yet the Indians, being accustomed to it, can take far larger doses than we. When they come together to smoke tobacco they fill a little pipe with this Opium and pass it around, so that after each has taken 3 or 4 draws he hands it to the next. So they all fall asleep together ; but I do not think that a European could tolerate so much as the size of a pea without becoming frenzied and senseless therefrom. Now I had a comrade whom I thought I could fully trust, but he wished to play a trick on me and therefore mixed some of it in my drink ; and from it I at once became as if deaf, and then finally broke out into a rage so great that I wished to kill everyone : and although I could indeed hear everything that was said and discussed, and fully understood it, yet it was as if my senses were forced thus to rage and rave. They shut me up, though I do not know how they managed to get me quiet at last ; but when I came to myself I could scarce move a limb, and thought that I should be bedridden. This Opium I consider presents a good symbol of Sin, which, when it has once become master of the heart of a man, drives him forward in his habitual offences in spite of much exhortation, until he brings both himself and others into misery and want.

98 Fourth Note. Of two ships in which the crew froze. I mentioned above when describing the great cold which we suffered between the Shetlands and Iceland, that I would tell of two ships which were even worse frozen, but as I forgot to do so, I will do this here. We met them as we came back from the Indies for the first time, at the Cape of Good Hope, finding there the hospital full of such folk, who had been so assailed by the frost there that hardly one escaped. This was because when ships lie in the Texel in Holland, and the ice on the sea begins to break, they must sail lest the ice-floes cut their anchor-ropes by clashing together. This happened to these 2 ships, and they came to that very part between the Shetland Islands and Iceland just when the winter cold was most terrible ; and they reached the Cape some dead, some half-frozen, some with frozen hands and feet, and could journey no further but must be content with the hospital of Africa instead of the fruits of the Indies.

98a Fifth Note. On an unusual punishment on board ship. Such a pitiless punishment was once inflicted on a sailor, in truth an unruly one, who (whether from stupidity or ill-will, I do not know which) stabbed his neighbour as they sat, in the thigh with a knife he was flourishing about. He was therefore arrested ; and although (as I have told) as a rule offenders are tied with their faces to the mast and beaten with ropes'-ends on their bare backs, which indeed is a pretty severe punishment, yet this man was punished far more severely, in that he was tied between two ropes which passed through the water under the ship and reached as far as the other side of her. Then he was thrown into the water ; and in order that he should sink quickly he was loaded with sheets of lead, but equally quickly he was hauled up on the far side ; and this was done 3 times. It is well known that out of 10 thus punished barely one survives, since either

the water through which he is dragged cuts him in half, or he bleeds from nose and ears. This man also lost his life in this manner ; and for my part I would rather meet death by hanging or beheading than let myself be thus pitilessly martyred.

Sixth Note. Concerning the Masters of the Ships. As regards these Masters who go on the East-India voyages, I have noted that seldom one of them returns alive or well : I knew three of them with whom I sailed, and none of the three saw Europe again. On the contrary, very many of the ordinary folk come safely back, or flourish out there. And as to the reason, I would truly wish to assert that it is the sly practices of which they are guilty, as also their great heart-
99 lessness (such as I have told of above), since although there are in general but few saints on board, yet the sailors are truly angels in comparison with the officers, who run into excess in all things, and give free rein to their lusts. Hence naturally it is no marvel their health breaks down ; not to mention that God calls such folk to an accounting and (to their good fortune) cuts short their evil ways.

Herewith, gentle reader, I commend you to God ! If you find anything in this story of my travels which persuades you to marvel at God's Governance, Providence, and the Preservation of so many millions of men, and at His Ways (known to Him alone) to bring them to Salvation, then much is attained of what I have sought in these few pages. And perhaps from this the rest may follow of itself, namely the entertainment of your minds, since such writings are among the most useful of secular literature, to be read without offence or annoyance. If now you find something which appears incorrect to you, or if I have made some other mistake, be tolerant of me as one who (both during his travels and now) is better able to deal with cannons and cannon-balls than with the writing of books ; and in so far as you may see something through a distorting glass, take it not evil that others may see you also through such glasses.

A VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO INDIA

EDWARD IVES ESQ.,

Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's Ship and
of his Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

LONDON

Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly

1773

Note 28a. a ship. Navarrete (Hakluyt Society 1960) writes for 1670, from hearsay, that "The King ask'd of the Dutch a small Ship to see the shape and manner of those us'd in Europe. They made a fine one lin'd with Copper, and sent word it was all Gold". Compare the 1744 Embassy (3296, 3270) which took "a little boat" (JCBRAS 1956, page 191).

A VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO INDIA...

The book is very rare: at the British Museum it may be consulted in the North Library only. There is a copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) in Colombo.

The one footnote is by the author.

His references to classical writers have been omitted, as also a long description of the "Royal Tyger", there being of course no tigers in Ceylon, only leopards.

The Dutch edition of notes 104 and 108 was published in Amsterdam in 1779.

In 1754 Ives was appointed as Surgeon to H.M.S. Kent, and sailed in her from Spithead on February 22nd. At Plymouth she joined Admiral Watson's squadron, he hoisting his flag on her. On March 5th the squadron sailed, touching at Madeira, Madagascar, Fort St David (an English fort just south of Pondichery, razed later by the French and never rebuilt), and then at Bombay and Madras.

CHAPTER V. We sailed from Madras the 7th of April [1755]..... for *Trincomale* in the island of *Ceylon*, and on the 22nd of the same month came to an anchor in that harbour. At five in the afternoon

- 101 *Mynheer Van Beaumont* the governor came on board to congratulate the admiral on his safe arrival at *Trincomale*, and to offer him every assistance the place afforded. At his leaving the ship we saluted him with 13 guns. He afterwards waited on Commodore *Pocock* on board the *Cumberland*, and at his taking leave of him, was saluted by the same number of guns. The next day the admiral and commodore, attended by all the captains of the squadron, waited on the governor at the fort; they were received in the great hall with trumpets, drums, and three volleys of small arms. After drinking coffee, tea, and a glass or two of wine, they took their leave. They were complimented, both at their entering and quitting the fort, with a discharge of 21 guns.

Trincomale harbour is a very good one for ships to put into when in distress, and is perhaps better calculated for wooding and watering a squadron, than any other in the *East Indies*. It very much resembles that of *Portsmouth*, and is almost quite land-locked; but this last circumstance, in so hot a climate, may be rather reckoned an inconvenience, for hereby the free circulation of the sea-breezes, so necessary to refresh the men on board the ships, is greatly obstructed. The trade of this port is very inconsiderable; and it is manifest the sole view of the *Dutch* in fortifying this and the several bays and rivers round the island, is to prevent other nations from settling here, or having any commerce with the natives.

- 102 The island of *Ceylon* is very large, being 250 miles long and 200 broad. The inner part of it is in the possession of the natives, who are of the *Gentoo** religion, and they call their king the King of Candy. The *Dutch* having taken care to secure to themselves the whole sea coast, endeavour to reconcile him to their converting the rich spices of his country to their own advantage, by making him frequent presents; but sometimes they have found him very refractory and their succeeding in this important point has been attended with great difficulties.

- 103 There are many trees of different kinds to be met with on this island, such as the *euphorbium*, *tulip-tree*, *ebony*, *redwood*, *cassia*, *cocoa-nut*, *cotton*, *lime*, *mangoe*, *citron*, and black and yellow *teak*; these last have a most beautiful grain, but are so hard as to be very destructive to the cabinet-maker's tools. But the tree peculiar to

this island, and which has proved the source of inexhaustible riches to the *Dutch*, is the *Cinnamon*, which grows wild in every wood in the south west part near *Columbo*, but there are few to be found near *Trinconomale*. This tree is propagated by a bird's eating of the fruit, part of which he discharges again, and afterwards the seeds of it take root. It grows somewhat like our common hazel; the leaves resemble those of the laurel, but with this difference, that they have only three fibres in their composition. According to some, it has three barks; but all agree that it has two. What they strip from trees of a middling growth, is the best *Cinnamon*. The very young trees are not fit for rinding, and the old ones they cut down for firewood. From the root of this tree, the *Camphora* is extracted. But the greatest quantity of this last drug is brought from *Sumatra*, where it is sold in small flat cakes, at the enormous price of 4 L. sterling an ounce. One pound of this genuine gum, Mr. *Thomas* was told, will produce a hundred pounds of such as is brought to us from the Indies after adulteration.

Coffee also grows wild here; as do the trees and plants which produce

106 *Balsam Capivi, Lacca, Gambogium, Cinquenomale.*

105 Not having heard of this last before, Mr. *Thomas* imagined it to be a name given by the natives to a certain drug. A *Dutch* surgeon residing here, shewed him a balsam or oil extracted from it by distillation, and which he assured him was a very good medicine in a paralytic numbness. This gentleman also presented him with a sample of a gum growing here, which he called *Badule*; he told him that it was but lately noticed, and that as yet they knew not the use of it.

Every morning and evening we were gratified with a fine odour from the trees that were in bloom. At first we took them for the cinnamon, but they proved to be nothing more than common flowering shrubs, of which the whole island is full. The soil between the hills, which are very high and rocky, is a fat red earth; and the vallies are extremely pleasant, having a clear rivulet running almost through every one of them. Here are also veins of black chrystal, intermixed with spar, and iron, and some black lead, and copper ores. I am almost persuaded that this country produces tin, for Mr. *Thomas*, who was a *Cornish* gentleman, and particularly curious in such matters, assured me, that during his stay on the island, he picked up as fine a piece of ore of that kind as ever he had seen in *Cornwal*, and that he intended carrying it home with him in order to shew it as a sample. I shall only add, that if this very valuable commodity is really to be met with in this country, it is astonishing that the crafty *Hollander* should not as yet have found it out, who was never known to spare pains in discoveries of any kind, as this would manifestly turn out to his inexpressible advantage. The island also produces topazes, rubies, garnets, &c. which the inhabitants discover by washing the soil they grow in. Neither *harp-shells* nor *ventel-traps* are found

111 here, but numbers of painted *cockles*, and others which are commonly called *panama-shells*.

We found the country to abound also with many uncommon curiosities; particularly the *creeping leaf*: This is certainly a species of the grasshopper; it has every member you see in common insects, such as head, legs, wings, and body, and of a pale green colour, but yet in shape and appearance exactly resembles a leaf.

A great variety of wild and tame fowl are to be met with here, and which are sold at a low price. A dozen of fowls, or five ducks, for a *rupee*,* not quite a half crown of *English* money. The bay, which has many coves, abounds in fish, especially the *cavally*, and *surmullet*; these are to be had very cheap. The same may be said of the fruits of the island, such as *pine-apples*, *jacks*, *bananoes*, *cocoa-nuts*, *mangoes*, &c. &c. A *pine-apple* may be bought for a penny or less, and all the other fruits in proportion. Money* is the same here as in *Holland*; they have only a different way of reckoning, as 8 *doit** to a *cash**, 12 *cash* to a *rupee**. A *rupee* goes but for two shillings sterling, or four *schillings** *Dutch*; 96 *doit* make a *rupee*.

115 *Common* deer they have here, in great abundance, and also *Guinea* deer, but few other horned cattle, and these too very small. We killed six of their oxen one day during our stay at *Trinconomale*, and the weight of the whole amounted to but 714 pounds. . . . But however small and contemptible the breed of bullocks may be on this island, nature appears to have made her full amends in the stupendous size of her elephants, which are said to be the largest of any in the known world.

The *Elephant* is certainly the most extraordinary of all animals, and well merits a particular description. His body is heavy and gross, generally of a dark, dirty colour; and though, when arrived at full growth, he is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and from eighteen to twenty in circumference, yet his head is still larger in proportion; and what is most extraordinary his eye is no bigger than that of a hog, which it exactly resembles. His legs are like four large columns, rather long than short, and jointed like a cat's just above the feet, which are round at the bottoms, and do not spread much beyond the bulk of the legs. His ears are flat, hanging down, and surprizingly large; the tail is small, but long, with a few bristles at the end. At the two corners of his mouth grow two large tusks or teeth, which are what we call ivory; these are six or seven feet long in the *male elephant*; in the *female* they are seldom half that length. But the most extraordinary part of this animal is his *proboscis* or trunk, which is long and hollow like a trumpet, and serves him instead of a hand to feed himself, being able to move it with incredible agility and strength, and to take up therewith the smallest thing from the ground, by means of a little point, which he can twist round it. His common food is leaves of trees, grass, corn, and sugar-canes, of which last he is particularly fond. Notwithstanding the unwieldiness of this beast, his motions are very alert, and he walks with great ease, fast enough to keep a man on a good run. Many incredible

stories are related by ancient authors of the docility and ingenuity of this *half-reasoning* animal.

..... No wonder therefore that the ancients made use of them in war, and sometimes with great success ; but since the invention of fire-arms they have not been found of equal use as formerly ; for they are remarkably terrified at fire, and will at the sight of it, frequently turn back upon their friends, and overthrow every thing that stands in their way. They are chiefly used at present for the fording deep rivers, and carrying over the baggage on their backs. After the keepers have loaded them with several hundred weight, they fasten ropes to them, of which the soldiers taking hold, either swim, or are drawn across the river. In time of war, they now and then fix an heavy iron chain to the end of their trunks, which they whirl round with such agility, as to make it impossible for an enemy to approach them at that time. Another use they still have for this creature in war, is, to force open the gates of a city or garrison which is closely besieged. This he does by setting his backside against them, rigging backwards and forwards with his full weight, till he has burst the bars, and forced an entrance : to prevent which, most of the garrisons in this country, have large spikes stuck in their gates, that project to a considerable distance. However, after all, those prodigious animals are kept more for shew and grandeur than for use, and their keeping is attended with a very great expence, for they devour vast quantities of provision ; and you must sometimes regale them with a plentiful repast of *cinnamon*, of which they are excessively fond.

116 I have been told, that it is no uncommon thing with a *Nabob*, if he has a mind to ruin a private gentleman, to make him a present of an *elephant*, which he is ever afterwards obliged to maintain at a greater expence than he can afford : by parting with it, he would certainly fall under the displeasure of the grandee, besides forfeiting all the honour which his countrymen think is conferred on him by so respectable a present.

The notions of the *Indians* concerning the elephant are various. It has been in all ages, and is to this day, the custom of the *oriental* nations, to wrap up all their wisdom in short sentences or proverbs, allegories and parables. Some of the *Indians* literally believe that the globe of the world is supported by an *elephant* ; which notion probably had its rise from a proverb of theirs to that purpose, but which certainly meant no more, than that the commerce of their country depended in a great measure upon *elephants*. I could not but remark too, that in almost all their *Pagodas*, or places of worship, 117 they have the image of this creature depicted on the walls. Some imagine, that they place the *elephant* here as an emblem of *God's* omniscience ; while others think that they pay adoration to them, as being endowed with greater sagacity than themselves, and therefore pray to them for a portion of his wisdom. The natives relate another instance of the docility of these creatures, that in marching with an army, they gather up every stick of size they meet with on the road, which towards the evening is sometimes increased to a faggot large enough to dress all the provisions for that night.

But not to mention any more of the multitude of things reported of them ; the following particulars are what I observed myself. They generally *stand* under the shadow of some spreading tree, to prevent 118 their being stung by the little ant, which, notwithstanding their gigantic size and bulk, is a great terror to them. To prevent his crawling about them, they are continually taking up dust or sand in their trunk, and throwing it over their heads and backs ; nay they sometimes take a whisp of straw or grass, and brush themselves down with it behind, while with their bristly tail they sweep their foreparts. [Corrected in his Errata to 'before' and 'hind-parts'.] When you first approach them, they are taught by their keeper to make their *Salaam* or obedience to you, which is done by falling almost backwards, and making a prodigious eructation or rattling in the throat, not much unlike the first breaking of thunder. The keeper then mounts his shoulders, which he could not possibly do without the *elephant's* assistance, who for that purpose crooks one of his legs : the keeper's first step is made on his lower joint, the next on his knee, and he then springs upon his back, laying hold of the flap of his ear. After the *elephant* has performed many tricks at the word of command, then, to shew you how capable he is of picking up the most minute thing with his trunk you are desired to 119 lay a silver *fanam** upon the ground : this, which is the smallest of all coins, the *elephant* feels about for till he finds, then takes hold of it, and gives it to the keeper, as seated upon his back. He last of all throws out his trunk to its full length, by way of shaking hands with you, and the ceremony is ended. Another circumstance I observed was, that whenever they drank, they first stirred the water, and made it foul with their feet : The reason for doing this, is, that the gravel and small stones which they thereby swallow, help to digest their food ; and not, as some alledge, that they render the water muddy, because they hate to see their own figure in that element. One more particular relating to these animals is their surprizing 120 age. That they live til between 2 and 300 years is strongly believed ; and it is certain that they are in full vigour, at much above a hundred : but it seems that nothing can be said with certainty as to the exact time that they usually live : whenever I asked any of the *Indians* a question relative to this subject, they always answered me, "*This elephant was my great-grand-father's.*"

121 The natives catch the elephant by the following method : they have two places strongly inclosed ; one contains several acres of land, the other is but small. When they intend to hunt, which they always do in the night, they go in a large company, with each man a vessel of fire on his head. As soon as the *elephant* sees the light, he pursues ; the man that is singled out runs into the large inclosure, there drops his fire, and retires to a tree ; the *elephant* presently employs himself in trampling and scattering about the fire. When they have a sufficient number of them in the large inclosure, they shut up the first passage, and then decoy the *elephants* one by one into the small place, where they get ropes about them, and by the help of tame *elephants* convey them home. Sometimes, however, the men are overtaken

before they reach the inclosure, when they throw down the fire, and fly to the next tree for security.

122 The Tyger also is an inhabitant of Ceylon.

The woods in this island abound with various sorts of venomous insects ; such as *snakes*, of an enormous size and length ; I had a view of one that measured 15 feet in length, and 30 inches in circumference ; *scorpions*, *centipedes*, *spiders*, *tarantulas*, &c. I saw a

123 spider here as large as a toad, with brown hair upon it ; the legs were the thickness of a large tobacco-pipe, and more than four inches

124 long. A scorpion also, which was taken out of a piece of wood, was brought on board the 9th of *May*, which measured 8 inches from head to tail, exclusive of the claws: the shell was as hard as that

125 of a crab. I killed a centipede here which was more than 7 inches long.

The natives of this island are the stoutest *Indians* I ever saw. Mr. 126 *Knox* in his history reports many strange things of their religion and customs, none of which I had an opportunity of seeing. He says, that "they have various ways of treating their dead. Some burn them, (which is not uncommon in *India*,) while others throw their limbs up into the forks of large trees." This may be true, because when our wood-cutters were once hewing down a stick of timber, there fell from it, the skull, and many bones of a human body ; and I also saw here a human body hanging on a tree.

Other historians relate, that the natives of *Ceylon* feed on human flesh ; nay that they eat the bodies of their deceased parents imagining that no other sepulchre is so fit for them as their own bowels, since hereby they think they are changed into their own substance, and live again in themselves. This shocking custom is reported of the ancient *Scythians*, and possibly it might have been used by the old inhabitants of *Ceylon*, but is now in both countries entirely abolished ; and yet even at this time, these islanders are said to make cups of their parents skulls, with a view that amidst their mirth and jollity they may be sure to preserve a respectful remembrance of them.—What a difference has custom wrought between us and them ! since those spectacles which to us would appear frightful and melancholy, are to them familiar and delightful.

The boats used by the natives of *Ceylon* are trees hollowed ; but when the boat on account of the size of the tree is too small, they 127 build on top of it a trough, square at both ends ; they are about 12 or 14 inches wide, and as many feet long : the tree part at the bottom is much wider ; they have outriggers and sails, much the same as at *Madagascar*. There are some boats of this sort much larger, built between two trees, with which they go along shore ; the others are for the fishermen, in which they will go many leagues from the land.

128 The *Dutch* shew you in *Ceylon*, *Adam's apple* (as they call it) ; it is in shape like the quarter of an apple cut out, with the two insides a little convex, and a continued ridge round the two outer edges. It is of a beautiful orange colour, but of a poisonous quality. Some writers, induced by the excessive fruitfulness of the island have

supposed it to be the seat of the *terrestrial paradise*: but this opinion is not mine : that it was the *Taprobana* of the ancients is not unlikely ; and indeed there are strong reasons for believing that the island of *Taprobana* and *Ceylon* is the same. The ancients, particularly *Ptolomy*, observe that *Taprobana* was famous for producing the largest breed of *elephant*, which is also true of *Ceylon*. *Taprobana* likewise was greatly celebrated for its spices, and in this respect *Ceylon* may be said to rival it, for it produces not only *ginger*, *pepper*† and *cardamoms*, but *cinnamon* also, and the finest in the world. Again, *Taprobana* is said to have abounded with *precious stones* : so does *Ceylon* ; and its *rubies*, *topazes* and *sapphires* in particular are reckoned the best in the *East Indies*. *Taprobana* is celebrated for its great fertility, and in this *Ceylon* is not at all behind it, for from the luxuriance of the soil, they have five kinds of *rice* which ripen one after another. From all the above circumstances so exactly tallying with each other, we are led to conclude, that the island called *Ceylon*, was the famous *Taprobana* of the *antients*.

CHAPTER VI. The squadron having spent near three weeks at *Ceylon* in wooding, watering, and cleaning, on the 10th of *May*, the admiral, the commodore, and all the captains went on shore to take leave of the governor ; and the next morning we sailed with the whole fleet from *Trincomale*

[Thence to Fort St David, Madras and Bombay, then Fort St David again and Calcutta. This "Factory" had fallen in the Mutiny and was now retaken. Here Watson died, and was succeeded by Pocock, now Admiral. Ives was transferred to H.M.S. *Revenge*, sailing in her under Commodore James, for Colombo.]

CHAPTER XIII. . . . The 8th [December 1757], by observation at noon we found ourselves in the latitude of 6 deg. 1 min. north, and in sight of the island of *Ceylon*, remarkable as hath been already observed for the large quantity of spice it yields to the *Dutch*. Besides spices, it also produces arrack in great plenty. The *Dutch* supply the other parts of *India* with this commodity, as well as send a great quantity to *Europe*. By age it becomes (as I was told) nearly as mild and soft to the taste, as what they make in *Batavia*, though, when newly distilled, it is very fiery and disagreeable.

Wednesday the 14th, in the afternoon, we anchored in Colombo road

The town of *Colombo* is the chief settlement of the *Dutch* in this island, and indeed, next to *Batavia* on the isle of *Java*, is the most

†The pepper grows here like our hops, supported by poles; the 129 leaves are of the shape of a common plantain, about four inches wide, and the flowers are very like the stem and seed of that plant ; but when the pepper fills, it appears like a large bunch of small grapes as they lie very close to the stem. One of these, accompanies the leaf on the same stalk.

important of any they possess in the *East Indies*. It is situated on the west side of the island, in the latitude of seven degrees north, on a gently rising ground. The soil is a red sand, mixed with small black shining gravel, which harden to a good pavement in the streets. These are all so judiciously contrived by easy ascents and descents, that no inconvenience can possibly arise, even from the greatest rains. They are also very wide, and have a beautiful row of trees on each side, between which and the houses, is a very smooth and regular pavement. Between each tree also, there is a very fine and refreshing grass verdure, equal, if not superior to what we see in the best walks of the most noted gardens in *England*. The streets likewise all cross each other at right angles, and upon the whole are so elegantly disposed, that we could not help admiring the superior skill and ingenuity of the *Dutch*.

After we had satisfied our curiosity in viewing the beauty and regularity of the buildings, we walked to the extremities of the town, to examine the fortifications, which towards the sea are but indifferent. Indeed there is no necessity for that part being very strong, as no enemy can approach near enough to do them any considerable damage; they have therefore turned their chief strength towards the land, and have so well executed their designs, we may venture to say, that all the *Europeans* in *India*, collected into one army, would be able to make very little, if any impression at all upon the place. The citadel is of an irregular figure, occasioned by the form of the ground on which it stands; the wall seems to be built of very good and large stones; the bastions are very extensive; and round most part of the town there is a double wall. Here is also a wet ditch, full sixty feet wide, and a covered way, and *glacis*, where the ground will admit of it. The *Dutch* at this place, seem to be as capable of defending themselves against an enemy by the good disposition they have made of their water, as by the strength of their fortifications; for they have so contrived it, that a man cannot possibly approach the citadel under any cover, though at a little distance a stranger would be apt to imagine, that the whole town was built in a wood. There is always a garrison here of thirteen hundred *Europeans*, all fine looking, healthy young men; for in our whole day's walk we did not see three soldiers who appeared to be forty years of age. Among the other military and naval stores, we could not help taking notice of a great number of fine masts, some of which appeared as large as the middle piece of a seventy gun ship's main-mast.

