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A Note on the Sempstress

By I. B. HORNER

As is well known, a number of Pali words have a symbolical meaning in addition to a more ordinary and matter-of-fact meaning. In this category are words for *sewing*, the verb being *sibbati*. Belonging here by right of everyday language and usage there is, for example, the one who sews, or the sewer: of robes, *sūciyā* . . . *kāṭhine cīvaram sibbitā* (*M.* i. 126), the 'allowance' to do so being given at *Vin.* ii. 116: *anujānāmi . . . cīvaram sibbetum*. Or, there are shoes richly sewn, *cītrasibbanā*, (*Jā.* vi. 218), and there is the rich sewing, *cīttasibbana*, for the trappings of a chariot (*Sn.* 304). Again, the skin covering the skull has been sewn together, *sīsacchavim sibbetvā*, after an operation which involved the opening and then the closing of a suture, *sibbinī* (*Vin.* i. 274; sutures as *sibbāni* also occur at *Jā.* vi. 339).

In its symbolical aspect the feminine noun stands for the active productive principle; and as *sibbanī* is the sempstress, seamstress or spinster, the woman who sews, rather than the sewing itself. The motif is comparable to the Stick-fast one, often found in folklore; and as a motif in the story of the hunter (Death) who sets traps with glue or pitch, *lepa*, so as to catch the 'greedy' monkeys (*S.* v. 148) is one to which attention has been called, together with various *Jāta*-ka episodes, by A. K. Coomaraswamy.¹ For even if the sempstress sets no explicit baits or lures for her prey, she nevertheless traps or sticks a person by her stitching, her sewing, or her thread. This will be her *lepa* or 'sticky' material by which the ignorant are soiled in the process of being stuck, *limpati* and *lippati* containing both these meanings. But she can be overcome, overpassed or escaped from by a man of wisdom. For this seems to be the meaning of rather an obscure and difficult verse at *Sn.* 1042:

*So ubh' antam abhiññāya majjhe mantā na lippati
tam brūmi mahāpuriso ti so idha sibbanim accagā.*

This might be translated as follows: 'Who, on knowing both extremes (or dead-ends, opposites, alternatives, *antā*), by insight (*mantā* is explained at *SnA.* 588 by *paññāya*, "by wisdom") sticks

1. In *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 57, No. 224, April-June, 1944.

not fast in the middle—him I call “ great man ” that here has passed the sempstress by ’.

This verse must have been in the nature of a puzzle, if not precisely in the strict sense, then in a more general one, to the early *sāvakas*, auditors or disciples. What could these words mean? What were the two ends, what was meant by ‘ in the middle ’, by ‘ sticks not fast ’, and what (more easily answered) by the sempstress? The *Anguttara Nikāya* took up the challenge (*A.* iii. 399-401).

This *Anguttara* passage, after citing the *Sn.* verse (1042) but using the words: *yo ubh’ ante viditvāna* instead of the *Sn.’s so ubh’ antam abhiññāya*, tells of a number of bhikkhus who were elders inviting one another to answer, each in his own way, the questions: ‘ Which is one extreme, which the other, what is in the middle, who is the sempstress? ’ To each Elder the first three of these four questions meant something different:

- (1) *phassa* (sensory impact or impingement, or ‘ contact ’) is one dead-end, its arising the other, its stopping is in the middle;
- (2) the past and the future are the ‘ ends ’, the present is in the middle;
- (3) pleasant feeling and painful feeling are the ends, feeling that is neither painful nor pleasant (in its results?) is in the middle;
- (4) mentality, *nāma*, is one end, physicality, *rūpa*, the other, consciousness, *viññāna*, is in the middle. Here, according to *AA.* iii. 404 *paṭisandhi-viññāna*, re-linking consciousness is meant because it has resulted conditioned by *nāmarūpa* (see e.g. *Mahānidāna-suttanta* of the *Dīgha*, where *nāmarūpa* and *viññāna* condition and are conditioned by one another);
- (5) the six internal sensory fields and the six external sensory fields are the two ends, consciousness is in the middle. Here *AA.* iii. 404 says that *kamma-viññāna*, karmical consciousness, is meant; it can be regarded as ‘ in the middle ’ either by the inclusion of *kamma* as a mental sensory field among the six internal sensory fields; or, ‘ impulsion consciousness ’, *javanaviññāna*, may be ‘ in the middle ’ because the internal sensory fields have the function of ‘ adverting ’, *āvajjana*, to the mind-door (see e.g. *Vism.* 458, 459);

- (6) ‘ own body ’ is one end, its arising the other, its stopping is in the middle.

Of these explanations given by the Elders, the first seems to be the authoritative one—that dealing with *phassa*. For this answer was corroborated by Gotama. This is not the place to investigate why the other answers may be actually wrong, miss the point, or not be sufficiently comprehensive. For, for this, a long essay would be needed. It is possible here only to notice the complete agreement between Gotama and all the six Elders on what it is that is the sempstress. Each one asserts that it is craving, *taṇhā*, and that craving sews one, *sibbati*, to the *abhinibbatti*, the production, coming forth, effecting, of precisely this becoming and that, *tassa tass’eva bhavassa*. It is further emphasised at *AA.* iii. 403 that there could be no arising of this or that becoming if craving did not sew, *na sibbeyya*, for it is to becoming that she sews. It is only when her thread has been broken or cut that, with the consequent fall of both ends, the middle falls too. On such a collapse becoming is ‘ unstrung ’ and there is an arrest of the uprising and passing away, the waxing and waning of everything that is of the nature of mortality. By stopping what is in the middle one is not caught or stuck fast in the middle, or at either end for that matter. In a word, one gets free, and is no longer a puppet on a thread pulled this way and that by the puppeteer, but is one who has attained to self-mastery, with thought concentrated and one-pointed (*A.* i. 148), and who therefore is unaware of and unaffected by sensory impingement while in this state of unsullied mindfulness. It is in this sense that the *Anguttara Commentary* (iii. 403) asserts that ‘ in the middle ’ means *nibbāha*.

Although perhaps craving symbolised as the sempstress does not occur elsewhere in the *Nikāyas* besides the *Sn.* and the *Ang.* passages mentioned, the notion was not lost. For at *Dhs.* 1059 the sempstress, *sibbanī*, appears as one of the many synonyms for greed, *lobha*, the first of the three causal roots of unskill, wrong or unwholesomeness, *akusalahetu*. The *Commentary* on the *Dhs.* has still more to say (*Asl.* 363): ‘ The projenitrex (*sañjananī*, another synonym for *lobha*) is, by reason of her stitching, the sempstress that produces beings in the “ round ”, *vaṭṭa*, fettering them by means of suffering. For this (greed) sews and stitches beings in the “ round ” by way of dying and re-linking (*cuti-paṭisandhi*, or re-linking after dying, see *Vism.* 360), as a tailor (sews and stitches) cloth to cloth; therefore, by reason of the stitching, it (greed) is called the sempstress ’.

In order to enforce its point that craving and greed are names for both the projenitrex and the sempstress, she by whom beings are stuck fast in *samsāra*, the *Atthasālinī* (p. 363) cites the lines found three times repeated at S. i, 37, 38 :

tanhā janeti purisaṃ cittam assa vidhāvati

‘ craving produces the person, his mind it is that strays ’.

To think of craving and greed as that which, after they have ‘ produced ’ a person, bind him by stitching and sewing him to *bhava*, which is often but another name for *samsāra*, is to think of *bhava* and *samsāra* as the province of craving and greed, and of the sempstress as she who prevents one from getting free from the *bhavacakka* and the *samsāracakka*, the wheels of becoming and circling on, the escape from which is necessary if one is to drive across to what is further or higher (cf. A. iii. 432, *uttariṇ ca patāreti*). In the light of the first Elder’s answer, we may assume that this attainment of what is ‘ further ’ may be won by the stopping of sensory impingement, that is of reaction to it. The stopping of such things is usually equivalent to the Third Truth, and this is equivalent to *nibbāna* (e.g. *phassanirodho ti nibbānaṃ*, AA. iii. 403), attainable here and now by means of and in *samādhi*, deep concentration. It therefore follows that the stopping of *samsāra* is also attainable here and now ; when its restlessness is made to cease all is as still as in the midmost ocean where no wave is born (Sn. 920), and there is a rapture and bliss more splendid and lovely than any obtained from the five sources of sensory experience, however alluring and entrancing they may be (M. i. 398), and which, with their *phassa*, their impact and impingement, constantly assail one whose sense-doors are not guarded.

To win such bliss, to have the capacity to attain it, is a sign that the sempstress has been passed by, overcome and brought to naught, even as the restrained and controlled ascetics and brahmans in the *Nivāpasutta* (M. Sutta 25), by refusing to have anything to do with *Māra*’s lures and baits, with his crop which is the material things of the world, prevented all coming-in, *āgāhi*, for him, and on the contrary rendered themselves inaccessible to him by making him blind and putting a darkness round his range of vision. They thereby got free of him and were thus not ones to be done to as he willed. Similarly the sempstress has no longer the power to stitch and sew those who escape from her to becoming after becoming as she wills. She is an aspect of the hunter and the slayer, and she too is one who

can stick an ignorant and greedy man fast with one of the two kinds of glue or pitch recognised in the Commentaries : craving and speculative view (SnA. 436, SA. ii. 243, Nd. i. 55, ii. 271 m.). But the sempstress can be overcome by the wise man, the ‘ great man ’ who has insight, for he is able to escape from her toils. Because this is so, it would seem that the Sn. verse and the explanation of its puzzle accepted by the *Anguttara* may be regarded as further passages whose nature is hopefulness, because their major concern is deliverance and freedom from what is not an ariyan’s own pasturage into what is ; and this is undoubtedly among the central notions found in the Pali canon.

ABBREVIATIONS

[Except in the cases of *Jātaka* and *Vinaya*, the following abbreviations refer to the Pali Text Society’s editions :]

- A. = *Anguttara-Nikāya* (1885-1900)
 AA. = *Commentary on A.* (1924-1940)
 Asl. = *Atthasālinī* (1897)
 Dhs. = *Dhammasaṅgani* (1885)
 Jā. = *Jātaka* (London, 1877-1896)
 M. = *Majjhima-Nikāya* (1896-1902)
 Nd. = *Niddesa* (1916-1918)
 S. = *Samyutta-Nikāya* (1884-1898)
 Sn. = *Suttani-pāta* (1913)
 SnA. = *Suttani-pāta Commentary* (1916, 1917)
 Vin. = *Vinaya-pitaka* (London, 1879-1883)
 Vism. = *Visuddhimagga* (1920, 1921)

Some Doubtful Readings in the Hāmsasandeśa and the Inscriptions at Kāragala

By C. E. GODAKUMBURA

THE Sinhalese Sandeśa poems contain valuable material regarding contemporary history, which, if properly studied, will throw a great deal of light on the history of the period they refer to. Some of the passages containing such information, however, have suffered so much at the hands of copyists of former days and editors of our time and their meanings have become so obscured that certain passages need careful examination to be restored to their original readings. In the present paper the writer proposes to discuss the readings of two *dasapada-sāhāli* (ballads of ten lines) in the Hāmsasandeśa, which deserve the attention of students of Sinhalese literature and Ceylon history. It would appear that some of the corrupt readings have arisen through the ignorance of certain Tamil titles which had come to be used among the Sinhalese nobility and royalty of the time. The scribes who failed to understand the significance of such expressions of Dravidian origin have substituted for them the nearest Sinhalese equivalents they were able to think of.

The inscriptions at Kāragala and the reading and interpretation of *sāhālla* number 183 of Dharmārāma's edition (D.) of the Hāmsasandeśa¹ have been discussed at some length in Vol. XXII, (No. 65) of this Journal,² and attempts have been made to unravel who the Alagakkōṇāra and other personages mentioned in the passage are. All this labour has been spent on information based on wrong readings or conjectural readings.

The text of this *sāhālla* according to D. is as follows: The passages given within brackets are variant readings cited by the editor.

වත්තල වෙහෙර වැඩ-වැඩලත් වනවාසයෙහි
 නාගසෙන මහ තෙරිඳුන්ට මුණුබුරු
 බෝගණිසුරු අලසන්ගමු හුනන්න රු(මහන්තරු)
 ඔහු වෙත උන් උතුම් අලගක්කෝණාර සද

1. Hāmsasandeśa, Dharmārāma, 3rd edn., 1926.
 2. JOURNAL R.A.S. (Ceylon), Vol. XXII (No. 65)—1912, pp. 327-328, pp. 347-360, p. 365, p. 366, pp. 369-370, p. 380, pp. 404-421.

බැඳු (වැඳු) අත්තනායක මැති සඳුන්ගේ
 රඳු සොදුරු පිසුම වුවත් (එදු සොදුරු පර්මලවුත්)
 ප්‍රඳුන්ගේ

හි මි ව න	සිභානා සුදසුන්	මහලේන
වැජඹෙන	ලමැනිකුලයෙන් සිරිලැබ	යෙහෙන
සි සි ව න	ලොවැ යසස් පරසිදු කුලෙන්	එන
නි සි ව න	ඔහුට මුණුබුරුවන	මනනදන

Now the same passage is given as follows in the manuscript of the Hāmsasandeśa in the Colombo Museum (CM.).¹

වත්තල වෙහෙර වැඩ උන් වනවාසයේ
 නාගසෙන මහතෙරිඳුන්ට මුණුබුරු
 බෝග ඉසුරු ලද සෙන්ගමු මහන්තරු
 ඔහු වෙත් උන් උතුම් අලගක්කෝණාරලදු
 වැඳු අත්තනායක හිමිසඳුනෙන්
 එදු සොදුරු පර්මල උන් උදුනෙන්
 හි මි ව න සිභානා සුදසුන් වනලෙසිණ
 වැජඹෙන ලමැනිකුලයෙන් සිරිලයෙහෙණ
 සි වු ව න ලොව යසස් පිරිසිදු කුලෙන් වණ
 නි සි ව න ඔහුට මුණුබුරුවන මණනදණ

The first six lines of 'Vijayabāhu's Inscription'² at Kāragala should read thus:

- 1 සිරිසහබො ශ්‍රීවිජයබාහුමහරජාණන්ට එ
- 2 කොළොස්වන්තෙදී අත්තනායක දළසෙන්ගමු ම
- 3 කන්පාරුන් තමන් ලග උන් අලගක්කෝණාර
- 4 - - යගේ සහෝදර බුහුනණියන් පත්මවතීන් වැඳ
- 5 (පුදු) ගන්නා ලෙසට කරවූ කැරගල විහාරසභන
- 6 ක්

One would now straightway see that in line three of the *sāhālla*, *aḷasengamu* must be read as *daḷasengamu* and *hunannaru* as *migan-taru*, the second in each case being the reading rejected by D. The mistake in CM., *lada sengamu* for *daḷasengamu* can be easily understood. The phrase follows immediately after *bōga-isuru* 'riches and wealth' and the copyist read *lada* 'received' for *daḷa*° or *dala*° the meaning of which was not clear to him. *Mihannaru* which is evidently a mistake for *mihantaru* agrees with the title *mikanthārun* in the inscription. This title is of Dravidian origin and Sinhalese copyists did not understand it. It is for the same reason that D.

1. AM. 16. de Silva, W. A., Memoirs of the Colombo Museum: Catalogue of Palm Leaf MSS., Part I, No. 2, 198.
 2. See Codrington: J.R.A.S. (Ceylon), Vol. XXXII, p. 298.
 3. Cf. with reading given in J.R.A.S. (Ceylon), Vol. XXII, p. 352.

has rejected *paramaḷavun* in line three and given his own emendation *Piyama-vuvan* (= Lotus-faced, i.e. Padmavati). The reading *paravalaun* in CM. also may stand for *paramaḷavun* which is the Sinhalese form of the Tamil title *perumāl*, given in Sinhalese documents as *perumālun*.¹

Having adopted the above readings one might proceed to discuss the other variants. The writer would prefer *bōga-isuru* in CM. to *bōgaṇisuru* in D., as the first reading is more natural to poetry of this type. Such forced placing of words is not found elsewhere in the poem. Coming to *alagakkōṇāra suda*, the reading in the CM. is *alahakkōṇrāla-dā*. Here one is not certain whether the last letter *dā* is equal to the conjunction *da* or whether it is a participle meaning 'begotten of' (Pali, *janita*). The inscription has *alagakkōṇāra—yagē* with two letters completely lost. There is nothing to warrant the reading *alagakkōṇāra-pādayāgē*. Here the reading of CM. has to be adopted, at least until a better manuscript reading is found. The emendations of D., *bādū* for *vādū*, *sovuru* for *soṇḍuru*, *radū* for *edū* and *piyumavuvan* for *paramaḷavun* have to be rejected. He has changed *vādū* to *bāṇḍū* as it was difficult to interpret *vādū* in the context. *Sovuru* and *piyumavuvan* are emendations suggested by the reading of the inscription: *sahō-dara buhunaniyan patmavatin*. The reading *paramaḷavun* has been already discussed. There is no need to change *edū* to *radū*. *Udunne* in CM. may be a mistake for *ḷadunne*.

The *eli* and the close similarity between the two *akṣaras* allow one to adopt *himivana* in place of *himivata*. There are, however, several other variants in lines seven to ten which cannot be easily explained, except perhaps, *vana* (*vaṇa*) for *ena* in line nine. Will it not be possible to dismiss the assumption that *sudasun* is a proper name and refers to the husband of Padmavati?

The reading *siuvana* in CM., may mean the 'fourth caste', and Vanaratana Mahāsāmi's ancestors may have belonged to this caste group.²

In consequence of the defects in the readings of both the inscription and the poem one cannot understand the relationship between

1. See such documents as the Kuḍumirissa sannasa, J.R.A.S. (Ceylon), Vol. X (No. 34), pp. 95 ff where the term occurs.

2. According to the Niyamgampāya inscription Alakeśvara belonged to the *Vaṇik* caste (see Jayatilaka: Introduction to Pāra-kumbā-siritā, in Siṃhala-Sāhitya-Lipi, 1940, p. 125).

Atthanāyaka (Skt. *Artha*°) and Alagakkōṇāra (Skt. *Alakeśvara*) and also their relationship to the lady mentioned here. In the discussions on this *sāhalla* and the inscription referred to above, no reference has been made to the Eḷu-Attanagaluvamśa (EAV), where the following passage occurs:

... චක්‍රසුඛයී මනෙච්ච සුගලායමානවු ශ්‍රීලංකාදීවර අලකෙවර නම් මනත්‍රීවරයානන් හා මෙම මනත්‍රීවරයානන්ට සහොදරවු . . . අභිනායක නම් මනත්‍රීවරයානන් හා දෙදෙනාගේ . . .
'of the two ministers, who were like unto the discs of the moon and the sun, namely the minister Alakeśvara, supreme over the Island of Laṅkā, and the Minister Arthanāyaka, his brother'.²

Here Arthanāyaka is stated to be the brother of Alakeśvara (or Alagakkōṇāra). It is further stated in the same text that this Alakeśvara was the Prime Minister of King Bhuvanaikabāhu³ and

1. Attanagaluvamśayō Purāṇa Siṃhala-Sannaya: ed. W. Steven de Silva (1903), p. 1.

2. Codrington too discusses the pedigree of Vanaratana Sāmī basing his information on the text of the Hamsasandēśaya, No. 183, as restored by D. He is of opinion that Arthanāyaka of the Hamsasandēśaya is different from Arthanāyaka Migantarun of the Kāragala Inscription. He identifies the latter as the brother of Alagakkōṇāra mentioned in the Siṃhala Attanagaluvamśa of Śaka 1304. J.R.A.S. (Ceylon), Vol. XXXII, p. 299.

3. This was King Bhuvanaikabāhu V, who reigned at Gampōḷa and Kōṭṭe between 1375 and 1391 A.D. According to the Mayūra-sandēśa (ed. Amaramōli Thera, vv. 57-69) a brother of Alagakkōṇāra lived with him at Rayigama and his name is given as Devhimi (Skt. Devasvāmin). According to the same source (v. 154) the āpa (*ādipāda*) who lived at the capital, Gampōḷa, was also a brother of Alagakkōṇāra.

Wickramasinghe (EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, Vol. III, p. 34) says 'Niśāṅka Alakeśvara, with his brother Arthanāyaka, lived for some time in Rayigama, and afterwards the former settled down for the rest of his life in Kōṭṭe'. Evidently Wickramasinghe takes Devhimi to be identical with Arthanāyaka following the authority of E. W. Perera (J.R.A.S., Ceylon, XVIII, No. 55, p. 296—Alakeśvara and his Times, *ibid*, pp. 281-296). Perhaps Wickramasinghe is correct. This brother of Alakeśvara may have been known by his first name Devasvāmin in his early life, and later he may have received the title of Arthanāyaka the 'Lord of the Treasury' when he was promoted to that post. The significance of the title Arthanāyaka is the same as Baṇḍāranāyaka. The two brothers Alakeśvara and Devamantri are also mentioned in the Sagama Rock Inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu V. (Ep. Z. IV, p. 308, 1, 8).

It is evident that at the time of composition of the Mayūrasandēśa, when Bhuvanaikabāhu V ruled from Gampōḷa, the Padmavati Pirivena at Kāragala had not been founded. If this important seat of learning existed, it should have been mentioned between Attanagalla (v. 31) and Vābaḍa (v. 33). Instead only the village of Ōpat-ālla is mentioned (v. 32).

the EAv. was written in Śaka Era 1304, i.e., 1382 A.D. It is quite possible that this was the Arthanāyaka who built the Kāragalavihāra for Padmavati. Nothing further is known of Siṅgānā Sudasun (Mahalēna). Is this whole passage to be taken as corrupt in view of the different readings in CM.? Was Vanaratana Saṅgharāja a grandson (or grandnephew) or Arthanāyaka and the personage by the name of Sudarśana as given by Dharmārāma only fictitious? All these points can only be solved by arriving at the correct reading of this *sāhalla*.

After this paper had gone to the press the writer came across another manuscript of the Hamsasandēśa in the Library of the Colombo Museum (CM2)¹ which reads this *sāhalla* thus:

වන්හස් ලියන වැඩිකුල තිරිවරංගමු	
නා ග සේන මහනෙරිදුන්ට මුහුදු	රු
බෝග ඉසුර ලද සෙන්ගමු මගන්ත	රු
මහු වෙන උන් උතුන් අලහක්කෝමරලද	
වැ දු අන්තනායක මැති සදු	නෙන්
එ දු සොදුරු පරවර උන් ලදු	නෙන්
හි ම ව න සිහානා සුදසුන් මන ලෙසි	න
වැජඹෙන ලැමැති කුලයෙන් සිරි ලැබ යෙහෙ	න
සි වු ව න ලොව යසස් පිරිසිදු කුලෙන් එ	න
නි සි ව න මහුව මුණුබුරුවන මන නද	න

The readings in CM2 for the most part agree with the readings in CM. and confirm them. Variants of particular interest to be noted are *paravara un* for *paravala un* (15), *mana lesina* for *vana lesina* (16) and *siṭuvana* for *sivuvana* (19). It may also be noticed that two different forms of the same word *munu puru* in line 2 and *munuburu* in line 10 are used.

The prose passage introducing the praise of Devhimi in the Mayūrasandēśa (No. 66) reads: එහිමිදු සොහොසුරු, ඉණසුරු, මනවුඹරයාණේ ප්‍රකාශ ප්‍රකාප ශ්‍රවණයකර. Is the name of the Minister missing after the words ඉණ සුරු?

A reliable edition of the Mayūrasandēśa only will help students to identify the historical personages mentioned in the poem.

On the history of the Alakeśvaras one may also consult Paranavitana: Sagama Rock Inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu V. (Ep. Z. IV, pp. 296-311) and Jayatilaka: Introduction to Pārākumbā-sīrita. (Reprinted in Sinhala Sāhitya Lipi, 1940, pp. 110-133). In both these accounts the Hamsasandēśa and the Kāragala Inscription have been ignored.

1. No. H 13, called Tisarāsandēśa, uncatalogued by de Silva.

Certain readings of *sāhalla*, No. 50 of Dharmārāma's edition of this poem also may be discussed. D. reads the fourth and tenth lines of this *sāhalla* as follows:

Line 4. සන්හස් ලියන නිති මැතිකුල තිරිවරංගමු
Line 10. වික්‍රමසිංහ අදිකාරගමැතිදු සිරි.

CM. has them as:

Line 4. සන්හස් ලියති මැතිකුල තිරිවරගමු මුකවෙවි මැති
Line 10. වික්‍රමසිංහ අදිකාරන් මැතිදු සිරි

The readings in CM2 are:

Line 4. සන්හස් ලියන නිති මැති කැලැති පිරිවරණ
Line 10. වික්‍රමසින්හ අදිකාරග මැතිදු සිරි

In line 4, it will be noticed that CM. gives the important title *mukavetti*, and CM2 omits the title *tiruvaramgamu* which is derived from a Tamil epithet.¹ Considering the three versions of this line, the reading in CM. may be adopted correcting the *ni* in *liyani* to *na*. Then this line may be read as:

සන්හස් ලියන මැතිකුල තිරිවරගමු මුකවෙවි මැති

In line 10 we have *adikāraga mātindu* in D., *adikāran*^o in CM. and *adikāraṅga* in CM2. In trying to arrive at the correct reading of this line it must be borne in mind that Vikramasimha was not the Prime Minister at the time of composition of our poem. That office was held by Mahantē Ekanāyaka whose praise is sung in the preceding stanza (No. 49).

1. Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III, pp. 283-284.

The Singing Fish Of The Batticaloa Lagoon

BY REV. FR. J. W. LANGE, S.J.

Introduction

WHAT is the 'singing fish'? Is it fact or fancy, a verifiable occurrence or a joke perpetrated on visitors to the East Coast? Whatever it may be, there are, among non-residents of Batticaloa, many who are believers; there is perhaps an equal number who are frankly sceptical.

The fact remains, however, that the phenomenon is one of Batticaloa's few tourist attractions. No visitor to the Eastern shores would feel that he had 'done' the dry zone if he had missed the opportunity to hear the musical sounds. Many have heard and have been persuaded. Many others, even after observing the complete ritual prescribed by the local residents (including, perhaps, my own suggestion: 'soak your head in the lagoon!') have heard nothing, and have departed unconvinced—or rather, convinced that they have been made victims of a hoax.

History of the Phenomenon

With the local residents the singing is an established fact. Fisherman, at their nocturnal labours out on the lagoon have become so familiar with the phenomenon that it is for them quite commonplace. They will willingly pilot visitors to the spots where the singing usually occurs, and shake their heads in pity if told there is nothing to be heard. Their fathers and grandfathers back as far as history runs have lived on a basis of daily familiarity with the singing fish.

I have not had access to any ancient Tamil or Sinhalese literature on the subject, and so am unable to say whether there would be any allusion to the phenomenon in such writings but give you what I have, to illustrate the fact that the singing has been known from remote years.

Sir James Emerson Tennent, testifies to the existence of the musical sounds (Vol. II, pp. 468 ff. passim).

