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A
HISTORY OF CEYLON
FOR SCHOOLS

I
THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH PERIODS
1505—1796

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FOR SCHOOLS

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH PERIODS
1505—1796

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S. J.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

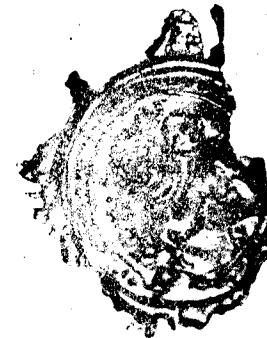
I. Ceylon at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century: 1. Kōttē, 2. Jaffna, 3. Kandy, 4. The lesser states, 5. The Constitution, 6. Justice, 7. Land tenure, 8. Trade, 9. Language. II. Portugal and the Portuguese: 10. Portugal, 11. Indian trade, 12. Discoveries, 13. Sea route to India.

I

CEYLON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1. Kotte

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the island of Ceylon was politically divided into three chief kingdoms: Kōttē, Jaffna, and Kandy, and a number of lesser states. The kingdom of Kōttē was the richest, the largest in size, and the greatest in power. It consisted of the south-west portion of the island, from the central hills to the sea, from the Kalā Oya to the Valavē-Ganga.



The Lion Seal of Kotte

This tract was divided into the provinces of the Seven-Kōralēs, the Four-Kōralēs, the Three-Kōralēs, the Two-Kōralēs (or Denavaka), Rayigama, and Mātara, each of which was governed by a ruler appointed by the king. The king resided at Kōttē, a fortified town with palaces and temples, protected by a moat and walls and battlements. Its name in full was Jayavardhana Kōttē or the 'Fortified City of Victory', and it was situated a few miles from the harbour of Colombo. A site in the proximity of Colombo was chosen probably because of its trade which was in the hands of Muslims, a number of whom lived at the seaports.

The king of Kōttē, as the heir to the traditions and glories of the ancient Sinhalese kings, claimed imperial rights over the rest of the island, and was called the Chakravarti, 'Overlord' or Emperor of Lanka. Once a year each sub-king or prince or ruler of state came to Kōttē with his retinue and tribute for the *Perahēra* or muster of the states. This *Perahēra* was held on sixteen successive nights, and the failure to attend the *Perahēra* was punished with war.

2. Jaffna

The kingdom of Jaffna consisted of the northern peninsula, called Yälppanam in Tamil and Yāpanē in Sinhalese, along with the neighbouring islets, a portion of the adjacent lands, and the sea coast up to the island of Mannār. In the sixteenth century that kingdom was inhabited by Hindu Tamils who had come to this island as conquerors or settlers. Before them it was peopled by Buddhist Sinhalese, as shown by the recently discovered remains of vihāras and dāgabās and by the large number of Tamulicised Sinhalese place-names. About the thirteenth century it grew to be a distinct Tamil kingdom which soon became so powerful as to demand tribute from the other kings. It was, however, reduced to subjection by the king of Kōṭṭē; but by the sixteenth century it had again become independent of Kōṭṭē, though the latter had not ceased to claim imperial rights. The capital of the kingdom was Nallūr, a fortified town with walls and battlements.

3. Kandy

The central highlands consisted of five *ratas* or counties, of (1) Uḍunuvāra including Kōṭmalē and Uda Bulatgama, (2) Yaṭinuvarā, (3) Dumbara, (4) Hārispattuva including Tumpāne, and (5) Hēvāhēta. Together they formed a sub-kingdom known as the Five Raṭas-on-the-Hills, *Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa*, or *Uḍarata* which signifies the 'Highlands'. *Kanda-uḍa-pas-raṭa* came to be called 'Kanda' for short, and its king 'the king of Kanda' by European writers, thus giving rise to the present name of 'Kandy' applied both to the town and to the kingdom. The court of its king was formerly at Gampola on the Mahaveḷi-Ganga, but about 1540 the capital was transferred to Senkaḍagala, afterwards called Maha Nuvara and now Kandy. Its king was always a near relative and tributary of the king of Kōṭṭē. The country was inaccessible, woody and sparsely populated. The inhabitants, like the king, were Sinhalese.

4. The lesser states

Between the kingdoms of Kandy and Jaffna there was a number of lesser states, called collectively the Vanni, and traditionally divided into eighteen districts, under the rule of chiefs called Vanniyārs. Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Pānava, Kottiyār, Yāla, Pālu-gama on the eastern coast, and Puttalam on the west, were also Vanniates.

5. The Constitution

The Sinhalese kings were absolute rulers, whose will was the law of the land. However, it is known that they had a council which had to be consulted on important affairs of state. But

both king and council were subject to the law of Custom, namely, unwritten laws handed down from father to son and determining the rights and duties of kings and princes and people. The government of the country in civil, judicial, and military matters, was conducted by means of headmen. The king appointed the rulers who in turn nominated chiefs who selected the minor headmen over each village or group of villages. It was the business of these headmen to see to the collection of revenue, and the performance of public works, such as the keeping of roads and bridges and tanks in repair; to settle disputes and muster the forces when necessary; all of which was done according to immemorial custom. The most important custom was that of Caste, which regulated the duties and rights of men according to birth. The system of caste existing in Ceylon was not the Brahman system, but the South-Indian or Dravidian system, of which the king of the land was the head and the source. He could reduce a man's caste by forcing him to associate with any caste he pleased. The whole community might also outcaste a man; but neither king nor people could raise a man's caste which is fixed by birth. To settle disputed questions of caste there was a council called the Raṭē Sabhā.

6. Justice

Quarrels between man and man regarding land, inheritance, and the like, were settled by a village council called the Gamsabhāva according to the custom prevailing in the village. But the Gamsabhāva could not enforce its decision on an unwilling member, unless it was ratified by the headman. The Gamsabhāva also distributed among the villagers the public duties necessary for the welfare of the village. The headman inquired into crime, which he punished with fines or imprisonment; all this was regulated by custom. Any one dissatisfied with the decision of the headman might appeal to a higher chief and ultimately to the king. The headman received no pay, but his lands were cultivated for him by the people, who had, moreover, to give him customary presents or *dekum* at stated times.

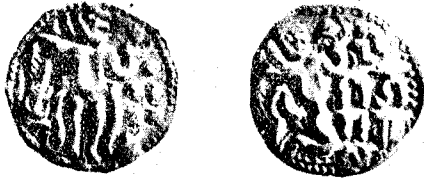
7. Land tenure

The people held land in return for services rendered to the king or on his behalf to the headman. There were royal villages or *gabaḍāgam* which the people cultivated for the king, and *nindagam* or lands given to chiefs. Other lands were cultivated by the payment of a tax, *otu* or *anide*, in produce to the king or chief. All services rendered to the king or the community, such as keeping watch, carrying messages, manufacturing arms, erecting halls for public use, were recompensed by grants of lands, the holders of

which were obliged to perform specific duties at stated times. There were likewise *dēvālagam* and *vihāragam*, lands dedicated to *dēvālayas* and *vihāras* which were cultivated by tenants who had certain duties to render to the *dēvālaya* or *vihāra* according to custom and caste.

8. Trade

There does not appear to have been any cultivation for purposes of trade. Trade was a royal monopoly. The people bartered the produce of their lands for the necessary domestic supplies such as salt, fish, cloth, and the like. Anything beyond this was of no



A Sinhalese Coin

use to anybody, for no man could better his occupation or dwelling or raiment, as all that was settled by the rigid rules of caste. Without trade there was no great need of coins, and the most common coins current at this time were the *Dambadeni Kāsi* and the *fanam* or *panama*.

9. Language

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Sinhalese language had undergone a momentous change. The previous century was a poetic age when some of the best writers flourished, and there was a great diffusion of learning among the people at large. The original purity of the Sinhalese language had been abandoned for a form of composition abounding in loan words from other languages and written in Elu-Sanskrit style, and by the adoption of elegant rhymes in place of blank verse, introduced by poets like Totagamuvē in his *Kavyasēkhara*, *Selalihini Sandēsa*, and *Paravi-Sandēsa*, or *Veṭṭeṭe* in the *Guttīla*, or *Vidagama* in the *Budugumalankāra* and *Lōveda Sangarā*. These led the way to Alagiavanna Mohottāla, the great poet of the sixteenth century.

II

PORTUGAL AND THE PORTUGUESE

10. Portugal

Portugal is one of the smallest kingdoms of Europe. It is situated on the extreme west of that continent and has a long coast line watered by the mighty Atlantic. It first became a separate kingdom in consequence of the spirit of chivalry engendered by the Crusades, for it was previously governed by the Moors, as the Turks of Mauritania were called in Spain. A fierce war was waged between the Celtic inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula and the Moorish armies, and the chivalry of Christendom went to the aid of the Christians. One of these knights, Count Henry of Burgundy, soon became duke of the county of Portugal, which gradually grew into a kingdom by extending its domain. The Portuguese nation thus called into existence began to carry its conquests abroad and stormed the Moorish stronghold of Ceuta in Africa in 1415. This was the first of a series of African expeditions which wasted the boundless energy of the new nation. But one of the Portuguese princes named Henry, son of John the Great and of Philippa of Lancaster, conceived the idea of diverting the trade of Asia and its profits from the hands of the Moors to the Portuguese, by sailing round Africa to discover a sea route to India.

11. Indian trade

At that time the wealth of the East was brought to Europe by a long route. It was carried over land to the Levant or borne up the Red Sea and then carried by camels across Egypt and thence finally to Venice, whence it was distributed over Europe. If it could be brought by sea direct to Lisbon, all the danger and cost would be avoided, and Lisbon would become the market of Europe. Prince Henry, who has been surnamed the Navigator, established an observatory at Sagre, near Cape St. Vincent, and devoted his time and wealth to maritime exploration. He invited the foremost astronomers and mathematicians, perfected the nautical instruments and despatched daring captains on voyages of discovery.

12. Discoveries

The hardy and adventurous Portuguese sailors, bred on the rough Atlantic, set forth year after year and explored the west coast

Africa. They discovered the island of Porto Santo in 1419, Madeira in 1420, the Canary islands and the Azores in 1431. Continuing the explorations with great perseverance, they reached Cape Branco or the White Cape, the Senegal River, and Guinea in 1445, and Cape Verde in 1446. Meanwhile there arose political troubles in Portugal, and the discoveries led to the slave trade. Prince Henry died in 1460; but the gallant captains trained by him carried on the work of exploration, and they crossed the equator in 1471, reached the Congo in 1484, Algoa Bay in 1486 having doubled



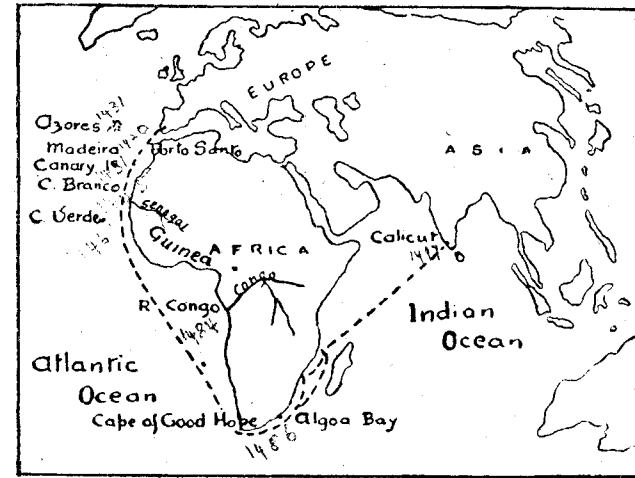
Vasco da Gama

a cape which they named the Stormy Cape but which the king, foreseeing the end of a long attempt, called by the name of Cape of Good Hope, which it still bears. Finally in 1497 Vasco da Gama crowned the hopes of a century by sailing from Lisbon to Calicut in India.

13. Sea route to India

At this distance of time, accustomed as we are to rapid means of locomotion by sea, land, and air, we cannot fully realize the importance of this discovery which linked the East and the West. Hitherto there was little communication between Europe and Asia,

and that little by a tedious and dangerous land route. Consequently the West knew little of the East except marvellous stories of its riches. The Asiatic peoples, separated from Europe by a vast extent of land and sea, had little knowledge of the peoples of the West. When communications were established, the influx was from Europe to Asia, very little or none at all from Asia to Europe. The Europeans who flocked to the East in large numbers were mostly adventurers, soldiers, and merchants, who represented the fierce and lawless elements rather than the better aspects of European civilization and culture. Thus the proverbially unchanging



Portuguese Explorations

East, with its age-long civilization and material stagnation, became the scene of the lusty energy and superior force of the West. Eastern thought, manners, and institutions began to be powerfully affected by the new ideas of war and commerce and religion. And the history of Ceylon for the next three centuries is largely the record of this external stimulus and internal reaction.

The *perahera* of Kotte is described by Father Fernao de Queyroz, s. J. in his *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, translated into English by Father S. G. Perera, s. J., Govt. Press, Colombo, 1930, p. 32. For "Sinhalese Place names in the Jaffna Peninsula", see the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. II & III; for the constitution of the Sinhalese Kingdom see *A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom* by Sir John D'Oyly, Govt. Press, Colombo, 1929; and for land tenure, see *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon* by H. W. Cordington, Govt. Press, Colombo, 1938.

PART I

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD 1505—1658

CHAPTER II

THE KINGS OF KOTTE AND THE
PORTUGUESE 1505—1521

i.	<i>Kings of Kōttē</i> —	
	Vīra Parākrama Bāhu	1484—1509
	Dharma Parākrama Bāhu	1505—1509
	Vijaya Bāhu	1509—1521
ii.	<i>Kings of Jaffna</i> —	
	Pararāsa Sekaran	1478—1519
	Cekarāsa Sekaran (Sankili)	1519—1561
iii.	<i>King of Kandy</i> —	
	Vikrama Bāhu (Jayavīra Bandāra)	

I. **The Coming of the Portuguese** : 14. Arrival of Don Lourenco, 15. Colombo, 16. Muslims, 17. Trade rivals, 18. White strangers, 19. An envoy to Kotte, 20. Portuguese treaties, 21. Reception of the embassy, 22. The end of the factory. II. **The Kings of Kotte** : 23. Vīra Parākrama Bāhu, 24. Dharma Parākrama Bāhu, 25. Malacca, Ormuz and Aden, 26. The first fortress of Colombo, 27. The second treaty, 28. Hostilities. III. **The Partition of Kotte** : 29. Vijaya Bāhu, 30. The fortress rebuilt, 31. Vijaya Ba Kollaya, 32. The Partition of the Kingdom.

I

THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

14. Arrival of Don Lourenco

IN 1505, eight years after Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, when (Vīra) Parākrama Bāhu VIII was king of Kōttē, Vikrama Bāhu, king of the Hill-country, and Pararāsa Sekaran, king of Jaffna, a Portuguese fleet was driven by winds and waves to the island of Ceylon. The captain-major of the fleet was a young nobleman named Don Lourenco de Almeida, son of the first Portuguese viceroy of India. He had set out from Cochin to intercept the richly laden Muslim ships, which, bound from China to the Persian Gulf, were avoiding the usual route now infested by the Portuguese, and were passing by the Maldive Islands. Being caught in a storm, Don Lourenco was tossed to the southern coast of Ceylon unawares and put into the harbour of Galle. When he learnt that this unknown country was the far-famed island of Ceylon, he coasted on to Colombo which he was told was the port nearest to the capital of the island.

15. Colombo

Colombo, then called Kolāmba or Kolomtoṭa, was the chief anchorage for ships and the mart of the island's trade. This trade, chiefly in cinnamon, coconuts, and elephants, was in the hands of Muslim traders, descendants of the seafaring Arabs. They had many storehouses or *bangasālas* in which they stocked their merchandise. The population of the town was largely Muslim, and there was a mosque together with a Muslim cemetery, and a court of justice to settle disputes according to Muslim law. The township lay on the bank of a rivulet, an outlet of the Kelani river, which entered the sea near the modern Pettah. Over the rivulet was a bridge, and large and broad streets intersected the town. At the mouth of this rivulet there was a fairly safe anchorage for ships. The old *bangasālas* gave their name to the modern "Bankshall Street, Pettah."

16. Muslims

The Muslims were an object of hatred to the Portuguese. The latter were Christians, the former Mohammedans, and between the two for many centuries past had raged the wars known as the Crusades. Moreover, the object of the Portuguese explorations was to wrest the trade of India and its profits from the Muslims who had been masters of the Indian seas for many centuries. Nowadays rival traders oust each other by peaceful competition, but in those rough times they did so by sheer might and open piracy. The Portuguese and the Muslims, therefore, fought each other wherever they met, and merchantmen always carried guns and generally sailed together for common help.

17. Trade rivals

When Don Lourenco appeared off Colombo, there were Muslim ships engaged in lading or landing cargo, and all took alarm at the unexpected appearance of the hated rival. The captain-major, however, who had so recently been storm-tossed and had come to hold communication with the king of the country, did not wish to be hostile and assured the Muslims of his peaceful intentions. He had heard of Ceylon, of its spices and elephants and pearls, and his king had even directed his father, the viceroy, to explore Ceylon. Glad, therefore, to have come unexpectedly upon the island, he desired to send an embassy to the king, and sought information from the Muslim captains. They were not disposed to let their rivals know how fruitful and fair this island was, and tried to dissuade the Portuguese commander from entering into negotiations with the Sinhalese king. At their instigation

the townspeople of Colombo set upon a party of sailors who had gone on shore for wood and water, but a volley from the ships' cannon soon cleared the shores.

18. White strangers

Meanwhile news of the arrival of a strange fleet reached the king at Kōṭṭē. According to a Sinhalese chronicle, the *Rājāvaliya*, the message was couched in this form. "There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people, fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets and hats of iron; rest not a minute in one place but walk here and there. They eat hunks of stone¹ and drink blood.² They give two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime. The report of their cannon is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock of Yugandhara".

19. An envoy to Kotte

The king promptly summoned his council and on its advice decided to receive the newcomer. Messengers were accordingly sent with fruits of the country to bid the visitors welcome in the name of the king. Don Lourenco was so pleased with the message that he despatched Fernao Cutrim, one of the captains of the fleet, as an envoy to Kōṭṭē. The royal councillors, however, had thought it unsafe to let the foreigner see that Kōṭṭē was so near Colombo, and the Portuguese envoy was led by a circuitous route, up hill and down dale, for three long days. The people of Ceylon who heard about this ruse thought that the Portuguese were misled, and to this day a circuitous route is called in Sinhalese "as the Portuguese went to Kōṭṭē". But a ship's captain who had found his way over the wide ocean from Lisbon to India, could not be easily deceived in his bearings. Don Lourenco, moreover, had taken the precaution of retaining hostages for the safe return of his envoy, and had agreed to fire a gun at every turn of the hour-glass. From the report of the gun, Cutrim saw quite clearly that he was being led in a roundabout way, but took no notice as no harm seemed to be intended. He was commissioned to pay the commander's compliments and inquire whether the king would enter into a treaty with the Portuguese. Though he did not see the king, or converse with him, he was assured that the king would be pleased to form an alliance. With this message Cutrim returned along with some of the king's people and elephants to conduct an ambassador.

1 Bread 2 Wine

20. Portuguese treaties

Payo de Souza was thereupon chosen by Don Lourenco to wait upon the king and negotiate a treaty. To understand the object of this treaty one must know that the purpose of the Portuguese was trade, and that trade, a royal monopoly. The kings and princes of India were invited to give this monopoly to the king of Portugal, in return for the protection of their shores. If they accepted, a treaty was drawn up expressing this bargain in terms of feudal vassalage. Such a treaty Payo de Souza proposed to the king of Kōṭṭē at an audience. Of this, the first European embassy to a Sinhalese king, there exists a classic description given by the king of Portugal to the Pope of Rome when he announced to the pontiff the discovery of Taprobane.

21. Reception of the embassy

"There was a large hall at the far end of which was a magnificent throne wrought like an altar. On it sat the king, clad according to the fashion of the country and wearing on his head something like horns studded with the fairest gems of the country. Around the king were six men, three on either side, holding lighted candles of large size, and many large silver candlesticks illumined the hall. On either side of the hall, separated by a free passage in the middle leading to the throne, stood a large number of gentlemen and nobles. There the king received our ambassador with great affability and listened to him with great pleasure and granted his requests with great courtesy. He promised to pay annually one hundred and fifty measures of the most excellent cinnamon of that country, and indeed paid the first tribute immediately."

A treaty was duly signed, the king undertaking to give a tribute of four hundred *bahārs* of cinnamon every year, and the Portuguese to protect and defend the ports of the king.

A Factory was set up on the headland projecting into the sea from Galbokka (Anglice "Galle Buck"). By its side was built a small chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence, the name-saint of the captain major. As a token of his visit Don Lourenco caused the Portuguese coat-of-arms to be inscribed on a rock facing the open sea. This memorial still survives, the boulder on which the Quinas or "Fives" of Portugal are elegantly inscribed being now placed on show in the Gordon Gardens, Colombo. Leaving a small garrison behind, Don Lourenco and the fleet sailed away.

22 The end of the factory

The Muslims of Colombo had no intention of letting the Portuguese keep a 'factory' in Colombo. Unlike their own factories which were only storehouses, this new factory was an armed

stronghold of the king of Portugal. The presence of foreign troops, however few, seemed to signify a sort of subjection. Thus it was easy for them to stir up the king and people against the factory. The hostility thus provoked was so great that in 1507 the viceroy gave orders to dismantle the factory and remove the garrison, which was accordingly done. But he wrote to the king of Portugal that it would be good to have a fort in Ceylon, as all ships sailing from Malacca to Ormuz and the Persian Gulf must needs double the island.

II

THE KINGS OF KOTTE

23. Vira Parakrama Bahu

The nominal emperor of Ceylon at this time was Vira Parākrama Bāhu (1484—1509) who was an old man and had entrusted the government of his realm to his sons. The eldest, afterwards Dharma Parākrama Bāhu, ruled at Kōṭṭē; another, Vijaya Bāhu, was at Dondra in the south, Rājasinha was at Menikkaḍavara in the Four Kōralēs, and another whose name is not known at Rayigama. Two of the king's nephews, Sakalakaḷā Valla and Taniya Valla, ruled at Uḍugampola and Mādampē. The two elder sons were rival claimants to the empire and both assert in their grants that they were the Chakravarti of Ceylon in the year 1509, which is apparently the year of their father's death.

Vira Parākrama Bāhu's reign was disturbed in various ways. A Malabar pirate from Kāyalpatanam invaded the north-west coast and fished for pearls in the Gulf of Mannār. The princes of Mādampē and Uḍugampola marched against him with a large force of men and elephants and utterly defeated the Malabars. Vikrama Bāhu, the king of the hill-country, began to assert his independence by withholding the usual tribute, but the prince of the Four Kōralēs invaded his kingdom and demanded the payment of two lacs of fanams and elephants and the king's daughter to wife. Subsequently he made an attempt to invade the Four Kōralēs, but was again subdued by the prince of Uḍugampola and forced to send a pearl umbrella, a conch, a shield, and a necklace.

24. Dharma Parakrama Bahu

On the death of the aged king, the two elder sons disputed the succession. Dharma Parākrama Bāhu, who had been ruling at Kōṭṭē in his father's lifetime and had received the Portuguese

ambassador, had many supporters in Kōṭṭē. Wishing to obtain Portuguese troops to intimidate his brother, he sent a message to the viceroy for troops and offered to give a site for a fortress in Colombo. As the Portuguese were too busy at the time, nothing came of the offer.

25. Malacca, Ormuz, and Aden

The Portuguese were then engaged in trying to oust the Muslim rivals from the Indian waters by erecting fortresses at Malacca, Ormuz, and Aden. Malacca, situated between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, commanded the Indian trade with China. Ormuz commanded the sea route to Basra through the Persian Gulf and the caravan traffic from Basra to Aleppo, Trebizond, and Damascus, whence Venetian ships fetched the Indian products for distribution in Europe. Aden, in like manner, guarded the sea route to Suez whence merchandise was carried by camels to Cairo and down the Nile to Alexandria and finally to Venice. Thus Malacca, Ormuz, and Aden were the keys to the Indian trade.

Afonso de Albuquerque, who had succeeded Almeida as viceroy, made Goa the headquarters of the Portuguese state in India, and fortified Malacca and Ormuz. His successor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, endeavoured to take Aden, but failing in this, he hastened to carry out the orders he had received from his king to erect a fortress in Ceylon, which lay on the trade route to the Far East and was the well-known landmark of Eastern navigation.

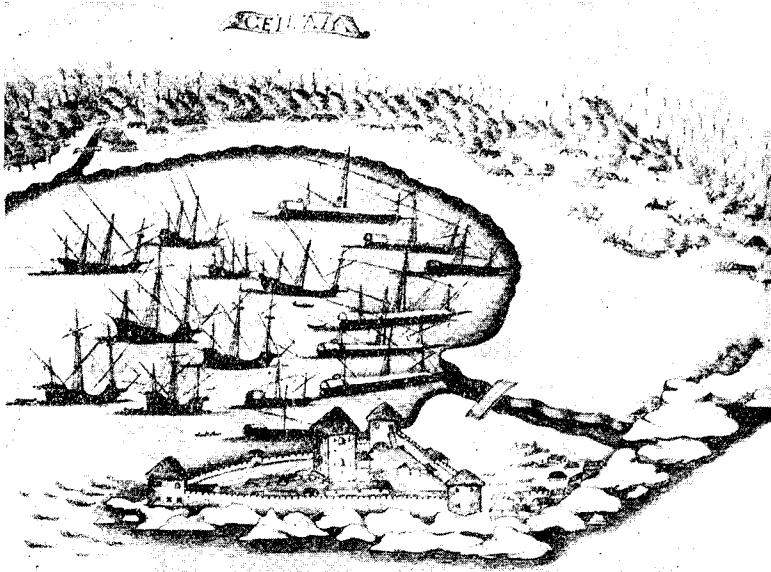
26. The first fortress

In 1518, Albergaria set out with a fleet for Colombo, but contrary winds drove him to Galle, where he remained some time and where he even thought of erecting the fortress. Changing his mind, he came to Colombo and sent an ambassador to Kōṭṭē to announce his arrival and purpose. Dharma Parākrama Bāhu himself came to Colombo to meet the governor who pressed the king for permission to erect a fortress in Colombo against the Muslims. The king promised to grant it after consulting his council. The Muslims meanwhile set to work to avert the calamity: they stirred up the people and the king's councillors, representing to them the danger of letting the Portuguese gain a foothold in the island. As the people had resented even the presence of a factory, they were easily moved to oppose the proposed fortress. Thus, on the instigation of the Muslims, some Portuguese sailors who had come on land were seized, and a stockade was hastily erected on the

site of the former factory and furnished with guns. Next morning volleys from the guns and showers of arrows were directed against the ships. Albergaria returned the fire and, landing with a force, burnt the Muslim quarter of the town and even advanced towards Kōṭṭē. But his men were ambushed and driven to retreat to the ships with some loss, and the stockade was re-erected. The governor then endeavoured to find out whether the opposition came only from the Muslims or from the people of the country as well. A message from the king laid the whole blame on the Muslims.

27. The second treaty

The governor thereupon decided to erect the fortress in defiance of the Muslims. He chose for its site the narrow headland jutting into the sea which now forms the base of the breakwater of Colombo. A trench was cut from sea to sea insulating that portion of land, whereon he built a small fort of stone and mud and supplied it



The First Fort. 1518

with artillery from the ships. When this was done, he called upon the king to confirm the former treaty of vassalage and pay tribute (20). After an exchange of envoys, the matter was settled on the king's undertaking to pay annually to the king of Portugal

four hundred *bahārs* of cinnamon, twenty rings set with rubies, and ten elephants. The Portuguese in their turn undertook not only to protect his harbours but also to help the king against his enemies. Then having placed a goodly garrison, the governor appointed Don Joao Silvêyra captain of the fort (1518—1520) and sailed away.

28. Hostilities

The king's action in permitting the erection of a fort was intensely disliked by the people. An infuriated crowd one night entrenched themselves near the fort and razed a part of the walls. The captain complained to the king, but Dharma Parākrama Bāhu was unable to protect the fort, as the opposition was led by those of his own household. These vexations, helped by foul means, as was believed by the Portuguese, soon brought the king to his end. He was succeeded by his brother Vijaya Bāhu, who determined to call in foreign aid to destroy the fort.

III

THE PARTITION OF KOTTE

29. Vijaya Bahu

Vijaya Bāhu (1509—1521) was unwilling to be openly hostile to the Portuguese and therefore asked one of the principal opponents of the Portuguese in India to attack the fort. This was the rāja of Calicut known as the Samorin, 'Lord of the Sea'. The Samorin sent a Malabar force which, with the assistance of the Sinhalese, laid siege to the fort. Silvêyra was short of provisions, which the townspeople of Colombo would not supply, and his garrison, moreover, was insufficient to give battle to the besiegers. He therefore tried a surprise sally. One night with a small band of picked men he fell unexpectedly upon the besieging camp. Taken unawares at dead of night, the besiegers fled in confusion, leaving the stockade in the hands of the Portuguese, who forthwith demolished the fortifications. Upon this Vijaya Bāhu thought it best to pretend friendship and sent an envoy to Silvêyra to offer congratulations on the success and excuses for not coming to his aid when attacked by the Malabars. As Silvêyra had no order to break with the king, he expressed himself satisfied.

30. The fortress rebuilt

In 1520 the new governor of India, Diogo Lopes de Siqueyra, sent Lopo de Brito as captain of Colombo (1520—1522) with a number of workmen to build a stronger fort. While this was being done, the townspeople refused to supply provisions to the fort, and Brito attacked the town and burnt the Muslim quarter. While the soldiers were busy sacking and plundering, they were suddenly attacked and driven back. The fort was scarcely finished when it was again besieged: Vijaya Bāhu himself now openly declared against the fort. Brito sent appeals to Cochin for help, but two of the messengers fell into the hands of the king and betrayed how hard pressed the garrison was for provisions. Another messenger, however, managed to reach Cochin, and on the return of the Portuguese fleet from the Red Sea, 50 men and provisions were despatched to Colombo. With them Brito attacked the besiegers by land and sea and drove them from their entrenchments. They returned in larger numbers with twenty elephants of war and a force of Malabar cavalry, but were again repulsed; and the victorious garrison again burnt the township of Colombo.

These repeated failures to oust the foreigner told against Vijaya Bāhu. When he was raised to the throne, he married a princess of Kiravella who brought with her a little boy whom Vijaya Bāhu adopted. In order to make this adopted son his heir, he plotted with two of his courtiers, Kandure Bandāra and Ēkanāyaka, against the life of the three sons born to him before he became king. They thereupon fled from court. The two elder sons went to Negombo, and the youngest, a bold and enterprising prince, went to the king of the hill-country whose queen was his cousin. That monarch espoused the cause of the princes and sent a force from the hill-country. With these troops the three princes marched on Kōṭṭē to vindicate their rights.

31. Vijaya Ba Kollaya

When the people of Kōṭṭē also supported the princes, Vijaya Bāhu was forced to sue for peace. The princes demanded the surrender of the two courtiers: Kandura Bandāra was flogged to death, but Ēkanāyaka escaped. Vijaya Bāhu now plotted to assassinate the princes; but the latter, coming to hear of it, forced their way into the city, and plundered the palace, tore open the royal treasure chests and secured the king's silks, pearls, gems, silver and gold. As no man dared to kill the king, the princes hired a foreign assassin to do the deed. This event is known as *Vijaya Bā Kollaya*, the "Spoiling of Vijaya Bāhu".

32. The Partition of the Kingdom

The king of the hill-country and the nobles of Kōṭṭē then held a convention and decided to place the eldest prince on the throne. But it was the youngest who had led the movement. He it was who planned, conducted, and carried out that grim deed, and it was therefore decided to give him a share. The kingdom was accordingly divided, in 1521, into three smaller kingdoms. The eldest son received Kōṭṭē and the sea board to rule with the title of Emperor, and he took the name of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. The youngest was given Sitāvaka, the Four Kōralēs, and Denavaka, with the title of King of Sitāvaka, and he took the name of Māyādunnē Bandāra. The Madduma Bandāra was given the principality of Rayigama with Pasdun and Valallāviti Kōralēs and was therefore known as Rayigam Bandāra.

The most detailed account of the **History of the Portuguese in Ceylon** is in the *Conquista of Queyroz*. D. W. Ferguson has a valuable paper on **The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese** in the *Journal R. A. S. Ceylon* Vol. XIX. with quotations and critical annotations on all available sources. He has also translated the **Decads** of Joao de Barros and Diogo do Couto (*Journal R. A. S. Ceylon* No. XX.) His translation of **Gaspar Correa, Fernao Lopes de Castanheda; Manoel Faria y Souza**, appeared in the *Ceylon Literary Registers*.

For the Dondra inscription of Vijaya Bāhu (*Journal R. A. S. Ceylon* V. No. 16) and the Kelaniya inscription of Dharma Parākrama Bāhu (*J. V. No. 17*) See H. C. P. Bell **Kegalla Report** 85-6, *Journal R. A. S. Ceylon* XXII "Date of King Bhuvaneka Bahu VII", and the *Ceylon Antiquary* I. 155—159.

The text of the Sinhalese chronicle **Rajavaliya** has not yet been critically edited and contains many corruptions. Portuguese and Dutch writers give brief summaries; e.g. Friar Francisco Negroa in *Queyroz* 12—13, Diogo do Couto (Ferguson's translation 62—72) and Rijklof Van Goens Sr (in Valentyn 61—87.) An abbreviated translation of Valentyn by Robert Fellowes is found in **Philalethes' History of Ceylon** Ch. II—IV.

For the Portuguese Boulder see my article in the *Ceylon Antiquary* IX pp. 202—211.

CHAPTER III

BHUVANEKA BAHU AND MAYADUNNE 1521—1545

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|------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| i. | <i>King of Kōttē</i> —
Bhuvaneka Bāhu | 1521—1551 |
| ii. | <i>King of Sitāvaka</i> —
Māyādunnē | 1521—1581 |
| iii. | <i>King of Kandy</i> —
Vikrama Bāhu | |
| iv. | <i>King of Jaffna</i> —
Chekarāsa Sekaran (Sankili) | 1519—1561 |

I. **Consequences of the partition** : 33. Rebellions, 34. The fort dismantled. II. **The Struggle between Bhuvaneka Bahu and Mayadunne**: 35. Ambition of Māyādunnē, 36. Aid from Calicut, 37. Portuguese help, 38. Kotte besieged, 39. Māyādunnē's promises, 40. Renewal of the siege, 41. Battle of Vedalai, 42. Vidiyē Bandāra, 43. The advance of Māyādunnē, 44. The expedition of Ferreira, 45. The march to Sitāvaka, 46. The surrender of the Malabars, 47. The factor of Kottē. III. **The Succession to Kotte**, 48. Dharmapāla 49. An embassy to Lisbon, 50. The decrees of the king of Portugal, 51. Arrival of the Franciscans, 52. Quarrels over the succession, 53. The flight and baptism of the princes of Kotte.

I

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PARTITION

33. Rebellions

THE dismemberment of the kingdom of Kōttē was not unopposed. Virasūrya, a nephew of Vijaya Bāhu, and Manampēri Ārachchi, the king's equerry, raised rebellions in Alutkūru and Hāpitigam Kōralēs, but Māyādunnē fell upon them, killed the two leaders, and punished the chiefs of the Kōralēs by depriving them of the lands they held (7).

34. The fort dismantled

During these turmoils, Lopo de Brito improved the fort and enlarged the moat around it. This fort was triangular in shape and sufficiently strong to withstand Sinhalese batteries and the charge of elephants. When it was completed, Brito was succeeded by Fernao Gomez de Lemios, who, however, seeing how bitterly the Sinhalese resented the presence of a fortress, wrote to the king of Portugal that the fort was of very little use, and that unless the king was intent on conquest, which he represented as difficult, a factory would be quite enough to secure the annual tribute

and to purchase cinnamon. The new viceroy of India also reported to the same effect, with the result that when the celebrated Vasco da Gama (1524) came as viceroy of India, he brought an order from the king to dismantle the fort and keep only a factory. This order was carried out in 1524. Nuno Freyre de Andrade was left in Colombo as factor with a force of 20 Portuguese.

II

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN BHUVANEKA BAHU AND MAYADUNNE

35. Ambition of Mayadunne

Bhuvaneka Bāhu greatly regretted the departure of the Portuguese troops, for his ambitious brother, Māyādunnē of Sitāvaka, was not satisfied with that petty kingdom and was aiming at the throne of Kōttē. The presence of an armed force would, therefore, have been very useful to Bhuvaneka Bāhu. He accordingly took the Portuguese under his protection. Māyādunnē, on the other hand, thinking that the Portuguese had abandoned the fort for fear of the Muslims, invited the latter to his realm and sent some of them on an embassy to Calicut to ask the Samorin's assistance to break entirely with the Portuguese.

36. Aid from Calicut

The Samorin thereupon sent a force to Colombo to capture the factory. The leader of this expedition feared that an attack on the factory would offend Bhuvaneka Bāhu, and therefore went to Kōttē and asked the king to deliver up the Portuguese. In order to induce the monarch to do so, he made up a story that the Portuguese were defeated at sea, and that the rāja of Calicut and the other kings of India were besieging them on land. He moreover, assured the king that the lives of the Portuguese would be spared. Bhuvaneka Bāhu was not disposed to surrender the men who had placed themselves under his protection. He replied that he would lay the matter before his council and if the report of the defeat of the Portuguese was found to be true, he would look for a means to grant the Samorin's request without violating his royal word. Meanwhile he summoned the factor. Freyre denied the story of the defeat of the Portuguese and requested the king and council to send an envoy to India to ascertain the truth. While this was being done, the Malabars beached their ships on

the pretence of repairing them, and landed the men. The factor, suspecting their design, attacked them with a Sinhalese force under Salappu Arachchi and routed them completely. Another expedition was then sent, but the Sinhalese and the Portuguese again destroyed the Malabar fleet. Those who escaped death fled to Sitāvaka. Bhuvaneka Bāhu then expelled all Muslims from Colombo. Māyādunnē took them under his protection and incensed their minds against Bhuvaneka Bāhu and again sent ambassadors to Calicut to ask for the Samorin's assistance and prepared to take the field against his brother.

37. Portuguese help

The Samorin despatched another expedition under the command of three generals to aid Māyādunnē. The latter at once issued a proclamation calling upon all Sinhalese to follow his standard and threatening with punishment those who failed to do so. This led many to desert Bhuvaneka Bāhu who had no help but to turn to the Portuguese. Ambassadors were promptly sent to Goa, and in spite of domestic troubles, the Portuguese sent an expedition under Martin Afonso de Mello (1527).

38. Kotte besieged

Māyādunnē, meanwhile, besieged Kōṭṭē, which was defended by a Sinhalese force of ten thousand men assisted by the handful of Portuguese. They succeeded in keeping Māyādunnē and the Malabars at bay till a merchantman brought the glad news that the Portuguese fleet was on its way. On hearing this, Māyādunnē retired to Sitāvaka, and when the fleet arrived in Colombo, the Malabars had already sailed away.

39. Mayadunne's promises

The Portuguese general and Freyre urged Bhuvaneka Bāhu to pursue Māyādunnē, but the king was quite aware of the popularity of his brother and did not like to run the risk of losing his own by adopting such a course, especially as Māyādunnē offered to pay tribute and promised not to harass him again. The Portuguese fleet thereupon sailed away.

40. Renewal of the siege

In 1536 the time seemed ripe for action, and Māyādunnē again took the field. A Malabar force came to aid him, and as before he laid siege to Kōṭṭē, hoping to carry it before the Portuguese

could come to its assistance. The royal town of Kōṭṭē was well protected by nature. Situated in a lake teeming with crocodiles put in on purpose, it could not be approached except by four well-known passes. The inner town was surrounded by a moat and battlements. The passes were all fortified under the direction of Freyre, and a hasty message was sent to Goa for help. Martin Afonso de Souza was promptly despatched with a fleet of eleven ships, whereupon Māyādunnē raised the siege. Bhuvaneka Bāhu was profuse in his thanks, and Souza returned to Goa.

41. Battle of Vedalai

In 1537 the Samorin prepared a large fleet of 51 ships with 500 guns and 2,000 men to help Māyādunnē. The fleet set out, attacked all Portuguese vessels it met, captured two, and destroyed the Portuguese towns on the way. Māyādunnē immediately besieged Kōṭṭē, and its king had again to appeal to Goa. Martin Afonso de Souza set sail again, determined to destroy the Malabars. Encountering the Samorin's fleet off Vedalai near Ramēsvaram, he fought one of the most decisive sea fights of the time, and utterly routed the Malabars, rescuing Portuguese prisoners and winning great spoil (1538) including an umbrella which the Samorin was sending to Māyādunnē. On the news of this crushing defeat, Māyādunnē submitted to Bhuvaneka Bāhu who again pardoned his brother with his customary good nature. Unable to persuade the king to act against his brother, Souza returned to Goa, having received 45,000 cruzados towards the expenses of the armada and the pay of the soldiers which the king had offered to pay.

42. Vidiye Bandara

Bhuvaneka Bāhu was now well advanced in years. By his principal queen, a princess of the Gampola dynasty, he had a daughter: by a junior queen two young sons. Being anxious for a successor who could stand up to Māyādunnē, he gave his daughter in marriage to a kinsman named Vidiyē Bandāra, a young, bold, and resourceful man. Thereupon Māyādunnē again besieged Kōṭṭē. He was now to all intents and purposes the chief Sinhalese sovereign and in consequence greatly dreaded. Many of the subjects of Bhuvaneka Bāhu had ranged themselves on his side.

43. The advance of Mayadunne

With the forces of Sitāvaka and Rayigama, which he had seized on the death of Rayigam Bandāra, Māyādunnē now devastated the territories of Kōṭṭē and approached the metropolis, having

persuaded the Samorin by rich presents to come again to his aid. A Malabar force accordingly landed at Puttalam and marched to Sitāvaka. Bhuvaneka Bāhu on the counsel of his minister, Tammita Bāndāra, entrusted the defence of the frontier to Vidiyē Bāndāra and of the harbours to the Portuguese and the troops of Kōṭṭē. Vidiyē proved himself a daring and capable general and succeeded in checking the advance of Māyādunnē. The viceroy of India, in his turn, sent an expedition under Miguel Ferreira (1539), who had been in Ceylon before and was well acquainted with its affairs.

44. The expedition of Ferreira

Sailing along the coast of India, Ferreira heard that the Malabars were at Negombo. He then fell upon their encampment, captured the ships and arms, slew many, and put the rest to flight. Coming to Colombo with the captured ships, he set fire to them in sight of the whole city. He was welcomed by the two sons of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and conducted to Kōṭṭē, the Portuguese troops marching in full panoply, with jerkin, breast-plate, and helmet. The grateful king entertained the troops and gave them each two months' pay. Ferreira urged the king to pursue Māyādunnē and settle with him for good, saying, as indeed was quite true, that he would again attack him and the Portuguese might not be able to come in time. The king was averse to this step, but as Ferreira urged the point, he himself accompanied the expedition in order to make it serve against the Malabars rather than against Māyādunnē.

45. The march to Sitāvaka

The combined army crossed the Keḷani, routing the Malabars who were guarding the bridge. At Gurubevila the march was opposed by a considerable force of men and elephants assisted by artillery. The position was carried, and Māyādunnē thereupon sent ambassadors to his brother to sue for peace. The Portuguese general who was bent on destroying Māyādunnē demanded his son and two prominent men as hostages, as a preliminary to any proposal for peace.

46. The surrender of the Malabars

This was done, and Tikiri Bāndāra, the future Rājasinha of Sitāvaka, then about eight years old, was sent in charge of a noble Sinhalese lady. Then Ferreira demanded the instant delivery

of the four Malabar generals and six other captains of note. Māyādunnē sent a Portuguese in his service to point out that it would be very base of him to surrender those who had come to his help. Ferreira was adamant, and Māyādunnē had to comply: within four days the heads of the Malabars were delivered to Ferreira. Upon this peace was made, Māyādunnē restoring all the lands and sea ports he had seized, and paying the cost of the war. Never after this did Māyādunnē receive assistance from the Samorin.

47. The factor of Kotte

At Kōṭṭē the king complained to Ferreira about the behaviour of Pero Vaz the factor who had succeeded Nuno Freyre de Andrade. Ferreira thereupon took counsel with a Franciscan friar and some other Portuguese and on their advice deposed the factor.

III.

THE SUCCESSION TO KOTTE

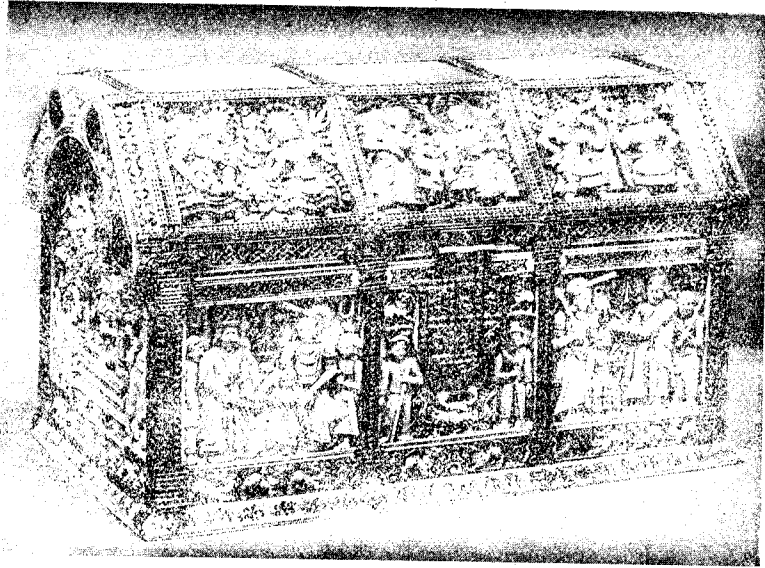
48. Dharmapala

Bhuvaneka Bāhu was now greatly concerned about the succession to the throne of Kōṭṭē. His daughter had borne two sons to Vidiyē Bāndāra, the elder of whom, Dharmapāla, was a great favourite of the king, as the boy resembled his grandfather even in face and gait. To him, therefore, he wished to bequeath his throne; but knowing that Māyādunnē would easily brush him aside, unless he was supported by the Portuguese, he wrote to John III of Portugal to ask for his special protection. The king of Portugal inquired of his viceroy what the custom of the country was, and was told that according to the laws of inheritance prevailing in Malabar, the heir was a brother or a sister's son in preference to sons and grandsons, though, of course, it was the most powerful and influential candidate that generally succeeded. The viceroy added that Māyādunnē should be kept off the throne of Kōṭṭē, but that, if the grandson of Bhuvaneka Bāhu was to be upheld on the throne, the Portuguese would have to maintain troops at Kōṭṭē.

49. An embassy to Lisbon

Bhuvaneka Bāhu, in the meantime, probably on the advice of the Portuguese in Kōṭṭē, resolved to send an embassy to Lisbon. He chose as ambassador a certain Sri Rādaraksa Paṇḍita and

Salappu Ārachchi. They took with them a gold statue of the boy and a crown, to ask the king to crown the prince in effigy. The embassy set out in 1542 and on 12th March, 1543, Dharmapāla, was duly crowned in effigy with great solemnity at Lisbon in



An Ivory Panel Depicting the Crowning of Dharmapala

the presence of all the nobles of Portugal; and the king issued letters patent appointing Dharmapāla heir to the throne of Kōṭṭē and calling upon all Portuguese officials to recognize him as such and protect and defend him from all enemies.

50. The decrees of the king of Portugal

The ambassador had also been instructed to ask for Christian missionaries to preach the gospel in Ceylon, and King John was also led to believe that Bhuvaneka Bāhu himself would become a Christian and set the example to his subjects. This request pleased the king greatly and he directed a party of Franciscans to set out for Ceylon with the ambassador. Under the favourable impression created by this request, the ambassador succeeded in obtaining from the king a number of despatches checking the high-handed deeds of the Portuguese in Ceylon: no Portuguese was to buy anything from any subject of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, except

for cash paid on the spot: no Portuguese was to build ships or *sampans* in Ceylon without the express permission of the Portuguese authorities as well as of the king of Ceylon, nor possess any garden or land in Ceylon without the king's permission: when such permission was given, the Portuguese purchaser must pay all dues and fulfil all customary services as if he were a country-born subject: all Portuguese ships must submit to inspection by the king's officers before quitting the harbours to ensure that no boy or girl or slave of the country was being taken therein: all freemen becoming Christians must continue to pay all dues as before, and slaves becoming Christians should not thereby become freemen but might be sold to Christians. These decrees were intended to correct the abuses implied in them. Two other personal decrees were also issued, one appointing Tammita Sūrya Bandāra and his heirs as chief chamberlains to the kings of Kōṭṭē, and the other appointing as royal interpreter for life Antonio Pereira, who accompanied the embassy.

51. Arrival of the Franciscans

Towards the end of 1543 the ambassadors returned to Ceylon with Friar John de Villa de Conde and four other Franciscan friars bearing letters from the king of Portugal and the viceroy of India. Bhuvaneka Bāhu was quite pleased with the result of the embassy and gave the friars a warm welcome. They had come with the idea that Bhuvaneka Bāhu and his subjects wished to be instructed in Christianity. Great, therefore, was their disappointment when they found that such was far from being the case. Bhuvaneka Bāhu, indeed, showed no disinclination to maintain the friars and to let them preach, but he had no intention of letting his subjects become Christians, much less of becoming one himself. Such a course would certainly have made his subjects go over to Māyādunnē. On the other hand, Bhuvaneka Bāhu was unwilling to give offence to the friars or to the king of Portugal, and tried to appease the former by offers of money, which they indignantly rejected.

52. Quarrels over the succession

The solemn appointment of Dharmapāla as crown-prince of Kōṭṭē gave rise to great dissatisfaction. Māyādunnē, who had hoped that the throne would be his on the death of his brother according to the Sinhalese laws of succession, was greatly incensed, and took up arms. The two sons of Bhuvaneka Bāhu by the junior queen (42) had also aspired to the throne. Bhuvaneka Bāhu, therefore, despatched the Pandita to Goa to seek immediate assistance against Māyādunnē and, if necessary, to go again to Lisbon to press the matter.

53. The flight and baptism of the princes of Kotte

To pacify his sons, he now asked for Portuguese assistance to place them on the thrones of Jaffna and Kandy. But the elder son, Jugo Bandāra, a young man of about seventeen years of age, began to interest the Portuguese on his behalf. A certain Andre de Souza, who was at the court of Kōṭṭē, had been trying to make him a convert to Christianity. It now seemed to Jugo and to his mother, that if he went to Goa and received baptism, he might be supported by the Portuguese. This plan reached the ears of Bhuvaneka Bāhu who caused him to be secretly murdered. Thereupon, his brother, who was also under instruction, fled the country with Souza. They were followed by a son of Bhuvaneka Bāhu's sister and some other noblemen, who placed themselves under instruction and were baptized at Goa. The elder prince was named in baptism Don Luis, in honour of the Infanta of Portugal, and his cousin took the name of Don John. They were brought up at Goa in a manner befitting their rank, and Andre de Souza, their god-father kept on pestering the king and the queen of Portugal to place them on the thrones of Kōṭṭē and Jaffna.

For the Expeditions of Martin Afonso de Souza, see **Barros-Couto** in Ferguson's translation (J. XX 90-97). For the subsequent events we have the authentic records published in the originals by Father G. Schurhammer S.J. in his **Ceylon, Zur Zeit de Koings Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552**, Leipzig, 1928, which gives letters of Bhuvaneka Bahu, Miguel Ferreira, Andre de Souza, and of the Christian Princes. Schurhammer's critical study of the history of this period according to the contemporary letters discovered by him, was translated by me from the German and published in the **Ceylon Literary Register** (3rd series) Vol. IV. The ivory panels depicting the crowning of Dharmapala were discovered by Dr. Vilhelm Slomann and published in the **Pantheon** (Munich, Dec.—Jany.1937—8). The story of the **Franciscan Mission to Ceylon** is told in a manuscript now in the Vatican Archives, Lat. 7746.

CHAPTER IV

PORTUGUESE AID SOUGHT BY THE KINGS 1545—1550

i.	<i>King of Kōṭṭē—</i> Bhuvaneka Bāhu	1521—1551
ii.	<i>King of Kandy—</i> Vikrama Bāhu	
iii.	<i>King of Sitāvaka—</i> Māyādunnē	1521—1581
iv.	<i>King of Jaffna—</i> Chekarāsa Sekaran (Sankili)	1519—1561

I. **Portuguese Intervention:** 54. The Portuguese to enthrone the princes, 55. Bhuvaneka Bāhu displeased with the Portuguese, 56. Alliance between the brothers, 57. Kandy appeals to the Portuguese, 58. Embassy to Kotte, 59. The king's changed attitude, 60. Portuguese intervention in Jaffna, 61. Jaffna, 62. Massacre of the Christians, 63. The people of Jaffna turn to the Portuguese, 64. Death of the convert princes, 65. The first expedition to Kandy, 66. Vikrama Bāhu disappointed, 67. The expedition to Jaffna abandoned, 68. Portuguese opinion on the succession, 69. The second expedition to Kandy, 70. Its failure, 71. Māyādunne and the Portuguese, 72. Bhuvaneka Bāhu breaks with Māyādunnē, 73. The Portuguese break with Bhuvaneka Bahu, 74. Māyādunne seeks Portuguese aid, 75. The Portuguese threaten Bhuvaneka Bahu, 76. Castro's expedition, 1550. II. **End of Bhuvaneka Bahu:** 77. Arrival of Noronha 78. Māyādunne turns to the Portuguese, 79. Portuguese settlers, 80. Investigation of rival claims, 81. Bhuvaneka Bahu shot dead, 82. His character,

I

PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION

54. The Portuguese to enthrone the princes

RUMOURS of the intention of the Portuguese to place the convert Sinhalese princes (53) on the thrones of Ceylon soon reached this island and caused a change in the attitude of the kings of Ceylon towards the Portuguese. As Bhuvaneka Bāhu was displeased with his allies, Māyādunnē became friendly with him, and Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy, who feared Māyādunnē, sued the Portuguese for aid against him.

55. Bhuvaneka Bahu displeased with the Portuguese

Bhuvaneka Bāhu's chief grievance was the lawless behaviour of the Portuguese living in his realms, for it increased his unpopularity with the people. To add to this, the king of Portugal, the friars, and the viceroy were urging him to become a Christian,

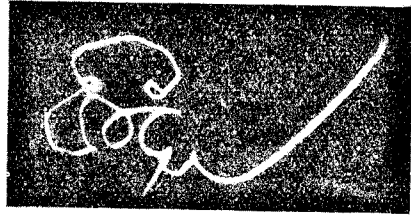
a thing which he had no mind to do; and on that account they now appeared to be disposed to go back on their solemn promise to uphold him and his heir (49) on the throne, as that promise had been made on the supposition that they intended to be Christians. Bhuvaneka Bāhu was, therefore, quite prepared to join hands with Māyādunnē against the Portuguese.

56. Alliance between the brothers

Māyādunnē who was more powerful, more popular, and more ambitious, seeing that he was bereft of Malabar aid (48) and that it was only his brother's alliance with the Portuguese that prevented him from seizing the throne of Kōṭṭē, determined to embroil Bhuvaneka Bāhu with the Portuguese, and to this end he feigned friendship. He now aspired to be the sole king of Ceylon and therefore, wished to add the kingdom of Kandy to his domain. Accordingly he and Bhuvaneka Bāhu prepared to make war on Vikrama Bāhu.

57. Kandy appeals to the Portuguese

Vikrama Bāhu had been watching with alarm the growing ambition of Māyādunnē. It was he who had helped Bhuvaneka Bāhu and Māyādunnē to sack Kōṭṭē (37) and divide the empire between them. The dismemberment of the empire had made his kingdom the largest in size: for though originally only a small principality consisting of the five raṭas, (3) he had now profited by the turmoils in the lowlands to add the Vanni district and



Signature of Vikrama Bahu

to bring the Vanniyārs of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vellassa, Yāla, and Pānavā, (4) as well as the prince of the Seven Kōralēs under his sway. But hearing of the ambitious plans of Māyādunnē, he secretly summoned a Portuguese to Senkaḍagala to sound the dispositions of the Portuguese, and on his advice he asked the viceroy of India to build a factory at Trincomalee for trade with his kingdom, and offered to pay tribute to Portugal. The reply of the Portuguese, however, fell into the hands of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and nothing came of the proposal. Bhuvaneka Bāhu and Māyādunnē now seized the passes to Kandy and prepared for war. Whereupon Vikrama Bāhu with the prince of the Seven Kōralēs and the Vanniyārs of Trincomalee and Batticaloa appealed to the Portuguese for aid, saying that they wished to become Christians.

58. Embassy to Kotte

Meanwhile, on the death of Martin Afonso de Souza, there succeeded as viceroy of India, Don João de Castro, a man of great ability and wisdom. He did not think it right to support the Christian princes who were in Goa, without first ascertaining the intentions of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. Accordingly he despatched an ambassador to Kōṭṭē to discuss the matter with Bhuvaneka Bāhu, instructing the envoy not to break with the king unless he refused to allow the friars to preach Christianity in his realms. Bhuvaneka Bāhu declared very firmly that he did not intend to become a Christian and denied that the Pandita was ever authorized to promise it. He maintained that it was not from hostility to Christianity that he seized the lands of the converts but for other reasons, and professed himself ready to give the friars liberty to preach and build churches.

59. The king's changed attitude

The ambassador, however, soon discovered that the king's attitude towards the Portuguese had changed. He received also secret communications from Vikrama Bāhu who represented to the Portuguese how earnestly he had sought the alliance of the Portuguese without success, how Bhuvaneka and Māyādunnē were leagued against him, and that he wished to become a Christian and give his daughter, who was being solicited as bride of Bhuvaneka Bāhu's heir, to one of the Christian princes in Goa. As the ambassador fell ill at Kōṭṭē, a friar set out for Goa with the letters of Vikrama Bāhu.

60. Portuguese intervention in Jaffna

In response to this appeal, Castro determined to send troops and friars to Kandy. He abandoned the idea of enthroning a prince in Kōṭṭē, but decided to enthrone one in Jaffna.