We were introduced to the governor of *Colombo*, (who from his lofty department towards us, and the great authority he possesses in this part of the world, may be justly stiled *High and Mighty*) by *Mynheer Planchard*, his master of ceremonies; but our reception was so cool, that we entertained a very mean opinion of the governor's civility to strangers. As to *Planchard*, his open countenance bespoke a mind quite happy and at ease, and he very sociably drank his bottle of wine with us at the public house the first night after our arrival; but never took the least notice of us afterwards. This change in his behaviour, was in all probability owing to the influence of *Mynheer*

134 *Screwder* the governor, between whom and *Commodore James* no kind of civilities had past, as the manner of saluting, and returning the salute could not be adjusted between them. We observed nothing worthy of remark in the inhabitants of this place, except that the breasts of the men, who were natives of *Ceylon*, appeared to us of an uncommon size. While we lay here, three deserters from the *Dutch* came on board of us; two were *Hollanders*, and the third *Alexander McIntosh*, a *Scotchman*. The last I engaged as my servant, and he was added to our party.

Saturday the 17th of *December*, we set sail from *Colombo*

[Thence to *Anjengo*, *Cochin*, *Tellicherry*, *Goa*, *Bombay* and the *Persian Gulf*, from where *Ives* returned to *England* overland.]

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY

201 made in the Guyroye Corlle and in the Country of
202 the King under the orders of Monsieur Famborne
by J. L. GUYARD, in the year 1763

Jacques Louis Guyard was born in Paris. He joined the Company's forces at Negapatam in 1761, after the fall of Pondichery, with the rank of "Ordinary Fire-Worker", an Artillery rank approximately corresponding to that of senior Ensign of Infantry : like all Artillery officers he was also an Engineer. His assignment to Yala is in Ceylon Dutch Records 4864, dated 10/9/1763, in which he is referred to as a tolerably good draughtsman and sufficiently expert surveyor : he ought to have gone on to Arugam Bay and sited the camp there, had sickness not intervened. He was promoted to Artillery-Lieutenant in 1766, and transferred to Cochin the following year. (See also note 306.)

The original of this translation is a French MS in the India Office Library, London (Mackenzie Pr. 78). There is an elaborate title-page ornamented with a terrestrial globe, cherubs, etc. The maps and plans are unfortunately missing, but there is a table of signals to be used with the brigantine

203 "Vezaquebre" which took stores to Yala.

The handwriting is difficult, the meaning has at times to be guessed, and the spelling of proper names is erratic: witness his "M. Famborne"

202 for J. P. van den Borne. A special difficulty is the sign used at the ends of words, which sometimes seems to stand for N, sometimes for T, sometimes for TE.

Though short, the Journal has been thought worth including as the only topographical information for the "Country of the King", the lands east of the Walawe River, at that date the Dutch frontier.

LETTER

To My Lords of the Council
of Colombo

Gentlemen.

The zeal to perform my duty which always animates me enabled me, in spite of a pestilential Malady which attacked me five days after my arrival at Jalput, as also everyone else in our camp, to make some small researches in accordance with the orders received from Your Lordships, which I have the honour to present you in the form

202 of a Journal of the journey I made at the orders of M. Famborne. I hope that this small collection of notes may be favourably received by Your Lordships, so that having your approval I shall consider myself fully satisfied and amply repaid for my labours. I am, with most profound respect,

Gentlemen,
your very humble and most obedient servant
J. L. GUYARD

JOURNAL

Left Mature on October 26 1763 for Valvé. In the early days of October 1763 I received orders to proceed to Tengale [Tangalla]. I found the roads very good, and

Tengale is a good post which protects Mature. If this region remains at peace for another two or three years it should be capable of producing cinnamon in abundance for our trade, and also cattle of all kinds

204 for provisioning ships. But Wiasingue Modéliard [Mudaliyar*] is such a rascal that he is ruining this region.

I arrived at Tengale on the same day of leaving Mature, seeing there with pleasure the various quarters and very fine storehouses which had been built by the orders of M. Famborne, not without great difficulty and economies, since no timber was available other than the wood of coconut-palms. The roadstead is as dangerous in high winds as that of Mature.

Plate 2 shows the town of Tengale. When the Chinglais revolted [1761] the inhabitants and the servants of the Company took refuge near the Pagoda, where they were all killed by our enemies
 205 This Pagoda is dedicated to Berevagnote. The inhabitants have no definite religion, and adopt only fragments of that of the
 206 Jentillité.

There is much timber in the region, and in my opinion the Company would be well-advised to burn their charcoal here instead of bringing it from Colombo, thus economising the woods there for the better service both of the Company and the citizens.

Left Tengale at ten a.m. At last I received my orders to proceed to
 207 on November 7. Valvé [Walawe] and crossed the bridge of

Coudantote, which can be passed only on foot. From there I passed by Godegam, where elephants are taken: they are indeed found in such abundance there that the inhabitants have great difficulty in preserving their paddyfields from them.

From there I reached Réna [Ranna], a place surrounded by paddyfields. I consider that the Company would do well to give orders to all the Modéliards [Mudaliyars*] of the various Corles* to build roads of four or five toises* in width, to facilitate the communications between all our various posts. For example, to go from Réna to Valvé one has to traverse paddyfields where the water reaches as high
 208 as a soldier's cartridge-pouch, so that it would be to the advantage both of administrators and soldiers if roads were made.

Arrived at Valvé on November 9. Nevertheless I reached Valvé, where the river separates the territories of the Company from those of the King. I had M.

202 Famborne's orders to wait there, which gave my curiosity full rein. I found all the garrison suffering from considerable fever, the
 210 Commandant not being exempt. I could not rest content without investigating the cause of this fever, which almost always incapacitates the garrison of this post. I therefore had a cubic foot of water brought me, which I ordered boiled until completely evaporated, and
 211 found a residue of saltpetre of the weight of a Chelie. When M. Famborne arrived I informed him of this experiment, and showed him a place suitable for digging a well, which he approved, since it is well-established that the further water must filter through the ground, the less it carries impurities with it.

212 At Valvé the sea is three-quarters of a league from the camp, if the various meanders of the river are followed. On arrival at the shore I had soundings taken, finding a depth of four feet and a half. But it should be noted that the river mouth where I took this measurement is not always the same, and that it varies in size with the strength of the current. For part of the year this river, like all those of this region, fails to reach the sea: at other times, when it is in full flood, its current is so strong that ten toises* to seaward the water is still fresh enough to be drinkable. . . . This river is entirely unnavigable, the rocks at its mouth and the fierceness of the waves preventing it from being of any use. The inhabitants are so convinced of this

that the fishermen will work in the river only, not daring to fish in the sea on account of the dangers to which they would be exposed.

The map of Valvé shows the various quarters which M. Famborne has had built at Rena and Valvé, which well show the desire he has to succeed in his task.

203 Left Valvé on November 13. Finally M. Famborne learnt that the two-masted brigantine which had loaded all our supplies at Tangale, had now passed

Valvé where we were waiting, and therefore set out for Jalput [Yala]. We crossed the river at the point marked "4" and thus entered the
 213 Panum Corlee*, which is cruelly afflicted by sickness for three months and a half, that is to say October, November, December, and half of January.

214 We passed by many villages: Emelantote, Valvé, Ouandaroupé, Medegam, Coumquatie, Paybok, Embeintote. Near there is a bay
 215 with the salterns which Providence cultivates for us. After Embeintote we passed by Colancal, Malalla, Bondéla, and Magam. Here there is a river which suffers the same fate as that of Valvé, and like it has rocks at its mouth. When we forded this river it was two and a half feet deep and six toises* wide, but when I returned sick from Jalput to Mature I was forced to wait here, foodless and miserable and exposed to the ferocity of the wild animals, until this river, then in flood, ten feet deep and fifty toises* wide, had fallen somewhat.

Left for Jalput December 10. At last we continued our journey, which though monotonous and uninteresting for me would have been far otherwise

for a botanist. Plants of all varieties abound, and there is much rice, yielding double the harvest reaped elsewhere.

217 From Magam we went on to Nimalo, passing the little hillocks of stone which the Blacks call Catregam. They have a great veneration for this place, and their Brames [Brahmins] are obliged to go there at least once in their lifetimes. The Blacks have such a regard for it that if one of their relatives falls sick they call together all the family, and make their vows [? of a pilgrimage] in their presence. These people are so superstitious that they are unable to be thoroughly happy: also the Adigar* demands large taxes from them.

218 Arrived at Jalput November 20. Passing Potekul [? Palatupana] we arrived at Jalput [Yala], where we crossed a river [Menik Ganga], four feet deep and

202 seven toises* wide. . . . and having arrived there, M. Famborne instructed me to accompany him, to look for a site suitable for a camp, such as could be defended by a small force. . . .

219 This camp was very advantageously sited so as to lie between the river and a hill of 60 toises* height, and the village which lies lower down would accommodate 150 soldiers, besides officers and civilian employees.

My plan being approved I was ordered to see it carried out; but as it is truly said "Man proposes but God disposes", since now the pestilential sickness which had already incapacitated all our force

except 15, seized on me also ; and being reduced to a piteous state
202 I entreated M. Famborne to send me to Mature. He had pity on my condition, and obtained some coolies for me.

220 M. Conique died on December 8. During the time that I was there I saw one officer die of this sickness, also two others who were very ill. During one night alone forty coolies fell sick, and none of them were in a state to be of any use.

I learnt that after I had left for Mature the river rose and flooded the camp.

221 I can vouch for it that if the Company decides to maintain a post at Jalput, it will be of more harm to it than benefit, since it will be necessary to relieve the garrison every month, and those who return from there will be unfit for service, causing a considerable loss of man-power. Further, if such monthly relief is not carried out, the garrison will be so reduced by sickness as to be unable to defend the post, so that the Company would risk the loss, not only of the men but also of all the stores which had been transported thither. Thus an attacking enemy would benefit by these stores, and the Company would be aiding its assailants.

222 But if it is desired to study how all the coast from Valvé [Walawe] to Baticalo could be safeguarded against the landing of any other Nation, this could easily be done by forming a company of Aratchies*, preferably of those whose families reside within the territories of the Company, or who can provide hostages, and with them establish posts at Valvé and at Baticalo. Then the officers in command at Tangale and Baticalo should each send to the other three letters each week, to be acknowledged by the same messengers who brought them; and the troops which the Company had proposed to send to Jalput and Appretote [Arugam Bay] should be stationed, one half at Valvé and the other half at Baticalo. Then if it were seen that such letters were intercepted, this would be the moment to send in troops from both posts, to march through the intervening country and discover the cause of the interception of the letters ; but this should be done without halting for long anywhere, since otherwise our people would catch the fever, and also since many coolies would be needed for the transport of provisions to such fixed camps.

223 Thus I consider that I have now demonstrated the impossibility of establishing any permanent posts in this region. Evidently Your Lordships fear, and with good cause, some foreign incursion, knowing only too well that the Donadum Corlle* has never been ceded to them, and that the King has always appointed the Dessaves* there, as also the actual Adigarat*, named by and under the orders of the King. Thus if the King were so pleased, he could admit there any foreign Nation without harming the rights of the Company, since it is obvious that any Nation desiring thus to establish itself would first obtain a grant of land from the King. But if on the other hand we send letters as I suggest, and these are intercepted, we should have a legitimate cause to declare war, as it would hardly be possible to intercept them without molesting their carriers, subjects of the

Company. Then it would be the moment to send in the troops stationed at Valvé and Baticalo, to dispute the possession of the region.

The Council will no doubt have been convinced of the impossibility of doing otherwise, by the prudent advice of M. Famborne, the commander of the Mature detachment.

223 The Donadum Corlle* is so large that it has been divided into three parts, the Panum, the Acrépan, and the Roue Corlles, but all three together make up the Panum [error for Donadum] Corlle, all being under the orders of one and the same Adigarat* and constituting his wealth.

224 Everything grows abundantly there, though there are no coconut palms, and animals of all sorts are in great abundance, Stags, Oxen, Buffaloes, Elephants, Wild Boars, and very many Peacocks.

The river of Jalput suffers the same fate as those of Valvé and Magame [i.e. dries up seasonally], but is very rich in fish, which can be caught in plenty.

225 The inhabitants of this Corlle* are the best I have met with anywhere, and comprise various castes such as Modéliards*, Vidanes*, Aratchies*, Manhandrams [Muhandirams*], Fishermen, Emanattes, Drummers, etc.; and must be employed only according to their caste, or they will reply that they understand nothing of such work, being of such-and-such other caste because their fathers or grandfathers also belonged to it.

The taxes demanded from them by the Adigarat* are so exorbitant that they must devote all their labour to cultivating as much land as possible, and reap three harvests a year from it if they can, in order to be able to pay their taxes and dues. It is therefore not surprising that we were given so hearty a welcome : everywhere the people told us that they would be well pleased if the Company would take over these Corlles* ; and this for the reason that the Company has never exacted more than what is due to it according to their own laws. And I believe that the prudence with which M. Famborne has acted in dealing with the various local Chiefs has called forth their friendship towards us, so that I can say with truth that he has acted as a good soldier and also a wise politician. He has never considered his own interests in making appointments, but has chosen persons of merit, esteemed by their own compatriots, and who have shown themselves able to be of service.

I should regret, Gentlemen, to take advantage of your complaisance by inflicting on you too long a discourse, or by any lack of the respect with which I am for all my life,

Gentlemen,
Your very humble and obedient servant
J. L. GUYARD

DIARY OF A TOUR
ON THE EAST AND WEST
COASTS IN 1767

Iman Willem Falck was born in Ceylon in 1736 : perhaps of mixed race—his dark complexion gave rise to the quip that he “was more like a crow than a falcon” (Falk in German). As a boy he was sent to Holland for his schooling, coming out in the service of the Dutch Company in 1756, to Batavia. By 1761 he had risen there to Upper-Merchant*, and in 1763 was Secretary of the Council of the Indies, the ruling body for all Dutch Asia. On van Eck’s death in 1765 he was appointed Governor of Ceylon, and organised the campaign of the following year, entirely bloodless by his orders and leading to the Peace Treaty of that same year. His policy towards the King was conciliatory, as evidenced by the return of the looted cover of the Tooth Relic and of the Howdah in which the Relics were (and are) carried in the great yearly procession at Kandy. This tour was a part of his reorganisation of the Ceylon administration, which he headed until his resignation in 1783, after having refused the Governor-Generalship, the highest office in the Dutch organisation, two years previously. He died a private citizen in Colombo in 1785. His memorial is in Wolfendhal Church (Lewis) : from it he bore gules a falcon essorant or.

DIARY OF A TOUR ON THE EAST AND WEST COASTS

The MS report of the tour is at The Hague, codex 3093 folios 765—784, from which the following translation was made. In the Ceylon Archives, Dutch Records codex 2743 there is a summary, a despatch to Batavia dated 30/6/1767, which has been used in the Notes.

It seems probable that the Diary was kept by Engineer-Captain Massenfeld, for whom see note 301.

301 February 23, 1767. H.E. left Kolombo at 5 a.m., with the Chief Administrator Schmidt, Lieutenant-Colonel Frankena, Heer Moens, Major Cokard, Rittmeester Ossenbergh, and Captain Massenfeld.
302 At Paspetal he was received by Dessave de Coste ; and, after a considerable delay in ferrying the horses and baggage over the river,
303 went on with de Coste and Massenveld only, escorted by 30 Jagers under Lieutenant Kransz who awaited us on the further side. H.E.
304 examined the new dams at Moeterajawelle. We arrived at 9.30 a.m. at Dantagamme and after eating and resting until 4 p.m. left there, arriving at Nigombo at 6 p.m.

305 February 24. H.E. left at 5 a.m. arriving at 6.30 at Dope where the river of Tammeraville is crossed. From here Dessave de Coste
306 returned to Kolombo. At 10 a.m. we arrived at Taboe : this route was first discovered during the frontier-demarcation, and is very easy
307 in dry weather, avoiding the sandy shore-road, but is useless in wet weather because it runs for the most part through paddy-fields.
308 H.E. left Taboe at 4 p.m. for Manigelle on the new frontier-line, and
309 arrived there at 5 p.m. ; and after conferring with the Commissioners for the demarcation returned to Taboe, where he arrived at 6.30 p.m. The road from Taboe to Manigile passes through fine paddy-fields and offers a good view.

February 25. H.E. left at 6 a.m. for Madampe, continuing from
310 there at 3.15 p.m. and arriving at Sjlauw [Chilaw] at 6.30 p.m. Near there is a high wooden bridge over the river. From it there is a marvellous view of this river, which meanders through the most pleasing plain, and the jungles which mantle this place delight the eye with the loveliness of Nature. From Madampe to Sjelauw the road is very good, for the most part across extensive plains, broken here and there by jungle.

February 26, 27. H.E. rested and inspected the camp, the village
311 and the environs of Sjlauw. It is a large village, at the east end of which is an irregular earthwork occupied by some 60 men. But it does not fulfil its object, being too weakly fortified to control the region, or to cover the river which here flows into the sea [Deduru

Oya]. H.E. therefore chose a different site, more suitable for the latter purpose, and gave orders for coral to be collected from the beach and a sufficient quantity of lime burnt. This region is very fruitful and populous: there are more than 300 households, partly fishermen and partly Moors*.

February 28. H.E. set out at 6 a.m., crossing the river at 6.10 and arriving at 9.30 at Oedempekarre.

313 The road runs between the sea and the lake of Putulang, and is narrow and unusually tiring, with not a tree on it where we could rest in the shade, and made even more unpleasant and vexatious by the deep sand, unbearably heated by the sun. Oedempekarre is a fair-sized village, inhabited only by fishermen, since the barrenness and wildness of the regions has prevented anyone else from settling there. But it is very rich in fish, which the inhabitants keep alive in small tanks: on H.E.'s arrival more than 50 of the largest "bald-heads" were drawn from one such tank. This abundance, however, is somewhat marred by the fact that these fish fall far below those of Nigombo and Kolombo in goodness of taste, this falling-off becoming increasingly noticeable as one nears Jaffenapatnam. The same is true also of the drinking-water, which all the way from Oedempekarre to Jaffenapatnam is very bad and almost undrinkable, except at Kalpentijn [Kalpitiya] which has very good water. The Rest House which lies not far from the village is as bad as the village itself, being built in a sandy waste with not a tree to be seen.

March 1. H.E. started at 4 a.m., arriving at Putulang at 9.30 through Oenewile and Palewite.

316 This road is good in the dry season, since the swamp crossed before reaching Oenewile is then dried-up; but this march must be made early, since after about 9 the heat of the sun becomes intolerable. 317 The near-by salterns cause great evaporation, and there is not a tree to be seen, nor any breeze to be felt.

March 2. H.E. rested and inspected the fort and the environs. 318 The fort built here some years ago is a regular rectangle, but too small in size, and built of earth only. After close inspection H.E. decided that its purpose of covering the region, the village, and the salterns was poorly fulfilled, or in fact not at all, and therefore found it good to choose a more suitable site; but because of the unhealthiness of the present fort he decided first to station only a few men at 319 the site projected, to see if it were healthier.

320 March 3. At 11 a.m. H.E.'s Lady arrived, with Heer and Mrs. Wolfarth and Heer Aleman, the Upper Surgeon of Kolombo, to accompany H.E. onwards by land.

The wildness of the region, and the long daily marches which would be necessary, however caused H.E. to resolve to spare the coolies by taking as little baggage as possible, and it was therefore decided 321 that H.E.'s Lady, Heer and Mrs. Wolfarth, and Heer Aleman should cross to Calpettij [Kalpitiya] and go on thence by sea to join H.E. at Kondaetje [Kondaichchi].

March 4. H.E. set out on horse-back at 5 a.m., arriving at 7.45 p.m. at Wanatiwille [Vannativillu].

322 The road runs from Putelang for three-quarters of an hour* past the village of Salinge, over a plain consisting for the most part of salterns: after that there is continuous jungle as far as Wanatiwille. 323 The road is on the whole fairly good, with only two small streams to be crossed.

There is no village at Wanatiwille, only a tank where the coolies are accustomed to rest, beside which we stayed overnight.

March 5. Leaving at 5 a.m. we arrived at 8.30 at Pomaripoe or 324 Palaniandel [Pomparippu], after crossing a fairly wide river which was however fordable.

In the dry season the road is very good, but must be difficult and toilsome in the wet, since most of it then becomes marshy. The Rest House [at Pomparippu] and the near-by village offer nothing exceptional; but in such desolation how can one expect anything beautiful or exceptional?

After the midday meal here H.E. left at 4.30 p.m., and arrived at 7.45 at a tank where a halt of an hour was made to rest the coolies. 325 After this we went forward, arriving at 11.30 p.m. at Modrogamme, where we were welcomed by Heer Schorer, the Administrator in charge of Manaar.

From Pomaripoe the road is very good for 3 hours*, except for a few rocky places, but after passing the tank (which is said, though falsely, to be half-way) it is very narrow through thick jungle, and over deep sand throughout. Also shortly before reaching the Rest 325 House two arms of a river must be crossed, which are however fordable.

March 6. H.E. remained at Modregamme and inspected the environs, which consist of dry paddy-fields with some jungle.

March 7. H.E. resumed his journey at 3 a.m., stopping at 5.30 326 for the sake of the coolies for half an hour, at a tank which is a regular resting-place for them; and arrived at 8 a.m. at Kondaetje [Kondaichchi], being received there by the Commissioners for the 326 Pearl Fishery, and a salute being fired by the troops and the cannon.

Kondaetje lies in a wild and uncultivated region, producing nothing but thorns. The quarters for the Commissioners and others coming 327 for the Pearl Fishery are put up temporarily with jaggery*-palms and olas*.

March 8. A day of rest.

328 March 9. The same: also there came Don Diogo, the Wannia* to warn H.E. that the journey through his district would be toilsome. At midnight H.E.'s Lady arrived from Kalpettij.

March 10. Day of rest.

March 11. Her Excellency and the other ladies left in palanquins, H.E. following on horse-back half an hour later. On the way he

- 329 inspected the fort at Aripoe, an hour* from Kondaetje, and arrived
 at Mantotte [Mantai] at 9.45 p.m., being welcomed there by Heer
 330 Brohier, in charge at Jaffena [sic] and Mrs. Brohier, Major Rheeder
 and Mrs. Rose having met him at Kondaetje.
 331 The road is good, for the most part over flats of hard sand : there
 is however half an hour* of deep sand after the crossing of the Moesele
 332 River, which at this season can be forded.

March 12. The palanquins were sent ahead at 4 p.m., and H.E. followed half an hour later on horse-back, crossing continual flat country and arriving at 8.20 p.m. at Ilpekarwe, a moderately large Rest House [Iluppaikkadavai].

March 13. H.E. left Ilpekarwe at 3.30 p.m., and arrived at 8.40 p.m. at Poelwerekatte [Pallavaryankaddu], a very shabby Rest House.

Here the jungle begins to be denser, and the road is by no means of the best, there being three places where it is flooded and very marshy.

March 14. H.E. set out at 3.30 p.m. from Poelwerekatte, and arrived at 9.40 p.m. at Ponnorijn [Pooneryn], after resting the coolies for a quarter hour at each of three places.

Heavy rain fell this afternoon, making the road no less tiring than on the previous days, both for the coolies and the horses. All this road runs through dense jungle as far as half an hour* from Ponnerijn, from where onwards there are paddyfields.

- March 16. H.E. left at 1.30 a.m. in his palanquin, arriving at
 5 a.m. at Kalmone [Kalmunai]. When all the baggage had been
 333 ferried across, H. E. embarked in a tent-thony sent over from Jaffena-
 patnam, landing at 8.30 at Kolombegamme. Here he was welcomed
 by Heer Lebeck, the Commandeur* of Jaffenapatnam, as also by
 the "Qualified*" officials and their wives. After a short halt there
 H.E. went on by coach and arrived at 9 a.m. at the Fort, where he
 334 was received by the clerks and the garrison with a triple volley and a
 salute from the cannon. After the midday meal he inspected the
 334 Fort and the fortification-works in hand, and at 6.30 p.m. left for
 the Company's Garden at Nalloer [Nallur], about a half-hour* from
 Jaffena.

[There are no entries for March 17 to 26 : presumably this was a holiday for the Governor and his wife.]

- 330 March 27. H.E. left from Nalloer at 5.15 a.m. with Captains
 321 Brohier, Wolfarth and Massenvelt, escorted by the Jagers who
 301 had accompanied him from Kolombo, and arrived at 9 a.m. at
 303 Chavagacherie [Chavakachcheri].