In an old copy of *Spolia Zeylanica*, dated 1908, there is a short note under the name of C. Driberg.

The comparison of the sound with a distant motor horn, of the old variety, seems to me particularly apt. Driberg's reference to the variation in pitch, at intervals he could not determine, is borne out by the observation made by a music teacher who put down the intervals as octaves and fifths. We shall refer to this again later.

The old French Jesuit missionaries who staffed St. Michael's College and the various mission stations in Batticaloa for more than forty years were all familiar with the singing fish from the beginning. Men like Fr. Ferdinand Bonnel, a trained scientist, and Fr. Alphonse Reichard, a trained musician, have given their testimony. Fr. Arthur Rothenfuss has even immortalized the singing fish in verse! Here is a sample:

Quel etrange concert nocturne,
qui s'eleve du fond de l'eau,
ou le poisson si taciturne
chante a la lune un chant nouveau!

Some thirty years ago, a planter named Green, residing in the Eastern Province, operated a launch in the lagoon, between Batticaloa and Kalmunai. This gentleman was thoroughly familiar with the music of the singing fish, and, in fact, wrote a small monograph on the subject. Unfortunately the little pamphlet is no longer extant. Mr. Green, if my memory serves me rightly, comments on the conditions under which the musical sounds are most audible, and mentions in particular the fact that they were conducted quite clearly through the metal hull of his launch, and could be heard not only at night, but in the daytime. (Perhaps he referred more to the time of dusk and dawn, or to an unusually overcast day; I don't think anyone has claimed to have heard them in broad daylight).

Mr. J. S. Nichols, Curator of Recent Fishes of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, visited the lagoon some years ago and heard the sounds. He put over nets, but succeeded only in catching Cowfish, which makes a noise that can hardly be designated as musical. By grinding its pharyngeal teeth, it produces a harsh grunting sound. Mr. Nichols, however was quite convinced that the sounds he heard coming from the water were not produced by Cowfish.

Further authorities could be quoted, both from remote times, when the lagoon was still more or less in its primitive state, and from more recent times. All that is needed is a shelf of books on Ceylon.

The Recording

However, a most conclusive proof of the existence of the musical sounds, fish, if fish they be, is the recording we have here.

Before proceeding to demonstrate, a few particulars on the method used in making this recording may be of interest. First of all, the recording was made underwater, employing a home-made hydrophone (underwater microphone). Having heard the singing many times, and very distinctly, above the surface of the water, without the aid of any instrument, I am convinced that, given favourable conditions, the sounds could be picked out of the air. However, owing to circumstances and because of the practical difficulties involved in finding a suitable boat for the equipment, I chose to drop my hydrophone from the Kalladi Bridge and pick up the singing under water. The hydrophone (a rather crude affair, hardly comparable to the highly sensitive instruments used in the experiments we shall later describe) was connected to an RCA amplifier, and a Webster wire recorder was used to record the singing from the loudspeaker of the amplifier. This resulted in a relay of the sound that had undesirable side effects (chiefly, the intrusion of noise from the transformer, amplifier and loudspeaker). These extraneous noises were unavoidable in the circumstances, but did not seriously interfere with the fidelity of the recording—as you may observe presently.

A teacher of music, Mrs. I. del Marmol, mother of one of our American Priests, wrote out, in musical notation the notes recorded here. She was surprised to discover that there was not merely melody in the sounds, but a distinctly perceptible rhythm or beat. I am sure that if the recording were further analysed by a musician (or better still, if the live sounds themselves were so analysed), this finding would be confirmed. Hence, it is no mistake to say that the sounds are musical.

Conditions of Audibility

Before commenting further upon the nature and possible source of these sounds, a word must be said about the conditions of their audibility. The local residents, in a manner that is quite understandable, like to surround the phenomenon with as much mystery as possible—on the principle, no doubt, that that which is difficult to attain is therefore the more precious! And so, they are inclined to circumscribe the conditions under which the singing can be heard. Visitors, also, either out of their own devising or prompted by the Batticalonians, frequently have preconceived notions as to the best method of hearing the singing.

What, then, is required by way of favourable conditions for hearing the singing? First of all, it must be night, after darkness has well set in and the noises of the day have ceased. Secondly, one must go out into the middle of the lagoon in a boat, to one of the several spots (such as that described by Sir James Emerson Tennent) where the sounds are habitually more distinct. Thirdly, the water must be calm, there must be no strong breeze, and no disturbance by flood waters. And finally, it does seem to improve audibility if there is a good moon. It seems likely that the brightness attracts the singers closer to the surface. If there is no moon, the sounds can nearly always be heard (given the other conditions), but appear to be deep down in the water (note that the lagoon in some of the spots where the singing occurs is close to thirty feet deep).

According to my own experience, the sounds are almost unfailingly heard by a swimmer, swimming under water—or at least, by one who holds his head under water and listens. The symphonic volume that one is able to listen to in this manner can on occasion be truly amazing.

Possible Explanations of the Sounds

I. What do the local people say? After all, with the daily contacts that our fisherman have with the phenomenon, their observations should entitle them to a hearing.

There is not, and, as far as I can ascertain, never has been, any superstition attached to the musical sounds. In Siam, however, a similar phenomenon was regarded with reverential awe by the inhabitants, and considered to be 'the musical soul of

Siam'. There is a reference to this in the *Journal of the Siamese Society of Natural History*. (Supplement 7, (I), 1927, pp. 49-54).

Among the local residents of Batticaloa, there are a few, a very few, whom I have spoken to, who state simply, without argument, that the singing is caused by a creature inhabiting a shell (an 'Oory'). Sir James Emerson Tennent remarks this. Whether by 'Oory' the people imply the well-known fiddler crab, or whether they have in mind the original inhabitant of the shell has not been ascertained. I think it is significant that one never sees a fiddler crab in the lagoon. Certainly, the people do not refer to oysters, even though these do occur in the lagoon, and in the neighbourhood of the spots where the singing occurs. There are several arguments against the 'Oory', or mussle, that occur to me. First of all, and to me the most conclusive, I have noticed that the makers of the sounds move about quite freely, and fairly rapidly in the water. They rise and descend, and, on occasion they unmistakably appear to be following one's boat. Mollusks, and even the hermit crabs, move, if at all, sluggishly. Secondly, ichthyologists and students of marine life, as yet know of no instance of mollusks producing the sort of sounds we are speaking of. We shall touch upon this point later.

The fishermen of the Batticaloa Lagoon can name several varieties of fish that produce sounds when pulled out of the water. They will catch these fish for you, and let you hear them perform, and they will give you their Tamil names.

In fact, fish noises are so common that a practiced fisherman, angling in the pitch dark, is able to identify several of the fish he hooks by the sounds they make!

Thus, there is the கத்தலை, a comparatively large fish, commonly 8 to 10 lb. in weight and 18 to 24 inches in length. It has a large head and a slender tail; its body is white, and its belly and tail yellow. The sound that this fish produces is described as a sort of prolonged honk, and it appears to have its origin in the throat, issuing from the mouth. When asked if the sound resembles that made by a frog, or toad, the answer is very definitely No.

The பாறைக்குட்டி, though a much smaller fish, averaging only 8 to 10 inches in length, produces an even louder and more persistent honk when landed.

The செரி a small fish, 4 to 5 inches in length, white with a black back, is also a honker, but its sound is softer than either of the two previously named. The fishermen say that it sounds off as soon as it takes the hook, so that they know at once what they have caught—and probably curse it for a bait-robber!

Another large fish, the காலவ, averaging one to two feet in length, and much prized as a table fish, is said to make a sound like a baby crying—or moaning fretfully, as babies will. It is a black fish, with a yellow belly, and four whiskers on each side of its face.

Then the கெரி, is apparently a gnasher of teeth. It produces a rapid, angry sort of sound with its teeth. It is a small fish, about 4 inches long, white with yellow and black intermingled. It has some sort of peculiar protuberance or appendage near its gills.

All of these fish make their noises out of water, and, as I say, so clearly and distinctively that the fishermen can recognize them.

Besides these, there are two varieties that produce a noise underwater that can be heard above water.

Most noteworthy, perhaps, is the fish known as காலவ, which is commonly found in shoals of a hundred or so. It is a mere 3 inches in length, and has no scales. One striking peculiarity of this fish is that a certain phosphorescence appears within its throat. As it swims through the water, the shoal produces a pleasing chorus of tiny, tinkling sounds.

And finally, there is the குட்டி, a chocolate-coloured fish, with markings said to resemble those of a rat snake. The குட்டி averages 10 inches in length, and, when disturbed, darts off with a sound that is said to resemble the distant echo of a large firecracker! This fish occurs in water 8 to 10 feet deep, where rocks abound.

2. Another explanation advanced by some because of a certain superficial similarity is that the singers are frogs. Mr. C. E. Davidson, of Nawallamulla, has written to the papers about certain estuarine frogs which he had heard on the banks of the Swan River in Australia. He states, in a personal letter to me, that the locale resembles the Batticaloa Lagoon, and, what is more, the sounds too are similar to the sounds heard at Batticaloa. Scientific authorities in Australia, he says, have apparently made investigations and ascribed the musical notes, which sounded like the tuning up of one or more violins, to an estuarine frog found in those waters. Mr. Davidson did not state that the sounds emanated from *under* the water. The question of frogs croaking while submerged seems

to be one of trying to explain how they get the *air* to do so. Apparently a frog produces his croak by swelling out his throat with air, and then expelling the air, in such a way as to produce a vibration of certain chords, analogous at least to vocal chords. How can a frog keep doing this continuously, without ever coming to the surface for air? And if they came up for air, wouldn't they be observed? The singing fish, or, at least, the originators of the musical sounds in the Batticaloa Lagoon, just stay right down deep under the water, and go on singing effortlessly and without any interruption!

3. Still another 'explanation' that is sometimes proffered is that the sounds are produced by currents in the water, as it moves over the submerged rocks. There are, to be sure, currents in the lagoon, and there are rocks; but until someone can demonstrate conclusively how the two can combine to cause intermittent, fully rounded and complete musical notes, irrespective of whether the tide is ebbing or flowing, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the singing.

Fish as Producers of the Musical Sounds

And so, finally, we come to fish. The first question we must answer is: can fish sing? Can fish produce musical sounds? And, further, can they produce musical sounds that are audible out of the water?

In 1945 I happened to come across an article in an American periodical, describing some experiments with fish noises that were then being made by Dr. Christopher W. Coates of the New York Zoological Society. I wrote to Dr. Coates, describing as best I could the Batticaloa phenomenon, and asked whether he had an explanation to offer. To my surprise, I found from his reply that Dr. Coates knew of the Batticaloa singing fish, having learned of them first hand from his confrere, Mr. J. S. Nichols, of the American Museum of Natural History. I quote from Dr. Coates' letter:—

'While we are reluctant to believe that a shelled animal could make the sound, we are sufficiently experienced in natural phenomena, especially those of the sea, to know that anything, however unlikely, might be the cause. We know that many fishes make many sounds, using different methods; some by grinding teeth, some by blowing air through one or another vent in the body, some by a kind of "popping" of their mouth,

and still others by manipulation of the rays of the various fins. In fact, it would seem that there is no ordinary method of making a sound that some fish or other does not practice'.

Three years ago, an article appeared in a U.S. Navy periodical, *All Hands*, published by the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, D.C. The article describes, in popular language, the research made by the combined U.S. and Royal Navies, with a view to ascertaining the possible effect of underwater noises upon the then newly developed acoustic mines and torpedoes. (I learned later that it was this particular phase of the work that Dr. Coates was engaged in just previous to the time his labours were publicised in the press). In 1942 the allied navies had in its final stages of development the acoustic mine which was later to wreak such havoc on Japanese shipping. This mine was so designed that the noise of a passing ship would detonate it. Consequently, one readily sees how imperative it was that steps be taken to provide that no prevailing underwater noises caused the mine to explode unseasonably. I quote from the article:

'Although navy ordnance masterminds were prepared for some background noise, from surf pounding on the shores and from other sources, they were caught with their earphones down when it came to fish noise. The survey has turned up many significant facts.

Fish noises cover a broad frequency range. They are generally louder in some locations than in others. The mating season is a great stimulation to the racket under the sea. Depending on location, scientists can predict roughly the amount and prevailing frequency of fish noise that may be encountered.

To gather data, naval ordnance men, civilian scientists, and biology experts combed the east coast (of the U.S.) from Cape May to Miami with their hydrophones, and disc and tape recorders. They made records and took measurements of everything that could swim. Other experts were despatched to a wild-life laboratory at Beaufort, N.C., where they recorded the noises of fish in segregated pools, away from their friends and other background clatter. Another group set up shop in the Chicago aquarium . . . A fourth group went aboard the USS *Saluda*, a 95-foot navy sailing yawl, and cruised around in the Gulf Stream to the Bahamas, taking recordings at eight locations. As a topper, an expert was despatched to the South

Pacific, where he installed his apparatus on the USS Sumner, a destroyer converted to a survey ship . . . His survey covered 11,000 miles of Pacific Ocean and took six months to complete.

The Royal Navy sent in reports from widely scattered parts of the world. Such an imposing expenditure of scientific effort was bound to produce tangible results. And it did. Hundreds of different species of fish were recorded, identified, analysed and catalogued.

I procured a bulletin of the U.S. Naval Ordnance Laboratory, an article entitled 'Measurement of Underwater Noise Produced by Marine Life', authored by M. B. Dobrin, which describes the technique employed. The recorded sounds were played through an octave analyzer, and the frequency spectra of various localities and of individual fish were plotted on graphs. Here are some of the varieties of fish noises described in the bulletin:

'Croaker (*Micropogon undulatus*). The most common drum-fish in the estuarine waters of the U.S. East Coast is the Croaker, and this is believed to be responsible for the greatest part of the noise observed in the open-water tests previously discussed. Its noise consists of rapid drum-rolls resembling the sound of an electric drill being driven into asphalt. This sound is made by the action of special drumming muscles against the fish's air bladder, which is set into resonant vibration at a frequency that should be inversely proportional to its length'.

This does not correspond to the description of the noise made by the Batticaloa singing fish—if fish they be! It is not stated that the sounds are audible above the water. I have caught croakers myself while fishing in the Gulf of Mexico. Boys, fishing with pole and line in the dark, rely upon the croaker's croak as he comes out of the water to distinguish him from a type of catfish that has a sharp, hooked ray in its dorsal fin, which, if the fish is unwittingly grabbed, can pierce into the hand that grabs it.

'Toadfish (*Opsanus tau*). Most remarkable of all fish studied in the current survey was the toadfish. A sluggish, ill-tempered, nest-building bottom dweller, this genus produces a much more intense noise than any other form of marine life investigated. The sound is an intermittent, low-pitched musical blast of about half a second duration, somewhat similar to a boat whistle, and is concentrated at the low-frequency end of the spectrum . . .'

Another fish, with a similarly unprepossessing name and physical characteristics is the

'Hogfish. (*Orthopristis chrysopterus*). A close relative of the grunt, a common tropical offshore fish, the hogfish gets its name from the characteristic grunting noise it makes when taken from the water. This noise is produced by gnashing of the pharyngeal teeth and has a harsh, rasping quality. Under water the noise is made spontaneously in bursts of four or five rasps following each other in rapid succession',

our sweet-toned Batticaloa singers would never be mistaken for hogs! So let us turn to something with a more poetic name:

'Sea robin (*Prionotus carolinus*). The segregation tests on sea robins were not very satisfactory because specimens were seldom available, and the only recordings of their sounds were made in aquarium tanks rather than in the experimental enclosures. The noise of the species is so characteristic, however, that the aquarium tests made its identification in natural waters quite simple.

The sound of the sea robin might best be described as a modulated rhythmic squawk, squeal, or cackle, resembling the noises ordinarily associated with a barnyard'.

Besides these varieties of fish, there are, of course, a great number of others of rather common occurrence which are now identified and catalogued, together with their recorded noises. The Spot (*Leiostomus xanthurus*), closely allied to the croaker, makes a noise best described as a series of raucous honks. The sleek, streamlined, friendly porpoise produces a happy, contented song like a barn-yardful of squawking chickens! The Navy researchers were quite surprised to find that the common sea catfish makes a rhythmic drumming noise like the beating of a tom-tom, differing from the drumming of the croaker in that it comes not in rolls but in rapid, evenly-spaced beats—like a tap-dancer, doing a fast step on a barrel head. Even the humble shrimp, or prawn, gathered in his numbers makes a chorus of crackling or buzzing by banging his large claw against his smaller one.

Conclusion

The conclusion to be drawn from this data, therefore, is that fish undoubtedly can sing—or, at least, can produce sounds of a very wide variety, since we are certain that fish *are* capable of

producing sounds, we may *assume as a working hypothesis* that fish are the authors of the singing, and then proceed to search for conclusive and convincing proof to support the hypothesis, changing hypothesis into fact. Taking for guidance the principle implicitly stated by Dr. Coates (I quote his words again: '... we are sufficiently experienced in natural phenomenon, especially those of the sea, to know that anything, however unlikely, might be the cause'), we approach the problem with an open mind.

It is to be borne in mind that the Batticaloa phenomenon has one very striking feature that seems almost to defy explanation: namely, that the sounds can be heard clearly by the unaided ear *above the surface of the water*—and well above it; for we frequently listen to the singing from the Kalladi Bridge, at a height of about 18 feet above the lagoon waters.

What method or procedure must be followed in attempting to fasten responsibility for the singing upon the finny inhabitants of the lagoon? It is simple enough. I again quote Dr. Coates; since he is the only ichthyologist whom I have been able to consult). Dr. Coates, in a talk which I had with him some years ago in his aquarium in New York, told me that the only way to secure evidence that would be conclusive is to obtain live specimens of the suspected fish, and, keeping them under observation in an aquarium, catch them in the act of singing. Thus it would be possible definitely to identify the singer, and also to observe the manner in which he produces his notes—whether he be a genuine vocalist, or a scraping virtuoso. (I hope that, from the testimony of the sounds themselves, we can rule out the grinding of pharyngeal teeth!)

The procedure appears simple. But I have been deterred from attempting such segregation tests by difficulties that appear to me capable of compromising success—and by lack of the necessary funds.

The first of these difficulties: How would the captive fish behave? I quote from the bulletin of the U.S. Naval Ordnance Laboratory:

'Most of the fish that produced noise in the aquarium belonged to families previously reported to be sonic in the biological literature. There are several species, however, for which no record of sound production could be found in the literature

which turned out to be prolific noise-makers. Several members of the Pomacentridae family, such as the *Hypsiops rubicundus*, or *garibaldi*, of Southern California, and the *Eupomacentrus fuscus*, or coral red-fish, were among these, as were certain species of catfish'.

So there is this possibility. But what I fear even more is that the fish just will not sing in a tank, out of their native habitat.

What gave further weight to this belief was the investigation made in May of this year by Mr. Rodney Jonklaas of the Dehiwala Zoological Gardens. Mr. Jonklaas actually invaded the haunts of the singing fish and, through the window of his underwater mask, observed the various members of the finny tribe at their daytime pre-occupations. At least one significant fact was discovered by Mr. Jonklaas: he is sure that the fauna of the Batticaloa Lagoon is in no way different from that of any other lagoon on the East Coast, or for that matter from that of any other lagoon in the Island. There are thus no fishes, crustaceans or mollusks peculiar to the Batticaloa lagoon. (Cf. *Times of Ceylon*, 4 May, 1952, article by Kenneth J. Somanader). The fish Mr. Jonklaas encountered, therefore, were not of any strange variety, but the common fish that are to be found all around Ceylon in many other places. In the many other places, however, they do not sing! Why do they sing only in the Batticaloa Lagoon, and only in a few restricted areas? If the locale is of such importance, does it not seem highly improbable that they would sing if removed from it and placed in an enclosure? I know from my own observations that the fish do not even sing in parts of the lagoon quite contiguous to their customary band stand! Mr. Jonklaas has confirmed this point. Hence it is that I have hesitated to attempt any segregation tests in the face of such high probability that they would be futile.

Undoubtedly the experiment is worth trying. The expense involved, though, beyond my slender means, would not be great. The most satisfactory type of observation tank, according to the bulletin of the U.S. Navy Ordnance Laboratory, is simply an enclosure made with wire netting of a suitable mesh in a section of the water in which the fish live. Thus the fish are allowed to remain more or less in their native habitat—certainly more than if they were confined to a small concrete tank. There are many practical

PLATE II

THE LIMBLESS LIZARDS OF CEYLON

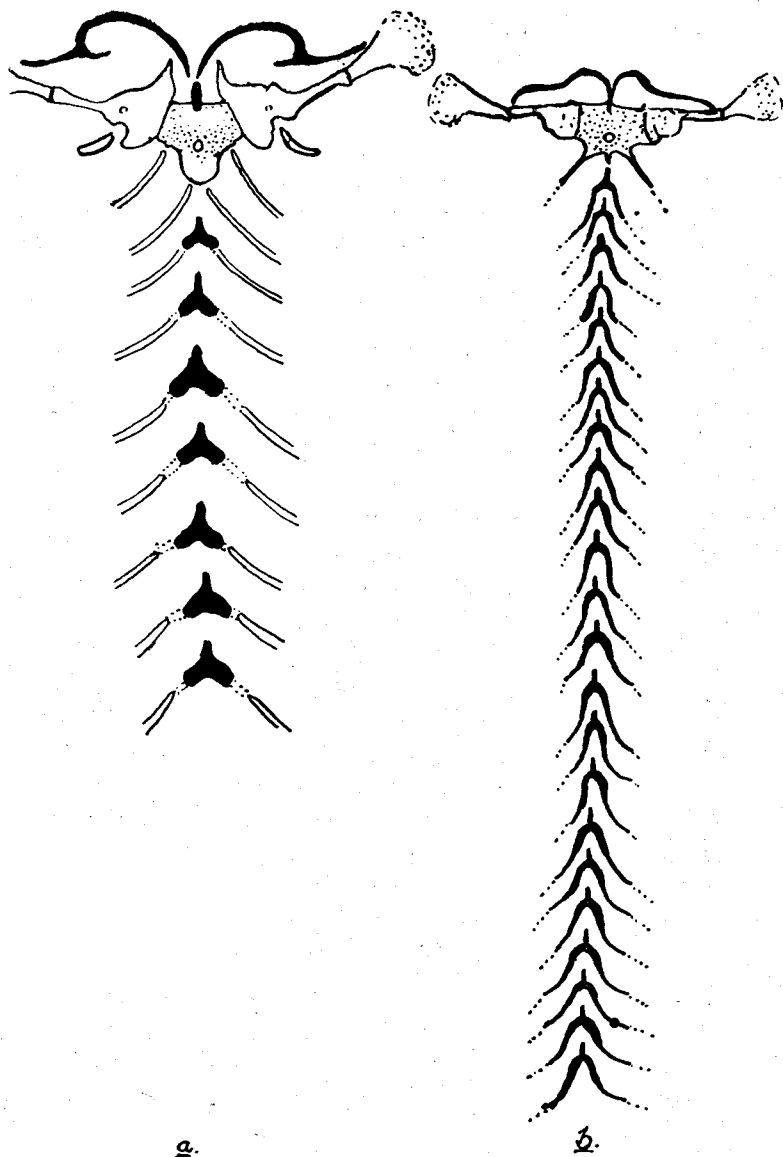


FIG. 1. Pectoral girdles of (a) *Nessia burtoni* showing only seven of the twenty-three sternabrae (b) *Bipedos sarasinorum* displaying stronger ossification than a.

The Limbless Lizards of Ceylon

By P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA

THE so-called limbless lizards of Ceylon are a subfamily of the skink family and only occur in this Island, Madagascar and South Africa. Since these small reptiles cannot cross the ocean, there must have existed a land route by which they could have spread to these three countries which are now so far apart.

Two explanations are possible (1) This subfamily originally occupied the northern hemisphere and spread southward, and as islands broke off, they contained colonies of these animals. The mainland stock was eventually exterminated by enemies that came in from the north, but these could not get at the isolated colonies to complete their work of destruction. (2) The subfamily once flourished throughout a large land mass which broke up. Much of it disappeared and the islands, its last remnants, retain colonies of these animals.

The subfamily Acontianinae comprises long bodied skinks which display a tendency to lose their limbs and develop a snake-like shape. The nostril is pierced in the rostral scale, the palatine bones are separated along the mid-line of the palate, and the bony brain case is almost closed anteriorly.

The Ceylon representatives display a unique series of evolutionary gradations from limbed lizard to a limbless snake, and possess a chain of sternabrae behind the pectoral girdle that is unique among Vertebrata as it extends half way down the body and consists of as many as 23 components. (Fig. 1). The Jacobson's organ is also complex.

The key to the genera well demonstrates the gradation from lizard to snake.

KEY

- (a) Four limbs present, four digits on each—*Chalcidoseps*.
- (b) Four limbs with three or two digits on each—*Nessia*.
- (c) Four limb stumps without digits—*Evesia*.
- (d) Two limbs only, no digits—*Bipedos*.
- (e) No limbs and sometimes no ear opening—*Anguinicephalus*.

Chalcidoseps possesses 18 sternebrae, most of the other genera possess 23 sternebrae. In some forms such as *Nessia burtoni* these are connected to the ribs by cartilage (Fig. 1a), in *Bipedos sarasinorum* the sternebrae and ribs are co-ossified. (Fig. 1b).

The nine Ceylon species of this interesting subfamily are as follows:—

1. *Chalcidoseps thwaitesi* (Günther).
2. *Nessia burtoni* Gray (Fig. 1a).
3. *Nessia didactyla* Deraniyagala.
4. *Evesia monodactyla* Gray.
5. *Bipedos sarasinorum* (Müller) (Fig. 1b).
6. *Bipedos smithi* Deraniyagala.
7. *Anguinicephalus deraniyagalae* (Taylor).
8. *Anguinicephalus layardi* (Kelaart).
9. *Anguinicephalus hickanala* Deraniyagala.

The type specimens of numbers 3, 6 and 9 above are in the British Museum, the type of 7 is in the Kansas University Museum of Zoology, U.S.A. Specimens of 3 are also in the Agassiz Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard U.S.A., the type of 5 is in Basel Museum, Switzerland, those of the remainder are in the British Museum.