61. Jaffna

The throne of Jaffna was occupied by Chekarāsa Sekaran or Sankili who had murdered the lawful king in 1519 and had ascended the throne from which he had expelled the legal heir. He had put to death the supporters of the lawful king. The lawful heir had fled to India to seek Portuguese aid. The kings of Jaffna claimed the right to all ships stranded off that shallow coast, and Sankili had seized many a ship wrecked off his coast. Accordingly Martin Afonso de Souza in 1543 came with a large fleet and the exiled heir, and forced the rāja to become a tributary to Portugal and pay vassalage.

62. Massacre of the Christians

Notwithstanding this treaty, in 1544 Sankili put to death some six or seven hundred people of Mannār who had become Christians. They had invited St. Francis Xavier to Mannār, but as he was busily engaged elsewhere, he sent another priest who instructed and baptized a large number of the people of Mannār. Thereupon the king of Jaffna sent troops to put them to the sword unless they abandoned the new faith. Some escaped to the mainland and the rest were killed. The Portuguese, at the earnest request of St. Francis Xavier, half-heartedly got up an expedition to punish the king for the massacre, but it only served to recover the cargo of a richly laden Portuguese ship which had run aground off Jaffna.

63. The people of Jaffna turn to the Portuguese

Soon, however, the people of Jaffna sent an embassy to Goa to beg the viceroy to place one of the Sinhalese princes on the throne, as the Kingdom formerly belonged to Kōṭṭē. The governor was anxious to do this as he feared to be taken to task for not inflicting condign punishment on the king for the massacre of the Christians.

64. Death of the convert princes

But meanwhile smallpox broke out in Goa and carried off the two Sinhalese princes in January, 1546. Thereupon the plans were changed. An expedition was got ready to enthrone the lawful heir of Jaffna, and Andre de Souza was sent to aid the king of Kandy.

65. The first expedition to Kandy

In February, 1546, Souza set out with a friar and 50 men for Kandy. At Kāyalpatanam he met the heir of Jaffna and learnt that the king of Kandy had made peace with Māyādunnē and Bhuvaneka Bāhu by paying a heavy peace offering. But as the news was not quite certain, he came to Colombo where Bhuvaneka Bāhu tried to dissuade him from going to Kandy. Souza then tried to make his way to Kandy by rounding the island, but was forced to land at Yāla. Sending a part of his men to Trincomalee where a messenger of the king of Kandy was awaiting them, Souza made his way to Kandy. After a dreary march of many days, he arrived with 38 men, to find that the news he had heard was quite true. As the succours delayed, a Portuguese who was at Senkaḍagala advised the king to become a Christian at once, saying that if he did so, the Portuguese would speedily come to his assistance. Thereupon a friar was summoned from Kōṭṭē and the king was baptized in secret, and news of it sent to Goa.

But as the reinforcement still delayed, the king was forced to pay Māyādunnē the ransom demanded, namely 2,400,000 fanams, nine gems, two elephants, his own state elephant and other jewels, and promise his daughter as bride to Dharmapāla.

66. Vikrama Bahu disappointed

Vikrama Bāhu was disappointed when he saw the paltry force and the covetousness of the commander, and said that he would not let his household become Christians unless the governor of India or his son arrived with larger forces. The friar, therefore, set out for Goa with letters from the king, the prince, and Souza. Souza stated that the king was quite sincere; the friar on the other hand maintained that his Christianity was all a sham. But war broke out in India, and the governor was not in a position to act.

Vikrama Bāhu, however, was importunate in demanding help and sent further messages. The bishop of Cochin and the friars also interceded for the king, whereupon Castro decided to send reinforcements.

67. The expedition to Jaffna abandoned

The proposed expedition to Jaffna (64) was postponed. In fact the king of Portugal was in great perplexity over it: St. Francis Xavier urged him to punish Sankili and place the lawful heir on the throne: the Christian princes had asked for it: Bhuvaneka Bāhu on the other hand claimed it for himself and promised to forgo the debt due to him and to pay a larger tribute. The king of Portugal, therefore, referred the matter to a council which declared that the reigning king should not be deposed unless, after due admonition, he refused to let the gospel be preached in his realm.

68. Portuguese opinion on the succession

About the succession to Kōṭṭē the council advised the king to make further inquiries about the customary laws of succession. If the grandson was the rightful heir according to the custom of the country, he should be upheld; if the nephew was found to be the rightful heir, the letters patent (49) granted to Dharmapāla should be considered surreptitious.

69. The second expedition to Kandy

In response to the frequent appeals of the king of Kandy, the governor in 1547 despatched Antonio Moniz Barreto with 100 men and some friars. They reached Batticaloa where they baptized the vanniyaṛ and the sons of a vanniachchi, and were met by two hundred Kandyans sent to conduct them speedily, as Māyādunnē had fallen upon the prince of the Seven Kōralēs and would soon enter Kandy. On the way they were met by two other vassals

of Vikrama Bāhu, the vanniyaṛ of Vellassa and the prince of the Two Kōralēs. Before Barreto could reach Kandy, he learnt that Vikrama Bāhu had been again driven to make peace with Bhuvaneka Bāhu and that his daughter was already on her way to Kōṭṭē to be the bride of Dharmapāla.

70. Its failure

Thus, when the expedition reached Kandy, the king's need for it was over, and he, therefore, refused to declare himself a Christian or let his son be baptized, unless the Portuguese conquered for him the realms of Sitāvaka and Jaffna. Meanwhile Bhuvaneka Bāhu, hearing of the expedition, sent an imperious message to Kandy, that if the king became a Christian or kept Portuguese in his court, he would not accept the Kandyan princess as bride of Dharmapāla nor have any dealings with the king. Thereupon Vikrama Bāhu became hostile to the Portuguese and collected troops; and Barreto, coming to know of this, prepared to retreat to Kōṭṭē through the Seven Kōralēs. At the instigation of the king, the prince of the Seven Kōralēs held the pass against Barreto, who, however, bribed his way and passed into the territories of Māyādunnē where, to his astonishment, he received friendly treatment, while in the lands of Kōṭṭē he received neither assistance nor provisions.

71. Mayadunne and the Portuguese

Māyādunne seized the opportunity to poison the mind of Barreto to such an extent that on arriving in Colombo he taxed Bhuvaneka Bāhu with being the instigator of all the trouble with the king of Kandy, a charge which the king hotly denied. But Moniz laid an embargo on the rich train of presents that were brought from Kandy as bridal gifts, claiming that he seized it as the property of the king of Kandy in payment of the expenses of the expedition.

72. Bhuvaneka Bahu breaks with Mayadunne

Before Barreto returned to India, he received an ambassador of Māyādunnē with letters for the viceroys and rich presents; for Māyādunnē was now bidding for Portuguese help to invade Kandy for his son. When this came to the ears of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, he offered Barreto a thousand pardaos as expenses of the expedition if he would not take the ambassador with him. Barreto refused the offer, and Bhuvaneka Bāhu broke with Māyādunnē and forbade the Portuguese in his territories to go to Sitāvaka for trade.

73. The Portuguese break with Bhuvaneka Bahu

The Portuguese settlers of Colombo and the friars also complained to Goa about the changed attitude of Bhuvaneka Bāhu towards Christianity and the Portuguese, and accused him of being the

cause of all the trouble. Vikrama Bāhu likewise now repented of having given offence to the Portuguese and sent back the artillery which Barreto had left behind, and the soldiers who had accompanied Barreto and had stayed behind at Kōṭṭē were paid. Bhuvaneka Bāhu sent an ambassador to Goa to exculpate himself, but Māyādunnē's ambassador had gained the ear of the governor.

74. Mayadunne seeks Portuguese aid

Relying on the support of the Portuguese, Māyādunnē now made war on Kōṭṭē, and Bhuvaneka Bāhu had to turn for help to a Portuguese captain who happened to arrive in Colombo at this juncture. And fortunately for him, Castro died and the acting governor, Garcia de Sa, was not for war. He sent Bhuvaneka Bāhu a letter from King John III. and expostulated with him on the ill-treatment of converts. This ill-treatment and the high-handedness of the Portuguese were such, that friar John decided to go to Lisbon to complain to the king.

75. The Portuguese threaten Bhuvaneka Bahu

Garcia de Sa was soon succeeded by Cabral, who threatened to support Māyādunnē, unless Bhuvaneka Bāhu paid three thousand cruzados. This sum the king was unable to get together and he sent Sri Rādaraksa Paṇḍita to India to remonstrate, and wrote to Portugal to prevent the violation of the letters patent (49) by supporting Māyādunnē against him. He represented Māyādunnē as trying every possible means to kill him and his grandson. Paṇḍita's mission was supported by Don Joao de Castro, the dead governor's uncle, who was thereupon despatched to Ceylon to help Bhuvaneka Bāhu.

76. Castro's Expedition, 1550

Castro arrived with a force of 600 men and marched on Sitāvaka with the forces of Kōṭṭē. At Navagamuva he defeated the troops of Māyādunnē, and advancing to Sitāvaka destroyed that city whence Māyādunnē had fled. Bhuvaneka Bāhu, who had so often prevented the Portuguese from settling with his brother, now pressed them to it, promising to pay twenty thousand pardaos and to forgo his debt. But a meddling friar intervened and urged Castro to go to Kandy instead. In vain did Bhuvaneka Bāhu insist that it would be better to destroy Māyādunnē first, and promise to give his own troops to go to Kandy with Castro. Māyādunnē profited by this indecision and escaped, after restoring the lands of Kōṭṭē that he had seized. The friar who had gone ahead to Kandy sent a hasty message to Castro to come there, as

the king was anxious to declare himself a Christian if he came. Undeterred by the warnings of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, Castro marched to Kandy, but, before he could reach the city, he was attacked unawares and put to rout with great loss. Māyādunnē again succoured the Portuguese and succeeded in persuading Castro that the disaster was due to the treachery of Bhuvaneka Bāhu.

II

THE END OF BHUVANEKA BAHU

77. Arrival of Noronha

The confusing events of the last few years embroiled Bhuvaneka Bāhu with the Portuguese in India. The reports from that country and the personal complaints of friar John de Villa de Conde made him distrusted in Lisbon, and the mind of the new viceroy, Don Afonso de Noronha, was already prejudiced against him, when he landed in Colombo in October, 1550. To add to it, the viceroy now learnt of the rout of Castro and the complicity of the king. He, therefore, took the king to task for it and for persecuting the Christians, and demanded ten thousand pardaos. The king declared that he was unable to pay such a sum, which Noronha did not believe, as he had heard stories of the king's treasures.

78. Mayadunne turns to the Portuguese

At this stage Māyādunnē, with whom a nephew of Noronha had taken refuge after quarrelling with Bhuvaneka Bāhu, asked for a hearing and sent his son to meet the viceroy. The prince was received with great ceremony, and he stated how anxious his father was to become a vassal of Portugal, and requested that the territories which Castro had made him give up to Bhuvaneka Bāhu should be restored, and promised to pay tribute to Portugal. The viceroy undertook to inquire into the justice of the demand and asked Māyādunnē to send an ambassador to Goa and meanwhile to refrain from making war on Kōṭṭē. Hearing this, Bhuvaneka Bāhu sent the trusty Paṇḍita with a part of the sum demanded by the viceroy, and instructed him to show the letters patent in which the king of Portugal had undertaken to uphold him and his grandson. The viceroy asked him also to send an ambassador to argue the matter.



Signature of Mayadunne

79. Portuguese settlers

The Portuguese settlers in Ceylon at this time were scattered about Kōṭṭē and Colombo and were unruly in their behaviour. The viceroy, therefore, ordered the unmarried soldiers to quit the island and the married men and traders to come and live together around the monastery of St. Francis in Colombo, which he ordered to be walled in. He appointed an officer to protect the converts from the persecution of the king and the rapacity of the Portuguese, and instructed the factor not to carry out the letters patent without his orders, and to secure the king's treasures in case of his death as he was far advanced in age and not likely to live long. Having given these instructions, the viceroy set sail.

80. Investigation of rival claims

The ambassadors of Māyādunnē and Bhuvaneka Bāhu met the viceroy at Cochin, but the claims put forward by the two parties seemed so conflicting that Noronha despatched to Ceylon an experienced jurist named Sebastian Pinheiro to hold an investigation on the spot and consult those who had knowledge of the ancient customs of succession to the throne. When the magistrate arrived, he heard to his intense surprise that Bhuvaneka Bāhu had been shot dead in his palace, and his grandson placed on the throne, contrary to the viceroy's order; and he found Māyādunnē waging war on Kōṭṭē.

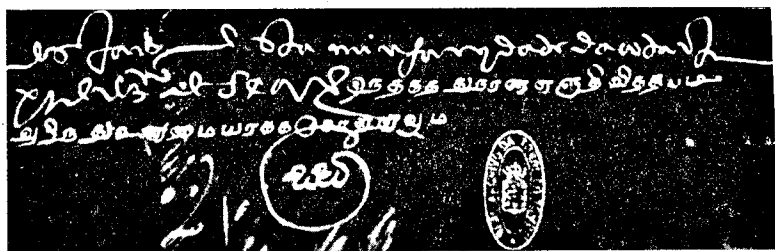
81. Bhuvaneka Bahu shot dead

What had happened was this; as soon as the viceroy left Ceylon, Māyādunnē made war on Kōṭṭē in spite of the viceroy's direction and Vidiyē Bandāra went to oppose him. The king and his household, the Portuguese factor and the garrison of Kōṭṭē, went to Kēlaniya. There was a rumour that Māyādunnē had bribed a soldier in the Portuguese service to shoot the king. The queen and the factor, thereupon, begged the king to be on his guard. He, however, took little notice of the warning, and one day while he was watching the Portuguese soldiers at their meal, he was shot dead from the barracks.*

* There was great uncertainty about the responsibility for the shooting of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. The culprit was never detected, and it was for a long time suspected that it was done at the instigation of the viceroy himself. But contemporary writings recently discovered do not show any complicity on his part, and rather point to Māyādunnē whom both Bhuvaneka Bāhu and his ambassador, Paṇḍita, describe as seeking an opportunity to kill the king.

82. His character

Bhuvaneka Bāhu was at the time of his death infirm and broken by age. He was weak, vacillating, and feeble in character. Though he had joined his brothers in killing Vijaya Bāhu for seeking to disinherit them for a favourite, yet he himself did not hesitate to disinherit his brother and sons to secure the throne to his daughter's son. He was profuse in his professions of friendship towards the Portuguese, because he stood in need of them: but he had no intention of keeping his promises, because he feared them. He asked for Christian missionaries and welcomed them to please the king of Portugal, but secretly hindered their work and opposed conversions. He feared Māyādunnē and set the Portuguese against him, but when they wished to settle with Māyādunnē, he opposed it.



Signature of Bhuvaneka Bāhu

His dealings with the Portuguese displeased his subjects, who went over to Māyādunnē, and displeased the Portuguese, who began to suspect him. He was unable to see through the wiles of Māyādunnē who entangled him with the Portuguese. He was in short a mild, blundering ruler, whose weakness was his and his country's undoing, whose relatives and friends were his chief enemies, but whose noble figure and venerable beard and cheerful temperament made him loved by the populace throughout his reign of twenty-nine years.

All the documents relating to the events narrated in this chapter, viz. contemporary letters of the convert princes, of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, Vikrama Bāhu, Māyādunnē, Antonio Moniz Barreto, Don Joao de Castro, Sri Rādaraksa Paṇḍita and of Afonso de Noronha, are in Schurhammer's *Ceylon*. The accounts of Couto and Queyroz must be corrected in accordance with these letters. As they are in the original languages and Schurhammer's critical notes in German, see my translation of his History in the *Ceylon Literary Register* (3rd Series) Vol. IV.

CHAPTER V

PORTUGUESE PROTECTORATE 1551—1560

i.	<i>King of Kōttē</i> — Don Juan (Dharmapāla)	1551—1597
ii.	<i>King of Kandy</i> — Vikrama Bāhu	()
iii.	<i>King of Sitāvaka</i> — Māyādunnē	1521—1581
iv.	<i>King of Jaffna</i> — Chekarāsa Sekaran (Sankili)	1519—1561
<i>Regents</i> —		
	Vidiyē Bandāra	1550
	Tammita Sūrya	1554

I. **The Enthroning of Dharmapala** : 83. Dharmapāla proclaimed king, 84. Noronha's expedition, 85. Dharmapāla becomes a vassal of Portugal, 86. Noronha's thirst for treasure, 87. The march to Sitāvaka, 88. The retreat. II. **The Regency of Vidiyē** : 89. Vidiyē seizes power, 90. Makes up with the Portuguese, 91. The fortress rebuilt, 92. The arrest of Vidiyē, 93. Tammita becomes regent, 94. Escape of Vidiyē, 95. Māyādunnē leagues with the Portuguese, 96. Arrest and release of Tammita, 97. Defeat of Vidiyē. 98. Vidiyē in the Seven Korales, 99. Character of Vidiyē. III. **The Conversion of Dharmapala** : 100. Dharmapāla becomes a Christian, 101. Effects of the conversion, IV. **Mayadunne and Kotte** : 102. Advance on Kōttē, 103. The siege of Kōttē.

I

THE ENTHRONING OF DHARMAPALA

83. Dharmapala proclaimed king

THE factor of Kōttē had been instructed by the viceroy to secure the treasures of the king and not to enthrone Dharmapālā without his order, but he returned to Kōttē with the royal household and acquiesced in the acclamation of Dharmapāla as king with Vidiyē Bandāra as regent, without even acquainting the viceroy with the event. When the news reached Goa, Noronha at once set sail for Colombo on the plea of inquiring into the murder of the king, but chiefly to seize the treasures of which he had heard so much.

84. Noronha's expedition

The viceroy was met by Dharmapāla and Vidiyē Bandāra, to whom he expressed his grief that a Portuguese should have done such a deed. Then he issued a proclamation offering a reward of two thousand cruzados and pardon for complicity to anyone who would give information about the murder. The magistrate was ordered to hold an inquiry and record evidence, and the factor was placed under arrest for not carrying out the orders. The viceroy informed Vidiyē Bandāra and Tammita Rāla, the royal chamberlain, that the factor had done wrong to acclaim Dharmapāla, as the letters patent had been issued on the understanding that the king would become a Christian. The Paṇḍita denied this and said that it was a mistake of the interpreter (50). Vidiyē and Tammita replied that Dharmapāla should be acclaimed, but could not become a Christian now, as Māyādunnē was on the field, but that if the latter was made to restore the lands he had seized, they would give the viceroy the treasures of the late king and would put an end to the practice of seizing the lands of the converts.

85. Dharmapala becomes a vassal of Portugal

This was agreed to, and the viceroy went to Kōṭṭē to take delivery of the treasures of which an inventory was made. Noronha then formally asked Dharmapāla whether he would acknowledge the king of Portugal as overlord. Being assured of it, the viceroy installed him as king of Kōṭṭē, and undertook to wrest the lands from Māyādunnē, to destroy Sitāvaka and to give the young king a Portuguese force for his protection.

86. Noronha's thirst for treasure

These preliminaries over, Noronha, whose heart was set on the treasures of Kōṭṭē, confined Vidiyē in the house of the *vedor*, the Paṇḍita and Tammita in his own, as they were suspected of hiding the treasures. Dharmapāla and his grandmother then stated that it was the king's minions who knew where the treasures were. These were then put to the torture, but no treasures were forthcoming. Vidiyē, thereupon, sent a message, denying any knowledge of the treasures, and promised to become a Christian with the king and all his family and to pay 200,000 pardaos and the treasures of the temple, if the viceroy would carry out his promise to recover the lands wrested by Māyādunnē, destroy Sitāvaka and give a Portuguese garrison. The treasures of the temple were then duly handed over and entered in an inventory which has survived to this day, but as the people, seeing the lawless deeds of the Portuguese, were passing over to Māyādunnē, the baptisms were put off, and the army set out for Sitāvaka.

87. The march to Sitāvaka

Capturing all the fortifications on the way, they reached Kanampella, where the largest force of Sitāvaka was taken. Māyādunnē then retreated to his capital and sued for peace. Disregarding this, the army marched to Sitāvaka which was found to be abandoned; and the palace and the temple of Berēndi Kovil were sacked in revenge for the murder of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, as the viceroy asserted. But no provisions could be obtained for the army, and Dharmapāla contended that it would not be safe for him to become a Christian till Māyādunnē was taken.

88. The retreat

The people of Kōṭṭē were deserting to Māyādunnē in large numbers, and the viceroy prudently retreated to Kōṭṭē, with some difficulty. After another fruitless attempt to find the alleged treasures of the king, the viceroy determined to seize Vidiyē, who thereupon fled. The viceroy then ordered the Portuguese to march to Colombo with all arms and artillery, leaving the young king to shift for himself. As Māyādunnē was still in hiding, this did not matter much. But at this stage, news reached the viceroy that war had broken out in India, and he prepared to set sail, taking with him Tammita and Paṇḍita. The helpless young king then pleaded for his uncle and offered to give a son of the late king as hostage. When the viceroy consented, the boy was said to be missing, whereupon the viceroy again made ready to take away Tammita and Paṇḍita. The boy was then produced, and Tammita was released. Having thus disgraced the Portuguese name and robbed a king whom his own sovereign had undertaken to protect, the viceroy went away, leaving Don João Henriques as captain with a sufficient Portuguese force. From Cochin he addressed a long letter to the King of Portugal giving an unblushing account of all his doings.

II

THE REGENCY OF VIDIE

89. Vidiye seizes power

Vidiyē Bandāra forthwith returned to Kōṭṭē, assumed the government of the country, wreaked his vengeance on the Portuguese resident in Kōṭṭē, destroyed churches, persecuted the Christians and refused to pay tribute to Portugal. Indeed he established his power so effectually that the kings of Jaffna and Sitāvaka tried to ingratiate themselves with the powerful regent; but Vidiyē did not trust Māyādunnē and was waiting for an opportunity to get at him.

90. Makes up with the Portuguese

The Portuguese power was then almost destroyed in Ceylon, and the king of Portugal, hearing of his viceroy's misdeeds, sent peremptory orders to restore all the treasures of Kōṭṭē. This the viceroy was unable to do, as he had already disposed of some of the robbed articles; but fearing to be taken to task, he despatched Miguel da Cunha to Ceylon to propitiate Vidiyē. The envoy succeeded in persuading the regent to listen to the overtures, and peace was made. The Portuguese recognized Vidiyē as regent, and the latter undertook to pay tribute to Portugal and cease persecuting the Christians. Some of the treasures still unsold were returned, and the value of the rest was credited to Dharmapāla, but the poor king did not get back more than twenty thousand pardaos and that in instalments and by articles that were sent to him. Of the rest a part was deducted as tribute and the greater part as gifts that Dharmapāla bestowed on importunate Portuguese.

91. The fortress rebuilt

Though Vidiyē undertook not to persecute the Christians, he harassed them so much that the king of Portugal received complaints and appeals from the friars in Ceylon. The king, therefore, instructed the outgoing viceroy to take steps in the matter. The viceroy sent Duarte d' Eca as captain of Colombo with a large force and with orders to build a fort. A fort was accordingly built on the site of the old one (34) at the point where the modern breakwater begins. That part of Colombo, now included between Galle Buck and York Street and between the harbour and Canal Row, was walled in. Vidiyē was incensed at this, but as the Portuguese force was too large for him to oppose, he treated the captain with contempt and increased his violence against the Christians. It was also suspected that he was endeavouring to supplant his son and become king. When all this was reported to Goa, the viceroy ordered the captain to arrest the regent and proclaim Dharmapāla.

92. The arrest of Vidiye

To arrest the regent of Kōṭṭē was not so easy a task as the viceroy imagined, but a young fidalgo, named Diogo de Mello, boldly undertook to do it. With ten companions armed to the teeth, Mello set out from Colombo, prepared to effect it or die in the attempt. Arriving at the palace, Mello engaged the regent in conversation, while his companions secured the doors. When this was done, he coolly laid his hand on the regent, declaring that he arrested him in the name of the king of Portugal, and warned him

that any attempt at resistance would mean instant death. Vidiyē inquired on what charge he was arrested and was told that the prosecuting counsel would explain it in due course and that meanwhile he must go to Colombo. Fearless and resolute as Vidiyē was, he knew that Mello would shoot him dead on the spot if he resisted, and therefore submitted with perfect good grace, ordering his men not to attempt to rescue him.

93. Tammita becomes regent

The prisoner was received at the fort with a salute of artillery, but was soon subjected to indignities and kept in a foul dungeon. Tammita Sūrya became regent and the persecution of the Christians ceased. Neither the regent nor Dharmapāla was disposed to intervene on behalf of Vidiyē in spite of his appeals, as both knew that he was imperious and troublesome and was bent on dispossessing Dharmapāla.

94. Escape of Vidiye

But the wife of Vidiyē found a clever means of liberating her husband. She put herself in communication with some Portuguese whom she trusted and who had been disgusted by these excessive measures, and persuaded some experienced diggers to open a mine from the garden of the Franciscan monastery to the dungeon with great expedition and secrecy; and one night to the consternation of the Portuguese, the prisoner escaped. As he "bore in his heart bitter resentment for the ill-treatment that had been accorded to him, collecting a large number of men, whom his wife had sent to him, he betook himself in the direction of Galle and all the churches and Christians that he came across he put to the fire and sword, not sparing anything; and on reaching Galle, he did the same and burnt a fine ship that was there." He then proceeded to Rayigam Kōralē and settled down at Peḷenda "with the intention of making all the war that he could on the Portuguese."

The upheaval caused by this flight was very great. A Jesuit lay-brother who happened to come to Ceylon at this time, says in a letter of 15th December, 1552: "There are no people now in the place where the Portuguese live (*i.e.* Colombo), not even in the place where the king of this land lives (*i.e.* Kotte), save very few, because all are fled to the forests and the Christians who were there, through fear of this Tryvy Pandar*, turn pagans as before. The houses of this city of Cota are all demolished and burnt, the which we saw in ruins, which is a great pity to see, and I should have to write these things with tears and not with ink, for we saw the way of making many

* Tamil form, *Teru-street-Vidiya*.

Christians obstructed because the deeds which the Portuguese do here give them room to think that our faith is not so good as we preach, and they forthwith throw in our face the things that the Portuguese did and are doing."

95. Mayadunne leagues with the Portuguese

On the news of these events, the viceroy sent Afonso Pereira de Lacerda as captain of Colombo, who determined to pursue Vidiyē. Māyādunnē, thereupon, joined the Portuguese in the hope of getting rid of both Vidiyē and Tammita and clearing his path to the throne of Kōṭṭē. He promised to become a vassal of Portugal and pay tribute and assist the Portuguese to recover the dues of the harbours of the Kingdom of Kōṭṭē, from Puttalam to Galle, which had been given to the Portuguese and which Māyādunnē had seized. On their part, the Portuguese agreed to arrest and deport to Goa Tammita Sūrya and two other prominent men of Kōṭṭē who were opposed to Māyādunnē and whom he therefore falsely charged with being partisans of Vidiyē.

96. Arrest and release of Tammita

The unwary captain, in his desire to lay hands on Vidiyē, accepted these terms and arrested Tammita and the other two and sent them to Goa. Tammita was, however, able to convince the viceroy of his innocence, and was sent back to Ceylon with great honour, after receiving baptism and taking the name of Francisco Barreto in honour of the viceroy. His return was a blow to Māyādunnē, who, however, hid his feelings, and continued to work with the Portuguese against the greater foe.

97. Defeat of Vidiye

A combined force of the Portuguese and men of Sītāvaka under the command of Tikiri Banda, the youngest son of Māyādunnē, marched to Peḷenda and gave battle to Vidiyē. The ex-regent was defeated and fled to Dondra.

98. Vidiye in the Seven Korales

From Dondra, Vidiyē Bandāra made his way to the Seven Kōralēs where he was received by the prince of the Kōralēs. But Vidiyē soon did away with his host and made himself master of that principality. The people, thereupon, appealed to the Portuguese for assistance, and Māyādunnē likewise despatched his son to aid the people.

Vidiyē Bandāra now found himself attacked and pursued by the people of the Seven Kōralēs with the aid of his foes, and had to flee with all the treasures he had secured from Kōṭṭē. He hoped to obtain help from the king of Jaffna who was indeed willing to

assist him and even mustered his troops for the purpose. But an accidental fire led to a fight in the course of which Vidiyē lost his life, and his treasures fell into the hands of the king of Jaffna.

99. The Character of Vidiye

Vidiyē Bandāra was perhaps the bravest and certainly the most energetic and resourceful prince of his time. He was the nephew and son-in-law of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. After the death of Dharmapāla's mother, he married a daughter of Māyādunnē and was thus the son-in-law of the two low-country kings. Tall of stature, dark in complexion, with large fierce eyes, he was a man of great physical strength and warlike spirit. Feared by Māyādunnē and by the Portuguese, he had an opportunity of retrieving the fallen fortunes of Kōṭṭē, but unfortunately he was of an imperious and ambitious character and sought even to dispossess his son, so that he was feared and detested even by his own. Though he showed great self-possession and resourcefulness, he lacked wisdom. Yet his death was a great misfortune to the country: it released Māyādunnē from the chief obstacle to his long-cherished desire of seizing the throne of Kōṭṭē, and left the Portuguese to be the only defenders of his son's throne and state, with the result that the kingdom of Kōṭṭē was devastated by wars and finally passed into the hands of the Portuguese.

III

THE CONVERSION OF DHARMAPALA

100. Dharmapala becomes a Christian

The young king, being now completely free from the powerful regency of his father, decided to receive baptism with all solemnity along with his queen and the nobles of his court. He had been for a long time under the instruction of the Franciscan friars, but the fear of his subjects going over to Māyādunnē hitherto kept him back. And now as his chief chamberlain, Tammita Sūrya, and the ambassador to Lisbon, Sri Rādaraksa Paṇḍita, and all the seafaring people, from Puttalam to Dondra, had become Christians, and as the friars were very eager to see the king a Christian, and the Portuguese authorities anxious to announce the good news to Portugal, he publicly professed Christianity and received baptism with great pomp. According to the usual practice of the time, he and the queen took the names of the king and queen of Portugal and were called Don Juan and Dona Catherina respectively.

101. Effects of the conversion

This action of the king was not without its effects on his subjects. Many of the foremost men of Kōṭṭē followed his example and

received baptism and twelve churches were built by the Franciscans. But others were incensed and rose in mutiny which the Portuguese repressed so sternly that many went over to Māyādunnē who was thus enabled to appeal to the people as the champion of Buddhism.

IV

MAYADUNNE AND KOTTE

102. Advance on Kotte

Māyādunnē proclaimed himself heir to Kōṭṭē and appealed to the religious sentiments of the people. His cause was espoused by many persons in Kōṭṭē, especially by the religious leaders, many of whom were arrested and executed by the Portuguese in spite of Don Juan's entreaties, while others fled to Māyādunnē who was preparing to advance on Kōṭṭē. The viceroy immediately despatched Afonso Pereira de Lacerda with a large force to defend Kōṭṭē. As the outlying territories of Kōṭṭē had already submitted to Māyādunnē, the Portuguese, fearing a siege, began to fortify the city.

103. The siege of Kotte

The Sitāvaka army marched against Kōṭṭē in three divisions under the command of Mudaliyar Pannipitiya, Rājasinha, and Māyādunnē. They seized the lands around Kōṭṭē and beset the city, cutting it off from provisions. Don Juan, ably assisted by the Portuguese and by Tammita, conducted the defence. Though many attacks were delivered on the city, they were all successfully repelled, and the chief difficulty of the besieged was the food supplies. On the receipt of some reinforcements from India, they made a sally and succeeded in forcing the besiegers to withdraw. Māyādunnē and Rājasinha retired to Kaḍuvela, and Pannipitiya was killed in one of the many indecisive engagements. Lacerda was soon succeeded by Jorge de Mello, who marched against Māyādunnē and fought a very sanguinary but unsuccessful battle and was repulsed with loss. Don Juan was forced to look on, while the Portuguese captains conducted the warfare without forces sufficient to decide the issue: his territories were being devastated; his subjects had deserted him, and in his despondency he went to Kelaniya. Rājasinha, knowing this, tried to fall on him, but was frustrated by the Portuguese. Māyādunnē decided, however, to put off the siege for a better opportunity and withdrew to Sitāvaka, and the Portuguese appealed to Goa for reinforcements.

Couto's account of these events, though detailed and graphic, is not altogether accurate. A list of the treasures taken by the viceroy still exists: **O Tesouro do Rei de Ceilao**—published by Sousa Viterbo, Lisbon, 1904. The letter of Br. Antonio Dias, S.J., will be found translated in the **Ceylon Literary Register** III. 509. See also **The Life and Times of Vidiya Bandara** by John M. Seneveratne.

CHAPTER VI

DON JUAN AND THE PORTUGUESE
1560—1582

i.	<i>King of Kōṭṭē</i> — Don Juan	1551—1597
ii.	<i>Kings of Kandy</i> — Vikrama Bāhu Karalliyaddē Bandāra	1582
iii.	<i>Kings of Sitavaka</i> — Māyādunnē Rājasinha	1521—1581 1581—1592
iv.	<i>Kings of Jaffna</i> — Puvirāja Pandāra Kasi Naynar Periya Pillai	1561—1565

I. **Portuguese Expedition to Jaffna**: 104. The start, 105. Capture of Nallur, 106. Sankili becomes a vassal of Portugal, 107. Revolt of the country, 108. Capture of Mannār. II. **Abandonment of Kotte**: 109. Kōṭṭē and Colombo besieged, 110. Failure of the siege, 111. Battle of Mulleriyava, 112. Kotte surrounded, 113. Kōṭṭē holds out, 114. Kōṭṭē abandoned, 115. The rise of Colombo. III. **Triumph of Mayadunne**: 116. Success of Māyādunnē, 117. The plight of Don Juan, 118. Warfare, 119. Attempt to poison Don Juan, 120. Puppet king, 121. His religious zeal, 122. Rājasinha. IV. **The Siege of Colombo**: 123. Rājasinha lays siege to Colombo, (1579—1581), 124. Drains the Beira Lake, 125. Attacks the city, 126. Failure of the siege. V. **The End of Mayadunne**: 127. Death of Māyādunnē, 128. His character, 129. His achievement.

I

PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION TO JAFFNA, 1560

104. The start

THE Portuguese had long been anxious to punish Sankili, king of Jaffna, for the massacre of the Christians of Mannār (62). They planned several expeditions, but had to abandon them, though the king of Portugal kept urging his viceroys to undertake the task. At last Don Constantine de Braganza took in hand the long-deferred chastisement. His object was to reduce the king to submission, erect a fort, and settle the Portuguese colonists of San Thomé in Jaffna. With this object he set out in 1560 with a large fleet and reached Kayts in October. There Sankili was awaiting him with all his forces, and the Portuguese decided to land at Kolombuturai.

When the muster was made before landing, the viceroy found to his consternation that, though he thought he had with him a force of 4000 men, there were actually only 1200; for so great was the corruption that captains entered all their servants and dependants in the registers and drew pay, but only a small part of them actually did military duty.

105. Capture of Nallur

Braganza landed his scanty force and marched to Nallūr. This capital city of Sankili was situated on an open plain and was walled in and provided with bastions and entrenchments. Capturing the latter, the Portuguese penetrated into the city. The men of Jaffna resisted bravely but were defeated, and the city was taken and sacked. The rāja retreated to Kopay and fled during the night after setting fire to the palace. Among the treasures found in the city were those which had fallen into the hands of Sankili on the death of Vīdiyē (99).

106. Sankili becomes a vassal of Portugal

Next day the viceroy captured Kopay and, making it his headquarters, despatched detachments in all directions to pursue the fugitive king, who, however, succeeded in escaping to the mainland. From his retreat Sankili soon sent ambassadors to Braganza offering to hold his kingdom as a fief of Portugal, to pay tribute, to give free permission to preach the gospel in his territories, and to hand over the treasures of Vīdiyē. This offer was accepted, and Sankili gave his son as a hostage for the fulfilment of the terms and returned to the fort to resume possession of his territories and to make the promised delivery.

107. Revolt of the country

Meanwhile the friars, who had accompanied the viceroy, were going about the country, trying to convert the people. The Portuguese, according to their usual practice, were busy destroying temples, and the troops were beginning to act with great licentiousness in defiance of the proclamation of the viceroy. These disorders incensed the people to mutiny, and the king, seeing how small the Portuguese force was, determined to fall upon it unawares. One day, therefore, while the unwary viceroy was indulging in the chase, the people rose and killed all stragglers, entered the city, and fell upon the small garrison, which had much ado to escape to the ships. Thus the attempted conquest of Jaffna turned out a failure, for the paucity of troops prevented the viceroy from attempting to recover the city, and as the Portuguese of San Thomé had declined to migrate to Jaffna, there was no means of holding the country, even if it could be regained.

108. Capture of Mannar

Sankili's only anxiety was to ransom his son, who had been given as a hostage: and he sent ambassadors to Braganza, laying the blame on his people. The viceroy would not listen to any explanation and set sail for Mannār, taking the hostage with him, and captured and fortified that island as a stepping stone to a future conquest of Jaffna. He built a fort, brought over a colony of Christians from the Fishery coast, settled them in Mannār, and returned to India. The fort of Mannār was besieged by the king, but without success.

II

ABANDONMENT OF KOTTE

109. Kotte and Colombo besieged

While the viceroy was in Jaffna, Māyādunnē and his son returned to the charge, destroying the environs of Kōṭṭē which was all that still remained to Don Juan. The father attacked the fort of Colombo, while the son invested Kōṭṭē, to divide the Portuguese forces and prevent one section from assisting the other. The people living in the villages around Kōṭṭē found themselves at the mercy of two opposing armies and appealed to the Portuguese captain either to defend them effectively or to let them go over to Māyādunnē. The captain, therefore, resolved to attack Rājasinha and actually repulsed him from Kōṭṭē, but when he tried to dislodge him from Sudugama, he was met by the united forces of Māyādunnē and Rājasinha and was forced to retreat with heavy loss. Rājasinha, thereupon, prepared to assault Kōṭṭē, when a new captain of Colombo, Balthazar Guedes de Souza, arrived with reinforcements.

110. Failure of the siege

Guedes conducted the defence with care and method and succeeded in winning some petty skirmishes. Rājasinha sought reinforcements from Malabar, but the captain of Mannār defeated the Malabar auxiliaries and arrived in Colombo with the captured ships to the great confusion of Rājasinha. The Portuguese sallied out of the fort in pursuit of the besieger and burnt the entrenchments, forcing him to give up the siege and return to Sitāvaka.

111. Battle of Mulleriyava

But in 1562 Māyādunnē returned to the siege with a large force of troops, with cavalry and elephants of war under the command of Ēkanāyaka. They again devastated the lands and encamped at Mulleriyāva, intending to lay siege to Colombo and Kōṭṭē at the

same time. The Portuguese hastily provided for these two cities and advanced to meet the Sinhalese general, who was well entrenched with ramparts, fascines, and ditches. The first encounter was obstinate but indecisive; but Rājasinha brought fresh forces and surrounded the Portuguese in such a fashion that the latter had to fight for their lives for ten hours, and barely 125 men succeeded in cutting their way to Colombo. Rājasinha's loss was not less heavy, and he did not venture to pursue the fugitives.

112. Kotte surrounded

But before the Portuguese could recover from the blow, he marched to Kōṭṭē, surrounded the city on all sides, crossed the lake on rafts and forced the Portuguese to appeal for help. The inhabitants of the city, giving up all hope, passed over to the besiegers, and Keḷaniya likewise was abandoned and occupied by Rājasinha's men. The Portuguese were thus reduced to sore straits. The whole country around was for Rājasinha; no supplies could be obtained, and Don Juan was obliged to depend on the Portuguese alone for the defence of his metropolis. The few lieges that still remained were threatened with severe penalties by Rājasinha and they turned to the captain, who now felt that the only course left to him was to surrender the city.

113. Kotte holds out

But in the council of war summoned for the purpose, the captain's proposal of surrender was rejected with scorn, and Rājasinha, hearing of these proceedings, promptly attacked the city, but was again repelled. An attempt to storm the city likewise proved unavailing. With the assistance of a mudaliyar who had deserted Rājasinha, the Portuguese made several successful sallies. Finally when a new captain arrived in Colombo with reinforcements, Māyādunnē was again forced to raise the siege.

114. Kotte abandoned

Bitter experience now taught the Portuguese the mistake of attempting to defend two forts with such scanty forces, and the council of Goa sent orders to abandon Kōṭṭē and transfer the king and his court to Colombo, which was better fortified and could, above all, be relieved by sea. Accordingly Sri Jayavardhana Kōṭṭē was abandoned, and Don Juan and the nobles of his court were removed to Colombo. This evacuation of Kōṭṭē was symbolic of the pass to which the last Sinhalese emperor was reduced. Kōṭṭē soon fell into ruins and became the haunt of wild beasts and elephants, while Don Juan became a pensioner, and his kingdom passed into the hands of a foreigner.

115. The rise of Colombo

Colombo, on the other hand, which was a Portuguese fort with the rights and privileges of a Portuguese city and governed by a Portuguese captain, became the refuge of the king and his metropolis. The city was accordingly enlarged to include the old township or the modern Pettah, extending to what is now Kaymans Gate.* On the south it was protected by a stretch of swampy land periodically submerged by the floods of the Keḷani. This swamp was turned into the Beira lake which effectually prevented attacks from the land.



A Portuguese Coin bearing on one side the heraldic gridiron of St. Lawrence, the Coat-of-Arms of Colombo

III

THE TRIUMPH OF MAYADUNNE

116. Success of Mayadunne

The abandonment of Kōṭṭē was a triumph for Māyādunnē who now became the acknowledged sovereign of the lowlands. He was master of Sitāvaka and of the territories of Kōṭṭē, Rayigama, Denavaka, and the Four and Seven Kōralēs; in fact of everything except Colombo. Don Juan, on the other hand, now became a mere puppet in the hands of his allies, a nominal king without territories and without subjects, and upheld by the Portuguese, who now waged war in the name of the king of Portugal as the overlord and protector of Kōṭṭē.

117. The plight of Don Juan

Don Juan, whose queen had died childless during these troubles, now espoused Dona Margarida, a daughter of the king of Kandy who was brought to Colombo by sea from Trincomalee and married in Colombo with great pomp. The war on his behalf was conducted by the Portuguese captain with little reference to him. And the poor unfortunate king was fleeced, bullied, or flattered in turn by the Portuguese, and made dependent on the goodwill of the captains.

* *Kayman* or *Cayman* is the corrupt form of an American (Carib) word for an alligator or crocodile in general use among the Dutch in the East. Crocodiles were put on purpose, into the moat guarding the gate leading out of Colombo in Dutch times. The name is Kaymans (not "Kayman's") Gate: *Caymans Poort* (Valentyn) was the name used by the Dutch.

118. Warfare

It now became the turn of the Portuguese to devastate the lands and villages of Kōṭṭē. Portuguese detachments scoured the country, carrying fire and destruction to the territories now held by Māyādunnē. The latter attempted to check them by fortifying Vattaia which was the door to the Alutkūru and Siyanē Kōralēs, but the Portuguese soon razed the stockade. When Māyādunnē learnt that the king of Kandy had given to Don Juan the daughter, who had been sought in marriage by Rājasinha, he determined to add that kingdom also to his growing domains. But while he was busy in the Uḍarata, the Portuguese overran the country, capturing his forts, destroying temples, sacking the towns on the coast and seaports, and seizing the vessels. Chilaw, Negombo, Kalutara, Maggona, Beruvala, Alutgama, Veligama, Galle, and Mātara were repeatedly attacked by naval expeditions. Māyādunnē attempted to cut off Colombo from provisions by sea, but his allies of Malabar were defeated and their ships captured.

119. Attempt to poison Don Juan

The Portuguese showed themselves very much better at attacking than at defending, better at destroying than at protecting; and the only reason why the people still supported them was that the Portuguese professed to be fighting for the ancestral king of the Sinhalese. Māyādunnē, therefore, resolved to do away with that king. He bribed a Portuguese to administer a poisoned cup to the king. The man thought he could earn the bribe and outwit Māyādunnē by pouring out the contents of the cup, filling it with wine and offering it to the king; but the dregs of poison remaining in the cup were so deadly that the king was taken ill, and lost his teeth and remained ever afterwards a stammerer.

120. Puppet king

Don Juan's position became worse and worse. Bereft of subjects and territory, he was now no more than an almsman of the king of Portugal, living on a pension of two thousand zerafins a year, honoured indeed, but powerless in his own kingdom in which he now had only the revenues of a few villages around Colombo. The Portuguese, captains, soldiers, and settlers, fleeced him mercilessly, one asking for a loan, another for a gift and the like, so that the king of Portugal had to intervene and forbid donations. In his indigence, Don Juan applied to the king of Portugal for permission to export cinnamon on his own account. As cinnamon was a royal monopoly, the king preferred to increase his pension

rather than to grant him that favour. Don Juan then wrote to the Pope of Rome, and though the Pontiff answered him and wrote to the king of Portugal about the matter, it led to nothing. Yet Don Juan lived in a palace in Colombo with all the external symbols of royalty, dressed in the Portuguese style, spoke Portuguese, kept a private secretary and a bodyguard, but he had none of the powers of a king. Nevertheless, he was beloved by the Sinhalese as he represented the venerable line of their ancient kings.



Signature of Don Juan

121. His religious zeal

He was keen in the profession of the Catholic faith, and it was the fear of jeopardizing the interests of the faith that made him live with the Portuguese and put up with their impertinence. Soon after his conversion, he gifted the temple lands to the Franciscans for the purpose of erecting and maintaining schools and colleges. On the death of his second queen, he married a third, Dona Isabella, but no heir was ever born to him. In the circumstances, seeing that Māyādunnē and Rājasinha were making bitter war on him, and that if they inherited his throne, they would persecute Christianity, and, moreover, wishing to show his gratitude to the Portuguese for upholding him on the throne at the cost of so much blood, and persuaded also by the Franciscans, who had ever espoused his cause, he settled by will that, in case he should die without issue, his throne should pass to the king of Portugal. A formal Donation was accordingly drawn up, signed, and sealed on 12th August, 1580.

122. Rajasinha

Māyādunnē was now growing old and feeble, and as he had ever favoured his younger son, Tikiri Bandāra, who was born to him of a dancing woman, he decided to make him heir to his state and install him as such in his own lifetime, to the exclusion of his elder son. Tikiri Bandāra showed such skill and ability even from his youth in the management of armies and in the conduct of war, that he was known as the 'Lion King' or Rājasinha. Presages of his future greatness were spreading over the country. He was now the declared heir to Sitāvaka and Rayigama and to the greater part of the lands of Kōṭṭē, and the father and son determined to add Kōṭṭē and Kandy also to these domains so that Rājasinha might become the emperor of Ceylon.

THE SIEGE OF COLOMBO

123. Besieges Colombo 1579—1581

To become master of Kōṭṭē he had only to capture Colombo, and this Rājasinha soon set himself to accomplish. Mustering a large and powerful army of men recruited from the states that submitted to him, and fully equipped with home-made artillery, he set out to besiege Colombo. Manuel de Souza Coutinho had just arrived as captain of Colombo, and the city was quite ill prepared for a siege. The walls were low and weak, the fortifications crumbling from neglect, and the city unprovided with war materials. The force defending it consisted of about 300 Portuguese and double that number of lascarins, including Chetties and Muslims.

124. Drains the Beira Lake

The Sītāvaka army crossed the Kelani by two improvised bridges, encamped at Boralugoda (now "Wolvendaal")* and fortified itself strongly to batter the bastion of St. Thomas which faced that quarter. The attack was gallantly repulsed. One of the chief defences of Colombo was the artificial lake† which was strewn with islands. Rājasinha therefore determined to drain the lake, but was unsuccessful in the attempt. He continued to assault the bastion of St. Thomas and captured the little island lying in the lake in that direction, but was again repulsed by the Portuguese. The besieged also made sudden sallies and attacked the encampments on the south of Colombo and returned with spoils.

125. Attacks the city

Rājasinha, thereupon, made a determined effort to drain the lake into the marshes on the east of the city, by cutting a deep ditch across the elevated land (now San Sebastian‡) that separated the lake from the marshes. This he finally accomplished, stranding the vessels which were on the lake. He then delivered several attacks on the city with all his forces, but the defenders succeeded in repelling them. A mine was dug from the Sinhalese lines to the

* Wolvendaal—"Dale of the wolves", is a curious Dutch translation of aqua-de-lupo, a corruption of Guadelupe the name of the Church of Our Lady of Guadelupe built on that hilltop. It is still called "Adilippu" or "Adirippu" in Sinhalese and Tamil.

† This lake was an extensive sheet of water "encircling more than half the city" on the South and the East, and "the most important thing for the defence of the city." The West and North were protected by the sea. The eastern portion of the lake extended up to the foot of the three hillocks now called San Sebastian, Hulftsdorp and Wolvendaal. The modern 'St. John's Canal' commemorates the outlet of the lake into the sea. and 'Dam Street,' gets its name from the dam.

‡ So called because that hillock faced the bastion of St. Sebastian.

bastion of St. Sebastian, but the besieged countermined it; and these activities led to constant and almost daily encounters in which, however, the Portuguese always managed to thwart the plans of the besiegers.

126. Failure of the siege

The city being cut off from provisions, the people were faced with famine, but the authorities in India despatched supplies which helped the city to hold out. Expeditions were also sent out from Colombo to ravage the towns on the coast and bring provisions. When the siege had thus lasted a year and ten months, and both the besieged and the besiegers were worn out by the constant warfare, Mathias de Albuquerque arrived in Colombo with a force of 300 Portuguese and determined to dislodge the enemy. The Portuguese sallied out in several detachments from different directions simultaneously and fell upon the encampments of Rājasinha. When several Sinhalese generals and captains were killed, the soldiers took to flight, and Rājasinha succeeded in leading the survivors across the river before the Portuguese could pursue. A solemn procession in Colombo celebrated the successful issue of the long protracted and determined siege of Colombo.

V

THE END OF MAYADUNNE

127. Death of Mayadunne

Māyādunnē, who had been the most determined foe of Kōṭṭē and the Portuguese for the last fifty years, died at Sītāvaka without accomplishing the great object of his life. According to the Mahāvansa, he was murdered by Rājasinha who "in the wickedness of his heart slew his father with his own hand". The Portuguese also heard that he was poisoned by the son, for it is so asserted by Diogo do Couto, who was in India at the time, by Linschoten who visited India afterwards, and by Spilbergen who visited Kandy. But Māyādunnē was about eighty years old at the time and had resigned the throne to his son, so that it is difficult to imagine a motive for so base an act, unless he had perhaps opposed a whim of the son.

128. His character

Māyādunnē was a man of daring, crafty and ambitious, who shrank from nothing to secure the one object of his life. He was the youngest of the three sons of Vijaya Bāhu, and planned the despoiling of his own father (31). He was not satisfied with the kingdom of Sītāvaka which fell to his lot (32), and spent the rest of his life in an attempt to be the king of Kōṭṭē and overlord of Ceylon. As the alliance of the Portuguese stood in the way of his scheme, he became their bitterest foe and made use of every possible

weapon against them. He annexed the territories of his brother Rayigam Bandāra without let or hindrance from Bhuvaneka Bāhu. He repeatedly attempted to seize the throne of Kōṭṭē, but was foiled by the Portuguese. He sought the alliance of the Samorin of Calicut, but delivered the heads of the Malabar generals to save his own (46). He craftily embroiled Bhuvaneka Bāhu and Vikrama Bāhu with the Portuguese in order to cut them off from Portuguese assistance against himself. In order to destroy Vidiyē Bandāra and Tammita, (95—96) who stood in the way of his ambition, he feigned friendship with the Portuguese and paid tribute to Portugal. He sought the lives of both Bhuvaneka Bāhu (81) and Don Juan (110); he achieved the first and almost succeeded in the other: but none of these schemes availed to secure him the overlordship of Ceylon in spite of ceaseless warfare for fifty years.

129. His achievement

Yet he achieved much. He brought the greater part of Kōṭṭē under his sway, and drove its king into the arms of the Portuguese. The latter he reduced to great straits; he hemmed him and his allies in Kōṭṭē and Colombo: he forced them to abandon the one and prevented them from sallying out of the other. He was to all intents and purposes the sovereign of the lowlands and planned the annexation of the highland kingdom. Though he failed in his great attempt to be overlord of Ceylon, he bequeathed his ambition to his son, along with an implacable hatred of the Portuguese, which made this island a prey to warfare, without ridding it of the foreigner, and the worst of all, paved the way to the extinction of the dynasty of Kōṭṭē and of the political independence of the island.

The Portuguese expedition to Jaffna is described in detail by Couto and by Queyroz. For **Sankilli's fortress of Kopay** see **Ceylon Antiquary II**. The letter of Don Joan to the Pope of Rome still exists in the **Vatican Archives** and the illustration in the text is taken from that letter. The Pope's reply and letter to the King of Portugal are given in the **Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum**. For an account of the ruins of Kotte see **Alakeswara and his Times** by E. W. Perera, in the *Journal R. A. S. Ceylon*, XVIII. The Donation of Dharmapāla is in the *Torre do Tombo*, **Livro de Leitura-nova**, press 2, **Casa da Coroa**. D. W. Ferguson published a translation in **The Orientalist III**. A Dutch translation (1675) made from the Portuguese copy which existed in Colombo, is printed along with connected papers in the same *Journal* (**The Orientalist III**): The ratification of the Donation by the people of Ceylon, 4th November, 1583, is in the *Torre do Tombo*, **Gavetas** 14-4-24. The second marriage of Don Joan in 1573 is mentioned in **Biker, Colleccion de Tratados I** 225, (*Ceylon Literary Register* 3rd series II) the third marriage, in the **Archivo Portuguez Oriental III** 119 937.

For the **Lineage of the Emperor and Kings of Ceylon** see C. L. R. 3rd series IV. 190 and seqq. For the ruins of Berendi Kovil see the five illustrations in Bell, **Kegalla Report** pp. 64—65.

CHAPTER VII

RAJASINHA I.

i.	<i>King of Kōṭṭē—</i>	
	Don Juan	1551—1597
ii.	<i>Kings of Kandy—</i>	
	Karalliyaddē Bandāra	1582
	Rājasinha	1582—1592
	Don Philip	1592
	Vimaladharmā I.	1592—1604
iii.	<i>King of Sitāvaka—</i>	
	Rājasinha	1582—1592
iv.	<i>King of Jaffna—</i>	
	Puvirāja Pandāra	1582—1591

I. **Rajasinha's Offensive**: 130. Rajasinha seizes the Udarata, 131. Karalliyadde Bandara, 132. The great siege 1587—1588, 133. State of the city, 134. Conduct of the siege, 135. Assaults, 136. The Portuguese ravage the coast, 137. The city holds out. II. **The Revolt of Kandy**: 138. Bitterness of Rajasinha, 139. The Udarata revolts, 140. Expedition of the Udarata, 141. Don Philip enthroned, 142. Revolt of Konappu Bandara, 143. Prince Don Joao. III. **Rajasinha's end and the Succession**: 144. Death of Rajasinha, 145. His character, 146. His achievements, 147. Vimaladharmā Surya.

I

RAJASINHA'S OFFENSIVE

130. Rajasinha seizes the Udarata

RAJASINHA now turned his attention to the Udarata. Its king, Karalliyaddē Bandāra, had obtained a small Portuguese force for his protection, but one of his chiefs, Virasundara of Perādeniya, assisted Rājasinha, who, thereupon, marched with a large army and routed the Udarata army at Balana. The king and his court fled with the Portuguese escort and were conducted to Trincomalee where the refugees were joined by another Portuguese company. The Udarata submitted to Rājasinha, who thus became sovereign of a larger tract of territory than any other Sinhalese king of the century.

131. Karalliyadde Bandara

Karalliyaddē Bandāra who had received baptism under the name of Don John died of smallpox, having entrusted his nephew, Yamasinha, and his infant daughter, Dona Catherina, to the Portuguese, who took them to Mannār where they were brought up with great care.

132. The great siege 1587—1588

Having annexed the Udarata, Rājasinha was intent on capturing Colombo, and devoted himself heart and soul to the preparation

and equipment of a besieging army, consisting of the fighting forces of the many states now subject to him. For this purpose he first reduced the states to his will by mercilessly putting to death all those whom he suspected of any disaffection to him, including the greater part of his kinsmen. Vīrasundara who had betrayed the Uḍarata to him was foully murdered, and his son, Konappu, with his followers fled to Colombo. Rājasinha sent embassies to foreign princes hostile to the Portuguese to solicit their co-operation and ask for warlike material. The Malabar pirates were persuaded to intercept relief from Goa, while the country around Colombo was carefully guarded so that no provisions might reach the city. Foraging parties scoured the environs of the city to sack and plunder the villages friendly to Don Juan and the Portuguese. But the rigorous and despotic exactions and executions of Rājasinha embittered his subjects to such an extent that they attempted to destroy him by poison. He promptly executed all suspected of complicity, without sparing even the Buddhist monks. Finally, after offering many sacrifices, even of human lives, as was believed, for the success of his venture, he led a large and fully-armed force from Sitāvaka in several divisions, and arriving before the walls of the city, encamped at Boralugoda and on the elevated portions of the marshes of Dematagoda which in consequence are still known as Māligāvatta and Māligākanda respectively.

Joao Correa de Brito who had succeeded to the captaincy of Colombo viewed this advance with great trepidation. The city had been cut off from all traffic in merchandise from which its scanty revenues were drawn. Provisions were obtained with great trouble and in quantities scarcely sufficient for the 60,000 souls within the walls.

133. State of the city

The fighting force consisted of only 350 Portuguese, counting the old and the weak, assisted by some lascarins, and the fortress was insufficiently stocked with ammunition and artillery. The captain, therefore, sent urgent messages to Goa and began to fortify the city as well as his resources permitted. The first fortifications, built in 1551 (91) withstood the previous assaults, but had suffered much from hostile attacks and from the monsoon rains. Brito, therefore, made haste to repair the landward bastions of St. John, St. Thomas and St. Stephen. The bastion of St. John which was the principal one, most exposed to attack, as it guarded the bay on one side and commanded the plain on the other, was repaired and raised in height, and secured by a ditch ending in the sea, and in this ditch were placed *pada* boats to serve as parapets for the defenders. The level plain, 125 paces long, from the bastion to the sea, was walled in and raised five fathoms high with

battlements, spikes, and good artillery. The bastion of St. Thomas was strengthened with thick walls, so that under cover of St. John's it might defend the seashore. The bastion of St. Stephen which commanded the plain of St. Thomas, "Santumpitiya*", and Galpotta, and flanked two bastions on one side and for on the other, was strongly fortified with watch-towers and gun platforms. Portuguese and Sinhalese officers of Don Juan, including Konappu Bandāra, the son of Vīrasundara of Perādeniya, who had become a Christian under the name of Don Juan of Austria, vied with one another in erecting fortifications and defending the posts.