After crossing the so-called "Salt River" [lagoon-outlet] the road is level, in part across paddyfields, in part over salterns. The Rest House and the School are large, and built of stone. The Well there has very good water.

At 4.30 p.m. H.E. went on foot to Katchiaij [Kachchai], reaching there at 6 p.m., where he took horse to visit the near-by Jaffena Lake [the lagoon].

The road to Katschiaij runs over level ground planted with jaggery-trees, and is sandy for the most part. The Rest House resembles the last-mentioned.

March 28. We left Katschiaij at 5.30 a.m., and arrived at 7.20 a.m. at Mogumale [Mukamalai].

The Rest House and School there are as bad as is the road thither, which runs for the most part through difficult sand.

Leaving Mogamale at 4 p.m. we arrived at 8 p.m. at the Rest House near the Fort Berschutter [Pas Beschutter], after stopping for 25 minutes at a tank to rest the coolies.

All the way is through deep sand until paddyfields are reached near the Rest House.

- March 29. H.E. left at 6.30 a.m. to inspect the little Elephant Fort [Elephant Pass], returning at 7.45 a.m. and finding the Wannia*
 328 Don Diego there, come to welcome him.

This little fort, as also the forts The Beschutter and The Pijl [Pas Pyl], is a small rectangle with two bastions, like those also of Aripoe and Ponnerijn. The Pijl lies on the seashore, The Beschutter in the middle of the land, and The Elephant beside the lagoon, all in one
 335 straight line and at equal distances. Previously there was a line of
 327 jaggery*-trees planted between them to bar the passage, but many
 of them have been cut down as useless, or have died.

At 3 p.m. H.E. sent the baggage on ahead, following at 4 p.m. in his palanquin with the intention of visiting The Pijl ; but owing to the negligence of the Araadje* guiding us the coolies took the usual road to Choendicollam [Chundikkulam]. After 1½ hours* H.E. became aware of the error and called a halt, going back on foot to take the path to The Pijl, which he had to seek for in the thick jungle and wearisome sand, so that he arrived there at nightfall only. After a short delay there he mounted the horse which had been sent after him and took the usual road to The Beschutter, and from thence that to Choendikollam, arriving there, in part on horse-back and in part on foot, at midnight only, the baggage having arrived at 7 p.m.

The road from The Pijl to The Beschutter is through sand worse than any yet met with : from there to Choendikollam the road is in part over hard sand, in part through difficult sand. As far as half-way there are jaggery*-trees, but then the waste-lands begin, where there is nothing but scrub. The Rest House was built in a paddy-field, where even at noon [sic] the heat was exceptionally great.

- March 30. Because of the long march of the previous day we rested until 3.30 p.m., and then set out, arriving at 7.30 p.m. at
 336 Williwaije.

For an hour* the road is along the seashore in deep sand, and then turns inland over level ground, broken by five lagoon-arms, some deep. The Rest House was like the last one both in its beauty and
 328 position : it belonged to a nephew of Don Diogo.

337 March 31. We left at 4.30 a.m., and arrived at 8.15 at Oewenem-poettie.

336 Half an hour* from Williwaije the [outflow of] the lake Nandikattel [Nanthi Kadal] must be crossed, fully ten minutes across mud. 1½ hours* from Williwaije the lake Wawallewe [still the Nanthi Kadal] is reached, where we saw many crocodiles, and innumerable birds above them. The road runs on good ground beside this fresh water lake to the Rest House, belonging to Don Digo, built near

338 scrub-jungle like the previous ones.

We left there at 4 p.m., and arrived at 6.30 at Alambil [Alampil].

The road runs over level ground with mixed low jungle, like that of the previous day.

339 Shortly after our arrival the Wannias* of Tinnerennewaddi and Trinkonomale came to pay their respects to H.E.

The rice here could not be surpassed in beauty and taste. Near Alambil large tamarinds and other trees are to be seen, but up to here we had only bush and low trees. There is a Romish church here, 25 to 30 feet long and half that in width, built of earth and roofed with paddy-straw. The Cross and the images are very plain. At one time there were more than 100 parishioners, but they were heavily reduced in numbers by an epidemic about 20 years ago, and now there are only 25 or 30. The priests of Mantotte [Mantai] visit them each year in August, and remain for some weeks before

339 going onwards to Trinkonomale. The Sacristan, from whom H.E. obtained all these details, said that they had been Romish from the

340 times of their ancestors. Within the stockade of the church is a young jaggery*-tree, also some coconut-palms, so that these would grow well here. When the Wannia* was asked why the people did not plant more of them (since none had been seen along the road) he replied that it was because the inhabitants had no fixed abodes, abandoning their hamlet should any notable misfortune occur there, in the form of deaths or something of that sort. Near the church there is a well of excellent water, such as is not to be found all the way from Chavagacherie to Trinkonomale.

April 1. We left Alambil at 3 p.m., and arrived at 6 p.m. at

328 Kotagakenie [Karuvaddukkene], one of Don Diogo's Rest Houses.

341 A quarter of an hour* from Alambil a lagoon must be crossed, at this season not over two feet deep, but no doubt far deeper in the Rains*. From there the road runs through thick jungle, for the most part on a good hard surface but in places rocky, as far as one hour* from Kotagenie, from whence it runs on good hard grassy ground beside paddyfields as far as the Rest House, lying near the thick jungle and close to the lagoon.

April 2. H.E. left at 4 a.m., travelling beside the Kotakenie [Kokkilai] lagoon to its mouth [at Kokkilai], where he arrived at 5.45 a.m.

As it was not too deep he had himself carried over in his palanquin, 348 being received on the far side by the Wannia* of Tinnerennewaddi, this being the boundary between his district and that of Don Digoe.

Here, following the foolish custom of the country, a calabash of water with leaves in it was poured out at H.E.'s foot as a sign of submission. On this lake nothing was to be seen of the herons 342 mentioned by H.E. van Imhoff in his Diary, but instead some large "lousecatchers" and pelicans. After crossing the lagoon the road lies along the seashore on hard sand as far as a projecting cape of 343 rocks, one of which makes a little island in the sea. From here it turns off into the woods, and the Rest House is not far off. H.E. arrived here at 7.25 and went to look at the said cape, which is composed of large rocks overgrown with bush so thick that it is impossible to pass. This Rest House is at Kompatimodoe, an hour* from 344 Periomadoe [? Pulmoddai].

We left there at 4 p.m., and after crossing three streams arrived at 6.35 p.m. at Tiriej [Tiriya].

The road is good for the most part. The first of the streams, 345 Tjaroere, is small; the second, Kalerewoe, is fairly wide but can be forded; the third, Walekeringaroe, is also quite small. On the right of the road are various high rocks. Before reaching the Rest House a large paddy-field is passed, and then there is thick jungle nearly 346 as far as the Rest House. This belongs to the Wannia* of Trinkonomale and is unusually well-built for such a wilderness, and better than any of the previous ones.

347 April 3. H.E. left from Tiriaij at 4 a.m. arriving at 6.25 a.m. at Ottewellie.

Various small streams have to be crossed, but none of any importance. The road for half the way runs over level open ground, for half the way through jungle. The Rest House lies on the tank called 348 Ogewallie. About 9 we had a heavy rainstorm with high wind, which considerably damaged the paddy-straw of our roof, continuing until 10. The village is a considerable distance away; but it must not be assumed that this word indicates such a village as is to be found elsewhere. On the contrary, the hamlet consists of 4 to 6 houses only, and these like those of the Cossack hordes. A whole house consists of some stockade-sticks set in a circle of 6 feet diameter at the most, with paddy-straw on them, and the height of such a Palace, even of the most stately of them, will not exceed . . . [blank in MS] feet. The roof is also of paddy-straw. Such artistic architecture is universal in the region of the Wannias*. The reason why the inhabitants satisfy themselves with such miserable habitations has already been mentioned, namely their deep-rooted superstition which causes them to change their abode whenever one of their friends dies or they suffer some other misfortune. This also prevents these poor folk from properly cultivating or planting their lands, since what good would it do them to plant jaggery*-trees or coconut-palms if someone were then to die? Along the road many such hamlets are to be seen, still showing the signs of a previous habitation but now abandoned.

We left at 3 p.m., arriving at 7 p.m. at Nilawille [Nilaveli] after 348 crossing six lagoons, named Palentaelwoeær, Malliaer, Kannaodeær, Kaloedoedeær, Tomallaer, Erekoekandiaer; all are fordable. The

last-named is the largest, and contains many rocks projecting from the water. The road was somewhat muddy from the rain of that morning. About 4 p.m. we passed Komperepetij [Kompurupiddi], seeing there in two places heaps of salt, got by the people from the near-by lagoon Kannaodeaer. Near the Ketoetoedeaeer lagoon we found the remains of a wrecked ship.

[Table of the incomes of Wannia Sanderesegere, omitted.]

349 April 4. We remained at Nilawille until 3 p.m., when we continued our journey; and arriving about 4 p.m. at the Salt River were met on the far side by the officials sent from Trinkonomale to welcome H.E., with a detachment of the troops. After about an hour's delay while the officials and troops went on ahead, H.E. rode to Trinkonomale, arriving at 6.20 p.m. Here he was welcomed by Commandeur*
350 Diederich and the other "Qualified*" officials.

351 April 5. This day being Sunday, H.E. attended service in the morning, and at 5 p.m. inspected the fortifications, neither the steep ascent of Pagoda Hill [Fort Frederick] nor the dangerous precipice near the Water Pass preventing him from examining everything closely. The usual defect of all the fortifications of the Company is to be found here also, in that there are indeed many cannons but few of any use for defence, and contributing little or nothing to the main object of the works, that of covering the North Bay [Back Bay]. It is difficult to see why the fort of Trinkonomale was built on Pagoda Hill by the Portuguese rather than elsewhere, and then built there anew by our forefathers.

Before coming to any definite conclusion as regards Trinkonomale it is necessary to ask oneself, why does the Company maintain this distant post? Is it for the sake of the local products, or for some other reason? But since this poverty-stricken region can produce little or nothing of any value to the Company, there must be such a reason; and this reason is purely and simply the value of the Inner Bay, where innumerable ships could lie in full safety the whole year through. From the first we took thought to deny this treasure to all other Powers, and therefore to strengthen the post covering it against all enemy attacks; but this wise project was but badly carried out.

352 Our fort was built on Pagoda Hill merely because the remains of the Portuguese fort were found there: to cover the Inner Bay it was thought sufficient to erect a few batteries, which however because of their bad siting hardly merit the name of such. In this condition Trinkonomale remained until a few years ago, when it was decided to put it into a better state of defence. But our Engineers were influenced by the existence of the old site, and did not take other considerations into account, possibly because they had had no orders to do so, or possibly because they did not take sufficient pains to study the many desirable alternative sites around there, and put them forward as suggestions. Time passed in such planning, each Engineer flattering himself with the hope of making Trinkonomale impregnable, and each falling into the same error as regards the principal point.

From a plan of the Inner Bay the uselessness of the present Fort is evident, as also the need to strengthen the defences of this Bay, greatly neglected until now. It is evident also that this Fort can cover at the most a part only of the North Bay [Back Bay], while the South Bay [Dutch Bay] is entirely neglected, although several sloops* could lie there very conveniently. The North Bay is too large to be properly covered by the present Fort: nor in fact is this necessary, since it can be used only in the south-west monsoon, when many places can be found for anchoring and landing, outside the range of our guns. It is therefore evident that, if attacked by a foreign Power, Trinkonomale Fort could indeed well defend itself, but not the Inner Bay; but what enemy would be so foolish as to assail a fort from the possession of which he would gain no advantage? Once he makes himself master of the Inner Bay, which in the present state of the defences would be easy, the Fort would be compelled to surrender for lack of provisions.

353 If however it is decided that Trinkonomale must be fortified, then all the points must be fortified which would hinder the entry of an enemy fleet. These points are Oostenberg, "Right-across-the-Way", and the so-called "Old French Battery"; and each of them must, like the principal Fort itself, be able to defend itself independently. Hence it will follow that each must be plentifully supplied with men, ammunition, and provisions, and at the least 1200 to 1500 solders would be necessary to garrison all the three points properly. But this would be far too serious a project to be considered, if one also takes into account the artillery that would be needed, and the yearly upkeep of so many fortifications, and this in a region from which the Company gains no profit. H.E. therefore
354 resolved to inspect these three points with the Engineer accompanying him, and then decide what works were necessary.

351 April 6. H.E. therefore went at 6 p.m. on horseback to Oostenberg Hill, climbed this steep ascent on foot, and inspected the ramparts built on the old French foundations; and then the projected Water Pass at the foot of the hill. On the way back H.E. went over the narrow ridge of this hill, where he had ordered the bush to be
355 cut so as to give a better view. Thanks to this some heights were found not far from the present Oostenberg Fort, which would be of great advantage to a besieging force unless they were held by us. As they lay only 64 roods [256 yards] from the present fort, and since this was too small, it was unanimously decided to set the principal strength of the fortification here, and make the old ramparts merely a separate redoubt.

Further, H.E. ordered that the jungle on both slopes of the hill should be cut down, so that on his return from Battikaloea a plan with profiles could be ready, and the form to be taken by the new fort decided from this. From there H.E. went by boat to the Inner Bay, being there saluted by a private Danish ship; and returned on foot to Trinkonomale, arriving there at 10.

April 7. H.E. went at 6 a.m. by boat to inspect the Inner Bay, landing on the so-called "Company Island" and visiting the remains

353 of the French battery ; and went on from there to "Right-across-the-way". The situation of this was found pre-eminently advantageous, but the actual masonry work unworthy of the name of a battery. H.E. therefore ordered this to be improved at once, and the work greatly enlarged. Finally H.E. visited the so-called "New Battery", but since its uselessness and faulty design were immediately evident he made no delay there, but went through the Inner Bay back to Trinkonomale, arriving there at 7.30 a.m.

At 4 p.m. H.E. left by palanquin for the famous bath [Kanniyai] by an overgrown path which the present Administrator had improved as far as possible, arriving at 6 p.m. and first inspecting the springs. Of these there are three, surrounded by masonry, the central one giving cold water and the two others hot. From the taste the water does not appear to be mineralised, all three being good to drink from. In the hot ones it is barely possible to hold the hand, and the third one seems no different from ordinary water. As far as can be seen all three emerge from the hill, where also various trickles of hot and cold water are to be found. Many hewn stones lie around near the springs, so that some building must have stood there in old times. From the springs the water runs in three channels for some distance, and is then led off in wooden troughs and lost in the jungle below the hill.

April 8 and 9. H.E. remained to bathe in the cold spring, leaving at 4 p.m. and arriving at Trinkonomale at 6.

356 April 10. The horses and camels were sent on to Kootjaer, through Tamlegamme. At 11 p.m. there was a violent thunderstorm with heavy lightning and rain, lasting until midnight.

April 11. We went on towards Batikaloa, H.E. leaving at 5 a.m. on foot for the Inner Bay, where he embarked, arriving at 10 at
356 Kotjaer. This is a small post garrisoned by a subaltern and 80 men, near the village of the same name, which is fairly large, and well built. It is inhabited by Mallebars [Tamils] and Moors*, the former having a Romish church and the latter a heathen pagoda : there are also various ruined pagodas. The soil here is rich and fertile, but is badly cultivated. The post serves only to control the village, and to send patrols to Venlos Bay [Vandeloos Bay] : it has no view over Kotjaer Bay, lying too far inland, and could not be defended, the ramparts being of earth only, and most of them ruined by the rains. In the morning it rained very heavily, so that H.E. decided to stay here, and in the afternoon inspected the post and the village. The Wannia* showed him where he had captured two elephants: the trees to which they had been tied were cut into by the ropes to a depth of fully two inches. [Statement of his revenues, omitted.]

April 12. At 4 a.m. the baggage was sent ahead, H.E. following at 5.10 by palanquin and arriving at 6 at the river Kattawaritjanaer [Kaddaiparichchan Aru], which is fairly wide but can be forded.
357 On the far side lies the village Kattawaritjaer. From here we journey-

ed through thick jungle to Pallikoedieripoe and from there across very muddy paddyfields to Taboer [Toppur]; and then over level
357 sands to Ilengetorre, where one must cross, first the river Moeliaroe [arm of Ullacalie Lagoon], and then a stretch of deep mud. Having traversed this road, in part on foot and in part on horse-back, we arrived at 10.20 at the aforesaid place.

The paths had been cleared throughout and the jungle cut away : the soil was very varied, now clay, now rocks, and now sand. The villages are of a tolerable size, and far better built than in the other Wannia-districts yet seen.

Although H.E. had intended to remain here overnight we were compelled by an unexpected enemy attack to change our plans and beat a hasty retreat. This enemy was the so-called "musschieten", which invaded our Rest House as soon as it became dark, coming from the near-by quagmire in such quantities, and so unkindly and greatly pestering us that after supper we continued our journey by moonlight.

After crossing three small streams and some level paddyfields we
358 passed through Tsjedaraweele, and arrived at Suamikoil or Wirgelkoil [Verukal], a large stone-built heathen [Hindu] temple. Near it is the village of Wirgil, where we arrived at 1 a.m. Here we had to cross the river Wirgilaroe [Verugal Aru], which is rapid and deep but not too wide ; but since the boats for crossing had to be brought here, in part by water and in part over land, from Ilengetorre, we had to wait here for about two hours while the horses were swum across and the baggage ferried. On the far side, just as we were about to enter the thick jungle, we saw several elephants near the road, which the tomtom* beaters leading our party could not scare
303 away : however a few shots from the Jagers caused them to make off in haste into the depths of the jungle.

359 The route continued through the village of Kaladiekoe-diripoe, and this part was the most difficult and tiring yet encountered, by narrow footpaths where the slime and mud hardly allowed us to pass. At last we arrived at 4.30 a.m. at the Rest House near the village of Kadarewalle [Kathiraveli], after wading through a large quagmire of which the stench was almost unbearable.

April 13. At 3.30 p.m. we went on by palanquin, arriving at 6.45 at the Panniatkeniaer river [outlet of Upaar Lagoon], which is very wide, and very deep in the middle.

360 The faulty arrangements that had been made for crossing forced us to wait on the far side under a Mandoe* until 10 p.m.; and then, although not half the baggage was yet set across, we went on, in part
361 on foot, in part on horse-back, to Karemone. The road is good throughout, but in the jungle too narrow for palanquins to pass.
362 During the ferrying of the baggage one katjemenel sank, whether because it had been overloaded or because of a horse that had been
363 tied to it. The men on board, Chiviassen from Jaffena [sic], were all saved, however, and the joy they showed on reaching the bank was indescribable. They were like madmen : they embraced each other so lovingly, and so shouted for joy that it was truly touching.

Karenome is a tolerably large village of Moors*, who grow paddy. Not far off is a lagoon where we found various heaps of salt covered with earth.

364 April 14. We left at 3.30 p.m., and arrived at 7.30 at Apelamone or Moerkandivoe.

The road is passably good, running for the most part through thick jungle. A quarter of an hour* after leaving we saw various large and small elephants not far from the road. At the river 365 Sirnaeijen Palaroe, which is the boundary between the districts of Tammerkarwij [approximately Eravur Pattu] and Battikaloea, we 366 were welcomed by the Administrator of Battikaloea. This river was now very small, but is said to rise greatly in the Rains*. The Rest House, very small and badly built, lies only a quarter-hour* away.

April 15. At 5 a.m. we went with a boat which had been sent 368 from Battikaloea, along the river Naloere [Valaichchenai Aru] which flows close to the said Rest House, arriving at Venlos Bay at 7.20 ; and after inspecting the post returned by the same means, arriving at 10.

This Bay hardly merits the name : it is very difficult of entry, and because of the many reefs only a few sloops* could lie there. There 367 are the remains of the camp, occupied some years ago by 20 men : it appears to have been of little use and now has a caretaker only.

In the afternoon, just as we were about to set off, four wild Weddas* came to salute H.E., and presented to him a little honey and wax. It is stated that they always dwell under trees in the wildernesses, never establishing a fixed abode. They were asked if they did not desire to accompany us, in order to earn some money by work, but showed but little liking for the suggestion. H.E. then offered them some linen as his return gift, if they would come to Batikaloea to fetch it, but they replied that they were most grateful, but would not give themselves the trouble. After this encounter we left at 3.30, 368 and crossed the large river, which in the present dry season was divided into three arms, of which two were called Mandarije and Oeparre but the third was nameless : all three fall into the river 368 Naloere. We then passed the three villages of Chittandikoederipoe [Chittandikudi] where there stands a large pagoda, Wandramoene [Vantaramulai] where we rested a quarter-hour under a Mandoe*, 368 and Kommandoere ; and arrived at 7 at Eravoere [Eravur].

The road is broad throughout, but very sandy ; the villages fairly large, and are for the most part stockaded. Lamps were burning in front of every house even in broad daylight : instead of oil as in the Wannia-lands they were for the most part filled with butter, and set out with other ornaments made of coconut- and betel-leaves according to the local custom. The people here looked healthy and prosperous, and were not at all shy of strangers.

369 April 16. We set off at 5.30 a.m., passing the villages of Wannawillie, Maijambalwille, Tannamoene, Kinblamaddo, Tjatrakonda, Kottokolam, Oerenie, Setoekoetave and Kotemone, all small but set with many coconut-palms and other useful trees ; and arrived at 8

a.m. at the Battikaloea river [lagoon]. Here H.E. was welcomed by our friends of Batikaloea, and received the usual salutes.

Along this road we found much cinnamon, of which H.E. ordered some branches to be cut for inspection on his return to Kolombo. 369 In the afternoon H.E. inspected the fort and the island, which one can walk round in an hour.

April 17. Day of rest.

April 18. At 3.30 p.m. we went by boat to the mouth of the river, and inspected it and the various cuts made from time to time to lead it into the sea elsewhere, since the present mouth is beset with many sandbanks, making it impossible for the sloops* to enter. This makes loading and unloading uncommonly difficult and tedious, since it takes much time for the small boats to go up and down the river. On the way back we landed at the so-called "King's Tank" [not located] to inspect it, and arrived at Batikaloea at 7.45 p.m.

April 19. H.E. attended Divine Service in the morning and the 356 afternoon, and ordered the palanquins to be sent back to Koetjaer next day, as he had decided to return by sea.

362 April 20. At 3 a.m. we set out southwards by katjemenel on the 370 great Batikaloea River [Manmunai Lagoon], arriving at Kalette at 10 a.m. In the afternoon we went to the near-by seashore to see the remains of an entrenchment [not located].

April 21. At 4.15 a.m. we went on horse-back along the seashore, 371 to inspect the bay of Siampandoere, arriving there at 6 a.m. H.E. 372 ordered the Batikaloea "Equipage-Opziener" to take soundings of this bay and make an accurate chart of it, with the help of Fire-Worker Sommer, since all export from the region of Battikaloea could apparently be made from here much more easily than from Batikaloea itself, where, as already mentioned, the sloops* must always lie off-shore. Here on the contrary, the inland waters are only a quarter-hour* away, and in addition the best villages are to be found around here. From there we went inland, passing the well-built and clean- 373 looking villages named Pandiripoe, Mardamoene and Nilawane, and returning at 8. The horses and camels that had been brought from Kolombo were sent back there via Mature and Gale. At 2 p.m. 362 we embarked in the katjemenel and arrived at 8 at Batikaloea.

374 April 22. The sloop* "Viane" and a patjallang having arrived here from Jaffenapatnam, H.E. gave the necessary orders in the morning, and left at 2 p.m. by boat for the sloop*, the usual salute being fired by the troops and the guns of the ramparts, and arrived at 5 p.m. The anchor was at once raised and we set sail.

356 April 23. We arrived at 5 p.m. in the Bay of Kotjaer, where we landed by the sloop's boat in the South Bay [Dutch Bay], being there welcomed by the Administrator of Trinkonomale and the other friends.

April 24. Day of rest.

April 25. At 4 p.m. H.E. went to Oostenberg to inspect the jungle-clearance ordered before he left. After closely inspecting everything he gave the final orders regarding the fortifications to be built there, details of which would be too long for this Diary, so that the reports, plans, and specifications should be consulted.

April 26. H.E. attended Divine Service, and in the afternoon went to the hot spring [Kanniyai].

April 27, leaving there early and arriving at 9 a.m. at Trinkonomaale. In the afternoon H.E. inspected the powder-magazine, the armoury, the ammunition-stores, the barracks and the storehouses, which were found in tolerably good state; and after taking leave embarked in the boat and left for the sloop* "Viane," receiving the usual salute from the garrison and the cannon of the ramparts. At 6.30 p.m. we raised anchor and set sail.