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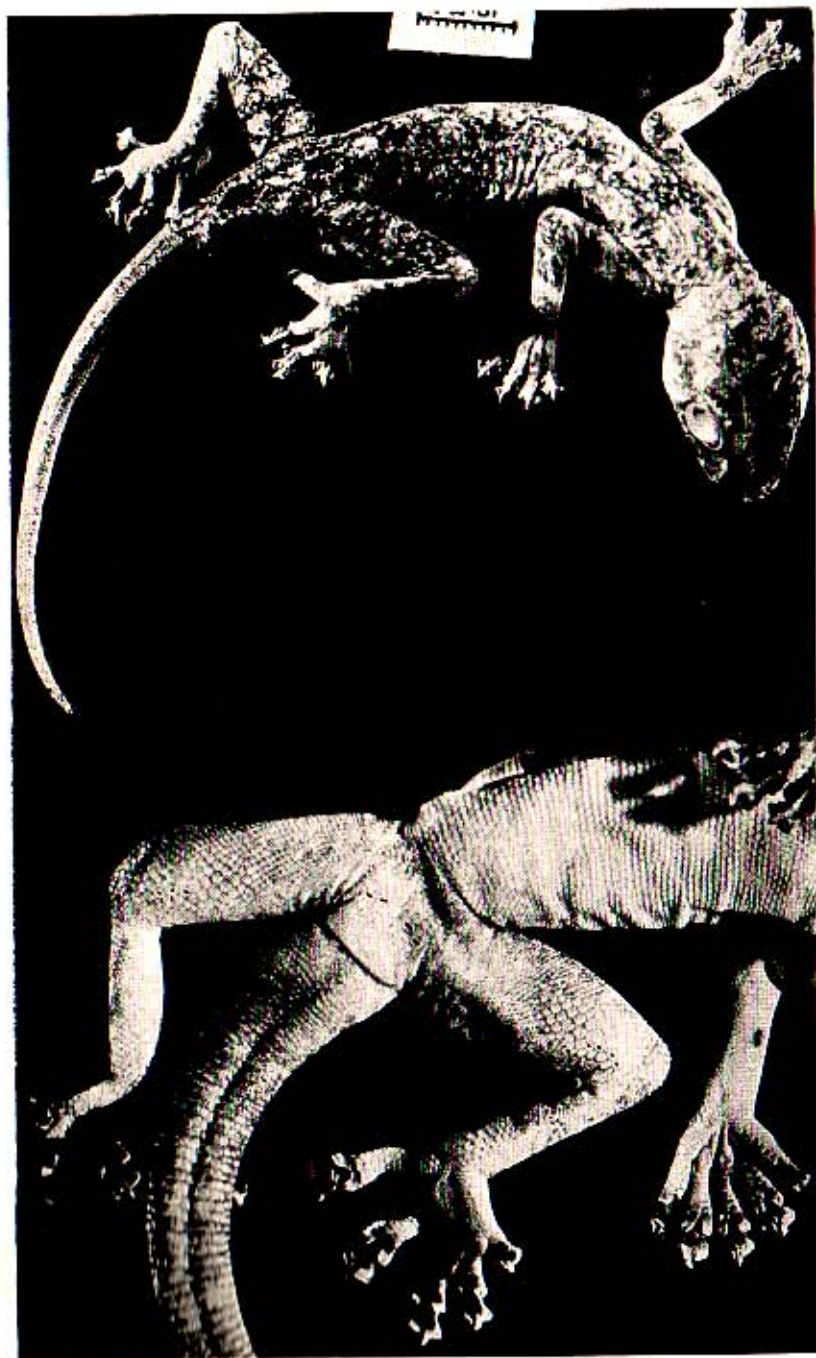
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A NEW CALODACTYLODES GECKO FROM CEYLON



a Paratype *b* type of *Calodactylodes illingworthi* sp. nov.

A New *Calodactylodes* Gecko from Ceylon

By P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA

with one plate

IN view of the intensive collecting to which Ceylon has been subjected, it is remarkable that so large a gecko as the one here described should have remained undiscovered until now.

It is the 3rd or 4th largest member of its family in Ceylon and the South Indian species which has lost its preanal pores appears to have evolved from it. The Indian species has been described as being without pores, but Dr. G. H. Parker, of the British Museum who kindly examined the Indian specimens in his charge at the writer's request states that although this fact has never been recorded the males actually possess 5 to 9 femoral pores under each knee, but lack preanal ones. He also agrees that the Ceylon gecko is a new species.

GENUS *Calodactylodes* STRAND

Calodactylodes Strand 1926. Arch. Nat. Berlin XCII. A 8, p. 54. Pupil vertical, ear opening a vertical slit, preanal pores present or absent, femoral pores present under each knee, all pores in enlarged scales. (Pl. III Fig. *b*). Two pairs of enlarged, sub-rectangular lamellae under each digit, the inner digit with only one such pair, claws retractile. Genotype *C. aureus* Beddome.

KEY TO SPECIES OF CALODACTYLODES

1. Preanal pores four, femorals two to five on each side—
C. illingworthi of Ceylon.
2. Preanal pores wanting, femorals five to nine on each side—
C. aureus of South India.

***Calodactylodes illingworthi* sp. nov.**

Named for Percy and Margaret Illingworth in appreciation of their keen interest in the fauna of Ceylon.

Sinhala name. Maha gal huna.

Type. A male with preanal pores 2/2, femorals 4/3, No. R.G. 170, Colombo National Museum.

Paratypes. 8 males 7 females. One of these is in the British Museum.

Dimensions of 'type' snout to vent 81 mm., tail 92 mm.

Head wider than body, snout length slightly exceeds distance from eye to ear, 13 to 12 upper, and as many lower labials. Nostril between rostral, labial, internasal and two large scales, mental smaller than adjacent labials, cephalic granules small, lateral gulars enlarged in two or three rows, ventrals large, smooth squarish and juxtaposed upon abdomen and on under surface of tail. Tail with 27 segments.

Pores, preanals two on each side separated from those of the opposite side by 2 or 3 scales. Femoral pores two to five on each side and more or less close to the knee joint.

Color. Dorsally yellow ochre, dark brown and grey flecks, a row of six dark brown bands separated by light spots from nape to base of tail; each band is reduced to a vertebral spot in the adult. Four bluish spots laterally from eye to occiput and 11 to 13 along each side of body. Nine dark rings upon tail almost as wide as the interspaces, limbs with 5 or 6 dark bands which form a coarse reticulation. Ventrally pale grey to yellow with a bright orange gular patch.

Habitat. Occurs with *Hemidactylus maculatus humae* Deraniyagala upon rocks at Nuvaragala, 1,200 feet above sea level, in the eastern province, nocturnal, endemic, Ceylon.

Reproduction. Clusters of eggs were attached to the roof of a cave upon Nuvaragala on 14.11.53. The nesting spot is communal, being apparently used by a number of females. About thirty eggs were attached to the egg shell bases adhering to the rock after the previous season's nesting. Their embryos were in various phases of development. The average dimensions of ten eggs in mm. were as follows length 14.19 mm., breadth 11.8, depth 8.2. The egg length ranges from 13 to 15 mm., the breadth from 11 to 12.4 mm. depth 6 to 9.5 mm. The newly hatched young is 27 mm. from snout to vent, tail 29 mm., axilla to groin 11.5 mm.

Food. Beetle larvae, glow-worms, and grubs were found in two specimens.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III

Calodactylodes illingworthi SP. NOV.

- (a) Dorsal view of the *paratype*, with a 10 mm. scale alongside $\times 1.2$ times natural size.
 (b) Ventral view of the *type*, pores shown in ink $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$ times natural size.

The Outbreak of the Kandyan-Dutch War of 1761 and the Great Rebellion

Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council

By J. H. O. PAULUSZ

THE minutes of the Political Council span the whole period of Dutch rule in an almost unbroken series from the year 1640 till 1796. For the most part they deal with the normal, manysided business of a great trading company that was also a Government:—cargoes, rents and taxes, the language, laws and customs of the people, schemes of education, agriculture and public works. But at intervals in seasons of danger or emergency, when special measures had to be framed, a second line of minutes of a secret nature would arise, branching away from the first and reserved only for issues of graver moment.¹ These Privy Council records contain the essence of all that was said and decreed by members while they wrestled with the hardest problems:—scandals in the administration; how far to lay impious hands on the feudal and caste systems; whether to hang rebel leaders or gag them, and give their followers a free pardon or a whiff of grape-shot; what pairs of eyes and ears it would be profitable to use at Kandy and what animosities to whet; whether to brandish the olive-branch or the sword.

At these confidential meetings the despatches and advices which called for executive action were tabled and read out; the arguments for and against a suggested solution were marshalled and weighed; and the overriding reasons which clinched the final decision were set out in detail. Thus, all the inner workings of the government mind and the motives underlying its actions were clearly revealed. Not only can actual events be studied but also groundless fears and imminent contingencies which in practice failed to come to a head but yet governed daily action. Apart from setting down the political and military designs of the central authority, these minutes also embody reports from secret service agents and diplomatic envoys, tales of escaped prisoners, petitions from humble villagers and even

1. Ceylon Government Archives: Dutch Records. Volumes 737-790, (Secret Minutes) and 4864-4872, (Secret Committee).

parables by Sinhalese Disāvas, which give vivid pictures of the habits and social life of the people.

It is proposed to take up for translation the volumes for the years 1762-66²; a stirring term covering the war between the King of Kandy and the Dutch; the British attempt to fish in troubled waters and gain a foothold in the country by sending an Envoy to the Kandyan Court; the miscarriage of that mission; the campaigns of Governor van Eck and the dramatic story of the long peace talks that culminated in the Treaty of 1766.

Events Abroad

A brief glance at the international scene abroad will help towards a clearer understanding of the situation that was taking shape in Ceylon. Holland had lost its place as a world power and was already in decline. Its strength had been sapped by a series of long wars, first under William III against Louis XIV; next during the struggle for the Spanish throne (1702-1713) and then over the Austrian Succession (1743-1748). It was further enfeebled by internal party strife; the death of William III in 1702 was followed by a stadtholderless interlude lasting forty-five years during which the regents and various contentious factions were too busy with their own jealousies and quarrels to heed the decay of the state. The carrying trade of the world was passing into the grip of stronger hands. Even the mighty East India Company was moribund, wasted partly by a vast cancer of illicit private trade within its own body. Besides, though men were eager enough to buy and sell its shares and speculate in its paper values, they were less active in going to the far ends of the earth to grow and gather the essential raw materials and commodities which were the true foundations of its wealth.

The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in which Britain, allied to Prussia, was fighting against a coalition of Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and afterwards Spain had reached its final stages. But Holland was able to keep precariously aloof. In 1759, the year of British victories, the navy of France was destroyed in the two decisive actions of Quiberon and Lagos: the French overseas settlements were cut off from all hope of help from the mother country, and Quebec was taken by General Wolfe.

2. The Dutch Text of the Secret Minutes for 1762 (Vol. 748) with Notes and English Translation by the present writer is now in the Press.

Nearer home Clive had been gaining his successes in Bengal and the Carnatic; the French Governor-General Dupleix had been recalled in disgrace, the battle of Plassey had been won in 1757 and Sir Eyre Coote had crushed Count de Lally in 1760 at Wandewash, half-way between Madras and Pondicherry.

The British power had swept across the peninsula from the west and reached its further shores looking out upon the Bay of Bengal. While consolidating themselves as the dominant race they sought a naval base to guard their eastern coastline which was then destitute of suitable harbours.³ Bombay, on the other side, was a thousand miles distant by sea and almost entirely cut off during the gales of the north-east monsoon, from November to March. But Ceylon, astride the cross-roads commanding the approaches to the Bay of Bengal and the trade routes to the far east, drew their hungry gaze. Their appetite was sharpened by the knowledge that in its southerly half could be found an abundance of cinnamon, alike of the finest quality and, at that time, the single source of supply for European nations.

Events at Home

In the home circle the Dutch held control of the northern, southern and part of the western seaboard and denied to the Sinhalese any opening for trade with the outer world. The Kandyans were dependent on them even for essentials such as salt, dried fish and cloth which had to be brought at prices fixed by the Company;—though indeed the hardships of the blockade were somewhat lessened by the enterprise of freebooters and smugglers. The Dutch also, for their part, were hampered by stringent orders from their Directors to carry out two policies, discrepant if not mutually exclusive; on the one hand exact from all classes of the inhabitants the full share of dues and feudal services to which they were liable, so as to keep the Company's revenues always at the top-most level; and on the other, avoid war with the Sinhalese by every possible expedient.

The throne of Kandy was occupied from 1747⁴ till 1782 by Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, a princeling from Madura. He had come to

3. See, Lennox Mills, *Ceylon Under British Rule*, Oxford University Press: 1933.

4. He was too young to assume the Sword of State till 1756, though his predecessor had died in 1747.

the Island when his sister married the previous king, Sri Vijaya Raja Sinha, who likewise hailed from the same region. The true Sinhalese dynasty had become extinct in 1739 with the death of Narendra Sinha. In default of direct male issue the succession had passed to the Nayakars of South India, from a practice of nominating, as heir to the throne, the brother of the reigning Sovereign's wife.

The relations between King and Company had steadily declined, first to a state of habitual ill-will and thence to an armed neutrality, broken only by sly acts of malice, as opportunity arose for either side to strike some vengeful blow without provoking a general conflict. Each nursed a catalogue of grievances against the other;— the King because he was shut in behind his mountain barriers and allowed no freedom of independent trade, not even a coasting vessel once a year with arecanuts from Puttalam to the mainland; the export of elephants, once a royal monopoly, had been usurped by the Company; pretenders to the Kandyan throne were given countenance in Colombo; and Sinhalese nationals in the coastal belt were complaining of oppression and extortion by foreigners. On the Dutch part there was anger at Kandyan acts of terrorism against Sinhalese subjects of the Company, who were cowed into inactivity, so that they shunned the services due from them in return for the lands they enjoyed; the King's habit of harbouring deserters, jail-birds and political firebrands from across the frontier and 'converting his Court into a lair in which infamous malefactors could kennel'⁵ the arbitrary manner in which Dutch citizens and shipwrecked crews were detained in Kandyan territory; and the punitive raids wantonly carried out against Salāgama villages engaged in peeling and transporting cinnamon.

Disaffection among the Company's subjects

In the Company's own realm also, among its own peasantry, discontents were multiplying as the result of an ill-timed zeal for gathering taxes displayed by Governor Schreuder in 1759-60. In former years the payments due to the State under the land tenure system had been reluctantly met or evaded according to the vigilance or inattention of the revenue departments. Gardens planted by consent of the government were bound to pay a third part of their annual harvest, but when cultivated by stealth, without licence,

were subjected to a higher levy of one half of the yield (if detected).⁶ But, in practice, these rates had not accrued in full to the Lord of the Land because the machinery for checking title or the terms of each grant had been imperfect. Over wide areas of the country dues were only recovered fitfully or on a reduced scale or not at all; and in some cases had been in abeyance for generations. The outstanding rents in one District alone, the Siyanē Kōralē, amounted to 164,000 Rix-dollars. Governor Schreuder girded himself for a relentless campaign to enforce the law and wring from the people not only their debts for the current year but also the full sum of their arrears. After having made the requisite investigations he thought that the realisation of money from the property of the Company in those lands would yield a very considerable amount and he wanted the possessors either to pay the value or to sell the lands to those who offered most. A general opposition having taken place he sent troops into the provinces to cut down by force the coconut trees of the gardens in dispute.⁷ He was not altogether pedantic, however, in this large-scale drive and agreed to grant various concessions to the poorest of the villagers in the remoter hamlets. But he bore heavily on the better classes in the more crowded areas and acted with unsparing rigour against offending chiefs and minor headmen, thereby giving unparalleled provocation to the most powerful agents of mischief.

In the case of paddy-fields the right to collect the revenue was farmed out to renters, a rapacious class which, from its insolent vexations, has earned for itself a special infamy in all ages and countries.

Cinnamon proved another cause in swelling the discontent. As a staple export of the country it was a protected plant. To enable it to thrive unchecked severe laws were enacted against cutting down or damaging a single bush or even raising near it other (and perforce baser) crops. Lands producing it were never granted to individuals or, if unwittingly settled, were quickly resumed to the Company. Gardens and paddy-fields opened up on the edges of a jungle would have to be abandoned, regardless of hardship to the villager, if cinnamon was found within its depths. Tongues became busy in the hamlets spreading the wildest rumours that Schreuder

5. Volume 2,216. Despatch to the Directors in Holland, 25-1-1761.

6. Volume 95. Dutch Resolutions of Council, 29-6-1745.

7. Burnand's Memoir. C.L.R. 2 (1895-6) page 271.

was uprooting whole plantations of their jak and coconut to make more room for his precious bark⁸ 'Cinnamon', they vowed 'can be costly. It can be dearly bought'

Factions at Kandy

The mutterings of the low-country were echoed in sympathy from Kandy. But the highlanders themselves were rent by inner dissensions. Ever since the arrival of the new rulers from India a strong Dravidian element had established itself in the capital. In course of time two factions had arisen, 'two distinct classes of courtiers, the one Indian by birth, Hindu in religion, Tamil in speech and foreigners in the land; the other country born, Buddhist, Sinhalese, sons of the soil, bred in the customs of the land and kin with its people'.¹⁰ Places carrying money and power were being distributed among the new comers at an alarming rate.

The Dutch bent their energies towards widening this cleavage and reminded the pure Sinhalese aristocracy with steadfast emphasis:— 'Is it not high time that Your Honours and other Lords of the Court who for generations have been the natural aristocracy of Ceylon and are still attached to the ancient form of government, tried by every conceivable means to forestall the consequences mentioned above?—consequences that must inevitably be these—that foreigners who are not lovers of the Buddhist Faith will suppress it and with it Your Honours and all other noblemen and inhabitants of rank; and will in the end extirpate them and their children utterly from the land of the living'.¹¹

These exertions were watched and turned to account by the Indian party at Court, headed by the King's youngest brother and father, Narenappa Nayakar, who sought to find occasion against the Dutch and inflame the royal rancour against them. Another forward agent in sowing dissension was the State Adigar, Galegoda

8. The grievances against the Dutch, which included their careless inattention to caste prejudices, are set out in a letter handed to Schreuder in October 29, 1760, by the Kandyan delegates. See, Secret letters to Batavia, Volume 4, 931.

9. Letter of 25-1-1761 to the Directors. Volume 2, 216.

10. History of Ceylon. Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., page 256.

11. Secret Minutes of 31-5-1762.

Rala,¹² who fed the King's mind on suspicions and fears 'chattered incessantly into his ear and inflated him with windy projects'.¹³ One such scheme was a close confederation between Ceylon and the States of Tanjore and Madura, based on mutual trading advantages and leading perhaps to an ultimate union under one Crown. (Since Britain was already spreading her influence into Madura, the plan was largely fanciful). Their present aim was to provoke an early war against the Company, in the calculation that one or other of the powers on the mainland would lend aid towards expelling them.

The design was helped conclusively to success in July 1760 when a plot was uncovered to assassinate the King and replace him with a Siamese prince called variously Dretsamani and Kromptipiet, who had newly arrived on a pilgrimage to do pious works. The conspirators had been baulked of the straightforward use of poisoning or the other less obtrusive forms of murder because of the vigilance of the palace household and kitchen staff. They had resorted therefore, with ill-success, to a roundabout clumsy stratagem to manoeuvre the king to the edge of a pitshaft and push him headlong to his death. The ring-leaders, and foremost Samanakodi Ralahamy, Second State Adigar were executed. But the incident was exploited to pin charges of treason on a number of innocent persons who had advocated peaceful relations with the Dutch and to sweep away these doubtful elements in a general purge. Not all the Company's friends perished. A few were as yet unassailable, notably the Disāva of the Three and Four Kōralēs, Dumbara Ralahamy and his brother the Disāva of Uva,¹⁴ and above all, the King's Yakada Doli or secondary wife, Duggaṇṇā Unnānsē daughter of Bintenna Disāva and grand-daughter of the blind and aged Disāva Mampitiya.¹⁵

Approach of War

The Dutch had no share in the plot; but suspicion could be guided and trained upon them with some show of plausibility. The King, in the tremors of his recent escape, was easily persuaded that

12. (Also known as Munwatta. The Mohottiyars Angamuna, Palipāna and Mivatura were also pro-war).

13. Volume 2, 216. Letter from the Disāva of the Three and Four Kōralēs, Dec. 1760.

14. Later said to have been recalled and detained under watch at Kandy.

15. Secret Letter to Batavia 6-4-1761, Volume 2, 260. See also Article 23 of Questionnaire, appended to the Minutes of 17-3-1761 in Vol. No. 746.

See also D'Oyly's Diary. (Ed. by Codrington) *Jnl. R.A.S. (Ceylon)*, Vol. 25, No. 69, p. 154 Note.

the attempt could only have been made at their prompting. Thenceforward his will hardened and set in an iron resolve to rid himself of these odious parasites.

No formal declaration of war was made. Part of the King's strategy was to avoid as long as possible an open rupture with the enemy, but meanwhile to spread alarm and confusion through his outer provinces, put his populations to flight or shake them in their allegiance, rob him of the revenues and services on which he was nourished, weaken his grip on the countryside and smite him back within the smallest compass along the coast. The incursions into the Company's territory could be disavowed or, at need, admitted and explained as the protective action of some fiery disāva overcome with pity for the sufferings of the inhabitants.

Frontier watchposts were closed and stockaded by the Kandyan Commanders, the guards were doubled, roads blocked and bridges barred as a precaution, it was said, against the spread of an epidemic of small-pox.¹⁶ Two factors favoured the King in the early stages of his aggression; one was the Company's ban on war as an instrument of policy, repeated in their vehement orders to strain unremittingly after appeasement, from fear lest the British would grasp at the first opportunity to meddle. The other was Governor Schreuder's inert mind which could not brace itself to read the portents and measure the full scale of the storm or challenge the judgement of his superiors in Batavia; but instead, groped for a solution along familiar lines and trifled with diplomatic missions, soothing parleys and the gift of a few baubles.

Towards the end of 1760 the disaffected provinces boiled over into open rebellion, with outbreaks of organised violence at each end of the Company's territory, near Negombo in the north and Mātara in the south. The insurgents, in large part drawn from the ranks of the lascorins or feudal militia, joined the approaching Kandyans and gave themselves to sabotage and pillage, wrecking bridges and setting fire to buildings, especially cinnamon warehouses. Together they overran the Hāpitigam, Alutkūru, Siyanē and Hēvāgam Kōralēs which guarded the approaches to Colombo and, deep in the south, crossed the Giruvās and stood poised over Mātara. The old boundaries were everywhere effaced and the soil

16. Secret Letter to the Directors 25-1-1761, Vol. 2,216.

re-annexed to His Majesty's dominions. But Schreuder, 'organising peace', with imposing calm folded his arms and enjoined his officers to vie with him in non-resistance.

The wave of invasion flowed up to Mābola, Mahāra, Kelaniya and reached Pas Betal and Nagalagam. Rioters and evildoers followed in its rear with knife and torch and bludgeon to take advantage of the turmoil and prey on peaceable inhabitants. The civil administration was therefore redistributed; the Siyanē Kōralē up to Nagalagam was given to Dumbara Ralahamy, Disāva of the Three and Four Kōralēs; the Hāpitigam, Alutkūru and Negombo districts to the Disāva of the Seven Kōralēs; while the Grand Adigar Galegoda, who seems to have assumed the functions of Supreme Commander, took control of the Mātara disāva and other provinces up to Hēvāgam. Prominent low-country chiefs, the Mudaliyars of Siyanē and Hēvāgam and, in the south, Kahandava Senaratna Master of the Hunt, and Mudaliyar Ekanayaka were going over to the King.¹⁷

Under orders issued by Galegoda Rala, a large force of highlanders, with field artillery, was encamped near Atanagala and another at Alamunagoda, from whence an attack was being prepared against Hanvālla.

The morale of the Company's troops was reported to be sinking from continued inaction; their transport labourers were deserting; unless a vigorous offensive was launched and the initiative regained, it was feared that not only Hanvālla but also Batticaloa, Kalpitiya, Negombo and Kalutara might be overpowered. Even Schreuder, recluse among his theorems of peace, began to bethink himself whether it was not now time that his garrisons looked to their weapons and kept their powder dry. 'After much careful deliberation', he wrote, 'I have come to the conclusion that the mood of the Court is unfriendly. Efforts at conciliation are of no avail'.¹⁸ His soldiers out in the forward areas had ventilated the same view in blunter words.

Reinforcements were sent to the threatened towns; a hundred troops to Mātara; nearly 150 including artillery-men to Negombo; and a like contingent to Hanvālla. No help could be borrowed

17. They were followed by the Muhandirams Don Louis Dissanayake (Talpe Pattu) and Manamperi of the Four Gravets.

18. Letter to the Directors: 25-1-1761. Vol. 2,216.

even for a short time from Trincomalee, because a British squadron under Admirals Cornish and Stevens, full of latent menace, lay brooding in the harbour. Although they afterwards set sail to take part in the blockade of Pondicherry, they had pinned down Dutch forces urgently needed in other parts at the scenes of conflict. Likewise, little relief could as yet be expected from the Coromandel where the British were thought to be probing for weak spots.

The fury of the Sinhalese blazed up almost entirely in the upper and nether sectors of the Company's corridor and along the borderlands where Kandyan influence was strong. But the bulk of their fellow subjects in the middle districts of the coastal belt remained comparatively quiet. There were, indeed, certain sulky elements chafing under the new burdens and railing against the government, but they were not explosive and could not be heated and kindled into revolt. In spite of exhortations from the King's followers, therefore, the Salpiti, Raigam, Pasdun, Valallāviti, Galle, Vāligam and Dolosdas Kōralēs, in the main, stayed firm in their attachment.

Neither could the turbulent Salāgama clans, as a body, be brought into the struggle.¹⁹ This hardy, high-mettled people, quick to reach for their weapons in redress of grievances, had earlier been loosely knit under their several chiefs into a separate department. Their courage and endurance in ranging the forests for cinnamon, risking their lives constantly amid wild beasts and other dangers, had gained for them treatment on a special footing. Accordingly, at this time they were not able to find occasion for a quarrel against the Dutch; and despite the spell of the tumults around them, for their part curbed a reckless instinct to come out fighting freelance—even though this denial of self-expression might be irksome. A highland army had driven a wedge through the heart of their settlements from Bentota to Kosgoda cutting the road on each side to Kalutara and to Galle: had appointed new headmen from its own partisans to watch their movements; and had closed the frontiers from the landward side where the wild cinnamon grew. Lonely groups among them were often cut off by large Kandyan raiding parties and carried away into the hills, while the remainder were threatened with merciless reprisals against their undefended wives and families²⁰ if they left home in order to harvest any

19. Letter to Directors: 25-1-1761. Vol. 2, 216.

20. The Rodiyas would be chosen to inflict this punishment.

cinnamon. Their work, in consequence, was brought almost to a standstill for a season.

Outbreak of War

Everywhere armed and angry men were on the march; the chances were fast multiplying that the paths of the rival troops would cross; and indeed, on January 2nd, 1761 they met in collision and opened fire and drew blood. The phantom of peaceful negotiation at which Schreuder had been clutching was shrouded in the smoke of cannon. Two engagements broke out simultaneously at two different places in nearly opposite corners of the Company's land—at Anda-ambalama near Negombo and at Beralapanatara in the Moravak Kōralē.

In the northern sector Lieutenant Jan D. Fedder, commanding a relief column heading for Negombo, was challenged in the name of Disāva Dumbara of the Seven Kōralēs and asked his business. He answered that he had been sent to clear the district of rebels and restore order and free the Company's subjects from oppression. His further passage was opposed; so he went into action and succeeded in breaking through to his objective, inflicting heavy casualties with his field-guns. At Beralapanatara a small Dutch detachment about 20 strong was attacked by partisans and cut down almost to a man.

