VOL. II. PARTS XI. AND XII.

THE ORIENTALIST,

A JOURNAL

OF

ORIENTAL LITERATURE, ARTS AND SCIENCES, FOLKLORE,

&c., &c., &c.

Edited by

WILLIAM GOONETILLEKE.

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KANDY, CEYLON.

PRINTED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA, BOMBAY.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & Co.

1885.

*** *All communications to be addressed to the* EDITOR, *Trincomalie Street, Kandy, Ceylon.*

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THE DUTCH IN CEYLON—SPILBERGEN.

(From the Dutch of François Valentyn's 'Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien.')[1]

[Spilbergen's arrival at Baticalo in Ceylon, A.D. 1602; his good reception and further adventures here.—He writes about the arrest of his men, his first letter to the king. He sends a clerk to the Emperor of Candi who desires Spilbergen to come and visit him.—Guyon le Fort, commander of one of Spilbergen's ships arrives.—Spilbergen's departure to Candi.—His adventures in Candi and elsewhere.—Description of Vintana.—Spilbergen offers the friendship of the Prince of Orange to the Emperor, who gives him all the pepper and cinnamon he has ready.—Description of Candi with respect to its pagodas.—Spilbergen informs the Emperor of our religion, presents him with the portrait of the Prince of Orange and describes the State of Holland.—He is made the Emperor's envoy to the States-General and the Prince of Orange, and departs with letters to them, leaving with the Emperor two musicians.—He is visited by Emanuel Dias, captures a Portuguese galliot, and presents it to the Prince of Baticalo, where he receives some pepper and cinnamon.—Guyon le Fort goes to Candi with a few men; his reception there and other events.—Spilbergen sails away from Ceylon, Sept. 1602.]

IT will now be time that we begin to speak of the Netherlanders also; for it was about this time that the Hollanders, or rather the Zealanders, came for the first time to Ceylon.

On the 5th May 1601, the valiant Sea-captain Joris van Spilbergen sailed to the East Indies from the town of Camp-Vere, with the ships the Ram, the Sheep, and the Lamb, and on the 26th May 1602 arrived off Cape Comorin with two of these ships; the other, the Ram, of which Guyon le Fort was Commander, had been lost sight of near the Cape of Good Hope since Dec. 4th 1601.

Spilbergen steered his course straight towards Punto Gale on the S.W. corner of Ceylon, and on the 29th he passed the first and second shallows. Everywhere he found good ground at the depth of about 20 fathoms, and from thence he proceeded to the river of Matecalo. Seeing a creek there which seemed like a river, he sailed thither and arrived on the 30th, found no river there, but only a large jungle of Calappus-trees. He also saw a village from which rose a pagoda, and here he came to anchor and sent his boat to the land. Thereon came men from the shore in a prow to speak to the men in the boat, who asking of Matecalo received for answer that it lay further to the North. They presented these islanders with some knives, on their agreeing to lend a man for that day to guide them to Matecalo, where they arrived on the 31st Dec.

Thereupon did Spilbergen, the first Netherlander who appeared in Ceylon, send a man over land to Baticalo, to address the king, Derma Jangadare; meanwhile he came the same evening further into the roads. Here there was a creek where the inhabitants build many vessels, but still he discovered no river though there was one about six miles from thence which was very deep, and in which the water was about five or six feet. The town of Matecalo (or Baticalo) lay about one mile from the place where they lay at anchor.

On June 1st some Cingalese came on board and brought with them an interpreter, speaking Portuguese, who said that there were pepper and cinnamon in abundance, but that the Modeliar who administered the affairs of the King of that place requested the sea-captain to come on shore in order to speak with him.

About this time too the man whom he had sent to the King returned and brought him tidings of his good reception by this prince.