April 28. Because of a dead calm we made but little progress, thus arriving only on

April 29, at noon at Punto Pedro [Point Pedro]. Here we anchored, and at 4 p.m. landed by a tent-thony sent out to us. H.E. inspected the Company's buildings, consisting of a large Rest House and a church. A heathen pagoda there is remarkable for two large masonry tanks. At the shipyard we found two almost-completed barks, and not far off a ruined entrenchment. After this we returned on board at 6, and at 8 the anchor was raised and our journey continued. But the already-strong south-west wind hindered us, so that on

April 30, we had to tack all the morning; and at 2 p.m. were compelled to anchor and wait for the tide. This came to our help at 10 p.m., but with all our toil we made but little progress.

May 1. Therefore H.E. decided that as we could hope for no change of wind, we should return to Punto Pedro and from there go on by land to Jaffenapatnam. We arrived at Punto Pedro at noon, but because of the adverse wind and the lack of boats could land at 4.30 p.m. only. H.E. set out at 5.30 with the palanquins brought from the ships, arriving at Jaffenap [sic] at 1 a.m.

[There are no entries from May 2 to 10: presumably Falck took another short holiday at Nallur, where his wife still was.]

May 11. From here H.E. set out again at 6 a.m. in an Orangbai for Kaits, arriving there at 9 after inspecting the Elephants' Bridge. In the afternoon he inspected the Fort of Hammenhiel, lying not far off in the sea, finding its situation very good and the buildings passable. Returning from there we inspected the environs of Kaits, and the Company's buildings there, finding them too extensive and very dilapidated.

May 12. At 3 a.m. we returned in the same vessel, intending to go directly to Kalmone [Kalmunai], but because of the low water

found ourselves compelled to pass close to Jaffenapatnam and let ourselves be dragged over the shallows until we were again afloat, reaching Kalmone at 10 a.m. only. There we found Her Excellency, who had arrived shortly before us with the rest of the party after crossing from Kolombegamme. After the midday meal we left at 3.30, arriving at Ponnorijn at 8.

May 13. We left at 3.30 a.m., and arrived at 9.30 at Poelwerekatte [Pallavarayankaddu]. From there we went on at 4, and arrived at 10 at Ilpenkarwe [Iluppaikkadavai].

May 14. We left there at 4 p.m., arriving at 8.30 at Mandotte [Mantai].

May 15. At 6.30 a.m. we left there, and at 8 arrived at Manaar, after spending half an hour in crossing the inland water which separates it from the mainland, being received with the usual salutes.

May 16. H.E. inspected the Fort and the buildings, finding both in good condition; and to the credit of this Fort it should be added that it is the only one on Ceilon which could withstand the attack of a European army for some weeks.

May 17. H.E. attended Divine Service.

May 18. We left Manaar at 4 p.m., but owing to the high water reached the mainland at 5.30 p.m. only. Continuing our journey we arrived at 10 at Arripoe [Arippu], finding there the Fiskaal of Kolombo Heer Borwater, and Heer Raket, both occupied with the Pearl Fishery at Kondaatje [Kondaichchi].

May 19. We left at 2 p.m., arriving at Kondaatje at 3.10 where we visited the pits of yet-unopened oysters. At 4 we went forward arriving at 9 p.m. at Modregamme after having twice rested for a quarter-hour on the way.

May 20. There was much rain in the night, continuing until noon. At 1.30 p.m. we set out again. A part of the coolies sent from Kolombo met us on the way about 6 p.m., and at 8 we arrived at Ponaripoe [Pomparippu] in heavy rain, which continued almost all the night.

May 21. We set out at 7 a.m., turning to the right towards the seashore, in order to cross to Kalpettijn [Kalpitiya]. The rain of the previous night made the road, already bad and muddy, yet more difficult and toilsome, so that it was 11.30 before we reached the place where the commandant of Kalpettijn awaited us: then embarking in the thonys we arrived at 3 at the Fort, being received with the usual salutes, after which H.E. went to lodge in a garden near by, since most of the buildings of the fort had collapsed not long before.

May 22. H.E. inspected the fort and the buildings in it. It is very irregularly, and indeed almost ridiculously laid out, and if it is to be of any service needs to be rebuilt from its foundations, thus somewhat concealing and reducing its grave defects, visible even at a

glance to any eye, however inexpert. H.E. gave the necessary orders for this to be done. The roofs of most of the buildings in it had fallen in, but the commandant will soon have these repaired.

May 23, 24. The heavy rain continued: days of rest.

380 May 25. Leaving at 4 a.m. we arrived at 1.10 p.m. at Navikarre [Navatkadu].

312 May 26. ditto ditto 11.30 at Oedempekarre.

May 27. ditto ditto 9 at Sjlau [Chilaw].

May 28. ditto ditto 8 at Marawille [Marawila]

302 May 29. ditto ditto 7 at [the river of Kaijmelle
301 [Maha Oya], where we were welcomed by Disava* de Coste and
Ritmeester Ossenbergh, arriving at 11 at Nigombo.

304 May 30. We left Nigombo at 4 a.m., and after crossing the river
381 and passing the village of Dantagamme arrived at 8 at Stelle, where
H.E. inspected the sluice gates and canals made for the irrigation
304 of the Moetoerajawel fields. After the midday meal H.E. went on
302 at 2 p.m., crossing the [Kelani] river at Pas Pital, being welcomed
382 there by the Members of the Political Council and other "Qualified*" officials. After a short halt there H.E. arrived at Kolombo at 6 p.m., in good health and fitness, being received with the usual honours.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN THE GALLE AND MATURE DISTRICTS IN 1800

EUDELIN DE JONVILLE

Very little is known about Eudelin (or John, or Joseph) de Jonville (or Joinville, or Jainville, with or without the "de": all the variants are found). He seems to have first come to Ceylon with Governor North, and was appointed Surveyor-General, the first to hold this title: he also acted as Superintendent of the Botanical and Cinnamon Gardens.

After this tour in the South-East he went to Kandy with Macdowall's "Embassy" as Portuguese Interpreter, Naturalist, and Draughtsman: Cordiner reproduces some of his landscapes in "A Description.....", London 1807.

He left Ceylon in 1805, and nothing more seems to be known of him. It is curious, and may be significant, that in the following Journal he twice compares Ceylon with Italy, but never with England or France.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN THE GALLE AND MATURE REGIONS

The translation has been made from an MS volume in the India Office Library (MSS. Eur. E. 80), dated at Colombo February 1801, and endorsed "Presented by the author, Telicherry November 3rd. 1801."

The first volume contains :

- pages 3—5 Preface
 7—40 Religions and Customs
 41—44 Summary of the History of the Chalias* by Andriaan Ragia Pakse, Chief of this Caste
 45—72 Journey to Kandy [Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society 105, 1948]
 73—92 Tour in the Regions of Galle and Mature [here translated]
 93—96 Kandelay Lake [Kantalai]
 97—116 Geological sketch of the Island of Ceylon
 117—120 Letter to the Governor concerning the Religion of the Birmans
 121—131 Cingulois Alphabet
 133—154 Plates: Map of the coast-lands between the Maha Oya and Mundel Lake ; two elaborate maps of the east coast from Vandeloos Bay to Kalmunai, and near Batticaloa ; various sketches [as in JCBRAS 104] ; Plan and details of Kantalai Tank ; Contrast of the dagabas of Salcette and Ceylon ; map of Ceylon [included herewith]
 155—494 Description of the plates of Natural History which compose Volumes II and III
 Many of the botanical notes have been omitted, including a long one on mangroves and their propagation.

I made this short tour on the occasion of a journey which the Governor of Ceylon [North] proposed to make around the island.

- The first part of the road follows the sea-coast, never diverging more than half a mile from it, bordered to the right by the sea and to the left by the Lake of Kolombo, of which the east and south banks are covered with coconut palms. This Lake previously communicated by a canal with the rivers of Calturé and Panturé, and so with the Kalouganghé, a river flowing from Adam's Peak [Kalu Ganga]. This link is broken today for a distance of about a hundred toises*.
- 401
- 402 One mile from the Fort of Kolombo there is a large tamarind tree, which all travellers notice, serving the local people as a rendezvous and landmark : "We will meet," they say, "at the tamarind" ; or "Such and such a house is at such and such a distance from the tamarind," as in Italy one would say "I met so-and-so near the Madonna of the Miracles." One of the paths from Marendahn
- 402 [Maradana] cinnamon-garden joins this main road to Galle near this tamarind.
- Two miles further east [south] is the village of Galkissé [Mount Lavinia], one of the best-cultivated around Kolombo ; and at four and a half miles one passes through the Morotto cinnamon-garden
- 403 [Moratuwa], between this village and Ratmallané [Ratmalana].

In this latter village is a temple of Boudhou, of whom the figure is as yet only roughed out : it will probably be the most important of the region.

- Leaving Kolombo in the morning one can dine at Panturé, going
- 404 either by land or by water, embarking near Morotto. This river is half a mile wide in some places, and flows in curves which agreeably vary the views. Panturé lies on the opposite bank to Colombo, and the crossing is made by a flat boat without ferry-cable. It should be mentioned in passing that the mouth of this river changes place every year, being now two hundred toises* from where it was last year.

At Panturé a better variety of orange grows than elsewhere, of a pale yellow colour, whereas most oranges of Ceylon are green even when perfectly ripe.

It is usual to sleep at Calturé [Kalutara], where one meets the river of Kalou, of which a very small branch falls into the sea here. The Fort of Calturé is insignificant : one company is stationed here to maintain the peace of this district. Coconut-brandy [arrack] is the only merchandise exported from here.

The road continues through Bentotte, Velitotte, Ekedouvé [Bentota, Balapitiya, Hikkaduwa] to Galle, where one can arrive in two days and a half, or even two days if in a hurry. Everywhere along the road are the gardens of small villages, which merge one into the other. In Ceylan the village is not a more or less compact group of houses as in Europe, but a large area divided into gardens, each with one or two houses for the owner, and one garden is often separated from the next by rice-fields half a mile across.

The uncultivated areas here are usually covered with two species of ugly and useless plants, *Vetakeia* and *Dounakeia*, both of the *Bromelia* genus, growing 20 or 30 feet high. A relatively thick but spongy trunk is held up by feeble aerial roots, effective only because of their number, which spring from the trunk at about one-third of its height, descending obliquely towards the soil, into which they put out small roots to anchor themselves. This trunk is terminated by a large number of leaves, three to six feet long and two inches wide at their bases, concave and with spines on their edges. These die yearly on the trunk, remaining attached to it until entirely decayed, giving the plants a most dreary aspect. Before these have grown enough to develop trunks they form almost impenetrable hedges. The yellow-flowered *Amarillis* which carpets all the sand somewhat consoles for the melancholy spectacle of the *Vetakeias*.

The coast from Bentotte to Galle offers surprising contrasts, sometimes being flat and sandy and almost at sea-level, sometimes broken by rocks of secondary granite. These often form capes jutting out 200 to 300 feet into the sea and 80 or 100 feet high, almost always offering very picturesque aspects by their shape or that of the shrubs that cover them.

Galle is a fortress which could offer some resistance, provided that a hill is held which commands it from the north-west. The roads within the Fort are not so well arranged as those of the Fort of Colombo, nor are the houses so well built. The Bay offers a tolerably good refuge to large ships, but its entrance is dangerous because of the rocks that break the surface. The Fort is built on a rock of secondary granite with wide veins of white quartz. All the shore near Galle is carpeted with corals, which give very good lime ; but because of the unconquerable laziness of the inhabitants they prefer to build with mud rather than take the trouble to burn the coral. The Europeans and some of the richest of the natives are the only ones who use lime, the others burn only a very small quantity to chew with *areca* and *betel*.

Much coconut-brandy is exported from Galle, also the coir which coats the coconuts and makes ropes which lack only the suppleness of hemp to be perfect.

The Government has several small gardens of cinnamon in the Galle region, and in the Fort there is a large storehouse for it.

I arrived at Galle on the morning of July 28th. and left for Mature on August 3rd with the Governor and the Members of the Court of Justice who accompanied him. We stopped for breakfast at Kokgallé [Koggala, the lake shown], where a Bangale had been built, ornamented with coconut leaves Near here is a lake of the same name, which one can cross without greatly diverging from the route. At 9 in the morning we all embarked on flat-bottomed boats, disembarking at ten-thirty and continuing by land.

Those who know the Italian Lakes can form an idea of that of Kokgallé, which yields to them neither in the clearness of its waters, nor in the richness of the vegetation on its shores, nor in the beauty of the scenery. Towards the north a number of mountain-ranges rise gradually one behind another, varying in colour according to their distance, and form magnificent backgrounds to the views presented by the forests bordering the lake. In the centre stand two naked rocks several toises* high, seeming to have been placed by human hands as the pedestals for imposing statues ; and not far off to the east are two islands covered with tall trees and flowering shrubs interlaced together

We passed through the strait between the two islands, and half an hour later rejoined the palanquins.

At noon we arrived at the village of Biligam [Weligama] where there is a ruined house, once the Rest House for travellers. The village is part of the Korle* of the same name, one of the most populous of the whole island and almost entirely cultivated. Shortly before reaching Biligam there is a huge rock of granite, on which is carved a standing figure, ridiculously hatted and clothed. The learned men of the place assured me that it was a King of Biligam, and that this Kingdom had once borne the name of Veligame.

Two miles from there are two Cingulois temples dedicated to Boudhou. In the one I visited there is a Boudhou lying on his right side, another standing, and a third seated and shaded by a cobra capello. The priest in charge obligingly provided the explanation of this : it is related in the book *Soutvi Pitaké*, written in Pali, that Boudhou when on pilgrimage was surprised by heavy rain, and that a monstrous cobra capello (since it should be noted that Boudhou was 18 coudées* tall) covered him with its hood for the seven days and seven nights that this rain lasted. The walls of this temple are covered with paintings, most of which represent events in the life of Boudhou in his myriads of transmigrations. On the façade are painted men on horseback, and the singular thing is that they are dressed as Dutchmen, the costume with knee-breeches much more exactly shown than in English caricatures. The priest could not explain to me why these were there. Every day fresh flowers are strewn on the platform where Boudhou lies : they must be either of beautiful form or brilliant colour or agreeable perfume This

413 temple is called Agrabodhé Viharé, of which the translation is "Temple of the Supreme Boudhou"

Leaving Biligam at 3 we reached Mature at half past six. The road is beautiful, and on both sides of it all the land is cultivated. The walls are all of coral, which covers the shores from Galle to Tangale, i.e. on all the south coast of the island. Why is there none on the west, and little on the east, and there only in the bays? The point appears to me worthy of the curiosity of Natural Philosophers.

The insignificant little fort of Mature is placed between the sea and the river [Nilwala Ganga], which bears the name of the place. This river rises near the mountains of the pagoda of Katregam, and traverses various provinces which it makes fertile.

414 At Mature there is a bay of 6 miles across, but exposed to all the winds and not deep enough for large vessels. To the east is the cape of Devunderé [Dondra Head], which the Europeans call "Dundre-head" or "Thunderhead". It is the point of the island nearest to the equator. A little nearer is another cape, projecting much less to the south: the Dutch called it "Ruyberg" because from a distance it looks red, and the Cingulois call it "Hodakarré".

415 I visited this rock, 80 feet high, composed of a friable gneiss full of ferruginous nuclei. Its foot is washed by the sea, and covered with corals, sea-shells and 3 or 4 species of seaweed.

The whole district of Mature is full of Cingulois temples. Boudhisme is the dominant religion, and I was assured that there is not one genuine Christian, though many have been baptized, so that all these temples are as a rule well endowed.

416 I visited that named "Veheregampittie". The priest in charge is one of the most learned of the island, though encrusted with the prejudices of his religion, and with all the superstitions which form no true part of it.

I was introduced to him by one of his pupils and was very well received. He was greatly useful to me during the short stay I made at Mature, in explaining to me various words for the Cingulois-English dictionary now being prepared under the auspices of the Governor.

In the court of the temple I found four old women plucking flowers for the statues of Boudhou. Young women also do this service, with all the decency required by the laws of Boudhou. Marriage and concubinage are forbidden to the priests.

418 The walls of this temple are covered with paintings, as elsewhere, but in none does one find correctness of design, or attitude, or of facial expression. The Indian painters of the peninsula have at least attained to the last of these.

Since the Governor had to pass several days at Mature to judge various cases, on the 6th I took advantage of the delay to make a trip into the interior, my project being to ascend the river as far as the frontiers of the King of Kandy, 15 or 18 miles from the sea.

I embarked at 7 in the morning on one of the rafts called "katapanels," being two dugout tree-trunks each forming a boat, joined by bamboos or planks fixed with cords. Five or six similar bamboos are bent to a curve, and support a roof of coconut-leaves, and with a mattress, a chair, and a table one is perfectly shielded from sun and rain.

419 I sent my palanquin to Attourellié, six miles from Mature, so as to be able to make some short land-excursions from there, if circumstances permitted.

420 At 8 o'clock I entered hilly country, finding myself between two hills, "Godulle Kandé" and "Naimankandé", "Kandé" meaning hill or mountain. The latter is a very narrow hill, about a mile long and forty toises* high. It is isolated, like Godullé which is smaller. In Ceylan one often finds hills even higher than these two, set in the middle of a plain and several miles away from any other heights.

421 At 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ we passed Bandaratotté, very remarkable for a badly-made wooden bridge very high above the river, and so narrow that two men cannot pass each other without turning sideways. The railing is an iron chain, put up at the cost of the near-by villages as an offering to Boudhou, who has a temple near there.

I will not name here the villages I passed: they are all alike, and are of no interest except as regards topography and the revenues of Government. But I will make mention of a pepper-garden in which the Dutch Company had built a large house for the Superintendent, today in ruins and almost all the pepper-vines dead. It is an agreeable place.

419 By midday we had nothing but hills or mountains on all sides, and travelled as far as Attourellé in a narrow valley no less agreeable than the open country.

All the vegetation on the banks of the river is of an admirable richness. Wherever it has left sandbanks, there are seen a prodigious number of mangroves, a very curious tree for its means of propagation [lengthy description omitted].

422 It is only on the banks of this river that I have seen the shrub called "Kirellé", which by itself suffices to adorn all its surroundings. Its thin and supple branches interlace themselves with the plants that grow besides it, crowning them with lovely flowers, of which from a distance only the orange stamens are to be seen, rising in a plume two or three inches high. Its fruit has a taste which pleases many of the Cingulois. I found there also beautiful convolvuli with large bells, named "Manda Val"

419 On disembarking at Attourellié I was welcomed, to my great surprise, by tomtoms*, dancers, arches of leaves of coconuts elegantly mingled with flowers of all colours, &c. A well-prepared dinner was served under a little Bangalo, draped with white cloths and covered with designs made with the pretty fern called here "Badalva-nassé". The chief reason for these honours was the cordiality I had shown towards the most venerated priests of Boudhou of the district.

The garden where I landed belongs to the Government. It is
426 planted with pepper-vines which climb on Eraboudous (Corallo-
dron), the lovely red flowers of which contrast well with the dark
green of the pepper. This tree is used here for hedges and to
support pepper and betel vines.

The river here separates the Biligam Corle* from the Ganghé Bada
427 pattoe. "Pattoe" is a subdivision of a Province.

419 Learning at Attourellié that I could not ascend the river for more
than two or 3 miles further because of the low water at this season,
I abandoned the idea of visiting the frontiers of the King of Kandy,
which in fact would not have taught me much. I therefore continued
by land after crossing the river, and went to Acouressé [Akouressa]
for the night preceded by the tomtoms* and dancers, in spite of my
reiterated requests that my ears might be spared the very displeasing
noise of the little drums. The dancers here were clothed as women,
and loaded with many rattles and little bells, the discordant sounds
of which combined with those of the tomtoms to deafen unbearably
all who are not accustomed to it. But I should have much offended
the black Chiefs of the places I passed, had I used my authority to
refuse this mark of distinction. I think that the custom of travelling
with drums is due to the prodigious quantity of snakes in the
island, which can usually be scared away from the roads by such
noise.

428 On the 7th I left Acouressé early, and did not wish to pass Poretotte
without visiting the temple of Boudhou called Godepitti Viharé.
The priest in charge, young and little acquainted with our customs,
asked me to remove my boots. I refused, and took leave of him,
telling him that no such obligation was to be found in the books of
Boudhou; but when he was informed by the people who were with
me that I was on very good terms with the Chief Priest over all the
temples of the district, he ran after me and begged me to honour the
temple with my visit, and I accepted his invitation without much
pressing. I saw there a statue of Boudhou of the stipulated length
of 18 coudées,* which gave me the opportunity to establish this
measure as 18.3 English inches. At the sides were two of his dis-
ciples, Mougalan and Seriout [Moggallana and Sariputta], one with
a yellow body and the other with a black one. Boudhou is not
usually represented with his disciples, except in paintings of some
historical episode, and they are never shown near his statues, which
are the principal objects of the cult. I remarked on this to the priest,
who agreed, and told me he had taken on himself to place the dis-
ciples here, since this was not expressly forbidden, and seemed to
him very fitting. In the same temple are also Vishnu, whose body
429 is always painted blue, Katregam or Karticeya with his peacock,
Brahma with his three heads, and another set in so dark a corner
that I could not distinguish it.

Near the temple I found four Albinos or white negroes, all born of
the same father and mother, these being black like the rest of the
Cingulois. Two were girls, the elder fourteen but as yet with no

signs of puberty, which here appear quite often at 12 and even 11.
All four were very feeble, and could hardly bear the light. Their
limbs were extremely thin. Their colour was a brighter white than
that of the palest Europeans, but although the colour of the blood
could be seen under the skin, there was something dead in the general
tone, as if painted plaster. They have two black brothers born of
the same parents, who, I was told, were as feeble as their offspring.
I think it apropos to mention here that many of the early travellers,
copied by some modern physiologists, are in error in stating that the
Vedas* or Bedas are all albinos. Such a race would be as extra-
ordinary a thing as a race of hunchbacks or one-eyed people. I
have seen the Vedas: they are of the same colour as the other natives
of Ceylon, and differ only in their customs.

By about 8 a.m. I found myself in an entirely mountainous region
It has little cultivation, and consequently much bush and some large
trees, for in Ceylon land bare of vegetation is unknown. To the left
430 was the hill of Velihene, which I estimated as 150 toises* above its
base. A river runs at the foot. I read the barometer and found 30
inches, which is the average value at sea-level at 8 or 9 a.m. Al-
though I had no comparative observation there, I am led to believe
that this river has an extremely small fall, since I was nearly 15 miles
from the sea.

There was very little cultivation here, although it was not entirely
431 lacking. The natives burn the bush and sow grain in the ashes, which
the rain dissolves and mingles with the soil. Rice yields here 20 to
432 one, and Natchini, a sort of grain called Kourakan in Cingulois, 40
or 50 to one.

I dined at Bopagodde [Bopagoda] by the river of which I spoke,
and left again at 11, always through a mountainous country through
which the same river meanders. As one ascends it, it becomes
impracticable for even the smallest rafts, its bed being encumbered
by blocks of granite fallen from the near-by hills. For two hours
of march I saw nothing but bush. At 1 o'clock the aspect of the
country began to change. The first large trees seen were those called
433 in Cingulois "Horé", of which the straight uninterrupted trunk
is more than a hundred feet high This tree, always growing
on mountains, is practically without use owing to the difficulties
of transport, though it seems that it could advantageously serve for
masts.

434 At two o'clock I entered the Morva Korle*. Thus far the road
was good, but as the region became more and more mountainous
it was strewn with fragments of rock, sometimes so large as to make
our journey very toilsome. At four o'clock I arrived at Morva
[Morawaka], the capital of the region: about two miles away is the
435 great mountain of the same name, which I estimated at 400 toises*.

Hardly had I arrived before the Chief Priest of the temples of the
district paid me a visit, accompanied by five or six of his disciples.
He is a very well-informed old man, who likes to pass on his know-
ledge. This was not his usual place of residence. but, like all priests,

he was observing the seasonal change of stay ordered by Boudhou. The priests differ as to the motives which determined this law, but all agree that the chief one was to spread the Doctrine as widely as possible. Among other explanations which he gave me regarding the construction of the temples and statues of Boudhou, he informed me that the robe of this law-giver is of yellow lined with red, because the fruit of the Bogaha* is yellow at first, and red when ripe. Others had told me that the robe of Boudhou is yellow because his body was yellow, and that the red border is merely an ornament.

The Bogaha* just mentioned is a large tree of the fig genus, much venerated here. Boudhou greatly loved it, and took much pleasure
436 in resting in its shade, so that it is planted along the roads. While young its foot is fenced in to preserve it from the animals. Later it grows to such a size that it can shelter three or four thousand men from the sun.