134. Conduct of the siege

Rājasinha now resumed the work of draining the lake which he soon accomplished by re-opening his former ditch† and cutting another. Having drained the lake dry, he brought the approaches within four paces of the city walls and entrenched himself with stakes, rivetments, fortlets, and trenches, while his artillery kept up a continuous fire on the city. To divert him, a naval expedition set out from Colombo and devastated the towns on the coast.

135. Assaults

Four general assaults were made on the city with great daring and impetuosity and an array of elephants of war, under the personal direction of Rājasinha, but they were all successfully repelled by the Portuguese. Rājasinha, therefore, attempted to attack the city by sea, but of the four galleys commanded by foreign mercenaries and carrying Sinhalese troops that set out from Mutwal, two were sunk and the rest forced to flee. The siege, however, continued without interruption, reducing the city to great straits by famine and disease. The three bastions on the landside were repeatedly and desperately attacked and even mined, but were gallantly and successfully defended.

136. The Portuguese ravage the coast

The Portuguese, who had received some scanty reinforcements, ravaged the sea coast towns in search of provisions, plundering and destroying temples. In the course of one of these marauding expeditions, the famous Vishnu Dēvālaya of Dondra was destroyed and sacked by Thome de Souza. Finally in February, 1588, a relief expedition arrived from Goa, and Rājasinha quickly raised the siege before he could be attacked. His army was pursued as far as Vēragoda, but succeeded in retiring to Sitāvaka.

* Lit. "Plain of San Thomè", now Gintupitiya !

† Now called San Sebastian Canal.

137. The city holds out

This was the last and the greatest of the sieges of Rājasinha. He began it with great hopes of success, conducted it with great dexterity and skill, and employed in it all the forces at his command. He was assisted by the rājas of India who cut off the city from provisions. Muslims, Kaffirs, and Malays were also employed, especially in the naval engagements, but still the city held out in spite of the paucity of men, famine, and plague.

II

THE REVOLT OF KANDY**138. Bitterness of Rajasinha**

Rājasinha was embittered by his failure to carry Colombo and became tyrannical towards his own subjects. Sotupala Bandāra, the prince of the tributary province of the Seven Kōralēs, revolted against him and sought the aid of the Portuguese. While Rājasinha was hastening against Sotupala, the Portuguese captured the frontier forts, which so incensed the king that, abandoning his march to the Seven Kōralēs, he returned to Sitāvaka and executed the captains who had surrendered the forts. He then despatched an army to chastise Sotupala, but it was defeated at Talampitiya. He therefore marched in person, destroyed the villages, and beheaded those who had supported the revolt of the prince, while the latter fled to the Portuguese.

139. The Udarata revolts

In the Udarata likewise the standard of revolt was raised by Mudaliyar Don Francisco, a Christian grandson of Gampola Devi. The people who groaned under Rājasinha, flocked to the standard of Don Francisco, who expelled the agents of Sitāvaka and sent a message to Yamasinha, the nominated heir of the last legitimate king of the Udarata (131), to return to take possession of the throne of his fathers. Yamasinha, it will be remembered, had been entrusted to the Portuguese by Karalliyaddē when he was fleeing before Rājasinha. The Portuguese took the prince to Goa, where he became a Christian under the name of Don Philip and received a pension from the king of Portugal. He was at this time at Mannār, entreating the Portuguese to place him on the throne. The authorities at Goa, however, were not satisfied with his proceedings, but the Franciscan friars espoused his cause and were eager to see him placed on the throne.

140. Expedition to the Udarata

Thus, when Don Francisco invited the prince to take possession of the throne, the friars exerted themselves on his behalf and persuaded the viceroy to enthrone him. An expedition to the

Udarata had already been decided upon at the suggestion of Konappu Bandāra, *alias* Don Juan of Austria, who had been sent to Goa in punishment for some misdeed and had earned a name for prowess. He was an intrepid man and undertook to raise the Udarata against Rājasinha. But, on the intercession of the friars, it was now decided to send this expedition to enthrone Don Philip. Don Juan of Austria was not at all pleased with the subordinate position that was assigned to him, but appeared to submit for the nonce.

141. Don Philip enthroned

A promise was exacted from Don Philip and his son Don Joaō that they would be loyal vassals of Portugal, and a document was executed bequeathing the Udarata to the king of Portugal in case of the failure of issue. After these preliminaries, Don Philip advanced to Kandy under a Portuguese escort. He was met by Don Francisco, who formally delivered the kingdom to him, and the new king was acclaimed at Vahakōṭṭe. The men of the Udarata flocked to his standard; a fort was erected at Gannoruva and manned by Portuguese troops; and advancing to Ganēṭenna Don Philip's general, Don Juan of Austria, defeated the forces of Rājasinha and returned to Kandy. The Portuguese escort returned to Mannār, leaving a garrison at Gannoruva.

142. Revolt of Konappu Bandara

The defeat of Rājasinha's forces gave security to Don Philip, but it also stirred the ambition of Don Juan of Austria. The Franciscans who had come with the new king rebuilt the church of Senkadagala and began to engage themselves actively in evangelization. This was naturally displeasing to the people and gave Don Juan an opportunity of instilling into the people a mistrust of the Portuguese. The document which Don Philip and his son had signed could also be adduced against them, and Don Juan of Austria was found to be winning supporters, when Don Philip suddenly fell ill and died under very suspicious circumstances. The Portuguese garrison then acclaimed his son, Don Joaō, as king; but Don Juan of Austria, aided by the party he had been secretly forming, seized the government of the country and besieged Gannoruva, forcing the Portuguese to retreat to Mannār. The captain of Mannār, who was unable to intervene, managed to rescue the newly acclaimed king, the ladies of his household, and the Franciscans against whom the usurper was very wroth.

143. Prince Don Joao

The ex-king who was a boy of twelve was sent to the College of the Kings at Goa for his education. Afterwards he went to Portugal, took holy orders as a Catholic priest, renounced his claims to the Udarata in favour of the king of Portugal, and received a princely

allowance on which he lived at Telheiras, a suburb of Lisbon, a life of luxury and ostentation, unworthy of his profession. He died there in 1642 aged 64.

III

RAJASINHA'S END AND THE SUCCESSION

144. Death of Rajasinha

The erstwhile Don Juan of Austria, formerly Konappu Bandāra, proclaimed himself king. Rājasinha, thereupon, sent a large force against the usurper, but the latter successfully held the pass of Balana against the invaders. The reinforcements sent by Rājasinha were repelled with loss. Rājasinha took the defeat of his forces very much to heart and retreated in chagrin. On the way a bamboo splinter pierced his foot, and, refusing to let his wound be treated, he entered the royal barge to go to Ruvanvella but died on the way. It was indeed a sad death for one of the most warlike kings that ever ruled in Ceylon. His ceaseless campaigns had entailed great hardships on his subjects, but his character could not brook opposition. He is said to have killed his own father, (127) but there is no doubt that he killed all those who dared to oppose him in any particular. The failure of his many sieges was most bitter to him; and now the loss of the frontier forts and the return of Don Philip and Don Juan of Austria to Kandy broke his heart and he profited by the accident to end his disappointed life; though some local chronicles would have it that he was so detested by his own people that under the pretence of curing his wound they poisoned him.

145. His character

Whatever may be the manner of his death, his personality looms large in the history of Ceylon both for weal and woe. He was even a far more implacable foe of the Portuguese than his father, and the wars which he waged against them echoed his fame beyond the limits of this island. The Portuguese describe him as a mighty general, endowed with a military genius akin to that of Hannibal, Alexander, and Caesar. As this was an indirect compliment to themselves in that they won the credit of holding out against such a warrior, it is doubtless an exaggeration. But there can be no doubt about his military skill and enterprise and resourcefulness. Had he been wiser in his government and devoted some time to the consolidation of his conquests, and had he been less jealous of rivals, he might have achieved the glory of uniting the whole island under his sway. But his despotism made his vassals and lieges revolt against him. His change of religion from Buddhism to Hinduism made him so much detested by the Sinhalese chroniclers

that they describe him as a wicked parricide king, who wantonly killed monks and burnt ancient Sinhalese books. This may likewise be an exaggeration, though there is enough to show that he was wicked, haughty, and self-willed.

146. His achievements

Yet he was by far the greatest monarch that this island had for centuries. His ambitious effort to drive the Portuguese out of the island made him a hero in the popular imagination. The magnitude of his exploits and the grandeur of his schemes made him the terror of the Portuguese. He was an instance of how a brave and warlike king might be the cause of a country's rise or its downfall according to the wisdom or the folly of his counsels. Rājasinha missed being the country's deliverer only to become the cause of its downfall. For his death brought about a complete change in the affairs of this island. He had done away with every rival, and no prince of the royal line was now left to stand up to the Portuguese. Thus the extensive empire which he had brought under his sway crumbled in a short time and was soon reduced to the subjection of Don Juan to become eventually a Portuguese possession. In the Udarata, however, Rājasinha's death gave rise to the establishment of a new dynasty, destined to be the hereditary foe of the Portuguese.

147. Vimaladharmasūrya

The new king of Kandy, Konappu Bandāra, *alias* Don Juan of Austria, assumed the name of Vimaladharmasūrya and governed the country with great sagacity. His long acquaintance with the Portuguese, their way of living, their military tactics, and their vices, now enabled him to defy that nation most successfully. His knowledge of the likes and dislikes of his countrymen helped him to please them and win popularity by professing great zeal for Buddhism, by erecting religious edifices and above all by setting up a Daladā Māligāva in his metropolis. What he still lacked was a just title to the throne, and the Portuguese in their blindness supplied even this deficiency, as we shall soon see. (158, 181).

For the events narrated in this chapter see Queyroz *Conquista* 439-445, 705-9. As the Eleventh Decade of Couto is lost. D. W. Ferguson compiled a summary of events from 1588-1596 from the sources available at the time (*Journal R. A. S. Ceylon* XX 388-409). The account of Queyroz was not known at the time. The earthworks of the fort of Gannoruva can still be traced in the Experimental Garden, Peradeniya. (Lawrie's *Gaz.* 276.) For Don João, "Prince of Candea" see Queyroz and especially Sousa Viterbo (*Arch. Hist. Port.* ii and iii). He received a pension of 4000 cruzados a year (Torre do Tombo—*Chancellaria de D. Filipe II* Doacoes L.21—f.228). His villa and the chapel in which he was buried, at Telheiras, are now in ruins. His tomb was rifled by seekers for treasure during the Portuguese revolution, but his escutcheon was rescued and is now placed in a museum (The Carmo) at Lisbon. His portrait was in the Bibliotheca Nacional at Lisbon, but disappeared in recent times.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GROWTH OF PORTUGUESE POWER

i.	<i>King of Kōttē</i> — Don Juan	1551—1597
ii.	<i>King of Kandy</i> — Vimaladharmā	1592—1604
iii.	<i>Kings of Sitāvaka</i> — Rājasūrya	1592
	Nikapitīyē Bandāra	1592
	Don Juan (of Kōttē)	1593—1597
iv.	<i>Kings of Jaffna</i> — Puvirāja Pandāram	1582—1591
	Hendarmana Singa (Pararāsa Sekaran)	1591—1615

I. **Jaffna becomes a Portuguese Protectorate**: 148. Kings of Jaffna, 149. The expedition of Furtado, 1591, 150. The Nallur convention. II. **Sitāvaka re-annexed to Kotte**: 151. Nikapitīyē Bandāra, 152. Mannamperuma Mohottala, 153. Sitāvaka recovered. III. **The attempt to subjugate Kandy**, 1594: 154. Success of the Portuguese, 155. Pero Lopes de Souza, 156. Dona Catherina enthroned, 1594, 157. Jayavira slain, 158. The Portuguese surrounded and slain. IV. **Don Jeronimo de Azevedo (1594—1611)**: 159. Azevedo, Captain-General of Ceylon, 160. The Rebellion of Domingos Correa, 161. The Retreat from Sitāvaka, 162. Siman Correa, 163. The Capture of Domingos Correa, 164. The revolt of Jotupala. V. **The End of Don Juan**: 165. His death, 166. His misfortunes, 167. Conversion, 168. Popularity.

JAFFNA BECOMES A PORTUGUESE PROTECTORATE

148. Kings of Jaffna

SANKILI who had massacred the Christians of Mannār in 1544, (62) and succeeded in throwing off the Portuguese yoke in 1560, (107) was so cruel a monarch that his own subjects finally revolted against him and set up on the throne his son, Puvirāja Pandāram. The throne was next seized by Kasi Naynar who also was so unacceptable to the people that, with the assistance of the Portuguese. of Mannār, they imprisoned the king and raised another to the throne. Kasi Naynar, however, escaped from prison and seized the throne, whereupon he was assassinated at the instigation of the captain of Mannār, who then raised Periya Pulle to the throne under the new name of Chegarāja Sekaran.

He was succeeded by Puvirāja Pandāram or Pararāsa Sekaran who desired to rid his kingdom of the Portuguese and laid siege to Mannār, but the auxiliary force from Calicut which he had bespoken did not come in time, and being repulsed with great loss, he wreaked his vengeance on the Christian population of Mantota. The Portuguese, coming to know that a Calicut fleet had set sail to aid

the rāja of Jaffna, despatched an expedition under the command of Andre de Furtado de Mendonca. In Portugal Bay Mendonca encountered the Calicut fleet while the men were on land and captured the camp, destroyed the fleet, and arrived at Mannār in triumph with the prize. Thence he made for Jaffna with a large Portuguese force and country troops to chastise the king. The fleet arrived at Kolombuturai, dispersed the king's forces, marched to Paṭṭanam, now Jaffnapatam, and seized the storehouses.

149. The expedition of Furtado 1591

The next day the army advanced to Nallūr, destroying the stockades on the way with great mortality. At Nallūr the king's forces made a determined stand, but were soon overpowered. A young prince, son of Periya Pulle, was on the point of being slain, when Simao Pinhao rescued him, an incident which is now found sculptured on a slab in the Maha Saman Dēvalāya of Sabaragamuva. Puvirāja Pandāram attempted to escape, but was captured and beheaded, and many members of his household were taken prisoners. The spoil included money, rich jewellery, vessels, and artillery, the greater part of the last mentioned bearing the coat-of-arms of Portugal.



Sculptured Slab, Maha Saman Dēvalāya, Sabaragamuva

150. The Nallur convention

Furtado next issued a proclamation, calling upon the people of the kingdom to resume their occupations in peace and summoning the chief men to a convention. He then asked the assembled chiefs to acclaim the king of Portugal as suzerain of Jaffna, and promised to maintain the laws and customs of

COM - ESTA - RENDI - ESTE HA 23
ANNOS - Q ANDO - NA - INDIA - E -
HA - I6 - QUE - SIRVO - DE - CAPITAO
- E - AO - QUE - OS - PEIS - VEDES -
HE - O - REI - DE - IAFANAPATAO -
EU - SIMAN - PINHAO - O - VENCI.

With this (sword) I overcame this (man) and it is 23 years that I am in India, and 16 that I serve as Captain. And he whom at my feet you see is the King of Jafanapatan. I, Siman Pinhao, vanquished him.

the country. This was accepted, and the two parties took an oath, and Furtado, on the advice of his council, placed on the throne the prince rescued by Simao Pinhao. The new king, Hendarmana Singa, was a son of Periya Pulle and took the name of Pararāsa Sekaran and was accorded a garrison of Portuguese and lascarins. Grateful to the Portuguese for the preservation of his life and the restoration of his state, this king remained loyal to them to the end of his life, (1591—1615). A plot was formed by some dissatisfied chiefs to enthrone another prince with the aid of the rāja of Tanjore and Vimaladharmā Sūrya, but the captain of Mannār captured the force sent from Tanjore and frustrated the plot. Pararāsa was suspected of being in league with the monarch of Kandy, though he greatly favoured Christianity and gave the Franciscans leave to build churches.

II

SITAVAKA RE-ANNEXED TO KOTTE

151. Nikapitiye Bandara

In Sitāvaka the effects of Rājasinha's death were most disastrous. Contests for succession caused great dissensions, for Rājasinha had no surviving son. The most powerful man in the kingdom was Mannamperuma Mohottāla or Aritta Kivendu Perumal, an Indian fakir, who had become a great general and a favourite of Rājasinha. This man now decided to make a bid for the kingship. Rājasūrya, a grandson of Rājasinha, was proclaimed king, but was assassinated soon afterwards with the connivance of Mannamperuma. Thereupon the widow of Vīdiyē Bandāra, Maha Bisō Bandāra, who was a sister of Rājasinha and a person of great influence, succeeded in securing the throne to her grandson, Nikapitiyē Bandāra, as he was the nearest kinsman of Rājasinha. Mannamperuma acquiesced in it with ulterior views. The boy was acclaimed with the grandmother as regent and Mannamperuma as commander-in-chief. But Mannamperuma's ascendancy displeased the two other generals, Panikki and Kuruppu, who, therefore, went over to Don Juan with their forces.

152. Mannamperuma Mohottala

The captain of Colombo, Pedro Homem Pereira, wishing to fish in troubled waters, despatched a Sinhalese detachment to Alutkīru Kōralē. Mannamperuma fell upon this force, routed it, and returning to Sitāvaka, sought to marry the king's sister in the hope of eventually supplanting the boy king, but Maha Bisō Bandāra rejected his advances with scorn. Mannamperuma then retired

to Menikkadavara, increased his army, and sent a message to Colombo, offering to place all the territories of Kōttē under subjection to Don Juan, if he would be supported in his pretensions to Sitāvaka. The Portuguese captain accepted the offer, and Mannamperuma assumed the name of Jayavīra Bandāra in anticipation of success; but his followers deserted him, and he was forced to flee to Colombo and take service under Don Juan Panikki, thereupon, returned to Sitāvaka and became the commander-in-chief.

153. Sitavaka recovered

Within six months of these events, the forces of Sitāvaka were defeated at Rakgahavatta, Kaḍuvala and Malvāna, and the whole of the ancient kingdom of Kōttē was restored to Don Juan. To oppose further invasion, Panikki was quickly despatched to Gurubēvila with the whole force of Sitāvaka. But the mudaliyar's heart failed him, and he deserted to the Portuguese for the second time. Gurubēvila was taken, and the Sitāvaka force slain or routed. The victorious army hastened to the city of Sitāvaka, captured, and sacked the city. Jayavīra secured the greater part of the treasures and began to play the great lord. Nikapitiyē Bandāra and his grandmother were pursued and captured. Jayavīra profited by the opportunity to slay all those who had opposed him. The Mātara disāvani was soon reduced and the whole of Sitāvaka and Kōttē now acknowledged Don Juan.

Nikapitiyē Bandāra was entrusted to the Franciscans who educated him in the College of St. Anthony in Colombo and baptized him under the name of Don Philip. He subsequently went to follow the course of Arts at Goa and finally to the university of Coimbra where he died in 1611. He was the first Ceylonese to be entered in the books of a European university.

III

THE ATTEMPT TO SUBJUGATE KANDY, 1594

154. Success of the Portuguese

Pedro Homem Pereira garrisoned Sitāvaka and the frontiers and returned to Colombo. He had the good fortune to accomplish in a few months what the others had in vain attempted for many years. The kingdoms of Jaffna, Sitāvaka, and Kōttē were now Portuguese protectorates. The ease with which this was accomplished made the Portuguese dream of reducing the Uḍarata to the same pass. Vimaladharmā Sūrya was a usurper, an apostate from Christianity, and very hostile to the Portuguese. The lawful heir to the kingdom was Dona Catherina, daughter of Karalliyaddē,

entrusted to the Portuguese in his dying hour and brought up by them at Mannār (131). It seemed the easiest thing in the world to oust the renegade and enthrone the legitimate heir who was now a girl in her teens. Pereira, therefore, communicated his plans to the viceroy through a friend, Pero Lopes de Souza, and asked for reinforcements. His friend, however, thought of securing the glory of the enterprise to himself and negotiated with the viceroy and had himself nominated "conquistador" of Ceylon.

155. Pero Lopes de Souza

In May, 1594, Souza arrived in Ceylon with six hundred Portuguese soldiers, and sending a party to escort Dona Catherina, he marched to Uḍarata with Jayavīra Bandāra and his men. Pedro Homem Pereira, the captain of Colombo, was indignant that the conduct of this expedition should have been entrusted to Souza, and remained sullenly in Colombo. Souza led the expedition through Attanagalla, Menikkāḍavara, and Polgahavela, where he was joined by Vīdiyē Bandāra, prince of the Seven Kōralēs, who had fallen out with Vimaladharmā. Dona Catherina was brought from Mannār, and the general made for Senkaḍagala. Vimaladharmā's forces which tried to oppose the march were routed, and he himself fled the city. The Portuguese crossed the river, encamped in the city and sent detachments in all directions to reduce the vassal states. The prince of Ūva was captured and beheaded; there was no opposition in the other provinces.

156. Dona Catherina enthroned, 1594

Accordingly they acclaimed Dona Catherina queen of the Uḍarata. The people rejoiced indeed to see a scion of their royal line once more enthroned, but were very suspicious when they found that their queen was surrounded by Portuguese and that her countrymen and lieges had no access to her. To add to these forebodings, it was rumoured that Souza intended to marry the queen, or at least that she was to have a Portuguese husband. Jayavīra, thereupon, came forward as a candidate for the queen's hand, but the general, unwilling to offend the powerful commander-in-chief of the Sinhalese forces by a refusal, found an excuse for deferring the matter.

157. Jayavira slain

In the circumstances the wily Vimaladharmā made advances to Jayavīra, to betray the Portuguese to him. Jayavīra accordingly sent a detachment to Ūva and betrayed it into the hands of Vimaladharmā and urged the general to avenge the insult in the hope of luring him out of the city. The general, whose suspicions were aroused, found reason for not following his advice. Meanwhile

the people were quitting Senkaḍagala to join Vimaladharmā, and the Portuguese were hard put to it to find provisions for such a large army. Some inkling of the treacherous dealings of Jayavīra had also reached the ears of the general who was beginning to be very cautious, when one of Jayavīra's own kinsmen betrayed the plot. Jayavīra was forthwith seized and slain, and his treasures confiscated, whereupon all the lascarins deserted the Portuguese, who found themselves alone in a hostile country.

158. The Portuguese surrounded and slain

The Portuguese, therefore, decided to retreat to Colombo in all haste, and reached Gannoruva, where they were surrounded by Vimaladharmā. They then determined to sell their lives dearly and fought obstinately, but were all slain, excepting 93 men, including Souza who, however, was badly wounded. Vimaladharmā returned to Senkaḍagala in triumph with the prisoners, conducting Dona Catherina whom he promptly married. Though Souza was carefully nursed of his wounds, he soon expired, entrusting his son to Vimaladharmā. The captives were set to work in building the royal palace, but forty men, horribly mutilated in the face, and with only one eye for every four, were sent to Colombo to show the victor's contempt.

Pereira, who had not stirred a finger to help the general, repented of it when he learnt of the disgrace that had befallen the Portuguese arms, and attempted to relieve his countrymen, but it was too late. The whole country now rose in revolt. Kāngara, an Arachchi in Portuguese service, profited by the disorder to head a rebellion.

IV

DON JERONIMO DE AZEVEDO (1594—1611)

159. Azevedo, Captain-General of Ceylon

When the news of this great disaster reached Goa, the viceroy immediately despatched Don Jeronimo de Azevedo as captain-general of Ceylon to recover the lost territories and retrieve the lost reputation. Azevedo set out from Colombo in January 1595, taking Don Juan with him to attract the people, and inflicting great cruelties in the revolted territories in retaliation for the mutilation of prisoners. He soon mastered Rakgahavatta, Navagamuva, Gurubevila, and Sitāvaka, placed Don Juan in the palace of Sitāvaka, and appointed Domingos Correa as disāva of the Seven Kōralēs, and Don Fernando Samarakōn as disāva of Mātara. Malvāna, Gurubevila, Ruvanvella, and Menikkāḍavara were garrisoned and Denavaka and the Four Kōralēs reduced to obedience, and stockades were erected at Mātara, Galle, Kalutara, Negombo, and Chilaw.

160. The rebellion of Domingos Correa

But, at this juncture, Domingos Correa rose against the Portuguese. He was a son of the interpreter of Don Juan, and a man of great pride and ambition, whose throat had been cut on the orders of Rājasinha, but who had escaped death with only a scar. Born and bred amongst the Portuguese, he was allied to them by inter-marriage and had been made commander-in-chief of the lascarins. But profiting by the general resentment against the severities of Azevedo, he raised the standard of revolt along with his cousin Naide Appu, otherwise Juan Fernandez. He tried to tempt Samarakōn Rala also to join him, but that mudaliyar was a loyal supporter of Don Juan and the Portuguese.

161. The retreat from Sitavaka

On learning of this revolt, Azevedo feared for the safety of Don Juan and immediately recalled the garrisons of Menikkaḍavara and Ruvanvella to Sitāvaka; but as the country around was in revolt, he resolved to retreat to Colombo by way of Gurubevila. Don Juan and his queen, escorted by the three garrisons, reached Gurubevila with great trouble and difficulty, but as the roads to Colombo were held by the rebels, it was thought prudent to retreat by Horana. Pursued and harassed by the supporters of Correa and Kāngara, they fought their way to Horana only to find it occupied by the rebels in full force. But a relieving force sent from Colombo attacked and dispersed the rebels and succeeded in conducting the king and the queen safe to Colombo.

162. Siman Correa

Colombo and Galle were all that were now left to Don Juan, all the rest of the recently recovered territories being up in arms. Azevedo, however, with invincible courage again took the field and recovered and refortified Rakgahavatta and proceeding to Gurubevila defeated a force led by the rebel's brother Siman Correa. Another force was defeated at Uḍugampola and the greater part of the rebel's treasures captured. Correa himself fled to Senkaḍagala, where he was received with all honour by Vimaladharmā, who supplied him with men and arms to continue the struggle. With these Correa, who had now assumed the title of Edirille Bandāra, set out for Uḍuvara where Samarakōn was. Vimaladharmā also descended on the lowlands and routed a force under Don Constantine Navaratna, nephew of Don Juan.

163. The capture of Domingos Correa

By 1596 Azevedo received some reinforcements which enabled him to fortify Malvāna and scour the country, forcing the men of Uḍarata to retreat to Senkaḍagala. Samarakōn, who had been

despatched to recover the Mātara disāvani, was at Uḍuvara, when Domingos Correa came upon him with a large force; but when the rebel gave battle, he was routed and had to flee in disguise, with a price upon his head. He was accordingly betrayed and delivered into the hands of Samarakōn who took him down to Kalutara where Azevedo was. The victorious mudaliyar received an ovation, and the captive was taken to Colombo, tried, and executed.

164. The revolt of Jotupala

The Portuguese again took the field, but Vimaladharmā persuaded Siman Correa to continue the work begun by his brother, Domingos. He, therefore, assumed the title of Navaratna Bandāra and acclaimed himself king of Sitāvaka and, with the aid of Rājasinha, prince of Denavaka, Māyādunnē of the Four Kōralēs, and Jotupala of the Seven, he opposed the attempts of the Portuguese to reduce the Four and the Seven Kōralēs. The Portuguese, however, held their own, and building a fort at Sitāvaka, assaulted Kurunēgala on one side, and Kendangamuva and Batugedara on the other. A fort was erected on the site of a temple at Kuruvita and maintained in the teeth of Vimaladharmā, who attempted to reduce it by corrupting the lascarins and by laying siege to it, but without avail. An attempt on Samarakōn at Ruhuna was equally unsuccessful.

V

THE END OF DON JUAN

165. The death of Don Juan

While these events were taking place, Don Juan Maha Bandāra, the last Sinhalese king of Kōṭṭe, died on the 27th May, 1597. He is the most pathetic figure in Ceylon history, who brought misfortune on himself and all connected with him. He was the favourite grandson of Bhuvaneka Bāhu whom he resembled even in gait and personal appearance, and who wished to make him his heir, a decision which brought untold misery to this country. It gave offence to Māyādunnē and turned him into a relentless foe. The embassy to Lisbon gave rise to misunderstandings between the king and the Portuguese.

166. His misfortunes

Though called to the throne when quite a boy by the violent death of his grandfather, it was never his lot to rule his realms. During his minority Vīdiyē Bandāra and Tammita Rāla ruled the land; when he reached man's estate, there were no lands to rule, and he was dependent on the Portuguese even for his living, while they waged war on his behalf with little reference to him. He was

thrice married, but had no children, and in his gratitude to the Portuguese, who had upheld him so long, he bequeathed his territories to the king of Portugal.

167. Conversion

From his youth he had been instructed in Christianity by the Franciscan friars and had received baptism as soon as the political state of the country permitted him to take that eventful step. By doing so he alienated some subjects who went over to Māyādunnē, but it was on account of his conversion that the Portuguese espoused his cause so whole-heartedly. He remained firm in his religion in spite of many vicissitudes and undeterred by the vexations inflicted on him by individual Portuguese. His zeal went the length of withdrawing the revenues of lands from the temples and granting them to the Franciscans for the erection of churches and colleges. In his lifetime there were about a hundred parishes in the island.

168. Popularity

He was very popular among his subjects who spoke of him by no other name than that of Maha Bandāra, for which reason the Portuguese chronicles call him Periya Pandar(am). He was held by the Portuguese in great esteem. He had around him the outward semblance of royalty, even kept a court and nominated ambassadors to represent him at Goa, Lisbon, and Rome. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp, and he was buried in the Franciscan church, where no other burials were permitted. His third queen, Dona Isabella, survived him and received a pension from Portugal. The ornamental slab covering his grave survived down to British times, but soon disappeared.

For the Kings of Jaffna see "The Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese Period" by Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., Jaffna, 1920. For The Saman Devale Inscription see Ceylon Antiquary VIII. For the Kandyan Dynasty in the xv and xvi centuries see the paper of H. W. Codrington in Ceylon Literary Register 3rd series II 827 and sqq. Baldaeus gives (English Trans. p. 673) a ludicrous illustration of Dona Catherina entering Kandy in Chinese attire, the artist representing Sinhalese buildings and persons from a Chinese aspect as pointed out by Ferguson (C. L. R. 3rd series IV, 390 note).

For the tombstone of Don Juan see *Memoir* of Schreuder (G. Lee's translation of Ribeiro p.185) and Journal R. A. S. Ceylon XVIII p.366.

CHAPTER IX

THE PORTUGUESE DOMINATION 1597—1602

i.	<i>Kings of Kōṭṭē</i> —	
	Philip I. of Portugal	1597—1598
	Philip II. of Portugal	1598—1621
ii.	<i>King of Kandy</i> —	
	Vimaladharmā	1592—1604
iii.	<i>King of Jaffna</i> —	
	Pararāsa Sekaran	
	(Hendarmana Singa)	1591—1615

I. **Kotte becomes a Portuguese possession:** 169. The donation of Don Juan, 170. The proclamation of Philip of Portugal, 171. The Malvana convention, 172. The Portuguese administration, 173. The Sinhalese system, 174. The domain of the Portuguese, 175. Officials, 176. Subdivisions, 177. Minor officials, 178 Land tenure, 179. Lascarins, 180. The spread of Christianity. II. **Attempts on Udarata:** 181. Vimaladharmā and the Portuguese, 182. Warfare, 183. Return of Correa, 184. Azevedo's plans, 185. Vimaladharmā's activities, 186. The expedition to the Udarata, 187. Revolt of Manoel Gomez, 188. The ring of forts, 189. A deep-laid plot 190. The plot betrayed.

I

KOTTE BECOMES A PORTUGUESE POSSESSION

169. The donation of Don Juan

On the death of Don Juan, the kingdom of Kōṭṭē with all its appurtenances passed to Philip I, king of Portugal, by virtue of a deed of gift. This donation, first made in 1580 to Don Henrique, was renewed and ratified in 1583, after the death of that monarch, in favour of Philip I and his successors. On each occasion a solemn assembly of the lieges of Kōṭṭē was convoked in the precincts of the palace, and when the donation had been read and interpreted, the people elected representatives to declare in their name that they were content with the donation and would accept the king of Portugal as their king, and renounced their right and claim to elect a king of their own nation. Don Juan himself and the mohottālas then solemnly declared that the kingdom of Kōṭṭē consisted of the kingdoms then known as Kōṭṭē, Sitāvaka, Rayigama, Kanda-Uḍa-rata, and Jaffna, of the provinces of the Four and Seven Kōralēs, Mātara, Denavaka, Velevara Kosgama, Pālugaṃa, Batticaloa, Kottiyār, Trincomalee, and Puttalam. Finally a clause was added stating that the donation would be null and void in case an heir was born to Don Juan.

170. The proclamation of Philip of Portugal

In terms of this donation, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo assembled the nobles and people on the 29th May, 1597, to proclaim the accession of Philip. The proclamation was made according to the Portuguese ceremonial. The representatives of the people elected for the occasion, were, the gentlemen of the household of the deceased king, a mudaliyar, an ārachchi, and a pattankatti, who kneeling round a table took an oath acknowledging the King of Portugal "as our King and Lord, forasmuch as Don Juan Maha Bandāra, whom God has in heaven, our lawful King, left him as his universal heir, there being no other who of right may have and can inherit his crown and realms". After this the captain-general took in his hands the royal banner of Portugal and handed it to one of the noblemen in whom the late King most confided, and along with the captain-general, the captain of Colombo, and other public officials, he passed in procession through the principal streets of Colombo, acclaiming King Philip as king of Kōṭṭē. Don Antonio, the leader of the procession, lifted up his voice saying in the Portuguese fashion, "REAL, REAL, REAL, for the most mighty Lord, the King of Portugal"; to which all responded: "Real, REAL, REAL".

171. The Malvana convention

The intention of the Portuguese was to make this island a New Portugal, administering it according to the laws and ordinances of Portugal. But as the people were known to be attached to their customs, it was decided, after some consultation, not to take such a step without the formal assent of the people. Accordingly the general convoked a convention at Malvāna. He directed each of the Kōralēs to send two deputies to Malvāna on a fixed day. When all the deputies had assembled at this first council of territorially elected representatives, it was proposed to them that, as they were now subjects of Philip, it was fit that they should be governed according to the laws of Portugal; and that, if they consented, the nobles would continue to enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities they had hitherto enjoyed. The deputies asked for two days' time for deliberation, and at its conclusion declared that their ancient laws and customs were very dear to them, and that it would not be in the interests of King Philip or their own to make any change; but that if the king of Portugal would maintain in their regard the rights, usages, customs and privileges in which they had been brought up, they would serve King Philip with the same zeal and fidelity with which they served their own kings. This settlement with a special clause regarding religion, namely, that no person would be hindered from embracing

Christianity, just as no one would be forced to do so, was agreed to, and Azevedo in the name of King Philip took an oath to uphold the laws and customs of the Sinhalese, and the deputies in their turn to serve the Portuguese king well and faithfully.

172. The Portuguese administration

Though the general swore to maintain the ancient laws of Ceylon, he had neither the leisure nor the inclination to codify the traditional laws of Ceylon for the guidance of the foreign administrators. He did indeed continue the system of government that obtained in Don Juan's life-time; but while hitherto the administration had been in the hands of men born and bred to the system, it was now to be administered by foreigners unacquainted with the spirit of the unwritten laws. The result was that they enforced the 'letter' of the law without its 'spirit', and exacted the customary *rājakāriya* and the dues, without regard to the duties which the system traditionally imposed on the sovereign and his ministers, and without any regard to the fundamental system of caste. Under the shadow of the Portuguese officials there arose also a class of Sinhalese officials who freed themselves from the traditional observances, and, profiting by the ignorance of the foreign administrators bullied and fleeced their own countrymen just like the foreigners. Thus the Portuguese administration of the Sinhalese laws told heavily on the people at large, who found themselves tyrannized without any hope of redress.

173. The Sinhalese system

The Sinhalese system easily led to abuse, for as in the case of the manorial system of Europe in the Middle Ages, its success and efficacy depended in great measure on the bond between the lord and his tenants and serfs.

174. The domain of the Portuguese

Though the King of Portugal became heir to all the territories of Kōṭṭē, yet it was only the part already held by force of arms that now came under the effective control of the Portuguese. It consisted of the littoral strip from Puttalam to the Valavē, from the sea coast to the fringe of the central highlands. This tract was divided into four disāvanis, excluding Colombo, which was a royal city with the rights and privileges and administration of a Portuguese *cidade* with a chamber or *camara* of elected members, judges and aldermen for its civil administration and a captain for its military government. The four disāvanis were Mātara, Sabaragamuva, the Four and the Seven Kōralēs. All four began from outside the walls of Colombo. From what is now Galle Face to the Valavē river constituted the disāvani of Mātara; from

the modern Kaymans Gate to Puttalam, the disāvani of the Seven Kōralēs; the inland parts were divided into the disāvani of the Four Kōralēs, roughly the present district of Kēgalla along with the adjoining districts of the Western Province; and Sabaragamuva roughly the modern Ratnapura district and a part of the Kalutara district.

175. Officials

The civil, military, and judicial government of each of these was entrusted to an officer called the disāva or captain-major. He administered the province, mustered and led the lascarins of the disāvani to battle, dispensed justice, being assisted in this latter task by an adigār, mohottālas and basnāyakas. He had the power to condemn to death, to imprison and to impose fines. The disāva was distinguished in battle by a white shield with a red spot in the centre, and the disāva of Mātara took precedence over the others. The disāvas received no pay, but according to the Sinhalese custom of granting *nindagam*, (7) each received for his maintenance the dues of certain villages within his province, which supplied him with products for commerce, fruits for his table, and men for his service. At first the disāvas were generally Sinhalese, but after the many rebellions, Portuguese were preferred.

176. Subdivisions

Each disāvani was divided into a number of kōralēs and each kōralē consist of a number of villages. At the head of each kōralē was a kōralē vidāne, who was a magistrate as well as collector of the revenue, and he was assisted by four *atukorālas*. It was the business of the vidāne to collect the royal dues and to see them transported, to settle disputes by fines or other customary punishments, and to carry out the orders of the general and the disāva. Some villages also had vidānes, and others were grouped into a department with a vidāne at its head: such for instance were the vidāne of the mahabadda or the cinnamon department; vidāne of the āgras or gem-lands; vidāne of the kūruvē or elephant department; and the fertile and productive lands of Bulatgama were placed under a special vidāne. Both Sinhalese and Portuguese were appointed to these vidānaships, and as these posts were lucrative and influential, they were eagerly sought by both, and some held several vidānaships at the same time.

177. Minor officials

There were lesser officials such as mohottālas, kangānis, liannās for each village and kōralē. In each village there was a number of headmen called 'majorals' who had to see to the upkeep of

public works, such as roads and bridges, to keep the flood gates in repair, to feed the soldiers who happened to pass through the village, or the messengers who came on government duty, to supply coolies for the service of the disāvas or the vidānes and to supply them with victuals when they passed. All these officers, high and low, received no pay, but held lands in return for these services. In short all payments for office, for service, and for labour, were in land, subject to customary dues.

178. Land tenure

All land belonged to the king; their usufruct was reserved to the king (*gabādāgam*) or to churches (*vihāragam* and *dēvalagam*) or to officials (*nindagam*) or to craftsmen in the royal service (*kūruvēgam*, *āragam*) or to the soldiery for service in war (*paraveni*). The *gabādāgam* were cultivated for the king by the tenants, and were now either reserved for the government or granted to the general and military officers. The *vihāragam*, likewise, were cultivated by the tenants, who paid dues to the churches, monasteries, and schools, and rendered service. The services of Portuguese troops, of soldiers and settlers, were rewarded by grants in land. The lord of a village had in a *muttettu*,--the land which the villagers cultivated for his benefit,--a house for his residence. He often lived there and exacted service and dues, or placed a vidāne who acted in his name. The exaction of dues and services caused great hardship to the people at the best of times, but when the system was administered by Portuguese officials, regardless of caste and bent on their gain, and through subordinate officials intent on their own ends and protected by their superiors, it became a tyranny under which the people groaned. This was the chief cause of the rebellions which were incessant during the Portuguese regime.

179. Lascarins

The lascarins, enlisted from each disāvani, had to serve in war at stated periods. In the time of the Sinhalese kings these periods were few and far between, and they had time and opportunity to cultivate their lands. But now wars were incessant, and the men had to be away from their homes for months together. If they died in war, the family lost the *paraveniya*, unless a son or brother of the dead man undertook the service, for the service was attached to the land, which was heritable and could be alienated, provided the purchaser undertook to serve. The lascarins were placed under ārachchis and mudaliyars, who were their officers and held land for their service. The mudaliyar at the head of all the lascarins, or their commander-in-chief, was called Vikramasinha, a post given to the Sinhalese, and to the Portuguese only if married to a Sinhalese.

These officers were very influential and treated the lascarinis with great disdain, and most of the rebellions against the Portuguese and the desertions to the king of the Uḍarata were their work.

180. The spread of Christianity

During this time the Portuguese held possession of the lowlands where large numbers of the Portuguese settled down to engage in different occupations or trade in cinnamon and arecanuts. A large number of Sinhalese and Tamil people now embraced Christianity, and churches and parishes and schools sprang up everywhere, so much so that, as the number of Franciscan friars was insufficient, the general invited the Society of Jesus to found a college in Colombo for higher studies and to undertake mission work in the Seven Kōralēs. The Dominicans also came for the same purpose, and altogether four religious orders had monasteries, schools, and parishes in Colombo. As this town became free from the danger of sieges, suburbs grew up outside the city walls, such as Mutwal and San Sebastian.

II

ATTEMPTS ON THE UDARATA

181. Vimaladharmā and the Portuguese

The assumption of government by the Portuguese was naturally opposed by Vimaladharmā. Though himself a usurper, he was now, thanks to the Portuguese, the husband of the legitimate heir; and therefore considered himself the lawful sovereign of Kōṭṭē also. He had been educated and trained by the Portuguese and was quite well acquainted with their ambitions, their style of warfare as well as their defects; and as the sole surviving Sinhalese ruler, he had the support of the nation and gave a ready welcome to refugees from Portuguese territory and to rebels against the Portuguese rule.

182. Warfare

Soon after the death of Don Juan, he decided to harass the Portuguese, and sent a force under Māyādunnē of Denavaka and Siman Corra to the frontiers of the Mātara disāvani to assail Samarakōn who was encamped at Kaṭuvana. The disāva attacked the invaders, but was repulsed, whereupon sending for reinforcements, he separated the invading army and after defeating Māyādunnē he turned on the main body, inflicting heavy loss, and sent the Portuguese troops to Sabaragamuva. On the news of these successful operations, King Philip appointed Samarakōn Rāla a knight of the Order of Christ with revenues for his maintenance. He was thus the first Sinhalese to be dubbed a knight of a western order of chivalry.

183. Return of Corra

Vimaladharmā himself came down to the Four Kōralēs and encamped at Iddamalpane, and Mudaliyar Gaspar Corra, who marched against him, was killed along with the Portuguese troops, as the lascarinis deserted to the king. Thereupon the whole of the Four Kōralēs declared for Vimaladharmā. To suppress this *peraliya*, the Portuguese army traversed the Four Kōralēs and erected a fort at Attanagalla which was an important junction of roads. The king in his turn fortified Deḍigama to protect Iddamalpane. But Siman Corra quarrelled with the king and came back to the Portuguese, who were only too glad to receive him. Fearing an attack on his camp, the king despatched a force to Chilaw, whereupon the Portuguese marched into the Seven Kōralēs, destroyed Mundacondapola Nuvara and fortified Chilaw. A Vadagār force sent against it was defeated. The Portuguese then erected a fort at Alavva and marched against the king whose forces were defeated in a well-fought battle. Vimaladharmā then abandoned Iddamalpane and returned to Senkaḍagala.

184. Azevedo's plans

Azevedo now turned his attention from defensive to offensive warfare and prepared to invade the Uḍarata. Alavva and Penteniḡoḍa were fortified, and Menikkaḍavara was chosen for the headquarters of the invading force. A strong fort was built there, from which incursions were made. To turn him away from these activities, Vimaladharmā ordered attacks to be made in Sabaragamuva; but the Portuguese marched thither and placed a garrison at Baṭuḡeḍara. A similar diversion in the Seven Kōralēs led to the erection of a fort at Eṭgalētoṭa. The garrison of Baṭuḡeḍara, however, fell out with its captain about the Sinhalese new year, and under the leadership of Koratōṭa Kuruppu Ārachchi devastated the Hēvāgam Kōralē, destroying the churches and colleges. Azevedo mustered his troops, overran the country, attacked the dēvālaya of Sabaragamuva, where the rebels were encamped, and reinforced Kuruvīṭa and Baṭuḡeḍara. The rebels thereupon surrendered, and Kuruppu made terms with Azevedo.

185. Vimaladharmā's activities

Vimaladharmā was now minded to let the Portuguese alone, but the brave and warlike men of the Four Kōralēs appealed to him, and he again endeavoured to beat off the Portuguese. Raising a large army, he built forts at Moṭṭappuliya and Kirivallapiṭiya and encamped at Talampiṭiya, urging the people to flock to his standard. The latter, therefore, set fire to the Portuguese camp at Penteniḡoḍa, which, however, did not prevent the army from

marching against the king. The lascarins had been corrupted and deserted to the king during the battle, but the Portuguese force succeeded in routing the king after a long and sanguinary battle. Pusveḷla deserted Vimaladharmā and coming over to the Portuguese did great havoc in the kōralē till he was finally betrayed and killed.

186. The expedition to the Udarata

These reverses made Vimaladharmā offer peace to the general and release the son of Pero Lopes de Souza and some friars; but Azevedo was intent on subduing the Udarata and was making preparations for an advance on Senkaḍagala. His energy gave promise of success, and the viceroy not only promised reinforcements, but even looked eagerly forward to the punishment of the erstwhile Don Juan of Austria. While awaiting the promised reinforcements, Azevedo opened military roads from the camp of Meṅikkaḍavara to the Four and the Seven Kōralēs; and Vimaladharmā attempted to frustrate his plans by appealing to the people of the subjugated lands to rise against the Portuguese. The lascarins of Denavaka responded to this call and rose in revolt, compelling the Portuguese to shut themselves up in the forts of Kuruvita and Baṭuḡedara, but a Portuguese force dispersed the insurgents and provisioned the forts. An attack on the forts of Meṅikkaḍavara and Eṭgalētoṭa also proved unavailing and only made the Portuguese devastate the lands and destroy the temples.

187. Revolt of Manoel Gomez

In the Seven Kōralēs there revolted an Indian Christian, named Manoel Gomez, who was the captian of the lascarins there. Together with two other discontented officers in the Portuguese service, Gāmbira Ārachchi and Tennakōn, he destroyed the churches of Kammala and Palansena, killed the priest, and raised the people to revolt. The Portuguese, with their usual ferocity, chastised the insurgents and destroyed the temple of Munisseram. Heṭṭi Ārachchi attacked the fort of Alavva and slew the garrison. Upon these movements, Vimaladharmā hurried down and encamped at Damunugashinna to lay siege to Mottappuliya, but when the Portuguese despatched a relieving force, he raised the camp. Manoel Gomez was captured and beheaded, and Azevedo abandoned Alavva and Eṭgalētoṭa and erected a fort at Hatalispahuva.

188. The ring of forts

In 1601 Azevedo received some reinforcements and traversed the Four Kōralēs with fire and sword, reducing the province to submission, and erected forts at Divala and Aṭṭāpitiya which commanded the *māvata* or main road to the Udarata. This ring of forts made it quite clear to the king that Azevedo was bent on

invading his realm. He therefore mustered an army, obtained a reinforcement of Vadagārs from India, and gave battle to the Portuguese, but was forced to abandon the field.

In 1602 Azevedo again advanced on Kandy. Vimaladharmā who was at Ganēṭenna stirred up hostilities all along the frontiers and attacked the forts. At Hatalispahuva he succeeded in surprising the fort and capturing the garrison, but Ganēṭenna itself was so beset by the Portuguese that the king had to abandon it. Azevedo thought that the time was opportune for his long-planned expedition and pressed the viceroy for troops. When these arrived, he succeeded in occupying the hill of Balana, the key to the Udarata.

189. A deep-laid plot

Vimaladharmā now realized that his position was perilous and that he had failed to deter the general. The revolts of Domingos Correa (160) and of his brother Siman, (162) of Manoel Gomez (186) and of other ārachchis and lascarins taught him that there was more to be gained from defections in the Portuguese army than from field battles. He therefore now decided to solicit the commander-in-chief of the lascarins. This post, contrary to the usual practice, was now held by a stout Portuguese soldier of renown, named Simao Pinhao, (149) who had married a sister of Nikapitiyē Bandāra, ex-king of Sītāvaka, and was very popular with the Sinhalese. To him, therefore Vimaladharmā made overtures. At first covertly and by metaphors and afterwards openly, he invited Pinhao to betray the Portuguese army to him, promising to make him king of Sītāvaka. Pinhao informed Azevedo of the move and on the general's instructions pretended to accept the offer in order to catch the king in his own net. Secret communications were opened and Pinhao undertook to admit a party of the king's troops into his camp, to seize the Portuguese, and to deliver the captain-major into their hands. In return the king promised to give Pinhao men, arms, and means to become king of Sītāvaka. A day was fixed for each of the two parties to swear to the fulfilment of his share. Pinhao was to send five Portuguese to the king at Balana to swear to the terms, and the king, five prominent Sinhalese to Ganēṭenna for the same purpose. Azevedo's plan was that the Portuguese deputies should seize the opportunity to slay the king and give a signal, whereupon the Portuguese would rush in and march triumphantly to Senkaḍagala. For this purpose he secretly concentrated all the Portuguese troops on the frontiers, garrisoning Meṅikkaḍavara, Ruvanvella, and Aṭṭāpitiya with *casādos*.

190. The plot betrayed

Meanwhile Manoel Dias, a captive from the time of the rout of Lopes de Souza, who had become a favourite of Vimaladharmā, came to the Portuguese, ostensibly fleeing from the king, but spying on his countrymen, as the latter afterwards believed. The incautious general invited him to return to the king to help in the enterprise. He accordingly returned to the king and either through timidity or by design, revealed the plot on the very eve of its execution. When the five Portuguese, therefore, came to Balana to take the oath, Vimaladharmā gave orders to seize them and give the preconcerted signals. Seeing these, the Portuguese troops advanced, but Pinhao took alarm, as the king had not sent his deputies, and kept the men back till morning. Three lascarins escaped from Balana and brought word of the miscarriage of the deep-laid plot. After some hostilities Vimaladharmā returned to his capital, leaving in peace the Portuguese, who strengthened their position in Denavaka and the Seven Kōralēs by erecting several forts.

For the territories of Kōttē as described in Don Juan's Donation see **The Orientalist III**: For the oath of allegiance and the ceremonies of the proclamation of the King of Portugal, see Couto (Ferguson's translation Journal R. A. S. XX 413—15): for the **Malvana Convention** see Queyroz 1008, and Ribeiro **Fatalidade Historica** translated by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Bk. I Ch. IV. (N.B.—the words "for the future" in the clause regarding religion p. 26 is **not in the text**, and *para o serem* of the text is not translated): for the career of Samarakōn Rāla see **Ceylon Literary Register** (monthly) IV. 165: for Menikkāḍavara see Bell **Kegalle Report** 31—2. Full details of the plot are given by Queyroz. For the work of the Society of Jesus see **Jesuits in Ceylon Madura**, 1941.

CHAPTER X

VIMALADHARMA AND SENERAT INVITE THE DUTCH 1603—1618

i.	<i>King of Kōttē</i> — Philip II.	1598—1621
ii.	<i>Kings of Kandy</i> — Vimaladharmā Senerat	1592—1604 1605—1635
iii.	<i>King of Jaffna</i> — Pararāsa Sekaran (Sankili)	1591—1615

I. **Dutch Visits**: 191. Spilbergen and de Weert, 192. Azevedo captures Balana, 193. Desertion of Lascarins, 194. Retreat, 195. Malvāna, 196. Revolt of the lowlands, 197. Revolt of Antonio Barreto, 198. Return of de Weert, 199. Murder of de Weert, 200. Samarakōn Rāla, II. **The end of Vimaladharmā**: 201. Death of Vimaladharmā, 202. His character, 203. Tactics. III. **Senerat** (1605—1635): 204. Senerat, 205. Azevedo recovers territories, 206. Azevedo bent on war, 207. Treaty with the Dutch, 208. Sack of Kandy, 209. Peace, 210. Azevedo's career, 211. His achievements. IV. **The Dutch seek commerce**: 212. Marcellus de Bochouwer, 213. Murder of Vimaladharmā's son, 214. Don Francisco Menezes. V. **Homem** (1614—1616) and **Pereira** (1616—1618): 215. Azevedo's instructions, 216. Bochouwer in Europe, 217. Homem's Expedition to Kandy, 218. Reform of administration, 219. Nuno Alvares Pereira. VI. **The Rebellion of the Pretender Nikapitiya** 1617: 220. Nikapitiyē, 221. Rebellion in the Seven Korales, 222. Oliveyra deposed, 223. Rebellions, 224. Peace with Senerat, 225. Pursuit of the pretender.

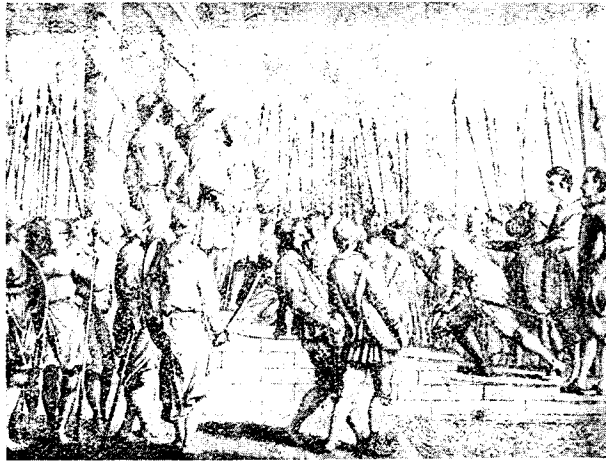
I

DUTCH VISITS

191. Spilbergen and de Weert

WHEN Vimaladharmā was in his capital contemplating some means for expelling the Portuguese, he was informed, in June, 1602, that a Dutch fleet had arrived at Batticaloa and was seeking to communicate with him. He sent Manoel Dias, who was now the maha mudaliyar, to conduct the newcomers. Accordingly Joris van Spilbergen, who was the admiral of a fleet despatched by Dutch merchants to open trade in the East, came to Senkadagala to present a letter of the Prince of Orange offering the services of the Dutch against the Portuguese. The king was delighted to find that foreign nations were ready to help him against a foe whom he could not subdue either by arms or by the rebellions and desertions he had fostered. He, therefore, received Spilbergen with great honour and presented him to the queen, Dona Catherina,

who like the king spoke Portuguese fluently and lived and dressed and dined in the Portuguese fashion. In the exuberance of his joy, the king declared that he and his queen and princes would carry on their heads the material necessary for a fort, if the Dutch would give him aid against the Portuguese. The Dutchman was quite pleased with his reception and delivered to the king some Portuguese vessels he had captured, and sailed away, giving the king a Dutch musician for his entertainment.



Spilbergen and Vimaladharama

Less than three months after his departure there came another envoy from the Dutch East India Company on a similar errand. This was Sebald de Weert who also was received at Senkaḍagala with great honour. The king was overjoyed at the eagerness of the Dutch to come to his help, and pressed de Weert to blockade the Portuguese forts by sea while he besieged them on land, undertaking to pay the costs of the expedition in pepper and cinnamon. It was bargained that the Dutch should come speedily with a force to blockade Galle.

192. Azevedo captures Balana

News of these dealings of their European enemies with Vimaladharama was not slow in reaching the Portuguese, and Azevedo decided to nip them in the bud by invading the Uḍarata. He therefore mustered all the lascarins of the subdued territories under Pinhao and Samarakōn, and marched with all the Portuguese troops he could command. Passing Aṭṭāpitiya and Ganēṭenna,

the army reached the foot of Balana. As it was very perilous to attempt to storm the king's fort, situated like an eyrie on that lofty hill, the army ascended the hillside, erected batteries, and began to batter the fort. Vimaladharama retired to safety, and the garrison followed suit after setting fire to the encampments. The Portuguese thereupon seized the fort and prepared to march on Senkaḍagala.

193. Desertion of Lascarins

But as the general received news of an attack on Talampitiya, he sent Pinhao and his men to its help and was awaiting his return, when one night, quite unexpectedly, all the remaining Sinhalese troops made away after the first watch under the leadership of Kāngara Ārachchi. The camp was in confusion and dismay at this desertion, but Azevedo acted with great coolness, and despatching messages that very night to Aṭṭāpitiya, Menikkaḍavara, Ruvanvella, Sitāvaka, and Colombo, he determined to retreat at dawn. Before sunrise the camp was surrounded by an immense host, beating drums and uttering loud battlecries. The general secured the way to Ganēṭenna, and leaving a small force to keep the enemy in play, abandoned the camp and cut his way through the thick of the enemy.

194. Retreat

As they began their retreat, the standards of Pinhao hove in sight. Taking in the situation at a glance, Pinhao exhorted his men to hasten to the help of the army, but the greater part of the lascarins deserted, leaving only a few to support Pinhao. These, however, proved of great assistance, as also Samarakōn and his men, and the retreating army succeeded in making its way to Ganēṭenna. Next morning they set out again, attacked on all sides by foes, and reached Alutnuvara for the night: Aṭṭāpitiya was reached on the third day, and at Talampitiya they remained three days. Leaving a garrison and strengthening that fort, Azevedo retreated through the Four Kōralēs, harassed by the Kandyans in three divisions, of which the first went ahead to block the passes, the second attacked the army on the flank, and the third attacked in the rear, cutting off stragglers. In spite of heavy odds the Portuguese made their way to Menikkaḍavara, and after strengthening and fortifying the fort, passed to Ruvanvella. The forts of Ruvanvella and Sitāvaka were already in the hands of the insurgents, but the retreating army recovered them, rebuilt the fortifications and posted garrisons, and passed through Attanagalla, Kanampella, and Gurubevila to Malvāna, where a horrible spectacle awaited them.