On June 2nd Spilbergen went on shore with three or four men. And there five

[1] This is pre-eminently the best published work relating to the former Dutch colonies. It consists of five folio volumes, of which about half of the last volume is devoted to an account of Ceylon, geographical and historical. The work has been compiled after a careful examination of original manuscript documents which are still preserved in the Colonial Department of the Rijks Archief at the Hague in Holland. For Sir E. Tennent's opinion of its value *vide* his work on Ceylon, Vol. 2, p. 32.

elephants stood in readiness, and many ceremonies were performed in his presence in kneeling and other attitudes. Some raised the Cingalese with their trunks from the ground and placed them up on their backs again. These Ceylon elephants were considered the most intelligent in all the Indies.

Spilbergen met with a very friendly reception from the Modeliar and returned with the promise that he was to visit the King of Baticalo on the following day.

On the 3rd he again went on shore and not only took several presents to be offered to the King, but also two musicians who knew how to play on several instruments.

At this time there appeared also a prow with a nobleman aboard who came about 6 or 8 miles from the North, who wished them to come there with the ship; but the Prince of Baticalo was very much against it. Each for his own profit wished him to proceed or to remain there.

On the 4th the sea-commander Spilbergen made it known to the king that he could come on shore, and on the evening of the 5th he came to the King who was accompanied by about 1000 armed men.

After that he had now come again to the beach, he relates that he was received in state at Baticalo and conducted before the King by his majesty's most distinguished courtier.

The bodyguard of the King consisted of more than 600 men, who all stood with arms unsheathed while he came on, and the King too welcomed the sea-captain with a naked sword in his hand.

He gave the prince many fine presents, and honoured him with lively music, wherein the King took great pleasure. After that he brought Spilbergen into the house of the Modeliar where he and his men were very well received.

On that day he was charged by him to remain with his men in the house where he had been placed, and towards evening he was brought before the King, as he was strongly suspected of being a Portuguese. However he succeeded in convincing him that he was of another nationality, whereon, having been up to this time treated as a prisoner, he again received his freedom to go wherever it pleased him, so on that day he again came to the sea-coast.

He remained that evening on shore; but sent some more presents to the prince by other men, in order to prevail on him in all friendship, to provide his lading the more speedily, whereon, it was promised that he should have it in 15 days.

On the 6th June Spilbergen went to land to see the king again, who now received him near the shore. From that time, during every hour, more and more armed people gathered about him. Spilbergen again requested his lading, whereon the king answered that he hoped to have the better half in five days, requesting that the ship should meanwhile be unloaded and the goods brought to land.

They said that many men and elephants had been sent to bring on the lading but besides this the Modeliar demanded that the ship should be moored near the shore, as was the custom in trading with other vessels, a request which was in itself not altogether unreasonable, but which was suspected by Spilbergen as a piece of treachery. He strongly maintained that they were there for some knavery, and sought to gain time to carry out their plot against him; and more so as he understood from some Moors that there was nothing except very little pepper there, and that it was not usual with them to trade with that place.

Spilbergen seeing himself embarrassed by this people, acceded to everything which they demanded in order to take the ship towards the shore, requiring only men and a steersman or Loots to help him to carry this out.

They gave him one, and some men, but Spilbergen determined to go again to the shore by himself, keeping all his other company with him well towards land. They also demanded four other Portuguese as hostages for their people.

Spilbergen told them again that he and his men were not Portuguese, but Zealanders; but afterwards he left behind three of them, on taking with him eleven Cingalese from the shore.

After that they were come on board he asked their help to arrange and pack some plates in the cabin. When they went in there with him, he caused the grates to fall upon their heads. After that he went with the interpreter and some other Cingalese to another place, and after shewing them many valuable goods, said to them: "Go ye now to land with these two men and tell the king that I shall keep here his eight men till he send my people back, and tell him as well what valuable articles you have seen, which are all for the king. But he must first deliver my pepper and cinnamon."

He wrote also a pleasing letter to the king, exhorting him to beware of bad councillors and instigators against him and his men, assuring him that if the king would only pay him in pepper and cinnamon he had abundant goods.

He also gave the prince therein to understand that the account given by the Cingalese he held on board was this, that so inconsiderate a demand had been made of them to take the ship and the goods to the shore, though they had not shewn any cinnamon or pepper wherewith to pay them.