These crowning strokes shook the parting Governor into a spasm of activity. On January 16th, 1761, he appointed Major A. F. Bisschoff²¹ to assert the Company's authority, direct offensive operations in the various sectors and organise the defences. These last were unsound in every arm. The parsimony of the Directors had left them ill-manned and ill-equipped for large-scale or sustained warfare against a determined foe. Mātara was mentioned by the soldiers only in derision as the 'so-called fort'; while Negombo with walls of sand and rubble, could be blown to pieces by a single cannonade.

With a hundred men and a few officers Bisschoff set out at once for Hanvālla, against which strong Kandyan forces were converging.

21. The obvious choice: he had arrived in October 1760 by the ship *Lynnuyden* from Batavia to take up duties as Major and Chief of the Forces, in succession to the deceased Ulrich Hemmingson. He took his seat on the Political Council on October 29th, 1760.

He was delayed on the march by frequent roadblocks, consisting of stockades or massive boulders or simply felled trees, with traps and pitfalls all dominated by batteries hidden in the jungle. On arrival, while making ready to meet the imminent assault, he issued a Proclamation which read:—

‘ In spite of our friendship with the Court, there are certain unscrupulous elements who have misled or threatened our loyal subjects, so that they ran away from home, abandoning their orchards and paddy-fields. All fugitives are invited to come back without fear, for I will protect them and see that they can cultivate their lands in peace. A pardon will be issued even to those who have done wrong’.

There was little response. Only a few turned back; no marked shrinkage took place in the rebel ranks.

Siege and Capture of Hanvälla

On February 4th Bisschoff left Hanvälla and turned to Pugoda, a fortified camp which protected food convoys bound for Colombo; thereafter to Kalutara a vital base from which the land route could be kept open to Galle; and to Negombo whence mobile columns and light patrols could operate in the northern sector; and onwards to other areas where fighting had flared up.

Nevertheless, after a six weeks' siege Hanvälla was wiped out. The defenders, numbering 130, under the command of Lieutenant H. W. A. Bremer, were well supplied with food and ammunition and stood fast against the earlier attacks. But in March they were mortally stricken by disease and lack of water. The only well in the fort was found to be tainted with the festering carcasses of animals cast in, under cover of darkness, by a handful of prisoners detained by the garrison. During the long drought of this season the level of the water sank till only a rotting sludge could be scooped up from the bottom. Volunteers who tried to reach the river were shot down by Kandyan marksmen from the batteries which ringed the fort. Nor could messages for help find their way through the tight cordon. Dumbara Ralahamy,²² Disäva of the Three and Four Kōralēs who was directing the assault, repeatedly summoned the garrison to surrender on honourable terms; but they rejected his offers and kept the resistance alive. Sacks of salt were emptied into the well and

22. Elder brother of the other Dumbara, Disäva of the Seven Kōralēs.

the brackish, corrupt fluid was then boiled with seed paddy in a despairing effort to cleanse away the poison. But all who drank of it were seized with violent pains and died. At length on March 23rd, when there was no sign of outside relief, the defence broke down from thirst. Almost at the same hour Schreuder was saying in Council that Hanvälla was comfortably placed for stores and no anxiety need be felt as to its safety. The survivors, reduced to fifty who could keep their feet, agreed to capitulate under promise of safe conduct to Colombo. The boats were in readiness to take them off and already some of the sick and wounded were being embarked when a sudden fusillade rang out and most of them were struck down. The remainder of the European troops were led away singly or in pairs and beheaded. But a few were spared—Commandant Bremer (whose wife had died in the siege) and his four children, Authorised Officer Van Langenberg, and Sergeant Asmus and his wife. Disäva Dumbara was at first charged with treachery for his share in the massacre but evidence later brought to light showed that he was merely carrying out the King's special command.

Hakmana and Tangalle Taken

Away in the south Galegoda Ralahamy, Grand Adigar, had moved down in strength for the invasion of the Mātara territory. It was he who had planned and launched the general offensive in the north, though the tactical operations against Hanvälla and Negombo had been left in the hands of junior commanders. For the present he was high in royal favour and was exalted to the rank of First Adigar, at the expense of Pilimatalauvē who was reduced to second place; he was also made Disäva of Puttalam and of Sabaragamuva and was heaped with sixteen other offices, including the governorship of the newly carved Mātara province. Accompanied by his brother, Disäva of Uva, as well as the Disäva of Hanguranketa and a staff of sixty Chiefs, he drove forward past Katuvana and set up his main headquarters at Mulkirigala. Two of his columns advanced to Walasmulla and forked out to right and left, one to encircle Hakmana and the other to cut off the fortalices of Katuvana, gathering up on its way a Dutch convoy of half a dozen elephants laden with food and ammunition for the garrison.

The Dutch forces for the defence of this area amounted to about 500 men distributed as follows:—at Hakmana 211, at Tangalle 112, at Katuvana about 60 and the remainder held in

reserve at Mātara.²³ Disāva Leembruggen lay at Hakmana round which the Kandyans and partisans were closing. He was therefore ordered by the Commandeur of Galle, Abraham Samlant²⁴ to fall back through the rebel lines on Tangalle where, together with its garrison, he could build up sufficient strength for an effective stand. The scarcity of water in Tangalle at this season had been overlooked by Samlant. But as soon as he was made aware of it, he decided that the town should be abandoned as unfit for a siege; and on January 23rd, he feverishly sent a sloop and took off the garrison and landed them at Mātara, without giving thought to the Hakmana force.

At this stage he recollected that Leembruggen and his column, vulnerable on all sides, would now be withdrawing through large hostile formations under incessant heavy attacks to the shelter of the Tangalle fort which had been silenced. After their continuous battle they would then enjoy a choice between two courses, either to launch a fresh assault on Tangalle and retake it from a powerful army or cleave a return passage back to Hakmana which would also have been already seized and firmly held.

He lost no time therefore in repairing his oversight by throwing to almost certain destruction the troops whom he had just extricated from Tangalle. This detachment was increased to 150 under Lieutenant Wynbergen and Ensign Quinix and sent forward on the 24th along roads swarming with partisans and subjected to mounting Kandyan pressure on the six hours' march to Hakmana. Perhaps, it was hoped that for some reason Leembruggen had disobeyed orders and refused to move, so as to enable Samlant to rescue him. Towards evening the remnants of the Tangalle company returned. Wynbergen and Quinix had fallen with nearly fifty of their men; over twenty others were badly wounded; but their forlorn hope had found no sign of Dutch troops at Hakmana.

23. The combined force consisted of:—

1 Captain, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 16 Sergeants, 22 Corporals, 350 men, 29 Artillerymen and Marines and 56 Malays—a total of 481—Letter to the Directors: 25-1-1761. Vol. 2, 216.

24. Born at Colombo in 1713, the son of Barent Samlant Junior Merchant, and died at Galle in 1766. His daughter Agnita Clara married William J. Van de Graaff, later Governor of Ceylon. There is a beautiful hatchment set up to his memory in the Dutch Presbyterian Church at Galle.

That same morning, the 24th January, Leembruggen broke out from Hakmana blasting his way forward with field-guns and made for Tangalle, normally five and a half hours' march away. He was fiercely assailed by the insurgents; and harried along his flanks, suffering severely at roadblocks which were raked with fire from harquebuses. But he fought through to the outskirts of Tangalle with the loss of a quarter of his men killed and half the remainder disabled. There the commando was brought to a halt, listening in vain for the roar of answering gunfire and the sortie which they were expecting from the fort. Their hopes came to life for an instant when one of the soldiers gazing out seaward through the trees gave a great shout and called out that he could see a sail far out across the bay. The cry was taken up, that a friendly ship was coming in with help.

The thinning ranks rallied and in a final charge gained the beach and the shelter of the rocks. But their signals passed unheeded and the unknown vessel drew away out of sight over the horizon.²⁵ Worn down under the resolute assaults led by Mohottiyar Bandaranayake and Dukgama Mahatma of the King's bodyguard, and reduced to 50 men, nearly all wounded, with their ammunition spent, they saw the bitter truth that no aid could reach them. The last dregs of their endurance were drained away and, after parleying for terms, they surrendered. The prisoners were put to death, with the exception of Leembruggen, Captain Dies and one or two others, who were removed to the Grand Adigar's headquarters at Mulkirigala and thence to Kandy.

Katuvana fell to the Kandyans after a three-day investment when its Commandant, Lieutenant Hofman was misled by a tactical deception. Some of the garrison escaped into the surrounding jungle, a few others were spared, among them Hofman (who died later in captivity) and Surgeon Koch; but the most part were not admitted to quarter.

Thus Samlant instead of concentrating his scattered forces in the main defence centre at Mātara, had committed them in isolated units away from cover against greatly superior numbers so that

25. Narrative of Jacob Barsenbag who was shot through the arm and wounded by a swordthrust in the shoulder but escaped by swimming to another part of the coast, where he was nursed by a Buddhist priest. Secret Minutes of Council. 19 August, 1761. Vol. 747.

they were destroyed piecemeal on ground favourable to their opponents.

Although he had been directed to take the field in person if necessary, he had merely paid a visit to Mātara and was again rooted in Galle from whence he severely censured the two detachments for their gross lack of tactical skill. Thereupon he turned his military thinking to the defence of Mātara. But here the free play of his plans was hampered by interference from the Colombo Council, now including Bisschoff, who had begun to pry and ask vexatious questions.²⁶ Moreover, the new garrison commander, Provisional Captain Fedder, a bold and a vigorous officer who had distinguished himself in several actions at Negombo was proving obstinate and expressing views which conflicted sharply with his own.

Drive on Mātara

The Council had asked whether Mātara could be held continuously through the approaching south-west monsoon and during the after months till November, when the expected relief would arrive. Samlant, big with confidence in his ability to withstand attack vicariously, in reply ranted that he felt no terrors; it was true that he had been out of touch with the garrison for some little time, since the land route was cut and the sea-voyage tedious, but, studying the picture objectively from his seat in Galle, he judged that they would win through 'if they had bowels'. He had embraced a theory that the Sinhalese, like the Lacedaemonians of old, had no aptitude for taking fortresses and would sit down helplessly in front of a wall.

In contrast Fedder, battle-hardened from Negombo and once again hotly engaged, bluntly said he could not do it. He was under the severest pressure and already in early March was taxed to the utmost of his powers by the advance formations of the partisans. The salted food and lack of sleep had reduced his men to poor condition, for they were standing to arms day and night; if reinforcements could not come he must pull out or be cut to pieces.²⁷ The Council therefore authorised him to use his discretion and withdraw when the town became untenable.

26. They commented on the absurdity of evacuating the Tangalle garrison which should have kept the fort or marched out a short distance to meet Leembruggen, instead of undertaking a futile journey via Mātara, along the wrong route.

27. Letter of 6-4-1761. Vol. 2,260.

After the capture of Hakmana and Tangalle, the Grand Adigar Galegoda paused for some weeks at his base in Mulkirigala to build up his meagre resources in artillery. Measured against the firepower of the antagonist, his feebleness in this arm dwindled almost to impotence, resting only on some units with jingals or harquebuses and minor field-guns.²⁸ Even the rest of his men-at-arms carried for the most part obsolete weapons—firelocks or pikes and bows. But, in a formal attack against the fortified barrier at Mātara, he must begin by putting down a heavy sustained bombardment, or else resign himself to enormous losses. He set himself therefore to raise and equip a battalion of gunners and put them through an intensive course in siting, laying, ranging and the other techniques for handling this type of armament. From various sources he assembled mortars, culverins, petards, heavy and mobile cannon, numbering over a hundred pieces of the latest pattern and every calibre. Some were of home manufacture and some had been salvaged from wrecked ships while others came from the British,²⁹ who further parted with small ammunition, bombs and grenades. An 'English ship' had been seen by many observers behind the hook of Dondra unloading and landing this contraband. Likewise he created an auxiliary corps of sappers and engineers competent to build emplacements, covered approaches and all the mechanical apparatus required for assailing ramparts. A party of Europeans had been seen in his camp, some of whom were former soldiers of the Company, taken prisoner and granted their lives if they agreed to give instruction in gunnery and siege works. He thus welded together a coherent and formidable force to support his combat troops.

The rebel lascorins had volunteered in large numbers for this special service. In view of the tools of aggression now at their disposal as well as their increased thirst for revenge, they were assigned to the post of honour as spearheads, with the lion's share of the fighting. Towards the middle of March when the Adigar moved to new headquarters at Dikvālla and brought up his main army and struck at Mātara with his full weight, he was able to launch this well-equipped, hard-hitting corps with decisive effect.

28. Compare, for instance, the stores and equipment at the disposal of the Dutch for a few batteries of guns, as listed in the minutes of 14-1-1762.

29. Letter of 6-4-1761. Vol. 2,260.

The Fighting at Mātara

At that time the 'so-called fort' was a single low rampart astride the tongue of land between the river and the sea, on a line which lay roughly two hundred yards behind or westward of the present structure. It had three little bastions, one called Delft Point standing by the beach, another, Point Nerpie in the centre, and the third, Hague Point overlooking the river.³⁰

The Sinhalese had mounted heavy artillery behind stout defences on carefully chosen sites extending in a horse-shoe from the mouth of the river and down the banks of the island of Medagoda (as it then was) and along the further edge of the esplanade fronting the fort as far as the sea. The defenders counted fifteen heavy batteries, averaging four guns each, firing almost pointblank into the town from across the river. Long-range pieces were planted further back on Browne's Hill and other commanding points. Fedder was too weak to repeat the tactics he had successfully used at Negombo in putting the guns out of action by a series of counter-attacks delivered with great dash, to clear these nests at the point of the bayonet as fast as they could be built. Instead, he was thrown altogether on the defensive.

Under cover of a close, methodical cannonade which searched every corner of the Dutch lines, the partisans began to build and push their earthworks forward over the glacis, pressing nearer in daily stages. They made trenches and massive embankments, raised higher than the fort—three half-moons, each capable of sheltering a thousand men. By tenacity and a reckless disregard of losses in the face of concentrated fire they were beating down the utmost efforts of the townsmen.³¹ They showed not only aggressiveness but also skill in seizing and exploiting every opportunity to gain ground. It was reported that their gabions, sconces, fascines and other contrivances rivalled in quality the best work of that kind produced in Europe.³¹

30. There appears to have been a gun-emplacment protected by an earthwork about 500 yards further down the bank, towards the river mouth, traces of which can still be seen in the garden of the house called 'The Hermitage' formerly occupied by Mr. Eitel Ernst and his ancestors.

31. Reports by officers of the Mātara garrison in Minutes of Council, 9-4-1761. Vol. 746. The same doggedness was shown by them the following year during the battle for the recovery of Mātara. See Minutes of 22-9-1762.

By the 23rd they were tunnelling and building right up against the moat, so close that their voices could be heard as they bent to their valorous toil. Taunts were flung at the besieged: 'Remember Hakmana! Disāva Leembruggen is husking paddy. You'll soon be with him'. Preparations were under way for the final assault.

The town was hidden in a cloud of smoke and dust. Every building, except part of the Disāva's house, was a mass of wreckage. Hague Point was breached nearly through and Nerpie was crumbling. Most of the embrasures on the ramparts were blown wide open and had to be stopped up with sand bags; the mortars were out of action and the supplies of bombs finished: groups of hostile snipers were picking off the garrison with small arms; and the numbers of the dead and wounded were mounting.

That evening, the 23rd, Fedder called a meeting of his officers and the Town Council to consider their verdict. It was agreed that the limit of endurance had been reached and that the fort should be abandoned the next day.

During the night, the merchandise salvaged from warehouses, the ammunition and stores were systematically ferried across to the ships the 'Renswoude' and the 'Jonge Jacob' standing by in the roadstead. The light of a dim moon helped forward the work. The wounded were placed on board the 'Jonge Jacob'. In the morning the 24th March, as many as possible of the guns were taken off: but the sea had turned rough and one of the barges on which they were loaded overturned and sank taking with it a dozen artillerymen who were trapped in the timbers and cordage. The troops went aboard the 'Renswoude'. Fedder stayed behind with a handful to cover the last withdrawals, but as he was passing an exposed corner near Hague Point he was hit by a shot from an arquebus and killed. His body was put in a coffin and carried to the 'Renswoude'. The eighteen remaining guns were spiked; goods that could not be moved were destroyed so far as time allowed, but a part had to be left where it lay. Outside, the storming parties were massing. While the ships were yet standing out to sea Mātara went up in flames.³²

32. Secret Agents who visited the town some weeks later reported that all the buildings had been demolished down to their foundations and that coconut trees and kurakkan had been planted where houses had stood. Secret Minutes of 22-12-1761. Vol. 747.

The Northern Sector

Fresh manpower was reaching the Dutch from Malabar, the Coromandel and other sources, not indeed in large numbers but in a steady trickle, enough to replace losses and partly reinforce Negombo, Kalutara, Galle and Colombo. The outer forts, Kalapitiya, Batticaloa and Trincomalee were left with skeleton garrisons and anxious prayers that the next stroke would pass them by and fall on some other place better fortified.

A large Dutch force was planted near the Company's tile-works at Vāragoda on the outskirts of Colombo and by swift well-directed attacks with mobile columns checked Kandyan pressure in the central sector.

The Negombo garrison suffered greatly from sickness and had to be constantly relieved. But disease was impartially afflicting their Sinhalese opponents as well, hundreds of whom along with their brothers-in-arms wounded in battle, kept crowding the great hospital established at Salpe on the banks of the Maha Oya by their commanding general Dumbara Ralahamy, Disāva of the Seven Kōralēs. The Sinhalese losses had been heavy, for although Negombo's walls were unsubstantial, they were built on terrain difficult for the attacker, as most of the approaches were flooded arm-deep in water; moreover the town was strongly held by experienced and determined troops. It could not be carried by direct frontal assault with bare hands by almost naked men unless they could be supported with a heavy barrage from massed artillery. But all attempts to build gun-emplacements within effective range and secure them with redoubts and stockades of coconut trees were frustrated again and again by the vigour and promptness of the counter-attacks launched from the fort. It was during this phase that certain British volunteers serving with the Dutch made amends for the embarrassment which their own John Company had been causing in other fields. Their gallantry was mentioned in despatches, with special admiration for the distinguished conduct of Lieutenant Lovell Buck of the artillery.³³

33. He charged a series of gun-pits at the head of his men and cut down the crews with his sword, until halted by a Sinhalese officer who came forward purposefully and shot him through the head. The name of the Sinhalese officer is unknown. Lovell Buck was reported to have died 'a glorious hero'. Secret Minutes of 9-4-1761. Vol. 746. His brother, serving in India, later obtained a special transfer to the troops in Ceylon.

The Diplomatic Front

The Madura power-group at Court magnified themselves and batted on their earlier successes. Nevertheless, the more difficult phase of their military effort still lay ahead, especially as the Dutch were now redressing the balance in the build-up of military strength. If it is possible to believe the intelligence then reaching the Political Council from secret agents at Kandy, the fickle and bigoted King, whose appetite seemed to grow with what it fed on, had demanded that Galegoda Rala should incontinently fall on Colombo and take it; when the General demurred he was hunted from his command, virtually with a price on his head.³⁴

Neither had the Court's labours on the diplomatic front yielded fruit in the promised abundance. Some bargaining was attempted with the British at Madras and with South Indian states to explore what temptations should be held out to draw them into an offensive alliance. The King's uncle, Konnama Nayakar busied himself with these subtleties of statecraft; he visited the princes of Tanjore³⁵ and Madura, and plied them with cajoleries, but the quarry refused to be ensnared. Only the British showed willingness to respond because they had purposes of their own to fulfil. At that date the Dutch held little more than half the coast, thus leaving a vacuum which was becoming abhorrent to other enterprising nations. Indeed, before the Treaty of 1766, even the harbour of Trincomalee contained wide spaces of anchorage and land which the King, still their owner, had left neglected and idle but which it was felt, ought to be in proper hands and improved with a settlement and dock-yards.

The British were competing for the spice trade and also needed a naval base from which their squadrons could carry out protective sweeps along India's exposed eastern flank. Accordingly, Mr. John Pybus, member of the Madras Council, was sent to Kandy as an envoy to find out on what terms a friendship could be cultivated. He was put ashore at Koddigar Bay near Trincomalee on May 5th and, travelling on foot and in a palanquin, reached Kandy on the 18th; and was twice admitted to the regal presence, on May 24th

34. According to one report the Disāva of the Seven Kōralēs (who had himself been dismissed and recalled to Kandy, but later re-instated) was ordered to cut off his head. Secret Minutes of 22-12-1761. Vol. 747.

35. Letter of 25-7-1761. Vol. 2,260.

and June 23rd. With the Ministers also he had a number of talks ; but these were confined to friendly generalities, since his instructions did not empower him to enter into specific engagements. It was soon clear that the gap between their separate aims could not be bridged. The British were not prepared to go to war against the Dutch in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations ; whereas the King envisaged nothing short of the enemy's expulsion by force of arms.

According to Dutch sources, Pybus was a fractious guest, fussy about his lodgings and ill-schooled in palace discipline. If he found anything to upbraid in the ample formalities of Court etiquette (which required him to take off his shoes and walk long distances through miry streets and quadrangles) he did not fail to make trenchant reference to it.³⁶ Before he left, he handed to his hosts a draft of the proposed Covenant which dismayed the King by its huge demands. If this (he is said to have exclaimed), is the scale of their claims now, before they have an inch of soil, what terrors will they not raise once they are firmly planted in the country ?³⁷

Meanwhile the Dutch, who knew nothing of the inner abortion of the case, were founding their diagnosis on its outward symptoms. They were ignorant of the precise step that would next be taken by the British, but by no means uncertain of the character they bore—restless, vigorous, expansionist and fiercely competitive. In the last days of 1760 when a British Squadron happened to put in at Trincomalee at the moment when the rebellion broke out, they were filled with suspicion and read into the two events a guilty relationship. However, their fears proved groundless, for the visit was simply caused by storms at sea which had damaged the ships and driven them to take shelter and carry out repairs. Later, in the middle of 1762, a mightier avalanche seemed ready to overwhelm them when a powerful armament commanded by General Draper and convoyed by a battle-fleet under Admiral Cornish, anchored at Trincomalee.

It was known that rumours were current among the English factors in South India that the Hollanders in Ceylon had all been murdered and, what was worse, the cinnamon bushes were being

36. See Minutes of 31-7-1762. Also 'Account of Mr. Pybus' Mission to Kandy'. Colombo : Ceylon Government Press, 1862.

37. See Minutes of 15-7-1762.

up-rooted.³⁸ Letters had been exchanged between Kandy and the British who, the Dutch never doubted, were entertaining the King's overtures with eagerness ;³⁹ dangerous thoughts which had earlier flitted idly in and out of the British mind might now be deeply embedded and germinating ; an Englishman was at the Court taking close counsel with the Ministers—possibly even concerting joint invasion. The Dutch acted under the influence of these alarms ; bribes were freely dispensed ; no resources of inquiry were neglected, nor pains spared to learn the true designs of the rival Company.⁴⁰ Protests, in a strong and indignant strain were sent to Admiral Cornish against his misuse of Dutch hospitality.

But again their forebodings were not warranted by events. The task force that called at Trincomalee was not concerned with Ceylon but was launched against the Philippines. When Spain became involved in the Seven Years' War as a belated entrant on the side of France in 1762, the overseas centres of her trade were marked out for attack by Britain. Draper's expedition captured Manilla, exacted a ransom for its release and, by also seizing a treasure ship laden with gold from Peru, gained a gigantic booty.⁴¹

The Dutch Steady Themselves

Since their reverses of the first three critical months, the Dutch in the south-west had begun to recover their balance and prepare for limited offensives. After the middle of April, constant sallies were made from Galle to the northward along the land route to clear away obstructions. Some of these roadblocks were of massive size, stockaded and piled so high with boulders and tree trunks that scaling ladders were needed to mount them. At the same time commando raids kept charging out from Kalutara in each direction downwards to Bentota and upwards to Colombo, driving forth and back to force a free passage. By July communications between Colombo and Kalutara had been fully restored while, in the lower

38. Minutes of 31-7-1762.

39. Muhandiram Udayar was the King's messenger—Hague Archives Brieven v. Ceilon overgekomen, 1766, fol. 588.

40. See Minutes of 28-5-1762.

41. 'The Navy in India : 1763-83' ; by Admiral Richmond, 1931. 'Rulers of the Indian Ocean' ; by Admiral Ballard, 1927.

sector, only the stretch between Payagala and Bentota was yet in dispute.

By this time also the peasants of the invaded districts were beginning to help the Company. Those who had joined the Kandyans at first in order to better their lot were disappointed in their expectations ; their lands lay ravaged and uncultivated and their very lives were in constant jeopardy because the new civil administration had not yet been able to restore order. Petitions were streaming in that they ' had now swallowed enough of the bread of adversity and wanted only to resume the former tenor of their lives in peace as the subjects of the Company '. Casual Salāgama bands who had been prevailed with to march with the invaders now turned upon them in wrath on the ground that they had been betrayed. They were foremost in the dangerous work of demolishing roadblocks and keeping the land route open.⁴²

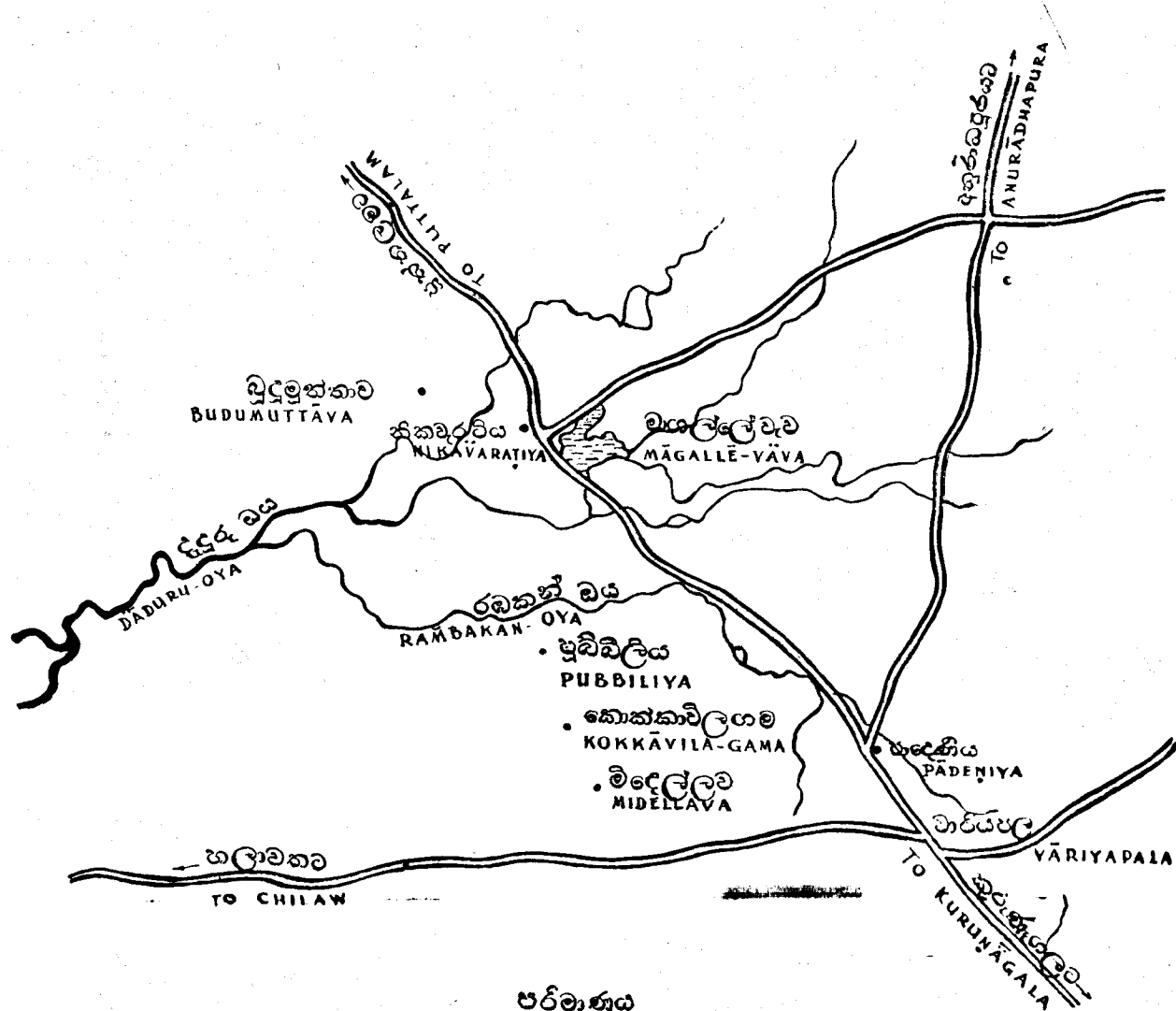
The Secret Minutes for the year 1762⁴³ describe the operations for the recovery of Mātara, the reconstruction of Mātara Fort and the measures taken to pacify the troubled provinces. Negotiations with the Kandyan Court were continued, mostly through Disāva Dumbara of the Three and Four Kōralēs who exerted himself in vain to bring about a peaceful settlement ; gifts were sent to the King ;⁴⁴ the activities of Mr. Pybus were watched and formed the subject of a series of sharp exchanges with the British.