195. Malvana

Malvāna was the usual residence of the general, and he had left it in charge of his bandigarāla and servants. As soon as Colombo learnt of the pass to which Azevedo was reduced, a party of citizens was sent to protect the general's house and property. But these citizens, accustomed to make light of the Sinhalese, provoked a fight in which they were all badly wounded. The insurgents set fire to the general's house and its valuable fittings, and hanged up the citizens on trees to greet the general on his return home. Thither the general returned with a good part of his men, having successfully withstood the labours and fatigues of a retreat through lands in revolt.

196. Revolt of the lowlands

Rakgahavatta and Negombo were surrounded by insurgents who destroyed the churches and killed the priests, but the garrisons withdrew to Colombo. The Mātara disāvani also rose in the absence of Samarakōn, and the officers fled to Galle, and Mudaliyar Pedro de Abreu Ilangakoon was punished for treachery. The garrisons of Atṭāpitiya, Menikkaḍavara, Talampitiya, Kuruvita, Ōpanāyaka, Valevale, and Kaṭugampola were exposed to great danger, but before attempting to relieve them, Azevedo wished to recover Negombo, as the ringleader of this revolt was a native of those parts. He therefore sent Siman Correa, who drove Kāngara Arachchi away.

197. Revolt of Antonio Barreto

Samarakōn also sent his brother-in-law, Mudaliyar Don Manoel, with a part of his men, but Antonio Barreto, an able lascarin in the service of Samarakōn, slew Don Manoel and put himself at the head of another formidable rising. The garrison of Atṭāpitiya surrendered on terms after a long siege, but were put to the sword. Kuruvita surrendered to Antonio Barreto, who next laid siege to Sitāvaka. The Portuguese sent a relieving party which succeeded in saving the garrison, and proceeded to relieve Ruvanvella and Menikkaḍavara. But Vimaladharmā, who had surrounded Talampitiya and reduced it to great straits, hearing of the Portuguese detachment on the field, abandoned his purpose for a while, and fell upon the relieving expedition which, however, managed to escape. The garrison of Menikkaḍavara surrendered to the king. Returning upon Talampitiya, the king forced that garrison also to surrender. Thus by far the greater part of the inland forts fell to the king with a large number of captives.

198. Return of de Weert

While Vimaladharmā was engaged in these operations, he was informed that Sebald de Weert had returned to Batticaloa as vice-admiral of a fleet of six ships, carrying a large Dutch force. No news could be more welcome to the king. The Portuguese had lost men and reputation, their garrisons had surrendered, and the general was reduced to inactivity for lack of forces. This was a most opportune moment to attempt their complete expulsion from the island. Vimaladharmā, therefore, immediately sent word to de Weert to blockade Galle by sea, intending to march upon it himself by land. But de Weert was very eager to push trade also and spent some time at Batticaloa; and some Portuguese vessels that happened to pass by surrendered to him on the promise of sparing their lives. Hearing of this, Manoel Dias, the maha mudaliyar, came to demand the Portuguese and announce the arrival of the king. De Weert at once set the Portuguese at liberty and went to meet the king.

199. Murder of de Weert

There was an interview between the parties and in the course of a dinner the vice-admiral, being, under the influence of liquor, made a coarse remark, whereupon the king, who was already suspicious of de Weert for setting the Portuguese free, was so enraged that he ordered him to be seized. In the course of the scuffle that ensued, de Weert and fifty of his men were killed. The king wrote to de Weert's successor, disclaiming all responsibility for the deaths and expressing his readiness to continue the negotiations, but Jacob Pieterse, who was next in command of the fleet, paid no heed to these protestations and sailed away: this unfortunate tragedy put an end to the hopes of both parties.

Vimaladharmā now realized that he could not expect Dutch assistance in the task of expelling the Portuguese from Ceylon. He therefore sent ambassadors to Goa, offering to become a vassal of Portugal, and return to the Catholic faith if they would restore to him his son, born to him at Goa, who was being educated there. The viceroy declined the offer.

200. Samarakon Rala

The king then fixed his quarters at Deraniyagala to be nearer the scene of action, and tried to bring the lands under his sway. The Portuguese, who had received some reinforcements, scoured the Hāpitigam and Pitigal Kōralēs, where Siman Correa succeeded in putting Māyādunnē to flight, and almost captured Antonio Barreto. The Mātara disāvani was attacked by Panikki, and Samarakōn sent urgent calls for help. The general himself went

there and recovered the lands, and proceeded to the Four Kōrales, carrying fire and sword. Samarakōn fell under suspicion on account of his inactivity and was sent to Goa in chains, but the viceroy, who knew of the Mudaliyar's conspicuous loyalty to the Portuguese, not only set him free, but rewarded him by making him captain of Goa, the highest post in the Portuguese state after the vicerealty, with a seat in the high council. Samarakōn never returned to the island, but served the Portuguese in other parts till he died while occupying the very lucrative post of captain of Ormuz. Mudaliyar Don Constantine Navaratna became disāva of Mātara.

II

THE END OF VIMALADHARMA

201. Death of Vimaladharmā

In May, 1604, Vimaladharmā Sūrya died at Senkaḍagala of a virulent fever, leaving a young son and two daughters. He was a remarkable man and the most successful Ceylonese prince of his age and the founder of a new dynasty of kings in Ceylon. A tall, well-built man of swarthy complexion and great physical strength, with a dark bushy beard, Konappu Bandāra, as he was formerly called, was the son of a petty chief of the Uḍaraṭa and had fled to the Portuguese when Rājasinha of Sitāvaka put his father to death. (132) He received baptism under the name of Don Juan of Austria, served in the defence of Colombo against Rājasinha, and being banished to Goa for some unknown crime, won a reputation for feats of strength, married a Portuguese orphan by whom he had a son who survived him. Returning to Ceylon as a general in the train of Don Philip, he fought gallantly and ended by doing away with Don Philip, usurping the throne and turning against the Portuguese.

202. His character

Born and bred in the Uḍaraṭa, yet well acquainted with the Portuguese manners, language and tactics, he was able to please his subjects and defy the Portuguese. His great sagacity and experience enabled him to profit by his opportunities. Thus when they attempted to place Dona Catherina on the throne, he acted with such circumspection and address that he not only inflicted a notable disaster on the Portuguese, but even secured the lawful heir to the throne, whom he took to wife in spite of her repugnance and youth. For the next ten years he ruled the land with great firmness and justice towards his subjects. He built himself a palace with the labour of the Portuguese prisoners, and surrounded it with bastions in the European fashion. Though he and his

queen and children lived and dressed in the Portuguese fashion, he revived old customs, caused the *perakeras*, customary in Kōttē, to be held in Senkaḍagala, and imitated the kings of old in his magnificence and liberality. He repaired ancient temples, destroyed by the godless Rājasinha or by the Portuguese. He procured priests from abroad to restore Buddhist ordinations, installed a *daladā*, and built a *daladā māligāva*.

203. Tactics

His tactics with the Portuguese were characteristic of him and became traditional with his successors. He stirred up sedition and revolts in Portuguese territory, and with the aid of the numerous rebels he provoked the Portuguese to the field and appealed to the Sinhalese troops to forsake them. When this was successful, he relentlessly pursued the crippled army, cutting down stragglers; if it failed and the Portuguese army was small, he inflicted heavy loss: if the day turned against him, he abandoned the field without much ado. This method proved very successful and reduced the Portuguese to impotence. In the last years of his life he looked forward to foreign assistance to expel the Portuguese. Though his impetuosity and suspicions averted the blow from the Portuguese, he had laid the foundations of the policy that was followed by his successors and brought about the end.

III

SENERAT (1605—1635)

204. Senerat

It took the Uḍaraṭa some time to recover from the loss. Vimaladharmā had named his brother Senerat guardian of his son, and he endeavoured to become king by marrying Dona Catherina who was now about twenty-five years old. But the vassal princes, Vīdiyē Bandāra of Ūva and Māyādunnē of Denavaka, also attempted to mount the throne by the same means. For a time Dona Catherina attempted to reign, but Senerat who had the chiefs for him, and had won the Portuguese prisoners to his side, prevailed in the end. Vīdiyē Bandāra was killed; Senerat married the widowed queen and became king: Antonio Barreto became king of Ūva. Senerat had been a Buddhist monk and was a man of peace, devoted to letters, a skilled and cautious general, gifted with great foresight, and was no friend of rebels. He took some time to settle the affairs of his kingdom.

205. Azevedo recovers territories

Azevedo, profiting by the respite, regained possession of the lost territories. Panikki who was giving trouble in Mātara was

driven away ; but Kāngara Ārachchi and Antonio Barreto held their own against the Portuguese. Azevedo had no forces to take the field. Moreover, the king of Portugal, hearing of Vimaladharmā's offers of peace, (199) directed the viceroy to come to terms with him, if possible, and fortify Colombo and Galle against the machinations of the Dutch. The king had also been informed that the recent desertions and revolts were due to ill-treatment of the people, and therefore ordered an inquiry to be held, and despatched a controller of revenue to make a register of lands, as great injustice was said to have been done in the distribution of lands.

206. Azevedo bent on war

Senerat had no mind to provoke hostilities and was only anxious to avert invasions of his kingdom. But Azevedo, who had set his heart on reducing the Uḍaraṭa to vassalage, continued to plan and prepare fresh invasions, although Vimaladharmā, whose treachery and mutilation of the Portuguese was the only justification for war, was now dead. He therefore pressed the king of Portugal to order him to be reinforced, complaining that he had not received more than 50 men during the previous years. While awaiting these reinforcements, Azevedo despatched expeditions in different directions to overawe the country. A party was thus sent to the east coast and traversed Bintenna, Vellassa, Pānava, Batticaloa, and Ūva. In 1609 an expedition was sent to Ūva against Barreto, but the latter avoided a combat and kept close to the heels of the invaders, harassing and cutting off the stragglers.

207. Treaty with the Dutch

Senerat soon realized that the pertinacity of the Portuguese would give him no peace and attempted to seek aid from the Dutch. A Dutch ship arrived off Batticaloa and at the king's request sent an envoy to Kandy, where a treaty was drawn up.

208. Sack of Kandy

But Azevedo made a second incursion in 1610, penetrating as far as Mātale. In 1611 some reinforcements arrived, and Azevedo planned an advance on Kandy. Entering by the Four Kōralēs, he reached Balana and fortified it and made his way to Gannoruva. The king's forces entrenched themselves at Getembe to oppose the march and opened fire. Siman Correa who led the van crossed the river with his men, and the Portuguese infantry followed and dispersed the opponents. The king fled with his family and court, and the Portuguese sacked the city, devastated the neighbouring lands, razed the temples, and returned to Balana without giving

the people time to rally or attack them. Then leaving a strong garrison at Balana, Azevedo returned to the lowlands, having at last satisfied his desire to burn Kandy.

209. Peace

Senerat soon returned to his capital, and mustering his men, laid siege to Balana, but without success. An ambassador was sent to India to urge the Dutch to come to his assistance, but as no help arrived in spite of the treaty, Senerat offered terms of peace. Azevedo knew that his term of office would soon be over and was prepared to come to terms. Friar Gaspar de Madalena acted as an intermediary, and it was agreed that the Uḍaraṭa would pay tribute to Portugal and acknowledge the Portuguese as masters of the realms of Kōṭṭē. The people of the Uḍaraṭa, who had never yielded to the Portuguese, were incensed at this capitulation and revolted under the leadership of Antonio Barreto, forcing the king to flee his capital.

210. Azevedo's career

Meanwhile the king of Portugal had appointed Don Jeronimo de Azevedo viceroy of India. He had been captain-general of Ceylon for eighteen years, a momentous period of much consequence both to the Portuguese and to the Sinhalese. Coming to the island immediately after the rout of Lopes de Souza and smarting under that disgrace and indignant at the mutilation of prisoners, he tried to drive terror into the people by acts of great ferocity. The people on whom he wreaked his vengeance were not those responsible for the mutilations, but they had revolted against the Portuguese, and therefore without any discrimination he waged cruel war on them and succeeded in reducing them to submission. On the death of Don Juan he became the representative of the king of Portugal and received royal honours in the island ; but that did not change his policy. His dream was to chastise Vimaladharmā ; but seeing that the incessant rebellions and desertions baulked him and reduced him to desperate straits and that the king was endeavouring to deal with the European enemies of Portugal, he thought that the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon would have no peace until the Sinhalese sovereigns were exterminated and the whole island brought under the sway of his king and master. But the Indian authorities could not supply him with the forces he desired. He therefore neglected the civil duties of his government and devoted himself heart and soul to keep the island in terror, till he received reinforcements enough to subjugate it altogether.

211. His achievements

In military skill he was undoubtedly the greatest of the Portuguese generals. His retreat from Balana through the thick of a country

in revolt, when the Sinhalese troops deserted him, was an achievement unequalled by any general before or after him. He was severe and exacting towards his men, who attempted to escape the rigours of his discipline by flight and mutinied against him. He was able to overcome all obstacles: he opened military roads, fortified and dismantled military posts, with feverish energy. If he did not succeed in crushing the rebellions, he at least kept them in check. And his failure was in civil rather than in military government: he failed to protect the people from the tyranny and oppression in civil government and embittered them against him and against the Portuguese. He was the first viceroy who had an intimate knowledge of this country and its needs, and was better able to direct the activities of his successors than any previous viceroy. But he did not occupy that high office long. His opponents and the political upheavals in his homeland led to his disgrace and imprisonment as a political expediency. He was taken prisoner to Lisbon, incarcerated without a trial, and died in prison neglected and destitute.

IV

THE DUTCH SEEK COMMERCE

212. Marcellus de Bochouwer

The Dutch authorities in India who had their eyes on the cinnamon of Ceylon, seeing the king's eagerness for their assistance and the great advantages that would accrue to them from the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Island, sent Marcellus de Bochouwer to negotiate a fresh treaty before giving their help. In 1612 he arrived at Kandy with letters from the States General of Holland and made a treaty, undertaking to help the king when his realms were invaded by the Portuguese, in return for a fort at Koṭṭiyār, all assistance for its erection and defence, and all facilities and monopoly of trade. Bochouwer was made a dignitary of the court and remained there awaiting the help promised by his superiors, while his own men left at Koṭṭiyār were slain by the Portuguese. The Dutch authorities, however, were more intent on securing the commerce of Kandy than on helping the king; and Bochouwer had taken himself far more seriously than he was warranted to, and had promised more than the Dutch had decided to give. Thus no troops arrived in spite of Bochouwer's promises.

213. Murder of Vimaladharmā's son

Meanwhile Senerat did away with the heir to the throne, Maha Astāna, son of Vimaladharmā, to make room for his own son. This incensed Dona Catherina so much that she even contemplated

escaping to the Portuguese with her other children, but the negotiations came to nothing, and she sickened and died, a penitent Christian. After her death, Senerat wished to take her daughters to wife. One attempted to escape to the Portuguese, but was captured and brought back and became Senerat's queen like the other.

214. Don Francisco de Menezes

It was the custom introduced by Azevedo to invade the Uḍaraṭa twice a year in March and September; and Don Francisco de Menezes, who was acting general, made a raid on the Uḍaraṭa and returned unscathed, whereupon Senerat won over to his side the lascarins who were serving in the fort of Balana and besieged it with a force under the command of Bochoüwer. Menezes hastened to Balana, relieved the fort, and even retaliated by raiding the neighbouring lands once more. Many charges, however, were made against Menezes which obliged Azevedo to send Manoel Mascarenhas Homem as general of Ceylon, with orders to purify the administration, reform the soldiery, and remedy the grievances of the people.

V

HOMEM 1614—1616 AND PEREIRA 1616—1618

215. Azevedo's instructions

Azevedo gave minute directions about war with Senerat. The general was to have his headquarters at Malvāna and make two expeditions to the Uḍaraṭa every year, dealing death and destruction without mercy: he was to prevent the king from having any commerce through the ports of Batticaloa, Koṭṭiyār, Trincomalee, Jaffna, and Columbuturai: he was also to make a monopoly of cinnamon, and keep the people content. Mascarenhas Homem arrived in 1614, appointed Siman Correa disāva of the Seven Kōralēs, Luis Gomez Pinto of the Four, Luis Cabral Faria of Sabaragamuva, and Domingos Carvalho Cam of Mātara. In the beginning of 1615 he mustered the lascarins of these four disāvanis, and marching to the Uḍaraṭa through the Balana Kadavata, entered Gampola where the king's forces attempted to block the way. He had begun his march too early in the year, the river was in flood and the banks swarmed with leeches; but making a floating bridge, he continued his way to Maturaṭa and Badulla, setting fire to the villages. He burnt the town and returned to Malvāna through Sabaragamuva.

216. Bochoüwer in Europe

Senerat who had been expecting aid from the Dutch and had received none, pressed Bochoüwer to fulfil his promises, who

thereupon went to India to urge for immediate assistance ; but as the authorities were not very keen on helping a king who had caused a vice-admiral to be murdered, Bochouwer left for Europe, and being disappointed with the Dutch East-India Company went to Denmark to solicit aid for Senerat.

217. Homem's expedition to Kandy

Homem meanwhile made another expedition to Tumpanē to punish the lascarins who had had dealings with the king. (214) They were ruthlessly slain, and the army returned to Malvāna through Hāraṣiya Pattuva and Haloluva. Philip de Oliveyra was appointed disāva of the Seven Kōralēs, and made a second raid in the same manner, killing and capturing men and cattle.

218. Reform of administration

It was not only in military matters alone that Homem carried out the orders of Azevedo. He reformed the administration of justice without flinching from punishment when officers seemed to deserve it. He assisted the controller of revenue to register the lands with the aid of Don Jeronimo Alagiyavanna Mukaveti, the most distinguished Sinhalese poet of the century, who became a Christian and took service under the Portuguese ; and he endeavoured to keep the inhabitants of the low-country in peace and contentment. After one year and a half of service in Ceylon, he was succeeded by Don Nuno Alvares Pereira.

219. Nuno Alvares Pereira

Pereira received the same orders as Homem and attempted to carry them out with the same fidelity. He sent the two usual expeditions to devastate the Uḍaraṭa. In March, entering through Balana, he succeeded in nipping in the bud an attempt made by certain mudaliyars and ārachchis to desert to the king ; in August he passed through the Vēuda Kadavata and returned after a fort-night's unopposed march through Hāraṣiya Pattuva. A rebellion was said to be brewing in Sabaragamuva and the Two Kōralēs, but an expedition sent thither encountered no opposition and employed itself in burning villages. But before the expedition could return to its quarters, there broke out a rebellion which was by far the greatest that the Portuguese had to deal with.

VI

THE REBELLION OF THE PRETENDER NIKAPITIYE 1617

220. Nikapitiye

The son of a *pattinihāmi* of Rayigam Kōralē became a Christian and a servant of the parish priest of Kalutara, but afterwards

entered the service of a Portuguese captain and rose to be the vidāne of the general. This brought him in touch with persons of quality, from whom he learnt stories of the domestic life of the kings of Sītāvaka. He nursed a grievance against the Portuguese, and attaching himself to a party going to Jaffna, he let his hair grow matted, adopted the dress of a fakir, went to Anuradhapura and there gave himself out as Nikapitiyē Bandāra, ex-king of Sītāvaka. (153) An influential deserter from the army of Siman Correa believed it and spread the tale in the Seven Kōralēs that Nikapitiyē Bandāra had escaped from Portugal and had returned to the island to recover his throne. The story gained credence and the people incensed by the ruthless wars of the Portuguese looked forward to this new liberator. One day when Philip de Oliveyra, disāva of the Seven Kōralēs, was out on an expedition to Sabaragamuva, the pretender made his appearance and headed a rebellion.

221. Rebellion in the Seven Korales

In December 1616 he and his adherents sacked Matiāgama, the headquarters of the disāva, and killed two Jesuit Fathers and destroyed the church. Within a week the rebellion spread all over the province, and received assistance from Senerat and Kāngara Ārachchi. * The general promptly despatched a force which encountered the rebel at Gandolaha and fought an obstinate battle. During the fight the lascarins of the Four Kōralēs deserted to the rebel, and the Portuguese were on the point of being utterly destroyed, when Don Constantine Navaratna, nephew of Don Juan, rushed to the deserters, crying out that he was seven times more a king than the rebel, and asking them to follow him. Many of the deserters returned and the day was saved. Though the whole country was up in arms, the Portuguese force encamped near the spot, awaiting reinforcements. Philip de Oliveyra, hearing of this formidable rising, hastened from Sabaragamuva, but learnt on the way that the camp of Menikkadavara had been set on fire. His own lascarins were being enticed to join the rebel, but he persisted in marching to the Seven Kōralēs and found on the battle field of Gandolaha a proclamation announcing that the Portuguese were all slain or expelled from the island. Undeterred by this, he proceeded on his way and succeeded in coming upon the Portuguese encampment. The combined forces went about devastating villages and capturing people, when the lascarins of Oliveyra fled to the rebel with their arms.

222. Oliveyra deposed

The general who was at Malvāna, mustered all the forces he could and despatched them to assist the detachment on the field, at the same time deposing Oliveyra for letting the lascarins take

away their arms, and appointing Don Constantine Navaratna, disāva of the Seven Kōralēs.

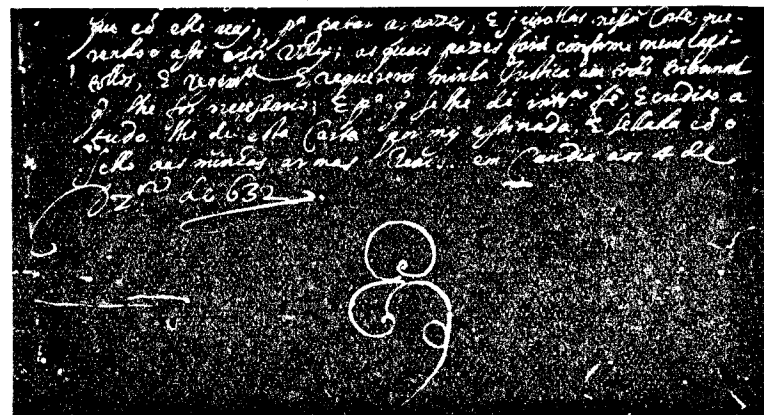
223. Rebellions

The pretender meanwhile made a triumphal progress through the country, advancing as far as Nākalagama near Colombo. Don Constantine marched towards him with all his men, and encountering the rebel, he attacked him so fiercely that the pretender fled in disguise. Some of the deserters now returned to the disāva, and he pursued the rebel army into the Seven Kōralēs. Meanwhile Antonio Barreto descended on Sabaragamuva, captured the Portuguese garrison, and brought the Rayigam Kōralē under his sway. The lascarins of the Mātara disāvani also deserted their standards, and the disāva was obliged to seek refuge in Galle. The Portuguese, thereupon, again took the field, ravaging the country in all directions in fruitless pursuit of Nikapitiyē and Barreto. Finally the pretender retired to Anuradhapura, whither he was pursued by the Portuguese, who forced him to flee, leaving his personal suite in their hands. The Four Kōralēs were reduced to submission and the principal men brought to Malvāna to pay homage to the general. The Seven Kōralēs, thereupon, remained free from further outbreaks.

224. Peace with Senerat

Senerat was at first inclined to favour the pretender, but the rebel in the exuberance of his first triumph sent a message to Kandy, asking for one of the daughters of Dona Catherina for wife. Senerat was irritated by this impertinence and withdrew his men, and seeing that he was nevertheless making head against the Portuguese, the king decided to join hands with the latter against Nikapitiyē, and sent an ambassador to Balana to ask for an intermediary. But the Balana garrison, suspecting fraud, shot down the ambassador. The king, thereupon, sent two Portuguese captives to explain his purpose, but the captives recommended the garrison not to hearken to the king. He therefore came down on Balana with a large force, and the Portuguese seeing that the whole country was up in arms against them, and that there was no hope of relief, capitulated to the king. At last Senerat was able to make his peaceful purpose understood, and an ambassador was sent to the general to arrange the terms of an alliance against Nikapitiyē. It was settled that Senerat would pay an annual tribute of four elephants, rebuild Balana, and receive a Portuguese garrison in his capital, while the Portuguese would recognize his sons by Dona Catherina as kings of Kandy. But before these terms could be signed, Nikapitiyē was forced to flee, and Senerat having no reason to fear him, modified his terms. The Portuguese were eager to come to terms, and the king accepted to be a vassal

of Portugal and release the Portuguese prisoners, paying a tribute of two elephants. This peace was made in August 1617.



Signature of Senerat

225. Pursuit of the pretender

It enabled the Portuguese to pursue Barreto who was now master of the Sabaragamuva and Mātara disāvani. An expedition set out in July even before the peace was signed. In spite of the difficulties caused by the rains and floods, they traversed the two Kōralēs, which were deserted by the inhabitants, and placed a garrison in Sabaragamuva, when they learnt that the lascarins of Hakmana had deserted and that Barreto himself had attacked and defeated the Portuguese there. Before any help could be sent thither, it was reported that Barreto had fallen on Beruvala and was now in the Four Kōralēs. Nikapitiyē also returned to Kurunēgala and attacked the Portuguese and called upon the people to support him and Prince Māyādunnē. The people, however, were not disposed to assist him any more, and the rebel departed, when the Portuguese marched against him.

The valuable and critical information contained in D. W. Ferguson's translations regarding **The Earlier Dutch Visits**, in *Journal R. A. S.*; C.B. XXX. should be consulted. For the **Transactions between the Dutch and the King of Kandy 1609—1617**, see the fifty documents translated by Ferguson in the *Ceylon Literary Register* 3rd Series: **The Dutch Treaty of 1610**, is in C.L.R.I. 132—4; **The Agreement of 11th March and 5th April, 1612** is *Ib.* 415—422. Couto's *Decads* end with 1600. Documents relating to 1601—1617 are printed in *Documentos Remettidos da India*, four volumes. For the **First Treaty of Peace** between the Portuguese and Senerat see C. L. R. (3rd series) II. 529 and sqq. **The Historical Records of the Society of Jesus** printed in the *Ceylon Antiquary* II. 130—136 III. 49—68, relate to the Rebellion of the Pretender.

CHAPTER XI

DON CONSTANTINE DE SA DE NORONHA 1618—1630

i. <i>Kings of Kōttē</i> — Philip II.	1598—1621
Philip III.	1621—1640
ii. <i>King of Kandy</i> — Senerat	1605—1635
iii. <i>King of Jaffna</i> — Sankili	1615—1618

I. **Constantine de Sa** (First term) 1618—1620: 226. Don Constantine de Sa, 227. Success of the Rebels, 228. The annexation of Jaffna, 229. Sankili regent, 230. Mutiny, 231. Expedition to Jaffna, 232. Jaffna becomes a Portuguese possession, 233. Fortification of Galle, 234. Ove Giedde, 235. Achievements of Sa. II. **Jorge de Albuquerque**: 1620—1623: 236. Jorge de Albuquerque, 237. Return of Sa. III. **Constantine de Sa**: Second term 1623—1630—238. Trincomalee fortified, 239. Senerat's alarm, 240. His opportunity, 241. Sa's policy, 242. Expulsion of the Muslims, 243. Batticaloa, 244. Plot against Sa, 245. Batticaloa fortified, 246. The Mudaliyars of Colombo, 247. Sa raids Kandy, 248. Senerat attacks Jaffna, 249. Sa invades Kandy, 250. Progress of the plot, 251. Expedition to Uva, 252. The plot discovered, 253. Retreat, 254. Battle, 255. Rout, 256. Prisoners.

I

CONSTANTINE DE SA (FIRST TERM) 1618—1620

226. Don Constantine de Sa

DON NUNO ALVARES PEREIRA was succeeded by Don Constantine de Sa de Noronha, a man of high birth and nobility of character, who had already distinguished himself in Africa and India. On his arrival he found the country in great disorder. The soldiery, relieved from active service by the peace, had become unruly and violent; the people were discontented; the Portuguese officials corrupt and even traitorous; Barreto and Kāngara Ārachchi were still at large, and Māyādunnē had made common cause with them. The new general, therefore, very tactfully set about remedying these abuses. He reformed the army and kept it under discipline with tried officers; he showed favour to the people, curbed the evil practices of the Portuguese officials, kept up friendly relations with Senerat, and prepared to take the field against the rebels.

227. Success of the rebels

Māyādunnē, Kāngara Ārachchi, and Barreto made common cause, and breaking with Senerat, brought the whole of the east coast under their control, and entered Denavaka with a large army to proclaim Māyādunnē emperor of Ceylon. The general quickly erected a fort at Sabaragamuva and marched against the rebels, who thereupon abandoned Denavaka. Sa pursued them and was returning to Sabaragamuva with many of his men ill, when the rebels in their turn began to harass the retreating army. The general feigned great haste, to bait the assailants, and suddenly turning round fell upon them, inflicting heavy loss. Kāngara Ārachchi was captured, while Barreto and Māyādunnē fled in despair. The former, who had held out for fifteen years, was publicly executed, and the general gained such renown that this expedition is celebrated in elegant Sinhalese verse in the *Kustantīnu Haṭana* by Don Jeronimo Alagiyavanna Mukaveṭi, whom the general favoured and patronized.

228. The annexation of Jaffna

Pararāsa Sekaran, whom the Portuguese set up (149) as tributary king of Jaffna in 1591, remained loyal to the Portuguese till his death, putting up with the high-handedness of the captains and factors of Mannār and Jaffna whose insolence even the viceroys were unable to check. He allowed the Franciscan friars liberty to preach Christianity in his realms and build churches, and he himself, it is said, would have received baptism had he not been prevented by his nephew Sankili.

229. Sankili regent

When this king died in 1615 leaving an infant son, his brother, Arsa Kesari, who was appointed regent, continued the policy of the late king. But Sankili fell upon the regent, slew him and his supporters and other kinsmen of the late king, and securing the heir, usurped the regency. The captain of Mannār was unable to intervene and satisfied himself with exacting a promise from Sankili to favour Christianity.

230. Mutiny

But the people, fearing that he would do away with the lawful heir, mutinied against Sankili, who was thereupon assisted by the Portuguese. Sankili attempted to seize the malcontents, but they joined the chief of the Kareas and attacked the palace, forcing Sankili to flee to the Portuguese. They were defeated in battle, and Sankili reigned supreme. He then sought to shake off the

Portuguese yoke by assisting the rebels, and now the general was informed that Sankili was dealing with the Dutch and was withholding the annual tribute.

231. Expedition to Jaffna

Constantine de Sa, therefore, despatched a force to Jaffna under Philip de Oliveyra to punish the king for his treachery. Oliveyra advanced through Punarim and reached Kayts, whence he sent to demand the payment of tribute. Sankili attempted to procrastinate, but Oliveyra advanced to Nallūr with his own troops and those of the captain of Mannār. A feeble resistance was made at Vannarponnai by the forces of Sankili under the command of the chief of the Kareas, but it was speedily overcome, and Sankili who sought to cross over with all his family to India was captured and sent a prisoner to Colombo. Thence he was sent to Goa where he was tried and executed.

232. Jaffna becomes a Portuguese possession

The chief of the Kareas again attempted to surprise Oliveyra, but was beaten back. An attempt to install another young prince with the aid of a force of Vadagārs also failed, and a third time they besieged Oliveyra and his camp. The general hastily sent reinforcements with which Oliveyra reduced the country. The general appointed him governor and captain-major of Jaffna, which was thus added to the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon.

233. Fortification of Galle

Meanwhile the general sent Don Constantine Navaratna to pursue Māyādunnē and he himself set out for the Seven Kōralēs. Māyādunnē abandoned the lands and fled before the mudaliyar, while the Seven Kōralēs were reduced by the general. De Sa now thought of making the island secure against the Dutch, whose dealings with Senerat were not unknown to the Portuguese. At Galle he erected a fort to guard the harbour, separating the tongue of land on the northern side of the harbour which formed the Portuguese town, and protecting it by a wall from sea to sea. While engaged in these operations he learnt that a Danish fleet had arrived at Trincomalee on the invitation of Senerat in violation of the peace.

234. Ove Giedde

Marcellus de Bochouwer, who went to Holland to obtain Dutch help for Senerat, (212) failed to move the authorities, but succeeded in persuading the Danes to fit out a fleet to help the king of Kandy against the Portuguese in return for the monopoly of the Ceylon trade and payment of costs, which Bochouwer declared he was authorized to promise. A fleet of five ships under the command of

Ove Giedde, bringing troops and merchandise arrived at Kottiyār in May, 1620. Unfortunately for the negotiations, Bochouwer died on the voyage, and Giedde had to transact the business with the king. At the time of his arrival, Senerat had made peace with the Portuguese and was not in great need of the proffered help. He was now anxious to bring up his children in peace and had even procured Franciscan friars as tutors. Māyādunnē came to Kottiyār, hotly pursued by the Portuguese who had slain Barreto, and asked for protection. Giedde gave him shelter. A mudaliyar sent by Senerat then arrived to declare that the king was unable to pay the costs of the expedition, as Giedde demanded, and that Bochouwer had no authority to bind the king to such terms. Giedde thereupon went to Kandy and received the same repudiation from the king's lips. Senerat said he was willing to accept the services of the Danes, if they would undertake to expel the Portuguese and be satisfied with the possession of the two harbours to be captured by them. This did not satisfy the Danes, and a new treaty was made by which the king granted Trincomalee and the monopoly of trade. The admiral then left some ships to build a fort and set sail for India.

235. Achievements of Sa

Thus within two years of his arrival, Constantine de Sa raised the power of the Portuguese in Ceylon to a height it had never before attained. The valuable kingdom of Jaffna was added to their possessions in the island. Kāngara and Barreto, who had defied them so long, were slain; Māyādunnē was reduced to straits; and Senerat was scared away from accepting the aid that was brought to his very door. But in spite of such valuable services, the general was recalled to Goa to make room for the son of the governor of India, for, when the viceroy died, the letters of succession were found to nominate as acting governor of India the father of the man who was serving as captain of Colombo. By a flagrant piece of jobbery, this captain of Colombo, Jorge de Albuquerque, was made captain-general of Ceylon.

II

JORGE DE ALBUQUERQUE, 1620—1623

236. Jorge de Albuquerque

As soon as Sa was out of the island, Māyādunnē returned and Mudaliyar Naidappu, who had become a Christian under the name of Manoel Mascarenhas Homem and was now in charge of the frontiers, tried to assist him. Albuquerque, hearing of this, arrested the man and after holding an inquiry sent him to Goa;

but he fell ill and died on the voyage. No other revolts took place during Albuquerque's term of office, as the people were worn out by the long protracted wars. The Portuguese soldiers who were encamped in their headquarters at Menikkādvāra, being now free from field service, broke out in mutiny against their captain-major and demanded their arrears of pay, and could not be quelled before their complaints were satisfied. Albuquerque was, moreover, a harsh man whose high-handed ways greatly incensed the people who even plotted his death and would have carried it out but for the priests. The only useful work credited to him is the erection of the fort of Kalutara on an eminence commanding the river.

237. Return of Sa

The Portuguese in Ceylon were now very anxious to secure the return of de Sa and sent many complaints and charges against Albuquerque to the new viceroy. Moreover, King Philip of Portugal was displeased with the way in which Constantine de Sa had been removed from office, and sent orders to reappoint him general of Ceylon. Albuquerque was accordingly arrested and removed to Goa, and Sa was sent back.

III

CONSTANTINE DE SA (SECOND TERM) 1623—1630

238. Trincomalee fortified

Constantine de Sa was welcomed with joy by both the Sinhalese and the Portuguese, but he found the island far different from what he had left it. Albuquerque's maladministration had embittered the people, and his weakness had emboldened Māyādunnē and Senerat. In spite of these drawbacks, the general was ordered to fortify Batticaloa and Trincomalee to prevent them falling into the hands of other European nations and to carry out the conquest of the Kandyan kingdom, as the king showed signs of inviting foreign aid. Sa, however, now reported to the viceroy that the Sinhalese kingdom could not be conquered without much larger forces than he had, but that a fort might be erected at Trincomalee under cover of the peace without breaking out into war with Senerat. This was approved, and Sa informed Senerat that he was fortifying Trincomalee against the European enemies who had their eye on it, and marched thither with all his forces. He destroyed the renowned Hindu temple and on its site erected a triangular fort of stone, and supplied it with artillery and garrison. Senerat was not able to prevent the work, but he felt that the Portuguese were bent on cutting him off from dealings with foreigners.

239. Senerat's alarm

Since 1617 Senerat had been living in peace with the Portuguese. He had allowed the friars to come to his realms and build churches; he had even entrusted the education of his three sons to the Franciscans and had not been actively concerned in hostilities; but when he saw the triumphs of Constantine de Sa's first term, his success in crushing the rebels and gaining the goodwill of the people living within the Portuguese territories, the king was naturally uneasy. And now he found the general closing to him the harbour of Trincomalee where the products of the kingdom were exchanged for cloth, opium, and other things, and he felt that the move foreboded no good to him.

240. His opportunity

He could not well complain of the violation of the peace, because he could not deny that he had already violated it himself by dealing with the Danes, for, though he repudiated the treaty made in his name by Bochouwer, he had himself made another with the Dutch setting the peace at naught. However, as he still had Koṭṭiyār, Pānava, and Batticaloa, he disguised his resentment and awaited an opportunity for retaliation. Hitherto he had been unable to embark on a war, as his children were still young. But now they were grown up young men, two of them already married, for in spite of all the attempts of Oliveyra, he succeeded in procuring as brides for his elder sons the two daughters of the king of Jaffna, who had been removed to Tanjore during the disturbances.

241. Sa's policy

The general, knowing the resentment of the Sinhalese king, endeavoured to gain the hearts of the people of the lowlands. He treated them with great kindness and confidence, promoting them to posts of responsibility and trust. He placed the Sinhalese people on the same level as the Portuguese by granting them villages on the same terms, and procuring more equity in the distribution of lands. By purifying the administration he was able to find means to fortify the island better. The fortification of Galle was resumed and completed; a fort was built at Kalpiṭiya; the city of Colombo was strengthened with fresh fortifications. But the comptroller of revenue did not approve of Sa's reforms and asked to be replaced by another. As it was necessary for the two highest officers to work in harmony, Sa applied to perform the task of comptroller himself.

242. Expulsion of the Muslims

The king of Portugal had ordered him to expel the Muslims from Ceylon, as they were a great hindrance to the propagation

of Christianity and a danger to the power of the Portuguese. Many Muslims had settled in Ceylon. There were whole villages of them in the Sabaragamuva and Mātara disāvanis, in the districts of Kalutara and Alutgama and at Beruvala. They had even been promoted to posts of responsibility in defiance of the decrees of the Council of Goa, and were wielding great influence in the country. Sa therefore decided to carry out the orders and expelled the Muslims from Portuguese territory. Many of them went to the Sinhalese kingdom, and Senerat, who was only too glad to have enemies of the Portuguese in his realms, settled four thousand of them in Batticaloa.

243. Batticaloa

This was the most important of the ports still left to him. It was the chief entrance to the kingdom from abroad: the Portuguese who came to aid Karalliyaddē Bandāra landed there; thither also came the first vessels of the Dutch. The king of Portugal had therefore sent frequent orders to fortify it, and Senerat's motive in planting a colony of Muslims there was patent to the general, just as the general's intention to seize it was well known to the king. It was indeed quite obvious that the general was coolly preparing to hem the king in his mountain kingdom without access to foreigners in order to have him at his mercy. He therefore resorted to the only weapon still left to him: he tried to corrupt the mudaliyars of Colombo.

244. Plot against Sa

An opportunity for such dealings came to him in an unexpected manner. An Indian resident in Ceylon had taken it into his head to imitate the pseudo-Nikapitiyē (220) and pretend to be the heir to Sītāvaka. He wrote to the king of Kandy that he was the son of Rājasinha and was now in Colombo in disguise, plying the trade of a sword-smith, and begged the king's assistance to recover the throne of his father. The king knew that the claim was false, but pretended to believe the tale and sent him a gift of arecanuts and sapan and recommended him to consult the mudaliyars of Colombo, and he himself wrote to the mudaliyars to bespeak their sympathy. Thus began a correspondence between the king and some of Sa's most trusted Sinhalese officers, in the course of which the pretender was forgotten and a deep-laid plot was formed to betray the general and his army to the king of Kandy.

245. Batticaloa fortified

Meanwhile the general had come to the conclusion that war with Senerat was inevitable, if the Portuguese were to remain masters of the lowlands. He had been instructed to carry

out the conquest of Kandy, but he saw that the conquest could not be effected by mere raids and by burning and destroying towns and villages as his predecessors had done hitherto. It was necessary to reduce the country for good and all, and keep it under subjection, which required a greater force of Portuguese troops than he had. He therefore urged for troops. But Portugal had now begun its decline. The king of Spain, who had inherited the crown of Portugal also, was using the colonial empire of Portugal to further the interests of Spain. There were no troops to be sent, and orders came to Sa to fortify Batticaloa and maintain peace with the king. This could not well be done, for the attempt to fortify Batticaloa would provoke war. The general, therefore, reported that he must first fortify the frontiers, and proposed to strengthen Malvāna and Mēnikkadavara before erecting a fort at Batticaloa. This was approved, but the measure needed money which the comptroller of revenue refused. Sa had in consequence to forgo his salary to obtain funds for the fortifications. These were soon put in a state of defence, and Sa proceeded to Batticaloa with all his forces, and erected a fort on the island of Puliyantivu in the lagoon, which gives its name to the town, for Batticaloa is a Portuguese corruption of *mada-kalapuva* 'the miry lagoon'.

246. The Mudaliyars of Colombo

Senerat tried to oppose the march, but seeing that the general's force was too large for him to contend with, he desisted from the purpose and offered Sa a bribe. When that had no effect, he pressed the mudaliyars of Colombo to hasten their action. These mudaliyars were men who had risen to prominence through the favour of the Portuguese. They were now men of wealth, of high position, and great influence with the Portuguese as with their own countrymen. Two were members of the general's staff, all Christians, trusted confidants of the general, allied to the Portuguese by inter-marriage and placed in command of the lascarins. Some Portuguese who had an inkling of the plot warned Sa, but he would not believe it, thinking it was a trick of Senerat to make him mistrust the Sinhalese officers. Under cover of this implicit confidence the conspirators matured their plan.

247. Sa raids Kandy

The general soon undertook the duties of the comptroller of revenue also and found means to pay the soldiers regularly and to prepare for war when hostilities broke out in 1627. To give the mudaliyars an opportunity for carrying out their plot, the king delivered an attack on the frontiers bordering on Ūva. The general himself led an expedition to Ūva and returned through the Uḍarāta without

meeting with opposition, and the mudaliyars did not find it feasible to betray him. Sa then undertook a tour through his territories, visiting Mātara, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, and passing to Jaffna to settle the administration of that province, placed Trincomalee and Batticaloa under the jurisdiction of the captain-major of Jaffna. Still the conspirators had no opportunity to carry out their treachery, and Senerat, therefore, offered terms. Sa returned an evasive answer and awaited reinforcements.

248. Senerat attacks Jaffna

In 1628 Senerat sent an expedition to Jaffna to seize that kingdom for his sons who claimed it by right of marriage with the two daughters of the legitimate king of Jaffna. This expedition was led by the atapattu mudaliyar of Kandy supported by a Vadagār force sent by the rāja of Tanjore. They entered the peninsula, destroyed the churches, killed two Jesuit priests and marched upon the town of Jaffna. On hearing of this, Sa advanced on Kandy, and as the king fled to Medamahanuvara, he despatched a division to Jaffna under Domingos Carvalho Cam. Dividing his force into two, Cam attacked the atapattu mudaliyar from two sides and captured him and put his men to the sword. He then scoured the country unopposed and obliged the prominent men to take an oath of allegiance to the king of Portugal and returned to Colombo.

249. Sa invades Kandy

In 1629 Sa again entered the Udarāta, but the rains intervened and caused considerable trouble: and though neither the king nor his troops disclosed themselves on the field, many ambushes were laid against the general, and after fighting a skirmish at Ambaṭenne, he was obliged to retreat to Malvāna where he lay so grievously ill that his life was despaired of. He, therefore, made a will recommending his successor to make peace with the king but to be prepared for war. However, he recovered.

250. Progress of the plot

During his convalescence the conspirators matured their plot and sent word to the king to make a descent on Ūva. Kumārasinha, the king's eldest son, prince of Ūva, thereupon came down on Sabaragamuva and with the help of a rebel mudaliyar, named Abhayasinha, ravaged the frontiers and retired to Badulla. The conspirators then urged the general to take the field. Some members of the council, who had observed that the Sinhalese were growing in their hatred of foreign domination, warned the general against the danger of risking a battle with the scanty forces he had; but others urged him to chastise the prince for his effrontery. The general, who had to retreat from Kandy the previous year,

was hesitating to act, when a new viceroy of India, who had given a ready ear to Sa's adversaries, sent him a harsh letter reproaching him with being more interested in trade than in the affairs of his king. Stung by this undeserved rebuke, Sa decided, against his better judgment, to take the field.

251. Expedition to Uva

He mustered the lascarins under the command of the mudaliyars, enlisted all the Portuguese he could, about 700 in all, and leaving small garrisons at Menikkaḍavara, Malvāna, and Sabaragamuva, he set out on his ill-fated expedition on 2nd August, 1630. In fifteen days he reached Idalgashinna and came in sight of Badulla on the 20th of the month. Senerat was in the neighbourhood with all the forces of his realms, led by himself and his three sons, but retired after a feint of resistance and let the army enter Badulla. The Portuguese sacked and burnt the city and razed the temples, taking their quarters at Mutiangana Vihāra. Two days were given to rest, during which the conspirators arranged the manner of the betrayal. A letter of the king to one of the mudaliyars was intercepted, but the mohottiar or interpreter succeeded in concealing the truth. But the news quickly spread among the king's men that the Portuguese army was sold and had only one day more to live. An ārachchi who had fallen out with the mudaliyars gave information to an official and the general ended by realizing his mistake.

252. The plot discovered

A council was hastily summoned to decide what was the best course in the circumstances. The details of the conspiracy were not known; it was only known that the mudaliyars were plotting to desert with their men. It was therefore considered wise to retreat at once, and to try, if possible, to avert the desertion by redressing the only grievance of the mudaliyars that was known. This was that the new comptroller of revenue had deprived them of the post of vidāne which they held along with the lands granted with the post; and the council recommended that they should be reinstated. The general summoned them and handed them the acts of appointment and announced his intention to retreat.

253. Retreat

Next morning the retreating army crossed the river in three divisions within sight of the enemy. Immediately Mudaliyar Don Cosme Kulatunga, who was in the rearguard killed a Portuguese, and sticking up his head on a spear passed over to the enemy with Mudaliyar Don Aleixo and the lascarins under his command;

three others, Don Siman, Don Theodosio, and Don Balthezar did the same with five hundred lascarins each. This put the Portuguese ranks in confusion, but forming up quickly into one body, they began to cut their way. By night they reached a bare hill where they halted, though unable to shelter themselves from the assailants. Each man provided himself with rations for three days, all the rest of the baggage and provisions were burnt, and early next morning they began the second day of retreat, pursued by the king's men in three divisions. A fourth division had gone ahead to obstruct the way with felled trees and was awaiting them at a difficult pass.

254. Battle

There a severe battle was fought, and getting clear of their pursuers, the Portuguese reached the slope of a hill at Vellavaya on the borders of Ūva. A force of lascarins of Mātara and the Seven Kōralēs, who were still with the Portuguese, was attacked furiously and ultimately went over to the assailants. The Portuguese then fought desperately, but a heavy shower of rain came on, drenching the munitions and flooding the rivulet which lay between the main-body and the advance guard, which being thus cut off, the men were killed or captured before they could be relieved. Seeing the pass to which they were reduced, the rest of the lascarins made away.

255. Rout

Next morning, the 25th of August, the general was summoned to surrender, but declined and decided to fight to the last. The battle raged from 6 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon, by which time, when 350 were already killed and more than 100 captured, the captain-general stricken by an arrow fell, and a crowd of assailants rushed to cut off his head. While defending him from the onslaught, a Portuguese soldier accidentally shot him dead. The rest were soon killed or taken prisoners, and the rout of the Portuguese was complete.

256. Prisoners

Senerat was not present at this action, and his three sons, instead of marching on Colombo, where Mudaliyar Don Manoel had remained for the express purpose of delivering the city, spent three days on the field of battle. The prisoners were sent to Kandy under escort, and the princes marched to Sabaragamuva, spending ten days on the journey. After another week they arrived before Colombo, having given that city twenty-six days to prepare for

the siege. Sa had sent a message to Colombo on the eventful day, and the acting general, Lancarote de Seixas, seized Don Manoel and a few others that tried to raze the city, and recalling the garisons of Malvāna and Kalutara, prepared for the siege.

An account of "**The Rebellion of Ceylon and the Progress of its Conquest under the Government of Constantine de Sa de Noronha**" was written in Spanish by the general's son Juan Rodriguez de Sa de Menezes, 1681—(Translation in Journal R. A. S. C.B. XI). Authentic and graphic details of the plot against Sa and of his expedition are given in **The Expedition to Uva made in 1630: as narrated by a soldier who took part in the Expedition**. Translated by Father S. G. Perera, S. J., Govt. Press, Colombo 1930. See also Queyroz 752—756, and 761—766. The Abbe le Grand in his French Translation of Ribeirio gave much information about the mudaliyars concerned in the plot. (See English Trans. by George Lee, Govt. Press, Colombo, 1847 pp. 87—89). **The Kustantinu Hatana** has been critically edited by Mr. M. E. Fernando and Father S. G. Perera, S. J., Colombo, 1932. **The Diary of Ove Giedde** is published by Schlegel in *Sammlung zur Danischen Geschichte*—An English translation made by D. W. Ferguson, exists in manuscript in a private library in Ceylon. It mentions Giedde's dealings with Prince Māyāduṇṇē and with Antonio Barreto.

CHAPTER XII

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH, 1630—1645

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I

THE PORTUGUESE IN DIFFICULTIES

257. Siege of Colombo

SENERAT issued a proclamation inviting the whole of Ceylon to the sack of Colombo, promising four-fifths of the spoil. The whole island accordingly rose against the Portuguese and beset the city on all sides, occupying the suburbs. But in spite of several assaults, it held out for two months, and when reinforcements arrived from India, the king raised the siege. The beleaguered sallied out, and encountering the king's forces, dislodged them from Nākalagama on 11th November.

258. Don Philip Mascarenhas

Don Philip Mascarenhas, captain of Cochin, who had hastened to relieve Colombo, was elected captain-general and was subsequently confirmed in the post by the viceroy. In his time Senerat tried to persuade the lascarins to betray the city, but the plot was disclosed by mudaliyar Ēkanāyaka of Mātara. Senerat thereupon returned to Kandy and forced the fort of Menikkaḍavara to surrender. His son, Rājasinha, who still held Biyagama, Kaḍuvela, and Malvāna, tried to deliver a surprise attack on Colombo, but failed. The Portuguese attacked his men at Panadura, and his attempt on the fort of Batticaloa was frustrated.

259. Don Jorge de Almeida

In October 1631, Don Jorge de Almeida arrived as captain-general and in the beginning of the next year he advanced against Rājasinha. Capturing Biyagama and Kaḍuvela, he made for Malvāna where the prince was. The latter abandoned Malvāna and tried conclusions at Alavva and Matiāgama without success. But Don Theodosio, one of the chief conspirators, (253) now quarrelled with the princes and returned to the Portuguese, upon which the king decided to make peace.

260. Truce

Almeida sent an ambassador with orders to demand as a preliminary to peace that the Portuguese prisoners should be removed from Badulla. This was accordingly done, and on instructions from the viceroy, he called upon the king to become a vassal of Portugal and pay a larger tribute than in 1617 (224) if he wished for peace with the Portuguese. Senerat declined to pay any tribute, and offered to send ambassadors to Goa to discuss the terms. A truce was signed, and the disāva Jayasundara and Kuruppu Rāla went to Goa with two Portuguese prisoners to settle the terms of peace. The viceroy insisted on a tribute and the retention of Batticaloa, to which the ambassadors agreed after much hesitation. But by the time they returned, Don Theodosio had been arrested by the Portuguese and the king, having nothing to fear from that quarter declined to stand by the terms arranged by his ambassadors.

261. Diogo de Mello de Castro, 1633—1635

Don Jorge de Almeida meanwhile became very unpopular, and on representations made by the people, was recalled, and Diogo de Mello do Castro was sent in 1633 as captain-general. As Senerat had repudiated the treaty accepted by his ambassadors, the new general decided to make a demonstration of hostilities and marched on Kandy. The king fortified himself at Ganēṭenne, but being

averse to war, sent a message to the general stating that his ambassadors had agreed to a tribute without his consent and that he was willing to make peace if they were ready to forgo the tribute.

262. Peace

The general declined to listen to the proposal and marched from Menikkaḍavara to Attāpitiya whither the king had come with all his forces. Senerat was tired of war, and, seeing that the Portuguese were inexorable in the matter of tribute, he agreed to the terms arranged at Goa, namely to pay tribute, to restore the lands he had seized, to liberate the prisoners and to let Batticaloa remain in the hands of the Portuguese. Thus the two parties returned to the state of affairs that existed before the rout of Sa.

263. Don Jorge de Almeida (Second Term) 1635—1636

The charges against Almeida were inquired into at Goa and held to be untrue, and it was thought necessary for his reputation to send him back to Ceylon. He was accordingly reinstated to the great chagrin of the people, and Mello was recalled to Goa. But though Almeida was a good engineer and designed the bastion of Māpanē, one of the strongest in Colombo, he was a hasty and tactless man and again provoked opposition. The soldiers mutinied against the captain-major, appointed by him, and marched on Colombo, whereupon Almeida was obliged to give in. The king of Portugal, moreover, informed of these unruly happenings in Colombo, ordered the viceroy to send back Diogo de Mello de Castro.

264. Diogo de Mello (Second Term) 1636—1638 Senerat and his sons

The general found that king Senerat, with whom he had made peace, had died in 1635, and that his youngest son, Rājasinha Maha Astāna, who had been administering the government even in the lifetime of the father, was now ruling at Kandy. Rājasinha was a brave and ambitious prince whom his father favoured above the two elder sons. All three had been educated by Franciscan friars who taught them the accomplishments of European princes of the age. The youngest showed more character and ability, and the father, unwilling to give room for dissension after his death, partitioned the kingdom among the three sons in his lifetime. It is said that he divided the kingdom into three principalities: Kandy, Ūva, and Mātalē, and made the sons draw lots, making sure however that Kandy should fall to the youngest. By this means he made Rājasinha king of Kandy, the eldest Kumārasinha king of Ūva, and Vijayapāla king of Mātalē. They were to come into the full possession of their kingdoms only after the father's

death and meantime were to be known as the Princes of Kandy, Ūva, and Mātalē. Kumārasinha was not satisfied with this settlement and attempted to seek Portuguese aid to assert his rights as the first born, but being an inconstant and weak prince, he could not carry out his plan. On his death, Rājasinha annexed Ūva to the great displeasure of Vijayapāla, who was very friendly to the Portuguese, and subsequently went over to them, and even intrigued with the Dutch.

265. Rajasinha

Rājasinha could read, write, and speak Portuguese and was quite conversant with the views and ways of that nation. He favoured Christianity and permitted monks and priests to live and build churches in his domains, and one of these he now despatched to Portugal to negotiate with the king a firm peace independent of the caprice of generals. The friar, however, had to return to Kandy as the viceroy would not let him go to Lisbon. Foiled in his attempt to protect his kingdom from the frequent and devastating invasions, he now decided to seek foreign help, as he realized that his predecessors' policy of fomenting rebellions and causing desertions, did not free the country from attacks. These might give a temporary advantage by crippling the Portuguese, but led to no definite results, as experience proved. He therefore turned to the Dutch. His object was not to exchange one foreigner for another, but knowing that the Dutch East-India Company was very eager to secure the monopoly of trade and did not appear to be bent on invasion or conquest, he hoped that by offering them the monopoly of cinnamon and a fort in the island he could induce them to rid him of the Portuguese.

266. Seeks Dutch aid

With this object therefore he wrote in 1636 to the governor of Paliakat asking for assistance, offering them a fort at Kottiyār or Batticaloa and binding himself to pay the expenses of the fleet. This request was communicated to Anthony van Dieman, director of the Company at Batavia, who immediately accepted it. Unlike the Portuguese who were touchy in their national feelings and would even court disaster to avenge an affront, real or imaginary, the Dutch were cool, calculating merchants, little given to sentiment. They knew that many European nations were bidding for the Eastern trade, and the opportunity of wresting the cinnamon of Ceylon from the Portuguese made them forget the murder of Sebald de Weert (199). The director, therefore, sent an order to Adam Westerwold who was blockading Goa, to come to Ceylon and settle the terms of a treaty. Rājasinha, being informed of

this, sent ambassadors to Westerwold, inviting him to come and capture Batticaloa for a beginning. Westerwold, therefore, sent Willem Jacobsz Coster with four ships for the purpose.

267. Expedition to Kandy

Diogo de Mello was not long in coming to hear of these dealings of Rājasinha with their enemies, and when a fleet of Malacca brought some troops to Colombo, he seized the opportunity to make an expedition to intimidate Rājasinha and demand the payment of tribute. The general's council was opposed to the expedition, but Mello, who, it is said, had a private grudge to pay, was intent on the foolhardy venture and was seconded by his captain-major. Rājasinha came to know of this resolution, and though he was a man of great bravery, he was unprepared for resistance and tried to avert the humiliation by sending the Franciscan friar of Kandy to remonstrate on this violation of a sworn peace. The general thought this was a sign of fear, and was the more emboldened, and mustered his forces, and set out for Menikkaḍavara. Rājasinha was eager to avert an invasion at all costs, and sent another embassy to the general and the Chamber of Colombo, but without avail. A third remonstrance made by an Augustinian friar sent from Kandy had no better result, and Mello set out on the march by Aṭṭāpitiya and the Balana Kadavata and entered the kingdom unopposed. The king quitted the city, and the Portuguese set fire to the palace, and knowing that it was perilous to delay long, wished to retreat to Balana.