It was also a very strange experience to him that they should take him and his men to be Portuguese notwithstanding all his assurances; from which it seemed as if they had only an intention, under mere pretext, to declare his ship and goods forfeited as soon as it was moored near the shore.

Lastly he said that if the king was sincerely inclined to trade with him in future, he too on his part was agreeable to show the king all honour and friendship. Therewith he despatched the letter with some presents, after ordering all his flags and pendants to be hoisted and all the artillery to fire off in honor of the king; though this at first greatly alarmed his majesty.

On the same day the king sent a prow with an interpreter who, in the king's name, offered to Spilbergen many provisions of deer-flesh, poultry, butter and many kinds of fruit, adding moreover that he was at liberty to make use of all his country at his pleasure. He also sent his three men on board, requesting him not to depart yet, as he would in a short time send him his lading and his security. He would further order three or four Cingalese (?) to be brought to him. He also made a full apology for his demand that the ship and goods should be brought to the shore, saying that he had had no evil intention in his mind; requesting him once more to have more patience as he was busy in gathering the pepper. Though after that rupture everything rested only in good words of no consequence.

On the 7th, however, he sent a monster pepper which he valued at a high price, and also a little wax; but Spilbergen would give no offer for so little of each.

On the 9th, while going along the shore by water they learnt from some people who spoke Portuguese, that this king paid tribute to the Portuguese.

On the 10th they again requested the king to deliver their lading; but this had to be procured from the emperor of the island, otherwise Don Fan (now called Fimala Darma Soeria) for which they must have time and patience, and they asked him to send on thither some men with a clerk from Spilbergen.

When Spilbergen had learned that the Emperor of Candi was there, wishing to go thither himself, he required five Cingalese as hostages on board from the King of Baticalo, who immediately sent them to him. One of them was a councillor of his, named Panneka, with whom were two headmen, or chiefs of the warriors, and two others.

After that, elephants were again sent to the shore to convey the sea-captain, whereon he was taken to the King of Baticalo, who dissuaded him from the journey to Candi. It was resolved therefore, as the king said that the road was far and difficult, to send off a clerk with some presents instead, and

on the 15th the sea-captain came again on board expecting what intelligence the clerk, who had been sent away, would bring him.

Meanwhile he bartered daily for all manner of stones as rubies, topazes, garnets, spinels, hyacinths, sapphires (white and blue), cats-eyes and crystals, in return for all manner of gew-gaws; but they were in themselves of little importance and of inferior value, so that they had the greater expense there in the presents which they had to give continually to the king of Baticalo.

The clerk who had been sent away, having returned on the 3rd July, with two envoys and a letter from the Emperor to Spilbergen, testified that the king had received and treated him very well.

The name of the two envoys were Gonsalo Rodrigos, and Melchior Rebecca; and the Emperor sent by them some presents of gold rings and of large arrows, called Segonsios, considered by them to be of great value and a sure token of his favour. He also offered the sea-captain all friendship, promised to give him as much lading as it was possible, and requested him to come and visit him in Candi.

On this same evening Guyon le Fort also appeared here with the ship the Ram, which had been lost sight of by the captain on the 24th December off the Cape of Good Hope, and had not been seen since. Upon his arrival there was great joy among them.

It was determined at the same time that Spilbergen should undertake the journey to the Emperor, the more so as he then had orders from his lords and masters, and from the Prince of Orange, with the offer of their friendship to the Emperor, if he too were willing to be a "friend of their friends, and a foe of their foes."

He departed on the 6th, taking with him several presents, and ten of his men as companions on the way, among whom were some who knew how to play very well on various instruments.

Meantime the ship, the Ram, came to anchor at the place where the sea-captain was, and fired off a *feu de joie* in honour of the Emperor's envoys; but, a piece of artillery being overcharged, kicked backwards, and thereby a constable was wounded who died soon after.