I leave it to the reader to decide whether the love of Boudhou for this tree is the real motive for the veneration felt for it, or whether this veneration does not rather originate from living in a bare country exposed to the ardours of the sun, where large trees must be respected as offering a comforting shade to the traveller. The ficus religiosa,
437 called Baniantree by the English, extends perhaps even more than the Bogaha. It also is found in Ceylan, but is much less venerated there. The two trees differ essentially in their leaves, that of the Baniantree being oval and that of the Bogaha heart-shaped, several inches long and terminating in a fine point. [Pencil sketches of both at the foot of the page.]

Before leaving Morva on the 8th I returned the priest's visit of the previous day. Many water-lily flowers painted on the walls of the temple gave me the opportunity to ask some questions regarding them. He told me that this flower is venerated because it once contained five priests' robes, which Maha Brahma took out to distribute to five Boudhous. He has already given four, and one remains for the Boudhou to come. But I see nothing in this flower that could give rise to such a story, since none of its parts naturally suggests the number five. The Boudhists do not know of what is written in the books of the Brahmans regarding this flower, which according to them carried "the Spirit of the Divinity floating on the
438 waters where the Waters were latent".

From Morva I continued through an entirely mountainous region, uncultivated except for some swampy rice-fields, called in Cingulois
439 "Varisses".

440 At midday I arrived at the top of the hill named "Kerevebevoulé", where the barometer read 120 toises* of Paris, or 253 London yards above sea-level. The road up this hill is not passable by palanquin, but it offers views sufficiently varied to make it a pleasure to go up and down on foot. It has many high and very majestic trees, many of great usefulness for carpentry and cabinet-making, but their transport would be very difficult. It was here that I saw the greatest

441 number of wild jak trees, of which the fruit is as good as that of the cultivated ones. Millilé, one among the best timbers for door- and window-frames, grows there up to 6 feet in diameter Among
442 the many interesting plants to be seen there is a lovely tree-fern Its 10-foot trunk bears a superb crest of dark green leaves, 7 or 8 feet long, with reddish patches below in Cingulois it is called
442 "Kinihirie", but this name is also given to other ferns.

* This hill is all of secondary granite in thick layers, containing quartzes, amorphous feldspars, and greyish micas. I saw there two butterflies never met with elsewhere, but was unable to catch them.

After descending this hill I traversed several uncultivated valleys. The bamboo of my palanquin broke when crossing a bridge, fixed on rotted tree-trunks: it cost me only a half-hour's halt while another bamboo was cut 100 yards away and fitted in place of the old one.

I arrived at Berelenapotane [Beralapanatara] quite early, a garden of the Government where there was once a pretty good house, to judge by the ruins. Here there is some cultivation. The garden consists of 13 thousand areca-palms, planted so closely that they cannot produce even one fruit. I believe the project was to have a nursery here, but the plantation is now useless, as the trees are too large to be transplanted. This garden lies on the edge of a valley,
443 everywhere cultivated with rice. On both sides are a few houses shaded by very many coconut-palms and kitouls. The latter after ten years furnishes a juice which flows from an incision in the spathe, and, when collected and evaporated, yields a black sugar, called by the Portuguese "Jagri*" and by the Cingulois "Hakourou" The natives find more sustenance in their cattle, which cost them nothing to maintain, and gives them abundance of milk and Guy [ghee], and which they sell off when they have too many.

444 A musket-shot from the garden is a torrent which rolls down large blocks of granite. It can be ascended when there has been no rain for some days, at the risk of breaking arms and legs, and is interesting for the fine trees that border it.

As far as here I saw no signs of elephants. The region is too hilly for them; it would be too difficult for them to pass here when leaving the region of Kandy for the plains under the English rule, and they have a far easier egress in the direction of the Girivaykorle (Giruwa Pattu*).

After leaving Berelopotané on the 9th I passed a small building covered with leaves, where the Cingulois priests preach their sermons.
445 Quite close to it was the debris of a "Bali", which is a representation in clay of the Devil and of some planets, arranged according to the object for which this Bali has been made. It is properly an offering to the evil spirits, to appease them when it is believed that they are the cause of some ill-fortune afflicting one at the moment. Such magic is forbidden by the books of the Boudhou, who did not permit that a cult should be rendered to beings inferior to him; but no notice is taken, since the superstitions which dominate the stupid or ignorant are too strong.

About an hour from Berelepotane we found ourselves at the foot of a sugar-loaf mountain of which the summit is about a hundred toises* above the base, showing large bare granite blocks. One of these has given a pious man of the locality the idea of making a temple to Boudhou, a large cavity providing him the means to do so without great expense. I saw on the walls some divinities painted in linseed oil, to make them more durable : such painting is a very great affair here, as the oil must be brought from Europe, none having been found in the island that will dry even when combined with the usual driers.

One of the divinities was Gané Devio [Ganesh] with the head of an elephant ; another was Barnade Devio with four hands, holding respectively a trident, a staff, an arrow, and the fourth nothing. I stopped in a Government house near Ouroubokké [Urubokka]. Here there is a canal dug by the Dutch Government to divert part of the waters of a river which flows six miles higher up, to irrigate the Giriway Province [Girawa Pattu*], previously uncultivated.

I left Ouroubokke at 12.30 for Kattouvené [Katuwana]. The two regions are separated by a mountain called "Oulangdoukandé". The col where I passed is at 200 toises* above sea-level if the barometric heights bear the same relationship as in Europe, which I have not yet had time to verify. The road, both upwards and downwards, is nothing but the bed of a torrent which rolls down very large rocks. On this mountain I saw, among other large trees, a Bogaha* with a trunk 60 feet in circumference, including several separate trunks which have attached themselves to the principal one and are now united with it.

I halted on the col for half an hour, to admire the beautiful views. I could distinguish the little areas of Kattouvené and Morokadé, both part of the vast and fertile province of Girivay ; also that of Mahagampattoo [Magam Pattuwa*], one of the most interesting of the island. Tangale, on the sea-coast, was easily visible although I was 25 miles away.

Moulghirigalle, a conical mountain called "Adamsberg" by the Dutch, I do not know why, showed up in the middle of the plain. As I had a good spy-glass, I could distinguish the cultivated parts from the uncultivated, the frequent tanks of water, the great Girivay canal and all the smaller canals which flow from it, and the coconut-gardens which in this plain form lovely plumes dominating the forests. We will soon deal with Moulghirigalle & Tangale. As regards the province of Mahagampattoo, it is the subject of a separate memoir [not in the volume].

About four-thirty I arrived at Kattouvené, 50 toises* above sea-level and consequently 150 toises below the col of Oulangdoukandé.

On the 10 I left Kattouvené and traversed a flat region, dotted with little hills barely 5 or 6 toises* high. This region is uncultivated, with shrubs or bush everywhere, and a few large trees. Elephants are very numerous in this region, where they have forests and water,

and can roam at night in the marshes sown with rice, doing much damage.

6 miles from Kattouvené is the little village of Kouncipunevallé, well cultivated, with much rice. Half an hour later I crossed the canal which comes from Morva Korlé* and spreads out in the Girivay, passing the Krall called "of Kattouvené". A Krall is the enclosure made for an elephant-hunt This one is entirely demolished, but here and there are to be seen the bones of elephants which perished during a hunt.

Leaving the Krall we traversed a rice-field of more than 3 miles in circumference, and arrived at Maracadé at three-thirty, having been nearly four hours on the way. The dilapidated Government house there is shaded by a fine bogaha*.

The land fell more and more as I advanced, Morakadé being only 30 toises* above sea-level ; and I began to lose sight of the granite, the soil becoming more and more sandy or clayey. At Morakadé I again found the kaboc* stone which is common at Kolombo The rice was hardly in grain here, whereas 5 miles away at Kouncipunevallé it had already been harvested.

Leaving Morakadé at 9 on the 11th we arrived at Moulghirigallé at 10. It is an immense rock of granite, with a vertical face to the west. At the foot is a small tank bordered by some large trees. This site offers a lovely subject for a picture. It is a place of assembly for the Boudhists. A King called Detatissé, the 68th of Ceylon, first erected a temple here to Boudhou, on a salient of the rock at about one-third of the height.

The priest of this place came with his disciples to receive me at some yards from his dwelling. After the customary compliments I left him and ascended the hill, some of his disciples accompanying me.

A stairway of very neatly cut granite steps has been made on the slope of the hill, which is very steep. I first visited the temple erected by Detatissé Ragia, which is 30 toises* above the base of the hill, where the rock forms a platform 10 to 12 feet deep, enclosed at the front and sides with walls a foot thick. As the height of this sort of grotto is 9 feet at the most, it was not practicable to represent the principal statue of Boudhou as standing : it lies on the right side, as in many other temples.

Near its head are eight small standing Boudhous, ranged in order of height. All are of wood, but in a corner there is one of copper a foot high, of pretty good workmanship.

After having seen everything and obtained the explanations I desired from the disciples with me, we continued up the path to the top of the hill, always on granite steps. We passed two other temples of the same nature as the first, without stopping since I was impatient to reach the summit in order to enjoy the view to the beautiful horizon, which I suspected I should soon find myself impelled to daub. A

little before arriving there one has to climb an almost vertical rock with the help of an iron chain 20 feet long.

At last I reached a platform 60 feet across, the highest point of the hill, 57 toises* above its base and 98 above sea-level. The dome which contains the bones of Boudhou stands there. I was more interested in the view, far more beautiful than from the two mountains of which I have already spoken. If one considers a landscape drawn from a very high point, the line of the horizon also lies high in the picture; and such an arrangement is far less pleasing to the eye than that in a landscape in which the horizon-line is lower—I speak here only of landscapes in which the horizon is very distant. The preferable level for that line appears to me to be at one-third of the height of the frame. Now the view from Moulghirigalle approximately fulfils this condition, which is probably the reason why I found it more beautiful than that from the other and higher mountains.

While I was making these reflections and observing the barometer, my servants occupied themselves in throwing coins onto the moulding of the dome which contains the bones of Boudhou. It is an offering to him which the servants of the priests scrupulously divide with the temple-treasury.

An approaching storm forced me to leave the place sooner than I could have wished. On the way down I visited three other temples constructed in the rock at different heights. I did not find anything remarkable in them, except a large pot where the faithful crowd to pour in rice for the priests. This pot is made of earthenware, 2½ feet across and the largest I have seen of this material.

It is interesting to see the potters of Ceylon at work. They first make a cylinder on the wheel, of a size proportionate to the utensil they intend; and then they put their left hand inside it, holding a wooden ball. In the right hand they hold a grooved bat, something like a rasp, and with it hit the surface of the cylinder so as to compress it, holding the ball inside the spot they are hitting. The clay stretches without cracking. The upper opening of the cylinder is thus closed, and this becomes the base of the vessel. Up to now it is all marked with lines, and as if dotted, but after leaving it to dry in the shade for a day, these irregularities are effaced with a smooth bat or beater, and the vessel is finished. I did not notice anything remarkable in their manner of firing. Vessels of this sort are of almost inconceivable lightness. It is well known that the Greek vases called "Etruscan" have just such a lightness, which serves to distinguish them from the imitations made today to deceive collectors. Did not the ancients perhaps employ the same technique as the Cingulois?

Having arrived at the foot of the hill I paid a visit to the priest, who had prepared a pleasant collation for me of fruits and milk. We chatted for half an hour, and I left for Tangale, arriving there at four-thirty across a plain where only rice was grown. The elephants are a real pest here to the natives, who are obliged to guard their fields at night. The watchmen set themselves on trestles 12 to 15

feet high, and keep up a fire, and make as much noise as they can to scare away the elephants when they hear them coming, but often in vain. A herd often destroys the whole harvest in half an hour.

Tangale is a small square fort in very bad condition, though well-placed to hinder an enemy from landing in the bay; but there is little danger of this, since large ships cannot anchor there, and to land from small boats would be very dangerous in either monsoon, since the place is exposed to both. In addition, the bay is full of rocks on which the waves break in foam rising several feet into the air.

Tangale is very unhealthy, but was nevertheless previously very populous; but during the past ten years or so an epidemic has carried off nine-tenths of the inhabitants, and reduced the population to some 50 families, who cultivate a few coconut-palms and especially rice-fields.

At Tangale hunters find hares, deer (or better Axis), wild boars, doves, peacocks, and a multitude of other birds, most of them very lovely and some very good to eat. Among these is the jungle-cock, which differs from the domesticated variety only in that the colours vary very little throughout the species.

The ruins of a Cingulois temple are to be seen near the fort, crowned with bushes. At 20 paces it harmonises well with the fort and makes a pretty little landscape. The foot of the hill on which these two buildings stand is covered with corals and marine plants, zoophytes &c., in a variety which would occupy one for a long time.

I spent the morning of the 12th in observing them, leaving after dinner and sleeping at Dikvellé [Dikwella], a small village in a pretty bay, but badly shielded from the south-west monsoon and obstructed by rocks. Elephants are sometimes to be seen on this road: we saw tracks on the sand showing that one had passed here some moments previously. The natives are able to estimate very accurately from the imprint how long it is since an elephant passed. Following its trail, we found it had gone off into the forest after a mile on the road.

On the 13th I left at two in the morning, and arrived at Mature at six, leaving again with the Governor on the 20th, to return to Tangale. On the way I stopped at the pagoda of Deoundere, set on the most southerly point of the island. This pagoda is dedicated to Vishnou, and was built by Dabouloussen Ragia in 1332 of the Boudhou era, 789 A.D. What little remains of the ancient edifice clearly shows its plan, a long rectangle, to which corresponds a gallery of 3 or four hundred pillars. The new temple is insignificant. Among other debris on the ground is a lingam 2½ feet long, which the priest of the place called "Isvaré roupé", "Figure of Isvara". A temple to Boudhou was being built near this pagoda. The dome which contains his bones has the prettiest shape of any I have seen. I was astonished to see a temple to Boudhou near that of Vishnou, but I was told that this is because of the good will which the latter had for Boudhou, whom he accompanied to Ceylon the first time he came here.

Deouderé was previously called "Devinouvé", "City of the God."

On the 20th I arrived at Tangale, leaving on the 21st to see the elephant-hunt ; and left again on the 27th for the Mahagampattoe, which is the subject of another memoir [not in the volume]

MAP OF CEYLON

De Jonville's map is based on that of du Perron. As far as it goes it is noticeably more correct than the later maps of Allen (1802, Survey Collection 80), Heather (1806, id. 37) and Arrowsmith (1822, id. 81).

It contains the first attempt yet found to show the "Great Road", the route taken by Ambassadors from Colombo to Kandy (see the Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society for 1956 and 1962). It also shows the inland waterway from Kalutara to Puttalam: the gaps in it south of Colombo and again near Marawila are not draughtsman's errors but interruptions: he mentions the former on page 75, and shows the latter on a large scale in his map of the west coast (see page 74).

Going clockwise from Colombo the names are (with modern forms where thought necessary): Nigombo; Marawille; Chilauw; Andipane (Andimunai); Calpentine (Kalpitiya); Putelan; Pearl Banks; Aripo; Manar; Mannaar; Mentotte (Mantai); Jaffanapatnam; Pt. Pedro; Koklay; Trinconomalle; Tamblegam; Kandelay; Baticalo; La Pointe Est (Sangamankanda Point); Koumari (Komari); Koumane (Komane, but shown too far north—should be almost at his Ma-gamme); Magamme (Magam, again too far north—should be almost at his Vanderoupe); Maha Gam Pattou; Vanderoupe (Wanduruppe, but shown too far from Tangalla); Velavé Ganghe (Walawe Ganga); Tangale; Moulghiri Galle; Deandere (Dondra); Mature; Biligam (Weligama); P. Galle; Calturé (Kalutara); Panturé (Panadura).

The names along the "Great Road" are: Kalani Ganghé; Angwell (Hanwella); Sittavakke and Avesavellie, their positions interchanged in error; Idamalpané and the Gourougode Oye; Attapettie, shown on the wrong side of the Maye Oye River; Col of Balanikandé; Valgovouwagodé; Ganoraue (Gannoruwa, and the Mahaveli, unnamed); Kandia, shown about 18 miles too far south.

Isolated points inland are: "Supposed Anouradé-pouri an ancient town", shown about 14 miles too far north; and "Samanele Sripada or Adam's pik". The Walawe, Kalu, Kelani and Mahaveli are all shown as having their sources there, and the last-named is correctly shown as eventually reaching the bay of Trincomalee.

NOTES

Numerals in parentheses, as (4881), refer to the codices of the Dutch Records in the Ceylon Archives; if prefixed by H as (H 1547) to those at The Hague.

The following sources are referred to in an abbreviated form:

- Baldaeus. Naauwkeurige Beschrijvinge Amsterdam 1672.
Becker. Memoir, trs. Anthonisz, Colombo 1914.
Brohier. Land, Maps and Surveys, Colombo 1951.
Cordiner. Description of Ceylon, Aberdeen 1807.
de Coste. Memoir of 1770, in Johnston's translations, Public Record Office CO 54/124. The transcription is not rigorous, modern place-names having been used, mis-spellings corrected, etc. For de Coste see note 302.
"Germans". Germans in Dutch Ceylon, Colombo 1953.
Haafner. Travels on Foot, trs. London 1821.
de Heere. Journal of Tour in 1697, trs. Anthonisz, Colombo 1914.
Heydt. Heydt's Ceylon, Colombo 1952.
HJ. Hobson-Jobson, Yule and Burnell, London 1903.
JCBRAS. Journal of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
Knox. An Historical Relation, London 1681.
Lewis. Tombstones and Monuments, Colombo 1913.
Mooyart. Memoir, trs. Anthonisz, Colombo 1914.
Naber. Editor of the Hague transcription of Wintergerst, see page 4.
NED. New English Dictionary.
NNBW. Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, Leiden 1911-17.
Paulusz. Secret Minutes 1672, Colombo 1954.
du Perron. Map 1789 (Survey Collection 55, Brohier pages 50, 51).
Pybus. Embassy to Kandy 1762, Colombo 1958.
Saar. Ost-Indische Fünfzehnjährige Kriegsdienst, Nurnberg 1661, 1672; trs. JCBRAS 1890.
Schneider. Map 1822 (Survey Collection 81, Brohier page 57).
Schouten. Ost-Indische Voyagien, Utrecht and Amsteldam 1676; part trs. in JCBRAS 1890.
Schreuder. Memoir, trs. Anthonisz, Colombo 1946.
Simons. do. do. do. 1914.
Sluysken. "Description" (?1768), as de Coste above.
Tennent. "Ceylon", London 1859.
Thunberg. Travels, London 1796.
Valentijn. Beschrijving, Dordrecht and Amsterdam 1726.
Wolfs. Life and Adventures, London 1785.

NOTES TO WINTERGERST

- 1 both of us. He has not previously named his companion, nor does he write any further of him.
Carsau. Curaçao (Naber).
- 2 Sellers of Souls. A corruption of "Ceelen-" or "Cedullen-verkoooper", the Cedullen being the contract-drafts given by the recruit. For other references see Schweitzer ("Germans", page 38), Fryke (ditto, notes 1/1, 5, and the further details there given).
- 3 Iceland. Later (note 76) he says that the check of the rolls for deaths or desertions was near Fair Island.
English Channel. In wartime the route was round the north of Scotland, as also almost always for the Summer Return-Fleets: see "Germans" note 50/13, and Wintergerst's later voyages.
- 4 Zion and Ijsselmonde (built 1686 and 1693 respectively: Naber) figure in the "Departure-Booklet" (Uitloopboekje) in the Hague Archives as sailing from Flushing on May 17, 1699. The Muster-Roll of Zion is unfortunately missing there.
- 5 Amsterdam ships. The Dutch East-India Company was formed by the union of various "Chambers" in large towns, many of them owning and operating their own ships.
- 5a poor folk: Presumably colonists for the Cape of Good Hope.
- 6 issued in future. There are various other scales of rations in "Germans": Behr (page 2), Herport (page 26), Schweitzer (pages 39, 41), Fryke (page 111), Müller (ditto).
codfish. There is no "aforesaid".
- 7 St Paul's Island. The St Paul Rocks, north-east of Brazil.
Nova Guinea. Guiana.
sweet potatoes. *Ipomoea batatas*.
Indian figs. Bananas, *Musa spp.* Fryke ("Germans", page 87) also has the suggestion regarding the "aprons".
- 8 to sicken. For other accounts of sicknesses on the voyage see also Schweitzer ("Germans", page 40), Fryke (ditto, note 1/35), Andriesz (ditto, ditto). Or cf. despatch (938, 3/11/1764) reporting that one convoy of two ships had 126 dead before reaching the Cape, left 253 sick there, and had another 48 dead and 108 sick thence to Ceylon; or again (1911, 18/6/1764) that of 300 recruits from Holland only 104 arrived in Ceylon fit for duty.
40 dead. Naber notes that according to the "Departure-Booklet" (note 4 above) Zion had 31 dead before reaching the Cape and Ijsselmonde 7: Wintergerst not only quotes 40 here, but later (Chapter XXII, not extracted) writes of 60 deaths from scurvy alone.
- 9 Seal Island. Text Trop-Eyland, today Robben-eiland.
Lion's Tail. Today called Lion's Rump or Signal Hill.
- 10 Ebony. *Diospyros ebenum*: the "green" probably *D. chloroxylon*.
- 11 sea-snails. Cowries, *Cypraea moneta*.

- 12 cocks crow. But the name is not from Portuguese galo, "cock"; nor from Sinhalese gala, "rock", though the Dutch coat-of-arms of Galle, a rooster on a rock, combines both derivations. More probably it is from Sinhalese gāla, with a long first A, "a tethering-place for bullocks", in fact a "good pull-up for cartmen".
- 13 boat. Text Chialoup, which is used both for rowing-boats, "shallops"; and for sloops*, q.v., as probably here.
- 14 12 miles*. Actually 72 English miles or 18 Dutch.
- 15 "Company-Master". Master-Attendant is the nearest modern equivalent as a rule, though Heydt (page 34) uses the term for the Pilot at Galle.
- 16 all its shores. This is incorrect: they did not hold the south-east and east coasts from Ambalantota to Batticaloa *de facto* until 1763, and then precariously; nor *de jure* until the Treaty of 1766. Heydt (pages 88, 111) makes the same mistake; and Ives (note 102).
a port. But from 1696 until August 1703 Puttalam, Trincomalee and Batticaloa were free ports for Kandy-India traffic, and only after that date were closed to all foreign traders, by orders of Batavia (38, 11/8/03); 3326, 22/8/03): compare Heydt (page 88) and note 31 below.
- 17 Jaffanapatang. But Jaffna is not on an island, and the important Pearl Fishery was not there but on the west coast near Kondaichchi.
- 18 Malture. Naber misreads this as Calture, Kalutara, instead of Matture, Matara, as is obvious from the context. In any case there was no Commandeur* at Matara, only a Disava*.
- 19 Head. Text Oberhaupt, Dutch Hoofd: usually best translated as Administrator. They however came under a near-by Commandeur*, e.g. Matara under Galle, though as a rule they corresponded directly with the Council at Colombo.
- 20 Malabar. More exactly Madura. Tuticorin is some 200 English miles from Colombo. Salt was shipped as ballast (Schreuder) from there to Ceylon, but certainly not to "the whole island" since Kandy then had access to many of the salterns, especially on the south-east coast, and the Dutch-held salterns near Jaffna, Trincomalee, etc. sufficed for local consumption.
- 21 Candea. Kandy: actually not the name of a place, but from Sinhalese "The Hills", as explained by Knox (Part I, Chapter II). The odd title "Lieutenant of the Turks" has not been traced. The "4 Kings" presumably refers to the campaigns of his predecessors.
- 22 Singlese-Moors. Possibly he meant "Sinhalese and Moors*" the hyphenated term is meaningless.
- 23 a long time. The siege lasted from October 1655 to May 1656.
- 24 their true colours. Text "kehrten die Wolffshaut vor" in allusion to the fable of the wolf in sheep's clothing.
- 25 Osterstein. Wolfendahl by the mention on page 22, since this was the usual residence of Kandyan Ambassadors (Simons).