268. Portuguese army routed

But the way was obstructed and they were benighted at Gannoruva. There the Portuguese were surrounded on all sides by the might of Kandy and next morning, Palm Sunday, 28th March, 1638, the army was cut down and annihilated while struggling to get free.

269. Revolt of the Island

Forthwith the whole island rose in arms. The scanty garrisons of Menikkaḍavara and Malvāna retired to Colombo. Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who hastened from San Thomé to the rescue of Colombo, was elected to conduct the defence. Rājasinha who was unprepared to profit by the triumph did not besiege Colombo, though his men seized the lowlands.

270. Don Antonio Mascarenhas 1638—1640

Don Antonio Mascarenhas soon arrived as general and took the field, but was obliged to retire. Making a second attempt to recover the lands, he attacked Malvāna, but was defeated by Don Aleixo

(253) who held it for Rājasinha. But another detachment captured Navagamuva, Menikkaḍavara, Aṭṭāpitiya and Embalava, and destroying whole villages without sparing sex or age, encamped at Alavva.

II

ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH

271. Landing of the Dutch

Meanwhile Coster landed at Kalmunai and heard of the great triumph of Rājasinha at Gannoruva. The plight to which the Portuguese were now reduced showed the Dutchman that they had come in most opportunely, and proceeding to Batticaloa, he laid siege to the fort. To keep the Portuguese in play while the fort was being assailed, Rājasinha sent a force against Menikkaḍavara, which the Portuguese thereupon promptly abandoned along with all the other inland strongholds to bring all the available forces to the coast.

272. Capture of Batticaloa

Westerwold then arrived with five more ships, and the fort of Batticaloa was bombarded. Rājasinha appeared in the vicinity and received a visit from the Dutch. And on the 18th of April the fort of Batticaloa, which was the cause of all the upheavals of the last ten years, capitulated to the Dutch, and the Portuguese garrison was conveyed to Negapatam.

273. Treaty with Westerwold

Rājasinha was delighted with the success of his negotiations and met Westerwold to discuss the terms of the alliance. It was agreed to give the Dutch Company the monopoly of the Ceylon trade in return for assisting the king with men and munition to be duly paid for. One of the articles of the treaty stated that all the forts captured from the Portuguese should be garrisoned by the Dutch, *if the king so desired*, and repaired at the king's expense. The important conditional clause was only in the king's copy of the treaty, not in the Dutch one. It is not impossible that the omission was due to the negligence of an interpreter or a copyist; but as pointed out by a Dutch writer there is some reason to think that it was not due to a mistake but to a deliberate plan, and that the translator or copyist was a tool of a high-placed person. Anyhow it was soon destined to set the allies by their ears.

274. Batticaloa garrisoned by the Dutch

Batticaloa was garrisoned by a Dutch force under the command of Coster, and Westerwold left for Batavia to submit the treaty to

the confirmation of the directors of the Company. The Dutch had been led to expect large cargoes of cinnamon, wax, and pepper, but none were forthcoming. The people around Batticaloa were forbidden to come to the fort without the king's licence, and the Dutch had reason to think that the king was keeping the spices hidden. Coster, therefore, went to meet the king and received a provision of supplies and a written permission to carry on trade.

275. Portuguese recover lands

On the departure of the Dutch fleet, the Portuguese reoccupied Malvāna, and hearing that the king was at Ruvanvella, they made for it, upon which Rājasinha withdrew. They then established themselves at Alavva and Menikkaḍavara.

276. Dutch policy

The authorities in Batavia confirmed the treaty and took in hand the reduction of the Portuguese forts of Ceylon. A fleet of twelve ships was equipped and set sail under Anthony Caen. Rājasinha pressed his allies to blockade Colombo and attack it by sea, while he beset it by land. The Dutch would much rather have begun with Galle, which was more convenient for them and easier to storm; but in deference to the king's wishes, Caen anchored off Colombo and sent a message to the king to second their attack from land.

277. Capture of Trincomalee

But as Rājasinha was forced to abandon Ruvanvella and the Portuguese held Alavva and Menikkaḍavara, he could not keep his word; the fleet proceeded to the east coast, and arriving at Kottiyār, prepared to storm Trincomalee, which was soon battered till the Portuguese capitulated after a vain resistance, on 2nd May, 1639, before a relieving force could come to its aid. The force which Rājasinha promised arrived only after the capture of the fort, giving the Dutch the suspicion that they had been waiting till the fighting was over. These troops being unprepared to garrison the fort, the Dutch placed troops and set sail for Batavia with some ambassadors of Rājasinha.

278. Displeasure of Rajasinha

Both Batticaloa and Trincomalee were thus captured by the Dutch without any aid from Rājasinha, and both were garrisoned by them. This did not please the king, who showed his displeasure at the violation of the treaty, which only made the Dutch at Batavia suspect his good faith. But once embarked on operations in Ceylon, the Company had no mind to abandon the enterprise of wresting the cinnamon trade from the Portuguese at the expense of Rājasinha as they had cleverly bargained. They would have

made the next attempt on Galle, but as Rājasinha was so earnest that it should be directed on Colombo, a Dutch fleet under Philip Lucasz set out with a large force and arrived at Trincomalee to find that fort in great straits. The king had not only failed to supply provisions to the garrison, but had even forbidden his subjects to do so. Lucasz was, however, unwilling to quarrel with the king before they had a sure footing in the island; and sent a force of 200 men to the king to make sure of his coming to assist them by land, and appeared off Colombo after reconnoitering Galle. But though they remained eight days in the offing, there was no sign of their ally, who was unable to come to their aid, as the Portuguese were at Arandara.

279. Fatal battle

The fleet therefore made towards Negombo, and the Portuguese hurriedly despatched several companies to defend that fort. The Dutch came to anchor at Kammala and the Portuguese occupied the two banks of the Maha Oya, but Lucasz hearing that some of the Portuguese forces had been sent on a punitive expedition, promptly landed his men and entrenched himself. The Portuguese then, realizing their mistake, sent for the force that was posted at Arandara to cut off Rājasinha from joining his allies. Making a forced march from Arandara, the inconsiderate commander, without even giving his men a rest, tried to dislodge the Dutch from their entrenchments and was beaten back with heavy loss. Rājasinha's force was now free to descend; he came down to Kammala; the 200 Dutchmen joined their countrymen on 29th January, 1640, and advanced on Negombo.

280. Capture of Negombo

The fort of Negombo was a weak, irregular, construction unworthy of the name of a fort. Three batteries bombarded it incessantly for three days, when the captain received orders from the general to remove the garrison and blow up the works. But before this order could be carried out, the Dutch stormed the fort mastering it with the utmost ease, and the remnants of the Portuguese army retreated to Colombo which was now in danger. Lucasz repaired and garrisoned Negombo to the great displeasure of Rājasinha who demanded that it should be razed.

281. Importance of Negombo

Negombo was a cinnamon producing district, and to raze the fort after all the trouble of capturing it was to restore the district to the Portuguese. Lucasz, therefore, would not accede to Rājasinha's request, and the latter retired in high dudgeon. The Dutch sent a hasty message to Trincomalee and Batticaloa to be on the look-out lest the king should fall upon them unawares.

282. Fresh agreements

But Coster waited upon the king to explain the matter, and the Dutch agreed to give up Trincomalee to the king and occupy all other forts till he paid the expenses of the war, and consented to raze Colombo to the ground when it was captured. When the Portuguese were finally expelled from the island and all the expenses of the war were paid, then the Dutch would keep only one fort. Having settled this new arrangement, the fleet made for Galle with all haste.

283. Fall of Galle

The Portuguese were expecting an attack on Colombo, and when they found the fleet making for Galle, they hastily sent a relieving force which had much ado to reach in time. The Dutch landed their forces at Unavaṭuna beyond the range of the guns of the fort. The relieving party attempted to take the Dutch encampments by surprise, but their plan was betrayed, and though they fought with great courage, they were beaten back into the fort, which was forthwith bombarded. On the 13th March, Coster decided to storm it and in spite of a very gallant defence carried it at the cost of many lives. The king's men arrived in time to share the sack according to the arrangements made with Rājasinha.

284. Importance of Galle

Galle was the largest fort and the most valuable acquisition so far made by the Dutch. It commanded the richest and the most fertile cinnamon lands: it was captured without assistance from Rājasinha and garrisoned without protest. For these reasons and because of the advantages of its position, it now became the headquarters of the Dutch Company in Ceylon. Coster was made President of the Company's people in Ceylon, and a Frenchman, named Walraven de St. Amand was made captain of the fort of Santa Cruz of Galle, as it was named by the Portuguese.

III

OPPOSITION TO THE DUTCH**285. Rajasinha's alarm**

Rājasinha was very uneasy at these developments. He had called in the Dutch to oust the Portuguese, and now they were preparing to settle down comfortably in the captured forts. He was, therefore, disposed to cry a halt till the expenses already incurred by the Dutch were paid, for not till then could he ask for the delivery of his forts according to the treaty. But meanwhile, the expenses went on increasing, as the garrisons were maintained on the king's

account. He therefore began to treat his allies with great coldness and even hostility, prohibiting the people to trade with them, neglecting to supply them with provisions as stipulated, and even leaving their many letters unanswered.

286. The murder of Coster

Coster, therefore, went to Kandy to expostulate with the king who replied to his complaints in writing and in very strained language. The Dutchman was wroth and set out on his return journey to Galle *via* Batticaloa. One of the king's officers overtook him on the way to search a runaway slave for stolen property, as he alleged, which exasperated Coster so much that he flung away the present given him by the king, to compensate for the alleged theft. He was next overtaken by about 500 men under a mudaliyar who declared that he came to escort him. But at Nilgala there was an altercation in the course of which Coster and some others were killed. The king wrote to the Dutch disclaiming all responsibility for the murder and expressing his desire for the continuation of negotiations.

287. Plot to betray Galle

Colombo, meanwhile, was in great perturbation for fear that the Dutch would next attack that fort, and in response to their urgent appeals, a relieving force was despatched under a new captain-general, Braz de Castro. He was driven by a storm to Mannār and did not bestir himself overmuch to reach Colombo. But the captain of Galle, Walraven de St. Amand, sounded some of his countrymen about betraying the fort to the Portuguese when he heard of the fate of Coster. As his friends refused to join him, St. Amand ran away to the Portuguese and revealed to them the straits to which the fort was reduced, and so relieved the general from any fear of attack. The general therefore prepared to recover Negombo, and while he was actually on the point of setting out, his brother, Don Philip Mascarenhas, arrived as captain-general of Ceylon.

288. Recovery of Negombo

The new general fell in with his brother's plan and advanced on Negombo without any delay, driving Mudaliyar Don Balthazar (253) before him. The Dutch fort was ill prepared for a siege and surrendered to the Portuguese and was soon repaired and garrisoned by them. It was the first and the only fort which the Portuguese succeeded in wresting back from the Dutch, and to add to their triumph, a detachment sent against Don Balthazar, one of the ringleaders of the conspiracy against Constantine de Sa, who was now commanding a force of Rājasinha in the neighbourhood, was so successful as to defeat and behead him. A force was then sent to

reduce the Four and the Seven Kōralēs, and it even succeeded in seizing the cinnamon prepared for the Dutch. Rājasinha, who was at Ruvanvella, promptly retreated to Kandy, and the Portuguese burnt his palace and encamped at Alavva to guard the frontiers. Another detachment cleared the Mātara disāvani and encamped at Kalutara to prevent the Dutch from securing cinnamon.

289. Attempt on Galle

Pleased with this success, the general decided to attempt the recovery of Galle. Being a wealthy man, he was even ready to buy it or bribe one to betray it into his hands. Failing in this, he sent a force to scour the country and to cut off supplies from the fort. The displeasure of Rājasinha had reduced the Dutch to the necessity of procuring their own supplies, and none were available. It was thought imprudent to quarrel with Rājasinha, lest he should make up with the Portuguese. The Dutch therefore reinforced the garrison and supplied it with victuals from abroad, and determined to dissemble with Rājasinha till the Portuguese were finally expelled from the island.

290. Rājasinha's troubles

The king had troubles in his own realms. His brother, Vijayapāla prince of Mātālē, had been placed under guard for fear of his dealing with the Portuguese. But he escaped from custody and went to Ūva, and when pursued by Rājasinha, to Batticaloa, where he endeavoured to set the Dutch against his brother. Rājasinha was thus reduced to the necessity of asking the Dutch for help. Vijayapāla soon succeeded in making his way into Portuguese territory where he was welcomed. The idea of supporting him against Rājasinha was mooted but abandoned, and the prince was ultimately sent to Goa where he received an allowance befitting his rank and settled down there, having become a Christian.

291. Blockade of Galle

The Dutch in Galle meanwhile were so hard pressed for supplies for the garrison that they had to sally out to forage. The Portuguese therefore lay in wait for them, and in August 1642 encountered a party at Vakvella and destroyed it to the dismay of the garrison. They then tried to persuade the Muslims of Mātara to attack the Portuguese encampments unawares, but the plot was discovered, and the Muslims of Mātara were ruthlessly put to the sword. Yet though the Dutch in the fort were hemmed in and deserted by their ally, the Portuguese were not in a position to storm the fort, as it was not safe to withdraw the garrisons from the Sinhalese frontiers.

292. Rājasinha's ambassadors at Batavia

Rājasinha had sent ambassadors to Batavia to exonerate himself from the charge of infidelity to his promises. The director of the Company was not at all satisfied with the king's explanations, but as he was bent on capturing the cinnamon trade of Ceylon by ousting the Portuguese, he announced that he was soon sending a fleet to capture Colombo.

293. Revolution in Portugal

But in the meantime a revolution in Portugal had got rid of the Spanish connection and had acclaimed John of Braganza as King John IV of Portugal. The new king immediately made a ten years' truce with Holland, and till the terms of peace were settled, each nation was to keep what it actually held at the time. On the strength of this clause, the Dutch now demanded to be put in possession of the 'kingdom of Galle' on the score that it belonged to the fort. This the Portuguese stoutly denied, and the truce became inoperative in this island.

294. Battle of Akuressa

The promised Dutch fleet was therefore despatched and arrived in 1642. The Portuguese promptly recalled the garrisons of Alavva and Sabaragamuva to defend the coast. But the Dutchman found the time inopportune and sailed away, whereupon the Portuguese force was ordered to Galle to lay slow siege to the fort. A force of Rājasinha under Hinkenda was in the vicinity, but was defeated and the commander slain; and the Portuguese encamping at Akuressa reduced the fort of Galle to great straits. The Dutch then determined to take the Portuguese unawares and made their way to Akuressa in great secrecy by way of Veligama. But news of the expedition had reached the Portuguese commander who advanced against the enemy, and inflicted a heavy defeat on them on the plains of Akuressa in May 1642.

295. The Dutch recapture Negombo

To wipe off this disgrace, the Dutch fitted out a fleet under a Frenchman, named Francois Caron, who came coasting along the island to make believe that he was intent on Colombo, and when the Portuguese had concentrated their forces, quickly made for Negombo. Landing to the north of the fort, he marched his forces in three divisions against the fort. The captain-major, Don Antonio Mascarenhas, who was in charge of the relieving force and who was chafing under the rebuke that he had never faced the Dutch foe during his generalate, was bent on giving an exhibition of his gallantry, but acted with such precipitation that in spite of a very well-fought battle, he was killed with the

greater part of his men, and the fort again passed into the hands of the Dutch East India Company. After garrisoning the fort, Caron embarked his men and arrived at the mouth of the Kelani river to besiege Colombo. But realizing that it was not an easy matter to attack the principal fort of the Portuguese without effectual assistance from Rājasinha, he abandoned the attempt.

296. Attempts on Negombo

Hearing of the fall of Negombo, the viceroy sent reinforcements, and Mascarenhas prepared to recover the fort again. He surrounded the fort, and erecting batteries, began to bombard it and razed part of the works, but his attempt to storm it was so ill conducted that he was beaten back with heavy loss.

297. Truce between Holland and Portugal

Rājasinha remained neutral during these encounters, and soon the truce between Holland and Portugal was definitively extended to India and Ceylon. It was agreed that the Dutch should retain not only the forts of Negombo and Galle, but even the districts depending on them. The Bendoṭa river became the boundary between the Portuguese and Dutch possessions, and still remains the boundary between the Western and the Southern Provinces. Thus the Dutch Company obtained their most cherished desire, the possession of the cinnamon districts of Ceylon. Don Philip Mascarenhas was appointed viceroy of India and left Ceylon.

For the siege of Colombo by Senerat see **An Account of the Siege laid to Colombo by the King of Kandy**, written by a Portuguese of Colombo Affonso Dias de Lomba and translated by me and printed in the 'Expedition to Uva made in 1630' The Treaty of Peace of 1633 is treated in my article in the **Ceylon Literary Register**, 3rd Series, III. 289, 350, 430. Regarding **Prince Vijayapala** see his letter to the Dutch printed in the Batavia Dagb Register, 1643—4, pp. 255 and **Prince Vijayapala of Ceylon** 1634—1654 by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Colombo 1927. **The correspondence between Rājasinha and the Dutch** has been translated and critically edited by D. W. Ferguson in J. C. B. R. A. XVIII. 166—276. from the originals in the Dutch Archives of Colombo. For other letters see J. XXI. p. 259 and sqq. and the **Ceylon Literary Register**, 3rd Series I. 400, 451.

The Dutch writer referred to in § 273 is Dr. W. Van Geer, author of a valuable book on the Dutch in Ceylon (**De opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon**). For Rājasinha's embassy to Batavia in 1639 see **Ceylon Literary Register** 1st Series, II. 59; for the defection of St. Amand see C. L. R. 3rd Series iii. 36; for the capture of Trincomalee see **Journal of Antonio Caen** in J. C. B. R. A. S. X: for the capture of Batticaloa C. L. R. 1st Series, ii. 44 and sqq. The Treaty of Westerwold is printed in **Dutch Records** (Anthonisz).

PART II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN CEYLON 1645—1655

CHAPTER XIII

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John IV 1640—1686
- ii. *King of Kandy*—
Rājasinha 1635—1687

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I

THE POLICY OF THE DUTCH

298. Rājasinha and the Dutch

RAJASINHA and the Dutch had each a genuine grievance against the other. It was now seven years since the Dutch had brought help to Rājasinha on promise of payment, but scarcely a fraction of the cost of the fleets, which amounted to about a million guilders, was yet paid; and what was worse, the king did not seem disposed to fulfil his promise of supplying them with merchandise and provisions. On the other hand, the forts captured by the Dutch were captured for Rājasinha and were held nominally for him, but actually in defiance of him, though at his expense: and in the truce with the Portuguese, the forts were described as possessions of the Dutch East India Company. Rājasinha was incensed at this and sent an order forbidding them to occupy or fortify any part of his territories without his express leave, pointing out that, since they were now at peace with the Portuguese, the reason they gave for the military occupation of the lands did not now hold good. A copy of the truce was then sent to him, and he found that he had been included without his consent as a party to it. He then sent another order, calling upon them to rectify the mistake and insert

his name instead of that of the Company as the lawful master of the lands. He permitted them to enjoy the revenues of the lands till the debt was paid, but they were by no means to be the masters. He also pointed out that they should not have acknowledged the Portuguese to be masters of Kaṭugampola, Puttalam, Kalpiṭiya, Bulatgama, and the four Kōralēs of Handapanduna, Kinigoda, Paranakūru, and Galboḍa, and the lands to the north of Puvakpiṭiya, as they belonged to him and were in his possession at the time. The Dutch admitted the justice of the king's claim, promised to amend the truce, and excused themselves on the ground that, as the agreement was between the Portuguese and themselves, they had to put in their own name. They also said they intended to hold the lands of Negombo and Galle only till they had compensated themselves for the expenses of war.

299. Dutch policy

This did not satisfy the king, and he withheld supplies from the forts, punished those who dealt with the Dutch, ordered the peelers of cinnamon to keep beyond six miles of the forts, and sent his disāvas to guard the lands. But the Dutch had now come to the conclusion that, as the king had not paid their expenses and was inclined to be unfriendly, they must not let the lands out of their hands. In fact they were now actually administering the government, and had even taken the precaution of forming a secret alliance with the Portuguese against Rājasinha in violation of the public treaty with the king against the Portuguese. For, intent on securing the cinnamon of Ceylon, they were now on the fence, ready to be the friends or enemies of the one or the other according to their interests. They levied the customary taxes and tolls, exacted *rājakāriya* and held elephant hunts but did not credit to the king the revenues thus collected nor deduct them from the debt. In 1644 they loaned four tame elephants from the Portuguese for the purpose of a kraal and had to give half the catch to the Portuguese. In the following year they wished to have all the elephants for themselves and being eager to pick a quarrel, Jan Thysen 'Governor of the conquests' in Ceylon formally declared war against Kandy and seized the king's tame elephants.

300. War

Rājasinha too was not unwilling to have an excuse for war and wrote a very indignant letter and immediately mustered his forces and marched against the Dutch encampment at Pannare in the Seven Kōralēs. But the Dutch authorities in Batavia did not approve of breaking out in war and sent Jan Maetsuyker as governor. He wrote a conciliatory letter, informing the king that Thysen was

dismissed for it and promising to restore the elephants. Thysen was not dismissed, nor were the elephants returned, but orders were sent to withdraw the garrison of Pannare. Adrian van der Stel who was sent to bring back the troops bore himself insolently and was attacked and killed by the king's troops. The camp was immediately besieged for eight days and surrendered. Another camp had also to surrender, and Rājasinha sent the garrison prisoner to Kandy, reduced the whole of the Negombo district and effectually prevented the Dutch from securing the coveted produce of the lands. This in turn incensed Maetsuyker who demanded from the king whether he wished for war or peace and threatened to seize Batticaloa, Kōṭṭiyar, and Trincomalee, and the first and the last were in fact occupied. This led to a rupture, and the king did not reply to the governor's letters, and much difficulty was felt in procuring the products, as the lands of Negombo and Galle were under the king's disāvas.

301. New treaty

In 1647 both parties desired to come to terms. The governor reported to Batavia that no lasting peace could be made with the king; but the fear of the Portuguese coming to terms with him made the Dutch desire at least the semblance of a peace. Maetsuyker therefore sent a Dutch ambassador to Kandy who discussed with the king certain points in dispute regarding the observance of the treaty of 1638, (273) which was then confirmed with some modifications, the chief of which was the monopoly of trade. Now the concession was restricted to cinnamon which "shall not be given to any other nation, so long as the expenses incurred by the Company in the king's service shall remain unpaid." The Dutch also asked that a disāva of their own nation might be appointed to Mātara and that Negombo be left in their hands till Colombo was taken. Soon after signing this treaty, Maetsuyker left Ceylon, giving his successor some instructions from which we gather that the Dutch did not expect their debt to be paid and did not intend to give up the possession of the territories.

302. Dutch territories

These territories were: the Negombo district, extending from Veligampīṭiya to Mādampe along the coast up to six leagues inland into the Seven Kōralēs; and the Mātara district from Alutgama to the Valavē, up to about a dozen miles landwards. In this district they had the fortified posts of Bentoṭa, Piṭigal, Māpalagama, Akuressa, Hakmana, and Mātara. Over these districts the governor of Galle ruled, entrusting the civil and judicial administration to a Dutch disāva, a captain of the Galle kōralē and a lieutenant at Alutgama. The mahabadda or cinnamon department was under

a special captain assisted by four vidānes. These officers had the command of *ranchus* of lascarins under mudaliyars, kōrāles and ārachchis. A Sinhalese adigār was next in rank to the disāva, who was assisted by other chiefs and mohottālas.

303. The Company's administration

The Company levied the customary taxes and enforced *vājakāriya* according to a register made by the mohottālas in which the names of men of various castes were entered with the obligations which each had to fulfil by immemorial custom in return for holdings in land (7). Such for instance was the valuable service of gathering and peeling cinnamon, performed by one class of people. The Dutch made much of them, gave them special privileges and provided them with good holdings and maintenance. There were also *betmas* or districts in which the elephant hunt was held. The people belonging to this elephant department had to supply every year 34 elephants with at least four tuskers. Within the last five years they had delivered 70 elephants at Mātara.

304. Policy towards the chiefs

To ensure the due performance of these and other services, the Dutch tried to keep the chiefs pleased and content, heaping favours and honours upon them, lest they should place themselves under the king. They were urged to reside near the fortifications and given special treatment. Sixteen schools were already opened, mostly in places where schools had been established by the Portuguese priests. No Catholic priest was allowed to enter the territories or to administer the sacraments, as the people were known to be "very favourably disposed towards the Portuguese government and religion." Many Catholic priests, however, visited their flocks in secret.

II

THE TRIANGULAR WARFARE

305. The Portuguese between two fires

The Portuguese meanwhile found themselves between two fires but remained inactive. In 1645 Don Philip Mascarenhas was succeeded by Manoel Mascarenhas Homem who had the difficult task of trying to keep peace with Rājasinha and the Dutch. Learning, however, that the king was displeased with his allies, he sent ambassadors to Kandy in the hope of coming to some terms with Rājasinha, but that monarch was now disposed to play off one European nation against the other, and entertained the ambassadors to excite the jealousy of the Dutch. When Rājasinha advanced against the Dutch in the Seven Kōralēs, (300) he asked leave from

the Portuguese to march through their territories, but he afterwards informed the Dutch that they granted him the permission in violation of the truce. Thus there was a triangular contest between the three parties, and the Portuguese stationed their army in the outposts of Menikkaḍavara, Kanantota, Sabaragamuva, Alavva, and Malvāna to guard against Rājasinha, and in those of Alutgama and Kalutara to guard against the Dutch.

306. Friction between Rajasinha and the Dutch

In 1650 Maetsuyker was succeeded by Jacob van Kittenstein, who according to his instructions endeavoured to keep the king of Kandy in good humour without letting the government of the country out of his hands or allowing the king to place a Sinhalese disāva. Thus when Rampot, who was sent to Mātara as disāva, drove out the Dutch guards of Kirama and Kaṭuvana and assumed the administration of the disāvani, Kittenstein at once sent a force to recover the posts and to drive out the Sinhalese troops, and wrote to the king, asking him to appoint a Dutchman as disāva. The king was greatly displeased and asked the governor to submit an account of the expenses incurred by the Company of which they were constantly reminding him, and of what had been credited to him as promised by Maetsuyker on 11th September 1646. This request does not appear to have been ever complied with, nor did the king deny the insinuation of Kittenstein that he was dealing with the Portuguese. But letters and presents were still exchanged, and Rājasinha expressed his pleasure that the Dutch were fitting out a fleet for the conquest of Colombo, and promised his aid.

307. Termination of the truce

In 1652 the Dutch captains of Negombo and Galle sent envoys to Colombo to announce the termination of the truce (297) and the resumption of hostilities from the 4th of October. The Portuguese expected that the captain-general would at least make a show of welcoming the intimation, though in fact Mascarenhas had been most inactive and had not only not prepared for the day but had even weakened the army by favouritism and had neglected the necessary fortifications. His behaviour had been such that many suspected him of attempting to betray the city to the Dutch. To add to this, he did not even now reinforce Kalutara which would obviously be the first post to be attacked. In response to the general outcry, however, he sent some troops with orders to abandon Kalutara if the Dutch attacked it. Kalutara was the key to Colombo and its abandonment was looked upon as a base betrayal.

308. Dutch seize Kalutara and Anguruvātota

The Dutch who were ready at Bentōta immediately crossed the river, occupied the lands, seized and fortified the fort of Kalutara, and sent word to Rājasinha that the time had come for them to render him the long-desired service of capturing Colombo. The Portuguese garrison of Kalutara retreated towards Colombo and those of Malvāna, Anguruvātota, and Sabaragamuva received orders to retire on Colombo, which they did, leaving the provisions behind them at a time when Colombo was blockaded by three Dutch ships and was hard put to it to obtain the necessary victuals. The Dutch immediately occupied Anguruvātota, and the king's troops seized Sabaragamuva.

309. Mutiny of the Portuguese army

These proceedings caused great consternation in Colombo and the captain-general was branded a traitor. Some of the citizens of Colombo who had friends and relatives in the main Portuguese camp of Menikkaḍavara stirred the soldiers against the general and they mutinied against the captain-major who was the general's son-in-law. They declared the general a traitor and called upon the city of Colombo to depose him. Sending the captain-major to Colombo under guard, they set up a board of control consisting of twelve soldiers and brought Gaspar Figueyra de Serpe to be their captain-major.

310. Gaspar Figueyra

Figueyra was the son of a Portuguese father and a Sinhalese mother and had shown himself a valorous and experienced soldier. He soon decided to bring the army to Colombo, but Rājasinha, coming to hear of the mutiny, tried his best to win them to himself, offering to take them into his service or to give them lands to settle down in or free passage to any place they liked. But the soldiers' quarrel was with the general, not with their countrymen, and they despised the invitation. The king thereupon tried to hinder their march, but Figueyra brought them safe to Colombo and encamped at Nākalagama. Then crossing the river, he occupied Tanque Salgado (*Lunu Pokuna*) in Colombo intending to march against the city.

311. The General deposed

The citizens of Colombo and the priests tried to remonstrate with the general, but he was obdurate and prepared to oppose their entry by force of arms. But the troops of the city, indignant at the suggestion, went over to the mutineers, who prepared to force their way into the city. On the persuasion of the priests and monks, the soldiers undertook to enter in peace and swore

to do no harm to any one. The general then seeing that everything was against him resigned his office and was allowed to withdraw to the Dominican cloister.

312. Temporary Government

Figueyra then garrisoned the city, and at a meeting of the Chamber of Colombo, the superiors of the religious orders and the chief citizens, it was decided to elect three triumvirs to administer the government till the viceroy appointed a successor. Figueyra was confirmed in his post as captain-major and immediately took the field.

313. Figueyra's exploits

On the news of the mutiny, Rājasinhā and his allies began to approach Colombo. Figueyra therefore sent a detachment to Malvāna against Rājasinha and marched first against a Dutch force from Negombo which was hovering about the city. Hearing of the peaceful settlement, the Dutch hastily withdrew, pursued by Figueyra who hemmed them in the fort, reduced the lands, and seized the cinnamon prepared for the Dutch. He next turned against the Dutch forces of Galle which were encamped at Anguruvātota and Tebuvana. The former was besieged and bombarded till it surrendered, whereupon the Dutch forthwith abandoned the lands and evacuated the fort of Kalutara. This enabled Figueyra to march against Rājasinha's forces in the Four Kōralēs. He dispersed the army and slew its commander, Condume Disāva, and advanced through Ruvanvella and Bulatgama against the king himself who was at Arandara. The king promptly retired to Vedava and thence to Kandy, whereupon Figueyra reduced the whole of the Four Kōrales and obtained provisions for his troops as well as for the city. He fixed his quarters at Arandara and posted detachments at Alavva, Piṭigaldeniya, and Gurubevila, and also at Aṭṭāpitiya and Kotuvāgoda.

III

A NEW GENERAL

314. Francisco de Melo de Castro

The viceroy of India sent the aged Francisco de Melo de Castro in place of the deposed general, but took no steps to inquire into the allegations against Mascarenhas. The new general arrived in May 1653 and displaced Gaspar de Figueyra who gave over the command of the army to a new captain-major, having by his enterprise changed the fortunes of the Portuguese in the previous few months. Rājasinha was at Batugedara, and the Portuguese

marched to Kanantota, when the king wrote to the Portuguese captain to let his men pass through with baggage to Kandy. The Portuguese were flattered by the request and on the plea of giving him free passage, retired to Malvāna whence they kept the lands in subjection.

315. The Dutch at Kalutara

The Dutch again occupied Kalutara in large force and sent detachments in all directions to secure the produce of the fertile Pasdun Kōralē and to reduce the people to give them allegiance. One of these detachments was posted at Diyagama, and the Portuguese marched against it, whereupon it retired to Kalutara. The forces of Kalutara took the field against the Portuguese and encamped at Tebuvana and fought several skirmishes, when hearing of the arrival of a large Portuguese fleet which appeared to be threatening Galle, the Dutch quickly abandoned Kalutara to defend Galle. The Portuguese thereupon garrisoned the fort of Kalutara and posted a force at Alutgama to harass the Dutch territories.

316. The Portuguese fleet

The Portuguese fleet which consisted of five galleons came to attack Galle. Encountering three Dutch ships blockading Colombo, they prepared for battle, which was ill-conducted and indecisive, for all three Dutch ships succeeded in making for Negombo. The time of the year and the size of the Portuguese ships did not permit their remaining in Ceylon. On the return voyage to Goa the galleons separated from each other, owing to jealousy, encountered the Dutch fleet commanded by Admiral Ryckloff van Goens and were destroyed. The loss of these galleons was a great blow to the Portuguese, and it relieved the Dutch from the fear of attack by sea and enabled them to devote all their energies to the task of driving the Portuguese out of Colombo. They soon returned to the charge.

317. Battle of Kaluvamodara

A Portuguese force was at Alutgama to bar their advance on Colombo, but the Dutch commander by a clever ruse enticed a part of the army to the other side of the river and fell upon it unawares, inflicting heavy loss. To destroy the rest of the force the Dutch crossed the river in a large body, higher up, and dividing into three divisions, one attacked the Portuguese camp from the rear, while of the other two, one awaited them at Kaluvāmōdera and the other guarded the way to intercept the retreat to Kalutara. When the camp was attacked by the division sent for the purpose, the Portuguese retreated but fell into the ambush placed at Kaluvāmōdera where they fought a furious battle and managed to cut their

way to Kalutara with loss, though the Dutch army was three times as large as theirs. The Dutch pursued the retreating army to Kalutara, but were repulsed. The fort was again repaired and garrisoned.

318. Figueyra repels the King's forces

Rājasinha, being informed by the Dutch of the retreat of the Portuguese from Alutgama, and knowing that the dreaded Figueyra was not in command of the field army, sent Mudaliyar Panikki to assail the Four and the Seven Kōralēs, compelling the Portuguese garrisons of Malvāna and Pitigaldeniya to retire to Nākalagama. The general then called upon Figueyra to take the command one more against the king's forces, which he did with his customary rapidity and success. Marching to Kanampella, he defeated Panikki and proceeded to Arandara, driving the Sinhalese army before him. He then scoured Alavva, Bulatgama, Sabaragamuva, and Ruvanvella, and appeared at Arandara, whereupon the mudaliyar retreated. Figueyra then raided the realms of Rājasinha, passing through Tumpanē and reducing the whole of the Seven Kōralēs, encamped at Arandara and finally at Mottapuliya. Rājasinha now obtained from the Dutch a picked body of troops for his body-guard.

To divert Figueyra from the interior, the Dutch and Rājasinha decided to attack him simultaneously. The king came down on Figueyra with a large force, while the Dutch similarly beset the fort of Kalutara. Figueyra, however, forestalled the king, and attacking his two disāvas inflicted heavy loss, and captured the encampments prepared for Rājasinha. The king himself surrounded by his body-guard came on the scene, but Figueyra gave battle in spite of the desertion of some lascarins and captured some guns bearing the arms of Constantine de Sa which had fallen into the hands of Rajasinha at the rout of the Portuguese army (255) and were now used in warfare. Another attempt of the king had failed and the king returned to Kandy for the *perahera* which was now conducted with grandeur, as he was expecting to assert his claims to be the undisputed master of the island. Figueyra raided Tumpanē on the very day of the feast and obliged Rājasinha to send the disāva Pēradeniya to repel him.

319. The Dutch besiege Kalutara

The Dutch meanwhile laid siege to Kalutara hoping to carry it or force Figueyra to leave his post and come to its help. Figueyra did not stir, and the king tried to divert him with an offer of peace, but without success. Rājasinha was encamped at Māvela, when Figueyra who had no forces with which to give him battle, made

as if he would march against the king, whereupon Rājasinha retreated. Figueyra then gave battle to a disāva at Kehelpañella and advanced to Sabaragamuva defeating the king's disāva at Batugedara. He ravaged the district on every side and encamped at Talampitiya. On the eleventh day of the siege of Kalutara, the Dutch heard of the ill-success of the king and raised the siege.

With this campaign ended the success of Figueyra, whose knowledge of the language, customs, and character of the Sinhalese enabled him to outwit them by the rapidity of his movements and the daring of his plans, but who, when called upon to face the regular armies of the Dutch, commanded by trained generals, imperilled Colombo by his precipitation and brought his career to an inglorious end.

The **Memoir** of Joan Maetsuyker (1650) has been published and translated by E. Reimers (Govt. Press, Colombo, 1927). Letters of Maetsuyker are in **Valentyn** and are translated by Ferguson in his *Correspondence of Rajasinha with the Dutch*. A **Concise History of the Dutch in Ceylon** (Beknopte Historie) written by an official, is published in J. C. B. R. A. S. XI. That volume also contains the translation of the **Adventures of Johan Jacob Saar**, (1647-1657) a soldier in the Dutch service captured at Anguruvātota by the Portuguese and rescued after a sea fight in 1654. The **Treaty of 1638**, as revised on 6th August 1649, is given as at Appendix (pp. 55-58) to the *Memoir of Maetsuyker* along with "The Armed Alliance between the Dutch and the Portuguese against Rajasinha" 25th May 1645 p. 52.

CHAPTER XIV

EXPULSION OF THE PORTUGUESE 1655—1658

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|-----|----------------------------------|-----------|
| i. | <i>King of Kōttē and Jaffna—</i> | |
| | John IV | 1640—1686 |
| ii. | <i>King of Kandy—</i> | |
| | Rājasinha | 1635—1687 |

I. **Antonio de Souza Coutinho** (1655—1656): 320. The new Captain-General, 321. The fall of Kalutara, 322. Battle at Panadura. II. **The siege of Colombo, October 1655—May 1656**: 323. Gallant defence of Colombo, 324. State of the city, 325. Fortifications of Colombo, 326. The siege, 327. Attempt to storm, 328. Slow siege, 329. Rajasinha, 330. Valour of the defenders, 331. Death of Hulft, 332. Delay of relief, 333. City assaulted, 334. Surrender, 335. Rajasinha indignant, 336. The Fort and the Pettah. III. **Reduction of other forts**: 337. Mannar and Jaffna, 338. Troubles of Rajasinha, 339. Capture of Mannar, 340. March to Jaffna, 341. The fall of Jaffna. IV. **The Career of the Portuguese**: 342. First stage, 343. Second stage, 344. Third stage, 345. The Portuguese in Ceylon, 346. Dealings with the people, 347. Their religious influence, 348. Social influence, 349. Influence on caste, 350. Language.

I

ANTONIO DE SOUZA COUTINHO, 1655—1656

320. The new Captain-General

FRANCISCO DE MELO DE CASTRO was an old man who had been hurriedly despatched to Ceylon after the deposition of Mascarenhas. The gravity of the warfare in which the Portuguese were engaged required a younger man, and the viceroy soon sent Antonio de Souza Coutinho with a fleet carrying reinforcements. But the fleet was deflected from its route and appeared off Galle, whence two Dutch ships gave it chase. The general turned to face the Dutchmen, but the other ships were dispersed and driven to the coast of the island, while the general though pursued by the Dutch managed to make for Jaffnapatam. Thence he travelled overland *via* Mannār, Kalpiṭiya, and Puttālam and reached Colombo in August 1655 with only a very small portion of the reinforcement.

321. The fall of Kalutara

In September there arrived in Ceylon a Dutch fleet of twenty ships, conveying a large force under Gerard Hulft to capture Colombo. The Portuguese realized that the final struggle was imminent.

Coutinho at once visited Kalutara and its dependent post Anguruvātoṭa, and suggested to his council, in view of the great disparity of their numbers with those of the Dutch, to abandon Kalutara; but the council decided to withdraw all the troops in the frontiers to Colombo. Hulft arrived before the city and landed his men at the mouth of the Kelani, intending to assault Colombo, but the heavy rains obliged him to give up his intention, and leaving seven ships to blockade Colombo, he sailed for Alutgama, and being joined by the forces of Galle,



Gerard Hulft

marched upon Kalutara. He occupied the ferries of the river to prevent relief, and erecting batteries, sent a detachment to land between Colombo and Kalutara and intercept reliefs. Coutinho sent a force to reinforce the fort of Kalutara, but it encountered the Dutch detachment at Panadura and was driven back. Thereupon a larger force was sent, but met with a similar fate! The council then decided to employ all the available forces to prevent the fall of Kalutara, quite unaware that the fort meanwhile had

been forced by lack of provisions to capitulate on the 15th of October, and that the victorious Dutch army was marching on Colombo.

322. Battle at Panadura

At Panadura accordingly the relieving party came across the Dutch and retired after a skirmish. Gaspar Figueyra who had been summoned to the relief of Kalutara attempted a bold stroke; and marching to relieve Kalutara encountered the Dutch army and fought a fierce battle and was defeated with heavy loss. The remnants of the army fled to Colombo pursued by the Dutch.

II

THE SIEGE OF COLOMBO, OCTOBER 1655—MAY 1656

323. Gallant defence of Colombo

If the Portuguese had hitherto brought disaster on themselves by mismanagement in the field against the Dutch forces at Negombo, Galle, and Kalutara, they were henceforth to give a most conspicuous example of gallantry and endurance. They held their chief stronghold of Colombo against heavy odds for seven long months in spite of famine and disease, and inflicted heavy loss on the besiegers, but without the means of profiting by their victories though confident in the hope of relief from Goa which never came, because the captain-general whom the city had ignominiously deposed a few years before (311) had by an unfortunate chance become acting governor of Portuguese India and basely revenged himself by leaving the city to its fate.

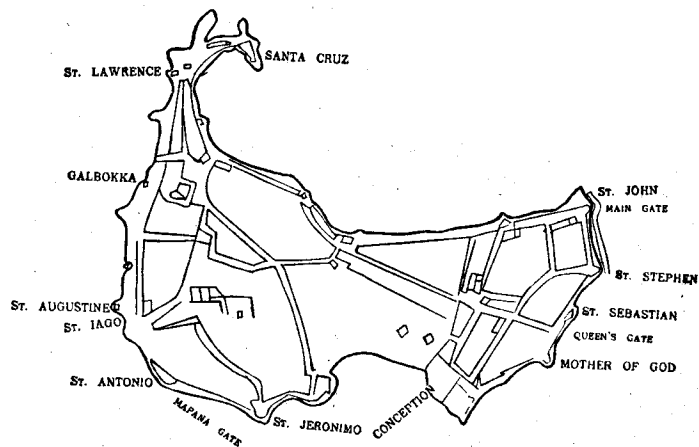
324. State of the city

That city was, through the neglect of the same general, quite unprepared for a siege. Since the sieges by the renowned Rājasinha of Sitāvaka more than half a century ago there had been no regular siege, for the attempt on it after the rout of Constantine de Sa (257) was not in the nature of a military siege but rather an assault. Consequently the city was lacking in all that was necessary for its defence. The walls were neglected and crumbling, the batteries unprovided, the artillery mostly disused and dismantled; there were neither guns nor munitions, nor provisions to stand a siege.

325. Fortifications of Colombo

Yet Colombo was the chief fortified town of the Portuguese and had been in their possession for over a century. It was surrounded by a line of twelve bastions connected by ramparts and

protected on the north by the bay, on the west by the open sea and on the south by an artificial lake made for the purpose. The only side exposed to an attack by land was fortified by three strong bastions, named St. John's, St. Stephen's, and St. Sebastian's. The main gate of the city was by the first bastion of St. John, which stood on the site of modern Kaymans Gate, and which is still commemorated by the name St. John's Street. The gate led to a drawbridge protected by a redoubt, in the direction of Negombo. Another gate by St. Sebastian's bastion was called Queen's Gate, and led over a bridge to the suburb of San Sebastian and thence to Kōttē. The modern Main Street and Norris Road correspond to the two entrances to Colombo. The bastion of St. Stephen was midway between St. John's and St. Sebastian's and flanked and commanded both. At St. Sebastian's the wall skirted the



The Portuguese Fort of Colombo, 1656

lake and was protected by the bastions Mother of God, Conception St. Jeronimo, and St. Antonio, and terminated in a large bastion of St. Iago, by which was the third gate of the city leading towards Galle, then called the Gate of Māpanē and now represented by Galle Face. Facing the sea was the bastion of St. Augustine, Galbokka, now "Galle Buck", and the bastion of St. Lawrence at the extremity. Another bastion called Santa Cruz, situated on the point jutting into the sea, commanded by bay. Along the shore of the bay were the bastions of the custom-house, and two redoubts, one near the parish church, the other near the Jesuit college and called "the breastwork of St. Francis Xavier". From that breastwork the wall ran to the bastion of St. John and completed the circumvallation.

To man these posts, a force of three thousand men was needed, but there were now less than five hundred soldiers and about half that number of civilians able to bear arms. The total population of the city was about ten thousand souls; but during this siege there was double that number, for on the news of the fall of Kalutara and the advance of the enemy, all those who lived outside the fort were allowed to come in and thus imperil the sufficiency of the food supply.

326. The siege

On the 18th October the victorious army reached the outskirts of the city and occupied the plain of San Sebastian. The garrisons of Malvāna and Mutwal were called into the city, and the attempt to oppose the occupation of San Sebastian failed. Hulft encamped in the church of Our Lady on the hill, which for that reason is now called Hulfts-dorp. There and in the three other churches situated on hill tops commanding the city, namely St. Thomas, Our Lady of Guadalupe (now Wolvendaal) and San Sebastian, he erected batteries which bombarded the city incessantly. Rājasinha being informed of the success of his allies, made ready to come down and sent a disāva to offer assistance. He was very anxious to be on the spot for fear that the Dutch would keep Colombo also after its capture as they had done with Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Negombo, and Galle. He had repeatedly asked that the fort of Colombo should be razed to the ground when captured, and the Dutch had promised to do so (282), but so far he had not paid the expenses of the expeditions, nor did the Dutch credit him with the revenues of the lands they were now enjoying.

327. Attempt to storm

When the ramparts and parapets were partly demolished all along the line, and especially the bastion of St. John, Hulft determined to storm the city by land and sea on 12th November. Four ships entered the bay and assailed the Santa Cruz, forcing the Portuguese to man the bastions on the harbour side. Then a large force with scaling ladders advanced on the city in three divisions. One made for the breastwork of St. Francis Xavier, another directed its assault on the Queen's Gate, while the third tried to gain entry on the side of the lake. But the ships were soon disabled or sunk; the party entering by the lake was surrounded and taken, and the other two were repelled with heavy loss after furious fighting. Hulft himself was wounded in the fray, and had the Portuguese been able to pursue the discomfited army, the Dutch would have been routed, for their defeat was complete and thorough, but the besieged were without the means of profiting by their victory.

328. Slow siege

After some fruitless attempts to take the city by storm, the question of raising the siege was mooted. The heavy losses they had sustained counselled the step, but the absolute necessity of getting rid of the Portuguese if the Dutch were to enjoy the products of the island and deprive Rājasinha of the means of injuring them, decided the question; and it was agreed not to risk any further disaster by any attempt to storm the city, but to reduce it by starvation. The ships blockading the city effectually prevented relief by sea and hoped to intercept reinforcements: the forces on land hemmed the city, cutting off all hope of provisions from land, while the guns and mortars and grenades kept playing on the city, hurling fire. The Portuguese, however, were quite confident of relief from Goa and held out, frustrating all the attempts of the Dutch to mine the bastions. The warfare they waged now was chiefly underground, in mines and tunnels and countermines, and almost every skirmish in that region ended in the discomfiture of the assailants. The governor of Jaffna who was bringing provisions was captured at Mutwal, and the city was reduced to starvation.

329. Rajasinha

The king, meanwhile, being informed of the failure of the Dutch assault delivered without waiting for him, blamed the general for not consulting him betimes. The time was, he said, unlucky, and he recommended them not to try again without first consulting him. His allies, on the other hand, were eager to keep him out, but dared not object openly, for they had no intention of handing the fort over to him, much less of razing it, and were only anxious not to quarrel with him before reducing the city, as they still needed his help, and the Portuguese had taught them not to be over-confident of carrying it. Thus the weary months dragged on.

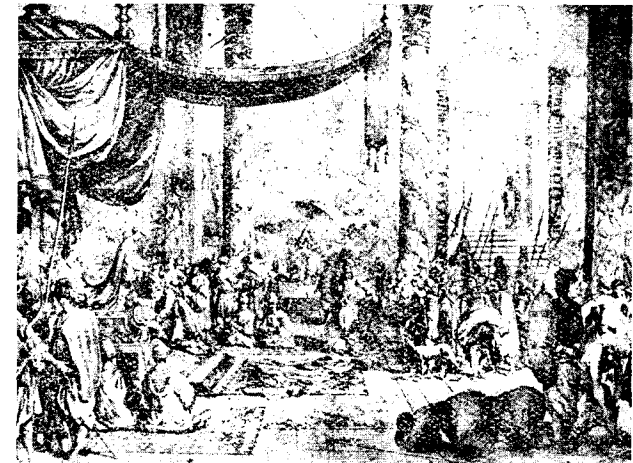
330. Valour of the defenders

With feverish energy the besieged repaired by night the damage done by day, and occasionally sallied out and destroyed the enemy's siege works and inflicted heavy loss. The Portuguese soldiers were inspired by love of king and country and were fighting for their home and fame. The mercenary soldiers of the Dutch company, on the other hand, recruited, as they were from many nations, had no motive sufficiently strong to make them risk their skins for the benefit of the Company. They were comfortably lodged and well provisioned, with a large labour force supplied by the king to dig mines and trenches, and did not mind the delay and were only intent on preventing relief by land and sea. Famine was pressing the Portuguese heavily, and the general decided to expel the

unarmed inhabitants. The Dutch drove them back at the point of the sword or hanged some on gibbets as a warning to the others. Disease, added to famine, daily thinned the ranks of the defenders, and reduced the besieged to sustain life on putrid vegetation and resort to dead animals and even to human flesh. Driven to such extremes, some soldiers deserted to the enemy. The lake dried up owing to the unusual drought and permitted the Dutch to approach within a few yards of the walls.

331. Death of Hulft

Rājasinha too approached the city fixing his quarters at Giri-imbula, Velivita, and lastly at Rayigamvatta. He was anxious to meet Hulft. An audience was arranged, but was put off, as the king was taken ill. It took place at last on 8th April with great



Rajasinha and Hulft

pomp and ceremony. At his request Hulft promised not to attack the city without first informing him; but on the very next day while inspecting the siege works, Hulft was shot down and died. Adrian van der Meyden took up the command.

332. Delay of relief

Unfortunately for the Portuguese, the viceroy of India died in January, and when the letters of succession were opened, it was found that the king had nominated Manoel Mascarenhas Homem to act till a successor was named. This man who had been deposed and expelled from Colombo (311) now sought to revenge himself on Colombo by delaying the relieving expedition that the late

viceroy had prepared. He did not dare to stop it for fear of a public outcry, but kept on delaying till the time for safe sailing was over. Then it set out under an incompetent commander, and encountering the Dutch fleet, avoided a decisive combat and remained at Tuticorin, reducing Colombo to the extremes of misery. When the Dutch saw the monsoon was over and with it the possibility of relief, they again renewed the bombardment with fresh ardour and summoned the city to surrender giving it the news of the viceroy's death, the accession of Mascarenhas, the failure of the relief expedition and the capture of the governor of Jaffna. But the general refused to surrender, and the Dutch determined to storm the city.

333. City assaulted

Rājasinha was eager to be on the spot for fear the Dutch would treat with the Portuguese without him, and requested the Dutch not to assault the city without informing him. But on 7th May the Dutch delivered a furious assault on the bastion of St. John and destroyed it at the cost of many lives. Though the city was not yet taken, war, disease, famine, and despair made some wish to blow up the city with all its inhabitants. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed, and they hoisted the white flag and sent envoys to ask for terms. The Dutch, to whom the siege had cost many lives, rejoiced at the offer and conceded honourable terms before the king should come to hear of it.

334. Surrender

Thus on 12th May, 1656, the remnants of the defenders of Colombo, some seventy-three haggard men, staggered to Hulftsdorp to lay down their arms, and the flag of the Dutch East India Company flew over the city of Colombo.

335. Rajasinha indignant

The Dutch troops entered the city, shut out Rājasinha's men by force, and occupied the gates. The king's wrath knew no bounds, but he was impotent. All he could do was to issue proclamations, forbidding the Sinhalese to deal with the Dutch and inviting the Portuguese to his territories, promising them the religious liberty which the Dutch denied to Catholics. The prohibition to trade with the Dutch was ineffectual, because the king could not protect those who obeyed him. The invitation, however, was effectual, for as the Dutch were known to be so bigoted as not to allow the Catholics the exercise of their religion, hundreds accepted the king's offer and escaped to him. These he settled on the frontiers of his kingdom, giving rise to the Catholic communities of Ratnapura, Avisavella, Ruvanvella, Galagma, Kandy, Vēuda and Vahakōṭṭe.

The king's disāva stirred up the people against the Dutch, who sallied out and attacked three disāvas at Nākalagama. At Negombo, Kalutara, Alutgama, Veligama, and Mātara there were outbreaks of hostilities forcing the Dutch to post troops in various places. The Dutch governor was alarmed and being unable to procure provisions for his men, remonstrated with Rājasinha. In vain did he offer to destroy the fortifications of Negombo and hand over the place, and send the king diverse presents. The monarch was too much disappointed with the Dutch to heed their communications and retiring to Ruvanvella tried to open communications with the Portuguese. The Dutch promptly occupied the royal camp at Rayigamvatta and dispersed the Sinhalese troops.

336. The Fort and the Pettah

The governor did not wish to keep a large force in Colombo and therefore reduced the size of the fort, separating it from the residential quarter, which was, therefore, called the Old Town and which in British times came to be called by an Anglo-Indian term "Pettah", from *peṭṭai*, Tamil, 'extra mural suburb of a fortified city'. The Fort was the portion of Colombo extending from the harbour to the modern Canal Row, and from York Street to Galle Buck. This was fortified by a thick rampart with bastions at the angles. The 'Old Town' extended from the modern Front Street to the Fourth Cross Street and from Maliban Street to the sea. The Fort and the Old Town were separated by an open space which was afterwards turned into a pond by admitting water from the lake. The road from the Old Town to the Fort lay over a dam or causeway, now represented by Main Street. The names "Fort" and "Pettah" still survive and have an extended application, but the significance of the names has completely disappeared.

III

REDUCTION OF OTHER FORTS

337. Mannar and Jaffna

The task of clearing the districts from the depredations of the king's troops and of fortifying themselves, prevented the Dutch from continuing their operations against the last remaining strongholds of the Portuguese, namely Mannār and Jaffna. The Portuguese, on the other hand, profiting by the respite, tried to prepare for the struggle that was in store. Antonio de Amaral de Menesez, governor of Jaffna (328) who was released on the surrender of Colombo went to Negapatam and persuaded the released prisoners to come to the aid of Mannār. He strengthened the fort and erected another at Kayts, the key to Jaffna.

338. Troubles of Rajasinha

Rajasinha was soon beset by domestic troubles. In his eagerness to oust the Portuguese and prevent his allies from laying hands on Colombo, he had spent several months away from his capital. His absolute government and the incessant warfare in which he employed his subjects made him very unpopular. And when his subjects saw the utter failure of his diplomacy, and that he had only exchanged one foreigner for another "like exchanging pepper for chilly" as the Kandyan saying went:—" *miris dila inguru gatta vagei* "—his unpopularity increased, and attempts were made to poison him. He punished the traitors very severely and left his capital never to return to it, and thus he relieved the Dutch from any fear of his interference.

339. Capture of Mannar

Accordingly it was only in February, 1658, that a Dutch fleet sailed for Mannar under Rycklof van Goens. The island of Mannar had been under the Portuguese for nearly a century (108) and was an opulent and prosperous place till Jaffna supplanted it, for it was the custodian of the Fishery Coast and reaped great profits. But after Jaffna became a Portuguese province, Mannar dwindled, and the arrival of the Dutch in Indian waters interrupted the fishery so that the island was gradually neglected. The large Dutch force soon effected a landing, but met with stout opposition. The battle that ensued was perhaps the most sanguinary one fought between the two nations in this island. The defenders were beaten back into the fort with great loss and with the death of the governor. The Dutch forces soon invested the fort, which surrendered after four days of siege, on 22nd February, 1658.

340. March to Jaffna

The victorious troops next marched to Jaffna by land, hoping to surround it before the Portuguese could recover from their flight. Making their way through the tractless Vanni, they reached Poonaryn and encamped between the peninsula and the mainland. Then crossing the lagoon, they advanced to Chavakachcheri and encamped within five miles of the fort. Next day they reached Chundikuli where they met with the first ineffectual resistance from the garrison of the Jaffna fort. They soon advanced on the fort, driving all before them, and, arriving before the gates, settled down to a siege.

341. The fall of Jaffna

The Portuguese held out bravely, but the besieging force soon made itself master of the surrounding churches and beset the fort by land and sea, capturing the little fort of Kayts which surrendered for lack of water after a fortnight's bombardment. Siege guns were soon brought to bear on the fort and the gravestones, dug up from the churchyards, were hurled into the city from mortars, destroying buildings and killing the unwary. The 3,000 souls within the fort had no provisions, as it was surrounded before the provisions that had been collected could be taken into the fort. The relieving force that was despatched from Goa to the help of their last possession in Ceylon was routed by Admiral Roothans (21st June). Then, after a siege of three and half months, the luckless Portuguese surrendered on very unfavourable terms and were subjected to very humiliating vexations.

IV

THE CAREER OF THE PORTUGUESE

Such was the end of the career of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Their history in this island falls into three distinct stages: Portuguese-Sinhalese alliance, 1505—1551 (14—82); Portuguese Protectorate of Kōṭṭē, 1551—1597 (83—168); Portuguese Domination, 1597—1658 (169—341).

342. First stage

Arriving in Ceylon in 1505, the Portuguese formed an alliance with Kōṭṭē, and kept an armed factory, 1505—1507. The factory was abandoned and the factor remained in Kōṭṭē, 1507—1518. In 1518 a fort was built, and the captain of the fort became the chief authority, but being often besieged by the Muslims and the Sinhalese, the fort was abandoned in 1524 and authority reverted to the factor till 1551. During that period many Portuguese expeditions came to the island to help the king of Kōṭṭē or the king of Kandy, and many soldiers and *casados*, as the settlers were called, remained in the island.