Guyon le Fort, under-sea-captain, had been with his ship in the Island of Madagascar and in the Bay of S. Augustin, where he had lost both mast and bowsprit in a storm; wherefore he had arrived in danger of life, ship and goods.

While the sea-captain was on his way to the emperor, they bartered for a few more precious stones and sent the boat to some other places in order to look for a better haven; but they found no better than where they lay.

On the 28th Spilbergen came again on board from the emperor of Candi, having left behind Captain Jongerheld two days before, as he had been taken ill on the way and could not follow the company through fatigue. He had left for his service three elephants and six men to help him as far as possible on the way; so he was the last to arrive thither.

After that Spilbergen had started on the 6th July to go to the High Country, he first came to the king of Baticalo, who received him and the Emperor's envoys in state and presented him with some gold rings, and provided some elephants, men and palanquins in order to carry him, his luggage, and that of his people who could not keep up. These men went with him as far as the Emperor's country, being entertained very excellently with everything except their meals.

As soon as he arrived at the Emperor's country, there came to meet him a Modeliar with drums and pipes, and with gong and tifa, who conducted him to a village where too he was well entertained, and in one apartment was placed a bedstead covered with white linen, an honour which is there done to all great envoys. The sea-captain offered some presents to the viceroy and his modeliars, who in a friendly way requested Spilbergen to come and visit him on his

return journey, saying that they would be glad to treat him with all friendship at all times.

Thereon he continued his journey and came two miles from thence into a village where dwelt a certain princess, daughter of the viceroy mentioned above, who was now one of the wives of the Emperor of Candi. Don Jan had given her this village; but they had already departed to the town of Vintana (or Bintenne) where Spilbergen arrived on that day. So as they approached that place there came to meet him about 6 Modeliars, accompanied with much people with pipes, drums, and horns, and other instruments, who attended him as far as the town even to the place where he was to have his residence, where too he found his apartments adorned with linen. He remained there two nights, and visited the aforementioned princess, who greatly desired to see him, offering for his service on his return journey everything in her country.

This town lies on the river of Trinkenemale, otherwise called Mawieleganga, where a very few ships are made. Besides a pretty pagoda,[2] already described above by us, he here came across many others of the same kind, and a monastery wherein he found monks clad in yellow, who walked along the streets with great sun-screens, and with slaves. They were bald in the head, but shaved and without a crown(?). They had paternosters in their hand which they were constantly busy in muttering. They were held in great respect, and were free from all services and taxes. The monastery wherein they were, was just like the monasteries of the Roman Catholics, being provided with several galleries, and circuits, with many chapels, finely gilt, and decorated with the portraits of different men and women, who according to them had lived holy lives. These forms of eunuchs were attired in clothes gilt with silver, and near them were lamps and chandeliers burning all day and night, standing on altars whereon were great candles which were held by naked eunuch-children. Every hour the monks came into the chapels to read their prayers and breviaries. He also saw them celebrating their feasts there, and making their circuits along the street, when the High-priest sat on an elephant, clothed in silver and gold, and holding with both hands above his head a golden staff. In front of him went in order many other monks, with much playing of horns, drums, cymbals, and the clanging of bells and brass plates, all of which gave a very good accord. Many lamps and torches were carried, and there followed them many men, women and maidens.

It is usual for the prettiest girls, before the going out or coming in of the procession, to dance very wonderful and clever dances. They were naked above their waist, and their arms, hands, and ears, were half adorned with gold and precious stones and below the waist they were covered with finely embroidered cloth.

It is said that these people worship every day in the chapels of the pagodas, and fall down on the ground with hands folded above their heads.

Departing from Vintana he came into the town of the king's son, which was not a day's journey from Candi. Here the king sent his own palanquin which was very gorgeous, and fitted up with gilt hangings; he sent also some elephants. Then Spilbergen sent away the other palanquins, people, &c., to Vintana. During every hour the king sent his men with provisions, fruit and wine from the grapes which he himself had planted in Candi, and which in themselves were as good as some vines grown in Portugal.