- 26 never received them well. This is incorrect: in several cases (Draak, Baptista—see JCBRAS 1956) he kept them, or tried to keep them, as honoured guests.
- 27 the present King. Vimala Dharma Suriya, from 1687.
- 28 a present. There were two Embassies while Wintergerst was in Ceylon: G. de Costa in 1701/02 (3326, H 1547); Ensign (Sergeant promoted *ad hoc*) J. F. Bruijs in 1703/04 (H 1578). The latter is probably intended here.
- 29 Viceroy. The First Adigar* is presumably meant: he was in no sense a "Viceroy", but merely the senior of the Court Dignitaries. His allotment of whip-crackers was two only in 1765 (4881, 16/2). The title "King-by-Night" is an imitation of the Dutch Naval rank, "Schout-bij-Nacht" for Rear-Admiral: it of course did not exist for the Adigar.
- 30 ten pieces. As explained by e.g. Herport ("Germans", page 33 and plate opposite page 32) only a few pieces were necessary, since as soon as the Governor's retinue had crossed over a strip, this was taken up and rushed forward to the head of the procession to be relaid there. The washerman-caste had to provide this material. See also the Index s.v. White* linen.
- 31 forbade his subjects. In 1701 (H 839, 4/11/01) so as to force all Kandy-India trade through Puttalam, then a free port: cf. note 16 above, and 3326, 20/8/02.
- 32 Governor had died. De Heere, died November 26th 1702 aged 45: buried in the old Fort Church (where the Gordon Gardens now are). When this was razed his monument was transferred to Wolfendahl Church, and is there today (Lewis).
- 33 marched back again. The story is considerably exaggerated: Simons writes that the King sent an Embassy with "a recommendation to the Political Council at the death of my predecessor with these specific words 'to take good care, on behalf of the Company, and to see that all posts are well guarded until the arrival of a new Regent.'" See also 3326, 28/11/02, 20/3/03.
- 34 ruined pagoda. Undoubtedly Kelaniya, although only 4 English miles from Colombo, not 12; but later (note 66) he puts Malwana as 5 miles* (20 English miles) away, in reality 14. Probably he included in his distance the journey down to the mouth of the river and back along the coast to the harbour. Heydt has a good view (plate 53) of the Kelaniya ruins, and a description (pages 12, 13), mentioning the lighting of lamps in devotion there, and the many large hewn stones.
- 35 Hatto. Apparently his version of Hashish, *Cannabis indica*; but Ganja is meant, Marijuana, *Cannabis sativa*. excited them. Text "sich so hermeten".
- 36 different aspect. He stresses this also in his introductory chapter: Those who before me have written of the East Indies knew them when they were in the full flame of wars, whether of the Portuguese

- taking them from the Indians, or the Dutch taking them from both these: now you shall see how matters stand in times of peace, when all live in good harmony with one another. Moreover, I have read some descriptions which are somewhat gloomy, especially as regards the island of Ceylon, since the writers thought to describe the whole island in the light of the local conditions of the one part where they landed. In this they have gone far astray, since when I journeyed around it, I found on the coast a Paradise, but on the other nothing but a wilderness and a desert; also at the same moment it is Winter here, but there the most lovely Summer. And so it is in many other matters also, to say nothing of the great changes which take place from time to-time, so that which was to be seen 40 or 50 years ago now has an entirely different aspect.
- banished. But before the Dutch held Ceylon they could hardly "banish" malefactors from Batavia to there: possibly "marooned" is meant?
- 37 Majang. Malay word for the spathe (Naber).
a little pot. Behr ("Germans", page 5) is one of the few writers to describe the technique of the tappers: Heydt (on pages 165-170) is another—he also there describes the varied uses of the palm, almost as exhaustively as Wintergerst, and in some cases in more detail.
- 38 ice-cold liquid. Coconut-water: Schouten (Dutch original page 280, not in the JCBRAS translation) writes correctly that it "surpasseth all other drinks in the world", although Behr ("Germans", page 4) says that an excess of it may cause beriberi. Schouten also recommends it for dysentery (loc. cit.), which Heydt confirms (page 167).
jelly. Text Muss, more exactly a thick fruit-sauce, like gooseberry fool or apple-sauce.
- 39 bats. Flying foxes, *Pteropus giganteus giganteus*.
- 40 Miracle-tree. Either the bo-tree* or the banyan* may be meant.
- 41 Malabar. As a rule Wintergerst uses this adjective to mean merely "Tamil" (as in HJ), but here he probably means it literally, slaves from Malabar. Describing Cochin he writes (Chapter XXXII) "Our ship bought some 100 Moors* there as slaves, since the whole land breeds black folk who are sold for a song, parents selling their children and vice versa whereas on the island of Ceylon the people would rather let themselves be strangled 10 times than allow themselves to be made slaves, and so also in other places." And again (Chapter XXXVI) he writes: "In Cochin we took on fresh water and also slaves" (for Batavia). See also page 30, again for Cochin.
Canabella. By the location on the Kelani River and the distance quoted this must almost certainly be Karavanella, on this river above Ruwanwella. Certainly not Caudingelle as in Naber's note.
- 42 bad. Text artlich.

- 43 Scorpion. *Palamnaeus indus*. See also Schweitzer ("Germans", page 54), Hesse (ditto, note V/61), Andriesz (ditto, ditto) when he said. Luke XI, 12.
- 44 Chameleons. The "Blood-sucker", *Calotes versicolor*.
- 45 Dallagoy. Sinhalese Talagoya, *Varanus bengalensis*; Dutch name from Portuguese Iguana. Wintergerst's "Portuguese" name has not been traced. Heydt (page 145) mentions the snaring of them, and that they are eaten for reasons of health, as do Knox (Part I, Chapter VII), and Wolfs, who adds the legend that they are born from crocodile sperm without gestation.
- 46 Kupferböller. Literally "Copper-dumplings"; but a mangling of the Portuguese Cobra de Capello, Hooded Serpent, *Naja naja naja* snake-charmers. Also in Herport ("Germans", page 30), and Heydt (page 145).
- 47 grass-green. Probably the Green Whipsnake, *Ahaetulla nasuta nasuta*.
- 48 Graspers. Python, *P. molurus*; but it is not poisonous.
- 49 snake-stone. Schweitzer ("Germans", page 54) writes that he "often used" this, and that "it is laid upon the Wound, and sticks to it, till it hath drawn all the Venom out of it. When it is come off, it is laid in new Milk, which fetcheth all the Poison out of the Stone, and grows blue with it, and then the Stone is again free of the Venom". Heydt (page 145) says "of this I saw the effect my self with good Success". The stone is also mentioned by Herport ("Germans", page 30), Tennent, Baldaeus (page 657 of the English translation), Saar (page 253, ditto), etc. Thunberg has a full description, including details of manufacture.
- 50 suckers. This superstition of the "irresistible" breath has not been traced: Wolfs gives it for his "Woodsnake" and extends it to the "Rat-snake".
- 50a Wissbaum. Not identified: it is not a misprint, since it occurs twice, in both cases in comparing size. Conceivably "Weissbaum", "White Tree" (e.g. White Poplar); but unlikely since "Weiss" is elsewhere correctly spelt.
- 51 English Ambassador. Not an Ambassador, of course. Simons mentions him by name: "From time to time Europeans have fallen into the hands of the Kandyans, and are kept in the King's territories against all right and reason. Several of these have taken refuge with us, who, notwithstanding the objections of the Kandyan Court, have not been sent back to them; wherein we have acted in accordance with the orders of November 13, 1683, and again of September 30, 1703 with regard to an Englishman named Willem Herbert and his son, who, without the knowledge of the Kandyans, were to be sent to Batavia or to the Netherlands." The Minutes of the Political Council (38, 12/6/03) mention that "Robbert Mondy" who deserted in 1688 from the English ship "Roekester" in Trincomalee Bay, and was captured by the Kandyans, is taken on as a sailor; and

that Willem Herbert, "old and unfit for service", is set at liberty until Batavia shall decide what is to be done with him, together with his son Pieter born in Ceylon, and granted 3 Rxd* monthly for his upkeep meanwhile.

- 52 cinnamon. Compare also the descriptions in Behr ("Germans", page 6, though stolen from Saar who quoted it from Nieuhof's "Embassy to the Great Cham of Tartary"), Herport ("Germans", page 30), Fryke (ditto, page 84), Schouten (ditto, quoted in note F/5 in an abbreviated form), Knox (Part I, Chapter IV). Thunberg has very full details of the various types of trees, and the grades produced by them. Pybus (pages 14, 15) has figures for pre-1760. Cinnamon-doves. Probably the Ceylon Orange-breasted Green Pigeon, *Treron bicincta leggei*.
- 53 May-Pipes. The whistles made by boys from young willow-bark.
- 54 Captain of the Cinnamon. Head of the Cinnamon Department: in 1702 Captain-Lieutenant Johannes Stafforts. He was born at The Hague, and came out in 1684; he received promotion to Captain-Lieutenant in 1701 because of his good work as "Cinnamon-Captain". Captain of the Corla*. Apparently the Korala is meant, head of the administrative district; but far more than a Head Forester. Becker however writes that the inspection was made by the Head of the Cinnamon Department and the Disava* of Colombo (see note 70).
- 55 Zaliers. Chalias, cinnamon-peelers: in reality the lowest of the five sub-castes of the Chalia caste, though the term is often used to mean the peelers only. Their yearly assembly, "Paresse" (from Portuguese) is regularly reported in despatches to Batavia. Sluysken writes of them that "we ought to consider the Chalias as the most useful class of our subjects, those from which the Company derives the most benefit": de Coste that since they were brought over from Coromandel 500 years ago "they have known how to render themselves indispensable, and now rank almost equal with the Vellalas", the highest caste in Ceylon, although he classes them as traditionally the ninth caste in rank. must deliver. De Coste writes, for the Colombo Disavony*: "The cinnamon is peeled twice a year—from May to the end of September, called the greater harvest, and from November 1st to January 31st, the lesser harvest. [Sluysken has October 1st to December 31st.] It is baled at Negombo, Kalutara, Beruwela and Colombo. The Mayoraals [minor village headmen] and Naindes [cultivators] must bring it from the Alutkuru, Hapitigam, Siyane and Hewagam Korales* to Negombo [probably in part by the Maha Oya], or else to Pugoda [on the Kelani] from whence it is brought to Colombo in katapanel*; the cinnamon of the Rayigam, Pasdun and Walallawitti Korales must be brought by the peelers and Naindes to Kalutara and Beruwela [partly] by katapanel* [on the Kalu and Bentota Gangas]; and that of the Salpiti Korale* must be delivered by the

peelers themselves at Colombo." Incidentally, Valentijn notes that the Alutkuru, Hapitigam and Siyane cinnamon, all baled at Negombo, is "the very best in the whole known world".

burned. See also Heydt (page 31 for Ceylon, 148 for Batavia).

- 56 with their trunk. This is a standard statement in early writers : e.g. Wolfs and the references in "Germans" note 49/56, also pages 22, 31 of that volume.

Ell. The English ell was based on the length of the whole arm, shoulder to wrist, about 3 feet 9 inches; but elephants were then measured in Ceylon in "cobidos", from the Portuguese "cubito", cubit, which is the length of the forearm, as in Heydt (page 52), Saar ("Germans", note V/14), etc.

- 57 elephant-hunt. De Coste writes, for the Colombo Disavony* : The Chief of the Elephant-Hunt [a senior Sinhalese official, one of those appointed by the Governor, not the Disavas*] must regularly send men out into the Alutkuru, Hapitigam, Siyane and Hewagam Korales* to see whether any herds of elephants have come down there from the higher lands of the interior, and if so will report this to the Disava. He, if he deems it necessary and with the approval of the Governor, will order a hunt, generally in the Alutkuru Korale. When such a hunt is ordered all the Poerividdekareassen of the Lascorins* [their "reliefs," those who had to replace them if they were not available to do their service], Mayoraals [note 55], Naindes [ditto] and other "extraordinary servants" [those not obliged to regular service] are called up from all the Korales* to surround a space of three or four miles in circumference, in which the elephants are held until the Kraal and the necessary inner-enclosure are prepared or repaired, and when this is done, to drive the elephants slowly into these and there capture them. For other descriptions see Herport ("Germans", page 31), Schweitzer (ditto, page 50), Heydt (pages 48, 49, 51), and the references in "Germans" note V/13; also Thunberg; and Wolfs, who adds details of other methods of capture, by pit-traps and by roping in the open jungle. Pybus (pages 17, 18) has figures for captures about 1759.

After taming they were normally sent north to Jaffna for sale, and so to take ship on Karaitivu* (cf. Heydt 75, 107) for India : Le Bruyn (Travels, London 1737 in translation) writes for 1705 that formerly they were taken to Jaffna by sea, but "for some years since" by a newly-cut road to there; and de Coste confirms, although his place-names are mutilated. (See also 3226, 10/5/1703.)

Noth-Stall. Literally "travis", a framework to restrain refractory horses while being shod, but here meaning the small enclosure behind the Kraal proper : not used today, the elephants being roped in the Kraal itself. Herport (pl. 7, not in "Germans") shows it.

- 58 Spanish Cane. *Calamus zeylanicus*, Sinhalese ma-wewel.

- 59 Deer. Probably *Axis axis*.

Wild Pigs. *Sus cristatus cristatus*.

Tigers. Leopards, *Panthera pardus kotiya*.

- 60 Matara. The kachcheri is said to be on the site of the elephant-stables. See also Heydt plates 71, 72 and pages 51, 52, 54.

- 61 hairs. Today still made into rings and bracelets, for luck. See also Schweitzer ("Germans", page 50), Heydt (page 52).

- 62 Yacht. In the old sense, "Ship-of-chase", German Jagdschiff : smallish (say 200 tons or less) and fast, probably one mast with square sail and a triangular foresail. But it is a vague term (cf. in Heydt), and in this case the first news of the war came by a galliot (see the next note), another vague term, even smaller and similarly rigged; and (according to the plate from Witsen's "Aloude en hedendaegsche scheepsbouw" which is reproduced in Aalbers "R. van Goens", Groningen 1916) of shallow draught with lee-boards, though this is very doubtful for sea-going vessels.

- 63 Ulm. Ulm was captured by the French in 1702 : Holland was one of the Alliance against them in this War of the Spanish Succession. As Wintergerst mentions later (not here translated) Swabia was re-liberated in 1704, by the battle of Blenheim. The news was sent by letters from the Secret Committee in Holland dated 15/5/1702, by the frigate (again a small, fast ship : see Aalbers as in the preceding note) "Ter Eem" which sailed on that same day from the Texel, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on August 20th. The galliot (see the preceding note) "De Boode" left there with duplicates of the letters on August 24th, and arrived at Colombo on October 29th., "Ter Eem" following on August 31st, and reaching Colombo on November 23rd. Similar information was of course also sent to the other settlements; and to Batavia, from where the Council repeated the news to Ceylon in case the direct ships had been delayed or intercepted. Ceylon was also instructed to warn Malabar, and arrange that ships coming from Persia and Surat should put into Tuticorin for the latest news of the enemy; and were promised war-vessels for early 1703 so that the exported products might be given armed escort. The Political Council Minutes (Hague codex 1547; lacking in the Ceylon Archives) for November 28th mention the arrival of Ter Eem with the news (although in writing to Batavia De Boode is also mentioned). Governor de Heere had just died (note 32) after a long illness, and some confusion seems to have occurred : probably for this reason also no war-preparations (e.g. the manufacture of gunpowder) were discussed by the Council then or later, and in fact all that was done was to order the news to be read publicly on the following day.

Major-Constabel. Dutch Constapel-Majoor. This was Captain Jan Christiaansz To(o)rzee, of Viborg (Denmark). He came out in 1672 as Engineer-Captain and took over the artillery at Colombo. He died before April 1724.

- 64 jars. Simons mentions these, calling them "Martavanen" : see "Martaban" in HJ.

- 65 two sorts. The first is probably *Trema orientalis*, Sinhalese gedumba, which does fit the description and bears some resemblance to hazel; the second is the kapok-tree, *Ceiba petandra*.

- 66 Mattaval. The Kelani, from the village Mutwal (part of Colombo today), which is probably from Tamil Matakkuiliya, which may be from Sinhalese Modera, "river-mouth".
Malwana. Actually 14 English miles away, not 23 : cf. note 34.
- 67 battery-wood. Text Batterien Holtz : term not traced.
- 68 went back. Presumably floating down on the rafts: Wintergerst's text has "marschirten", but elsewhere he writes "marched by ship". rubies. But rubies are rare in Ceylon : probably garnets. It is odd that early writers on Ceylon so often specially mention the rubies there : e.g. Ives (note 110 below), Behr ("Germans", page 8), Herport (ditto, page 30), Schweitzer (ditto, pages 69, 70), to say nothing of the very early writers.
- 69 two small areas. This is of course entirely incorrect: much cinnamon was peeled in the King's territories (although Thunberg mentions that compared to the littoral product it was usually "coarser, thicker, more pungent, and biting to the tongue"). Sluysken writes: "By the 1766 Treaty we may peel in the King's lands as far as Balane [previously this could be done only after permission had been requested year by year: the inclusion of this permanent permission in the Treaty indicates the importance of this harvest] and the cinnamon from the southern Korales* of Sabaragamuwa [Kandyan territory] should be brought to Matara, in part by the Nilwala Ganga; that from the northern Korales of that region partly to Hiniduma and by the Gin Ganga to Galle, partly by the Kalu Ganga to Kalutara and Beruwala : that from the Seven Korales* [again Kandyan, approximately the present Kurunegala District] to Kotadeniyawa and by the Maha Oya to Topputota [just north of Kochchikade] and thence by land to Negombo." De Coste adds that "the cinnamon from the Three and Four Korales [Kandyan territory, and approximately the present Kegalle District] is brought to Pugoda and thence on the Kelani Ganga to Colombo."
- 70 Captain-Dessave. The Dutch Disava* of Colombo, with seat at Hulftsdorp, in administrative control, under the Governor, of most of the area from the Maha Oya to the Bentota River (approximately the present Colombo and Kalutara Districts), except for the troops and forts and the areas under military control. One of the most important Dutch officials, but of course in no sense a "Viceroy", nor did he succeed if the Governor died. In 1703 this Disava was Gerrit van Toll, promoted to Commandeur* of Galle in January 1704.
- 71 discovered. It has not been possible to trace any advice from Europe of such illicit sale of cinnamon. From Wintergerst's text it appears to have been in 1703 : if so, it is probable that the advice to Kandy and request for investigation was not sent by an "Ambassador" but by an Appuhamy (son of a chief) and addressed to the Court Officials, to avoid the delays and complications of letters to the King (as was done in August of that year when Kandy had to be notified of the closure of the ports, note 16 above); and that the second "Embassy" was that of Ensign J. F. Bruijs (3326, H 1598).

It is possible that the strengthening of many garrisons in July 1703 (38, 27/7/03) had to do with this "cinnamon-war"; or that Wintergerst was misinformed, and that the momentary alarm was due to fear of Kandyan action in retaliation for that port-closure.

- 72 Brazil-wood. *Caesalpinia sappan*.
- 73 Sea of Grass. Sargasso Sea.
- 74 Escorts. Text Capers, "privateers", in error (Naber).
- 75 Blois. Belois: Wintergerst does not figure in the Muster-Roll of this voyage in The Hague Archives, but as he was now re-engaged the appropriate note would have been made in the "Zion" roll (today missing, cf. note 4 above), the roll of his original engagement. But it is odd that his name was not found in the 1702 and 1703 General Roll of the Company's employees in Ceylon.
- 76 Ferril Island. Fair Island, between the Orkneys and Shetlands. customary check. Cf. note 3 above.
- 77 the windows. Of the typical square stern of the period, lighting the quarters of the Master and senior officials: see Ship* in Index. I will tell. His Fourth Note, at the end of his narrative.
• stormwind. He called it "East" just above, but obviously now it must have been northerly.
- 78 As I told. Page 6 above, where however the allowance of biscuit is somewhat less.
- 79 Elephant Rock. In Vandeloos Bay.
- 80 Trinquemale. Trincomalee; but there was no "Commandeur*" there, only an Administrator. In 1706 this was Upper-Merchant* Nicolaas van (den) Heuvel of Vilno (Lithuania), who came out as Under-Merchant in 1683, taking charge at Trincomalee in 1694 as Merchant*, and becoming Upper-Merchant in 1704. In 1707 he was transferred to Jaffna, becoming Commandeur* there the following year, but in 1710 was called to Batavia to defend his administrative actions. This he did successfully, being appointed Commandeur of Galle in 1718. In 1721 he was allowed to retire to Batavia with rank and pay, at his own request on account of his advanced age.
- 81 Cadiang. Malay word, a general term for pulses. Schreuder mentions that it was rarely bought except for ship-rations.
- 82 copper coins. The shortage of silver suggests an interruption in its supply, probably from Surat. One possible explanation would be the disorders there: in the Political Council Minutes of November 1703 (38, 14/11/03) rumours from there are mentioned, that the Company's "Factory" was more or less besieged and that all its native sailors had deserted, so that no ships could sail, and such rumours were still current in Colombo next March (39, 10/3/04). (Wintergerst also mentions the "siege", in his Chapter XXXV, not here translated.) Another explanation could be that a ship carrying Surat rupees for Ceylon had been intercepted by French privateers (cf. note 63) or had been wrecked on the way (cf. Wilson and Clarke,

- Indian Ocean Adventure, New York 1961); and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that in February 1704 the Political Council (39, 11/2/04) noted their surprise that nothing had been heard by ship from Surat for three months.
- 83 admit none. Because Colombo was unsafe in the south-west monsoon: nevertheless they went on there soon after, the urgency outweighing the risk.
- 84 stay there. The text is difficult: Nun meynten wir es därefft nimmer viel, wir könten im kurtzem allda seyn, ja es waren viele unter uns, welche Lust hatten da zu bleiben. I have read "meynten" as a pluperfect, "allda" as meaning Colombo, and "da" as Trincomalee.
- 85 by night. It is of course impossible that this was in reply to the message of the previous day, rapid as was the lascorin* overland letter-service. Presumably the Governor's orders were to send on any ship that should arrive, and it was mere coincidence that these orders should arrive at that moment.
the Governor. Cornelis Joan Simons, Doctor of Laws in Holland; came out to Batavia in 1690. In 1695 appointed to Negapatam; 1700 back to Batavia as Vice-President of the Council of Justice. Appointed Governor of Ceylon 1703, resigned for ill-health 1707, sailing for Europe on December 16 of that year. (Largely from the translator's notes to this Memoir.)
- 86 roundabout one. To cross the Equator on this voyage certainly seems to merit the adjective.
- 87 Ponto Ceul. Kayalpatnam, where there was a sheltered inlet.
- 88 already written. Incorrect.
- 89 Negumbo. Negombo is 24 English miles from Colombo, 6 Dutch.
- 90 Pont St. Peter. Point Pedro, the most northerly point of Ceylon. There was no Pearl-Fishery there: probably Wintergerst's "where" is intended to refer to Jaffna, but there was none there either. For Point Pedro see also Schweitzer ("Germans", page 64), "a very pleasant place".
- 91 Pearl-Fishers. One of the best descriptions for the period is in Heydt, plate 81 and the text accompanying it: he makes it clearer that the stone is hoisted up after each dive, as Schweitzer ("Germans", page 65) definitely states; and adds the use of oiled cotton etc. for nose, mouth, and ears, as does also Behr ("Germans", page 3), following Saar. Herport (ditto, pages 34, 35) gives the maximum depth as "6 or even 7 fathoms" only. Wolfs has a very full description of the fishery at Kondaichchi (cf. Falk, pages 59, 71). Pybus (pages 19, 20) has figures for 1750-54. For a much later account see Cordiner.
- 92 imitation Holland. "This" means Jaffna: the names are those given by the Dutch to islands etc. near there.
- 93 Adam's Bridge. 20 English miles long, 5 Dutch. The tradition that it formerly connected Ceylon with India is also mentioned by

Herport ("Germans", page 27). Wolfs has it as *built* by Adam, so that he and Eve could stroll over to India.

Adam's Hill. This may mean Mulkirigala, 7 miles NNW of Tangalla, for which see de Jonville, pages 84-86; or the real Adam's Peak. The former was usually known to the Dutch as "Adams Berg": cf. note H/27, "Germans", page 104, and see Heydt plates 75-80.

- 94 Anassa. Pineapple *Ananas sativus*. Early writers (Behr, "Germans", page 6; Saar, Hesse, Heydt, Nieuhoff, Schouten as cited in note 44/66 of that volume) agree that the juice is so acrid that the flesh must be first cut up and soaked in water or wine before eating. The fruit of today has been freed from this defect by continual selection during the centuries since first cultivation.
Sorzac. Dutch zuursack, "sour-jack" (as in HJ), "jack" being Portuguese jaca from Malayalam chakka, *Artocarpus heterophyllus*. Behr ("Germans", page 5) describes it as Sursack, borrowing as usual from Saar (ditto, note 44/53); Herport (ditto, page 32) mentions it as Sursac; Heydt (pages 165, 170, etc.) as Soorsack. Wolfs has a good description, Knox an excellent one. Pybus (pages 27, 46) makes special mention of the "most remarkable Jack Trees" of Ceylon as compared with those of India.
- 95 Arsenal. Text Zeughaus: usually Materiaalhuis in Dutch documents. It had been a Portuguese monastery, standing on the site of the present Gordon Gardens: see Heydt plate 48.
- 96 Bricks. Wintergerst uses "Blatten" (for Platten), which is more usually slabs rather than bricks, but the meaning seems clear.
- 97 Caraccan. *Eleusine coracana*. Compare Heydt, pages 13, 143; Knox Part I, Chapter III.
- 98 above. Page 25.
- 98a punishment. Keel-hauling is also mentioned by Saar.
- 99 above. Page 25, the "brandy for biscuit" trick.