343. Second stage

On the death of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the throne passed to Dharmapāla whom the king of Portugal had undertaken to protect and uphold against Māyādunnē. A fort was built in Colombo and a garrison kept at Kōṭṭē. Both were attacked by Māyādunnē and his son Rājasinha, and the Portuguese were forced to abandon

Kōṭṭē, 1565 (114), and bring the king to Colombo, which was thereupon stoutly besieged by the forces of Sītāvaka. For many years they tried to uphold Don Juan, but Māyādunnē soon occupied the greater part of the kingdom of Kōṭṭē, till finally on the death of Rājasinha, 1592 (142), the Portuguese were enabled to recover almost the whole of the ancient kingdom of Kōṭṭē.

344. Third stage

On the death of Don Juan, the kingdom was claimed by the king of Portugal by virtue of a donation of the late king (169—170) and the Portuguese entered on a third stage. They collected revenue, administered justice, and conducted the civil and military government (172—179). Though they had undertaken to administer the traditional laws of the Sinhalese, they did it so tyrannically and with such little regard for the feelings of the people that they were faced with numerous rebellions, such as those of Domingos Correa and Siman Correa (165—168), Kāngara Arachchi (193), Antonio Barreto (197), and Nikapitiyē (220—225). What was worse, smarting under the very severe reverse they met with in the expedition to Kandy, they decided to invade that kingdom. Each attempt resulted in heavy loss, including the loss of the three captain-generals, Pedro Lopes de Souza (155—158), Constantine de Sa (251—155), and Diogo de Mello (267—269). As even these disasters did not put an end to their attempts on Kandy, Rājasinha bargained with the Dutch for their expulsion. From 1638 to 1658 the Portuguese forts of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Negombo, Galle, Colombo, Mannār, and Jāffna were taken in succession.

345. The Portuguese in Ceylon

The Portuguese have been generally represented as cruel, a judgment which they have deserved in some respects. They did deeds of wanton cruelty, committed ruthless massacres, and adopted cruel methods of repression and execution. But such was not their habitual practice, nor did they do so at the beginning or at the end of their career in this island. They did so in times of bitterness, during the rebellions, or in retaliation for similar cruelties on them. Of course cruelty does not cease to be cruelty because we can assign a motive; but it would not be fair to accuse them of cruelty because some individuals did cruel deeds in the heat of warfare at a time when it was the common practice.

346. Dealings with the people

On the other hand, the Portuguese did not look down on Asiatics or despise them. Rather they lived on terms of free intercourse

with the people of this country, adopting some Sinhalese and Tamil customs in food and living, intermarrying with the people and admitting the people to free social intercourse and to the highest posts in the government and in the army. Moreover, the Portuguese who settled down in this island did so for good and looked upon this island as their permanent home. In this respect, at least, they were quite different from the other nations that succeeded them in this island.

347. Their religious influence

The most lasting influence of the Portuguese was in the domain of religion. As soon as they gained a footing in this island, a number of Christian missionaries came in the wake of the soldiers, ready to spend their lives in the work of spreading the Christian religion and the education of the West. They made some converts, a few in the beginning, but in larger numbers as time passed, and hundreds of Catholic priests, settled in this island for good, learnt its languages, and built churches, colleges, and schools. When Dharmapāla became a Christian, many of the leading men followed his example, and the convert king gave to the Franciscans the lands which had hitherto been set apart for the temples. With the revenues of these lands the priests built and maintained many churches and educational institutions. When Kōṭṭē became a Portuguese possession, the king of Portugal thought it his duty to evangelize the island, and founded churches, schools, and monasteries all over the country from Puttalam to Galle.

348. Social influence

The doctrines of Christianity permeated the lowlands and even modified the customs of the people and familiarized even non-Christians with Christian ideas; and the inhabitants of the lowlands gradually differentiated themselves in many ways from those of the highland kingdom. Portuguese customs and manners and even dress became fashionable, and Christianity was professed by large numbers of people and enshrined in hundreds of parishes. The influence of the priests was wielded in the favour of the people against the oppression of officials, so that even those who did not receive Christianity respected and revered the religion and the missionaries, and it is recorded that churches and priests were, generally speaking, respected even in times of rebellion and warfare. The very common idea that the Portuguese made converts by force, expressed by some writers

unacquainted with the facts, is not supported by any proof. It cannot be doubted that the favours shown by the Portuguese to converts moved some to embrace Christianity. Such converts would naturally drop out at the first opportunity, and as the Dutch were very hostile to the Catholics and persecuted them very bitterly and favoured the converts to their own form of Christianity, it may be supposed that if there were forced Christians they soon went over to the Dutch religion. The fact that the great majority of the Catholics remained faithful to their religion in the teeth of persecution, proves that not all were attracted by worldly considerations. There is, however, one charge against both priests and soldiers which is true, namely that whenever they had the opportunity, and especially in times of war, they destroyed both Buddhist and Hindu temples. Such actions are nowadays considered vandalism, but in those days they did not think that they were doing anything unjust, though at that time, as well as today, it was impolitic, and only made the perpetrators hated.

349. Influence on caste

Another effect of the Portuguese influence was the gradual disappearance of the most galling practices of the caste system. By religion and custom the Portuguese were opposed to the idea of caste, and gave no recognition to the system nor observed any of its restrictions. The result was that the more undesirable features of caste gradually ceased in Portuguese territory.

350. Language

The influence of the Portuguese language on Sinhalese speech still survives. Practically everything introduced by the Portuguese is still denoted in Sinhalese by a word borrowed from that language. Such are for instance many words relating to the Christian religion: bishop, apostle, sacrament, scapular etc. articles of dress and toilet such as *sapattu*, shoes; *mēs*, stockings; *kalisam*, trousers; *kamisa*, shirt; *alpenetti*, pins; *bottama*, button; *lensuwa*, kerchief; *sāya*, gown; furniture and implements as *mēse*, table; *pēna*, pen; *tinta*, ink; *kadadāsi*, paper; *almāria*, cupboard; *oralōsuwa*, clock; *didāle*, thimble; *bōtale*, bottle; *vīduru*, glass; food as *pān*, bread; *viscōtu*, biscuit; *dōsi*, sweets; *kēju*, cheese; *gōva*, cabbage; fruits as *annāsi*, pineapple; *anōna*, *bilin*, *masan*; utensils as *kalderama*, cauldron; *tāppe*, wall; *janēla*, window; *karatte*, cart; *ayah*, nurse; Christian names like Peduru, Peter; Paulu, Paul; Pēlis, Felix; surnames like Alwis, Fernando, Perera, Peiris, Silva, and Soysa.

The assertion that alcoholic drinks were introduced by the Portuguese is false. "Arrack" is not a Portuguese word, and the Portuguese used for toddy the Sinhalese word *surā* (*vā*). Alcoholic drinks were known in the East, long before the Portuguese.

Besides the graphic and detailed description by Queyroz pp. 938—937, there exist four independent accounts of the **Last Siege of Colombo**, two from the Portuguese side, and two from the Dutch. The Portuguese accounts are; (i) An account drawn from the official diary—(a manuscript now in the Ajuda Library 52—VII—9, Lisbon) which Matheus Van den Broek, Governor of the Dutch East India Company communicated to Philip Baldaeus and is given at the end of his book, the Portuguese text being translated into Dutch. A summary English translation, made from the German version of Baldaeus, is given in Churchill's Collection of Voyage III. The original Portuguese text has been published along with other documents dealing with the Siege by M. A. Fitzler in her *O Cerco de Colombo*, Coimbra 1928. (ii) An account by Capt. Joao Ribeiro, who took part in the defence of Colombo. It is given in book II, Chapters XXIII—XXV of his *Falalidade Historica*. An excellent and annotated translation by D. W. Ferguson is published in the Journal R. A. S. C. B. XII. The two Dutch accounts are; (iii) one by Philip Baldaeus, who was the Chaplain to the Dutch forces at the time and had the opportunity to gain information. It is a long and detailed account found in Chapters XXIV—XXXVIII of his book. English translation in Churchill's Collection of Voyages III. The other (iv) is by Saar, ch. XII.—XIII. of his book. An English translation will be found in J. C. B. R. A. S. XI.

For **The Portuguese influence on Sinhalese speech** see my article in the **Ceylon Antiquary** VIII 45—60 and 126 — 144; for the Dutch treatment of Roman Catholics see E. Tennent **Christianity in Ceylon, Life of Father Jacome Goncalvez** and the **Life of the Ven. Father Joseph Vaz**.

PART II

THE DUTCH PERIOD 1658—1796

CHAPTER XV

THE DUTCH COMPANY AND THE
SINHALESE KINGDOM

I. **The Company's Government:** 351. The Netherlands, 352. The United East India Co. of Holland, 353. The policy of the Company, 354. Seizure of ports, 355. Rajasinha's debt, 356. The Dutch territories, 357. Claimed by Rajasinha. II. **Dutch Administration:** 358. Administration of Colombo, 359. Jaffna, 360. The Vanni, 361. Galle and Matara, 362. Administration, 363. Judiciary, 364. Revenues: Cinnamon, 365. Arecanuts, 366. Elephants, 367. Land revenues, 368. Rajakariya. III. **The Sinhalese Kingdom or Sinhale:** 369. Divisions, 370. The constitution, 371. Adigars and Disāvas, 372. Lekams, 373. Remuneration of officials, 374. Judiciary, 375. Land tenure, 376. Cultivation.

I

THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT

351. The Netherlands

THE country formerly styled the Netherlands or Low Countries, now Holland and Belgium, comprised the lowlands at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Maas, and the Rhine, inhabited in ancient times by Celts, Germans (Batavi), Frisians, Franks, and Saxons. After the fall of the Roman empire, the Netherlands were first attached to different kingdoms and afterwards split up into duchies and counties which were grouped together by the marriage of the dukes and counts or by inheritance. In the fifteenth century they were thus united under the Duke of Burgundy, and passed by inheritance to Maximilian of Austria. The latter's son linked the Netherlands with Spain by marriage, and the Netherlanders became the subjects of the Emperor Charles and began to lay the foundations of a world-wide commerce in that monarch's vast domains. Charles abdicated the Netherlands to his son, Philip II of Spain, who also inherited the crown of Portugal and subsequently became the husband of Queen Mary of England. At that time the Netherlands, torn by religious dissensions between the Catholics and the Protestants, revolted against the despotic Philip. This revolt finally ended in the grouping

of the northern Protestant states into the republic of the United Provinces under William of Orange, while the southern Catholic provinces were given as dowry to the Archduke of Austria and became finally the kingdom of Belgium.

352. The United East-India Company of Holland

The republic of the United Provinces soon developed into a commercial and industrial nation as a result of the military and naval exploits which achieved its independence. One cause of its material progress was the wealth realized by the Dutch East India Company. For nearly a hundred years after rounding the Cape, the Portuguese succeeded in keeping the route a secret and the trade of India a monopoly. The Dutch used to go to Lisbon for the Indian spices and distribute them in the ports of Northern Europe. When Philip II. forbade the Portuguese ports to his subjects in the Netherlands who were in revolt they were stimulated to go to the East Indies in search of the spices, and the king's attempt to destroy the trade of the Netherlanders only tended to destroy the trade of the Portuguese. A Dutchman named Cornelis de Houtman learnt the secrets of eastern navigation at Lisbon and sold the secret to some merchants of Amsterdam, who formed themselves into a company for distant lands, and despatched Houtman on an expedition to the east. He set out for Acheen in 1598, but the voyage was a failure, for one ship was captured by the Acheenese, Houtman died, and many of the crew died or were captured. One ship, however, tried to reach Batticaloa on her return voyage, but failed to do so and returned to Holland. In January, 1601, another expedition was despatched by a rival company of merchants with orders to call at Batticaloa. In May of the same year, still another expedition set out under Joris van Spilbergen, who succeeded in reaching Ceylon and opening communications with Vimaladharmā, as we have already seen (190). A fourth under Sebald de Weert arrived in November, under orders of the East India Company as we have also seen (191, 198, 199).

This Company was formed in 1602 and received from the States General, or parliament of the United Provinces, a grant of all lands east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. The success of the Company was unprecedented and rapid. A factory was established in Java; and Malacca, the Moluccas, and Sumatra were taken in succession. The eastern

headquarters of the Company were fixed at Jacatra, afterwards called Batavia, and in 1635 Formosa was occupied. Another company, the Dutch West India Company, had similar success in the West Indies and founded New Amsterdam, now New York, and captured Brazil. These companies brought enormous riches to Holland, and that country soon became the foremost sea power in Europe.

353. The policy of the Company

The object of the Company was commerce, and to secure commerce and especially its monopoly, the Dutch were prepared, according to the ideas of the time, to engage in piracy at sea or war on land, to enter into alliances with kings and princes, to equip fleets and maintain armies, and even to play the sovereign. Thus their object in the recent warfare with the Portuguese was to oust them from the cinnamon trade of Ceylon. They could not do this without Rājasinha, and so they offered their services to that king, besieged and captured the Portuguese forts in Ceylon ostensibly for the king and in his name and at his expense, but in reality for themselves. They had realized that the coveted cinnamon would not be long in their hands if they restored the lands to Rājasinha, as they had agreed to do and as that monarch in his simplicity expected they would and demanded with insistence. If the forts had been razed and the lands restored to their legitimate lord, they would soon have been seized by the Portuguese or the French or the English or the Danes, all of whom had now formed East India Companies and were seeking to gain a foothold in the island and were envious of the success of the Dutch. Rājasinha would not be able to protect his lands against a European power, and the Dutch had very cleverly bargained that the king should pay the expenses of garrisoning the forts for the protection of their trade.

354. Seizure of ports

Moreover, the Dutch came to suspect the king's designs. They feared that he would bargain with one of the other nations to expel them from the island as he had bargained with them to expel the Portuguese. Therefore, in spite of treaty obligations, in spite of repeated promises, and in spite of the king's indignant protests, they tenaciously held to their hard-fought acquisitions in the island, as they knew that the king was powerless to resist them without the help of a sea power. Such help they were determined he should not have.

355. Rajasinha's debt

These were of course not the reasons they gave to Rājasinha for retaining the lands which they admitted were his. They contended that they must hold the lands to recover the debt he had not paid. That he had not paid the debt or even attempted to do so was quite true; but the Company never presented its bill, though it was repeatedly asked to do so. Nor did the Company discount what it had received in kind from the Galle and Negombo districts during fifteen years of administration. Nay more, they did not even want to be paid, for the settlement of the debt would make the king independent of them. Hence their plan was never to demand the payment of the debt, but instead to hold the lands indefinitely under the plea of recovering their expenses, and to cajole and bully the king into acquiescence, giving in if he pressed, and pressing him if he gave in; but never making war, as that was expensive. They were, therefore, very particular not to give the king any offence if they could help it, but to suffer all wrongs and insults as long as he lived. After his death they intended to lay aside all pretence and to claim the lands boldly as theirs, and even to extend their frontiers so as to be complete masters of the cinnamon districts.

356. The Dutch territories

The territories they thus occupied belonged in their estimation to three classes. The Negombo, Galle, and Colombo districts they claimed to hold in payment of the debt. The lands of Mannār and Jaffna they looked upon as obtained by right of conquest from the Portuguese and therefore by sovereign right, independent of Rājasinha, since they were captured without his assistance or co-operation and in spite of him, at a time when he was hostile to them. Kalpiṭiya, Trincomalee, Koṭṭiyār, and Batticaloa belonged in their minds to a third category; for they were held as a necessary protection to their other possessions, to prevent hostile nations from seizing them or from communicating with the king. These, therefore, they were willing to cede to the king if he was well disposed to them, and occasionally they allowed him free trade therein, though they were always ready to close them to him or even to re-occupy them on the first news of the approach of a European power or of the king's dealing with another nation. The lands they held in payment of the debt, it was implied, they would restore when they had recouped themselves, but Jaffna and Mannār were theirs, and the king had no voice in the matter.

357. Claimed by Rajasinha

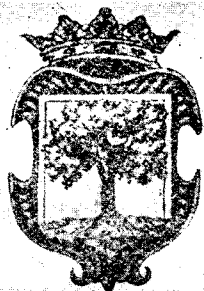
Though the Dutch looked upon themselves as the injured party, they felt the need of justifying themselves by these subtle distinctions. Rājasinha, on the other hand, looked upon himself as the emperor of the whole island and the lord of all the territories now held by the Dutch, and considered the Dutch as base violators of treaties. Even when he was most peacefully inclined towards them, he always spoke of the lands as his lands, the forts as his forts and the Dutch company as his servants, and the Dutch governor as his governor. This the company did not mind, so long as it did not go beyond words, and they themselves used the same language in their letters. To the great relief of the Company, he was soon far too preoccupied with domestic troubles to cause them much uneasiness. Though disappointed with the turn events had taken, Rājasinha had at least one consolation. There was no likelihood of the Dutch making raids on his kingdom as the Portuguese had done. The obsequiousness and servility of the Dutch who gave him high-sounding titles were quite a contrast to the haughty arrogance of the Portuguese.

II

DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

358. Administration of Colombo

For purposes of administration, the Dutch divided their territories into three "commanderies" with a disāvani depending on each.



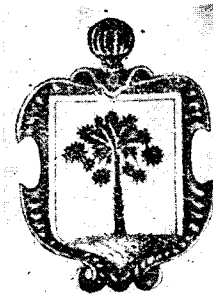
Coat-of-Arms, Colombo

The commandery of Colombo included the Fort and Old Town and was under the immediate command of the governor who resided in Colombo.

Depending on the commandery of Colombo was the disāvani of Colombo which extended from the Maha Oya to the Bentaṭa river and landwards to Malvāna, Hanvella, Anguruvātoṭa, and Piṭigala. The disāya lived at Hulftsdorp and had the civil, judicial, and military control of this vast district, which included parts of the Four and the Seven Kōralēs and Sabaragamuva. In it were the two forts of Negombo and Kalutara, and it was the richest of the disāvanis.

359. Jaffna

The commandery of Jaffna consisted of the town and fort of Jaffna administered by a commander who was also lieutenant-governor. Under his direction was administered the disāvani of Jaffna which extended from Mannār to Trincomalee and included the Vanni and the islands. Mannār was regarded as the key to Jaffna, and had a fort and garrison to protect the pearl fishery and the straits. To it were attached the adjoining lands of Mantoṭa, Musalipatte, and Setticoulang, in which was the post of Arippu.



Coat-of-Arms, Jaffna

360. The Vanni

The Vanni was an extensive territory under the rule of certain headmen, called vanniyaṛs, who had to pay a number of elephants as tribute. But the vanniyaṛs were not tractable, and the Dutch did not dare to press them for the present for fear they would resist and place themselves under Rājasinha. The islands were thirteen in number, Kārativu (re-named Amsterdam), Tanadivū (Leyden), Punkadutivū (Middleberg), Neduntivū (Delft), Neynativū (Haarlem), Analativū (Rotterdam), the twin islands of Iranaitivū (Hoorn and Enkhuisen), and five other uninhabited ones.

361. Galle and Matara

Galle was the third commandery under a commander of Galle, who was also lieutenant-governor and resided in the fort. The dependent disāvani was still called by the old name of the disāvani of Matara and the disāya resided at Matara. His jurisdiction extended from the Bentaṭa river to the Valavē, and landwards to Piṭigala, Beralapanātara, Māpalagama, and Kaṭuvana.

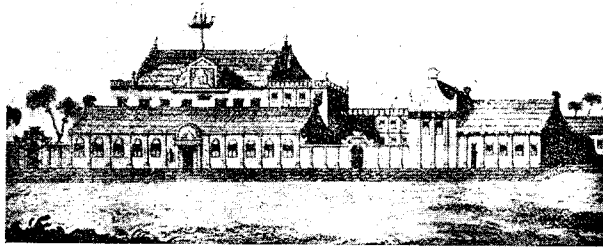


Coat-of-Arms, Galle

362. Administration

The commandant of Colombo was governor and director of the island of Ceylon and its dependencies. He was nominated by the governor-general resident in Batavia, and confirmed by the directors

of the Company in Holland. He was the supreme authority in the island and was assisted by a council. For the development of trade and the cultivation of the lands as well as for the collection of revenue and the civil and judicial administration, each *disāvani* was entrusted to an officer who was called by the customary name of *disāva* and was assisted by overseers, one each for two *kōralēs*



The Governor's Residence, Colombo.

and by *mudaliyars* in Jaffna. The commercial and civil administration was in the hands of a number of officers, called upper-merchants, merchants and under-merchants. The army was under the command of the *disāva* and majors, captains, lieutenant-captains and ensigns. The *lascarins* were under *mudaliyars* and *ārachchis* and were divided into *ranchus*.

363. Judiciary

The Company also exercised judicial powers. The statutes of Batavia, which consisted of the laws of Holland modified to suit the conditions of the country, were enforced in Ceylon, without having ever been enacted by any legislative authority. Under these statutes, there was established a high court of justice at Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle. From the decisions of the courts of Jaffna and Galle, appeals could be made to that of Colombo and if necessary to Batavia. For civil cases there was also a civil court in Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, and a *landraad* for land cases in the *disāvanis*, presided over by the *disāva* and other officers, Dutch and Sinhalese, conversant with the customs of the country, sitting as assessors. Less important civil suits and petty crimes were judged by a *fiscal* verbally in the forts, and by the *disāva* in his territory. The *fiscal* was the public prosecutor in cases of

serious crime. Very few, if any, of these judicial officers had any legal training, not being lawyers by profession, but only civil and military officers of the Company.

364. Cinnamon

The chief sources of revenue were the monopoly of cinnamon, the trade in arecanut, the sale of elephants, agriculture, rents, dues and taxes from lands and persons, and the inland trade in salt, cloth, tobacco, sugar, pepper, etc. Of these by far the largest profit was from cinnamon, of which 50,000 lb. were obtained annually at a little or no cost from the people living in the cinnamon villages called collectively the Mahabadda. In return for the villages they enjoyed, the people were bound to serve the Company by peeling the bark from the cinnamon plant from July to September when the cinnamon plant bloomed and enabled the peeler to remove the bark. Each able-bodied man had to deliver 682 pounds *gratis* as an obligatory personal service. They were also required to bring more, for which they were paid the paltry sum of six laryns for 600 pounds. When engaged in their obligatory service, they were supplied with rice, salt, and fish, which cost the Company little, as these were received from other people as dues. There was no danger of a shortage of the quantity annually required, as the cinnamon grew wild from Chilaw to Hambantota. Cinnamon being a monopoly of the Company, no man was allowed to trade in it, and every ship was searched before leaving the free ports outside the Dutch territory, such as Kalpitiya.

365. Arecanuts

Arecanut was also a very lucrative trade. The areca tree grew principally in Rayigam and Pasdun *Kōralēs*, in the lands of the Mahabadda and in the territories of the king. The lease of villages was paid in arecanuts. In 1679 the trade in arecanuts alone brought the Company a sum sufficient to pay all the expenses of the garrisons of Ceylon.

366. Elephants

Elephants were hunted in Mātara from May to September, and the *vidānes* of the *Kūruvē* or the elephant department had to deliver to the Company 30 elephants and nine tuskers on behalf of those who held the *Kūruvē* villages. The *vanniyārs* paid as tribute 80 elephants a year, and the Company, moreover, held hunts of its own in the Vanni, and received elephants from Batticaloa and Trincomalee. These were sold either in Galle or in Jaffna to traders from South India. The proceeds of the sale were sheer gain, and the Company realized on an average 200,000 guilders a year from the sale of elephants.

367. Land revenues

The revenues from lands were levied for the Company which claimed all the royal villages in Rayigam, Salpiti, Hēvāgam, and Siyanē Kōralēs, cultivated for the Company. Tolls, taxes, leases, *marālas* or death duties, added to the sale of chank and choya root and the revenues of the pearl fishery, together formed a very ample revenue. Agriculture was looked upon as a matter of the utmost importance. As many lands were depopulated, the Company imported slaves from Tanjore, branded them with the Company's mark* and set them to cultivate the fertile lands, promising them their liberty, if they acquitted themselves creditably.

368. Rajakariya

The ancient *rājakāriya* or royal service which the people performed in return for holdings in land, supplied the Company with free labour for the construction of public works, fortifications, canals, and roads. A road was soon opened from Mātara along the coast to Mannār *via* Galle, Kalutara, Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, and Puttalam. Smaller rivers were bridged and larger ones were provided with ferry boats; *ambalams* or resthouses were built at convenient distances; and all this, being done by free labour and kept in repair by the same means, cost the Company nothing.

Thus the East India Company was able to give its shareholders extraordinarily large dividends after deducting the vast expenses of the organization, the pay of officials, of the military and naval officers, and allowing for depreciation of stock, wastage, and funds for further developments. The Company once paid so high a dividend as 132½% in three instalments! In 1642 it paid 50%, often 40%, which was the case in the six consecutive years, 1715—1720. But soon the Company wisely avoided high dividends so that the average for 96 years is 24% "which is so considerable a thing that it must have laid the foundation of a great many private fortunes in Holland".

III

THE SINHALESE KINGDOM OR SINHALE

369. Divisions.

Rājasinha was *de jure* emperor of the whole of Ceylon, but *de facto* he was only able to hold those parts of Ceylon to which the Dutch Company could not assert some claim, and those from which he succeeded in keeping the Dutch out. This was by far the greatest, though not the most important or the most fruitful part

* V. O. C. Vereenigde Ost-indische Compagnie (United East India Company).

of the island, and consisted of the following: first the principalities of Kōṭṭē, once held by the Portuguese and now recovered, namely the Seven, Four, and Three Kōralēs, Bulatgama, and Sabaragamuva; secondly the principalities brought under the sway of Kandy during the decadence of the Kōṭṭē kings, namely Nuvarakalāviya, Matale, Tamankaduva, Bintenna, Vellassa; and thirdly, the Raṭas of which the kingdom originally consisted when it was a small sub-kingdom, namely: Udu Nuvara, Tumpanē, Hārispattu, Dumbara, Hēvāḥeta, and Kotmalē. Of these the first and second set were disāvanis, and bordering as they did on Dutch territory, they were of great importance. Valapana, Matale and Uda Palāta were also afterwards styled disāvanis. The others were *raṭas*.

370. The constitution

The king's power was supreme and absolute. He alone made peace or war, he alone had the power of life and death. Yet he was expected to be guided in his government by the institutions of the country and the customs of the ancestors. For instance before making any important change he was expected to consult the principal officers and chief priests. His royal power was exercised through many officers, to whom he delegated a limited jurisdiction, civil, judicial, or military, over definite portions of the realm or over different classes of people.

371. Adigars and Disavas

The foremost of these officers were the two adigārs or mahanilames, called respectively Pallēgampahē and Uḍagampahē adigārs, or 'first' and the 'second' adigārs, who had each a general and viceregal supervision over half the realm. They were the highest in birth, rank, and honour, and conducted the important affairs of state and festivals, repaired temples, superintended elephant kraals and public works. Subordinate to them were the disāvas or governors of the disāvanis, the raṭērālas or the governors of raṭas, and vidānes or headmen of villages. These had charge of the collection of revenue, the exaction of service, and *rājakāriya*, the building and repair of public edifices, roads, and resthouses for the king when he travelled, each within his own territory. The two adigārs generally held the disāvaship of one or more of the chief disāvanis.



An Adigar

372. Lekams

Next to the territorial chiefs were the chiefs of departments or lekams of the *atapattu* or public works department, *kottal badde* or artificers department, the *kūruvē* or the elephant department, the *madigē* or carriage-bullock department, who had jurisdiction not over definite districts, but over persons subject to the service of the department and dispersed in various provinces. The provincial and departmental chiefs lived at court and conducted their administration through subordinate chiefs nominated by them.

373. Remuneration of officials

Adigārs, disāvas, lēkams, vidānes were chosen for birth and rank, and had to pay *dekum* or gifts to the king on their nomination and then annually. They held lands (*nindagam*) for their maintenance and were entitled to certain dues and services from the people under their jurisdiction, who moreover had to give them *dekum* on appointment and annually and whenever they had need of the services of the officials.

374. Judiciary

The king was the fount of justice and exercised his rights when, where, and how he pleased. The adigārs, disāvas, and vidānes adjudged all suits, civil and criminal, within their territory, but an appeal was allowed to a higher chief and ultimately to the king, who alone could pass sentence of death. They received presents from both parties to a suit, and any fine that was imposed was the perquisite of the judge. There was a great council of justice, the *maha naduva*, composed of the chiefs and presided over by the king. The disputes on caste and custom were decided in a *ratē sabhā* or county council, presided over by a chief; and the affairs of each village were settled in a *gamsabhā* or village council.

375. Land tenure

All lands in the kingdom belonged to the king and were by him gifted to temples, vihāras, dēvālayas, or chiefs, or to people in return for services or payment of dues in kind, or were reserved for the king himself and cultivated for him by tenants. All liabilities were attached to the land which could be sold or alienated, but subject to the dues and services, and no man was bound to any service unless he held land. Besides the dues and services arising from the tenure of lands, the people had to pay *marālas* or death duties, *dekum* or gifts, to chiefs and king. The presentation of the taxes took place at a *perahera* or muster of forces at stated times, as once in Kōṭṭē, when the different appointments were made.

376. Cultivation

The lands were not cultivated for the market, but only for products for personal consumption or for the king or for the dues or for barter for salt, fish, and cloth. Thus all the products that could be sold were the produce of the lands that were paid as dues to the king or the chiefs. If a man cultivated anything good, it could be claimed for the king or the chief, and the cultivator would be further obliged to carry it to the king or the chief. There was also little money in the country, and all that the people needed was obtained by bartering the produce of the land at Puttalam, Kōṭṭiyār, or Batticaloa, or with the itinerant Muslims who exchanged cloth, salt, and salt-fish, for the produce of the country which they sold at the ports.

The history of the Dutch in Ceylon has not yet been fully studied. The following are the principal printed works in English, available in Ceylon: "A Concise History (*Beknopte Historie*) of the principal events 1602-1757" in the J. R. A. S. C. B. XI: Philip Baldaeus, *Description of Ceylon*, English Translation in Churchill's Voyages III: *The Dutch in Ceylon* by R. G. Anthonisz, Colombo 1929: Some of the *Memoirs and Diaries of Dutch Governors* have been translated in Ceylon: *Memoirs of Joan Maetsuyker* (1650), *Ryclof van Goens Jr.* (1679), *Hendrick Zwardcroon* (1697), *Gerrit de Heere* (1697), *Thomas van Rhee* (1697), *Cornelis Joan Simons* (1707), *Hendrick Beeker* (1716), *Jacob Christiaan Pielat* (1734), *Baron van Imhoff* (1740), *Joan Gideon Loten* (1757), *Anthony Mooyaart* (1766). *Instruction from Governor-General and Council 1656-1665*. There are also some Accounts of Ceylon written by men who served the Dutch East India Co., *Johan Iacob Saar* (Translation in J.C.B.R.A.S. XI) *Wouter Schouten* (Ib.) *Christopher Langhansz* (Ceylon Literary Register 3rd series IV). Translations of the *Dag Register* of Batavia are published in the Literary Register and in the Journals R.A.S., C.B. There are three valuable works of research not yet translated into English—Dr. W. van Geer, *Ophomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon* and G. Nypels, *Hoe Nederland Ceilon verloor.* and W. Zwier, *Het verdrag van 1766 tusschen de O. I. Compagnie en den vorst van Kandi.*

CHAPTER XVI

RAJASINHA II 1658—1687

I. **Domestic Policy**—377. Dealings with his people, 378. Attempts on his life, 379. Rebellion, 380. A fakir executed, 381. The king's unpopularity, 382. The desertion of Tennekon. II. **Dealings with the English**: 383. Foreign policy, 384. English prisoners 1659, 385. Robert Knox captured, 386. Detained indefinitely, 387. The British East India Co., 388. Attempts to liberate the captives, 389. Escape of Robert Knox III. **Dealings with the French**: 390. The French East India Co., 391. Admiral de la Haye, 392. Treaty with the French.

I

DOMESTIC POLICY

377. Dealings with his people

OUTWITTED by his allies and unpopular with his subjects, Rājasinha trusted neither the one nor the other, and kept them both in fear and uncertainty. He forbade trade with the Dutch, detained all foreigners coming to his realm, employed his subjects in needless occupations without giving them leisure to till their lands, surrounded himself with foreign bodyguards and spies, and multiplied watches. His chief concern was to secure himself against plots, and many were found guilty of attempting to poison him, and he punished not only the malefactor but even his kith and kin. To turn the people's thoughts from his tyrannical ways, he kept them and the chiefs constantly busy in unprofitable labours of pulling down and building up again. The taxes and dues which his subjects brought to him annually he scorned to take, and the produce of the land laboriously gathered by his men was left to rot and decay in the storehouses. After the early revolts, he left Senkaḍagala for good and resided at Nillambē and thence he moved to Hanguranketa.

378. Attempts on his life

The consequence of this policy was to increase the attempts on his life. In 1664 the people, excited by the appearance of a comet and tired of his oppressions, determined to do away with him and enthrone his son. Under the leadership of Ambanvela Rāla and some disāvas, the insurgents entered his palace of Nillambē at midnight, slew the guards that did not sympathize with the conspirators, and attempted to slay the king himself. But Rājasinha with a few followers kept the assailants at bay till dawn and escaped to Galauda near Medāmanuvara.

379. Rebellion

The rebels thereupon marched to Senkaḍagala to enthrone the prince who was living there with his mother. The boy, however, was quite terrified by the announcement and did not realize what it all meant; and the ardour of the conspirators cooled greatly. They were nevertheless determined to fall upon the king, but Rājasinha's sister fled to Galauda with the boy, and the rebels were disconcerted. Thereupon there was such confusion in the city that the rebels fell out among themselves and killed one another. One of the disāvas declared for the king and marched on the capital, killing all he could. The king meanwhile spared no one and seized the leader, Ambanvela Rāla, and sent him to the Dutch to be tortured.

380. A fakir executed

Again there came to the country a strange *fakir* who claimed to work miracles, and he began to destroy the *dēvālayas* without let or hindrance from king or people. Many flocked to him, and the story soon got abroad that he was the son of Vijayapāla, the elder brother of the king, who had fled to the Portuguese and died at Goa (290). The king ordered him to be secured and put in the stocks, upon which he fled to the Dutch. The governor of Colombo received him with great honour and kept him in Colombo, hoping to use him as a weapon against Rājasinha. But the people in the Dutch territories now began to flock to him to the dismay of the Dutch who therefore sought to place a guard upon him. He again escaped to Kandy, but Rājasinha had him seized and quartered.

381. The king's unpopularity

There were several other plots against him, none of which was successful and all of which the king punished with great severity. In consequence of the king's unpopularity, the chiefs came into prominence and even attempted to thwart the king's plans. Towards the end of Rājasinha's life, the chiefs became dominant and often roused Rājasinha against the Dutch, harassed their territories without the king's order. Rājasinha's Nāyakkār relatives also meddled in the affairs of the country and gained an influence. They were well disposed to the English and were hostile to the Dutch. Thus the lands bordering on the Dutch frontiers became exposed to constant inroads of the Dutch as well as of the king's troops, with the result that people who wished to live in peace longed to come under the protection of the Company.

382. The desertion of Tennekon

In 1673 one of Rājasinha's most active disāvas, Tennekōn of the Seven Kōralēs, unable to bear the tyranny of the king, deserted

to the Dutch with his followers. His kith and kin were made to pay for it, but the people of the Seven Kōralēs desired to place themselves under the Company, which made the Dutch receive Tennekōn with great pleasure, the more so as he was formerly one of the most active generals of the king. The Dutch therefore advanced their frontiers to Dungaha and Sitāvaka. The king appeared to take no notice of the traitor, awaiting an opportunity to avenge himself both on him and on the Dutch.

Towards the end of his life, Rājasinha was obsessed with the idea that any one who did well in war or had a following was a traitor, and many of the foremost men were cruelly executed on suspicion.

II

DEALINGS WITH THE ENGLISH

383. Foreign policy

Rājasinha had no settled policy in dealing with foreign nations. This island produced the best cinnamon in the world, which fetched high prices in Europe. The monopoly of cinnamon had enriched the Portuguese and had brought the Dutch to this isle. The English, the Danes, and the French were equally eager to have a share in the profits of the cinnamon trade. The Sinhalese king, whose lands produced the cinnamon, was noted in Europe for his success in holding out against the Portuguese, and he was courted and his alliance sought by the leading trading nations of Europe. He had, therefore, the opportunity of being the arbiter of the cinnamon trade and of enriching himself and his country with the profits accruing from the sale of cinnamon, arecanuts, and elephants. But unfortunately Rājasinha was not sufficiently well informed of the state of affairs outside his country, though he was not wanting in craft and wisdom. Born and bred at a time when the indignity and sufferings of the Portuguese invasions hung over his realms, his only desire was to get rid of them. Though his first attempts at diplomacy with the Dutch had failed miserably, he continued to deal with them for the satisfaction of driving out the Portuguese, without realizing that the only weapon he had against the Dutch was the presence of the Portuguese. When they were driven out, he was at the mercy of the Dutch. He could still have retrieved his position by dealing firmly with the treacherous ally, whose dread of his enmity, or still more of his friendship with other nations, was not unknown to him. But Rājasinha did not rise to his opportunity and acted most capriciously with the Dutch and with their rivals without realizing the injury he was doing to his country.

384. English prisoners 1659

In 1659 an English ship '*The Persia Merchant*' was wrecked off the Maldives, and the crew hired a Maldivian boat and set sail, hoping to make for Colombo. They drifted to Kalpitiya in Rājasinha's territory, and thirteen men who came on land in two batches were seized by the king's disāva and taken to Kandy, while the rest made their way to the Dutch at Mannār. The king discoursed with the men about their fate and promised to set them free and billeted them in the villages of his kingdom, where they remained indefinitely.

385. Robert Knox captured

In February 1660 another English ship '*The Ann*' put into Koṭṭiyār for trade and remained some time under repairs, as she had been damaged in a storm. Rājasinha sent a disāva to bring the English to him, hoping by their means to open a correspondence with the English East India Company. The disāva came towards Koṭṭiyār and sent a message to the captain, Robert Knox, to meet him to receive the message of the king. As the disāva was some miles inland, the captain sent his son Robert with another to wait upon the chief and say that the captain could not come so far inland, but would come on shore to meet him. On hearing that the disāva was coming to meet him, Knox came ashore and was waiting under a tamarind tree, when he was surprised by the disāva's men and taken inland along with some other members of the crew similarly trepanned.

386. Detained indefinitely

The captain was assured that no harm was meant, and that the king desired to send an ambassador to England. He was, therefore, asked to order his ship to come up the creek to wait for the ambassador. Knox mistrusted the disāva and replied that the crew would not obey such a command unless some of his own men were sent back. Two sailors were accordingly allowed to go on board, but did not return. Knox explained that so long as he was forcibly detained, the crew would not obey his orders. He was then persuaded to send his son, Robert Knox junior, who warned the crew to be on the lookout and returned to the father, as promised, and declared that the ship's crew would not obey the captain. The sixteen prisoners were kept inactive for two months, whereupon the captain sent an order to the ship to set sail, which she did in May. Then the disāva returned to Kandy, leaving the captives, and shortly afterwards an officer came from the king to conduct them to the capital. They were billeted like the other English captives and detained indefinitely.

387. The British East India Company

By this time the English East India Company, founded in 1600 for trading in the East, had established itself in various factories in India, at Masulipatam in 1611, Surat 1612, at Fort St. George, Madras 1639, and at Fort William on the Hugli (Calcutta) in 1650. In 1661 Bombay was given to Charles II of England as dowry on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal. In the marriage treaty it was laid down that if the English took Ceylon, they would give Colombo to the Portuguese, and if the latter expelled the Dutch from Ceylon, they would give Galle to the English, and that in either case they would share the cinnamon trade between them. These dealings were well known to the Dutch, and as soon as they heard that *The Ann* was in Koṭṭiyār, the Dutch governor sent a force thither, but *The Ann* had meanwhile sailed away, and the Dutch seized and fortified Koṭṭiyār. As the men of the garrison, were soon dying of fever, the fort was abandoned, especially as it was known that the ship's crew had been taken to Kandy as captives.

388. Attempts to liberate the captives

Edward Winter, the Madras Agent of the East India Company, to whom the captives managed to send tidings of their fate, sent a ship with presents to Rājasinha in the hope of obtaining the release of the English captives, but the Dutch frustrated the object for fear that the English intended establishing a factory in Ceylon for cinnamon. In 1664 Winter sent an envoy with presents, whereupon the Dutch strongly fortified Trincomalee. Rājasinha, who was looking for an ally against the Dutch, sent a messenger to Madras, but the man was captured by the Dutch. However, when England and Holland made peace, the Dutch governor took pity on the English captives, who had appealed to him, and made some efforts to secure their release, but Rājasinha who had detained the Dutch ambassadors and many Dutch prisoners was not inclined to give ear to the intercession of the Dutch.

389. Escape of Robert Knox

Robert Knox, senior, died in captivity, but his son and another Englishman, named Stephen Rutland escaped to the Dutch at Arippu in 1679 and were sent to Batavia, whence Robert returned to England after a captivity of nearly eighteen years. He was received in audience by Charles II and wrote a most interesting book on Ceylon from which Daniel Defoe obtained some incidents for his *Captain Singleton*. Afterwards Knox took service in the East India Company and became a slave trader and even sent a letter to Rājasinha. Six other Englishmen also managed to elude the

Kandyan watches at various times and escaped to the Dutch. The rest, including some who had deserted from the *Herbert* and the *Rochester* and were captured in Ceylon, married and settled down in the Kandyan kingdom. The attempts made by the English and by the king to come to an alliance did not bear fruit in the lifetime of Rājasinha.

III

DEALINGS WITH THE FRENCH

390. The French East India Company

In France, as in Holland and England, Companies were formed for trade in the East. In 1664 the earlier Companies were merged into an East India Company with royal support. Francois Caron, the Frenchman who had served the Dutch Company and had recaptured Negombo in 1644 (295), offered his services to his own countrymen and persuaded them to seek a port in Ceylon. Caron was made director-general in India and set out to make the venture. He founded a French factory at Surat and communicated with Rājasinha through a Portuguese merchant.

391. Admiral de la Haye

A French royal squadron under Admiral de la Haye soon followed. Taking Caron on board it set out for Ceylon and arrived at Trincomalee in March, 1672. The Dutch at once abandoned the fort of Koṭṭiyār, and betook themselves to Trincomalee. De la Haye and Caron chose the two islands in the bay of Trincomalee for their fort and factory, and sent envoys to Rājasinha to announce their arrival. A spy sent by the Dutch came to assure the French that the king was at peace with the Dutch and needed no help from the French, but the admiral took no notice of him. Thereupon the Dutch sent a peremptory order to the admiral to quit the bay, which the Frenchman treated with contempt.

392. Treaty with the French

Meanwhile the envoy sent to Kandy returned with two chiefs and a numerous suite, and on 8th May a treaty was drawn up between the French and Rājasinha, giving the French the ports of Trincomalee, Koṭṭiyār, and Batticaloa. But the king's men did not bring provisions for the French fleet, and the admiral sent a man named de la Nerolle to Kandy to press for provisions. This messenger, unaccustomed to diplomacy, acted so arrogantly at court that the king beat him and clapped him in chains.

Meanwhile the fleet was badly in need of victuals and set sail for India, leaving a garrison in the fort. As soon as the fleet sailed away, the Dutch besieged the fort, and though a general of Rājasinha routed the first advance of the Dutch troops, the garrison had to surrender on the explicit understanding that the capitulation was not to affect their rights to the fort. The Dutch took the French captives for exhibition from port to port as the miserable remnant of the French fleet.

For Robert Knox junior and his book, and the attempts of the English to rescue the British prisoners see D. W. Ferguson in the **Ceylon Literary Register** 2nd Series IV. Knox's book has been reprinted along with his **Autobiography**, at Glasgow, 1911. An illustration depicting **Knox's Tree** will be found in **Ceylon Antiquary** II, 275. For the **French expedition to Trincomalee** in 1761 see my article in the **Ceylon Antiquary** V, 141 and sqq. For **Rajasinha and his British Captives** see E. Reimers in **J.C.B. R.A.S.** XXX.

CHAPTER XVII

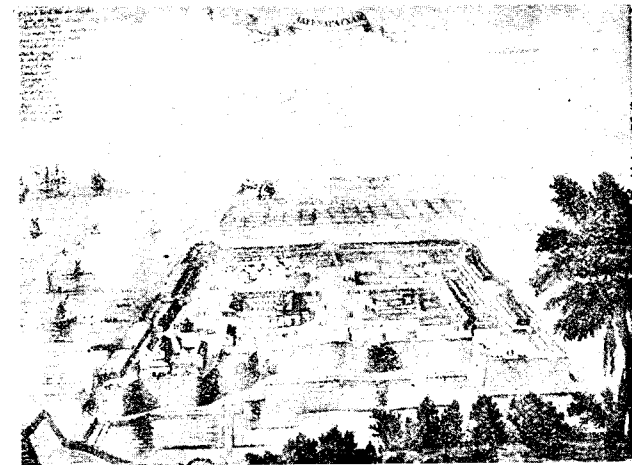
RAJASINHA II 1658—1687 (contd.)

I. **Dealings with the Dutch**: 393. Jaffna under the Company, 394. Executions, 395. Dutch Ambassadors detained, 396. The Dutch annex territory, 397. The king complacent, 398. Hostilities. II. **The Kandyan Chiefs**: 399. Power of the chiefs, 400. Fresh hostilities, 401. Lands restored to the king, 402. The Company negotiates with the chiefs, 403. Embassy of Mierop, 404. Dotage of Rajasinha, 405. Diplomacy of the chiefs, 406. Maha Nayaka of Kandy, 407. The rise of the nobles. III. **The End of Rajasinha**: 408. Death of Rajasinha, 409. His personal appearance, 410. Character.

I

DEALINGS WITH THE DUTCH**393. Jaffna under the Company**

As soon as the Dutch became masters of Jaffna they repaired the damage done to the fort and placed the country under the charge



The Fort, Jaffna

of Jacob van Rhee as factor till better arrangements were made for its administration. The Dutch troops were despatched to

India to continue the operations against the Portuguese, leaving a small garrison consisting mostly of the Portuguese captives who had taken service under the Company. At this time Don Luis of Mannār plotted with the Portuguese to fall upon the Dutch officers in church on a Sunday and thus become masters of the fort. But on the day chosen for it a Sinhalese mudaliyar, named Manoel de Andrado, happened to be present in church with his men and the plot was thwarted.

394. Executions

Jacob van Rhee made enquiries and secured all those who were alleged to have had a hand in it: some were hanged, others beheaded, and the ringleaders were laid upon the wheel and received a stroke with an axe in the breast and were dismembered and the heart laid upon the mouth. Among those butchered in this way was a Jesuit, Father John Calderio, who had been prevented by infirmity from quitting Jaffna. Though he had nothing to do with it and had not even approved of it, as we are told by Philip Baldaeus, he was accused of not having revealed the plot which he had come to know under the seal of the confessional.

The Dutch were convinced that Rājasinha also had a hand in it, and the brutality of the punishment was partly intended to instil terror into the people.

395. Dutch Ambassadors detained

From the time they seized Colombo, Rājasinha had not ceased to harass the Dutch. He forbade trade with them, ordered the people to quit the lands occupied by them, and destroyed the crops. But when his own people plotted against him, he forgot the wrongs of the Company and even wrote to them to help him to punish the traitors. Thus when van der Meyden attacked Nāvakkaddu and drove his men away, destroyed the stockade, and seized and fortified Kalpiṭiya, he took no notice of the event. When van Goens soon afterwards wrote to conciliate him, he was pleased and asked an ambassador to come up. Frans van den Berg was accordingly sent, but the king detained him and did not let him return. The governor, however, granted the king free trade at Kalpiṭiya, but the Batavian authorities were afraid that it would lead to smuggling and recommended its reoccupation. On hearing that the English were attempting to communicate with the king,

the Dutch seized Koṭṭiyar, extended their frontiers and, posting guards, sent Hendrick Draak to conciliate the king. Draak too was detained.

396. The Dutch annex territory

In 1664, however, Rājasinha wrote to the Dutch to ask for their assistance against the domestic traitors, requesting them to protect Trincomalee, Koṭṭiyār, and Batticaloa. This the Dutch looked upon as a godsend, and immediately took possession of 15 kōralēs and erected forts on the frontiers at Bibilegama, Ruvanvella, and Sabaragamuva, occupied Chilaw over and above the eastern ports. The Batavian authorities were very uneasy at these annexations, but governor van Goens urged his policy and had his way; and the king was granted some taxes to make up for the loss of trade resulting from the deviation of the king's trade from Kalpiṭiya to Colombo by the occupation of Ruvanvella. The Dutch gained thereby, and the pearl fishery and elephant kraals were held with success and profit to the Company.

397. The king complacent

In his anger with the people, the king was even pleased to see the Dutch in possession of his lands, and to show them favour, he even communicated to them the letters he had received from the British agent at Madras. This was apparently also intended to rouse the jealousy of the Company, for the king at the same time sent an ambassador to the English. This ambassador was captured at Kalpiṭiya and the governor began to distrust the marks of the king's friendship. Yet they did not cease to make hay while the sun shone, and profited by the respite to open roads to Kalpiṭiya through Chilaw and to Batticaloa along the coast *via* Hambantota. This was explained to the king as a necessary precaution against the machinations of the English.

398. Hostilities

When Rājasinha succeeded in reasserting his power at home, he again commenced hostilities against the Dutch and attacked the frontiers, forcing the Company to withdraw its forces and try to pacify the king by granting free trade not only in Koṭṭiyār, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee, but even in Galle and Colombo. Undeterred by these favours, the king seized Arandara, which made the Dutch retaliate by closing Batticaloa, Koṭṭiyar, Trincomalee,

and Kalpiṭiya. This told heavily on the chiefs, who, therefore, came on a mission to Colombo and invited the governor to send an embassy asking for the release of the Dutch prisoners. The ambassadors sent so far had all been detained and no one was willing to go. At last a blustering soldier named Henry Bystervelt undertook to go and remonstrate with the king. Bystervelt escaped detention and returned to Colombo to report that the king was as good as besieged by his chiefs.

II

THE KANDYAN CHIEFS

399. Power of the chiefs

It was the chiefs, who had now gained great influence in the country, that met and dealt with the French at Trincomalee and gifted to them the ports already held by the Dutch (392). They did not realize that the Frenchman's greatest need was victuals for the fleet, and in spite of the disāvas' attempt to help the French fort, it was captured by the Dutch, who also extended their frontiers to Sitāvaka and Iddangoda and drove out the king's forces from Matara.

400. Fresh hostilities

But in 1675 the king's forces again besieged Bibilegama and captured the garrison, attacked Ruvanvella and harassed the frontiers of Mātara and Jaffna. The Dutch then recalled their garrisons and strengthened the forts of Kalpiṭiya, Jaffna, and Arippu. The king himself threatened Malvāna, but Tennekōn, the disāva of the Seven Kōralēs, deserted to the Dutch with his followers (382), whereupon the king withdrew and destroyed the traitor's kith and kin. Tennekōn wished to retain his disāvani and instigated the people to offer to come under the Dutch protection if their disāva was retained. The governor cautiously accepted the proffered submission, as the principality of the Seven Kōralēs was well known for its cinnamon, and the frontiers were again extended to Sitāvaka and Dungaha.

401. Lands restored to the king

But the authorities at Batavia took alarm, as annexation of territory always meant war, which entailed expense and loss, and sent an order to the governor to restore to Rājasinha all the lands

occupied since 1665. The governor, therefore, wrote to the king offering to restore the Seven and the Three Kōralēs. Rājasinha preferred to recover them himself rather than accept the lands as a concession from the Company and sent his men to spoil, burn, and destroy the lands, forcing the Dutch to evacuate Sitāvaka.

402. The Company negotiates with the chiefs

The council of Colombo then opened negotiations with the courtiers of Rājasinha. They accepted the communication and hinted that the king would be pleased if the Company sent him some horses. Horses were accordingly procured and sent with a letter, but meanwhile Ambanvela Rāla, who had been sent to the Dutch to be punished, but whom the Dutch had entertained in the hope of using him against the king, escaped to Kandy, and a number of disāvas appeared on the frontiers, committing hostilities and forbidding the people to supply provisions to the Dutch. Thus when the horses appeared on the frontiers there was no one to receive them.

403. Embassy of Mierop

Laurens Pyl succeeded van Goens in 1680 and resolved to send an ambassador to Rājasinha with many presents to ask for peace and the release of prisoners and ambassadors. Sergeant Mierop was accordingly despatched with two white lions, three tigers, twelve musk-cats, all carried in very neat cages lined with green velvet, two black Persian horses covered likewise with green velvet, and twenty falcons. The letter was carried on a silver tray by the ambassador under a canopy borne by four Sinhalese noblemen. But Mierop did not go beyond Ampē. The disāva of the Seven Kōralēs impeded the peeling of cinnamon, and did acts of hostility on the frontiers, though the king continued to profess friendship.

404. Dotage of Rajasinha

The Dutch now came to hear that Rājasinha had taken to opium in his old age and that the hostilities were due to the chiefs who were very hostile to them and prevented the ambassadors from having access to the king. Two other ambassadors were now despatched from Batavia with a very conciliatory letter, but they fared no better than the previous ambassadors and were detained at Ampē. The chiefs continued their raids on lands occupied by the Company and sent orders to the Dutch officers in charge of the

frontier stations to deliver them up. The Dutch feared an attack, but Mierop who had succeeded in reaching the capital announced that the king was willing to receive the presents that were still at Sitāvaka. Capt. Adam Slegt. was then despatched with a large escort of 800 men, ostensibly to protect the presents, but really for fear of the large number of chiefs said to be at Ampē. These chiefs confiscated the cinnamon which the Company was peeling in the Negombo district. A message was conveyed to Governor Pyl that peeling cinnamon in that district was an offence, but that if the Dutch wanted cinnamon, the king would send a quantity to Colombo. This offer was accepted with profuse thanks, and the king sent cinnamon in spite of the opposition of the chiefs.

405. Diplomacy of the chiefs

In this way the courtiers of Kandy accustomed the Dutch to send embassies to Kandy, and when that was done, peeling was allowed. The idea was to force the Company to recognize that they had no right to the cinnamon, and that the lands belonged to the king. Their intention was to reoccupy the lands, and in 1684 the chiefs actually occupied the frontiers of Māfara and the Lēvāyas and Sabaragamuva without violence, and four of their number came to Colombo on a visit of ceremony merely to announce that the king was in good health and to inquire after the health of the governor. The king was now ageing, and the courtiers were gaining power. Great changes and revolutions were expected on the king's death, and the Company thought it prudent not to offend the chiefs, but to take precautions for the defence of Colombo. Hanvella, Negombo, and Kalutara, the three forts that defended Colombo, were accordingly reconstructed and well garrisoned.

406. Maha Nayaka of Kandy

In 1686 the high priest of Kandy came on a visit of ceremony and was received with great pomp and magnificence. His influence was great and his friendship would be of great use to the Company in case of a revolution. The governor, therefore, tried to sound his dispositions towards the Company and inquired about the prospects of a lasting peace and the release of the Dutch prisoners. On his return to Kandy there was a talk of liberating all Dutch prisoners, and after an exchange of compliments with the chiefs, the Dutch prisoners were at last liberated in 1687.

407. The rise of the nobles

Thus the diplomacy of the chiefs proved more successful than that of the king. They gradually reduced the Company to acknowledge the king's rights to the lands. The next step was to force the Company to acknowledge that they were but the servants of the king. The opportunity for this arose when Pyl left Ceylon for Negapatam without informing the king, to confer with the commissary Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee. Immediately Mattangoda Chetty was sent to ask Pyl to return; and a message was sent by the Maha Nilame to Colombo to the same effect. Pyl who had gone to discuss the question of a proposed peace with Rājasinha, thought it prudent to hasten his return. He and the commissary had agreed that the restoration of the lands to the king would mean the destruction of the monopoly of cinnamon, and that, therefore, the forts should not be given up on any account. Some urged that the Company should hold the lands in defiance of the king and claim them boldly as theirs by right of conquest from the Portuguese, or at least by right of long possession. It was felt that Batticaloa would be difficult to keep, but that it was very necessary to prevent other nations from occupying it. Trincomalee they meant to claim as part of the kingdom of Jaffna. These proposals were put to the courtiers of Kandy when they came on embassy; but they refused even to listen to them.

III

THE END OF RAJASINHA

408. Death of Rajasinha

In December Rājasinha died at Hanguranketa, and an ambassador arrived in Colombo to announce the event. The governor decided to make a great demonstration of sorrow and honour, although he had been told by one of the foremost men of Kandy not to grieve over the old tyrant. On the 23rd December the funeral was celebrated in Colombo with great magnificence. The troops in full mourning, with muskets reversed and pikes trailing, headed the procession, while mounted sailors bearing the king's arms—a red lion on a gold field—escorted the king's standard borne on chargers fully draped in black. A state carriage drawn by six horses bore the king's arms, followed by the sword of sovereignty and the crown and sceptre, each laid on a silver tray and carried on cushions under a canopy. The governor followed in state, accompanied by the king's ambassador and followed by the members of the council, the officials, and the public. The procession wended its way to the church where the regalia reposed the whole day guarded by lighted torches.

409. His personal appearance

Rājasinha was a man of middle size, very well set, but more than ordinarily dark of complexion, with large rolling eyes,



Rajasinha II

somewhat bald of head, but with a comely beard and long whiskers. His apparel was fantastic and of his own designing. On his head

he wore a four-cornered cap, like the biretta worn by Catholic priests but three tiers high, and with an upright feather in front. His sword with a gold hilt, sheathed in a scabbard of beaten gold, hung from a belt over his shoulder. In his hand he carried a cane painted in diverse colours with a head of gold and the lower end set in gems. His doublet was a fanciful one with long sleeves; the breeches reached to his ankles, and he wore shoes and stockings.

410. Character

He was temperate and abstemious in diet, deliberate in his actions, though he never took counsel. Of animals he was exceedingly fond and loved horses and riding and was wont to fly hawks, and feed fishes with his own hand. He was, moreover, a good shot and an expert swimmer. His bearing was proud and haughty and he brooked no opposition. Vain, crafty, but cautious and a great dissembler, he was inconstant in his likes, jealous of honour, and as pitiless in punishment as he was exacting in service. He made but small profession of the religion of the country, and did not persecute Christians, but rather esteemed Christianity.