Coming near the town of Candi Spilbergen had to wait for an hour near a river

[2] This is doubtless the one mentioned in the "Cosmographie of the World," published in 1666 A.D., p. 902, "*Ventane*, of great renown for an Idol temple, in compass 130 paces, of great height, and all white except the tops which hath the spires so gilded that when the sun shines, men are not able to look upon them."

where he was joined by several modeliars. After that the Emperor sent him the principal Modeliar, Emanuel Dias, of whom we have already spoken more at length, together with many Portuguese who all had their ears cut off and served the prince. He was received in very great state, and conducted to Candi with 1,000 armed soldiers and eight flying banners taken from the Portuguese. Meanwhile there was heard on every side the loud sounds of various instruments.

Thus they conducted Spilbergen past the Emperor's palace up to his residence, and there many volleys were fired off to welcome him. He had with him Captain Jongerheld, of Flushing, and he ordered three trumpeters to march in front, one of whom carried the ribbon of the flag of the prince, and after them four other servants followed with a silk flag of Spain or Portugal all trailing, and this flag he presented to the Emperor, who in return offered the prince another flag, which he too had taken from the Portuguese.

Now when he had come to his residence, he found everything prepared in very lordly style, not by the Cingalese but by the Portuguese. Likewise Emanuel Dias with the other Portuguese remained with him until the Emperor in the afternoon sent him three horses very well equipped with saddles, on which he was to come and visit him there. He went on one to the prince with some fine presents, and was very well received, whilst his presents were ordered to be placed on a table, and the same shewn to the hereditary prince and princess.

Don Jan or Fimala Darma Soeria was dressed in white, exhibiting in his outward appearance everything that could be wished for in a magnanimous prince. He walked up and down with Spilbergen in a large apartment for some time, and after they had talked about a few matters of importance, he gave him leave to return to his abode in order that he might first rest a while, as he judged that he must be very tired, and then he was to come again in the morning to speak to him. Before Spilbergen's departure he made his musicians play lustily once, which gave the prince great satisfaction. On that day the prince again sent him his horses so that he might come to him. He got ready for this, and as before was very amicably received and entertained as a prince. The emperor spoke to him about the trade in cinnamon and pepper, but he demanded so much that Spilbergen thought it best rather to turn to some other subject of conversation with the prince. But when Spilbergen desired to take his leave, the emperor asked him how much he wished to give, to which the sea-captain replied that he was not come there for pepper or cinnamon, but only to carry out the orders of His Highness the Prince of Orange, and to offer his friendship and help, which his majesty might stand in need of against his foes, the Portuguese. The Emperor, on hearing this, announced it to all his nobles and courtiers who received it with great satisfaction. The prince also took the sea-captain in his arms, lifted him up from the ground from his bending position, and said: "All the pepper and cinnamon which I have is presented to you;" but there was in all not above £3,000 worth. He afterwards apologised for this, saying that his arrival there was so sudden; and that he had not before engaged in much trade in cinnamon and pepper; but on the contrary it had been usual to order all the cinnamon to be destroyed and expressly to forbid the peeling of it, in order to do all damage to the Portuguese their foes; from this it was very easy to understand the reasons why he was not better provided then.

To remain there any longer was not altogether advisable, for the East monsoon was beginning to be felt there, and they had a low coast at the place where they lay at anchor.

Meanwhile, during daily conversations with the sea-captain about various matters, the emperor shewed him the harness, muskets and other arms which he had taken from the Portuguese. He also shewed him his magnificent pagodas with 4,000 or 5,000 beautifully engraved images, some as high as masts and on which were made fine steeples

of very valuable stones, cunningly wrought with royally gilded arches, so that the interior of these pagodas, in the beauty of their edifice almost surpassed those of the Roman Catholic churches.