It was not till 1763, when the Treaty of Paris had been signed at the end of the Seven Years' War, that the Dutch were able to relax their vigilance in other parts of the world and pour fresh forces into Ceylon in sufficient strength to mount a major offensive.

42. Letters of 25-7-1761 and 1-10-1761. Vol. 2,261.

43. On October 5th, 1762 a Secret Inner Cabinet was formed. Thereafter the Secret Minutes of the Political Council became the Minutes of the Secret Cabinet (Vol. 4,864-4,872).

44. An important list of these gifts is detailed in the Minutes of 17th May, 1762.



පරිමාණය

අඟලට හැඩැපම 4 සි.

SCALE: OF ONE INCH MILES

Swan as this bird had not hitherto been made use of as a message-carrier. The prose Introduction to Midellava-kōrāla's poem reads thus :—

නමො බුඩ්ධාය. කොරලිහිණීන් දද සිකි උජුචින් පරෙච්චි සැවුල කොවුල් යන මේ පක්‍ෂීන්ට පුළුකවීහු අභිලා අසුන්පත් දී සෘජුගමන් කරවූ හෙයින් දැන් මන් මෙකියන මේ අසුන්පත් ගෙනයන්ට ඔවුන්ට අසමතිය. එසේ හෙයින් ගමනෙහි දක්වූ පක්‍ෂියෙක් සොයන්නෙමි. පුළුවාරිවරයෝ හත්සයෝ ගමනෙහි සමතියෝ යයි කියත්. එසේ හෙයින් වංසවූ හංස මිත්‍රොත්තමයෙක් අරවුණුකොට මේ තිසරසන්දෙස නම්වූ ප්‍රකරණයක් කථනය කෙරෙමි හෙවත් රචනා කෙරෙමි.

'Hail to Buddha. The *koralihiṇiyā*,⁵ *dada*,⁶ peacock, *ujjuvit*,⁷ the pigeon, the cock-bird and the cuckoo have been summoned by former poets and employed to carry messages through the sky (lit. in straight paths), they are now too weary (lit. not able) to take this message of mine. I have, therefore, sought for a bird who is able to undertake a journey. The former sages say that the swan is very competent in undertaking journeys. For this reason I am compiling this book (that is, composing this poem) entitled the 'Swan Message', having as my object of attention a noble friend, namely a swan of the highest breed'.

In the stanzas employed to describe the message-carrier there are certain allusions which are common to both the *Haṃsasandēśa* and Midellava's *Tisarāsandēśa*. These, however, allude to *jātaka* stories which were commonly known to Buddhist writers of Ceylon, and bear no evidence to point out that Midellava-kōrāla knew the *Haṃsasandēśaya*.

Midellava's work is a short composition consisting of the prose Introduction quoted above and seventy stanzas of four lines each in the *samudraghoṣā* metre. It has no *yāgī* or *sāhāli* verses expressive of blessing or praise as in the other *sandēśas*. The theme is also rather different. There is no message, a *sandēśa*, to any person to be delivered at the end of the journey' although a message is mentioned in verse 33. It is possible that at this time the *sandēśa* poem had taken the shape of a description of a route as is also

5. *koralihiṇiyā*, the identity of the bird is difficult.
6. *dada*, Skt. *dvija*, bird.
7. *ujjuvit*, again the identity is difficult.

seen from poems like the *Aṣṭanārisandēśaya*⁸ and the *Nārisat-sandēśaya*.⁹ Another poem of the type is merely called the *Magasalakūṇa*¹⁰ (the Journey-Description). These *sandēśas* again are descriptions of the routes of pilgrims,¹¹ and Midellava's messenger too is on a pilgrimage.

In the first stanza the poet addresses the swan thus :—

ද න ම න නයන පිණවන රත්වත් තුඹි නි
ය න එ න ගනන නිසසුරුවන් සීයොගිනි නි
වෙනවෙන යුවල ඔරදින නරපියොපති නි
වෙනවෙන සැපන මට කීම තොප දුටු බැව් නි

'You please the minds and eyes of men with your beak of golden hue. When you go through the sky, your body resembles the fair moon. You display your strength with that pair of beautiful wings. Now that I have seen you, I need no other pleasure'.—(v. 1).

Verses 2 to 5 describe the virtuous qualities of the Swan. 'Other people cross the ocean by means of a ship, but you do so by the stroke of your legs alone (v. 2). You surpass the sun in your quick speed.¹² You brought back together the four arrows shot in the four directions.¹³ A Swan like you gladdened the heart of a king of old by preaching the Dhamma¹⁴' (v. 3). The eulogy of the swan is continued with further allusions to the

8. Printed, 1909.
9. Printed, Kandy, 1909.
10. Ed. Rt. Rev. Bishop Edmund Peiris and M. E. Fernando, date ?
11. *Nārisatsandēśaya*, composed in 1833 A.D. by Silpādhipati Ganitā-cārya, contains the description of a pilgrimage undertaken by seven women of Nātagaṇē in the North-Western Province to Rangiri Daṃbulla. The *Aṣṭanārisandēśaya*, possibly by the same author, is the story of the pilgrimage of eight women of the same village to a temple at Diddeniya. The early date attributed to *Magasalakūṇa* by the editors (Introduction, p. xiv) cannot be accepted. This poem too may be taken as belonging to the first half of the eighteenth century, see also *Journal R.A.S. (Ceylon) Vol. XXXVII (No. 104, 1947) pp. 241—244.*
12. The allusion is to the *Javana-haṃsa-jātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 471). cf. තොප කුල රැගෙන මහසන්තප්ප භිරු දිනන. *Haṃsa*, v. 2, l. 8.
13. තොප උත් වැඹව පිටදී විදි සැර සතර
තොප ගෙන එනි යෙහි දිව බිමගෙන අතර *Ibid.* ll. 5-6.
14. *Mahāhaṃsajātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 525).

Javanahamsa-jātaka and the Suvāṇṇahamsa-jātaka. This eulogy is concluded in verse 6 with the words :—

සොළුරුගුණේ දුක්සැප දෙක්කිම නිබද
මිතුරු වනේ ඇදී සිතියම් රුවක් ලෙද

'Your friendly qualities are constant in being the same in sorrow or joy. Your friendship is like a picture drawn (on a wall, etc.)', which are reminiscent of the words of the Sālahihini-sandeśaya.¹⁵

In the next verse (v. 7) the swan's destination is given as Budumuttāva. Other messengers deck themselves in white cloth and eat rice cooked in milk before they start off on a journey. The swan's feathers alone serve as white garments and he partakes of the white lotus in place of rice (v. 8). He is to start off from the poet's village, Midellava, at the auspicious moment when Jupiter rises brightly, at the asterism of Jupiter¹⁶ (vv. 8 and 9). Then the good omens are given and these are different from those given in the other sandeśa works.

සුරගුරු ඇණවෙසි කරු නිමිර දුරු කර
නිරතුරු සුරගුරුට හිමි නැකන යොමු කර
නරකරු මන මෙනොප කුලදෙවිඳු සිහි කර
සරගරු නර යතුරකර මිතුර නිති සර (v. 9)
දකුණන සුණක කපුටෝ පාර පැන යෙති
ව ම න ට උරහ සකුනෝ පාර පැන යෙති
මෙලෙසට පෙරමගෙහි දුටුවෝතින් නිමිති
නැකනට වඩා සුබවෙසි ගමන වැඩ ඇති (v. 10)

'My good and noble friend, you begin your journey when the planet Jupiter brightens up dispelling the darkness at the asterism which belongs to Jupiter, with your mind set on your family deity' (v. 9).

'On the right dogs and crows go across the road, on the left snakes and birds cross your way. These omens are even luckier than the good asterism you chose, and your journey will be fruitful' (v. 10).

15. Sālahihini-sandeśaya (v. 4).

16. The asterisms allotted to Jupiter are *Punāvāsa*, *Viśā* and *Puṇaputa*. Of these *Viśā* and *Puṇaputa* are said to be inauspicious for the undertaking of journeys. Therefore, it should be taken that start was made at the asterism of *Punāvāsa*, the seventh of twenty-seven asterisms.

The swan is now asked to soar up to the sky and proceed northwards (v. 11). He proceeds passing, Māllagasvāva¹⁷ (v. 12) Baṇakiyanavāva (v. 13) Baladaravāva (v. 14) Ratmala-vāva (v. 15) Gantalā-vāva (v. 16) the image-house at Usgāla (v. 17) Kōkkāvīla (v. 18) Timirivāva (v. 19) the mango tree at the village of Pubbiliya (v. 20), the bridge across the Rambakan-oya (v. 21) until he comes to the jungle lands (v. 22).

Then he comes to Rāssa (v. 23) and to Dāduru-oya (v. 24) and then to Māgalla-vāva (v. 25) and going over the paddy fields (v. 26) he sees the sluice and the irrigation channel of the last named tank (v. 27). He then comes to the fair village of Nikavāraṭṭiya (vv. 28-31).

The village area is full of coconut palms laden with fruits. Beautiful women tarry there.

සතර වටිය වළ කරවින නිමිමන
නෙරළ කැටිය සෙන කරවිය දම්මන
සොළුරු සිටිය කන දූවටිය උම්මන
මිතුර දුටිය නිකවැරටිය ගම්මන (v. 28)

'Friend, you have seen the rural area of Nikavāraṭṭiya where there are groves of coconut palms rising healthily up to their tops, bearing full bunches on all four sides, and where there are beautiful women resembling the goddess Urmā' (v. 28).

This is followed by a description of the various palms and trees, some of which are in blossom. The bird is asked not to stumble on the way as he watches the various kinds of flowers there.

තල්පොල් කෙහෙල්මල් සහ පනස පෙල පෙලා
නිල්වැල් කිතුල්මල් රූස ගනිති වෙල වෙලා
ගල් මුල් කකුල් උල් නොපැකිලව බල බලා
පුල් මල් කමල් මල් සිඹ යවන කෙළි කෙළා (v. 29)

'Proceed playfully smelling the lotus flowers and other flowers in full blossom, and not allowing your feet to stumble on stones and roots as you watch the rows of *talipot* palms, coconut palms, flowering plantain bushes, jak trees and *kitul* palms which are entwined with dark creepers' (v. 29).

When the swan sees the breasts of moon-faced damsels, he is asked not to mistake them for his mistresses.

17. *vāva*, here may mean a tank, or the village by a tank with the same name.

නෙක පුත්සද සේම බබලන සිරිදඳි	මු නු
දු ක හැර බලන් නනසුග රණහස	දේනු
සැ ක කර නගෙ සොදුර සිනමින් විය	නු නු
දු ක යව තිසර නිකවැරටිය කන	පේනු (v. 30)

'O swan, quenching your sorrows see the women of Nikavāraṭṭiya whose faces contain every splendour like the full moon, the pairs of whose breasts are like female swans, and when you see them do not mistake them for your mistresses, but proceed on your way' (v. 30).

The verse giving the list of trees is to be noted for its sonorous composition :

මොර පර දෙඹර පහරද දොරණ	ක එ හ ර
න ර තු ර නොහැර නදකර මොණර	හැ ම ව ර
නී ර තු ර වනරතරකර යෙන දක	නොහැර
ක ර ද ර නොකර සරකරණුසි දුරු	වෙ හෙ ර (v. 31)

'See the forest which is thickly crowded with various trees, namely, *mora*, *para*, *debara*, *pahara*, *doraṇa*, *kaluhara* (ebony) and where always the peacocks incessantly give forth their cries, and without any trouble enter the *vihāra* which is further off' (v. 31).

On the asterism of Anura¹⁸ the swan is to alight at the monastery in Budumuttāva.

දුනගන්නා පෙරලෙස ගණිතය	මෙ ව රේ
ගැනගන්නා සන්විසි නැකනම	නොහැරේ
අරගන්නා පරසිදු නැකනම	අ නු රේ
බුදු මුත්තා වෙහෙරට වැදගන්	ති ස රේ (v. 32)

'As in the days of old they know the science of astrology, and have reckoned all the twenty-seven asterisms and have chosen that asterism of Anura, on which you must enter the *vihāra* of Budumuttāva' (v. 32).

The Great Elder from Midellava resides at the Budumuttāva monastery, to whom the message is to be delivered.¹⁹

බව සසුරෙන් සිත ලෙස ගොඩ	නැගිල්ලව
නැව විලසින් ලොව සනහට	සියල්ලව
නව පවතින් රිචි ඇතිනෙක්	මුළුල්ලව
දෙව මෙහසුන් අප සමිදුට	මිදෙල්ලව (v. 33)

18. He started off from Midellava on the asterism of Punāvasa, and alights at Budumuttāva on the asterism of Anura, which means he has taken nine to eleven days over his journey. See note 16. Punāvasa is the seventh and Anura is the seventeenth of the asterisms. There are eleven asterisms in between. So the maximum time allotted for the journey is eleven days, and the minimum is nine days.

19. There is no message in this Sandeśa.

'Our noble Elder of Midellava is like unto a ship for all beings of the world to cross over the ocean of the continuance of rebirth. In his austere life he is like unto the Sun with all its rays. Deliver this message to him' (v. 33).

The descriptions of the religious edifices at Budumuttāva are full of information concerning their architecture and paintings contained in them. It is also clothed in such beautiful language with appropriate figures of speech as are quite creditable for the poet when one considers the age in which he wrote.

The messenger first goes into the shrine of the Buddha.

සිතියන් ලෙසින් දෙතිසක් ලකුණෙන්ම	සැදු
ගණරන් කොකින් ගෙන සුර බබ මුදුන	සැදු
පනමින් මෙතුන් ලොව දන මන කර පු	බුදු
එනතින් ගොසින් මුනි තෙමහල් පාය	ව දු (v. 34)

දකිමින් බුදුන් සිරිපාමුල	වැටිලා
වදිමින් උතුන් නියරුස්ගස	ගිලිලා
පනමින් නිවන් මොක්මන සිත	ඇලිලා
එනතින් වරෙන් වැද දකුණට	හැටිලා (v. 35)

'Proceed from there and having made up your thoughts and gladdening the hearts of all beings in the world enter the three-storied mansion of the Master, who is endowed with the thirty-two characteristic signs, just as he is depicted in the images and paintings—the mansion whose pinnacle rises above the Gods and Brahmas' (v. 34).

'See the image of the Buddha and fall at His gracious feet and worship Him diving yourself in the stream of the rays of the nails of his feet. With devotion of heart fix your mind on the attainment of Release through Nirvāna, and turning to your right come out from there' (v. 35).

The swan then enters the image-house built on stone pillars (*tām-piṭa-vihāre*) whose description is given in the nine verses quoted below :—

කොටමින් ග එන් සදවා බිම ඔව්දු	කොට
අ දි මින් ඥ ව න් ඒ මතුපිට තව්දු	කොට
න බ මින් තෙබන් හැම වඩුවැඩ කිව්දු	කොට
හි ට ප න් ඇ වි න් මතුපිට දව තව්දු	ප ට (v. 36)

ය ට ලී තලන් කොඳු පේකඩ හරු	සැදුන
කැටලී කැටන් උළුවහු ගෝනැස්	පෙලින
කෙටිලී කෙටුන් හැම වඩුවැඩ නිම	කරන
ව ට ලී ප ට න් දක සැනසෙව සිත	ලෙසින (v. 37)

ති යා යකඩ ඇනදී වහිනු නද	කොට
සොයා උළු සෙවිලි කොත් පලද	රු වට
අ යා ඉසට කුඩගත් මහ බඹ	ඉ සට
ද යා කර තිසර නෙන හැර බල	සොදට (v. 38)

වැලින් වැලට පැහැදී මැද නැමී	අ කු
මලින් මලට තුඩදෙක හිරවුන්	පැවකු
කලින් කලට ඇඳ බබලන රුවිනි	බි කු
පෙලින් පෙලට බල හින්තර වැඩ	දිමුකු (v. 39)

සිවු සිවු නරක සිවු සිවු නැනක	තිසිකක
සිවු සිවු නරක සිවු සිවු ගිනි කඳ	පැ ති න
සිවු සිවු නරක සිවු සිවු ගිනි කඳ	පැ ති න
සිවු සිවු නරක සිවු සිවු විට දකු	සොදින (v. 40)

තුන් තුන් පොලෙක තුන් තුන් දෙවු ලොව සැ දු න	
තුන් තුන් පොලෙක තුන් තුන් දෙවු ලොව සැ දු න	
තුන් තුන් පොලෙක තුන් තුන් දිව සැප	සැ දු න
තුන් තුන් පොලෙක තුන් තුන් විට දකු	සොදින (v. 41)

පන්සිය පණස් කුස මුනිදුන් උපත්	ව ර
පන්සිය පණස් නැනදින් කරපු පෙර	හ ර
පන්සිය පණස් නැනදී කල පුද නො	හැ ර
පන්සිය පණස් ජාතක වැදපත්	තිසර (v. 42)

නා ර ද ලෙසට වසිරෙන් මුනිසදට	කි පු
සෝර දරණලා සියොලගෙහිම	සිටපු
පා ර නොදන ඉසළු අතටම	දවපු
මා ර සෙනහ බල මුනිදුට පුද	කරපු (v. 43)

සැ ර ගමනින් පහසක් නොව	ල බා ලා
තිසර ගණන් ඇත බිතුපිට	ලී යා ලා
මෙනගෙකතුන් යසි රසබස්	දොඩාලා
නොරුවටියන් නගෙ කත යසි	ති යා ලා (v. 44)

'The pillars of dressed stone have been firmly fixed on the ground. Beams of timber have been placed on the pillars in order to construct a storey, cross-beams²⁰ have been kept to support the woodwork.²¹ Now you may come and perch yourself on the wooden structure (v. 36).

'(The building) is constructed of beams, cross-beams, ridges, and brackets in the shape of stars.²² There are carved pillars, door-jambes and carved ends of rafters. You rest yourself after

20. තෙබ *teba* the word may also mean a pillar of wood. Can Sanskrit *stambha* give both *ṭambha* and *teba*?

21. හැම වඩුවැඩ කවටුකොට: Lit. 'bringing together all carpentry work'.

seeing to your heart's content the rounded timber where all carpentry work is finished up with beautiful carvings (v. 37).

'The valence boardings are fixed well with iron nails, and the roof is covered with tiles. The pinnacle is beautifully placed like an umbrella held over the head of the Brahmā. O loving swan, open your eyes and fully behold this sight (v. 38).

'See the beautiful rows of paintings which have been beautifully executed on the walls from time to time depicting rows of parrots which put their beaks from flower to flower, and where trees bend their branches because of the creepers which entwine on them (v. 39).

'You may see four times the four hells which are painted on the four corners, showing the flames of fires in them (v. 40).

'You may see in three places the three divine worlds which display the pleasures that are to be enjoyed in them (v. 41).

'O Swan, worship (the paintings of) the five hundred and fifty *jātakas*, which represent the five hundred and fifty births of the Master, the wondrous deeds performed by him in five hundred and fifty places, and the honours and offerings received by him on these occasions (v. 42).

'Look at the representations of the hosts of Māra which warred against the Master, with anger like the king of cobras who had coiled fiercely round his body, and who later fled whither they turned, as if they did not know their way (v. 43).

'On the walls are painted crowds of swans who suffer no weariness from quick travel. Do not be deceived mistaking them for your mistresses and do not go and whisper words of love to them' (v. 44).

The description of the temple on pillars is followed by an account of the garden round it, a portion from which may be quoted. The flowers seem to offer themselves to the Master:—

කතා තොරණ කිණිහිරි සපුමල්	ප හ න
මනා නදන ගෙතු දං තෙරළු	කුසුමෙන
වනා පුවනු මල් වල්විදුනා	ලෙ සි න
පිනා නරඹ උයනෙන් මුනි පුද	ල බ න (v. 47)

ස පු නා ප නා සැ දු නා පෙලිනා	රු වි නා
රු වි නා මෙනා පි පු නා මලි නා	සොබනා
යනෙකා මෙනා බ ම නා බි ගු නා	න දි නා
න හ නා වි නා කෙවනා ව න නා	

' Joyfully witness the offerings which the Master receives from this garden with its areca flowers resembling fans of *yak* tail, *kini-hiri* flowers resembling golden *toranas*, *sapu* flowers resembling lights, and other flowers which have been woven as garlands²³ (v. 47).

' *Sapu* and *jak* trees which grow beautifully in rows are delightfully blossomed together, and the bees that hover about them hum loudly. Who but Ananta the Cobra king can describe this garden²⁴ (v. 48).

Then comes a descriptive account of the monastery, the monks living in it being compared to a host of royal lions (v. 49).

රත්තිරිකුල	වසන	සිරද	පෙළක්	ලෙස
පත්සලකුල	වසන	මහසගණ		පිරිස

They are well versed in the various sciences including the manifold branches of metrics, grammar, medicine and mathematics (v. 50). The bird is asked to worship the Elders and watch the four directions (v. 51). Here towards the east the swan sees the Rangiri-Daṁbulla (v. 52). To the south he sees Beligala (v. 53). To the west he sees the open space in the Puttalam District (v. 54). Proceeding north he goes to Anurādhapura and worships the Thūpārama-dāgāba²⁵ (v. 55). Then he goes to the Mahāmeghavana, the great Bōdhi-tree and the Sela-dāgāba (vv. 56-59), the Ruvanvāli-dāgāba, Mirisavāṭi-dāgāba and the Lōvāmahāpāya, the three edifices built by King Duṭugāmuṇu (vv. 60-63). Then the swan is to worship at the Abhayagiri-dāgāba built by King Valagambā (v. 64) and the Jetavana built by King Mahasen (v. 65). The bird then worships at the Laṅkārama-dāgāba in which is enshrined the five hundred and fifty jātaka stories inscribed in gold (v. 66). It sees all the dāgābas and other monuments between the bodhi-tree and the Laṅkārama and rests for a while at each of these places (v. 67).

23. ගෙඹුරු meaning is not clear රු may mean the flower of the *mādan*-tree, or the *dan*-bushes.

24. Cf. Kusajātaka, v. 313 (ed. Abhayaratna, Colombo, 1936).

සපුනා	පනා	අබ්	දබ්	භුරු	පෙළ	දිලෙ	භා
බිඳුනා	දිනා	සුත්	මන	සවන	පිනව		භා
තිමනා	ලනා	ගත	සුවදකි	නල	හම		භා
නනනා	විනා	කෙවනා	සොබන	එ	ලය		භා

25. The monuments at Anurādhapura are given in the chronological order of their construction, but not in the order in which they are seen as one enters the city from the south. It is possible that the author had only heard of the sacred city but not been there.

The two artificial lakes²⁶ of the city are compared to two oceans.

මෙහි	නුදුරුව	වැව්	දෙක	මහ	සයුර	මෙ	න
වි	හි	දෙන	දිව	සුවද	බව	මානෙල්	මලින
මැ	හි	බිඟු	බමර	නද	දෙකි	සොරනල්	බසින
එ	හි	ජලනල	දැක	සානසෙව	සින	ලෙසින	(v. 68)
කෙසර	බල	බලා	රොන්	ගෙණ	යෙන	බ	මර
හැසිර	කෙළු	කෙළා	යෙන	ජලවර		වි	සිර
එසැර	ජල	ජලා	යන	සේරැන්		නොහැර	
කිසර	බල	බලා	මස්	බුදින		හැමවර	(v. 69).

' Not far off from here are the two lakes which resemble two oceans and in these spread the divine fragrance of white lilies and lotuses. In sweet tones the insects, bees and wasps hum. See such stretches of water there and rest to your heart's content (v. 68).

' Admiring the pericarps of flowers, the bees (*bamara*) take away the pollen. The fish roam about sporting in the water. O! swan, watch the *sera*-birds which fly about in full speed swallowing constantly the fish which are in those waters' (v. 69).

The last verse (No. 70) says that the poem was meant to be a description of a journey, which a swan had undertaken. The year of composition is given as 1758 of the Śaka Era²⁷ and the author's name is given as one who hailed from Midellava.

එක්වා	දවස්	සන්සිය	පණස්	අට	ව	ස
පන්වා	හැනෙක	කිසරෙක්	ගිය	ගමන	ලෙ	ස
සුන්වා	මිදෙල්ලව	මැකිදෙක්	විසිනි		බ	ස
සිත්වා	ලෙසට	අස	වියනුනි	වඩා	නොස	

There are three manuscripts of the work in the Library of the Colombo Museum.²⁸ As may be expected, the poem appears to have been in vogue at Anurādhapura. Two of the manuscripts mentioned above are from the Isurumuṇi-vihāra. The date of copying the first is given as 22nd February, 1897.²⁹ The second is also from Isurumuṇi-vihāra, and its owner was Galahēnē Saṅgharakkhita Thera. The copying of this manuscript had been

26. or ' tanks' the Nuvara-vāva and the Tisā-vāva.