NOTES TO IVES

- 101 van Beaumont. Jacobus Bauman (Bouman, Bouwman) of Haarlem, who came out in 1736 as Under-Merchant*. He served at Colombo, Galle and Mannar, was Envoy to Kandy in 1744, and in 1747 took charge of Trincomalee, dying there as Upper-Merchant* in 1768.
- 102 very large. About 270 by 140 miles.
whole seacoast. Error: cf. note 16 to Wintergerst.

- 103 Euphorbium. *Euphorbia* spp. : there are many varieties.
Tulip-tree. *Thespesia populnea*.
Ebony. *Diospyros ebenum*.
Redwood. Probably *Manilkara hexandra*, Sinhalese Palu.
Cassia. *Cassia fistula*.
Cotton. Kapok, *Ceiba petandra*.
Citron. Here Lemon or Lime.
Teak. *Tetona grandis* ; but there is no definite "black" variety.
- 104 Camphora. Modern botanists find no basis for the statement that the roots of cinnamon, *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*, yield camphor : the Dutch translator adds as a footnote "Whether Mr Ives saw this, or was merely told of it, is doubtful—the best real camphor is found in Sumatra, in the wood of a tree which differs from the *Camphora* of *Linnaeus*. It crystallises on the edge of a saw-cut, and is scraped off and then made into little cakes." (Today it is distilled from the leaves, bark and roots of *Cinnamomum camphora*, the true camphor-tree.) On the other hand Ives is supported by a Resolution of August 24, 1669 (in Johnston's translation, Public Record Office ref. CO 54/124) prohibiting the "distilling of cinnamon and camphire-oil from cinnamon roots", and by Sluysken who states that the roots of three types of cinnamon-tree (but not the best) produce "good camphor". Further, Thunberg also writes that the roots of some types of cinnamon-trees yield camphor; and he was a Professor of Botany.
- 105 Mr. Thomas. Surgeon in H.M.S. Salisbury, one of the fleet.
- 106 Balsam capivi. Copaiba ; but *Copaifera officinalis* which produces this is said to have been introduced into Ceylon in 1880 only.
Lacca. Probably *Croton lacciferus* (as in Tennent), one of the the common hosts for the lac-insect, and also itself producing a resinous yellow wax, used for painting wood.
Gambogium. Gum-resin from *Garcinia* spp.
Cinquenomale. Not identified.
- 107 Badule. Probably from *Semecarpus anacardium*, "Marking-nut", Sinhalese Badulla.
- 108 black chrystal. The Dutch translator notes : "Probably the tourmaline, found here in large quantities".
spar. Calcite, calcium carbonate.
iron, copper ores. Probably sulphide minerals.
- 109 tin. Again probably a sulphide, but not in workable amounts.
- 110 rubies, garnets, &c. But rubies are rare in Ceylon : cf. note 68 to Wintergerst.
- 111 harp-shells. But these are found at Trincomalee (*Harpa conoidalis*, *H. amouretta*), though rare.
ventil-traps. *Epitonium* sp. : the same remark applies.
painted cockles. "Cockles" is of course a very vague term for bivalves of the *Cardium* group, common in Ceylon.
panama-shells. *Oliva* spp. : there are many species in Ceylon.

- 112 creeping leaf. *Pulchriphyllium crurifolium* : Heydt also mentions this (page 146).
- 113 Cavally is horse-mackerel, *Caranx* sp., probably *C. ignobilis*.
Surmullet. The commonest at Trincomalee is *Parupeneus barberinus* ; but there are many others.
- 114 fruits. "Jacks" is jackfruit, *Artocarpus heterophyllus* : cf. Wintergerst page 31.
- 115 Common deer. *Axis axis*.
Guinea deer. Chevrotain, *Moschiola meminna*.
- 116 Nabob. Hindi Nawāb, which from Arabic (HJ).
- 117 image. Ganesha, elephant-headed.
- 118 ant. Cf. Schweitzer, "Germans" page 49.
- 119 fanam. Small coin current in Travancore until quite recently : the word comes via Tamil and Malayalam from Sanskrit (HJ). Thunberg mentions them as "very small gold and silver coin struck at various places on the Continent", and that "the value of them varied". This last point is probably why they did not figure in the table of Money*.
- 120 age. A fair average is 120 years in the best conditions.
- 121 following method. For other and better descriptions see e.g. Wintergerst in this volume, or note V/13, "Germans", page 118.
- 122 Tyger. Tigers are not found in Ceylon : his lengthy description of the Bengal tiger is omitted. The Ceylon "tiger" is the leopard, *Panthera pardus kotiya*.
- 123 spider. *Poecilotheria fasciata*. Heydt (page 146) has a tarantula "as big as a fair-sized hat".
- 124 scorpion. *Palamnaeus indus*. Cf. note 43 to Wintergerst.
- 125 centipede. *Scolopendra morsitans*.
- 126 He says. But this passage does not appear in Knox's "Historical Relation" (edition of 1911).
- 127 a trough. Still practised, with the interesting feature that the planks added are sewn to the tree-trunk hull, not nailed.
- 128 Adam's apple. Not *Mimusops elengi* as in the NED, the fruit of which is edible, but *Tabernaemontana* (formerly *Rejoua dichotoma*). It is also described as poisonous by Wolfs.
- 129 plantain. Here plantago, not bananas.
- 130 pavement. Laterite, kabook*.
trees. By Schweitzer ("Germans", page 78) and Heydt (page 2) they were tulip-trees, *Thespesia populnea* : both admired them as much as did Ives ; as also Saar ; and de Rennefort in his Memoires (Paris 1702)—but of course rows of parked automobiles are far more beautiful.
- 131 ditch. The Lake, then very much more extensive than today.

- 132 Planchard. No further information : probably he was someone employed privately by the Governor and therefore not in the Rolls of the Company's Servants.
- 133 Screwder. Jan Schreuder, born at Hamburg 12/2/1704, came out in 1727 as sailor. Governor of Ceylon from 1757 to 1762, then to the Council of the Indies at Batavia, dying there 16/1/1764.
- 134 James. Commodore, commanding H.M.S. Revenge, in which ship Ives was now serving.

NOTES TO GUYARD

- 201 Guyroye Corlle*. Giruwa Pattus*.
- 202 Famborne. Johan Fredrik van den Borne was born in Berlin, and came out to the Dutch service in 1718 as Sergeant, rising to Captain by 1761. In the next two years he took part in the campaign for the reconquest of the South-East, and was then stationed at Matara, in command. In 1763 (this account) and again in 1764 he went to Yala and Arugam Bay, falling sick as a result, and dying in Colombo in 1765, after being promoted Major.
- 203 Brigantine. Two-masted, probably with two square sails on the foremast but one fore-and-aft or one square sail on the mainmast : probably about 40 crew and 10 guns. The odd name has not been traced.
- 204 Wiasingue. Don Diogo Wijesinha was exiled in 1760 but allowed to return in 1762 (Paulusz) and appointed Mudaliyar* of Matara. Apparently Guyard's criticism of him was justified, since he was deposed in 1765 and again exiled to India, though allowed to return to defend himself the following year.
- 205 Brevagnote. Probably Bhairawa (Siva); and in this case the "Pagoda" was presumably a dewale*.
- 206 Jentillité. Hinduism : cf. Gentoo*.
- 207 Coudantote. Not located : the only bridge on the route here seems to be practically at Tangalla itself.
Godegam. Godigamuwa, shown on the one-inch sheet one mile north of Marakolliya, to which (and to the route) it then apparently extended.
- 208 cartridge-pouch. The Dutch soldier's cartridge-pouch was like a haversack, slung over the right shoulder and resting on the left thigh outside the side-arm (broadsword, cutlass), its top edge just below the hilt of this. Thus the lower edge (and level of the water described) was about half-way from waist to knee.
- 209 the river. Walawe Ganga : the Dutch post here called Valvé was just to the west of it, probably where the Ambalantota Rest House now stands.

- 210 the Commandant. Not identified.
- 211 Chelie. Word not traced : conceivably his spelling of Schilling*.
- 212 league. Actually about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour* (2 English miles) : Duflo, another French officer in Dutch service, consistently uses "league" for "hour" when writing in French, and the Dutch translator of his letters (4894 passim) renders the term thus.
- 213 Panum Corlee*. Today the Magam Pattuwa : see also note 223 below.
- 214 villages. Emelantote is Ambalantota ; Valvé is now the village Walawe, shown on the one-inch map just east of Ambalantota ; Ouandaroupé is Wanduruppe, but today shown on the one-inch map well to the south of the route ; Medegam is Medagama, on the one-inch map about milestone "141 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ; Coumquatie not identified ; Paybok is Payibokka, by the one-inch sheet about milestone "142 $\frac{3}{4}$ " ; Embeintote is Hambantota.
- 215 salterns. The Karagam and Maha Lewayas.
- 216 we passed. Colancal is Koholankala ; Malalla village is shown on the one-inch map near the Malala Lewaya of the quarter-inch sheet ; Bondéla is Bundala ; Magam is Magama, shown on the one-inch map just east of the Kirindi Oya. His route follows the track along the coast, not the trace of the present motor-road.
- 217 Nimalo. The one-inch sheet shows Nimalewa Wewa and Nimalewa Aru, though somewhat inland from the probable route.
Catregam. Kataragama ; but it seems quite inconceivable that he went so far inland, right away from the shortest route. Was it conceivably Kirinda ? and if so, was he deliberately given false information, to mislead the Dutch should they ever have the idea of raiding Kataragama ? The "little hillocks" ("Monticules") of stone suggest ruined dagabas.
- 218 Potekul. More probably "Elephant Rock", "Pattenegale" of the Lotte map 1682-1722 (Survey Collection 73, Brohier plate 9) ; and of Schneider : it is shown on the one-inch map about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the Menik Ganga, but without name.
- 219 camp. Perhaps at the "Good Camp-site" of the one-inch map, just east of the Menik Ganga. No "hill" is shown, obviously because it does not reach the 100-foot contour.
- 220 Conique. Not identified : the name suggests "Koenig."
- 221 benefit. His criticisms are confirmed by the history of the Dutch posts at Yala and Arugam Bay. These were occupied this year 1763 as a result of the English Embassy to Kandy under Pybus in 1762, and to prevent such foreign landings. Owing to the prevalent sickness there they were ordered reduced in strength in February 1764, and evacuated the following month. In August Colombo ordered them to be re-occupied on reports of English Ambassadors having landed on the East coast ; but this was postponed on Matara's representations, and apparently never carried out when it was decided that these reports were merely rumours.

- 222 Aratchies*. But he obviously means lascorins*, the Sinhalese soldiers serving the Dutch (and the King), and not their Sergeants only.
- 223 Donadam. This "super-Korale" has not been found on any map available. Acrepan is the present Akkarai Pattu*, Panum is Panama Pattu. Roüe figures as Roene on e.g. Tirion's 1754 map (Survey Collection 78, Brohier plate 13) as covering both Panao and Jale (Panama and Yala) areas—the name survives as the modern "Ruhuna", used for the South-East in general.
- 224 animals. Stags, *Axis axis*.
Wild Boars. *Sus cristatus cristatus*.
Peacocks, *Pavo cristatus*.
- 225 castes. But Mudaliyars*, Vidanas*, Aratchis*, Muhandirams* are ranks, not castes. "Emanattes" are Mainatos, Washermen (Portuguese word).

NOTES TO FALCK

- 301 Following Paulusz, the abbreviation "H.E." has been used for the Governor, although strictly speaking he was not "Excellency" but "Thoroughly Noble, Highly Estimable".
Schmidt, Pieter Liebert, Upper-Merchant*. Born Utrecht. Came out in 1752 as Under-Merchant. First Storekeeper and Merchant 1765; Chief Administrator and Upper-Merchant 1766. Resigned 1767, died the following year.
Frankena, Arnoldus, "Titular" Lieut.-Colonel (unpaid rank). Born Ijsselmuiden in Overijssel. Came out in 1763 as Captain. In the 1764 and 1765 campaigns and the garrison of Kandy, where he received his promotion to Major. 1766 to O. C. Troops Colombo. 1774 to Batavia as O. C. Troops of the Indies and effective Lieut.-Colonel. Died there 1776.
Moens, Adriaan. Born Middelburg in 1728. Came out in 1751 as Assistent*. Pay-Accountant at Colombo 1762. To Merchant* 1764. This year 1767 to Chief Administrator and Upper-Merchant. 1770 Commandeur* of Malabar. To Batavia in 1781 and Member of the Council of the Indies: Director-General 1784. Died there 1792. (Largely NNBW.)
Cokard. Johan Jacob Coquart. Born Strasbourg. From India. 1765 with the Second French Free Company, and was in the 1766 campaign as Major. 1768 O. C. Troops Galle, 1771 ditto Colombo, where he died in 1786.
Ossenberg. Jan Cornelis van Ossenberch, born at Zwolle. He came out as Sergeant in 1749, and served at Batavia, Bantam, etc., rising to Captain at Ternate in 1760. In late 1765 he was sent to Ceylon as Ritmeester (Cavalry Captain) and "Titular" Major (unpaid rank) to command the Dragoons when Schweinhauber was demoted for acts of indiscipline; and took charge of the Jagers when the Dragoons were abolished (note 303). He died in 1770.

- Massenfeld, Otto Willem. Born Kansebad. Engineer-Captain in 1764; "Fabriek" (approximately Civil Engineer) in 1765—his plans for the new Colombo Hospital, and for Jaffna and Trincomalee forts are mentioned repeatedly. Envoy to Kandy 1771. Released to Holland 1778. With Falck throughout this tour, and probably the compiler of the Journal.
- 302 Paspetal. On du Perron as Pasbijtal, Schneider's Pas betal: the ferry over the Kelani River in Mutwal, suburb of Colombo today.
De Coste, Godfried Leonard, Disava* of Colombo. Born Gera. Came out in 1745 as Sergeant. In 1755 Lieutenant and Envoy to Kandy. 1761 O. C. Tile Kiln, and from Captain-Lieutenant to Captain. 1762 see in Paulusz. 1763 took Puttalam; then to Batavia. 1765 sent from there to be Disava*, Upper-Merchant*. 1766, 1768 again Envoy to Kandy. Died about 1784.
- 303 Jagers. Corps formed in 1764 by selection of good shots from the infantry. When the Dragoons were abolished in 1766 they took over as the Governor's Guard, mounted on State occasions or for tours such as this.
Kranz, Jan Philip. Born Kerslin. Came out in 1760 as Corporal. 1762 Sergeant, 1763 Ensign. In the 1764 campaign and to Lieutenant. 1770 to Captain-Lieutenant, still with the Jagers.
- 304 Moeterajawella. Maturaja Wela of the one-inch map, today a swamp after the failure of the irrigation-project: not named on the quarter-inch map, but near Uswetakeiyawa. De Coste writes: The region of Maturaja Wela is well worth the attention of the Disava*, not only because the well-being of all the inhabitants of Colombo greatly depends on it, but also because if it is well cultivated it can yield to the Company six times as much paddy-tax as does the whole of the Disavony* of Colombo today.
Dantagama. Dandugam of the one-inch map, 1½ miles north of Ja Ela.
- 305 Dope. Toppotota of the one-inch map, where the bridge is today. Tammeraville. Tambarawila of the one-inch map, at milestone "28" of the Dankotuwa road. The river is the Maha Oya.
- 306 Taboe. Tabbowa, today a mile east of Nattandiya, but at that date probably extending to include that village.
this route. Via Dankotuwa, Kirimetiya (of the one-inch map, and shown by du Perron as on the road), Mawila.
frontier-demarcation. One of the terms of the 1766 Treaty was that the Dutch should hold *de jure* all the coasts to a depth of "one Singalese mile more or less", and that the boundary should be marked. The straight-line borders of administrative districts today from Singakkuliya northwards preserve this demarcation. By de Coste Guyard surveyed and mapped this boundary, as also all the Company's lands from the Maha Oya to the Bentota River (i.e. the Disavony* of Colombo), especially as regards the roads and rivers in them.

- 307 shore-road. Via Dummaladeniya, Ulahitiyawa, neither shown on the quarter-inch map, then Marawila, Toduwawa. This is the only route shown by Schneider, whereas du Perron shows "Todoeawe", but no shore-road through it.
- 308 Manigelle. Maningala of the one-inch map, near milestone "7½" of the "frontier"-road.
- 309 the Commissioners. They were changed frequently : at this date probably Imhoff and Kuhn.
Johan Wolfgang Imhoff was born in Berlin, and came out in 1747 as a sailor, rising by 1763 to Captain at Trincomalee after service at Galle and Colombo. 1765 was with Medeler's relief-column for Kandy, 1766 with Duflo. Then O. C. of Puttalam. Died 1769.
Johan Ernst Kuhn was born in Hesse-Darmstadt, and came out in 1764 as Engineer-Lieutenant : he was in the 1765 campaign and the Kandy garrison, making a plan of that city. He worked on the reconstruction of the Trincomalee forts, and in 1783 became O. C. Artillery Colombo, and Engineer-Captain ; in 1787 O. C. Artillery of Ceylon.
- 310 Near there. "There" appears to mean Madampe, but the "Old Town" of the one-inch map, 1½ miles south-west of the railway-station ; and if so the "river" is the Kadupitiya Oya, alias Lunu Oya.
- 311 Sjlilauw. The summary (2743, a despatch to Batavia) has : The field-work or barricade of Sjlilau (one hardly knows what to call it) now has 36 Europeans and a half-company of Sipahis*, about 50 strong. It is badly sited, the river being invisible from it. A better site was selected, near the sea, on a convenient height and with good water, and orders given for the building to be started after the south-west Monsoon, although the construction will be slow since few workmen are available. At present it has merely low sandy walls, with feeble palisades here and there [but reports by the O. C. in 1765 (4987, 3/3 ; 4898, 20/4) mention also fascines], and the buildings are nothing but mud with coconut-leaf roofs.
- 312 Oedempekarre. On Schneider as Oedoepencarre, today Udappuwa, at the outlet of the "lake" of the next entry, the road running very close to the sea, through Karukkuponai (as in de Heere : one-inch map due west of Bangadeniya), Schneider's Karkoepane.
- 313 Lake of Putulang. Swamps today.
- 314 tanks. Text Zangen, from Portuguese tanque. The word is still in use in Ceylon (and, inexplicably, in Australia) for man-made pools. "baldheads". Text Kaalkoppen. Schweitzer ("Germans", page 56) lists these among the fresh-water fish, and describes them so fully that the identification there with *Tor khudree longispinus* is certain. Falck's text here however suggests that sea-fish are intended, in which case they are not identifiable.
- 315 Oenewile and Palewite. Unaveli (on one-inch map) and Palavi (quarter-inch), the latter also shown by du Perron and Schneider. By Schneider the route was via Andimunai (as in de Heere : one-inch

- map a mile north of Udappuwa), Kattaikadu, and Perukkawattan, crossing the waterway at the last-named, Schneider's Ambeville; but perhaps instead by the modern route, not on Schneider, turning east at Udappuwa and north again at Kiriyankalli.
- 316 swamp. Near Mangalaweli.
- 317 evaporation. Text Uitwatering, literally "outwatering".
- 318 some years ago. Puttalam was occupied and the fort built in January 1763.
close inspection. The summary (2743) has : "The view from the fort at Putulang is very restricted, like that from Sjlilau, and the buildings are as poor as there, though the ramparts here are somewhat better A better site was found a full half-hour* [over a mile] northwards, with a good view over the lake towards Kalpetti, and free of the stench caused in the present fort when the water of the lake recedes but on my return Captain Imhoff [note 309], the officer in command there, advised [presumably by letter, as the return-journey did not pass through Puttalam] that no good water was to be had there, so that it was decided to leave the post where it now is, bettering the ramparts by covering them with grass-sods, and replacing the mud buildings by stone". Haafner (in 1782) writes of "a small fort still in tolerably good condition, but quite forsaken and miserable", the garrison of fifty quartered in the village.
- 319 unhealthiness. See for example 4941, 18/1 "the poisonous and malignant Putulang fever".
- 320 arrived. The words "by land" may apply to "arrived", but more probably (as translated) to the onward journey, in which case they presumably came by sea to Puttalam.
- 321 Wolfarth, Christian Konstantijn (better Wohlfarth, as in his signature) was born in Dresden and came out as a Surveyor in 1762 ; but was transferred to the Infantry as Commanding-Sergeant, being promoted to Ensign the following year. He served in the 1764 campaign and rose to Lieutenant, being posted to the newly-formed Jagers of note 303. He was in the 1765 campaign and in the garrison of Kandy, being promoted to Captain-Lieutenant that year and to Captain in 1767. 1769 O.C. Negombo. 1771 acting as "Fabriek" (note 301). 1773 expedition to Coromandel (3403). 1778 Major, 1781 "titular" (unpaid) Lieutenant-Colonel. 1785 on the Council of Justice at Batavia.
Aleman. Barent Aleman (or Alleman) of Ligtenvoorde. He came out in 1756 as Upper-Surgeon, and in 1759 was appointed Chief Surgeon at Colombo : he was still there in 1779, having taken no part in the 1764-66 campaigns.
- 322 Salinge. Schneider's Salinse, du Perron's Tschalinge, not on the modern maps.
- 323 small streams. Near milestones "4" and "5".
- 324 wide river. ?the Kala Oya or the Pan Ela.

325 Modrogamme. Du Perron's Moderagamo, Schneider's Marchicate, today Marichchukaddi, just across the Modaragam Aru, the river mentioned. De Heere adds here the Amutavai Villu (one-inch map about milestone "38½"), probably the tank of Falck's text.

Schorer, Jan Willem. Born at Middelburg. Came out in 1755 as Assistent*. In 1763 became Administrator of Mannar as Under-Merchant*; 1769 Administrator of Trincomalee and Merchant*, dying there 1779 as Upper-Merchant*.

326 at a tank. De Heere mentions here the Alam Villu (one-inch map about 2 miles south of Kondaichchi), probably this tank.

Pearl Fishery. The Commissioners were Borwater and Raket by the entry for May 18. By the summary (2743) Captain-Lieutenant Anjou was in command of the troops: by this they consisted of 105 Europeans and the Easterner* Company of Soera Magala; and (although Moor* spies sent from Negombo reported all quiet in the Kandyan "Seven Korales" just across the border) the Commissioners were authorised to call for the Sipahi* Company of Sjech Hossein which had been sent from the Jaffna garrison to Mannar so as to be handier, and also if absolutely necessary all the 150 Easterners and Sipahis from the garrisons of Puttalam and Kalptiya.

Jan Hendrik Borwater was born at Tiel. In 1743 he was dismissed as Cadet from a Dutch regiment in Holland, and came out in 1744 as Sergeant. Changing over to civilian employ he was Storekeeper at Ternate in 1749, and Bookkeeper of the Arsenal at Batavia in 1755. In 1764 he was sent to Colombo as Fiscaal* with the rank of Under-Merchant*. He was an Envoy to Kandy in 1769, and still Fiscaal in 1772. He died at Colombo in 1784.

Bartholomeusz Jacobus Raket was born in Jaffna, and taken out there in 1737 (or 1739) as a soldier: probably in reality a junior clerk ("Soldaat-bij-de-pen") since in 1740 he was Assistent*, rising in 1751 to Under-Merchant*, in 1761 to Merchant*, and in 1770 to Upper-Merchant* as Chief Administrator at Colombo. In 1777 he became Commandeur* of Jaffna, resigning in 1793 when his brother Mattheus Petrus succeeded him. In this year of Falck's tour he was the Trade Accountant at Colombo. He lived on into British times, and in 1807 was residing in Colombo.

Karel Anjou was born at Minden, and came out in 1756 as a soldier, rising to Ensign in 1761, to Lieutenant in 1762. From 1763 to 1765 he was stationed at Puttalam, either as O. C. or as Second-in-command. In 1766 he was with Dufflo's expedition to Matale which ended the war. It is odd that Falck should refer to him here as "Captain-Lieutenant" since his promotion to Captain figures in 1766.

327 jaggery*-palms. Here Palmyra, *Borassus flabellifer*. See also Behr ("Germans", page 5), Heydt (pages 174, 175).