After Spilbergen had seen all this and had come back to the prince, he was asked what he thought of their pagodas, to which he replied that he thought more of living men than of dead images. Then the prince asked him whether we did not provide our churches also with the images of Mary, Paul, Peter and all the other Saints like the Portuguese, and whether we too believed in Christ. Spilbergen answered that we were Christians, but not Roman Catholics as were the Portuguese; that we indeed had churches but with bare walls, without any images, and that we served God the Creator of heaven and earth, in our hearts. The Emperor further asked whether our God did not die, whereon having shown him that no mortal man can be like God, in order thus to point out to the prince that all his images in his pagodas were in vain, as they only represented mortal men, he exhorted him not to put his trust in them but in God. After he had spoken with the king about several matters of religion he took his leave of this prince.

On that day the prince entertained him with a royal supper, bringing him into a large hall, covered with carpets and furnished with Spanish chairs, and with a table on which everything was served up after the fashion of the Christians. He honoured him also with lively music directed after the manner of his country. Thereon Spilbergen presented to the Emperor the portrait of the Prince of Orange riding in full armour, as he was 'taken' after the battle in Flanders on July 2nd, 1600. He was very greatly pleased with this, the more so as the circumstances of this battle and the succeeding events of our war with the king of Spain were related by the sea-captain.

In the five days which Spilbergen spent with the emperor, that valiant and warlike prince could not be satiated in his inquiries from the sea-captain as to everything which concerned our land. He had the portrait of the Prince of Orange hung up in the room which he daily frequented, and then he brought Spilbergen into the apartments of the empress, where she was sitting with her children, the prince and the princesses, all clad in Christian fashion; an honour which according to the manner of this land was unusually great. He also offered the States-General and his princely Highness' permission to build a castle in his country wherever it pleased them, adding moreover this very strong expression: "*See, I myself, my empress, the prince and princesses, will carry on our shoulders the stones, lime and other materials, if the States-General and the prince are willing to build a fortress in my land.*" He also gave Spilbergen several letters to the States-General and the Prince of Orange; and made the sea-captain his ambassador, so that he might treat in his name with their High Mightinesses and with His Highness. Select presents and several great titles of honour did this prince also give to Spilbergen; for which therefore he presented to the prince two of his musicians, Hans Rempel and Erasmus Martsberger who knew to play very well on all kinds of instruments. The emperor was so pleased with them that he himself began afterwards to learn from them to play. The prince and princesses too afterwards made Martsberger their private secretary. He was both a worthy man and fitted for that post, since he was tolerably well educated, and had knowledge of several languages. The emperor, the prince and princesses began to learn Dutch, saying: "Candi is now become Flanders."

At length Spilbergen took leave of the prince, who shewed him all imaginable honour at his departure, giving him many large arrows, darts, called sergonsios, serving as a proof of his faith, truth and firm friendship, together with a large number of men, elephants, and what further he had need of for his journey. He also presented him with a gilt umbrella, and four or five

slaves to serve him. Thus the valiant naval hero, after wandering all over Ceylon, wherever it pleased him, freely, inexpensively, and yet with splendour, came again on board after a journey of twenty-two days.

The prince sent him on the 5th August, Emanuel Dias and some other Modeliars and 120 soldiers, in order to attend to the shipping, and to look out with Spilbergen after his arrival for a better place for anchoring. Afterwards they spake further about several matters which had been resolved on, and sworn to between them. He shewed these Modeliars also all honour, brought them on board in two well-armed boats, and gave them a lively entertainment. On the 8th August, a Portuguese galliot with 46 men was taken by the boat of Spilbergen which had only 14 men. The captain of the galliot was called Antonio de Costa Montero who had shipped some old *pinang* and a little pepper and cinnamon. When the Modeliar Dias witnessed this with his own eyes, he was firmly convinced that the Portuguese were our foes. He gave the first intelligence of this to the Emperor, to whom Spilbergen offered the galliot with its lading, and there was great rejoicing over it in Candi.

On the 9th August Emanuel Dias departed with Guyon le Fort and Duke Filips in order to see that the promised cinnamon followed at the earliest opportunity. It consisted of 60 canisters of cinnamon, 16 bales of pepper and 3 bales of turmeric or Indian saffron.