27. that is 1836 A.D.

28. Nos. AM. 18, AB. 8, 7M9, which are denoted here as A. C. and B. respectively: See de Silva, W. A. 'Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts': Vol. I, Nos. 2310-2312.

29. The Colophon to A. reads; නිසර සන්දෙසය කිමි මුහුරු මුනි විහාරේ පොතේ පිටපතය. ලියා නිමකලේ 1897. 2. 22 දිනය.

Midellava-kōrāla has also written another poem, an erotic composition entitled the Ratiratnālaṅkārya.³³ It has not been possible, however, to find similar passages in the two works. This may be because the two works are of entirely two different types, covering entirely different themes. Our poet is also said to have made Sinhalese translations in verse of Ariṣṭaśataka and the Yogaśataka.³⁴

Daḷadā-sinduva,³⁵ a song in praise of the Buddha's Tooth Relic in Kandy, consisting of sixteen verses, was composed by Midellava-kōrāla eight years before he composed the Tisarasandeśaya, that is in 1828 A.D. At the end of the song both the author's name and the date of composition are stated. The date is given as the month of *Vesak* in the year 2371 after the Buddha's *Parinibbāna*³⁶ and the poet's name is mentioned as *Nisulat-Lev-muka-māti*³⁷ and *Nisulat* is equated to *midella*.³⁸

The village of Midellava is in the Bamuṇugama *vasama*,³⁹ in Baladora-kōraḷe of the Dēvamādi-hatpattuva of the present District of Kuruṇāgala.⁴⁰ Our poet was probably the Kōrāla or minor Chief Headman of the same *Kōraḷē*⁴¹ within which his village

was included. It can also be surmised that the Elder named Midellava who was the chief bhikkhu residing at the monastery of Budumuttāva was a brother of the poet or at least a close relative on the paternal side, as he is referred to in the poem as 'our Elder of Midellava'.⁴² Nothing more is known of the writer.

This poet from a remote village which the effects of modern civilization had not reached at the time, deserves a place among the Sinhalese writers of the period. His work described here, the Tisarasandeśaya, is also worth studying as it not only helps in the understanding of the development and history of this type of poem in Sinhalese, but is also full of information about certain villages and monastic establishments in that part of the country covered by it.

42. දෙව් මෙහෙසුන් අප සමුද්‍රව මිදෙල්ලව. (v. 33). The poet should have had some close connection with the Elder referred to.

33. First half, ed. M. J. Karunatilaka, printed, Kagalla, 1937. According to the Introduction to above the whole work is said to have been printed and published in 1903. This work is to be distinguished from the work by the same names composed by Dunuvila Gajanayaka-nilame. (Printed, Mātara, 1926).

34. See Introduction to his work, the Ratiratnālaṅkārya. Midellava-kōrāla is said to have composed another *sandeśa* poem called the *Kiraḷa-sandeśa*. See Udita Sthavira, *Siṃhala-sandesāvalī* (1949). Introduction, p. xxi.

35. *Siṃhale Vidupota*, 1921, pp. 5-7.

26. පීඨි නිමි දෙදහස් තුන්සිය සැත්තැ එකිනා—සුන් මුනිව. ස
සීඨි මෙහෙසෙගුලු දින අසූඅටයො—එක් පසලො ස
කීඨි යෙහි දිග වෙන්කරනැරී නිසරුන් ලෙසිනා—සිත්කරනො ස
සැරී යෙමි පවි කිඳ මොක් සැපතට ලොබවෙමිනා—අත්වනලෙ ස

27. නිසුලුන් ලෙමිමුක මැනිතුව විසි නා
මෙසීරීන් සිංදුව බැඳ සිතුව ලෙසි නා
සීරි මත් දලද සමුද්‍රව නිති නා
මුදුනන් කර නමුදුම් බැනි පෙමි නා

38. Sanskrit *nicula* = Sinh. *midella*. See Meghadūtasanne (Panabokke, 1893), p. 13, (v. I, 14) : සරස නිවුලාන් = ආර්ද්‍රවු දියමිදෙල්ල ඇති.

39. Village Headman's division.

40. One inch per mile reference. I 8/34.

41. A sub-division of a Hatpattuva.

Eighteenth Century Indians in Australia

BY P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA

(With one Plate)

MEDIEVAL Indians have travelled far afield. Westward the ruins at Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia, are probably Indian (Deraniyagala, 1948 and Anandriya, 1951) and Eastward there is evidence now forthcoming that South Indian vessels were visiting Australia in the 18th century.

During the war several Australian or New Zealand soldiers informed me of (a) the wreck of an ancient sailing vessel that is partially exposed for a few weeks each year off their shores, and that the tradition is that it is Indian; (b) the existence of an Indian ship's bell bearing a legend in Tamil script and now kept in the Dominion Museum, Wellington. Enquiry revealed that it is the top of a bronze ship's bell and that it was employed as a cooking vessel by the aboriginals of the interior of North Island, New Zealand for many generations and taken by W. Colenso in 1836 (Reed, 1948). Professor Visvanathan has considered the script to be 400 or 500 years old. The name of the owner of the ship has been put down as (a) Mohoyideen Buks, by J. J. Thompson (b) Mukaideen Vakkusu, by A. Aiyappan.



A pencil rubbing of the inscription upon the Indian ship's bell $\times \frac{1}{3}$ actual size

Last year (1952) I requested Major R. Raven Hart to secure a rubbing of the inscription when he informed me of his intended visit to New Zealand, and this he has now kindly secured for me (Pl. I), through the courtesy of the Director of the Dominion Museum. I sent a photograph of this rubbing to Dr. A. Aiyappan the Superintendent of the Government Museum, at Madras with the request that he refer it to an expert for translation and for

ascertaining the age of the script. His reply dated 6-3-53 is as follows:—

'The characters of the inscription may be assigned to about the beginning of the 19th century A.D. or the end of the 18th century. The inscription reads: *Mukaiyadin Vakkusu-udaiya kappal-udaya Mani*, meaning "Bell of the ship of Muhaideen Vakkusu".'

This supports the view that Australia was visited by South Indian vessels during the 18th century.

References to Literature

- ANANDRIYA, 1951—Zimbabwe the ancient Shivalaya. *The Star* (Johannesburg).
- REED, 1948—*William Colenso, Bagnall and Petersen* publisher Reed, Wellington, N.Z. pp. 99-100.
- DERANIYAGALA, 1948—Some Scientific Results of Two Visits to Africa. *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. 26, pt. 2, p. 37.
- 1930—Antique Tamil Bell found in New Zealand, *J. of Polynesian Soc.*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (June) No. 154, p. 198.

rose to be a Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers before his death in 1796. (See *De Landsverzameling Schilderijen In Batavia*, J. de Loos-Haaxman, Leiden, 1941, page 146).

Dutch Painting of Kandyan Embassy

By J. H. O. PAULUSZ

ON the occasion when Sir Paul Pieris presented to the Colombo Museum a large oil painting of a conference between the Kandyan Ambassadors and Governor Falck (see *Journal of the C.B. R.A.S.*, volume 38, part I, page 22 and pages 28-30), the discussion centered largely round the date of the painting which could not be determined with finality.

According to a Note by Sir Alexander Johnston, the scene represented the signing of the Treaty of 1766. An inscription along the beading of the picture further confirms this date. On the other hand, a water-colour preserved at the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam, (a smaller representation of the same scene) assigns it to the year 1772.

The painting was the work of Carel Fredrik Reynier. Evidence recently brought to light shows that Reynier did not reach Ceylon till 1768 and could not therefore have been present at the signing of the Treaty of 1766. The scene commemorated in the painting must therefore be the Embassy of 1772 when there were three Kandyan Envoys—Maha Mohottiyar Dodanvala Ralahamy and the Muhandirams Iriyagama Ralahamy and Mideniya Ralahamy. At the peace negotiations of 1766 there were five Ambassadors.

C. F. Reynier (also spelt Reymer and Reimier) was born in Koningsberg, Prussia and enlisted in the East India Company's service as a private soldier, arriving in the East Indies by the ship 'Vlietlust'. A few months later, it was discovered that he had enough medical skill and training to warrant his transfer to the medical service. He was then sent to Ceylon in October 1768 as third surgeon on a salary of 16 guilders a month, (see *Acts of Appointment*, Ceylon Government Archives: vol. 2,531, folio 134). In 1777, five years after he had painted his famous picture, he was again transferred, this time to the Surveys Branch with the commissioned rank of Ensign of Engineers and Sworn Land Surveyor at Colombo. Six years later he was posted to Batavia and finally

Postscript to the Kaḍadora Grant

By C. E. GODAKUMBURA

WHILE presenting the text and translation of the grant of the Kaḍadora-vihāra in the last issue of this journal¹ it was not possible for the writer to discuss all the geographical, historical and linguistic material contained therein. In the following pages such material as will be of use in the study of this most interesting document will be set forth.

Regarding the location of Kaḍadora-vihāra, the writer has been informed by Saddhānanda Nāyaka-Thera that Kaḍadora is the name of the *vihāra* only, and it is situated in the village of Nāpaṭavela in the Pallēgampaha-kōraḷē of Maturaṭa in Uḍa-hēvāhāṭa.² This agrees with the statement at p. 4, line 29 of the grant, viz. මතුරට කොළේ පලලමපහ කබදෙර විහාරස්ථානයක් 'to the whole establishment of Kaḍadora-vihāra which is within the district of Pallēgampaha of Maturaṭa kōraḷē'. When one reads at p. 1, line 7 : පලමු කිබුනු නමක් නැතිව ලබුනලය යන නම පමණක් පවතින ප්‍රස්ථාවට 'when even the former name was no more and only the name of Labutalaya remained' it appears that the Kaḍadora-vihāra was in Labutalē. Now there is a village by the name of Labutalē in the Gannāva kōraḷē in Uḍa-hēvāhāṭa.

The important question now arises. Was the original Kaḍadora-vihāra in Labutalē?

Other place names which need identification will be discussed in their context.

The writer of the deed has drawn his material relating to the early history of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon, from the Nikāyasaṅgraha (Niks.)³ of Devarakṣita Jayabāhu Dharmakīrti. He has also borrowed bodily phrases and even passages of some length from this work (*see below*).

1. Published in Vol. II, (pp. 141-158) of the New Series of this Journal, 1952.

2. The location in the Introduction to the Text and Translation was given according to the Village List of the Central Province, published by the Government Publications Bureau. July 1950.

3. Ed. Wickremasinghe, Colombo, 1890.

The date of Mahinda Thera's arrival in Ceylon (1, 1-2), the date of the reduction of the Pali scriptures to writing (1, 4) and the fifteenth regnal year of King Bhuvanekabāhu of Gampōla (1, 8) agree with the dates given in the Niks. In giving the history of Vaḷagambā, an attempt has been made to show that the Kaḍadora-vihāra was founded by this king himself. This is the usual tradition that is prevalent with many monastic foundations in Ceylon, and there is nothing strange in this statement.

When the compiler of the deed came to discuss the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V, and the convocation of monks during his reign he confuses historical events. He mixes up the account of the convocation of monks called under the direction of Niśsaṅka Alakeśvara of Rayigama in the reign of Vikramabāhu III (1357-1375) under the leadership of Dharmakīrti I, with the convocation called by Vikramabāhu Ādipāda during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu V (1360-1391) under the leadership of Dharmakīrti II (Devarakṣita Jayabāhu).

The accession of Vikramabāhu at Semkhaṇḍa Śrīvardhanapura (Kandy) is given as one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine years after the establishment of the *sāsana* in Laṅkā, otherwise two thousand and eighty-five years after the *parinibbāna*, which dates agree.

The Niks. makes no mention of a monk by the name of Dharmajñāna of Labutalē as having been associated with either of the Dharmakīrtis in one of the convocations referred to above. It does nevertheless mention that representatives of both the forest-dwelling monks (*āraṇyaka-vāsins*) and village-residents (*grāmānta-vāsins*) took part in the convocations (*ubhayavāsayehi kārakamahāsaṅghayā rāskaravā*). If a monk by name Dharmajñāna took part in one of the convocations, he should have represented the *grāmānta-vāsins*, since the Dharmakīrtis belonged to the *āraṇyaka-vāsins* of Paḷābatgala. Further, according to our document Dharmakīrti represented the *dharmadharma* bhikkhus, that is, the monks versed in the *suttas*, while Dharmajñāna represented the *vinaya-dhara* bhikkhus, that is, those monks versed in the Rules of Conduct (*vinaya*).

The date of the founding of Senkaḍagala-pura agrees with that given in such other historical works as the Sulurājāvaliya

(Srv.),⁴ and other documents which mention the event.⁵ This grant says that a great Elder by name Dharmakīrti II conducted an *upasampadā* ceremony during the reign of Vikramabāhu of Kandy, that is after 2085 A.B. (i.e., 1542 A.D.). The reference may be to some other Thera by the name of Dharmakīrti, and not the author of the Niks. which work was completed in 1453 A.D.⁶

The next king who endowed the *vihāra* after Vikramabāhu of Kandy was Jayavīra.⁷ No date is mentioned in connection with this king. After this we come to the reign of Vimaladharmasūrya I.⁸ The *upasampadā* ceremony conducted by the monks of Rakkhaṅga country under the direction of Chandavilāsa Thera and Nandivakka (°cakka) Thera during this king's reign is given as 2145 A.B. (i.e., 1602 A.D.).⁹ The date of this *upasampadā* as given in Srv. (p. 23), *Cūlavamsa* (94, 18) and the Narendracaritāvaloka-pradīpikāva (Ncap.)¹⁰ is 2140. There is thus a discrepancy of five years here, which is probably the result of a scribal error.

King Rājasimha II of Kandy is said to have endowed this *vihāra*. During the reign of his son, Vimaladharmasūrya II, the second *upasampadā* under bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga country took place.¹¹ The date of this ceremony, which was conducted under the direction of Santāna Thera and Lōgra Thera¹² is given as 1619 of the Śaka Era, that is, 1697 A.D. The Srv. (p. 25) gives this date as 2240 of the Buddhist Era. The dates agree here.

The notes on the language of the text and explanations of words are meant to elucidate the translation. The correct orthography of words is given only where it is necessary to understand the text.

4. Printed, Butgamuva, 1914, p. 21.

5. See Codrington: THE PALKUMBURA SANNASA, Ep.Z., Vol. III, pp. 241 ff. and some documents of Vikramabāhu of Kandy. JRAS (Ceylon), Vol. XXXII, pp. 64-75.

6. See also Sulupūjāvaliya (Spv.) (1913), pp. 6-7, where an Elder by the name of Dharmakīrti belonging to the reign of King Vikramabāhu of Kandy is mentioned.

7. Jayavīra-bandāra (1522-1542), Ep.Z., Vol. III, p. 43.

8. Date, 1595-1604 A.D.

9. Nandicakka at *Cūlavamsa*—94, 16; Spv. (1913), p. 8; Nandicakka and Candavilāsa; Jayatilaka, Simhaḷa Sāhitya-lipi (J.Ssl.) (1940), p. 162; Nandicakka and Candivisāla.

10. Mahabodhi Press, 1926, p. 137.

11. See also *Cūlavamsa* 97, 10-15.

12. Spv., p. 11: Santāna and Lōgarāga; J.Ssl., p. 16: Santāna and Lōkarāga.

Notes on the text and translation

Line 1. මොවසිව=මුට්ඨව, Mhv. Niks.

2. පොසොන්මස. Name of a Sinhalese lunar month, May-June. (Pali Jettḥa-māsa. Mhv. XIII, v. 14).

මුලේ නැකත: the 19th lunar asterism

සොලොස් (°ලො°) මසානසක්. The sixteen sacred places. Different lists are given in different accounts.

3. වලගංආහා=වලගම්ආහා Niks. (P. Vattagāmañiabhaya)

විදමා=විධමා Niks. Wickremasinghe: විදමා, corrected in later editions to විධමා.

3-4. Cf. ගිරි නම් . . . පිළිගැන්වීම. with Niks., p. 11, “ගිරිනම් නිවටකු විභූ නීචිකාරාමයක්, විධමා නමගේ ආහස නාමය හා මිහුගේ ගිරි නාමය එක්කොට ආහසගිරි නම් විහාරයක් කරවා පුළුවනකාරීවූ නිසා නම් මහතෙරකෙනෙකුත්වහන්සේට පිළිගැන්වීම.”

4. ජනපදනීතයක්නුගේ=ජනපදනීපයක්නුගේ Niks.

4-5. මහසච්චි රජවරාමයේ . . . සමනානාකොට, borrowed from the Niks. කසාගල. This rock cannot be the one by the same name in the Southern Province. Here the reference is to a rock near the original Kaḍadora-vihāra.

7. හතා=සතා. The substitution of *h* for *s* in this word is not regular.

මිඨකදීන්=මිඨකද්දේන්.

බබදෙර=කබදෙර. False aspiration of *h*.

8. ප්‍රවුනි=ප්‍රවනි.

8-9. Cf. සුචිකාලයෙහි . . . with the accounts of the convocations in the Niks, p. 28, p. 30 mentioned above.

සාසනාවතාර කුලපුත්‍රයන්=සාසනාවතර කුලපුත්‍රයන් in Galvihāra Inscription, Ep.Z. II, p. 263, l. 7, also Niks. Perhaps the compiler of the grant was influenced by the alternative name of the Niks, namely, Śāsanāvātārāya.

9. සමයනෙන්=සොයන්නේ.

10. සත්සම්මාසනානික කලානාඛසාසයෙන් යෙදී=සමසම්මාසනාව කලානාඛසාසයෙන් යෙදී Niks.

11. කවුසුඵල name of the area on which the city of Kandy was founded. සුඵල is the name of tree. (Pali: picula, *Tamarix Indica*) and the same may be perhaps preserved in කවුසුඵලයට.

විනිස බමමිනිණි: omit විනිස.

12. ලබුතල see above.

13. ආරනනවිහාරය is situated at Haṅguranketa in Uḍahevāhāṭa.

ආරවහාරය: is near Mātālē.

ඉඵපුත්තෙරේ: see Gaḍalādeniya Rock Inscription, Ep.Z. IV, p. 101, l. 22.

ඉඵපුත්තෙරේ and කොටකේරේ are in Dumbara.

- අස්කිරි = අස්කිරි. The change of *g* to *k* is due to Dravidian influence.
- 14. කොන්තවැරගෙහිත් : 'to be destroyed'. Perhaps from Tamil கொந்த : 'to be burnt'.
සුදුබලක්කම : Cf. සුදුවලක්කන් in Mādagoḍa Devāle Sannasa: Nānādarśaya, VI, p. 298.
Cf. Tamil ஓலக்கம் 'an assembly of State, etc.'
- 14. අමුන = අමුණ, a grain measure. 10 *lāhas* = 1 *pāla*, 4 *pāla* = 1 *amuna*, 4 *amuna* = 1 *yāla*.
අ.කිරිය, name of a village in Uḍahēvāhāṭa (Reference M 1/26).
- 15. From 13. මහදිවස්ථිමිතම : an honorific reference for His Royal Majesty, meaning literally, 'to the light of the great divine eye'.
ගලකරනවා = සැල, meaning 'inform' when the receiver of the information is a person of high rank.
- 16. සේවානිල : military offices.
- 17. අ.නිරෙක = අනිරෙක :
වෙසග අවසනවක : read translation as, 'the seventh day of the second half (lit. dark fortnight) of the month of Vesak'.
වෙසග = වෙසන් : Sinhalese name of a lunar month, (Skt. Vaiśākha).
- 18. මෙලකුච්ච = මහලකුච්ච.
මහවාසල = lit. 'the great palace', i.e. the King.
- 19. නමපටබදීනවා : to assume a title, lit. 'to bind a නලපට, or frontlet with a name', derived from the custom of tying a gold or silver plate with the new name written on it on the forehead of the person receiving the title. Cf. in Āhālēpolahaṭana :
හත්පොටමාලේ කරට දමාලා සෙතෙවිරත්ත නම පටබදුන්දවන්,
බෝගුච්ච : a village in Uḍahēvāhāṭa (M 1/28)
නෑකංකරගත්තවා : lit. to make a relationship, to get married to.
ලඹුකුචර, a part of the present district of Kandy.
- 20. කලාවත්කොට : translated as 'preparing'. කලවත්කරනවා = mix. It is not known whether the two words are connected.
දෙවාසභාගය = උභයවාසය.
මහගනන්වහන්සේ : translated as 'Holy Man'. ගනන්වහන්සේ was a person who observed the ten precepts, but had not received the higher ordination of *upasampadā*.
අක්කුරය = අක්කුරාත.
මාහින් = මාහිඹ (?).
- 21. වැලගනේ = වලගනේ.
අඹුතතු = අ.තුලන්
දුගුන = දුක්ගෙන : to take pains, serve.
- 22. ගණ්ඨවත්සරකුමය . . . A group of 60 years *ṣaṣṭī* is divided into three twenties (*vimsati*) under *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvaya*.
ඊසවර (ඊසවර) නමවූ මෙවර්ෂයෙහි : *Isvara* is one of the names of the sixty years in the *ṣaṣṭī* group, which begin with *Prabhava*. For the astrological grouping of the years in 'sixties' and 'twenties' see M. G. Widyaratna: *Jyoterganita*, Part I, 1916, p. 4 or *Vākyakaraṇa-Ganita*.

- මේච්චරච්ච : when the sun is in the zodiacal sign of Gemini, i.e. June-July.
- 28. භාග : a solar day.
සුරදිගවක : 'the second lunar day in the bright half or the first fortnight of the month'. දිග stands for 'second', p. 156, l. 4, read translation as 'the second day of the bright half of the month of Āsala'.
නිච්ච : a lunar day.
ගැවමෙතොට : a ford of the Mahavāli river between Peradeniya and Kandy, at the 69th mile post on Colombo-Kandy road.
ලංකාසාමනෙරච්ච : This shows that there were no monks in Ceylon, who had obtained the *upasampadā* ordination.
- 24. සංඝවනිසුර, is Pegu in Burma. For the story of Pegu, see: O'Connor, *Mandalay and other cities of the past in Burma*, (1907), pp. 384-402 and C. Duroiselle, *Revealing India's Past*, p. 331.
සංඝවනිසුරේ අකුරු : Script of Hamsavati-pura, i.e. Burmese script.
රකඛෙත : Arakkan in Lower Burma.
රකඛෙතුසුරේ අකුරු : Script of Arakan, this is also Burmese script.
ලපසමපද කච්චන පොත් : Pali text recited at the *upasampadā*, i.e. Kammavācā.
- 25. මාපානාවතුර : A village in Gannāve Kōralē of Uḍa-hēvāhāṭa, (M 1/17).
This should be මාපනා.
නවකොලගුච්ච = නාකොල,
අඹුච්චල = අවුච්චල : A village in the district of Kāgalla, (I 24/44).
- 26. කුලෙහි පටන් කපුගෙහි ප(ට)න් : 'from the stage of cotton and of thread'. The last word පන් may be corrected to පටන්.
සෙසුම : Skt. linen.
කොසෙසු : silk? from Kāsī = Banares.
කනීනබාහය = ට දහය.
අ.නිනනම = අ.නිත්තන්.
- 27. නැටඹුන්ව = නටඹුන්ව.
සේවාකැට : Name of a part of the present Central Province, now divided into Uḍa-hēvāhāṭa (Upper H°) falling within the Nuvaraeliya District and Pāta-h° (Lower H°) falling within the District of Kandy.
අරාචේ රාල : chieftain of Arāva.
- 28. ගනන්ව = ගනන්නැසේට—(see above).
Concerning this passage, see: The Intro. to the original paper : (New Series), Vol. II, p. 142.
- 29. මතුරට කෝරලේ : a part of Uḍa-hēvāhāṭa.
පලපුගමපහ : now known as පලලේපනේ ?
මුතෙතවුපංගුච්ච : A portion of a field the produce of which is set apart for expenses connected with certain services of a *vihāra* or a temple or some office. See also Codrington: *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon* (1938), s.v. 'field which is sown on account of a king or other proprietor, temporary grantee, or chief of a

village, as distinguished from the fields of the other inhabitants of the village, who are liable to perform services or render dues —'

තැකති අරාව : the field of the tom-tom beaters. අරාව : a marshy field.

වත්ත = high land. On the word *gama*, see : De Lanerolle at JRAS (Ceylon), XXXIV, (No. 91), pp. 211-213.

80. ගමබිම් : *lit.* 'villages and lands', but the expression is used to denote lands generally.

වතුගෙවතු : *lit.* 'plantation and house property'. වත්ත generally is a land with trees like jak and coconut planted on it, ගෙවත්ත is the property in which the dwelling house stands : see *mul-gevatta* in the Dāḍigama Inscription of Phuvanekabāhu. (Ep.Z. III, p. 280, B, 10).

පෙව්වගො, pl. of පෙව්වගම, Tamil பெட்டகம் chest, box.

පෙව්වි = Tamil பெட்டி, box, case.

රමමාල = රත්මාල.

පංතින් = පත්තින්. pl. of පත්තිද, stylus.

81. පේස : translated as silk. The origin of the word is doubtful.

කන්තිලි : blanket.

වරාගො : Tamil வராகம், a gold coin = 3½ rupees, as bearing the image of a boar, (Tamil வராகம், Skt. varāha). Later the name was applied to a small gold coin in Ceylon.

නැලිය : one half of a *sēruva*, 2 *hundū*.

දෙමි = I give. දින්නි = I have given. The two words are used for emphasis.

වැනිදිවුන = correct to : °දිවුනු (දිවුණු).

82. දිසුණුකරනවාය : 'should improve'. The form කරනවා is used in the potential meaning.

84. The full Pali stanza beginning with *කිණං වා යදි වා කඨං පුපඨං වා රදි වා ඵලං* is:—

කිණං වා යදි වා කඨං පුපඨං වා රදි වා ඵලං
යො හරෙ බ්බවි හොගසස මහාපෙතො හවිසසති.

'He who takes away from the property dedicated to the Buddha, grass, wood, a flower or a fruit, he becomes a large goblin'.

This verse is sometimes followed by :

සමදනං පරදනං වා යො හරෙති වසුකිරං,
සමච්චිසසභ්භාති විඤ්චායාමි ජායතො ක්ඛිමි.

'Whoever takes the land which is given by himself or another, he becomes a worm in the earth for sixty thousand years'.

මහ අනාඤ්ඤා : The great command, i.e. the Royal command.

(අනාඤ්ඤා = අන + ආඤ, both words means command අන = අණ).

34-35. සමසනි . . . This passage is again indebted to the Niks.

35. සර්වා = ගුඩා,

අනිවුර්ති = අනිවාසි.

Corrections in the translation :

p. 152, l. 6. who followed *should be* who is followed.

p. 154, l. 31. seventh day, *should be* seventh day of the second fortnight of.

p. 156, l. 3. fourth lunar day of *should be* the second lunar day of the first fortnight.

p. 157, l. 34. lands : *see notes above.*

Book Review

The History of the Buddha's Religion (Sāsanavaṃsa.) Translated by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Lucknow), Hon. D. Litt. (Allahabad), Luzac & Co., London, 1952, pp. xvii + 174—Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series, Vol. XVII.