328 Don Diogo. Mooyart mentions this "Don Diogoe Poevinelle Mapane", adding that all the Wannias are "very vain and conceited" and that Don Diogoe "excels in this respect". For him see also codex 2903.

329 Aripoe. But Arippe is 6 miles distant. Du Perron shows the "Veldschanz" (Fieldwork) there as not on the main route but down a sideroad to the west.

330 Brohier, Jan. Born in Jersey (?). He was the "Chief Engineer of the English Company in Bengal", and was taken into Dutch service in 1761 as Artillery- and Engineer-Captain, especially for the fortification-works at Jaffna and Trincomalee. Batavia ordered his discharge because the "Lords XVII" (the Directors in Holland) disliked having foreigners in senior posts, but Colombo retained him, both because of his efficiency and because he already knew too much. He was at Jaffna for the rebuilding of the fort from 1766-69: the phrase "in charge" must mean in charge of this, since Lebeck was Commandeur* there.

Rheeder. Frederick Willem Baron de Reeder. He served under Frederick the Great as Lieutenant-Colonel, but came to Ceylon in 1763 as Ensign, being promoted to Captain that year. He was in the 1764 campaign and received promotion to Major; but in 1765 took part only in the first month of the campaign owing to sickness, then remaining as O.C. of Gonawila, and until the evacuation in 1766. He then became O.C. Troops at Jaffna, after having refused the Administratorship of Trincomalee owing to his advanced age. He died there in April 1769, his memorials being in the Dutch Church (Lewis), from which he bore argent a wheel, crest a similar wheel (obviously canting).

Rose. Christian Rose was born in Neu-Rüppin (Brandenburg). At this date he was a member of the Jaffna Council, having been a Commissioner for the Pearl-Fishery of the previous year. By 1769 he was Commandeur* of Jaffna. His wife (of the text) was one of de Reeder's daughters.

331 the road. Not definitely identifiable: probably via Vankalai and Talladi, Schneider's Bangale (which was also on Haafner's route) and Tallalie. Du Perron gives no help here.

332 Moesele River. The Aruvi Aru, in Musali Pattu*.

333 tent-thony. Thony with awning: "thony" is an extremely vague word for any smallish vessel, like the English "boat".

Kolombegamme. Not named on the quarter-inch map: near Ariyalai, directly opposite Kalmunai.

Lebeck, Noel Anthonij, Administrator of Tuticorin 1744 (2872 etc.). Chief Administrator Colombo, Ambassador to Kandy 1755: dismissed 1756 (2878) and to Batavia. Sent from there as Upper-Merchant* to be Disava* of Jaffna 1763, and succeeded Mooyart as Commandeur* there in 1766.

334 clerks. The "Pennisten", junior office-staff, in many towns formed a mounted volunteer-militia, armed with pistols. Cf. e.g. JCBRAS 1956, page 145.

works in hand. For Jaffna before these see Heydt plates 84-8, also (for 1678) Schweitzer ("Germans", pages 62, 63).

- Naloer. Nallur, "the situation of which is enchanting beyond description" Haafner says, adding that it was a favourite place for picnics.
- 335 straight line. Elephant Pass is shown on the quarter-inch map, the two others on the one-inch only: Pas Pyl is on the seashore near Mulliyān, Pas Beschutter half-way between the other two.
- 336 Williwaije. Not on du Perron or the Survey maps: Schneider's Williewayel, near Valayanmadam.
- 337 Oewenempoettie. Not on the Survey maps: by the times must have been about at Mullaitivu.
- 338 Tinnerennewaddi. Approximately the present-day Kaddukkulam Pattu*, named for Tennamaravadi on the west side of Kokkilai Lagoon.
- 339 Sacristan. Text Voorleezer, the term used for lay-preachers of the Dutch Reformed Church.
- 340 stockade. Text Pagger, from Malay. Jaggery*-tree see note 327.
- 341 a lagoon. The outflow of the Nayaru Lagoon, but today (and on Schneider) considerably further from Alampil.
- 342 Imhoff, Gustav Willem Baron van. Governor of Ceylon 1736-40, Governor-General at Batavia to his death in 1750 (NNBW). His Diary is codex 2729. Heydt has many mentions of him, always laudatory.
Hérons. Any or all of Eastern Grey, Great White, and Pond Herons, respectively *Ardea cinerea rectirostris*, *Egretta alba modesta*, *Ardeola grayi*.
"louse-catchers". The Cattle Egret, *Bubulcus ibis*, which deticks cattle.
Pelicans. Probably the Grey (Spotted-billed) Pelican, *Pelicanus roseus*.
- 343 cape. Not shown even on the one-inch sheet.
- 344 Kompatimodoe. Not on the Survey maps: Schneider's (somewhat illegible) Kombananawa.
- 345 Kalercwoe. Kallarawa: the other two not on the Survey maps.
- 346 Trinkonomale. The Kallarawa stream ("Ferry" on the quarter-inch map) was the boundary according to du Perron's map.
- 347 Ottewellie. Not on the Survey maps, nor Schneider.
- 348 six lagoons. Unnamed on the Survey maps: with Malliaer cf. Schneider's Malliartode.
- 349 Salt River. ?the lagoon-outflow near Uppuveli.
- 350 Diederich, Anthonij. He was not Commandeur* but Upper-Merchant*. Born The Hague. Came out in 1741 as soldier. At Kalpitiya 1743-45, Colombo 1746, Galle then to 1750; Under-Merchant 1751. Lieutenant-Disava* of Matara from 1754, of Colombo from 1759: Envoy to Kandy 1758, 1759. Administrator

- of Mannar and Merchant* 1762, relieved sick 1763. In charge of base depots for the 1764 and 1765 campaigns. Trade Accountant Colombo in 1766, then to Administrator of Trincomalee and Upper-Merchant. In 1759 to Disava* of Jaffna, and died there that same year.
- 351 Water Pass. Below Fort Ostenburg by the entry of the next day, as also on Schneider's map.
- 352 a few years ago. There are repeated mentions of plans for such rebuilding in the despatches to Batavia: e.g. 1192, 17/5/65 mentions plans by Boré, Brohier, and Paravicini studied by Daalhof, Kuhn, and Massenfeld.
- 353 "Right-across-the-Way". Text Dwaars-in-de-Weg: today Little Sober Island.
"Old French Battery". On "Company Island" by the entry for the following day: today Great Sober Island. The French were there in 1672 and attacked the main Fort, occupied by the Dutch since 1665, but were thrown out by the Dutch when their supporting fleet had to sail for lack of provisions.
- 354 the Engineer. Massenfeld: see note 301.
- 355 some heights. Where the Survey Benchmarks now stand.
- 356 Kootjaer. Koddijar: by du Perron and Schneider at Muttur. The post was too far inland because on the site of an earlier Dutch fort, "some 80 or 100 years ago [actually occupied in 1668], now demolished" (2743). Cf. Simons "Cotiaar, where we no longer have a garrison", also map 5 of the Survey Collection, Brohier page 117. Du Perron shows at Muttur a rectangle with the word "Bedoure", unintelligible but apparently meaning this old fort.
Tamlegamme. Tampalakamam: via Vayiruttu or Kapalturai and then Vannaital.
- 357 Kattawaritjaer. Kaddaiparichchan: the Aru is the small stream connecting with the lagoon on which this village stands.
Pallikoedieripoe. Pallikudiyirippu, a mile north of Toppur.
Ilengetorre. Ilinkaiturai: the river here was the boundary of the Koddijar district (2743).
- 358 Tsjedaraweele. Not found on any of the maps available, including Schneider.
- 359 Kaladiekoe diripoe. As last entry.
- 360 crossing. Further inland than today, and further south, as on Schneider.
- 361 Karemoné. Not found on the Survey maps. By du Perron and Schneider well inland, about at the D of "Ford" south of Kokkaville on the quarter-inch sheet; and Schneider's route then continues well away from the sea, perhaps through Vakaneri and Chantiaru; but if so from this latter place still southwards, not to the ferry of the present motor-road.
- 362 katjemenel. Katapanel: see de Jonville page 79.

- 363 Chiviassen. Chivia (Tamil), palanquin-bearer.
- 364 Apelamone or Moerkandivoe. Not on the Survey maps: probably about at Puddakarachai—cf. the Murukkadivu Kulam shown near there on the one-inch sheet. Du Perron shows an "Appallamoenne" but it seems too far north to be this halt.
- 365 Sirnaeijen Palaroe. Not identified: one of the many streams flowing east to fall into the Valaichchenai Aru and so into Vandeloos Bay. But Falck writes (2743) that the "river Naloere", the estuary of the Valaichchenai Aru itself (note 368) was the boundary of the Batticaloa district.
- 366 Administrator. Adrianus Johannes Francke, born at Sluis in 1734. Came out in 1756 as Assistent* and then served at Colombo (chiefly in the Arca Department) until 1767, when he took charge of Batticaloa as Under-Merchant* after Jan Christiaan Pfeiffer had been deposed for despotism and extortion. Falck mentions (2743) his good relations with the local Chiefs, in contrast with his predecessor. In 1773 he was promoted to Merchant* there, but died at Colombo in 1784.
- 367 some years ago. Late 1763 (4864, 14/10). Falck adds (2743) that this camp was "a miserable Pagger [stockade] of palisading", and that the "river Naloere" (next entry) lay a little to the north of it. By this and the map in codex 4895 dated 29/9/63 the Dutch "Venloos Bay" is not the "Vandeloos Bay" of the present maps, but a far smaller bay about a mile north-west of the Rest House at Kalkudah.
- 368 large river. The Valaichchenai Aru, crossed close to Chittandi-kudi. The Survey maps do not show the separate arms.
river Naloere. The estuary of the Valaichchenai Aru, as on Schneider.
Kommandoere. Kommaturai of the one-inch map, about mile-stone "10".
- 369 villages. Wannawille not identified; Maijlambalwille cf. May-lambavelly Estate; Tannamoene is Tannamunai; Kinblamaddo cf. Kumbalamadu Estate; Tjatrakonda is Chaturukondan; Kottekolam is Kottukulam; Oerenie is Urani; Setoekoetave not identified; Kotemone is Koddamunai. Of these only Tannamunai and Urani are shown on the quarter-inch map, but obviously all lie along the Eravur-Batticaloa road.
the island. Falck (in 2743) uses the old name of Poliandivo (Puliyantivo); it was occupied in 1668.
- 370 Kalette. Schneider's Kalladiewille, today Kallar.
- 371 Siampandoere. Saintamuthuru of the one-inch sheet, just north of Karativu, on an inlet extending to there. At that date (as on Schneider) the present swamp and irrigated paddy-fields inland from there were all part of the lagoon which extended north to Batticaloa. (Not Sammaturai, since this place then lay on that lagoon, as in Survey Collection map 12, Brohier plate 45, and not a mile away from it as in the text.)

- 372 "Equipage-Opziender". Wharf-Overseer or Harbour-Master. Fire-worker. Artillery rank, equivalent to Ensign of Infantry.
- 373 Pandiripoe. Pandiruppu, shown on the one-inch sheet about mile-stone "23 $\frac{1}{4}$ " of the Batticaloa-Kalmunai road.
Mardamoene. Marutumunai, about "27 $\frac{1}{2}$ " of the same.
Nilawane. Not on the Survey maps: Schneider's Nilaveny.
- 374 patjallang. Indonesian term for a small sailing-vessel drawing about 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Her name was "'t Haase" (2743).
- 375 plans and specifications. Not in the Ceylon Archives, probably as being too secret.
- 376 barks. A vague term, probably one- or two-masted vessels about 75 feet long and 11 feet draught.
- 377 Orangbai. Malay term, used here in the sense of State Barge. Heydt uses the term repeatedly (pages 81, 153, 177) for the sedan-chair or palanquin as used in Java.
Elephants' Bridge. See Heydt (page 75) "the elephants which are sold to Bengal and the Coromandel Coast are loaded on ships, for which purpose a fine pier or Hooft has been built there [on Karativu island: cf. his page 107] into the sea, from which they can be carried away in the large vessels".
Hammenhiel. Heydt has views and a description (plates 82, 83, pages 75-8).
- 378 the commandant. Thomas Thornton. Born at Dordrecht. Sent as Under-Merchant* by Batavia in 1762: from 1763 in charge of Kalpitiya, which was seized and fortified in 1659, rebuilt in 1676.
- 379 Not long before. In April 1766 Falck had ordered that no work was to be done on the fort other than patching it up.
irregularly. In the sense of "not according to the rules of military architecture". The criticism applies especially to the side towards the lagoon, where the corner-bastions do not give enfilading fire on attackers of the wall, although this is the proper purpose of such bastions. It is obvious that no drastic rebuilding took place (in spite of the text), since this defect subsists today.
- 380 Navikarre. The shore-road was now taken from Kalpitiya to Chilaw, the rains of the south-west monsoon having made the inland route almost impassable (2743). De Heere took this route in both directions, mentioning Kuravankudil (on one-inch map half a mile south of Nuraicholai), Navatkadu, Sima Toduwa (one-inch map WSW of Tetapolai), Kandatoduwa (ditto, due west of Mudukadu), Andimunai (ditto, one mile north of Udappuwa).
- 381 Stelle. By the text part of the Maturaja Wela irrigation works.
- 382 Political Council. The governing body for Ceylon, under the Governor; although (Simons) there was in theory a "Council of Ceylon" above it, but very rarely called to session.
good health. Falck writes (2743): By God's blessing not one European had to be left behind during the whole tour.

NOTES TO DE JONVILLE

- 401 canal. The waterway was natural from the Colombo Lake, then very much more extensive than today, to the Bolgoda Lakes; and this "canal" ran from the southernmost of these near Panadura to the main course of the Kalu Ganga, but appears to have been little more than an improved delta-arm of this river. It was in use from Colombo to Kalutara even as late as 1764 (e.g. 1809, 7/9/64): see also Heydt page 24. De Coste mentions the part of this waterway from Kotte to the Bolgoda Lakes, calling it (in 1770) the "newly-dug passage", and ordering that it must be cleared and made navigable each dry season, by the local people without payment.
- 402 tamarind tree. Shown, as also the "path from Marendahn," on the Mathysz map, Survey Collection 61 (Brohier plate 35); but de Jonville's "one mile" must be from the ramparts, since the tree stood about at the Kollupitiya traffic-lights, near milestone "2". The tree is also mentioned by de Coste, as marking the limits of the Colombo district ("the Four Gravets"), and as a lascorin*-post. Various writers of early British times also mention it (Cordiner; Pridham in his Ceylon, London 1849; etc.) but as the goal of an early-morning ride or walk, to drink toddy there.
403. Ratmallané. But Ratmalana is between Mount Lavinia and Moratuwa.
- 404 this river. The Panadure River of the one-inch map, unnamed on the quarter-inch one: mouth at Panadura.
- 405 small branch. Now the main channel of the Kalu Ganga.
- 406 Vetakeia and Dounakeia. Sinhalese names for the Screw-pine, *Pandanus spp.* (not *Bromelia*). Knox (Part I, Chapter IV) also uses the name Dounakeia.
- 407 Amarillis. Probably *Molineria leptostachya* or *Cucurliigo orchoides*.
- 408 north-west. Residency Hill, north.
- 409 storehouse. This is shown on the 1790 map, Survey Collection 68, Brohier plate 39.
- 410 Bangale, Bangalo. Here a Restshed for visiting dignitaries, Sinhalese maduwa: elsewhere called "Mandoe*".
- 411 standing figure. The "Kusta Raja" statue, probably a Mahayanist representation of Avalokitesvara, a Buddha-to-be. It is mentioned by Baldaeus ("at least six Yards high": it is four); by Percival in his Account of the Island of Ceylon, London 1805; etc.
- 412 Southvi Pitaké. Sutta Pitaka: the cobra is in the "Introduction to the Jatakas" in that volume; but it was during one of the weeks of meditation after the Buddha's Enlightenment, and not during a pilgrimage. The legend of the Buddha's gigantic stature is of course ridiculous, repeatedly contradicted by passages in the Texts.
- 413 Agrabodhē Viharé. The Agrabodhi Vihara, "Supreme Botree*", said to be named for a King of some 2000 years ago. It is described by Cordiner; Davids in JCBRAS 1870-71; Nevill in Taprobanian

- 1886-87; Pridham in his Ceylon, London 1849; Gooneratne in Ceylon National Review 1908; etc. The paintings of horsemen are still to be seen.
- 414 Katregam. Kataragama; but none of the headwaters of the Nilwala Ganga rises there.
- 415 Ruyberg. Presumably "Rooieberg".
Hodakarré. Not traced.
gneiss. Probably weathered garniferous gneiss, the "nuclei" being weathered garnets rich in iron.
- 416 Veheregampittie. Weragampitiya of the one-inch map, a mile NNE of Matara.
- 417 dictionary. But the first published appears to be that of Callaway, Colombo 1821.
- 418 the priests. He is making the point that the women mentioned are not the temple-girls of certain Hindu temples of that date.
- 419 Attourellié. Aturaliya; but it is ten miles from Matara, even as the crow flies.
- 420 Naimankandé. Nayimana of the one-inch map, 2½ miles NE of Matara; the other unnamed on the maps.
- 421 Bandarattotté. Bandattara of the one-inch map, 3 miles NE of Matara; "the river" is the Nilwala Ganga.
- 422 Kirellé. Sinhalese kirilla, *Sonneratia caseolaris*.
- 423 Manda Val. Probably *Merrenia spp.*, Sinhalese madu.
- 424 arches. "Pandals" today, a misused term. Cf. e.g. Knox page 147, Heydt plate 61, "Germans" opposite page 32.
white cloths. Cf. Knox Part II, Chapter I.
- 425 Badalvanassé. Sinhalese name for *Lycopodium cernuum*.
- 426 Eraboudous. Sinhalese erabadu, *Erythrina variegata* (formerly *E. corallo dendron*).
- 427 pattoc. Weligama Korale* and Gangabada Pattuwa*.
- 428 Poretotte. Not shown even on the one-inch map, but figures on the 1800 Lorensz map (Survey Collection 24, Brohier plate 41) half a mile south of "Geddipiele" (Gedippala, de Jonville's Godepitti) or approximately at Howpe, 2½ miles north of Akuressa.
- 429 Karticeya. The god of Kataragama, Hindu Kartikeya or Skanda, god of war.
- 430 Velihene. Welihena of the one-inch map, a mile south of Bopagoda, but more probably to his right. The river is still the Nilwala Ganga: he was now about 12 miles from the sea and about 100 feet above sea-level.
- 431 burn the bush. "Chena" cultivation, one of the most primitive forms of agriculture, but still practised today.
- 432 Natchini. Naccini in Tamil, Kurakkan in Sinhalese, *Eleusine coracana*.

- 120 TRAVELS IN CEYLON
- 433 Horé. Sinhalese Hora, *Dipterocarpus zeylanicus*.
- 434 Morva Korle. Morawak Korale* ; but the boundary today is practically at Bopagoda.
- 435 mountain. With Morawaka Bench-mark at 2377 feet.
- 436 in its shade. More especially because the Buddha attained Enlightenment while seated under one.
- 437 Baniantree. But this is *Ficus bengalensis*, whereas *F. religiosa* is the Botree.
- 438 latent. *Sic* : "les eaux ou couvant les Eaux."
- 439 "Varisses". No such Sinhalese or Tamil word has been traced : it suggests a corruption of some Hindi word allied to Barish, "rain", as designating unirrigated ricefields.
- 440 Kerevebevoulé. Not identified : cf. Berebebula Estate of the one-inch map, though well away from this day's route. Possibly the hill near milestone "43", but it is by no means certain that the modern trace was followed.
- 441 wild Jak. There is no distinct "wild" species, all being *Artocarpus heterophyllus*.
Milillé. Sinhalese Milla, *Vitex pinnata*.
- 442 tree-fern. Not identified. The Sinhalese name kinihiriya usually refers to *Cochlospermum gossypium*, which is not a tree-fern.
- 443 with rice. Probably about milestone "42".
kitouls. Sinhalese kitul, *Caryota urens*.
Hakouru. Sinhalese hakuru, jaggery*. See also Knox, Part I, Chapter IV.
- 444 torrent. Not identified.
- 445 Bali. For a very complete description see Wirz, Exorzismus und Heilkunde auf Ceylon, Bern 1941.
- 446 mountain. Not identified.
- 447 Barnade. Obviously Siva under the name Bhairawa : cf. the deformation of this, with an intrusive N, in the "Berendi Kovil" at Sitavaka.
- 448 canal. The Urubokka Channel, constructed about 1787. On the quarter-inch map the water-course at Urubokka looks like a north-flowing tributary of the stream (on the one-inch map called "Urubokka Ganga" and then "Siyambalagoda Oya") which flows south-westwards to join the Nilwala Ganga below Morawaka. It is in reality this canal, and flows southwards, having stolen water from that stream, to enter the Giruwa Pattus* and so past Ranna to the sea.
- 449 Oulangdoukandé. Hulankanda, not named on the one-inch sheet, which however shows his route over it as a footpath.
- 450 the col. This is on the boundary of the Morawak Korale* to the west and Giruwa Pattu* West to the east : Katuwana and Marakada are both in the latter, Marakada being shown on the one-inch map on the eastern edge of Udukiriwila Tank. It seems doubtful whether he could have seen so far as any part of the Magam Pattuwa.
- 451 Moulghirigalle. Mulkirigala : see Heydt for plates and a description, also Ferguson in JCBRAS 1911 ; Bassett in Romantic Ceylon, London 1929 ; Cordiner (who duly admired the "stupendous mountain of stone" but astonishingly thought the view from it "like the most beautiful parts of Yorkshire")
- 452 sea-level. The col is about 550 feet altitude, and Katuwana about 350 feet.
- 453 Kouncipunevallé. Kinchigune on the one-inch sheet to the west of Murutewewa ; but more like nine miles from Katuwana.
- 454 the canal. See note 448 above. The route was probably through Julampitiya and then by the minor road to the south-east to join the Middeniya—Wiraketiya road about milestone "2½" ; then crossing this canal on that trace.
- 455 Maracadé, Morakadé. Marakada, see note 450. The height is less than 100 feet above sea-level.
- 456 Detatissé. Ferguson in JCBRAS 1911 gives Saddha Tissa, brother of King Dutugemunu, as the traditional founder.
- 457 iron chain. Still there today, though now as the handrail of the iron stairway which has replaced the difficult rock-scramble of the hill. Actually 592 feet above sea-level.
- 458 hitting. This technique (fairly accurately described here) is still in use in Ceylon today, and there is evidence of its use in Athens of the fifth century B.C., among the early Pueblo Indians and their present-day descendants, in Central Africa and all over Asia today ; and perhaps in Harappa, pre-dynastic Egypt, prehistoric Denmark, etc., so that his surmise about "the ancients" was a well-inspired guess. (See *MAN*, June 1962).
- 459 hunters find. hares. *Lepus nigricollis sinhala*.
deer. *Axis axis*.
wild boars. *Sus cristatus cristatus*.
doves. Ceylon Spotted Dove, *Streptopelia chinensis ceylonensis*.
peacocks. *Pavo cristatus*.
jungle-cock. *Gallus lafayettii*.
- 460 temple. Cf. note 205 to Guyard.
- 461 Deoundere. Dondra. The "pagoda" is the Maha Vishnu Dewale*. According to Paranavitana (The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara, Colombo 1953) the ancient vihara here was probably "founded by Dappula or Dâpulusen of Ruhuna."
The cross-reference of dates is correct.

Isvaré roupé. Isvara rupe, "figure of Isvara (Siva)". astonished. The close connection between dewales* and Buddhist temples persists today in Ceylon; and "astonishes" many Buddhists as it did de Jonville.

462 came here. If he ever did: there is nothing in the Texts to support the legend.

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 Ship. Wintergert's East Indiamen had the Dutch square stern, with windows lighting the quarters of the Master and senior officials (note 77): see e.g. plate 430 in *The Ship*, Landström, London 1961. Three masts, with two square sails on fore and on main (but no topgallants), and a long yard on mizzen, with lateen sail running the full length of the yard (later in the century only on the part forward of the mast) usually also spritsail and spritsail-topsail (later discarded). Probably at least 30-40 guns (though *Belois* had 26 only, page

- 24); and about 60 crew (plus perhaps 100 recruit-passengers—more later of both as larger ships were used). See also Heydt, plates 48, 66. 5-11, 13, 19, 21, 23-31, 33-37, 42, 44, 49, 65, 68-70, 76, 78, 87; 4, 5, 8, 28a (page 34), 62, 63, 75, 77, 81-83, 85, 105, 107, 134, 203, 353, 374, 376, 377
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