Guyon le Fort was also very well entertained on his arrival at Candi, and received some gold rings as a present, as also Duke Filips. They found there some more cinnamon, but as that was not yet prepared, they could not wait for it, since the monsoon had passed away.

On 11th August they captured another vessel with old *pinang*, which Spilbergen presented to the king of Baticalo. He had previously given leave to the sea-captain to attack the Portuguese, but now he made much fuss about their being taken so near his district; though he did this more for good appearance, in order to hoodwink others, as well as from a good feeling for the Portuguese.

On the 12th August they took another ship with 20 men, and thus had from these three vessels named above, about 100 men, some of whom remained with them, and some were sent to Candi. Meanwhile Antonio de Costa Montero escaped through the carelessness of our men, and for this Claas Calcs and some others were punished.

On the 23rd August, Houtepen, constable in the ship the Ram, was killed during the imprudent loading of a piece of artillery, this being the second mishap which befel the constable of this ship through such manner of handling guns.

On the 1st September 1602 Guyon le Fort with his company returned on board from Candi, bringing with him letters and presents from the Emperor to the sea-captain.

Now when Spilbergen had got ready everything for his journey and had enquired on shore at the full market of Baticalo from the Cingalese who were there to the number of about 200, whether they had anything to ask or offer him, he then, on the 2nd September, set sail from Baticalo, having burnt the two above mentioned ships with the *pinang* as they had no time to sell them. Before his departure he left behind two of his men, a constable and a carpenter, and then he sailed away to Atchen on the 3rd September.

A. E. Buultjens.

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TRANSLITERATION.

In connection with the articles which appeared last year under the Editor's own hand (July, pp. 150-6) and that of Mr. Donald Ferguson (December, pp. 265-7), on the subject of transliteration I should like to make a few remarks merely as affecting us in Ceylon, without entering upon the general question, worn well-nigh thread-bare by a host of writers since the time of Sir W. Jones.

The *Orientalist* has not yet, I believe, finally decided on a definite system of transliteration. I propose, therefore, with the object, if possible, of bringing about uniformity in Ceylon at least, to offer certain suggestions for smoothing the way towards a reasonable compromise between the somewhat imperfect Government scheme for the transcription of Sinhalese and Tamil—the two main languages of the Island—and the scientifically accurate methods advocated by advanced scholars of the day. A not inconsiderable practical experience of the working of our Government plan (followed hitherto by the Ceylon Asiatic Society in its publications) may be pleaded in justification of the following remarks.

A close examination of the scheme adopted in 1869 by the Ceylon Government (Minute, November 16th), tabulated below, proves it to contain but few real defects; and in attempting any new departure in transliteration, it should not be forgotten that we have to face the fact of an existing system, based on the recommendations of such renowned scholars as Sir W. Jones and Professor Wilson, accepted by Government, familiarised by the usage of a decade and a half, and one which, having been found fairly satisfactory, is not likely to be lightly abandoned in view of the expense a radical change must entail.

The points, then, which seem to call for amendment, may be limited to these :—

(i). It is undoubtedly of the highest importance that each Roman character used should be restricted "to represent a particular Dēvanāgara, [Sinhalese, or Tamil, unaspirated] letter, and that letter alone, and, when these characters are exhausted, to add diacritical marks to some for representing the remaining Dēvanāgara, [Sinhalese, and Tamil], letters."

Reference to the annexed table will show that this sound rule is broken in the case of (a) Dev. च : Sin. ච : Tam. ச (when not a sibilant) : (b) Dev. ष ; Sin. ෂ ; Tam. ஷ : (c) Dev. ऋ, ॠ ; ऌ, ॡ ; Sin. ඍ, ඎ ; ඏ, ඐ, which are represented respectively by *ch, sh, ṛi, ṛ́i, ḷi, ḷ́i*.