This book is a translation of the Pali prose work *Sāsanavaṃsa*. *Sāsanavaṃsa* is a history of the Buddhist religion written by a Burmese monk named Paññāsāmi in 1861 A.D. Dr. Law's translation of this work would prove to be of undoubted value to students of Pali and the History of Buddhism. The book is neatly arranged in chapters with the concluding sentence of each portion in italics so as to make the sequence of events intelligible to the reader.

In translating the book into English, the author has used a free and readable style which would interest even a lay reader with no knowledge of Pali. He has broken up long sentences and fashioned into good English prose, the unwieldy Pali idiom. The author must be commended for achieving the almost impossible task of bringing out a translation which is at once both beautiful and faithful.

The translation of *saññhārādhamma* as 'nature of created things' in page 3 is somewhat un-Buddhistic. *Pavāraṇa* in page 9 has been translated 'invitation' rather unwarrantedly. A foot-note, however, gives the correct interpretation. There are many other free renderings which are excusable only because this is a translation of a work written on the history of religion and not on Buddhist philosophy. *Mahājanaka-kumārādayo* has been translated in page 12, as 'multitude, princes and others'. It is an allusion to Mahājanaka Kumāra (see *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 492) which is contained in the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Jātaka No. 539).

The translation of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* is a useful addition to the magnificent array of works contributed by Dr. B. C. Law in the field of Pali literature.

W. S. KARUNARATNE

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- M. J. Perera, B.A., C.C.S., 71, Dickmans Road, Colombo 5. 1950
- Dr. Andreas Nell, LL.D., M.R.C.S., L.M.S., Orient Club, Race-course Avenue, Colombo 7. 1950
- Mudaliyar P. D. Ratnatunga, *J.P.*, 32, Chapel Lane, Colombo 6. 1950
- C. B. P. Perera, *O.B.E.*, B.Sc., C.C.S., 69, Green Path, Colombo 7. 1951
- C. W. Nicholas, 17, Pedris Road, Colombo 3. 1951
- J. N. Arumugam, *C.B.E.*, B.Sc., C.C.S., 18, Stanmore Crescent, Colombo 7. 1951
- Professor G. P. Malalasekera, *O.B.E.*, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Longden Terrace, Colombo 7. 1952
- J. H. O. Paulusz, B.A., Nuwara Eliya. 1952
- Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*, D.D., B.A., Bishop's House, Chilaw. 1952
- Professor D. E. Hettiaratchi, M.A., Ph.D., Hendela, Wattala. 1952
- Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D., University Park, Peradeniya. 1952

Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language

Annual Report (1952)

During this period two sets of Sinhalese-English articles for consultative purposes were printed in proof form and were circulated among the members of the Committee and the Consultants in London, Paris and Stockholm. Some of them have been returned with useful comments, while many of the pamphlets sent to local scholars have yet to come. Among the outstanding ones are some of those that were sent out last year. The total number of pamphlets issued so far is four. The fifth one was in preparation towards the end of the period under review.

The preparation of articles for the Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary was in steady progress throughout the year. According to the plan in hand, and as was already indicated in the last report, the printing of the Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary is to proceed side by side with that of the Sinhalese-English Dictionary. But, if the Sinhalese articles for consultation, too, have to be printed in proof form in the same way as English articles are now being done, a much longer delay than was first anticipated is likely to be experienced, especially owing to the non-availability of the necessary equipment in time. It was therefore decided to have the Sinhalese articles cyclo-styled and circulated among the consultants, without waiting till the Sinhalese section of the University Press is ready for the job. Arrangements were taken in hand accordingly, and it is hoped that from the current year articles for consultation will go out not only from the Sinhalese-English Dictionary, as hitherto, but from the Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary as well.

Professor Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the London School of Oriental and African Studies and the Editor of the well-known Nepali Dictionary, spent a few days in the Island during January 1952, having arrived here on his return journey after attending the Commonwealth Universities Conference which was held in India. Full use was made of the opportunity thus afforded by his presence for discussing personally with him certain problems connected with the Dictionary. He was also invited to see the editorial work in progress. He visited the Dictionary Office on January 22nd and spent several hours examining how the plan operated. It is gratifying to note that he expressed full satisfaction at the results achieved so far, and had no suggestions to make for improving the methods now in operation.

The Colombo Plan Exhibition, which took place during this period, displayed labels in English, Sinhalese and Tamil, depicting a large variety of exhibits. It was found that a good many of the Sinhalese names on the

labels were most interesting. With the necessary permission from the authorities concerned a full collection of these was made for Dictionary purposes. Our thanks are due to the Hon. the Minister of Finance and the Commissioner for the facilities provided to the members of our Staff for completing this work.

JULIUS DE LANEROLLE

Editor,

Sinhalese Dictionary,

University of Ceylon,
Colombo.

6th March, 1953.

Archaeological Summary, 1951

EXCAVATION AND RESEARCH. The activities of the Department during the year under review have brought to light a varied collection of antiquities which, when properly studied, will contribute to a better understanding of the ancient culture of this Island. The material thus brought to light is bound to enrich our knowledge of the architecture, sculpture, painting, iconography, palaeography, numismatics and ceramics of ancient Ceylon, supplying information where none was hitherto available or furnishing evidence towards the revision of theories based on insufficient data. The light thrown by these discoveries on the development of the *stūpa* in Ceylon has been considerable. The material will require several years of study for its significance to be adequately interpreted, and it is hoped that conditions will be propitious for this work to be carried out.

The new year was ushered by the opening of a relic-chamber in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa Dāgāba on the 2nd of January. Two months later, the Department was in a position to announce important discoveries at Mihintalē. This was followed by the finds in the Pidurāgala Dāgāba which, though not equalling the results obtained at the other two places, make, nevertheless, an important contribution to our knowledge of the past. The climax was reached at Dādigama, where the monument erected to mark the exact birth-place of Parākramabāhu the Great yielded works of art of a quality and significance hardly matched elsewhere. The work at Tiriyāy, undertaken, towards the close of the year, has had negative results so far as the investigation of the relic-chamber was concerned, but its contribution to a study of the ancient architecture and sculpture of the Island cannot be gain-said.

The important discoveries have been made at the sites of old *stūpas* every one of which, at one time or other, must have been held in religious veneration by the Buddhists. With the exception of Mahiyaṅgaṇa, where the Department undertook its investigations at the special request of the Steward and the Restoration Society, the other *stūpas* at which excavations led to discoveries had been neglected for centuries, and had been reduced to shapeless mounds. Their very existence was not known to the generality of the Buddhists in the case of several.

The relic-chamber opened at Mahiyaṅgaṇa does not belong to the earlier phase of the history of the monument. It was evident that it had not been seen by the eyes of men since it was closed. Most of the members of the general public who had assembled there were to obtain their first view of a relic-chamber an unexpected surprise to one and all was the sight of ancient paintings on the chamber walls. The chronicles refer to such paintings in certain cases but a chamber so adorned had not hitherto been brought to light. The painted plaster had peeled off and was picked up in several fragments from the floor. Under expert guidance they were collected, conserved and together with skilful copies made with the supervision of

Mr. J. D. A. Perera, one of Ceylon's leading painters, are now on display at the departmental museum at Anurādhapura. The subject of these paintings is Buddhist and centres round the Buddha. The paintings, aesthetically speaking, rank high. The linework is expressive and there is delicate shading; the pigments are red (or orange), yellow, black and white. In date they may belong to the late Anurādhapura period, i.e. about the 10th century A.D.

A number of relic deposits were also found in the chamber and of them the most important in many ways were four bronze figures of horsemen which were found placed on the floor to the four sides of the main receptacle as if to guard it. These four are unlike any other objects of antique art found in India and Ceylon. Each horseman, who is armed with sword and shield, has a female figure immediately behind him on horseback, giving the impression that he is representing a warrior rescuing a damsel in distress. The horsemen can be identified as Asvins, the Indian deities corresponding to the Greek Dioskouroi, who had an important place in the Vedic religion. Among the Buddha figures was one carved in relief on a plaque of black basalt, on the back of which the Buddhist Creed has been inscribed in Nāgarī characters of the Pāla period, a circumstance which makes it clear that it had found its way from North-East India. Another small Buddha image in the round has been carved out of Amarāvati marble. Mediaeval gold *akas* coins and a silver coin of Rajendra Chola (1014-1044 A.D.) were also found. The relic-chamber may be taken as having been constructed in the 11th century, which is also supported by a reference in the *Mahāvamsa*.

A discovery which created considerable interest, especially among the Buddhist public, was made at Mihintalē in a small *stūpa* to the west of the Mahāsāya. While a section on the side facing the latter was being cut, a casket was found by a fortunate chance, just lying among the fragments of brick which form the cave of the *stūpa*. This, a relic casket of polished black earthenware of a type hitherto unknown both in India and Ceylon, constitutes the most important as well as the oldest specimen of ceramic art so far found in the Island. It is in three pieces fitting into one another, one forming a lid to the other two in which were found small gold *stūpa* reliquaries. These latter reproduce the shape of the earliest known of Indian *stūpas*, i.e. of Sānchī. The reliquary can be dated to the third or second century B.C. as bricks with Brāhmī letters were found on the main *stūpa*. The reliquaries contained fragments of bone and some ash from a cremation. For a number of reasons it is very probable that the remains of Mahinda are what time has spared of the portion enshrined at Mihintalē. The case is not conclusively proved but circumstantial evidence strongly indicates it.

In Mihintalē, too, excavation of a large *dāgāba* on the opposite side of Kaṇṭaka Cetiya brought to light, among other objects, paintings of numerous life-sized figures which had been done on the relic-chamber walls. Twenty-eight figures could now be recognized. The pigments used here are, as at Śīgiriya and Poḷonnaruva, red, yellow and green. The walls of a second relic-chamber underneath also had been embellished with paintings of divine beings among clouds which cut off the lower part of the bodies. These figures

had been sketched only in outline in red and black. It is possible that they were done in the 8th century A.D.

A *dāgāba* excavated at Pidurāgala, near Śīgiriya yielded three fragments of sculptured marble in the niche of one relic-chamber. The marble of the plaques seems to be of the same variety as that used for the Amarāvati and Nāgarjunakoṇḍa sculptures and had probably been brought across from the Andhra country. The figures of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, however, contain certain iconographical features which have been considered peculiar to Ceylon. On stylistic grounds the reliefs may be attributed to the 4th or 5th century A.D. and can be reckoned as important additions to our examples of sculpture. There were also other finds but the most interesting was the evidence that the surface of the natural ground was impregnated with fragments of charcoal and bore signs of having been fired. The *dāgāba* has thus been constructed on a place of cremation and obviously of a person of importance. For several reasons it is possible to ascribe the original foundation of the *dāgāba* to the Śīgiriya epoch and there is satisfactory indication that it was constructed over the spot where the body of the King with whose name the Lion Rock is ever associated, namely King Kassapa, had been cremated.

The Dādigama Koṭavehera in the Kegalle District which the late, H. W. Codrington that meticulous scholar whose researches into the history, numismatics and topography of ancient Ceylon earned for him the undying gratitude of all students of our past, had surmised to be the Sūtighara-cetiya marking the site of the room where the baby who afterwards became Parākrama Bahu I was born, was excavated and yielded at least a unique find and furnished important historical conclusions. As a result it can now be established that the ancient name of Dādigama was Puṅkhagāma and that the *dāgāba* is the Sūtighara-cetiya. The find is that of a type of bronze lamp worked on a simple principle but most ingeniously devised. There were four of these lamps and they had each an ornate hanging chain with cobra hoods for hooks and figures of women dancers, drummers, etc. (as at Yāpahuva) interspersed with the links. A number of other objects were also found among them a small gem-studded *stūpa*-reliquary of gold. It can be truly said that the excavation here yielded works of art of a quality and significance hardly matched elsewhere.

Excavations carried out at Anurādhapura on a site to the north of the spill of the Basavakkulama (ancient Abhaya-vāpi) revealed the complete ground plan of a building meant for a residence. This building appears to represent an earlier phase in the evolution of the palace architecture represented by the 12th century examples found in the citadel and also at Poḷonnaruva and Paṇduvasnuvara. Indeed it may even be that it is what is left of the Royal residence of the heir-apparent during the City's later period.

The Vaṭa-dā-gē at Tiriyāy, a Tamil Village 29 miles north of Trincomalee, was cleared during the year, preparatory to the commencement of excavations in due course. There is proof of the occupation of the area in pre-Christian times, but Tiriyāy is better known for the long 8th century Sanskrit inscription which refers to the shrine as Girikandi-Chaitya (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV). A profusion of sculptured pillar capitals, *nāga* guardstones, balustrades,

and other objects of diverse interest and value in archaeology which were discovered during the work add to the conclusion, arrived at by a study of the monument itself, that the Vaṭa-dā-gē while conforming to the general pattern, had architectural features which have not so far been noticed at any other shrine of its class elsewhere.

A further area was cleared and excavated on the west at Sīgiriya between the Rock and the main gateway of ancient days. Here the layout appears most intriguing with several inlets pavilions and moated sites incorporated into a formal garden.

At Pañduvasnuvara (the ancient Parākramapura) a *stūpa* was cleared between the palace area and the modern temple. The remains of probably a *pirivena* of the 12th century were also cleared just outside the rampart of the so-called one-pillar-palace in the Ummāda-Citra story. Nothing startling was found at Tirukketṭṣvaram but evidence was found of intercourse with Rome and China, principally on the find of porcelain sherds and celadon ware of different types. Trial excavations, clearing, etc. were conducted at Galēbādda, Māligāvila, Daṁbegoḍa and Tissamahārāma.

CONSERVATION. The results achieved in this work were no less important than those in the preceding account. As an instance, the restoration of one of the Baths (Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa) at Anurādhapura, which was nearing completion, may be said not to have been surpassed in magnitude by any similar work ever undertaken in the Island. When the work is over and the surroundings properly laid out the twin ponds would be monuments of which any people can be justly proud. Work on the Dakkhiṇa Thūpa and Brazen Palace was also continued.

Of the remains of Kassapa's palace on the summit of Sīgiri, more than two-thirds have now been conserved. The visitor can now see the remain of the oblong building, of rather modest proportions, which occupied the highest point on the rock and how the ground to the south of this was arranged in a series of terraces held up by retaining walls with flights of steps giving access to them. He can now see for himself the purpose of the various structures and disabuse his mind, if he is prepared to do so, of the visions conjectured by the mere mention of 'palace'.

The conservation work in which this Department had been engaged for nearly three years in restoring a section of the moat of the ancient city of Sīgiri was brought to a fruition during the period under review. The rebuilding was completed of the retaining walls on the two sides of the moat from the draw bridge at the centre of the western side up to the point on the northern side where a cross wall marks a difference in level—a distance of nearly half a mile. We were thus able to allow the water to remain in this section of the moat after the rainy season. When one stands at the north-western corner, looking southwards, the sheet of water, about 80 feet broad, with a pyramidal hill in the distance reflected in it, is a most impressive sight. Even in a work like this, undertaken mainly for practical reasons, the ancients

had not overlooked ways and means by which aesthetic satisfaction could be derived.

At Poḷonnaruva, the work of conserving, and where necessary rebuilding, the retaining walls of the terraces and the monastic residences thereon to the east of the Lankātilaka, was continued during the year. The work already completed conveys some idea of the grand lines on which the Ālāhanaparivena was laid out. As abandoned pond to the south-east of the Gal Vihāra has been taken in hand for restoration. This, when filled with water, together with the tank nearby restored four years ago, will demonstrate to the visitor how sheets of water were skilfully made use of by ancient architects in the layout of sites. The three based terraces of the South-East quadrant of Rankot Vehera were also conserved.

Among other places so treated were the Convocation Terrace and Kankata-cetiya, both at Mihintalē, Yapahuva City Wall and Main Gateway; Avkana, *pilimage*; the stūpas at Bāddēgāna in Kōṭṭe and the Kandy Palace.

Of the 'protected' Dutch Monuments conservation work was done on the Galle and Jaffna forts and Fort Hamenheil.

EPIGRAPHY. Twenty-one inscriptions were copied for the first time during the year under review. One, of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C., from Maḍugasmulla near Moṇarāgala, is interesting as it mentions a Corporation and its Alderman. The long Hērat Halmillāve inscriptions (*circa* 3rd century A.D.) would have been of the utmost importance in a study of the ancient Sinhalese language and the monastic institutions of the early centuries, but for the fact that it has not been well preserved. A Tamil epigraph at Pañduvasnuvara is dated in the fifth year of a King who styles himself Parākramabāhu Nissamkamalla, king of South Ceylon. This is clearly not the well-known king by that name who enjoyed sovereignty over the whole Island. The likelihood is that the record belongs to a local ruler during or after the time of Magha (1213-1234 A.D.) who desired to be taken as equivalent to those two great Poḷonnaruva monarchs put together.

EXPLORATION. Though there was no extensive exploration a number of inspections were made of ancient sites which had not been previously visited. The information so obtained has been recorded for the Monuments Register.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. The departmental museum at Anurādhapura is being increasingly visited by pilgrims and others who come to the ancient city. On occasions special exhibitions are held therein. During the Pōson festival when the Mahiyaṅgaṇa paintings were exhibited, over 15,000 visited the Museum in the three days. The total number for the year would have exceeded 50,000. A sculptured slab from Mannar on a Hindu theme, a bronze statuette possibly of the goddess Tārā and two Buddha images in Amarāvati marble, each exceeding six feet in height, were the most important additions to the museum's collections for the year.

PUBLICATIONS. The first proof of the Memoirs Vol. VI being the Archaeological Commissioner's monograph on the Upulvan-devrajagē at Devundara was completed. The voluminous work on the Sigiri Graffiti with over 1,000 pages of typescript, comprising the whole of the main body of the texts and translations of the documents and 300 pages of the Introduction were already with the Oxford University Press, the printers, by the close of the year.

There was addition to popular literature, both guide books, and cards for the average visitor.

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS

Minutes of the Council Meeting held on Friday the 8th August, 1952, at the Society's Library, Thurstan Road, Colombo.

Present.—In the absence of a President, Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, the Senior Vice-President, took the chair.

Eight members were present.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Council Meeting of the 6th June, 1952 were confirmed.

Business arising from the Minutes.—

Publication of the Ethnological Material collected by the late Mr. C. L. Wickremasinghe.—Professor Malalasekera and Professor Hettiaratchi undertook to give a detailed report on the subject before the next Council Meeting.

Election of President.—

- (1) Professor Malalasekera proposed and Mudaliyar Ratnatunga seconded that Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala be elected President. No other names being proposed Mr. Deraniyagala was duly elected President under rule 21. Mr. Deraniyagala thanked the Council for electing him as President and referred to the valuable services rendered to the Society by the past President, Mr. S. A. Pakeman, and moved a vote of appreciation which was carried unanimously.
- (2) Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan was unanimously elected Vice-President, under rule 21, to fill the vacancy created by the election of Mr. Deraniyagala as President.
- (3) Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalla was unanimously elected Joint Honorary Secretary to fill the vacancy created by the election of Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan as Vice-President.
- (4) Dr. G. C. Mendis was unanimously elected an Ordinary member of Council to fill the vacancy created by the election of Mr. Hulugalla as Joint Honorary Secretary.

Election of new members.—The following were elected Ordinary Resident members :—

1. Mr. L. V. Cooray
2. Mr. D. M. G. P. De Silva Jayasuriya

3. Gate-Mudaliyar S. P. Wijetunga
4. Mr. S. D. Weerasingha
5. Mr. S. V. Ranasinha
6. Mr. A. C. J. Weerakoon
7. Rev. R. Sumanajeti Thero
8. Mr. M. Dharmaratne
9. Rev. D. Pannasara
10. Mr. G. J. M. M. Fernando
11. Mr. P. J. Fernando,

Resignation.—The resignation of Mr. T. B. Worthington was accepted.

Resignation from the Editorial Board.—Dr. S. Paranavitana's resignation from the Editorial Board was accepted and Mr. J. D. De Lanerolle was elected to fill the vacancy.

Renewal of membership.—The membership of Mr. C. Sittampalam was renewed.

Income Tax.—The Joint Honorary Secretaries, the Honorary Treasurer and Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan were requested to take action about the question of exemption from Income Tax in view of the new rules No. 48 and 49.

Books purchased.—The list of books purchased since the last Council Meeting was tabled.

Authority to destroy unserviceable books.—It was resolved to consult the Government Archivist before destroying the unserviceable books.

Non-return of library books borrowed.—It was resolved to send a final letter to members who did not return books borrowed from the library, requesting them to pay the cost of the books in case they were lost, and to intimate to them that legal action was to be taken in the event of their failure to do so. The value of books that are out of print to be ascertained from the Colombo Museum Library.

Purchase of Bicycle.—The question of the purchase of a bicycle for the Society was postponed.

Employment of stenographers at Society Meetings.—The Joint Honorary Secretary (Dr. C. E. Godakumbura) reported that the employment of stenographers at the General Meetings did not produce any satisfactory results. It was resolved to consult Mr. M. J. Perera, member of Council, on the question of the use of recording tapes.

Other business.—Under any other business the names of 22 members who were in arrears of subscriptions for three years was tabled. A letter was drafted to be sent to the members, under the signature of the Honorary Treasurer.

Minutes of the Council Meeting held on Friday the 12th September, 1952 at the Society's Library, Thurstan Road, Colombo.

Present.—Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, the President, and eight members.

A letter from Professor Malalasekera stating that he would be away, for several months, from the Island and would not be able to attend Council Meetings during that period, was tabled.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Council Meeting of the 8th August, 1952, were confirmed with the following additions :—

Para 14.—The Council appointed Mr. C. W. Nicholas to select publications that should be kept for reference only and not lent out and report to Council.

Para 15.—It was proposed by Mudaliyar Ratnatunga and seconded by Sir Paul Pieris that in future issues of the Society's Journal, the year of publication should be shown at the left hand top corner of every page bearing an odd number.

Para 16.—Existing para 14 'Any other business' was re-numbered para 16.

Business arising from the Minutes:

- (a) **Publication of the Ethnological Material collected by the late Mr. C. L. Wickremasinghe.**—The report of Professor G. P. Malalasekera and Professor D. E. Hettiaratchi was read. Professor Hettiaratchi was requested to edit this material. Professor Hettiaratchi in agreeing to edit it stated that it may be necessary for him, at a later stage, to ask for clerical assistance that may be needed.
- (b) **Election of President, etc.**—Dr. A. Nell suggested that the word 'elected' in item three of the Minutes be replaced by either 'nominated' or 'appointed'. After reference to the rules it was decided to retain the word 'elected'.
- (c) **Income Tax.**—Dr. Godakumbura said he would consult Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan and submit a report on the question of the exemption of income tax at the next Council meeting.
- (d) **Non-return of library books borrowed.**—The action taken was reported. In one case books that were outstanding for over ten years were recovered. It was decided that the Proposer and Seconder of the membership of Mr. D. D. Arangala should be written to that Mr. Arangala had not returned the books which he had borrowed from the library in 1944, in spite of the many letters written him. It was also suggested that the clerk call on the son, of Sir Gerard Wijeyekoon, who has reported that his father was very ill, and get back the book borrowed by his father.

Election of new members.—The following were elected Ordinary Resident members :—

1. Bhikkhu H. Dhammananda
2. P. M. M. Murutenge
3. A. C. Dep
4. Devar Surya Sena
5. Librarian, Public Library, Batticaloa.

It was noted that the cheque for the entrance fee and subscription for 1952 of the Librarian, Public Library, Batticaloa, was paid by the Batticaloa Urban Council.

Mr. A. P. Gomes' letter.—Mr. A. P. Gomes' letter dated August 18, 1952, was read. Dr. Godakumbura said that he would table all connected papers in this connection at the next Council meeting. It was also decided that Dr. Godakumbura should reply to Mr. Gomes saying that his letter was receiving the careful consideration of the Council.

Books purchased.—The list of books purchased since the last Council meeting was tabled.

Society's Medal.—The President explained the position with regard to the Society's medal. He produced the estimates received from Messrs. Spink & Co. of London.

It was agreed to have the medal cast in oxidised silver with the inscription 'THE MEDAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY' on the obverse and 'IN MEMORY OF THE LATE HON'BLE SIR S. C. OBEYESEKERE, AWARDED TO 195 ..', on the reverse.

Lectures and Conversazioni.—The following tentative programme of lectures and conversazioni was agreed to :—

- (1) The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris stated that he would be able to deliver a lecture on 'The Spiritual conquest of the East by Pauls De Trinitade' within a few months time.
- (2) Dr. C. E. Godakumbura offered to read a paper on the excavations at Dedigama.
- (3) The President offered to deliver a lecture on 'Extinct Animals of Ceylon'.
- (4) Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris offered to arrange a lecture on 'The Singing Fish of Batticaloa' by the Rev. Fr. Lange, S.J.
- (5) It was decided that Professor Malalasekera and Professor Hettiaratchi be invited to give lectures.
- (6) It was decided to invite Mr. Amin Didi, President-Elect of the Republic of the Maldives, to lecture on the connections between Ceylon and the Maldivian Islands.
- (7) It was decided to invite Mr. M. F. de Jayaratne, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Trades, who is proceeding to Peking on a goodwill and trade mission, to give a talk to the Society, if he could gather any new material relating to intercourse between China and Ceylon in ancient times.

The President stated that the Society should arrange a conversazione at which three or four speakers be invited to speak for about ten minutes each, as early as possible.

Permanent Home for the Society.—The question of a permanent home for the Society was deferred for the next Council meeting.

Allocation to enable the Society to send representatives to International meetings.—It was decided that Dr. C. E. Godakumbura and the President should discuss informally with Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan the matter of an allocation to enable the Society to send representatives to International meetings, as such allocations come within the purview of the Ministry of External Affairs. After these talks a formal application was to be made to the Ministry of Education regarding this project.

Other business.—The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris was requested to make recommendations regarding the reprinting of the journals of the Society that are now out of print.

Minutes of the Council meeting held on Friday, October 10, 1952, at the Society's Library, Thurstan Road, Colombo.

Present.—Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, the President, and seven members.

Vote of condolence.—Before the business commenced the President moved a vote of condolence on the death of Sir Gerard Wijeyekoon and Mr. Shirley D'Alwis, who were members of the Society. This was carried in the usual manner and the Honorary Secretary was requested to write letters of sympathy to their widows.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Council meeting of September 12, 1952, were confirmed.

Business arising from the Minutes.—

(a) **Books not to be lent out.**—Council accepted the proposal of Mr. C. W. Nicholas that, without the permission of the President or one of the Honorary Secretaries, the following types of books were not to be removed from the library :—

- (1) Books published over one hundred years ago.
- (2) Books worth over Rupees One hundred.
- (3) Society's Journals where duplicates were not available
- (4) Books containing loose plates.

Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle was authorised to remove any book for reference for periods not exceeding one week.