For the facts narrated in this chapter see **Concise History** (J. C. B. R. A. S. XI) and the **Batavian Dagh Register** (Printed in C.L.R. IV). Baldaeus chapter XLV. For Bystervelt) see J XI. Robert Knox gives an interesting account of Rajasinha. Valentyn (247-285) prints the report of Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, 23 Nov. 1677, on how they should deal with Rajasinha.

CHAPTER XVIII

VIMALADHARMA SURYA II 1687—1706

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I

GROWING RESISTANCE TO THE DUTCH

411. The new king

RAJASINHA was succeeded by his son, a gentle young man bred in the privacy of a temple and secluded from political strife, who had never appeared before his subjects from the time of the rebellion of 1664 when he was a boy in his teens (397). He was therefore quite a novice in statecraft, and was guided by the chiefs and the monks to the great benefit of his country and subjects, who were thus not only able to live in peace and prosperity, but even to recover the prestige which had dwindled during the last years of Rājasinha.

412. New policy

The accession of Vimaladharmasūrya was duly announced and celebrated in Colombo. An embassy of chiefs soon arrived in Colombo with letters to the governor. One of the letters contained an implicit announcement of the king's assumption of the sovereignty of the territories under Dutch rule. The letter declared that he had granted the village of Veligama to a basnāyaka in the employ of the Dutch. Veligama was in Dutch territory, and the governor pointed out that such a grant was an insult to the Company. The Company, he said, was not a subject of the king but an ally: the debt owing to them had not yet been paid: Rājasinha had permitted them to peel cinnamon in the Pitigal

Kōralē, but the new king's men had prevented it. The courtiers then asked what the governor proposed to do with the royal grant. He said it would be deposited in the archives. They asked that it be handed to the basnāyaka. To escape the importunity, the governor consented and handed the grant to the basnāyaka, having previously made him promise to return it to the secretary. Thus the first diplomatic battle ended in a draw in favour of the courtiers.

413. Demands

The envoys then promised permission to peel cinnamon in Pitigal Kōralē and asked the Company to convey to Ceylon a Buddhist high priest from Pegu to restore *upasampadā* ordination in Kandy. This was willingly granted. They then asked for free trade at Puttalam and that the Company should transport 500 packages of cinnamon for the king. The governor demurred and requested the king to sell his cinnamon and areca to them. It became quite clear to the Dutch that the courtiers of the new king were a power to be reckoned with, and that they were bent on demanding Trincomalee, Koṭṭiyār, Batticaloa, and Kalpiṭiya.

414. The First Adigar

Soon the first adigār himself came to Colombo in state, attended by a large suite, and formally demanded the restoration of the lands seized since 1665 and the freedom of the ports. The lands they had once offered to restore (401); but having changed their policy, they were not disposed to do so now. The governor, therefore, reminded the adigār of the debt, which silenced the chief for the time.

415. Proposed treaty

And so in 1688 the council proposed to enter into a treaty with the king. Van Rhee was opposed to the surrender of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, or Kalpiṭiya, but was willing to give the king's ships passports for navigation and to discuss terms regarding the monopoly of cinnamon and areca. The secretary, Claas Abelos, was chosen to present the draft treaty to the courtiers. He was directed to show no timidity nor grant any concessions, but to state with firmness that the Company was determined to keep the seaboard at any cost.

416. The debt to the Company

The governor's plan was to hold the lands seized since 1662 until the debt was paid (355). This much talked-of debt was never

calculated so far, the bill never presented, the items never discussed, and the amount, whatever it was, never likely to be paid. To ask payment, therefore, was tantamount to asking for the absolute possession of the lands in liquidation of the debt. The ambassador who presented the proposal to court returned without effecting anything and without obtaining the release of the Dutch prisoners.

417. Annual Embassy

In January 1688 the new king was formally crowned and the coronation fitly celebrated in Colombo. A mohot̄tiār came to Colombo and the Company was granted permission to obtain cinnamon from the king's territories, provided an envoy was sent each year before the beginning of the cinnamon season. Abelos was then sent with a draft treaty of which the chief terms were :

418. Terms of proposed treaty

1. That the Company should retain peaceful possession of the lands and ports then occupied by the Dutch, until the debt was paid, or that the territory be ceded ; 2. that there should be free trade between the allies, without taxes, tribute, or excise ; and that cinnamon, pepper, wax, and ivory should not be sold except to the Company ; 3. that all foreign nations, such as the English, French, Danes, or Germans, be kept out of the king's ports ; 4. that the Company should be permitted to gather cinnamon from the king's lands, in return for which the Company would send an annual present ; 5. that no Roman Catholic monk or priest be allowed to settle within the king's domains.

419. Denial of a Debt

The ambassador was directed to discuss the treaty with the king's courtiers, who, however, denied that the king owed the Dutch any debt, and roundly charged the Company with having violated the treaty, retaining Colombo against the promise, not dividing the spoils as promised, with having attacked the king's camp, and finally with having enjoyed the income of the lowlands all this time, thereby obtaining more than the Company ever spent to drive out the Portuguese !

420. Tables turned

This was turning the tables with a vengeance. Abelos could only say that the income from the lowlands was not one thousandth part of the expenses. This was, to say the least, a gross exaggeration, but the courtiers were not able to gainsay it, and

what was worse they had no copies of the treaties that had been made with Rājasinha. The king put off the discussion and sent the ambassador back without much ceremony and announced that he was himself coming to the lowlands for a personal interview with His Majesty's well-beloved and trusty governor of Colombo.

421. Evacuation of territory

Things were taking a pretty bad turn for the Company, and the governor excused himself from the interview on the ground that he could not quit his territory. Orders were given to evacuate the frontier kōralēs, which were promptly occupied by disāvas nominated by the king. The Company's subjects on the east coast refused to pay taxes, and Pyl determined to take his stand, not on the debt, but on the right of conquest.

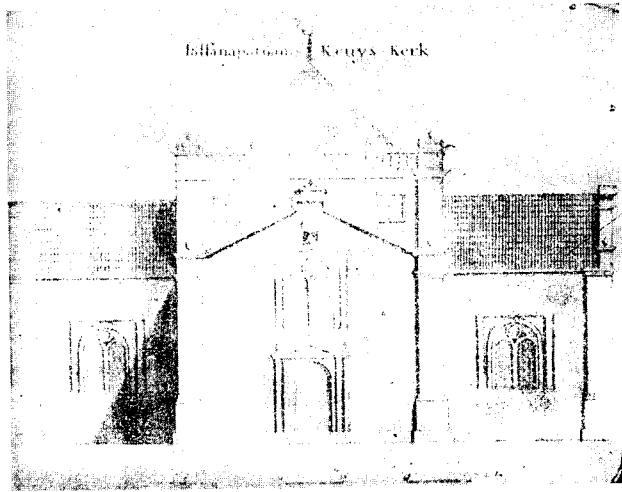
II

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE COMPANY

422. Persecution of Catholics

When the Dutch assumed the administration, the lowlands were inhabited by Buddhists, Hindus, Catholics, and Mohammedans. But the Company professed the special form of Christianity prevailing in the mother country and sought to make all the people of the island conform to the religion of the Reformed Church of Holland. For this purpose they first of all passed an edict against Catholicism, seized the Catholic churches and schools, expelled Catholic priests under pain of death, and forced all Catholics to come to the Dutch kirk for baptism and marriage, to send the children to be instructed in the Dutch religion and to bury the dead according to the rites of the Dutch Church. This special hatred of Catholics was due to the fear they entertained that the Catholic religion was a bond of sympathy between the Sinhalese and the Portuguese. For this reason they had proscribed the Portuguese religion in 1659 and ordered all slaves to study the Dutch language under pain of having their heads shorn. This thoughtless *plakkaat* could not well be enforced, and by an irony of time the Portuguese language soon became the home language of the Dutch descendants themselves. And " notwithstanding every persecution, the Catholic religion was openly

professed by the descendants of the Portuguese, who were in consequence reduced to misery and degradation, and by large



The Dutch Church, Jaffna

numbers of Sinhalese and Tamils whom neither corruption nor coercion could force to abjure it". (Tennent)

423. Father Joseph Vaz

Very soon an heroic band of priests from abroad came to the rescue of the Catholics. The foremost of these was Father Joseph Vaz, a Konkani Brahman and member of the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa. After great hardships he eluded the Dutch guards, reached Jaffna in disguise in 1687, and began secretly to minister to his fellow Catholics in the district. But on Christmas night, 1689, while he was getting ready to say Mass in a private house, the Dutch commander made a raid, dispersed the crowd and arrested, scourged, and imprisoned eight of the prominent Catholics for harbouring a priest. Father Vaz, whom they could not seize, soon realized the difficulty of carrying on his work safely within Dutch territory and decided to seek the protection of the king of Kandy.

424. Obtains king's protection

He came to Puttalam which was in the king's domains and made his way to the interior. At Vēuda he was denounced for a spy by De la Nerolle and taken prisoner to Kandy, where after some time he succeeded in gaining the king's veneration and favour. The

church of Kandy became his headquarters, from which he visited Jaffna, Mantota, Chilaw, Negombo, Colombo, Kalutara, Ratnapura, Sitāvaka, Ruvanvella, and other places, fleeing into the Kandyan kingdom whenever the Dutch attempted to seize his person. His appeals brought many other priests to his aid, and the Catholics of Ceylon began to look up to the kings of Kandy as their protectors.

425. Persecution of Buddhism

Towards the Buddhists and the Hindus the Dutch attempted a similar course. They tried to impose the Dutch religion on all and sundry by forbidding the exercise of the Buddhist religion within their territory by legislation and by obliging all the subjects of the Company to attend the catechism schools and receive baptism and be married according to the Dutch rite, and above all by refusing any office under the Dutch government to those who did not conform to their religion. The people soon came to realize that little more was expected of them than to submit to certain ceremonies at stated times. Baptism and marriage in the Dutch church was nothing more than registration of birth and marriage, and those who wished to be mudaliyars or ārachchis found no difficulty in submitting passively to a harmless ceremony, as the exercise of their religion in private was not interfered with. Thus the Dutch Church counted thousands upon thousands of converts, without the trouble and expense of supplying an adequate number of clergymen.

426. Nominal converts

The clergymen of whom there were seldom more than a dozen, were scandalized to find that their 'converts' continued to practise their own religion in private, and called upon the Company to pass edicts against the free exercise of religion and to forbid the erection of temples. These edicts could not easily be enforced; but when the Company sought to make friends with the king of Kandy and even assisted him to obtain Buddhist priests from Pegu, the people sought the aid of the king.

427. Demand for religious toleration

Accordingly an embassy arrived in Colombo in 1688 to demand for the people in Dutch territory the free exercise of religion and the restoration of the temples. This was an embarrassing demand. The Company did not dare to displease the king or the mahā nāyaka who had shown them favour. On the other hand, the Dutch clergy were greatly opposed to any concession. The governor, therefore, pleaded for time, while the clergy appealed to the home country to enforce the decrees. The request was subsequently refused on orders from Holland, but the state of affairs continued to be the same.

III

THE KING'S TRADE

428. Contest for free trade

The king's ambassadors also pressed for the opening of the ports for the king's trade, which too the Company was not prepared to grant. Thereupon the courtiers equipped a ship laden with areca and endeavoured to pass Kalpitiya, flying the king's flag. The ship was detained, but this only made the king demand the restoration of all the ports, leaving only the forts to the Company. The governor retorted by demanding the payment of the debt and declared that the Company would never give up the lands.

429. Rumours of war

Rumour then brought the tidings that the king was preparing for war, and the Company, which dreaded the expense and loss such a course would entail, issued passports to a ship flying the king's flag, but as the rumour turned out to be false, they detained the other ships that were attempting to do the same or bring cloth to the Kandyan kingdom. These events, however, did not prevent the Company from sending the annual present to the king, as that was necessary to obtain permission to collect cinnamon. The king too granted the permission, though he at times disdained to receive the presents.

430. Disposition of the king

Vimaladharmā was sincerely anxious to be at peace with the Company, and on more than one occasion sent back to the Dutch those who had fled to his kingdom to escape the customary services. When Governor Pyl desired to resign and return home, the king asked him to continue in office, a course to which he consented under the impression that he was especially acceptable to the king, while as a matter of fact his weakness had emboldened the courtiers in their demands.

431. Van Rhee, 1692—1697

Thomas van Rhee who succeeded Pyl continued the policy of not offending the king. The success of this policy was so great that he was able to get more cinnamon than was needed and was actually obliged to burn part of the harvest to prevent a fall in the price by overstocking the market. The pearl fishery, too, was held after an interval, and brought much profit to the Company. This led the Company to try to drop all intention of a treaty as a dangerous subject, and to continue to reap the benefits of a peace unrestricted by treaty obligations.

432. The opening of ports

The Company was finally obliged to give in and opened the ports of Kalpitiya, Koṭṭiyār, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa to the king, and in 1697 the Company supplied the king with a vessel to bring his bride from Tanjore. The five Kandyan ambassadors and two high priests and 34 ordinary priests returned from Pegu in 1697 and were maintained in Colombo at the Company's expense till the king of Kandy ordered them to return.

IV

OTHER EVENTS

433. Leprosy

The governor noticed an increase of leprosy in Dutch territory and sought to segregate the sufferers in a hospital. But the authorities to whom the suggestion was made, recoiled at the cost and directed the governor to build one, if possible, out of the charitable funds of the deaconry, which were scarcely sufficient for its own purpose. He, therefore, issued a *plakkaat* forbidding lepers to show themselves in the streets and requiring them to live outside the town.

434. Gerrit de Heere, 1697—1702

After five years' rule in peace and tranquillity, van Rhee handed over the government to Gerrit de Heere in 1697. The change of governors made no change in the harmonious relations with the court. The king permitted the Company to gather cinnamon even from Balana. The king's courtiers pressed the governor to present the draft treaty for discussion, but he was unwilling to assume any obligations so long as things went on well without them. The authorities had warned the governor to be very circumspect in the terms of address used towards the king. The expressions "servants of His Majesty", "His Majesty's forts" and others of the kind were ordered to be dropped in future as prejudicial to the interests of the Company and likely to become a stumbling block in future negotiations. Polite and flattering terms and costly presents were highly recommended, as they seemed to be much appreciated.

435. Effects of free trade

However, the Company soon began to notice that the opening of the ports led to a great reduction of trade in the Company's ports. From the king's country there came very little areca, nor was there any demand in Colombo for salt, cotton goods, and

other things for Kandy. It was stated that the king had issued a proclamation calling upon his subjects to go to Puttalam for trade and in fact the *kadavat* or thorn-gates leading to and from the kingdom were guarded to prevent any transgression of the king's orders. This led to a scarcity of provisions in Colombo. At this time Gerrit de Heere died, and the council assumed the government.

436. Johannes Simons, 1703—1707

The chief adigār arrived in Colombo to express the king's sorrow for the death of Heere, and the opening of the *kadavat* greatly relieving the scarcity of provisions in Colombo. The Company, however, tried to divert trade into its ports by directing the Dutch in Coromandel and Malabar not to issue passports except to Colombo, Galle, and Jaffna. This news was conveyed to the king as one of the steps necessary to protect themselves from the French with whom they were at war.

437. Leper asylum

The administration of Simons who succeeded de Heere is best known for two institutions of different kinds; the leper asylum and the *Tēsavalamai*. On the reports of the surgeons, the necessity for an asylum was pressed on the authorities who finally consented to its erection at government expense. The site chosen was Hendala on the Kelanī river and the hospital cost nearly double the sum granted by the Company. As soon as it was completed, the governor issued a proclamation ordering all those infected with the disease to give information, and forbidding lepers to come into the Fort or the Pettah under pain of being whipped away by the Caffirs.

438. Tesavalamai

Governor Simons was also responsible for the *Tēsavalamai* or the compendium of the customary laws of the Tamils. Being a jurist, Simons felt that the customs of the people of Jaffna regarding marriage, inheritance, purchase, loans, mortgages, slaves, and the like, should be recorded in writing for the use of courts and judges. For this purpose he instructed the *disāva* of Jaffna, a man of great experience who had spent thirty years in the island, to inquire into and record the customs of the people. When the work was done, it was given to twelve *mudaliyars* for their opinion, and when confirmed by them, was promulgated by the governor.

439. Death of Vimaladharmā Surya II

On June 4, 1706, Vimaladharmā died at Kandy after a peaceful and prosperous reign of nearly twenty years. He was a mild and benignant ruler, zealous for the welfare of religion, and very tolerant of faiths other than his own. He observed the customary constitution of the kingdom and sought the advice of the nobles and chief priests in all matters of importance. The peaceful relations with the Company enabled his subjects to cultivate their lands and the nobles to profit by trade, and even the Dutch to collect cinnamon and trade undisturbed.

440. Prosperous reign

During his reign, the chiefs established their power and influence and were employed by him frequently in his negotiations with the Dutch. He embellished his capital and erected a three-storied *Daladā Māligāva*, reformed the abuse of temple lands becoming hereditary, and restored *Upasampadā* ordination by obtaining priests from Siam. He showed great favour and benevolence to Father Vaz and the other Catholic priests labouring in the island and living in his territory. His peaceful policy bore fruit and he was able to assert his rights and obtain the opening of the ports for trade. Thus he was by far the most successful ruler of Kandy, and in his time the kingdom enjoyed freedom from wars and invasions for the first time after a century.

See *Memoir of Cornelis Joan Simons 1707* Government Printer Colombo 1914; *Diary of Gerrit de Heere 1697*, Government Printer Colombo; *Concise History J. C. B. R. A. S. XI*; J. D. Palm *Account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon and The Educational Establishments of the Dutch in Ceylon*, J. C. B. R. A. S. III; E. Tennent *Christianity in Ceylon* Chapter II, and *Life of the Ven. Father Joseph Vaz*.

SRI VIRA NARENDRA SINHA 1706—1739

I. **The Contest for free trade:** 441. Accession of Narendra Sinha, 442. Closure of ports, 443. Closure of Kadavat in retaliation, 444. Other retaliatory measures, 445. Trade forbidden, 446. Rebellions, 447. Concessions to peelers, 448. Hostilities, 449. Change of policy. II. **Religion and Literature:** 450. Catholic agitations, 451. Arrest of leading Catholics, 452. Sinhalese Catholic literature, 453. Religious activities, 454. Dutch tombs. III. **Sources of revenue:** 455. Corrupt administration, 456. Pielat's reforms, 457. Revenues, 458. Dyeing industry, 459. Elephant trade, 460. Pearl fishery, 461. Coffee cultivation. IV. **The end of Narendra Sinha:** 462. Death of Narendra Sinha, 463. Nayakkar influence.

I

THE CONTEST FOR FREE TRADE

441. Accession of Narendra Sinha

SRI VIRA PARAKRAMA NARENDRA SINHA, or Kundasālē, as he was popularly known from the name of his residential palace, succeeded to the throne on the death of this father Vimaladharmā. He was a young man of seventeen years of age. A faction in Kandy attempted to place an older candidate on the throne. But the supporters of Kundasālē frustrated the plot, seized and executed the ringleaders of the faction, and the new king assumed the sword of state with the customary ceremonies.

442. Closure of ports

The Dutch Company profiting by the illness and death of the king and the troubles of his successor, closed the ports against the king's subjects. Closing the ports meant that the king's subjects must sell the produce of their lands to the Company and buy the cotton and piece-goods they needed from the Company. At first this did not seem to affect the king's subjects as they were able to obtain goods from the Company nearly at the same prices as from the Muslim traders. But now the governor sought to enforce more stringent rules and deprive the king and the nobles of the large profits they gained by the sale of goods for which no custom dues were paid. The governor had been ordered to do this some years earlier, but the fear of offending Vimaladharmā had hitherto prevented him from carrying out the instructions fully. Now, seeing that the king was new and inexperienced, they closed the ports effectively. Till the king was firmly seated on his throne, no steps were taken against this measure, and friendly relations continued and the usual embassies were sent every year to ask permission to peel cinnamon in the king's lands and to transport elephants to Jaffna through the king's territories.

443. Closure of Kadavat in retaliation

But in 1712 the king and his courtiers instigated by the lowland chiefs, as the Dutch believed, began to demand the opening of the ports. The governor replied that it was beyond his power, as the measure had been carried out on the orders of the supreme government of Batavia. The Dutch ambassador of 1713, Major Willem Hendrik de Bevere, behaved insolently at court, and the Company promptly apologized, and arrested and deported the major. The apology was accepted, but the king's council decided to retaliate by closing the gravets. The word 'gravet' is a corruption of the Sinhalese *kadavat* or thorn-gates erected at the frontiers. All roads leading from the Dutch territories to the Kandyan kingdom had a *kadavata* or frontier watch post. The closing of the gravets therefore meant that the king's subjects were forbidden to take the produce of their lands to the Dutch settlements. In spite of this retaliatory measure, the usual embassies were exchanged, and the king even promised to open the gravets when the ambassador asked him for it. His intention was, however, to open them only when the Dutch opened the ports. As this was not done, the king again sent a formal demand and ordered the gravets to be opened. This had no effect on the Company, for the orders of Batavia were to close the ports for good.

444. Other retaliatory measures

The king's courtiers thereupon invited the Indian merchants to bring cloth and piece-goods to the king's territories on the coast north of Kalpiṭiya, and forbade the transport of the Company's letters through the king's lands. The Company then reinforced the garrisons of Kalpiṭiya and Arippe and ordered a sloop to cruise about the coast and intercept trading ships. The king's courtiers permitted the divers to fish for pearls off the coast, to assert the king's claims to the pearl banks. Yet the king refrained from interfering in a quarrel which the cinnamon peelers had against the Company, though he permitted the courtiers to forbid the transport of letters from Trincomalee to Batticaloa or Jaffna through his territories or to sell paddy to the Company. All these actions, which aimed at forcing the Company to comply with his demand for the opening of the ports, remained ineffectual, and the king and his courtiers decided to be more aggressive.

445. Trade forbidden

The closing of the gravets was more stringently enforced and the people publicly forbidden to trade with the Company. At Mābōle, Pass Betal, and Nākalagama, gravets were set up as a sign that the roads were closed, and an embassy was sent to Colombo to complain against the damage caused by the closure of the ports.

The Company in its turn asked for the opening of the gravets. The first adigār replied that the gravets would remain closed till the port of Puttalam was opened to the king's trade. The governor returned the usual reply that it was beyond his power, but offered to buy the king's areca at a higher price. This was accepted, but the gravets remained closed.

446. Rebellions

Then there began a series of petty rebellions against the Company which the Dutch believed to have been instigated by the king's officers. The people of the Siyanē Kōralē and Mātara rose in mutiny which soon spread to other parts. The peelers of cinnamon refused to work and fled to the king's territories, and the people of the Three Kōralēs, Galle, Mātara, Salpiti, Rayigam, and Hēvāgam Kōralēs refused to obey the Company unless they were ordered to do so by the king. The Company realized that its subjects looked up to the king as their liege lord, and as the cinnamon trade was in jeopardy, a humble request was sent to the king; but the king declined to intervene, hoping that the Company would be obliged to open the ports.

447. Concessions to peelers

The Dutch governor tried to win the peelers by satisfying all their demands and abolishing the taxes. Some were won over by this means, but others became more aggressive and attacked the Company's servants. A detachment of troops was sent against the rebels without any effect. More concessions were made and some more peelers were persuaded to return to work, but the majority remained obdurate, and the Company was forced to ask for troops from Batavia to make a military demonstration to overawe the rebels. The revolt meanwhile spread fast, and the insurgents issued a proclamation that 'the king had once more resumed the lands, freeing the inhabitants from any obligation to the Company.'

448. Hostilities

Hoping to stem the rising, the governor despatched some commissioners to expostulate with the rebels, and, if unsuccessful, to use force. Force had to be resorted to, and a detachment of soldiers pulled down the *kadavat* and encamped at Malvāna and Attanagalla. The latter place was soon overpowered, and the garrison fled to Malvāna, leaving the artillery. Malvāna was next beset and razed to the ground and the rebels marched towards Colombo, destroying the Company's property. In these operations they were led by the disāvas of the Four and the Seven Kōralēs, and the Dutch

tried to bribe them to disperse the men and even offered an amnesty to the insurgents. This had no effect, and the Hāpitigam, Siyanē and Atakalan Kōralēs declared they were under the king's protection.

449. Change of policy

Such was the state of affairs, when Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff arrived in Ceylon as governor. He soon felt that it was very much better for the Company to attempt to win the people by even a temporary abolition of taxes and by cultivating the friendship of the king. This was more successful, and peelers returned to work, and the king granted permission to peel cinnamon in his lands. The governor sent an embassy with valuable presents, and the king, in the last embassy that he was destined to receive, denied that he or any of his disāvas had anything to do with the rebellions in Dutch territory. The governor, thereupon, caused this statement to be publicly proclaimed in order to give the lie to the rebels who claimed that they were acting under the protection of the king. Thus, in spite of many attempts on both sides to bring about the opening of the ports and the gravets, neither party succeeded in the lifetime of Narēndra Sinha.

II

RELIGION AND LITERATURE

450. Catholic agitations

Narēndra Sinha, like his father, showed great favour to the Catholic priests, especially to Father Joseph Vaz, whom the Catholics of Ceylon still venerate as the great churchman responsible for the Catholic revival. The priests who made regular visits to Dutch territories in secret to minister to the persecuted Catholics, placed themselves under the king's protection and fled to his territories whenever the Dutch authorities sought to arrest them. Encouraged by the presence of their priests, the Catholics now determined to stand up for their rights. Thus when a proclamation was issued calling upon them to attend the Dutch Reformed Church and send their children to be instructed in the tenets of that Church, two hundred heads of families presented a petition, stating that they could not do such a thing in conscience and asking to be permitted to have churches and priests of their own.

451. Arrest of leading Catholics

The governor, suspecting the presence of a priest, caused him to be hunted in the city, but failing to lay hands on him, held a meeting of the council on 18th January, 1707, and ordered the arrest of five of the leaders and imposed a fine of 500 patacas on each of the

petitioners. Similar petitions were presented in all other Dutch towns, which the Company ignored, and *plakkaats* were issued forbidding public or even private assemblies of Catholics, the christening of children by Catholic priests and giving lodgings to priests. These were measures taken merely to terrorize the people and were seldom enforced.

452. Sinhalese Catholic literature

Meanwhile the venerable Father Vaz set aside one of his seven companions to create a Sinhalese Catholic literature. And so it was that Father Jacome Goncalvez produced a number of doctrinal and devotional books, which were copied by scribes and spread over the country. Being a Konkani Brahman whose mother tongue was akin to Sinhalese, he wrote with great facility, and his compositions are still read for their purity of diction and elegance. On the death of Father Vaz at Kandy in 1711, the headquarters of the mission were transferred from Kandy to the king's port of Puttalam for the facility of apostolic expeditions into Dutch territory.

453. Religious activities

The Company in its turn set up a printing press in Colombo, and in 1739 cast Sinhalese and Tamil type. The Gospels were translated from the Dutch by a committee of Sinhalese pandits under the supervision of clergymen, and afterwards revised according to the original Greek. Books and pamphlets were printed in Portuguese, Sinhalese, and Tamil. A Sinhalese grammar was published at Amsterdam in 1708. The press continued to print Sinhalese and Tamil books and eventually published a translation of the New Testament, and even produced a dictionary and a Latin grammar.

They had, however, very few clergymen, and of these, few were able to converse in the vernaculars. Accordingly two seminaries were founded, one in Jaffna and the other in Colombo, to educate promising young men to assist the clergymen as proponents. To aid them in the work of evangelization, *plakkaats* were issued forbidding the Dutch converts to take part in idolatrous ceremonies under pain of being publicly whipped and put in chain for a year. The Company was thus the first to set up a printing press in this island and the first to cast Sinhalese type. Tamil books were printed in India by the Portuguese more than a century before them.

454. Dutch Tombos

"Tombo" is a Portuguese word meaning register and corresponds to the Sinhalese *lĕkam mĭti*. The Portuguese had compiled tombos of the lands subject to the king of Portugal. When the Dutch captured the Portuguese possessions, the records of the Portuguese were duly handed to them. These documents were not cared for and were ultimately burnt. When the Dutch governors desired to obtain accurate lists of lands, they found only fragments of the Portuguese tombos. They therefore soon set to work to compile accurate lists of lands and persons subject to *rĕjakĕriya*. The former were called "land tombos" and the latter "head tombos". The one contained a description of the lands and gardens in each village in Dutch territory, with minute details of the extent of high and low lands, the buildings and trees and the taxes due. The other, the head tomo, contained the names of the people dwelling in the country, the services due from each, with age, occupation, and the taxes which each had to pay. These tombos were revised at stated intervals. When the tombos were compiled or revised, a proclamation was first issued calling upon all mudaliyars, *kĕrĕlas*, and *vidĕnes* to submit correct lists of lands and persons. Commissioners then visited all the villages to verify the lists, survey the lands, and note the occupants' title to the land. A large number of the tombos thus made are still extant in the government archives of Colombo.

There is also a school tomo, giving a list of all the persons baptized and married under the authority of the school board in each village, with details of genealogy, full names and dates of birth, marriage, and death.

III

SOURCES OF REVENUE

455. Corrupt administration

In the course of time the servants of the Company in Ceylon, both high and low, became very corrupt and began to commit acts of violence and oppression on the people and even to defraud the Company. Peter Vuyst, for instance, who became governor on the death of Rumpf in 1726, indulged in acts of tyranny and put men to torture and killed them without trial, till the Batavian authorities were obliged to arrest him and convey him in chains to Batavia, where he was tried and executed. His successor, Stephen Versluys, was directed to restore order and remedy the evils of Vuyst, but he not only failed in the task, but even created dissensions among his subordinates. When he was in consequence removed from office, he refused to surrender the government to Diedrik van Domberg,

the commandant of Galle, who was nominated to that office. Domberg found the castle of Colombo closed against him and returned to Galle, and the commandant of Jaffna, Gualterus Woutersz, was summoned to administer the government.

456. Pielat's reforms

He was soon superseded by Jacob Christiaan Pielat despatched as a special commissioner to restore good government. Pielat found much confusion in the country owing to misgovernment, and the revenues of the Company greatly diminished by the robberies and systematic malpractices of the officials. As the chief work of the civil servants of a commercial company was the promotion of trade, even the highest of them was not above the temptation of profiting by the opportunity to carry on trade on their own. They defrauded the Company, harassed the people, and with the connivance of the higher officials traded in cotton goods, bought area from the people and shipped it in vessels for sale abroad, while the merchandise of the Company was rotting in the stores. Matters had gone so far that some of the Company's servants had banded themselves together in what they called the Small Company. Pielat laboured hard to reform these abuses. He established a board of auditors to visit the Company's stores periodically and check the returns and stores and sales. He dismissed a number of corrupt officials, reduced the establishment and framed regulations for the effective control of the officials. In this manner he was able to increase the revenues of the Company tenfold.

457. Revenues

These revenues were chiefly derived from the trade in cinnamon and arecanut, the sale of elephants, the proceeds from the numerous taxes such as poll tax, *adikāri* or tax levied for the maintenance of headmen, *officie* or payment in lieu of services, fines on passports, gardens, trees, vessels, nets, bulls, *dekum* and tithes from the harvest. There was not a single product of the land from which the Company did not derive a revenue.

458. Dyeing industry

In Jaffna the Company introduced the dyeing industry, as the district abounded in dye roots of various kinds. Cloth was imported from the Coromandel coast by the Company and dyed on the Company's account in workshops erected for the purpose and under the supervision of the Company. The dyes used were principally the *sāyam* or 'choy' root and various other kinds of roots obtained at Mannār, Jaffna, and the Vanni. The dyed cloth was exported to Batavia and India.

459. Elephant trade

The sale of elephants was held in Jaffna, and merchants were attracted by favourable terms of purchase, and transport of animals. The elephants caught at Mātara and other places were taken to Jaffna and sold along with the animals delivered to the Dutch by the vanniyārs as tribute. The collection of this tribute was a matter of great difficulty. The vanniyārs had many grievances against the Company and once they had recourse to the king of Kandy and offered to place themselves under his subjection. The king was then very anxious to please the Company in order to obtain the opening of the ports, and therefore sent the vanniyārs in chains to be dealt with by the Dutch. Later on the Company resorted to the expedient of obliging one of the vanniyārs to live in Jaffna under guard, each for a fixed time, as a hostage for the good behaviour of the others.

460. Pearl fishery

The Company sent commissioners periodically to inspect the pearl banks and report when a fishery was feasible. Each diver used a stone to enable him to sink rapidly to the oyster bed, and thus there were as many stones as there were divers. The Company taxed the stones. Each Christian diver paid 60 fanams a day irrespective of the value or the quantity of his haul, a Muslim paid double the price. A certain number of stones had to be permitted tax free to the Naik of Madura, the Thevur of Ramesvaram and the Patangatins of the divers.

461. Coffee cultivation

To increase the revenues of the Company, the council of Ceylon introduced the cultivation of the coffee plant in the service-lands of the people and in the Company's lands. At first, permission was granted to all mudaliyars, kōrālas, vidānes, ārachchis, and other inhabitants of the villages to plant a fixed number of coffee plants in their "accomodesans" or service-lands on condition that the cultivator undertook to maintain the number of plants by replacing weak or diseased ones. The terms were that half the crop should be delivered free to the Company and that the Company would pay three light *stuivers* for the other half. From the *paraveni* lands, however, the Company claimed only a tenth as royalty and bought the rest at the same price as from accomodesans or service-lands. But of course the number of plants permitted to be grown in the *paraveni* lands was much less than in the service lands. The Company also offered its own lands for cultivation under the same terms as the service-lands. In this way the council hoped to plant about 700,000 plants in Colombo, Mātara, and Galle and appointed an overseer to look after the coffee department. But the cost of

entertaining the overseer and his retinue, when they came to collect the Company's share, was so great that many abandoned the cultivation, and Pielat was obliged to abolish the office of overseer, whereupon a much larger quantity of coffee was delivered at the Company's stores.

IV

THE END OF NARENDRA SINHA

462. Death of Narendra Sinha

In 1738 Narendra Sinha was taken ill and at his request a Dutch physician, Dr. Danielsz, was sent to court to treat him. The physician's efforts were fruitless, and the king died on 13th May, 1739. He had striven to live at peace with the Dutch, but owing to the latter's obstinacy in closing the ports, he at times entertained ideas of inviting a European nation to expel the Dutch. His council even suggested to him the desperate expedient of inviting the Portuguese to return, but Father Jacome Goncalvez, whom the king consulted on the point, frankly pointed out that the Portuguese power was now completely on the wane, and would not be able to help him. He was, therefore, content to follow the traditional policy of Kandy and instigate rebellions in the lowlands.

463. Nayakkār influence

Narēndra's mother and wives were all Nāyakkārs from South India, and there were in consequence many of the king's Nāyakkār relatives living at court, for when the king married, his wife and her father and mother and brothers and sisters migrated to Kandy and were accommodated in a special part of the town then known as Kumāruppe Vidiya and now as Malabar Street. These Nāyakkārs were acquainted with the English East India Company established in India and hoped to obtain help from that quarter. Meanwhile Narēndra, dying without issue, was succeeded by his wife's brother.

See *Memoir of Jacob Christian Pielat* 1734 Government Press, Colombo 1905.

The originals of the *Portuguese Tombos* are extant in the *Archivo das Colonias*, Lisbon copies have been obtained for the Govt. Archives of Colombo. A *Tombo of the Two Korales* found in the National Library of Lisbon, was translated and edited by me for the Historical Manuscripts Commission (See Bulletin of the H. M. C. 1938). *Os Tombos de Ceilao* by M. A. H. Fitzler, Lisbon 1927. For the Dutch Tombos see *Report on the Dutch Records*, by R. G. Anthonisz.

For the *Dutch Printing Press* see Dr. T. C. L. Wijmalen *De drukpers te Colombo*, Translation in W. L. R. II 100: Life of Father Jacome Goncalvez, 1942.

CHAPTER XX

THE NAYAKKAR DOMINATION 1739—1815
SRI VIJAYA RAJASINHA 1739—1747

I. *Innovations at court*: 464. The new dynasty, 465. Indianization of the court, 466. Ceremonious court etiquette, 467. Factions, 468. Law of Succession, 469. Sri Vijaya, 470. Religious policy of Sri Vijaya. II. *Accommodation of the Dutch*: 471. Changing policy of the Company, 472. The new diplomacy, 473. The demands of the king, 474. Mission to Siam, 475. Death of Sri Vijaya.

I

INNOVATIONS AT COURT

464. The new dynasty

THE royal line of Sinhalese kings ended with Narēndra Sinha, giving rise to a new dynasty of Nāyakkār kings from South India. The extinct dynasty held sway for a century and a half. It began in 1594 with Konappu Bandāra of Peradeniya (147) and claimed the throne of the Uḍarata through Dona Catherina, daughter of Karalliyaddē of the earlier dynasty of Gampola. On the extinction of the Kōṭṭē dynasty, the children of Dona Catherina claimed also the over-lordship of Ceylon that went with Kōṭṭē and the allegiance of the Sinhalese people. Rājasinha, Vimaladharmā II, and Narēndra Sinha were thus kings of Kandy and emperors of Ceylon. These claims now passed to the Nāyakkārs of South India by virtue of a novel law of inheritance introduced by the Nāyakkārs in their own interests.

465. Indianization of the court

It was Senerat who revived the long-abandoned practice of procuring Indian queens for the Sinhalese kings. Up to his time, kings were content to take their queens from the princely Sinhalese families, but Senerat, who was himself nothing more than the son of an ordinary chieftain, wished his children to be regarded as of the solar race by reason of their descent from Dona Catherina, and to enhance their prestige, he disdained union with the existing princely families and procured them brides from abroad. Vimaladharmā and Narēndra both married Nāyakkār brides, and the court of the Sinhalese kings became gradually Indianized.

466. Ceremonious court etiquette

The king was hedged round by a most ceremonious code of formalities ; abject prostrations, such as the Kōṭṭē kings or Vimaladharmā I or Senerat never thought of, were rigorously exacted not only from the ordinary Sinhalese subjects of the king, but also from the highest born Sinhalese nobles and even from the ambassadors of foreign powers. No man, however high his birth or rank, was allowed to ride a horse or be carried in a palanquin within



Lion Flag

the royal city. The disāvas and raṭērālas imitated the court in their turn and entertained such exaggerated esteem of empty honours and ceremonies that they were even ready to wreck the success of state negotiations rather than forgo one jot or tittle of the ceremonious courtesies to which they claimed a right.

467. Factions

The Nāyakkārs, however, could not well hold administrative or judicial posts, for the king's subjects spoke a language different from that of the Nāyakkārs, followed customs unknown to them, and professed a religion other than theirs. Thus the government of the disāvanis and raṭas still remained to the Sinhalese chiefs, who alone had influence over the people of the land. The Sinhalese continued to be adigārs, disāvas and raṭērālas, the customary rulers of provinces and hereditary counsellors of the king, while the Nāyakkārs confined their activities to the king's court. Thus there soon arose two distinct classes of courtiers, one Indian by birth, Hindu in religion, Tamil in speech, and foreigners in the land, who were ready to provoke the Dutch Company and arrogant in their dealings ; the other country-born, Buddhist Sinhalese, sons of the soil, bred in the customs of the land and kin to its people and content to pursue the traditional policy of fostering rebellions in the lowlands or of turning to foreign aid against the Dutch. These two conflicting parties were soon destined to destroy the very existence of kings in Ceylon.

468. Law of succession

The influence of the Nāyakkārs was not confined to court etiquette but went even so far as to succeed in altering the time-honoured customs of succession to the throne. Hitherto the royal succession was regulated by a system which combined inheritance and selection. The nearest kin of the deceased king ascended the throne by right of succession if he was approved by the people whose sentiments were voiced by the ministers and courtiers. Sometimes a king nominated one of his kin to succeed him with the consent of the ministers and he was duly acclaimed by the people. In either case the crown passed to a blood relative of the king. But now the Nāyakkārs succeeded in introducing a custom that, when the king died without legitimate issue, the throne should pass to the queen's brother. This law was first introduced in conformity with the existing custom that the king might nominate his successor.

469. Sri Vijaya

In this way Narēndra Sinha nominated, not one of his own blood as the custom was, but his queen's brother, a perfect stranger to the country, a Nāyakkār who had come over to this island when his sister was espoused to the king. At his accession, the new king took the Sinhalese name of Sri Vijaya Rājasinha and married a Nāyakkār from India. The new queen's kith and kin came over to the court. Her father became the most prominent counsellor of the king, and the court was completely under Nāyakkār influence. Nāyakkārs held posts of honour and were granted the revenues of royal villages.

470. Religious policy of Sri Vijaya

After girding on the sword of state, Sri Vijaya with his queen professed Buddhism and strove to please his subjects by building and repairing temples and vihāras, by erecting image-houses, and by celebrating the religious and social festivals with great splendour, and above all by his efforts to procure priests from Siam to restore the *upasampadā* ordination that had again died out in the island. The first mission sent in 1741 to Siam to invite priests was wrecked, another sent in 1747 also met with mishaps. To display his new-born zeal for Buddhism, the king, moreover, abandoned the toleration characteristic of the Sinhalese kings, and expelled the Catholic priests from Kandy, and afterwards even ordered the churches of Puttalam and Chilaw to be destroyed. The Catholics of Vēuda and Kalugala eventually found a home at Vahakōṭṭē.

ACCOMMODATION OF THE DUTCH

471. Changing policy of the Company

Governor Imhoff inaugurated a new policy in dealing with the court of Kandy. He argued with the authorities of Batavia that it was more important for the Company to exclude other nations from participating in the Ceylon trade, than to possess territory, as the latter would be of little value, if other nations gained a foothold on the island. To make sure of this exclusive hold on the Ceylon trade and to enjoy the revenues of the lands in peace, it was absolutely necessary to live in harmony with the king and to make him realize that peace with the Company would be to his interest and that of his subjects'. He therefore held that it was a great mistake to have closed the ports to the king in 1707 and desired to reopen them; but the authorities in Batavia would not consent.

Imhoff then recommended his successors to ignore any insult and give no cause for offence to the king. Towards the subjects of the Company, who were only too ready to seek help from the king, he recommended great tact, justice, and fair dealing. But he reckoned without the Nāyakkārs. They knew the advantages which the Company derived by exclusive trade. They knew how to develop trade, and they were now in power at Kandy and were ready to resort to every possible means to extract from the Company the opening of the ports.

472. The new diplomacy

These diplomatic battles began soon after the accession of Sri Vijaya. When the Dutch embassy arrived to ask for the customary permission to transport cinnamon from the king's territories and to conduct the elephants to Jaffna, the request was refused, and the cinnamon ships of 1740 had to go without the precious spice. The Company despatched another ambassador, but he was not even allowed to submit his complaints. Instead, some minor headmen were sent to prevent the Dutch from erecting a dam at Attanagalla. Other acts of hostility were committed on the frontiers. The Company's subjects were prevented from paying their taxes, and when the Dutch sought to build a church in a village within their jurisdiction, an imperious order was sent from court forbidding it. The Company tamely submitted for fear of giving offence to the king and making matters worse.

473. The demands of the king

Emboldened by this weakness, the king sent an order to the Dutch governor to convey some letters to Siam and bring back the replies. This, too, the governor conceded, at least in part. Next,

the courtiers annexed nine villages in the Siyanē Kōralē, and the governor submitted under protest. Meanwhile smuggling on a large scale was going on between Negombo and Kalpiṭiya, and when the Company complained, the adigār replied that more smuggling would take place unless the ports were opened. The king's father-in-law now appeared on the scene with some boats laden with areca and tried to force a way. When he was prevented from doing so, he seized the Dutch officers and confiscated the elephants that were being taken to Jaffna. The Nāyakkār was haughtily ordered to quit the place within eight days, but he only drove the messengers away and refused to let them search his vessels. Finally the Company had to give in and let the Nāyakkār pass, and even make presents to him in the hope of gaining his support.

474. Mission to Siam

The disāva of the Three and the Four Kōralēs, the foremost chieftain in Ceylon, now appeared with a large retinue on the plea of settling the differences between the king and the Company, and called upon the governor to convey some courtiers to Siam to fetch priests. This was refused, but aggressions increased to such an extent that the governor gave in.

475. Death of Sri Vijaya

Before the embassy could return, the king died on 11th August, 1747, while a Dutch ambassador who had come to felicitate the king on his wedding, was still at Gannoruva. His reign was short, and his policy hostile to the Dutch.

KIRTISRI RAJASINHA 1747—1780

I. **Religious and literary revival**: 476. Kirtisri, 477. Saranankara, 478. Siamese mission, 479. The Moladanda rebellion, 480. Perahera, 481. The Suluvansa, 482. Monastic records. II. **The King and the Company**: 483. Quarrels with the Company, 484. Kelaniya, 485. Demand for elephants, 486. Causes of insurrection, 487. The insurrection. III. **Foreign aid sought**: 488. British Embassy, 1762. 489. Mission of Pybus, 490. Failure of the mission. IV. **Invasion of Kandy**: 491. Dutch invasions, 492. Kandyan warfare, 493. The first expedition, 494. The second expedition, 495. Flight of the king, 496. The Sinhalese faction, 497. Kandy taken, 498. Retreat. V. **The treaty**: 499. The king sues for peace, 500. Treaty of 1766, 501. Dutch drive a hard bargain, 502. Attempts to modify the treaty. VI. **Dutch administration**: 503. The newly acquired territory, 504. Muturajavela, 505. Cinnamon gardens, 506. The pearl fishery, 507. Beginnings of religious toleration. VII. **End of Kirtisri**: 508. Death of Kirtisri, 509. Notable acts.

I

RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY REVIVAL

476. Kirtisri

KIRTISRI RAJASINHA, brother-in-law of Sri Vijaya, now succeeded to the throne on 12th August, 1747. He was then a boy of fourteen, who like his predecessor had come to the island when his sister married the king. In the beginning he had of course very little to do with the acts of government which was carried on by the disāvas, especially by the two prominent chiefs, Dumbara and Māmpitiya, who were the leaders of the Sinhalese party, though envious of each other. Under their direction, the early part of Kirtisri's reign became noted for great national activities owing to the fact that a foreigner sat on the Sinhalese throne.

477. Saranankara

The religious and literary revival was chiefly due to the influence of a prominent Buddhist monk, named Vēlivita Saranankara, who was distinguished alike for his religious zeal and his literary labours. But he was still a sāmanēra or novice, for though the *upasampadā* ordination had been revived from Arakan in the reign of Vimaladharmā, it had already died out again. It was Saranankara who persuaded Sri Vijaya to attempt to restore ordination by bringing monks from Siam, but the king's early death brought the negotiations to an end. On the accession of Kirtisri therefore, another embassy was sent to Siam to fetch ordained monks.

478. Siamese mission

Some Sinhalese chiefs set out for Siam in Dutch vessels in 1750 and after an adventurous voyage returned in 1753 with Upāli *thēra* and twenty other *thēras* and *sāmanēras*, accompanied by Siamese ambassadors. They were received with great ceremony, and Saranankara and others were duly ordained, and began the Siamese Nikāya which still flourishes. Saranankara was made the Sangha Rāja of Ceylon, and under his direction, religion and letters flourished once more in Lanka after a period of decay. Saranankara himself wrote books on religion, grammar, and medicine, and died in 1778. The revival thus begun gave rise to several developments.

479. The Moladande rebellion

Some of the chiefs now felt ashamed that a Nāyakkār-king should be ruling in the land and that Hindu relatives of the king should be lording it over a Buddhist country. They therefore plotted to do away with Kirtisri and enthrone a Siamese prince who had come to Ceylon as a monk. But the arch-conspirator, Moladandē, was denounced by Gōpāla Mudaliyar and the plot was frustrated. The conspirators were punished and their lands confiscated. The lands of Moladandē were granted by the grateful king to Gōpāla Mudaliyar by the well-known *Geṭaberiya sannasa* or royal grant dated 1760.

480. Perahera

The Siamese monks were likewise quite shocked to find Hindu temples, like the Nāta, Saman, and Vishnu *dēvālayas*, in the capital of a Buddhist country. The insignia of the gods were carried in procession with the pomp and majesty introduced by Sri Vijaya, while the Buddhist temples were neglected, Buddhist ordination extinct, and religion decaying. To satisfy their very reasonable complaint, Kirtisri directed that henceforth the insignia of the *daladā* and some Buddhist emblems should have the place of honour in the peraheras.

481. The Suluvansa

The Siamese monks brought with them among other manuscripts a copy of the Mahāvansa, and the king ordered the chronicle to be compared with the Siamese copies and to be brought up to date. The Mahāvansa, strictly so called, is the chronicle dealing with the kings of Ceylon from the beginning to the time of Mahasēna. It consists of thirty-seven chapters written in Pali epic verse. The continuation of the chronicle is called the Suluvansa. The first part of the Suluvansa, consisting of 42 chapters and relating to the history of the kings from Sri Meghavanṇa to Parākrama Bahu,

is believed to have been written by Dharmakirti, a monk who came to Ceylon from Burma in the XIII century. The second part, added by an unknown hand, narrates the deeds of the



An Ola Book and Style

kings from Vijaya Bāhu to Parākrama Bāhu IV. Now, on Kirtisri's orders, a third section was added, bringing down the story from Parākrama Bāhu V to Kirtisri.

482. Monastic records

These additions were apparently made from records of events kept in the temples by the monks. These records are for the most part registers of the meritorious works by which the kings furthered the cause of religion. Other things, which did not interest the monks, find little mention in the chronicles. Thus, for instance, the chronicle narrates the meritorious deeds of Kirtisri at great length but gives us little information about the other events of his reign. It is for this reason that Geiger, the editor and translator of the *Mahāvansa*, remarked that "not what is said, but what is left unsaid, is the besetting difficulty in Sinhalese history".

II

THE KING AND THE COMPANY

483. Quarrels with the Company

In 1748 an embassy arrived in Colombo to ask in the king's name for pearls and mares. The governor did not comply with the demand and asked in turn for the delivery of some cinnamon peelers who had fled to the king's territory, which was refused. Golanesse then threatened that, if the peelers were not sent back, the Company would not interest itself in the bringing

of the Siamese priests. No former governor had ever used threats of this kind, and the king, or rather the king's father, who was the power behind the scene and the head of the Nāyakkār party, then demanded the delivery of the elephants caught near Negombo and informed the Company that the king was going to hold a pearl fishery on his own account. A fishery was indeed attempted, but it turned out fruitless.

484. Kelaniya

A high priest of Kandy with 32 others and a large suite with drums and flags and music now arrived in Colombo and asked to be accommodated at Kelaniya on the plea of receiving medical treatment from a Dutch physician. The governor was afraid that this was an attempt to establish a monastery at Kelaniya, and that the demand for pearls was merely intended to pick a quarrel. To avoid this, the governor declared that he would not hold a pearl fishery without first communicating with the king.

485. Demand for elephants

Encouraged by this weak-kneed policy, an ambassador arrived in 1753 to demand a share of the trade in elephants. The new governor, Loten, was unwilling to take on himself the responsibility of a refusal and promised to convey the request to his superiors. The request was refused by the authorities at Batavia, and soon after this decision was conveyed to the king, a series of petty aggressions on the Company's lands took place all along the frontiers, and the demand was reiterated. The cinnamon peelers engaged in collecting cinnamon for the Company in the king's lands with the king's permission, were molested and driven away and the cinnamon destroyed; and an embassy came to repeat the demand. When it was again refused, the king's officers fanned the discontent of the peelers and a violent insurrection broke out in the Colombo and Mātara disāvanis.

486. Causes of insurrection

The causes of the insurrection were twofold. First of all, the paddy-tax was collected by farming, and the renters committed grave injustice with impunity and the people were goaded to desperation. To add to this, Governor Schreuder embarked on a land policy which was greatly resented by the people. Coconut cultivation was more profitable to the people than cinnamon cultivation and saved them from the rigorous exactions of the Company. Accordingly many jungles where cinnamon grew were cleared and planted with coconut to the great diminution of the cinnamon supply. Lands from Negombo to Dondra were one continuous grove of coconut. The governor, thereupon, issued a

proclamation prohibiting the clearing of jungle and the consequent destruction of cinnamon. But as it had little effect, Schreuder found it necessary to adopt the radical measure of appropriating the lands for the Company, offering the people other land in exchange, if they could prove a title. Half the produce of lands cultivated without the consent of the Company and one-third of those cultivated with consent, was demanded for the Company. When the holders of the land avoided these payments, Schreuder called upon them to pay the value in money or sell the lands. This was opposed, and the governor sent troops to cut down the coconut trees.

487. The insurrection

This caused great discontent, and the disāvas of the king instigated the cultivators as well as the peelers who had grievances of their own, to rise in rebellion. The Dutch repressed the rising with severity and banished from the island some of the prominent rebels. The king's men then took up the cause, and marching in full force, captured the Dutch outposts of Hanvella and slew the garrison, overran the Mātara disāvani and even captured the fort of Mātara, burnt Dutch buildings in Galle, and destroyed schools and resthouses. It was thereupon decided to take the field, and a Dutch army invaded the king's territories, but was soon forced to retire.

III

FOREIGN AID SOUGHT

488. British Embassy 1762

In these circumstances the Nāyakkār advisers of the king desired to obtain foreign aid, and when a request for assistance was rejected by the Nawāb of Madura, who was afterwards rewarded for it by the Company, a *vakil* was sent to the English at Fort St. George, Madras, to ask for their assistance. The English were then at peace with the Dutch and could not openly violate their treaty obligations; but they were very anxious to have a settlement in Ceylon and a share in the cinnamon and areca trade. Accordingly they despatched John Pybus, a member of the Madras council, to find out, in view of future action, what the king was prepared to give in return for the assistance against the Dutch.

489. Mission of Pybus

Pybus arrived at Trincomalee in 1762 and was conducted to the capital, but the king and his courtiers were very much disappointed to find that the British ambassador was not able to promise any assistance against the Dutch, and was only intent on ascertaining

what concessions the king would make. In the event of their assistance, Pybus said, the English wished to have a settlement at Koṭṭiyār, Batticaloa, or Chilaw and the monopoly of trade. The king was quite ready to grant all this and more if the English would only undertake to help him against the Company, but as the ambassador would not make any promise, nothing was concluded.

490. Failure of the mission

The ambassador returned to Madras, ill-impressed with the court of Kandy. The king and courtiers had such an exaggerated notion of their importance and exacted such abject humiliations from the ambassador that negotiations were on the point of an abrupt termination. But Pybus, having come so far, was unwilling to return without an audience and submitted to ceremonies with ill-grace, being 'fatigued, hungry, and out of humour'. Moreover, as in the case of the French, the king and courtiers forgot to supply provisions to the ships that were waiting for the ambassador at Trincomalee.

IV

INVASION OF KANDY

491. Dutch invasions

The Dutch became aware of these dealings, and Baron van Eck who had come as governor wished to make a hostile demonstration. He erected the Star Fort of Matara which is still intact, to protect the town against invasion, captured Chilaw and Puttalam, and after offering a reward and exemption from *ūliyam* duty to all those who assisted the Company, marched on Kandy. Expeditions to Kandy were not so easy as an inexperienced governor was likely to think, and for a whole century the Company had carefully refrained from making an attempt. There were no roads; the paths that existed were deliberately kept in a state of disrepair. The inhabitants would flee to the woods on hearing of the approach of an army, and provisions could not be obtained without maintaining an unbroken line of communications with Colombo. A small garrison left to protect a post of communication would be soon beset by hordes of enemies and overpowered.

492. Kandyan warfare

Besides, the Kandyan method of warfare was one against which a regular army was powerless, unless it was exceedingly numerous. For "conscious of their inability to resist the regular attack of European troops" wrote an officer, who successfully marched to Kandy with a small force, "and aware of the advantages they

possess in being familiar with the country and inured to the climate, the Kandyan generals avoid close combat, preferring an irregular and desultory warfare. They harass the enemy in his march, hanging on his flanks, cutting off his supplies, interrupting the communication between his divisions, and occupying the heights which command the passes, they fire with perfect security from behind rocks and trees. They aim principally at the coolies who carry the ammunition and provisions, well knowing that, without these, a regular force can make but little progress. To dislodge them from these heights is a task of extreme difficulty, as the paths leading to them are mostly on the opposite sides of the mountains, and only known to the inhabitants.

“They are accustomed to impede the march of hostile troops by felling, and placing as abatis, large trees across the defiles. In narrow passes, where they cannot be avoided, this contrivance presents a most serious obstacle to the march of troops, for cutting up and removing a large tree is not the business of a moment”.

493. The first expedition

Such was the case now. The invading army was allowed to advance and involve itself in such difficulties, and was harassed by guerilla warfare to such an extent, that the expedition returned unsuccessful. The Company thereby lost prestige, and Baron van Eck wished to wipe out the disgrace by a regular and organized invasion. Supplies of troops were obtained from Batavia, and every precaution was taken to prevent foreign aid and local disturbances, and to win the sympathy of the anti-Nāyakkār faction in Kandy.

494. The second expedition

In January 1765 the Dutch took the field, marching in two divisions through the Seven Kōralēs to enter Kandy by the Vēuda pass, as it was easier than the Balana pass. Captain Tornay with 800 men set out from Puttalam to join the main body at Kurunāgala. The governor in person accompanied the main division and reached Kurunegala by way of Negombo, Tambarāvila, Kaṭugampola, and Visinave, easily overcoming all resistance. The combined army soon occupied Vēuda.

495. Flight of the king

The successful advance of the army created consternation in the capital. The king, the royal family, and the inhabitants fled; the Nāyakkār faction organized resistance, but the Sinhalese party, with which the governor was in communication, now sought to use the opportunity to dethrone the king. For more than a century, Kandy, had been free from invasion, and the king was

anxious to avert the humiliation of a sack of his capital. He therefore sent a message to ask the Dutch not to advance further, as he would send his courtiers to grant the Dutch all they asked for. Accordingly an embassy arrived the next day and offered to concede the Three, Four, and Seven Kōralēs with Sabaragamuva and the absolute possession of the seaboard.