(b) **Exemption from Income Tax.**—The Honorary Secretary said that Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan had written to say that he and Dr. C. E. Godakumbura will see the Income Tax authorities as early as possible.

(c) **Non-return of library books borrowed :**

- (1) **Mr. D. D. Arangala.**—Await the return to the Island of his Proposer Professor Malalasekera.
- (2) **Mudaliyar A. E. Jayasinghe.**—To invite his attention.
- (3) **The late Sir Gerard Wijeyekoon.**—Wait till estate is closed.
- (4) **Mr. L. L. A. Fernando.**—To write to the Principal of Prince of Wales College, Moratuwa.

(5) **Mr. T. P. Perera.**—To write to him that his explanation is accepted. Dr. C. E. Godakumbura was requested to arrange for the missing pages to be typed.

(d) **Mr. A. P. Gomes' letter.**—Deferred for the next Council meeting.

(e) **Lectures and Conversaciones :**

(1) It was decided to write to Rev. Fr. Lange, S.J. suggesting November 7th or 14th for his lecture on 'The Singing Fish of Batticaloa' at Colombo.

(2) To write to Dr. W. Balendra inviting him to give a lecture on 'Ancient Trincomalie' in view of his recent researches, in January, 1953.

(3) Mr. J. D. De Lanerolle agreed to deliver a lecture in February 1953.

(4) A conversazione was fixed for February 6, 1953. The Director of National Museums, Ceylon, President of the Society undertook to go into the question of getting the Museum Lecture Hall free of charge for use of the Society's lectures.

(f) **Allocation to enable the Society to send Representatives to International meetings.**—Deferred for next Council meeting.

Election of new members.—Mr. J. H. Lanerolle, Mr. O. M. L. H. Da Silva and Rev. Y. Gunananda were elected Ordinary Resident members and Rev. Fr. R. Boudens, *O.M.I.* was elected a Non-Resident Life member.

Books purchased.—The list of books purchased since the last Council meeting was tabled.

Permanent Home for the Society.—President and Joint Honorary Secretaries to see the Minister of Education.

Members in default of subscription for three years.—

(a) It was decided to remove the names of the following members from the list of members for non-payment of subscription, in terms of rule No. 33, and to write off the amounts due from them as shown against their names :—

1. A. P. Jayasuriya	Rs. 31.50
2. K. T. Jayaratne	Rs. 31.75
3. R. M. Samaranayaka	Rs. 31.50
4. M. Zubair-Omar	Rs. 31.50
5. I. B. Karunatilaka	Rs. 31.50
6. Miss S. Dissanayake	Rs. 31.50
7. Miss Y. A. Wickramasuriya	Rs. 31.50
8. A. W. Nadarajah	Rs. 31.50
9. E. Ranawake	Rs. 31.50
10. K. Kanagaratnam	Rs. 31.50

- (b) In the case of W. J. Fernando, W. D. V. Mahatantila and M. Chandrasoma it was decided to bring the matter up when they returned to the Island from abroad.
- (c) In the case of J. D. A. Perera the matter was deferred as the Honorary Secretaries said they had seen him about his arrears and that he undertook to pay up all arrears before the end of 1952.
- (d) In the case of the late Mr. Shirley D'Alwis, from whom 1952 subscription of Rs. 10.50 was due, Dr. A. Nell undertook to see the amount paid.

Unserviceable books and a MSS. sent to Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, the Government Archivist, for examination and report.—A preliminary report from Mr. Paulusz was tabled.

List of Ceylon books for sale with Mr. B. W. Bawa.—The list of books with prices was tabled. The list was handed to Dr. A. Nell at his request.

Any other business:

- (a) **Recommendation regarding reprinting journals of the Society that are out of print.**—Deferred until a reply was received from the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris.
- (b) **Application from Mr. A. M. Caldera for permission to remove 'Monuments of Sanchi' by Marshall.**—The application was disallowed.
- (c) **Request of Mr. B. J. Perera to purchase a complete set of 1" to the mile folding sheets of map of Ceylon, linen backed, for use in the library.**—Decided not to purchase.
- (d) **Release of peon Edwin Rodrigo on October 4, 1952, and authority to pay him for the four days he worked in October.**—It was agreed to release him and pay him for the four days he worked in October.
- (e) **Authority to employ an acting labourer and pay him at the rate of Rs. Two a day.**—Authority granted.
- (f) **Appointment of new peon and table application of Mr. M. De Costa for the post.**—Mr. Nicholas' suggestion that a Police Boy's Club boy be appointed was accepted.
- (g) **Fifty Copies of Journal No. 95 given to Messrs. Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Colombo, in 1944, for sale on a commission basis.**—Deferred for next Council meeting.

Minutes of the General Meeting held at the Museum Lecture Hall, Colombo, on Friday, November 14, 1952, at 5-15 p.m.

Present.—The President, Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, took the chair. There were present 40 members and 38 visitors.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the General Meeting of June 13, 1952, were read and confirmed.

Donations.—The list of donations received since the General Meeting of June 13, 1952, was tabled.

Acquisitions.—A list of books acquired since the General Meeting of June 13, 1952, was tabled.

New Members.—The names of 19 Ordinary members and one Non-Resident Life member elected since the General Meeting of June 13, 1952, were announced.

Lecture.—The President introducing the lecturer said that the Rev. Father J. W. Lange, S.J., who came from St. Louis Missouri in the United States, has been a member of the Roman Catholic Mission in Ceylon for many years.

The subject of the lecture 'The Singing Fish of Batticaloa' has interested laymen and scientists since Dutch times and there were references to it in the works of early British writers and modern zoologists.

Father Lange then delivered his lecture. See pp. 12-25.

Comments were offered by Mr. S. J. C. Kadirgamar, Mr. Rodney Jonklaas and Dr. R. L. Spittel.

Vote of Thanks.—Mr. M. J. Perera proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Minutes of the Council Meeting held on Friday, December 12, 1952, at the Society's Library, Thurstan Road, Colombo.

Present.—Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, the President, and nine members.

Vote of condolence.—Before the business commenced the President moved a vote of condolence on the death of Gate Mudaliyar R. J. Wijetunga and Mr. D. Wanasundara, who were life members of the Society. This was carried in the usual manner and the Honorary Secretary was requested to write letters of sympathy to the bereaved parties.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Council Meeting of October 10, 1952, were confirmed.

Business arising from the Minutes.—

- (a) **Exemption from Income Tax.**—The Secretaries were requested to take up the matter immediately after the return of Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan from London.
- (b) **Non-Return of Library Books borrowed.**—It was resolved that a borrowed book should be returned to the Secretary or clerk at the Library before it is reissued.
- (c) **Mr. A. P. Gomes' Letter.**—It was resolved to write to Mr. Gomes that the Council agreed that the remarks in question were not suitable for publication.
- (d) **Free use of Museum Lecture Hall for meetings.**—The President stated that he had written to the Treasury about this matter.

- (e) **Allocation to enable Society to send Representatives to International Meetings.**—It was decided to approach Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan and report progress at the next meeting.
- (f) **Permanent Home for Society.**—Deferred for next Meeting.
- (g) **Resignation of Mr. A. W. Nadarajah.**—His letter was tabled.
- (h) **Letter from Mr. I. B. Karunathilake.**—Letter tabled. In view of his having paid all arrears due by him (Rs. 31.50) it was decided to rescind the order of Council of October 10, 1952, and let him continue his membership.
- (i) **Arrears due from the late Mr. Shirley D'Alwis.**—Dr. Nell undertook to collect the amount due from him.
- (j) **Re-printing Journals of the Society that are out of print.**—The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris being absent the matter was deferred for the next Council Meeting.
- (k) **Appointment of Peon.**—The Joint Honorary Secretary, Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle being absent the matter was deferred for the next Council Meeting.
- (l) **Fifty copies of Journal No. 95 given to Messrs. Colombo Apothecaries' Company for sale.** Tabled their letter of November 9, 1952. Deferred for next Meeting.

Election of New Members.—Mr. E. B. Wickramanayake was elected an Ordinary member.

Resignations.—The resignation of Mr. P. C. Palipane was accepted.

Books purchased.—The list of books purchased since the last Council Meeting was tabled.

Letters from Mr. B. J. Perera and the Clerk were tabled :

Mr. Perera's Letter.—Regarding references to Ceylon in Chinese Sources. It was decided that when the Embassy was established in China action should be taken to obtain information through the Ministry of External Affairs.

Clerk's Letter.—The clerk's letter of resignation was accepted. The present clerk, Col. Schokman was requested to continue until the 15th of January, 1953. He was given leave from December 23rd to January 2, 1953, inclusive. A letter from Sir Paul Pieris regarding the proposed resignation of the clerk was read. It was decided to advertise the post of clerk. The President and Joint Honorary Secretaries and Treasurer were authorised to select and appoint a suitable person.

Society's Medal.—The President was authorised to order six medals in oxidized silver and that the die be taken over by the Society.

Material for next Journal.—It was resolved to include in the next Journal the lectures by Rev. Fr. Lange on 'The Singing Fish of Batticaloa' and by Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz on 'The Rebellion of 1761 and outbreak of the Kandyan war'. (Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council).

Any other business :

- (a) It was resolved to write to the Town Council, Point Pedro and obtain a piece of Baldeaus' tree for the Society.
- (b) Application from Mr. A. M. Caldera to remove Vol. III of Taxila, for feeding at home, was disallowed.
- (c) Order for three new book cases was left for early attention by the Treasurer and the Secretaries.

Minutes of the General Meeting held at the Museum Lecture Hall, Colombo, on Friday, December 12, 1952, at 6 p.m.

Present.—The President, Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, took the chair.

There were present 38 members and 19 visitors.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the General Meeting of November 14, 1952, were read and confirmed.

Acquisitions.—A list of books acquired since the General Meeting of November 14, 1952, was tabled.

New Members.—The name of one Ordinary member, Mr. E. B. Wickramanayake, elected since the last General Meeting, was tabled.

Lecture.—The President said the lecturer was well known and needed no introduction.

Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz delivered his lecture on 'The Rebellion of 1761 and outbreak of the Kandyan war'. (Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council). See pp. 29-52.

Remarks were offered by Dr. R. L. Spittel and the President.

Vote of Thanks.—The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

**PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR THE PERIOD
16th JULY, 1952 TO 20th FEBRUARY, 1953**

- Agriculture : United States Department of**
Year Book of Agriculture (INSECTS) 1952.
- Asian Quarterly of Culture and Synthesis (Asia)**
Vol. 2, Nos. 6 and 7.
- Bijdragen Tot-De Taal-, Land En-Volkenkunde**
Deel 108, Nos. 3 and 4.
- Blumea.** Vol. 6, No. 3 and Index.
- Bulletin De La Société Des Études Indochinoises**
Tome 26, No. 4.
Tome 37, Nos. 1-3.
- Bulletin of the John Rylands Library**
Vol. 10, No. 2.
Vol. 35, No. 1.

- Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research (London)**
Vol. 25, Nos. 71 and 72.
Theses Supplement No. 13.
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London**
Vol. 14, Parts 2 and 3.
- Ceylon—Archaeological Commission of Ceylon.** Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1951.
- Ceylon—Department of Census and Statistics**
Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics, Vol. 3, Nos. 1-3.
Census of Ceylon, 1946—Vol. 4.
Report on The Census of Govt. and Local Govt. Employees—1951.
Ceylon Year Book, 1951.
- Ceylon—Department of Wild Life**
Administration Report for 1951.
- Ceylon—Department of Commerce**
The Trade Journal, Vol. 17, Nos. 5-12.
The Trade Journal, Vol. 18, No. 1.
- Ceylon—The Director of National Museums**
Administrative Report for 1951.
- Ceylon—The Ceylon Forester.** New Series :—Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Ceylon—Government Archivist**
(a) Administration Report for 1951.
(b) List of Books printed—1950 and 1951.
- Ceylon Historical Journal.** Vol. 1, No. 4 and Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Ceylon—Historical Manuscripts Commission.**—Bulletin No. 5. Granville
Report on the Matara District (1813).
- Ceylon—Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of**
Vol. 41, No. 3.
- Ceylon—Journal of the Oriental Studies Society.** 1948-1950.
- De L'École Française D'Extrême—Orient**
Prieres Accom Pagnant Les Rites Acraires.
{ Contumier De La Tribu Bannar Des Sedang Et Des.
{ Jarai De La Province De Kontum (Tome 1 and 2).
Inscriptions Du Cambodge—Vol. 4.
Bulletin—Tome 44, Part 1, Tome 45, Part 2, Tome 46, Part 1.
- Eastern World.** Vol. 6, Nos. 7-12, Vol. 7, (1).
- Endeavour.** Vol. 11, Nos. 43 and 44.
- Epigraphia Indica.** Vol. 26, Nos. 7 and 8, Vol. 28, No. 1.
- Geological Survey of India, Calcutta**
(Indian Minerals).
Vol. 4, No. 4.
Vol. 5, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Government of Laos.** Le Bouddhisme Laotien Conference of 14th May, 1949.

- Government Museum—Madras.** 1. Centenary Souvenir; 2. Bulletin (New Series) General Section, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1951).
- Government Oriental MSS. Library—Madras**
Bulletin of The Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vol. 4, (Nos. 1 and 2); Vol. 5 (Nos. 1 and 2).
- Indian Historical Quarterly.** Vol. 28, Nos. 1-3.
- India Office Library—Commonwealth Relations Office.**
A Guide to The India Office Library—1952.
- Information Department—Government of Ceylon**
Bibliography on Land tenure and related problems in Ceylon.
Ceylon—Today, Vol. 1, Nos. 3 and 4.
Ceylon—Today, January—1953.
- International Academy of Indian Culture—Satapitaka.**
- Istituto Italiana Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente**
Serie Orientale Roma, Vols. 1-3 and Vol. 4—Part (1).
Indian Sculpture in Bronze and Stone.
L'Oriente Nella Cultura Contemporanea.
Lo Spirito Dell 'Amore Nella Letteratura Indiana.
Ramakrishna Paramahansa.
Mostra D'arte Giapponese.
Mostra Di Pitture Cinesi Ming E Ch'ing.
Il Poema Celeste.
La Lotta Dell—India—1920-1942.
Le Missioni Cattolice E La Cultura Dell 'Oriente.
IL Mondo Della Feda—Vol. 2.
East and West, Vol. 1—Vol. 3, Nos. 3 and 4.
- Journal—American of Philology.** Vol. 73, Nos. 291-292.
- Journal of Bihar Research Society.** Vol. 37, Parts 3 and 4.
Vol. 38, Parts 1 and 2.
- Journal of The Czechoslovak Oriental Institute**
Vol. 19, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Journal (Quarterly) of The Mythic Society, Bangalore**
Vol. 41, Nos. 2-4.
Vol. 42, No. 1.
- Journal of the Maha-Bodi Society**
Vol. 60, Nos. 7-12.
- Journal of Oriental Research, Madras**
Vol. 19, Part 4.
- Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda**
Vol. 1, No. 4.
Vol. 2, No. 1.
- Journal and Proceedings of The Royal Society, New South Wales**
Vol. 85.
Vol. 86.

- Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland**
1952, Parts 3 and 4.
- Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch**
Vol. 25, Part 1.
- Journal of The Royal Geographical Society of London**
Vol. 39, No. 6, Vol. 44, No. 2, Vol. 45, No. 1, Vol. 65, Nos. 2-6, Vols. 66-70.
- Journal of The Royal Empire Society**
Vols. 1, 3 and 10, Vol. 2 (4), Vol. 3 (11), Vol. 5 (8 and 10).
Vol. 6 (1 and 4), Vol. 7 (2, 3 and 6), Vol. 8 (2, 3, 5, 6-10, 12).
Vol. 9 (6 and 9), Vol. 10 (11), Vol. 11 (4 and 5), Vol. 13 (5 and 7).
Vol. 14 (9), Vol. 15 (6), Vol. 16 (3, 4, 12), Vol. 19 (1, 3 and 6).
Vol. 21 (9 and 12), Vol. 23 (2), Vol. 24 (1-7, 8, 9-12).
Vol. 25 (6), Vol. 26 (3, 6, 9) Vol. 27 (1 and 12), Vol. 28 (1, 3, 5, 6, 7).
Vol. 29 (1-6 and 11), Vol. 30 (1, 3, 4, 8, 10), Vol. 31 (4).
Vol. 38 (1, 6), Vol. 39 (4), Vol. 43 (4, 5, 6).
- Journal of The Sarawak Museum.** Vol. 5 (N.S.) No. 3.
- Journal of Soil and Water Conservation in India.** (Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2).
- Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen**
Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal—, Land En Volken Kunde—
Deel 84, Part (4).
- Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam**
Verslagen Omtrent, etc, Vol. 24.
{ Regestenlijst Van De Schepenkist—Oorkonden Uit Het }
{ Rechterlijk Archief Van Arnhem—1952 }
{ Stukken Afkumstig Van Ambfenaars V.H. Central Bestuur }
{ Tijdens De Charterkamer Van Holland }
Het Oud-Archief V.H. Huis Hoekelum Ouder Bennekom.
{ Mededelingen Der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van }
{ Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde—Deel 15, Nos. 3-7 }
- Library of Congress**
Annual Reports for 1951.
U.S. Quarterly Book Review, Vol. 8, Nos. 2 and 3.
Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions, Vol. 9, No. 3.
Bibliography of Periodical Literature in the near and Middle East,
Vol. 23.
- Memoirs of The Archaeological Survey of India.** No. 70.
- Mysore Economic Review.** Vol. 4, Nos. 3-12, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Special Number).
- National Library, Calcutta.** Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit Books, Vol. 1 (A-G) 1951.
- Periodical.** Vol. 29, Nos. 237-239.
- Review, University of Ceylon.** 10, Nos. 3 and 4.
- Royal Anthropological Institute of London.** (MAN)
Vol. 52, Art. 121-261.

Smithsonian Institute

- Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 117, Nos. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16,
Vol. 118, Vol. 119, No. 1.
Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Vol. 2, No. 1.
Bureau of American Ethnology.
68th Annual Report and Bulletin, 146-150.
Institute of Social Anthropology (Publication 13 and 14).

Sigra Scala Carmela Ved Verrone of Vig Salvator, Italia

- (1) Miscellanea Sprituale.
(2) Vita.
(3) Confessioni Di Donna Sterile.

UNESCO. (Delhi) Bibliography of Scientific Publications of South Asia (India, Burma and Ceylon). No. 6.**Miscellaneous**

- Anales Sel Centro Quimicos Industriales (Vol. 8, No. 1).
Ceylon Railway Journal, Vol. 5, No. 7.
Health News (New Series), Vol. 1, Nos. 1 and 2.

Donations received from July 16, 1952 to February 20, 1953**Dr. A. Nell :—**

- (a) Ceylon Geographical Society—Vol. 6, Nos. 2 and 3.
(b) Orchidologia Zeylanica—Vol. 17, Nos. 3 and 4.
(c) The Asiatic Review—Vol. 48, Nos. 175 and 176.
(d) Parents Review—Vol. 63, Nos. 7-9, 11 and 12.
Vol. 64, No. 1.
(e) Folk-Lore—Vol. 63, Nos. 1-3.
(f) Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 11, Nos. 1 and 2.
(g) Journal of The Royal Institute of Philosophy, Vol. 27, No. 103.
(h) Art and Letters, Vol. 26, No. 2.
(i) Journal of The Royal Empire Society, Vol. 43, Nos. 5 and 6.

Dr. B. C. Law :—

- (a) Sāsanavaṃsa (The History of Buddha's Religion) translated by him.
(b) Tirukkural Et Dhammapada (Extract from Journal Asiatique).

Mr. G. L. Cooray :—The New Lanka, Vol. 1, Nos. 2 and 4.
Vol. 11, Nos. 1 and 2.
Vol. 111.
Vol. 14, No. 1.**Mr. W. W. A. Philipps :—**Birds of Ceylon (2).
(Birds of our Swamps and Tanks).**Mr. A. H. P. De Zoysa :—**Baṭukuruḷu Saṅḍesa.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
General Account :				
To Salaries	2,205	40		
„ Audit Fees	200	00		
„ Pension	105	00		
„ Printing and Stationery	2,164	05		
„ Postage	299	08		
„ Advertisement and Lectures	442	24		
„ Travelling	57	00		
„ Bank Charges	10	50		
„ Income Tax	54	00		
„ Commission on Sale of Journals	350	98		
„ Maintenance of Typewriter	12	00		
„ Miscellaneous	83	69	5,983	94
Government Grant Account :				
To Binding and Preparing Books for Binding	1,935	40		
„ Purchase of Books	3,922	31		
„ Miscellaneous	18	50	5,876	21
Depreciation :				
To Depreciation on Furniture @ 5 per cent.			126	12
			Rs.	11,986
				27

(CEYLON BRANCH)

the Year Ended 31st December, 1952

INCOME	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
General Account :				
By Annual Subscription	2,639	75		
„ Life Membership	203	75		
„ Entrance Fees	249	00		
„ Savings Bank Interest	56	50		
„ Postages	30	41		
„ Bank Charges	3	00		
„ Donation	10	00		
„ Sale of Literature	1,623	99		
„ Miscellaneous	34	71	4,851	11
„ Government Grant			6,000	00
„ Excess of Expenditure over Income			1,135	16
			Rs.	11,986
				27

Annual Report for 1952

President and Council.—The President of the Society, Mr. S. A. Pakeman, *C.B.E., M.C.*, left the island on May 1952, and at the meeting of the Council held on August 8, Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala was elected President, under rule 21; Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan, Joint Honorary Secretary was elected Vice-President, in the place of Mr. Deraniyagala; and Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle was elected a Joint Honorary Secretary in the place of Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan. Dr. G. C. Mendis was elected an ordinary member of the Council. At the Annual General Meeting held on May 2, Professor Hettiaratchi and Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle were elected ordinary members of the Council.

Meetings.—The Annual General Meeting was held on the 2nd May. Four General Meetings and eight Council Meetings were also held during the year.

Lectures.—On the 24th January, Professor Sir Ralph L. Turner delivered a lecture on 'The Expansion of Oriental Studies in Great Britain'. At the Annual General Meeting on 2nd May, Dr. S. Paranavitana read a paper on 'The Sculpture at the Potgul-vehera, Polonnaruva', which was illustrated on the screen. On 13th June, Professor S. N. Ratanjankar lectured on 'The Place of Folk Songs in the Development of Eastern Music'. On the 14th November, Rev. Father J. W. Lange gave a talk on 'The Singing Fish of Batticaloa Lagoon', and on the 12th December, Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz read a paper on 'The Rebellion of 1761 and Outbreak of the Kandyan War (or Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council)'.

Journal.—Since the last general meeting two parts of the Journal, running to 208 pages, comprising Vol. II of the new series were issued.

Rules of the Society.—At the General Meeting of 13th June, the rules of the Society were amended. Apart from minor alterations to some, new rules were passed to exclude members from receiving any residuary benefit from the Society. The subscription was raised in view of the increased cost of printing and the additional expenses in running the Society.

Membership.—At the end of the year there were on the roll:—

Honorary Members	..	..	..	..	6
Life Members	..	..	..	..	103
Ordinary Members	}	Resident	..	..	302
		Non-Resident	..	..	16

making a total of 427 Members. This shows an increase of three Members.

We lost by death two Life Members and four Resident Members. Seven members resigned and twenty-two members were struck off under rule 33 for non-payment of fees.

Two members who were struck off under Rule 33 were reinstated on payment of arrears.

One Life Member, thirty-five Resident Members and one Non-Resident Member were elected during the year. Two Ordinary Members paid the composite fee and became Life Members.

Honours. Her Majesty The Queen was pleased to confer honours on the following members:—

Hon'ble Sir Lalita Rajapaksa	..	..	..	} Knight Bachelors
Sir Paul Pieris	..	..	..
Dr. S. Paranavitana	..	..	..	} Commander of the Order of the British Empire
Mr. E. W. Kannangara	..	..	..
Gate-Mudaliyar S. T. P. Rodrigo	..	..	..	Officer of the Order of the British Empire

Confirmation of Honorary Degrees by the University of Ceylon.—The degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred by The University of Ceylon upon Sir Paul Pieris and Dr. S. Paranavitana.

Donations.—The Society has received books and Journals from the following:—Dr. B. C. Law, Dr. A. Nell, Sir Richard Aluwihare, Dr. C. E. Godakumbara, Mr. S. A. Pakeman, Mr. B. J. Perera, The Chairman, Board of Management, Buddhist Tri-Piṭaka Trust (Buddhist Congress Tri-Piṭaka Series) and a cash donation of Rupees ten from the President, Rural Courts, Gangodawila.

Society Medal.—The design for the Society's Medal was accepted and the order placed with Messrs. Spink & Co., London to cast it in oxidised silver. The work is nearing completion.

Library.—112 books were purchased and 208 Volumes bound. Six books outstanding from members for over ten years have been recovered.

The number of members who read at the Library and borrow books has increased considerably.

It was decided not to lend for removal out of the library books published over one hundred years ago, books worth over one hundred Rupees and Society's journals of which duplicates are not available.

Grants.—A grant of Rs. 6,000/- was received, for the Financial Year 1951-1952, from the Government of Ceylon.

Finance.—The Balance Sheet showing expenditure and receipts for 1952 will be presented by the Honorary Treasurer.

Rule 33 regarding payment of fees is now being enforced more strictly.

At the end of 1952 Rs. 1,078/75 was due from members as against Rs. 1,601/75 due at the end of 1951.

Accommodation.—The inadequate accommodation for the proper housing of the rare and valuable books belonging to the Society was discussed by the President with the Honourable the Minister for Education who kindly consented to assist the Society if circumstances permitted his doing so.

Exchanges.—Exchanges were effected during the year with 66 Institutions.

Obituary

E. W. PERERA, Advocate, S.C.

The late Mr. E. W. Perera was for a long period an active member of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society notwithstanding the claims of his legal work and his vigorous participation in political agitation.

His earliest researches were into the history and topography of his home-town, Kōṭṭe, and the royal residence, Jayavardhanapura. In 1904 his earliest contribution to the Society's Journal was on Alakeśvara, the much-discussed creator of the new capital.

He had studied such evidences as remained of Sinhalese heraldry and the old flags and banners of revenue districts, for the study of which he visited many vihāras. During his stay in London he made a painstaking search for the banner of the last King of Kandy which had been captured at Hanvālla in 1803 which he successfully located in the Hall of Chelsea Royal Hospital, the home of old soldiers.

This phase of his activity in research happily resulted in the 1916 publication of the Colombo Museum Memoir, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, copies of which are treasured.

His continued contributions to the Society's Journals from time to time were principally about Kōṭṭe. But he took part in many discussions.

His services as a member of the Council were always helpful.

It was mainly owing to his advocacy that the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission was formed and he served on it with zeal and industry only paralleled by his services to the Ceylon R.A.S.; exploration of the ancestral home of Saṅgharāja Vāliviṭa Saraṇāṅkara, of the temple libraries mainly in the Southern Province, entailed much physical labour and painstaking study which he never grudged giving in his voluntary unpaid services to gathering the material for fuller study of our country's history and ancient culture.

A. NELL