496. The Sinhalese faction

But the Sinhalese faction had come to offer to deliver up the king, if the Company would recognize the disāvas as independent sovereigns. These negotiations made the governor think that the king was at his mercy, and on the advice, it is said, of van Anglebeck, the secretary to government, van Eck demanded that the king should lay down his crown at the feet of the Dutch and accept it as a vassal of the Company, paying a yearly tribute. Such a demand coming from a mercenary Company which had bent the knee to the kings of Kandy times out of number greatly incensed the king, who rejected the proposal with scorn.

497. Kandy taken

The governor thereupon entered the city, seized the king's palace and sacked the city. The army garrisoned the city, and detachments were sent in all directions to pursue the king. But these detachments were beaten back with loss, and the Dutch, unaccustomed to military operations, began to place themselves in an awkward position. The governor returned to Colombo, moody and melancholy, and died in a few days. The officer in command at Kandy was then summoned to Colombo, and left with a part of the troops.

498. Retreat.

By some inexplicable mistake, the line of communications was abandoned. The garrison of Kandy found itself beset by the Kandyans, and isolated with the greater part of the men sick. After nine months, with great difficulty and loss, the garrison retired to Colombo, pursued by the Kandyans, and the expedition on which the governor had reckoned so much turned out a complete failure.

V

THE TREATY

499. The king sues for peace

Van Eck's successor tried to obtain by diplomacy what military operations failed to achieve. The king's subjects were suffering from the effects of the recent warfare which prevented them from sowing their fields. To increase their troubles, the Dutch ravaged

the frontiers and prepared expeditions to the interior from Puttalam and Trincomalee. Under these circumstances, the king decided to make peace and sent ambassadors to Colombo.

500. Treaty of 1766

Falk realized the king's helplessness and urged very unfavourable terms, which the ambassadors had no choice but to accept. These terms were that the king should relinquish all claims, and grant to the Company the lawful, independent, and paramount sovereignty of the disāvanis of Mātara, Galle, Colombo, and Jaffna; the districts of Kalpiṭiya, Mannār, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa; and a strip of the seaboard, one *gavva* in width connecting the Dutch settlements, so that the Company would be masters of the entire coast of Ceylon. The Company in its turn recognized the king's sovereignty over the inland parts of Ceylon, promised to give free access to the salt lēvāyas on the east and west coast and to grant free trade. The king was to concede to the Dutch the monopoly of trade and permission to peel cinnamon in the king's lands and do away with the humiliating prostrations demanded from ambassadors. The company in recompense would pay an annual subsidy equal to the income that would have been derived by the king from the strip of seaboard granted to the Company.

501. Dutch drive a hard bargain

By this treaty the king made himself a virtual prisoner, cutting himself off from the possibility of communicating with foreigners, and placing himself and his subjects in the perilous position of depending on the Dutch for their supplies of salt. This iniquitous treaty the ambassadors accepted for the nonce, apparently in the hope of securing modifications later on or of not observing the terms when they were strong enough. This attempt of the Dutch to drive a hard bargain, however, opened the way to their undoing, just as the similar attempt to isolate Rājasinha led to the expulsion of the Portuguese (239).

502. Attempts to modify the treaty

The disāva of Colombo took the treaty to Hanguranketa for the king's signature. He was quite ready to sign it, as he was aware of the machinations of the anti-Nāyakkār faction. That faction, in fact, included even the Kandyan ambassadors who came to make the treaty, and Falk who knew this even suggested adding a clause against the Nāyakkārs, but the ambassadors were unwilling to show their hand too early. Falk, however, instructed his disāva to ask the king to get the Kandyan disāvas also to sign the treaty. Kīrtisrī would not listen to a suggestion calculated to give more solemnity to the treaty and greater importance to the disāvas.

Soon after signing the treaty, the king returned to Kandy, repaired the damage caused to buildings and temples by the Dutch, re-erected vihāras and despatched ambassadors to Batavia to ask for modifications of the treaty. Batavia was inexorable, and the ambassadors did not survive the voyage. In 1772 when the king had succeeded in strengthening his position against the anti-Nāyakkār faction, he sent ambassadors to Colombo to ask for a share of the pearl fishery and the right to send at least two or three dhonies. To humour the king, the governor promised to refer the request to the authorities in Batavia. These authorities promptly directed the governor to make it quite plain to the king that there was not the slightest hope of his obtaining even a single free dhony. Accordingly in 1775 the king demanded the restoration of the sea board. The instructions from Batavia were quick and decisive: 'As often as the courtiers even mention the restoration of the sea coast to them, at once sternly assure them that they may put all hope of such re-acquisition entirely out of their heads.'

VI

DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

503. The newly acquired territory

The governor appointed Dutch officials to the newly acquired territories. Residents were appointed to Chilaw, Puttalam, Batticaloa, Māgampattu, Koṭṭiyar, and Tambalagama. Puttalam was attached to Kalpiṭiya, and Chilaw to the Colombo disāvani. The Kandyan pepper plantations at Kaṭṭupitiya and Mādampe were carefully cleared and improved. Irrigation works and canals were promptly taken in hand to improve the cultivation. The salt industry on the east and west coast was duly regulated. The king's subjects had to be supplied with salt according to the treaty, and the Company meant to make use of that dependence as a weapon against the king. His subjects were therefore allowed at a time only as much salt as would suffice for a year.

504. Mutturajavela

Soon after his return from Kandy, the disāva Costa was able to complete the reclamation of the Mutturajavela in which he was engaged when war broke out. Sluices, dams, and canals were erected at a cost of over 25,000 guilders. The canal to Negombo

was originally the work of a Sinhalese king of Kōṭṭē, but it admitted salt water into the lands and destroyed the fields. The Portuguese in their turn tried and failed in the same way, but the industry and enterprise of the Dutch now succeeded in reclaiming the lands for cultivation. The lands were granted to prospective cultivators as *paravenias* subject to the usual tax of one-tenth of the produce as royalty and another one-tenth as payment for the cost of reclamation. The irrigation works were to be maintained at the cost of the cultivators. But within a few years this hopeful scheme met with the same fate as in the Sinhalese and Portuguese times, and was abandoned, only to be taken up again by the British.

505. Cinnamon gardens

In spite of the king's undertaking to permit the Company to peel cinnamon in his lands, the governor found the task as difficult as before the treaty. He, therefore, sought to make himself independent of the king, and began to make regular plantations and to encourage the people within the Dutch jurisdiction to cultivate cinnamon. It was hitherto believed that cinnamon was best when it grew wild, but experiments now demonstrated that such was far from being the case. Severe edicts were therefore issued forbidding the exportation of cinnamon plants to Europe or India on pain of a fine of 1,000 guilders for each plant. Another *plakkaat* forbade the least injury to the cinnamon plantations and the clearing of chenas on pain of being put in chains and punished. The crime of "peeling, selling, purchasing, or giving away, transporting or receiving of cinnamon" was already punishable with death. Thus began the Company's attempts to plant cinnamon gardens.

506. The pearl fishery

By right of the absolute possession of the seaboard of Ceylon, the Company now claimed full sovereign rights over the pearl fishery and held successful fisheries in 1766 and 1767, but misfortunes soon set in. The weather spoiled the fishery of 1768, and there began a long dispute with the Nawāb of the Carnatic who also claimed certain rights. To support his customary rights, he declared that he had refused to help the king of Kandy who had appealed to him and whose cause was supported by some Europeans. The dispute was finally settled on the intervention of the British East India Company. During the forty years that the Dutch held the pearl fishery, they obtained a revenue of one and a half million dollars or on an average 37,500 a year.

507. Beginnings of religious toleration

When Sri Vijaya expelled the Catholic priests from Kandy, (470) they were forced to establish themselves on the Dutch frontiers in spite of the rigorous laws imposing the penalty of death for harbouring a priest. The Catholics in Dutch territory accordingly began to assert themselves and openly demand toleration. The Catholics of Negombo took the lead and were followed by others. In Kalutara, Catholics openly held processions, whereupon some of the leaders were arrested and deported. The Catholics of Negombo built chapels, and when the Dutch troops were sent to destroy them, the people resisted. Though *plakkaats* were issued forbidding 'the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests' or 'holding public or private meetings on pain of severe punishments', or 'trading in wax candles' (1752) they remained in abeyance and the government was obliged first to 'allow Roman Catholics' who did not wish to be married in the Reformed Church, to do so before a Court of Justice (1776). The Catholics disregarded this, and another *plakkaat* was issued 'forbidding Roman Catholic priests to celebrate or register marriages'. But this too was disregarded, as the Catholic registers of the churches of Negombo, Colombo, Kalutara, and Galle testify. Finally the Company realized their impotence in this matter and left the Catholics alone.

VII

END OF KIRTISRI

508. Death of Kirtisri

Kirtisri died on 2nd January, 1782, from the effects of a fall from his horse. He is described as a handsome man and is said to have been a patron of letters. In his reign, however, the jealousy and dissatisfaction of the Sinhalese disāvas was shown in various ways. After the Mōladanda rebellion (497) the disāvas directly offered to deliver up the king (496). In the course of negotiations for peace (1766), the disāvas manifested their displeasure at the influence of the Nāyakkārs. The Rājas of India spoke contemptuously of the Nāyakkār kings of Ceylon. The Nawāb of the Carnatic asked a Dutch ambassador¹ "The king of Kandy, who is he? Nothing but an aldeaar (country gentleman) from Madura. To such persons the Company shows much respect. But what is he to me?" In Kirtisri's reign, moreover, took place the first and the only invasion of Kandy by the Dutch; and though the expedition failed, the king made by far the worst treaty that Kandy ever made.

1. Pēter Sluysken. (Journal, under date, Monday 29th October, 1770.)

509. Notable acts

Nevertheless the reign of Kirtisrī is noted for the religious and literary revival in Lanka. The writing of the Suluvansa, the restoration of *Upasampadā* ordination, the erection of Gangārāma, and the rebuilding of the Ridi Vihāra, Medepola Vihāra, and the restoration of the Sripāda to the Buddhists are some of the best known acts of his reign.

For Saranankara Sangharaja see **Ceylon Antiquary** I 38. For the date of Kirtisrī's accession see **Ceylon Antiquary** II 156. For Mōladanda rebellion Ib. 272. The *Getaberiya sannasa* in Bell **Kegalle Report** 101. The *memoir* of John Gideon Loten has been translated by E. Reimers, Govt. Printer, Colombo. For the sack of Kandy see my translations in the III C. L. R, III 433, 505. **The Account of Mr. Pybus's Mission to the King of Kandy in 1762** was printed by the Government of Ceylon on the centenary of the mission, 1862. The Sinhalese text of the **Treaty of 1766** is printed in J. C. B. R. A. S. XVI with an English translation. For **Van Eck's invasion** of Kandy see J. C. B. R. A. S. XVI. For the Pearl Fishery see George Lee's translations in C. L. R. III.

CHAPTER XXII

RAJADHI RAJASINHA 1780—1798

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I

ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH**510. The new king**

THE brother of Kirtisrī who had been regarded as heir apparent for many years, now became king under the name of Rājādhi Rājasinha. He had come to Ceylon with his brother when quite a child, and his breeding and education was Kandyan and Sinhalese. He was, therefore, acceptable to the disāvas, and his accession was unopposed. The only trouble was the jealousy among the chieftains and their rivalry for the first adigārship, which was now a very lucrative post on account of the trade in arecanuts, and because so long as a Nāyakkār sat on the throne, the first adigār was the foremost Sinhalese.

511. The Company's troubles

The war of American Independence was destined to give trouble to the Company in Ceylon. When war broke out between Holland and England over the right to search neutral vessels, the Dutch colonies were in danger of attacks from the English. It was therefore necessary to strengthen the garrisons, but according to its charter, the Dutch East India Company had to protect its settlements at its own expense and with its own troops. The defence of Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, and Trincomalee needed some four thousand infantry and seven hundred artillerymen in time of peace, and double that number in time of war. The Company, therefore, was now faced with the task of supplying the necessary troops. The Company's troops were enlisted from different nations in Europe and were styled National Europeans, but these were quite insufficient. Accordingly the Company hired the regiment de

Meuron belonging to a Swiss count, named Charles Daniel de Meuron, and mercenary regiments belonging to the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Luxemburg. It also raised regiments of Malays, Sepoys, and local levies of Muslims and Lascarins.

512. Paper currency

Such a large military establishment was a great strain on the finances of the government, and the authorities in Batavia urged strong measures of economy by the reduction of the civil establishment, the simplification of the methods of collecting revenue, the promotion of agriculture, and the creation of a paper currency.

513. Outbreak of war with the English

As soon as England declared war on Holland, the English Company in India sought to profit by the opportunity and sent Lord Macartney as governor of Madras with orders to commence hostilities. All the smaller Dutch factories in the neighbourhood of the English were promptly seized, and the English fleet blockaded Negapatam, the key to the country of Tanjore, and despatched a ship of the fleet to keep guard over Trincomalee. Land forces marched against Negapatam and stormed the city on 11th November 1781. In January the English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes set sail for Ceylon and captured the fort of Trincomalee on 5th January 1782, and six days later the fort of Oostenberg was taken by assault.

514. Macartney's plans

It was Macartney's intention to follow this up by an attack on Colombo, but before doing so, he desired to enter into an alliance with the king of Kandy, not only with the object of obtaining provisions for Trincomalee and assistance for the invading force, but with the deeper intention of asking the king to grant Trincomalee to the English, so that even if a peace between England and Holland forced the English to restore the Dutch settlements captured in war, the harbour of Trincomalee might be retained by virtue of the king's gift. For this purpose Macartney sent his own private secretary, Hugh Boyd, with the naval expedition to convey letters and presents to the king. Immediately after the fall of Trincomalee, Boyd set out for Kandy.

515. Boyd's embassy

As the proposed attack on Colombo was to take place in April, Boyd was anxious to treat betimes with the king and went to Kandy without even waiting for a communication from the king or for a disāva to conduct him to the capital according to custom. It took him a whole month and much trouble and vexation to reach

Gannoruva. But the time was ill chosen. Kirtisri had died just three days before Boyd set out. It was Kirtisri who had once dealt with the English and who was so hostile to the Dutch that he would gladly have joined hands with anyone that wished to attack them. The new king, on the contrary, had just ascended the throne unexpectedly and had as yet no time to look round him or decide on a policy. The disāvas likewise were either candidates for the first adigārship or were secret friends of the Dutch. To add to all this, the English had attacked and captured Trincomalee without any communication with the king, who was in consequence very suspicious of their intentions and had forbidden his subjects to hold any intercourse with them, for the Dutch had represented the English and their motives for this war in a very ugly light.

516. Captured by the French

In the circumstances there was little hope of a successful negotiation, nor did the unseemly haste of Boyd augur well for his embassy. The king and courtiers pointedly asked Boyd about the motives of the English in this war. "Why were they so fond of war? Why did they wage war so readily on their recent friends?" Finally they declared that the king would not enter into a treaty unless it were authorized by the king of England. Boyd returned on 26th March, and finding that the ship which was waiting to take him back to Madras had put to sea for want of provisions, he hired a vessel and set out. On the very next day he was captured by a French ship. Boyd threw his papers overboard for fear of betraying his identity and recent mission, but the farseeing Frenchman rescued them from the brine and sent them to the Dutch and they are still extant in the Dutch Archives of Colombo.

II

THE FRENCH, THE SINHALESE AND THE DUTCH

517. Suffren and the English

The ship that captured Boyd was one of the fleet under the command of Bailli de Suffren who was going full sail to help his allies, the Dutch. Hearing that Trincomalee was taken by the English, Suffren was making for that harbour, intent on recapturing it from the English. On the day after Boyd's capture, the two fleets encountered and fought a most sanguinary but indecisive battle. Suffren put into Batticaloa to refit and sent Boyd prisoner to Madagascar, while the English fleet returned to Trincomalee. The two fleets met again and fought a second battle on 6th July. The English admiral realized that the Frenchman was minded

to attack Trincomalee and sent Captain Hay Macdowall with reinforcements to take charge of the port and put it in a state of defence. But before this could be done, Suffren was upon Trincomalee.

518. Captures Trincomalee

The French arrived on 25th August, landed men and raised batteries and cannonaded the fort which was obliged to surrender on 30th August, and fort Oostenberg the next day. The French admiral conducted operations with feverish haste, as he knew that the English fleet would return. Indeed it did return two days later to find to its astonishment that the fort had changed hands. The two squadrons closed again off Trincomalee on 3rd September. The battle raged loud and long till night put an end to another drawn battle. The two forts remained in the hands of the French till the peace of 1783, when they were restored to the English, who in turn restored them to the Dutch on the same day.

519. Rajadhi and the Dutch

The English war made the Company very anxious to propitiate the king, and when an embassy was sent to congratulate him on his accession, Rājādhi insisted on the prostrations renounced by his predecessor by the treaty of 1766, which even Boyd was ready to perform and which the Dutch could not now refuse. Pleased with this preliminary success, the king demanded the restoration of the seaboard, but as the English had meanwhile been driven out and Trincomalee was in the hands of their allies, the governor did not hesitate to refuse the demand, as he was ordered to do by his superiors. The king thereupon closed the *kadavat*, and the Dutch retaliated by closing theirs, thus endangering the king's trade and the supply of salt.

520. Pilima Talavve

The disāvas were then despatched to make a demonstration on the frontiers, but the governor who had now troops enough for any emergency and had secured friends among the disāvas, especially Pilima Talavve, reinforced the garrisons. Being thus prevented from damaging the Dutch, the king tried to communicate with the French, but Pilima Talavve informed the Dutch of the move and the letters were intercepted. The governor now felt the strength of his position. The subjects of the Company were now not quite so ready to seek assistance from the disāvas, as cultivation and trade in Dutch territories were more lucrative than in the king's.

521. Expedition abandoned

The Company, moreover, was not so dependent on the king for cinnamon as it used to be, and could vex him with impunity. In 1792 van der Graff who had succeeded Falk, prepared an expedition against the king to demand an explanation of his dealings with the French in violation of the treaty. But the authorities at Batavia were aghast at the idea of another war with Kandy and sent orders to abandon the attempt and to seek to resume friendly relations with Kandy. The king himself realized his helplessness in having to depend on the Company for salt and sent word to announce that the *kadavat* would be opened. This announcement enabled the governor to carry out the orders of Batavia without loss of self-respect, and he too opened the gravets. But as no embassy came from the king, the governor was not minded to send any himself and inquired whether the king would grant leave to peel cinnamon in his territories. The adigār's reply was that such permission was usually granted when an embassy came to ask for it. The governor preferred to forgo the king's cinnamon rather than to submit to an embassy with costly presents and abject humiliations.

522. Cinnamon and agriculture

The Dutch plan of growing in their own territories all the cinnamon that was needed was being carried into effect. Cinnamon gardens were opened in Negombo, Kalutara, in the Rayigam, Salpiti, Alut-kūru and Galle Kōralēs as well as in the Maradana of Colombo. All manner of inducements were offered to the mudaliyars and lascarins to plant cinnamon. Lands were freely granted for the purpose, medals and rewards and titles were lavishly distributed to encourage the good work. Every effort was made to develop agriculture. The fields around Colombo were protected from floods by an embankment erected at a cost of 5,000 rix-dollars. A similar scheme to protect the lands of Hēvāgam Kōralē and Gangaboda Pattu, the draining of Diviture, the repair of Giants' tank, were some of the principal public works contemplated for the promotion of agriculture.

523. The Vanni

The Vanni districts were a source of trouble, as the vanniyārs were most negligent in the payment of tribute. The Company, therefore, took up the administration of the lands and farmed revenues to Lieutenant Nagel. Manioc was introduced, and sugar-cane was cultivated on the bank of the Kaluganga under the superintendence of a captain of the Luxemburg regiment whose father had sugar plantations in America. Colonel de Meuron likewise planted sugar-cane between Colombo and Galkissa.

524. The Dutch and the English

Although the people of Holland sympathized with the revolted American colonies, the hereditary stadtholder, William IV of Orange, remained pro-English. For this reason William became very unpopular after the peace of 1784, and it needed the intervention of Prussia to keep him in power. Holland was made a party to the treaty of 1788, made at the Hague, where the English and the Dutch undertook to help each other against any hostile attacks of any European power in India. Thus the English and Dutch Companies began mutual dealings. The former intervened with its good offices to bring about a peace between the Dutch and the rāja of Cochin. In 1789 the English Company supplied rice to Colombo, and the Dutch in their turn sent troops to assist the English in their Indian wars.

525. The Batavian republic

But in 1794 the French republic carried the war into Holland, conquered that country and set up a Batavian republic in imitation of the French one, and the stadtholder had to flee to England. Great Britain thereupon declared war on the Batavian republic, and that seemed a good opportunity for the English Company to occupy the long-coveted settlements in Ceylon. When the news of this revolution reached Colombo through an unofficial channel, the council met on 12th July 1795, and decided that, if the English should attack them, they would declare that, as they had no official information of the change of government, they adhered to the old constitution of the States-General with a stadtholder, which the council thought would remove all excuse for hostilities. If, however, the English should still be hostile, they would defend Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee to the best of their power.

III

LOSS OF DUTCH FORTS TO THE ENGLISH

526. The English aims

But meanwhile the stadtholder was persuaded by his English hosts to send an order to the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon to admit English troops and ships to prevent the colonies from being seized by the French. This letter was sent to Ceylon through the governor of Madras, Lord Hobart, along with ships and troops. While the fleet took troops to Trincomalee, Major Agnew came to Colombo to deliver the stadtholder's letter and a communication

from Lord Hobart announcing that the British proposed to take over the Dutch settlements in terms of the stadtholder's letter with the intention of restoring them when peace was made. If the proposal were refused, the English would take the settlements by force.

527 Dutch accept English help

The council met again on 25th July to consider this momentous question and rejected the offer of the English to take over the government, but thought it expedient to accept the offer of troops. It was decided to admit 800 men on the same terms as the loan of the Dutch troops to the English a few years previously. This decision was communicated to the English who were satisfied for the nonce, and the commander of Trincomalee was ordered to receive 300 British troops into the garrison of Fort Oostenberg. But the commander of Trincomalee had already heard of the preparations of the English to seize the Dutch forts, and had had some acrimonious correspondence with the admiral of the English ships that brought the troops to Trincomalee. When he received the Governor's order, he succeeded in detecting a technical error and refused to admit British troops until the matter was referred to Colombo. But the English construed this as a sign of disaffection towards the stadtholder and called upon the commander to deliver the fort at once under threat of taking it by force, and landed troops to carry out the threat, but stayed their hand till matters were referred to Colombo.

528. Change their mind

At this stage a new development occurred. The council of Colombo received information that the change in the constitution of their country had been made by consent of the people and that therefore they were bound to stand by the republic. They, therefore, decided not to submit to the protection of the English on the order of the exiled stadtholder. The council, therefore, withdrew their acceptance of the offer of troops and decided to defend their possessions, namely Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee.

529. Surrender of Trincomalee

The British forces before Trincomalee, being immediately informed of this decision, proceeded to action and opened their batteries on Fort Frederick on 23rd August. In three days a breach was made and the fort was summoned to surrender. The garrison demanded impossible terms, whereupon the bombardment recommenced. The troops of the garrison mutinied and they hoisted the white flag. The terms of capitulation were the following, as shown in the original writing which is still extant.

Original

The Garrison of Trincomalee in consideration of the defence they have made will be allowed to march out of the Fort with the Honours of War, Drums beating and Colours flying to the Glacis, where they will ground their arms, and surrender themselves Prisoners of War, the Officers keeping their Swords. Private property will be secured to them, but all Public Property, Papers, Guns, Stores & Provisions of every kind must be delivered up in their present condition to the Officers appointed by us to receive them —

The Garrison to march out and the British Troops to be put in possession of the Fort in one hour after this Capitulation is signed — and two Officers of the Garrison of the Rank of Captain to be delivered immediately as Hostages for the performance of this agreement. —

These are the only terms, we the undersigned Officers Commanding His Britannick Majesty's Forces can grant. — Major Fornbauer if he accepts the conditions will sign this paper, and return it by the Officers he sends as Hostages within half an hour from the time he receives it —

Given under our hands in Camp before Trincomalee this 26th day of August

1795 —
 J. G. Fornbauer
 P. Rainer
 J. Stuart

The Surrender of Trincomalee

530. Terms of surrender

“The garrison of Trincomalee in consideration of the defence they have made will be allowed to march out of the Fort with the Honours of War, Drums beating and Colours flying, to the Glacis, where they will ground their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war, the officers keeping their swords. Private property will be secured to them, but all public property, papers, guns, stores, and provisions of every kind must be delivered up in their present condition to the officers appointed by us to receive them.

The garrison to march out and the British troops to be put in possession of the Fort in one hour after the Capitulation is signed, and two officers of the garrison of the rank of Captain to be delivered immediately as hostages for the performance of this agreement.

These are the only terms, we the undersigned officers commanding His Britannick Majesty's Forces can grant. Major Fornbauer, if he accepts the condition, will sign this paper and return it by the officers he sends as Hostages within half an hour from the time he receives it.

Given under our hands in Camp before Trincomalee this 26th day of August 1795.

PETER RAINER.
 J. STUART.”

It was signed by Fornbauer and duly returned, and Trincomalee passed into British hands.

531. Reduction of the forts

The Fort of Oostenberg which commands the harbour was next besieged, and capitulated on 31st August on the same terms as Fort Frederick. A detachment under Major Fraser proceeded against Batticaloa which surrendered on the 18th September. On the 24th Colonel Stuart set out for the reduction of the remaining Dutch towns. Point Pedro was occupied on the 27th and on the following day the fort of Jaffna was summoned and Commander Raket surrendered with the garrison, consisting of 39 Europeans and 98 sepoys. They asked to be sent to Colombo, but the British refused and took them as prisoners of war. The fort was occupied by British troops, and the men of the regiment de Meuron took service under the British.

532. Mannar and Kalpitiya

On 1st October a detachment under Captain Monson occupied the town of Mullaitivu, while the fort and island of Mannar surrendered to Captain Burton Gage Barbut on the 5th, the request of the garrison to be sent to Colombo being refused. A detachment

which arrived from Paumben under Captain Bowser was sent against the fort of Kalpitiya, which surrendered on 13th November on being summoned.

533. Negombo

As soon as these forts were occupied, the British set about collecting the revenues. A pearl fishery was immediately undertaken, while forces were being collected at Ramesvaram for an advance on Colombo. Captain Barbut arrived with the troops of Jaffna and was despatched ahead to Negombo, which he occupied on 3rd February, as it had been abandoned, and the garrison has retired on Colombo. Colonel Stuart came thither with the troops of Trincomalee and the forces collected at Ramesvaram. They left on 10th January in large open boats, and coming over the straits, coasted along Arippu and Kalpitiya, running ashore every evening to cook and eat and sleep on the beach. The rendezvous was Negombo, where they arrived on the day it was occupied by Barbut. A detachment of sepoy arrived the next day from Bombay, raising the troops under the command of Stuart to 2,300 Europeans and 4,200 sepoy.

534. Embarrassment of Dutch

These forts were not taken over by virtue of the stadtholder's letter, but captured by force of arms because the stadtholder's letter was disregarded. If they had been merely taken under the protection of the English, they would naturally have had to be restored when peace was made, but by refusing to hand them over according to Hobart's interpretation of the letter, the Dutch Company in Ceylon gave the English a justification for taking them by force. On the other hand, the council could not well adopt any other course, for if their country was a republic by common consent and at war with the English, while the stadtholder was a fugitive and the guest of the English, they had no choice in the matter, and decided on the more honourable course of surrendering to force rather than tamely yielding to an order, hostile to the interests of their country and nation. They hoped, however, that their possessions would be restored to them when peace was made.

Embassy of Hugh Boyd is reprinted in the C. L. R. IV. The Descent of Suffren on Trincomalee is described in my article in the **Ceylon Antiquary** V; about the **Surrender of Trincomalee** see the Hobart Papers edited by me in III C. L. R. I and **Bulletin of the Hist. MSS. Commission** No. 1.

CAPITULATION OF COLOMBO

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I

PREPARATIONS

535. Preparations against Colombo

THE Madras Government was very anxious to occupy the remaining settlements without bloodshed and without expense, and made the governor of Colombo another offer of protection in the shape of complete assumption of government. To persuade him to accept the offer without hesitation, Hobart communicated a piece of intelligence which was calculated to expedite the delivery. This was the announcement that the British government had acquired the service of the Regiment de Meuron which was the principal part of the defence of Colombo in case of a siege.

536. Transfer of the Regiment de Meuron

This transfer was the work of a far-sighted Scotch professor, Hugh Cleghorn, who was afterwards the first colonial secretary of Ceylon. Cleghorn had formed the friendship of the Count de Meuron, the proprietor and colonel of the regiment, who was very bitter against the Dutch. It occurred to Cleghorn that, if he could secure the transfer of this regiment from the Dutch to the English service, the conquest of Ceylon would be a very cheap and easy matter. He immediately communicated with the English cabinet and effected the transfer at Neuchâtel in Switzerland on 30th March, 1795. Count de Meuron was persuaded to come to India with Cleghorn and started off by the overland route from Venice to Alexandria and Cairo and thence by caravan to Suez where they embarked and reached Madras, just after the surrender of Trincomalee. The news of the transfer of the regiment was

surreptitiously conveyed in a Dutch cheese, to the Count's brother. Pierre Frederic de Meuron who was in Colombo and Major Agnew conveyed the official news to Governor van Angelbeck.

537. Colonel de Meuron

The governor threatened to detain the regiment as prisoners of war, but the colonel assured the governor that, if that were attempted, he would bring the matter to instant issue with the sword, whereupon the governor was obliged to consent, and the transfer was effected, on condition that the regiment would not be employed in the siege of Colombo. Thus 600 European troops were withdrawn from the defence of Colombo and added to the strength of the British forces in India, without the expense of a levy or transport, and Cleghorn claimed to have saved the English Company a sum nearly equal to £100 per man. Besides depriving the garrison of Colombo of the main part of its defence, the English prevented supplies being thrown into Colombo or the large stock of merchandise in the stores being exported. Colonel de Meuron who had been the chief engineer in Colombo was able to give the besieging force very valuable information.

538. Embassy to Kandy

Intent on occupying all the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, the governor of Madras wished to secure the co-operation of the king of Kandy. Boyd's embassy had been a failure (515) and so also was the British attempt on Ceylon in 1782; but as everything now promised success, Robert Andrews of the Madras service was ordered to go to Kandy immediately after the capture of Trincomalee.

539. Robert Andrews

Andrews wrote to the king, announcing his mission and asking for provisions for the fort; but as the promised permission to proceed to Kandy had not arrived up to 15th September, and as he was anxious to get back before the setting in of the monsoon, he set out while the British forces were engaged in the capture of the other Dutch possessions. The permission reached him on the way, and at Nālanda he was met by Aravvāvala, the second adigār, who had been despatched to conduct him and who was anxious to negotiate a private treaty on his own account. He promised to espouse the cause of the English, if Andrews would sign an agreement to accept all messages coming from him and not to accept those coming through any other minister. Andrews understood this to be an attempt to enlist the English in an endeavour to secure the first adigārship, and declined the offer.

540. Failure of embassy

Andrews bravely went through the customary ceremonial and had audience of Rājādhi and discussed the draft of a treaty. The ministers insisted that the English should promise never to allow the Dutch to re-establish themselves in the island. This promise the English could not give. Andrews pointed out that they could not take up so serious an undertaking without unequivocal proof of the faithless and oppressive conduct of the Dutch. He also urged that if the English obtained possession of the Dutch settlements without assistance from the king, they would be less anxious to cultivate his friendship than they were. But all arguments were in vain. A party, friendly to the English, whispered in Andrews' ear that if he persisted he would succeed. He therefore rejected their demands. When he wished to examine the treaties between the king and the Dutch, a minister informed him that such an examination was unnecessary as 'the king's pleasure was a law which no one could dispute'.

541. Embassy to Madras

Finally Andrews suggested that the king should depute some persons to the government of Madras with full powers to enter into a treaty. This was accepted, and Andrews returned to Trincomalee in October. Migastennē and Denagamuvē came as ambassadors and set sail for India with Andrews. They arrived at Madras on 29th December, while preparations were being made at Ramnad for the expedition against Colombo. Lord Teignmouth, the governor-general, was not prepared to commit the English to a treaty promising assistance against the Dutch, though Lord Hobart, who was a bitter foe of the Dutch, was quite willing to do so. The supreme government pointed out that 'the amity or disagreement between the English and the Dutch Companies depended upon the connection of the English and other nations in Europe. It was even possible that peace between the English and the Dutch was being made at that very time in Europe.'

542. Terms of the treaty

This course of reasoning the king's ambassadors could not appreciate. In their eyes the Dutch had no right whatever, though their king had signed the treaty of 1776. For some time they could not even be brought to any cool discussion on the subject; but at last Andrews succeeded in persuading them to accept 13 articles very favourable to the king. One article permitted the king "to employ ships, vessels, and boats, together ten in number, for the purpose of trade" duty free; others stated that 'the English would not interfere with any of the king's present possessions'.

' that as the king represented many situations to have been forcibly taken by the Dutch, the Company would investigate the subject, and restore the same to the king at the conclusion of peace ' ; ' that as soon as the English Company became possessors of the Dutch settlements, they would restore to the king a situation upon the coast for the sole and express purpose of procuring an adequate supply of salt and fish.'

543. Advantage of treaty

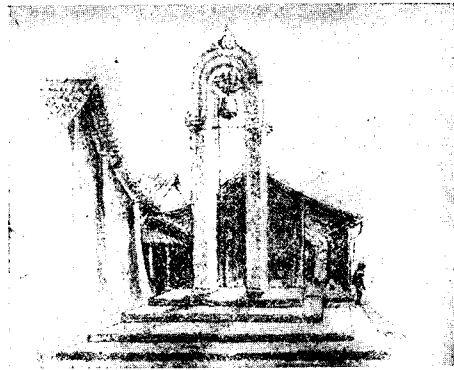
These were terms far more advantageous to the king than any that had ever been offered before. After a vain attempt to secure still more, the ambassadors signed the treaty on 12th February. It now remained to get the confirmation of the king, and Andrews prepared to set out on another embassy to Kandy for the purpose.

II

THE SURRENDER

544. Siege of Colombo

The invading army meanwhile advanced by land from Negombo, leaving the heavy baggage to be conveyed by sea, as cattle could not be procured. Passing Jāela, the army arrived within four miles of Colombo without meeting the slightest resistance. The Dutch sent troops to Pass Betel (Vattala), Hendala, and Grandpass and appeared to be intent on a defence. But when the English crossed the river unopposed, the Dutch forces fell back on Colombo. The only attempt to withstand the British was made by Lt.-Col. Raymond of the Luxemburg regiment who lost his life in an attack on the English seamen as they were landing from their ships at Mutwal. The invading force captured Korteboam, marched to Kaymans Gate, driving the



The Bell of a Portuguese Church of Kotte, now at Kaymans Gate

insignificant Dutch force before them, and occupied the Pettah. The Dutch then abandoned Kaymans Gate, withdrew to the Fort, closed the gates, and drew up the bridges.

545. Colombo summoned

On the 14th February, Major Agnew came with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the town and was conducted with much ceremony to the Fort. The Council met to discuss the situation, though it was apparent to all that the authorities meant to surrender, for they had allowed the invading army to advance unopposed right up to the gates of the city. An attempt to hold out against such an army would indeed be foolhardy, as no preparations had been made for standing a siege. People in the city did not know what to think, and many were inclined to believe that the governor was betraying the city. In the council it was decided to surrender the city by consent of all except Major Vaugine, an officer who had deserted from the Regiment de Meuron, and feared the consequences if Colombo surrendered.

546. Reasons for the surrender

There were many and good reasons for the surrender. When the council decided in July to hold out against the English demands (528), there was some hope of help or instructions from Holland or Batavia or from their French allies ; but never a word came from any of them. There was a talk also that Tipu Sultan would cause a diversion, but it did not take place. There was in the Company's stores an immense stock of merchandise unexported and valued at twenty-five lacs of rupees ; the Company's credit was at a very low ebb : the servants of the Company had not been paid for months ; and what was more, their money had been borrowed by the Company ; the Company's books were in arrears and the administration was faced with bankruptcy.

547. Desertions

To add to this, the local troops were deserting the Dutch in large numbers ; most of the Indian sepoys had deserted ; Muslims and Malays did likewise ; the government coffers were absolutely empty ; and there was no hope of holding out for more than three days at most. If the city capitulated, there was some chance of obtaining fair terms, but if it refused, it would have to capitulate unconditionally.

548. Terms of capitulation

The English gave very honourable and advantageous terms. All the Dutch officials were permitted to remain as private individuals in the island with a reasonable means of subsistence, subject to the approval of the government of Fort St. George. Those who wished to quit the island were allowed to do so with all their effects duty free. The military were to be prisoners of war and to be conveyed to Madras at the expense of the English. The clergy were to continue in their functions and receive pay as under the Company. The servants of the Company were given eighteen months to bring their books up to date under pay from the English. All pending cases were to be decided within twelve months in the existing courts; all notarial documents, wills, etc. were to continue to be in force, and the English government undertook the responsibility for all the promissory notes of the Dutch government up to a maximum of £50,000, and would pay three per cent. interest as long as they held the lands from Chilaw to Mātara. Should the lands be restored to the Dutch, the responsibility would revert to the Company.

549. City delivered to English

On these conditions the Dutch undertook to deliver faithfully Colombo and all the places dependent thereon, such as Kalutara, Galle, Mātara, with all the merchandise, stores, and public property on land or laden in ships. These terms were carried out at ten



Galle, 1796

o'clock on 16th February, 1796, and all the settlements of the Dutch East India Company passed into the possession of the English East India Company, without a struggle, without loss of life, without much expense and without let or hindrance from the king of Kandy.

III

DUTCH RULE IN CEYLON

550. Dutch rule

The regime of the Dutch East India Company had lasted well over a century. It was not a government by the Dutch nation or by a Dutch sovereign, but government by a commercial company, the V. O. C. (*Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie*, United East India Company) which administered the lowlands of Ceylon,



Dutch Coin figuring the Dutch coat-of-arms of Colombo—a leafy mango tree (*Kola-amba*) on which is perched a dove (*Lat. Columba*)

not in the interests of the Dutch residents, but purely and crudely in the interests of the Company. The Company governed its possessions just as an estate proprietor runs an estate, making the most of it, improving and developing its natural resources, and caring for its inhabitants in so far as they could be of service. The proprietor's will was the law, his interests the supreme concern, and his profits, the reward. All other things, law, politics, religion, and education, were subordinated to the one single aim of directly or indirectly increasing the profits of the Company. But unlike an estate proprietor, it had no higher power to take it to task, or to enforce its duties or point out its evils.

551. Dealings with the sovereign

Its dealings with the natural sovereign of the country were dictated by the same principles of self-interest. It first offered its services to the king against the Portuguese merely to obtain the exclusive control of the products of the land. Without minding the murder of de Weert or Coster, it continued to pursue that end. When the Company became suspicious of the king, it did not hesitate to break its promises and retain the lands in payment for the services, pacifying the king withal by flattery and presents. After the death of Rājāsinha, it put forward the claim that it held the lands by right of conquest, and alternately fawned on the kings or bullied them, according as they were able to help or mar the trade of the Company, and the Company at the same time put up with insults and humiliations to avoid the expenses of a war and to possess the lands in peace.

552. Dealings with the people

Its attitude towards the inhabitants was also actuated by commercial interests. The Company found the people divided into castes and subject to a system of land tenure and *rājakāriya*, and it made very good use of the systems and turned them to its own advantage. The Company's officers were most rigorous in exacting services and customary dues, but when such exactions provoked revolts, they were ever ready to make concessions so as not to let rebellions mar their trade. The Company never employed the people of the country in any salaried administrative post, but only in subordinate offices in the collection of revenue, which were remunerated by grants of land without any burden to the Company. Those who were not Sinhalese or Tamils, such as Muslims and Chetties, though born and bred in the island, it regarded as foreigners and exacted *āliyam* service from them and subjected them to many vexatious restrictions.

553. Benefits of the Company's rule

But the rule of the Company was in many ways beneficial to the king, the people and the country. During its rule, the king of Kandy was waited upon and humoured as he had never been before or since; his kingdom was generally free from invasion and his subjects undisturbed. The people living in Dutch territory had peace and stable government and courts of law to protect their life and property. They were given many opportunities of increasing their substance by participation in the many industries and agricultural enterprises which the Company promoted.

554. Beneficial institutions

The printing press, the leper asylum, schools and seminaries were beneficial institutions, though the last named were mostly intended to educate catechists and proponents to make up for the absence of clergymen; and the schools taught the Christian catechism of the reformed religion to forced pupils and little else.

555. Development of communications

By far the greatest service which the Dutch rendered to this country was the development of its agricultural resources and industries. Roads for wheeled traffic connected the chief towns, bridges spanned the smaller rivers, and boats ferried the travellers over the larger ones; canals gave cheap and easy facilities of transport, and the irrigation of dry areas and the drainage of the marshy lands helped the people. The Company also introduced many new agricultural products or gave better facilities for the cultivation of older products. Thus the cultivation of coffee, pepper, cardamoms, and coconut, was greatly encouraged, and the

industries of weaving and dyeing cloth were introduced and fostered. The Company itself bought the products of the land or procured markets, thus adding to its own profits as well as stimulating the people to trade and industry.

556. Survivals of Dutch rule

The survivals of the Dutch occupation such as Dutch forts, churches, buildings, the Dutch system of law, and the favourable position of Dutch descendants, are due to the English rather than to the Dutch. For when the Dutch became masters, they destroyed all vestiges of the Portuguese domination; they degraded the unfortunate Portuguese descendants by most cruel disabilities; they seized and destroyed Portuguese buildings, "reformed" the Portuguese churches; burnt the Portuguese tombs, proscribed the Portuguese language, and persecuted the religion of the Portuguese. The English, on the contrary, preserved all they could; they employed the Dutch in the English service, retained their clergy and churches, kept most of the Dutch buildings intact, and retained the Dutch legal system.

557. Indo-Portuguese

It is noteworthy that though the Dutch endeavoured to root out the Portuguese language, it survived to become the home language of the Dutch descendants and the only language of intercourse between the Dutch and the people of the country; and a century and a half after the expulsion of the Portuguese, a debased form of Portuguese was the means of communication between the Dutch and English officials and between the early British officials and the people. Likewise in spite of all regulations in favour of the Dutch Reformed Church and the host of forced conversions, the Catholics were by far the largest Christian community in Ceylon at the beginning of British rule, as they are today.

558. Dutch words in Sinhalese

Many Dutch words have been naturalized in Ceylon. As in the case of Portuguese words, it is naturally the thing that the Dutch introduced that still go by a Dutch name. Such are for instance *kokis*, cakes, (koekjes); *aratepel*, potato, (aardappel); *bōnchi*, beans, (boonchi); *hak*, hook, (haak); *istōppuwa*, verandah, (stoep) *soldarē*, upstairs, (zolder); *tarappuwa*, staircase, (trap); *penamas*, penknife, (pennemes); *lāchchuwa*, drawer, (laatje); *kalukum*, turkeycock, (kalkoen); legal terms like *būdalē*, estate, (boedel); *polmakkārāya*, administrator of an estate (volmacht) *kuitānsiya*, receipt, (quitancie); *vendēsiya*, auction, (vendutie); *kakussiya*, closet, (kak-huis); *kerakoppuwa*; churchyard, (kerkhof); *taksēru*, valuate, (taxeren); *baas*, (superintendent); *notaris*, (notary) *secretaris*, (secretary), *tolka*, (interpreter).

559. Incomplete account

Such is the brief though incomplete account of the Dutch rule in Ceylon. Many facts relating to the Dutch government and the activities of the Company in this island have still to be brought to light, for, though practically every scrap of paper relating to the Dutch occupation still survives, little has so far been studied. The reason is chiefly that these papers are all written in Dutch, which is generally an unknown tongue in Ceylon and that the Dutch records were not freely accessible to the public. Moreover these papers were first kept in the various kachcheris and were brought together only in recent times. But now some 7,000 manuscript records are arranged and preserved in the Dutch archives attached to the secretariat of Colombo.

560. Dutch records

These Dutch records consist chiefly of public papers of the government, such as tombos, proceedings of the council and the landraads, memoirs and diaries of governors and other documents relating to agriculture, irrigation, education, and transactions with the court of Kandy. It is altogether a unique collection of valuable manuscripts of which a few have been translated into English.

For the British occupation of Ceylon see **Ceylon under the British occupation**, Colvin R. de Silva, **The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon 1795-1805** L. J. B. Turner, **The Hobart Papers, Dutch documents relating to the Capitulation of Colombo** E. Reimers in *Ceylon Antiquary* VIII. C. F. Tombe **Voyage aux Indes Orientales** (Translation in J. C. B. R. A. S. X., **The Cleghorn Papers, The Swiss Regiment de Memoir** III C. L. R. I **Journal of the Embassy of Robert Andrews** J. C. B. R. A. S. No. 70. **British occupation of the Maritime Provinces** (S. G. Perera, S.J.) **Ceylon Antiquary** IV.

For the Dutch Administration of Ceylon see **John Brohier** I C. L. R. I 60, **Daniel Burnart** II C. L. R. IV.

Report on the Dutch Archives R. G. Anthonisz 1907.

GLOSSARY

A

Accommodessan : A word used by the Dutch for 'land granted by government to a person in consideration of office held or services rendered.' (Port. *comedia*, 'alimony,' 'maintenance', Sinh. *baḍaveḍilla* 'stomack-support'.)

Adigār, Sinh. *Adikarāma* (1) In the Kandyan country, Chief Officer of State (2) in Dutch territory, a District Chief.

Adikari-Adigarey, A tax levied by the Dutch from certain castes in lieu of the victuals they were bound to supply to the Adigar.

Āgra, Sinh. Ākaraya, 'pit,' 'mine,' gemming districts.

Āgragan, Gemming villages.

Ambalam, Sinh. A resting house, or halting place.

Andē, Sinh. Share of the crop paid by the cultivator to the proprietor.

Arachchi, Sinh. Originally the headman of a military department, later a headman in charge of a village.

Areca, The seed (or 'nut') of a palm, *areca catechu* (Sinh. *puvak* Tam. *pāk*)

Arrack, Arab. *araq*, 'distillation,' spirits distilled from the fermented sap of the coconut palm.

Atapattu, Sinh. Body-guard of the King.

Atukōrāla, Sinh. The assistant to a Kōrāla.

B

Bahar, Arabic, A weight used in large transactions. In Dutch times, 480 Dutch pounds; in the cinnamon trade 744.

Bandigarala, Sinh. Bhāndagārika and rāla, steward.

Bangasāla, Sinh. from Malay and Javanese *bangsal*. A warehouse for depositing merchandise awaiting shipment. Anglice--"Bankshall."

Basnāyaka, (Sinh. the lay chief of a *dēvalaya*) used by Portuguese and Dutch writers in the sense of 'Interpreter.'

Betma, (Sinh. division) used for the divisions of the *Kūruwa* or the department concerned with catching elephants.

C

Camara, Port "chamber," The chief magistrates or corporation of a town.

Casados, Port. "married men." The Portuguese who came to the East were either *soldados* (soldiers) in the King's pay (*soldo*) or *casados*, householders (P. *casa*, a house) or married men, who were settlers, not bound to go to war. They correspond to the Dutch "burghers."

Choy, *Hedyotis umbellata*, India madder, a root affording a red dye. The word is from Tamil *shāya*, Sinh. *sāyam*, "colour."

Chally, Salli, Dutch duit.

Cidade, Port. "city."

Cruzado, A Portuguese silver coin, so called because it bore the cross (*cruz*) of Aviz.

D

Dāgoba, Sinh. "relic-womb," A bell shaped monument built over relics.
Daladā, Sinh. The "tooth-relic."
 Dambadeni Kāsi, "Dambadeniye-money," The name by which the coins of a certain type of the Sinhalese rulers of the XII and XIII centuries were traditionally known
Dekum, Sinh. "appearance," A present given to a chief or lord by his subordinates on his annual appearance.
Dēvālaya, Sinh. from Tam. the temple of the Hindu deity
Dēvālagam, A service-village belonging to a *dēvālaya*.
Disāva, Sinh. Chief of a Province.
Disāvani, The jurisdiction of a *disava*—a Province.

F

Factory, A trading settlement at a foreign port or mart.
Fakir, Ar. "poor," A Mahomedan religious mendicant, but now used for Hindu ascetics.
Fanam, Tam. *panam*, Formerly a gold coin, the tenth of a *pagoda*. In Ceylon a silver coin, struck by the Kings of Kandy. In British times a coin of account, one tenth of a rix-dollar; later on, a copper coin, one-sixteenth of a rupee.
Fidalgo, Port, a person of genteel birth.
Fishery, The Pearl fishery.

G

Gabadāva, Sinh. A storehouse of a palace or of a temple.
Gabadāgam, Sinh. villages belonging to a royal *gabadāva* and containing *muttettu* lands which the inhabitants cultivate for the crown, and lands which the inhabitants possess in consideration of cultivating the *muttettu*, or rendering other services to the crown.
Galle Buck, Sinh. *gal-bokka*, "the stony-maw," The name given to the rock bound coast of the Fort of Colombo.
Gamsabhāva, Sinh. 'Village-council,' The council which assembled to deal with disputes, thefts and petty offences in a village.
Gavva, Sinh. A measure of distance, the fourth part of a *yoduna*; about 2 miles.
Gravet, A corruption of Sinh. *Kadavata* (P. *gravetto*, D. *gravetten*) a watch-house on the boundary of a kingdom, district, or city.
Guilder, A Dutch coin; in the East a coin of account, equal to 20 stuivers.

H

Hulftsdorp, One of the hillocks to the East of the Fort of Colombo, on which there was in Portuguese times a Church of Our Lady, in which Hulft took up his quarter during the siege of Colombo. *Dorp*=village, Dutch.

K

Kadavata, Fortified watch post on the boundary of a Kingdom, province, district or city. Cf. *Gravet*.
Kaymans Gate, 'Gate of the crocodiles,' The name given by the Dutch to the eastern gate leading out of Colombo, because crocodiles were put into the moat. *Cayman* is a Carib. word for crocodile.
Kottal-badda, Sinh. The Artificers department.
Kūruva, Sinh. Elephant-catching department.
Kustantinu Hatane, 'The Campaign of Don Constantine' (de Sa). A Sinhalese poem of Alagiyavanna.

L

Landraad, D. country-court.
Larin, Pers, *lāri*, a silver hook coin, 20 fanams, "a little rod of silver of a fixed weight and bent double unequally—*ridi*.
Lascarin, Lascoreen, also *Lascorin*. One belonging to an army. Pers. *Lashkari*.
Lekam, Sinh. 'writer.'
Lekam-miti, Sinh. pl. "palm leaf registers."
Lēvāya, Sinh. Natural salt-pans.
Liyannā, Sinh. "writer".

Mada-Kalapuva, Sinh. *Matti-Kalapuva*, from Tamil *Mattai-Kalappu* = 'the cockle lagoon,' originally the name given to *Sammanturai*, and corrupted into *Batticaloa*. When the lagoon was silted up, ships came to anchor at *Puliyantivu*, 'the island of *Puliyam*,' on which the fort was built, and to which the name of "Batticaloa" was given by sailors. The people of the country still call the fort *Puliyantivu*. See the *Taprabonian* II. 141 and J. C. B. R. A. S. xxxi, 373.
Madigē, Sinh. The bullock-carriage department, "consisting chiefly of Muslims who transported the King's grain, brought salt from the coast and carried on trade on the King's behalf."
Mahabadda, Sinh. "The great department," i.e. the cinnamon department.
Maha Mudaliyar, Sinh. The Chief *Mudaliyar*.
Maha Naduva, Sinh. The great court, the King's court of justice.
Maha Nāyaka, The head of the monastary.
Maha Nilamē, Sinh. "The great Officer;" the *Adigar*.
Mahāvansa, "The Great Chronicle." Also used, incorrectly, for its continuation the *Suluvansa* or "the Lesser Chronicle."
Māligāva, Sinh. Palace—a royal resting house on a journey. *Dalada Maligava*. The temple of the tooth-relic.
Māligakanda, Sinh. Hill on which a royal resting house once stood.
Māligavatte, Sinh. The garden on which a royal resting house once stood.
Manioc, A yam. *Manihot utilissima*.
Marāla, Sinh. Death duties.
Māvata, Sinh. Public path, the old Kandyan highroad.
Mayoral, Port. *majoral*, headman, for Sinh. *Kāriya-Karanna*.
Mohottala (*Mohottiar*), Sinh. Honorific title for a clerk.
Mudaliyar, Sinh. from Tam. *Mutaliyar* honorific plural of *mudali*, 'a chief.'
Muttettuva, Sinh. pl. A field which was sown on the king's account, as distinguished from the fields of the other inhabitants of the village.

N

Navāb alias *Nabob*, (Ar. pl. of *Nāyab*, a Deputy), originally the viceroy of the Great Mogul.
Nāyakkar, (from Hind. *Nāyak*, 'leader') a general name for the Kings of *Madura* dynasty, a branch of which inherited the throne of *Kandy*.
Nindagama, (from *ninda* 'fixed') A village which for the time being is the entire property of the grantee or temporary chief.
Nuvara, Sinh. literally "city," but used for any seat of royalty.

O

Officie, Dutch, a tax paid by individuals of different castes (i.e. "rent for office") such as smiths, potters, etc. who paid the tax in kind, i.e. a knife or the like by blacksmiths etc. but exacted in money by the Dutch.
Otu, Sinh. A tithe of produce paid to the proprietor by the cultivator in acknowledgment.

P

- Pada also *padda*, Anglo-Ceylon term. Sinh. Pādē, flat bottomed boats, also *paruwa* from Malayal, *pāru*, 'boat.'
- Pagoda, A gold coin about 53 grains in weight, once current in South India and known as *varahan*, because it bore the figure of the Boar avatar of Vishnu. Sinh. *pagodiya*. See *pardao*.
- Panama, See *fanam*.
- Paraveni, Sinh. "Land which is the private property of an individual proprietor as long as he renders the services due."
- Pardao, A gold coin (Skt. *pratāpa*) also called *pagoda* in Ceylon, equal to 3 *larins*.
- Patagaya, The Spanish *pataca* or "piece of eight." A term applied also to the rix-dollar—now for the sum of 175 cents. *ridi paha* = five *ridis*.
- Pataca, A *patagaya*.
- Pattankatti, Tam. form of Sinh. *patabēnda*, i.e. one on whom a fillet (*pata*) is tied (*bēnda*).
- Pattini-hamy, Sinh. officiating priestess of a *Pattini devālaya*.
- Pattuva, Sinh. A sub-division of a *Kōralē*.
- Plakkaat, Dutch, Notice affixed to a board, proclamation, cf. English 'placard.'
- Pevaliya*, Sinh. subversion, rebellion.
- Perahera, Sinh. 'procession,' pageant, muster of the states.
- Pettah, Anglo-Indian term from Tam. *pettai*, extra mural suburb of a fort.
- Point Pedro, corruption of Port. 'Ponta das pedras' stony point.

R

- Rā, Sinh. toddy.
- Rājakāriya, Sinh. 'King's service,' compulsory service.
- Rāla, Sinh. a contraction of *radala*, an honorific applied to chief.
- Ranchu*, Port. a company of *lascarins*.
- Raṭa, Sinh. a division of the country, one of the five counties anciently forming the Kingdom of Kandy.
- Ratē-rala, Official name of the chief headman of a *rata*.
- Ratēsabha, An assembly representative of the householders of a district dealing with offences against caste etc.
- Rest House, A term used in Ceylon for a resting house, from Dutch, "Rust-huis" (Valentyn).
- Ridi*, Sinh. 'silver,' the *larin q. v.*
- Rix-dollar, Dutch *riks-daalder*. The standard coin of the United Provinces of Holland fixed at 52 *stuivers*. In Ceylon, *patagaya*, *pataca*, *ridi-paha*.

S

- Saman, The titular deity of Adam's Peak.
- Sāmanēra, Sinh. a novice. A monk who has not received *upasampadava*.
- Samorin, The Lord of the Sea (*samudra*).
- Sampan, Mala. Javanese, "skiff." Sinh. *hamban* cf. *Sammanturai* and *Hambanota*, both of which mean 'the sampan-port.'
- Sangha, Sinh. the Buddhist priesthood.
- Sannasa, Sinh. A royal grant on a metal plate.
- Santumpitiya, Sinh. The field of San Thome.
- Sapan, Sapan wood *caesalpina Sappan*. Malayal, *shappannan*, Sinh. *patangi*.
- Sayam, Tam. Colouring matter, dye, cf. Choy.
- Service-lands, Lands held on condition of performing service or as payment for services.
- Stuiver, Dutch penny.
- Suluvansa, Sinh. The continuation of the *Mahāvansa*.
- Surā, Sinh. intoxicants, toddy.

T

- Tanque Salgado, 'Salt Tank.' Sinh. *Lunu Pokuna*, name of a part of Colombo.
- Tēsavalamai*, Tam. A collection of the customary laws of Jaffna.
- Thera, Sinh. A monk who has been ordained to the *upasampada* for 10 years or more.
- Tipu Sultān, Ruler of Mysore, 1782—1799.
- Tombo, Port. 'tome,' Register of lands.

U

- Upasampada, Sinh. Ordination to the rank of a fully qualified monk.
- Ūliyam, Tam. service, especially mental work, without pay.

V

- Vadagar, Tam. 'Northerner,' applied to the Telegu people.
- Vakil, Arab. An attorney, or authorized representative.
- Vanni, Sinh. Name given to parts of the Northern and North Western Provinces. Skt. *vanya*, wild forest.
- Vanniyar, A petty semi-independent prince of the Vanni.
- Vanniachchi, Feminine of Vanniyar.
- Vedor, Port. Comptroller.
- Vidāne, Sinh. An officer having jurisdiction, now used only for petty headmen in charge of a village or group of villages for police purposes or for irrigation.
- Vihāre, A Buddhist temple.

W

- Wolvendaal, Dutch, a corrupt translation of the word, "Guadelupe" in 'Church of Our Lady of Guadelupe.' It was called *Agadalapa* or *Agoadelupo*, which was translated "dale of the wolves." In Sinhalese and Tamil it is still called *Adilippu*.

Z

- Zerafin, A silver coin formerly current in Goa, Arab. *ashrafi*.