(*a*). As for the first letter, it needs but the elision of the superfluous *h* to sufficiently do service for the simple letter—*ch* being retained for the aspirate Dev. छ, Sin ඡ, as approved by the generality of modern philologists.

(*b*). Inasmuch as cerebral letters are now written nearly everywhere with a dot below, Dev. ष ; Sin. ෂ ; Tam. ஷ ; should, as the Editor has forcibly urged, be by analogy transliterated similarly, viz. *ṣ*. The Government fount possesses this sign, but it has been allotted unfortunately to the palatal sibilant, Dev. श ; Sin. ශ. The Editor contends for the use of *ṡ*, as the best equivalent of the latter. But, as Mr. Ferguson properly remarks, "the Spanish *ñ* has been almost universally adopted by Oriental scholars to represent the palatal nasal;" and it seems most reasonable to employ the same diacritical mark for the sibilant of the same class, and to write it *s̃*. True it may be "that of all diacritical marks, dots are admittedly the best, and other marks are to be sought for when a dot, for some reason or other, is inadmissible." There is, however, the good ground, independent of correct classification, against adopting *ṡ* for the palatal sibilant, that it would not improbably lead to confusion with the cerebral *ṣ* when proof was being set up, and subsequently in the reader's mind.

(*c*). The Editor's proposal to transcribe Dev. ऋ, ॠ ; ऌ, ॡ ; Sin. ඍ, ඎ ; ඏ, ඐ ; by *ṛ, ṝ ; ḷ, ḹ*, (dropping the vowel from the Government *ṛi, ṛ́i, ḷi, ḷ́i* and throwing back the accent on to the consonant), is at once met by the objection that *ṛ* and *ḷ* are already taken up for the Tamil ற and ள. Some alternative must, therefore, be devised : a ready one would be to write these letters with three dots below, thus *ṟ, ṝ ; ḻ, ḹ*. —the employment of *ḻ* for the Tamil ழ precluding resort to two subscribed dots only.[1]

[1] There is a quasi-inherent vowel in these letters, and it is open to doubt whether *i* may not properly be added in transcribing them.

(ii). Passing to nasals.

(*a*). Regarding the *anusvára* or *bindu*—that most difficult of all letters to fitly transcribe—despite Professor Childers' recorded compunction for introducing *n* with a circle beneath as its representation, many will be disposed (*pace tanti nominis*) to agree that that lamented scholar just fell short of inventing as close a representative sign as perhaps it is possible to arrive at.

The Editor has rightly pointed out that "the mark for *anusvāra* should be placed above, for the reason that this would be analogous to the Sanskrit mode of representing" it, and declares his intention of adopting a small circle—the Sinhalese-Páli *bindu* itself—so placed over *n*, dots having been fully utilized by him for other nasals. When thus brought into its proper position what more appropriate representation could be selected for the *anusvára* of Páli and Sinhalese? How utterly abroad of the sound is such spelling, for instance, as the too-fashionable *Sínhala* or *Siṁhala*, those only can realize who are conversant with the true pronunciation.

(*b*). The guttural nasal, Dev. ङ; Sin. ඬ; Tam. ஙா. "I may safely say," writes Mr. Ferguson, "that the large majority of Oriental scholars have adopted this symbol [*ṅ*]; a few, such as Fausböll, using *n̄*; and still fewer following the example of Professor Monier Williams and writing *n'*; while others write *n* simply." With authorities thus at variance, and *ṅ* having once been adopted for our *anusvára*, the Ceylon Government sign *ṅ* may without hesitation be retained for the guttural nasal as preferable to *ṅ*. Between *ṇ anusvára* and *ṇ* cerebral as at present in use, there is often no perceptible difference where the printing is not of the clearest, or the type small, and the mistake would be repeated by employing *ṅ* as the guttural sign.

(*c*). The want of half-nasal signs in the Government scheme is a serious inconvenience. Considering, however, the expense that would be involved in casting all the semi-nasals required to ensure strictest accuracy of transliteration, might it not serve the purpose to write *ṅ* in every case, it being understood that the half-nasal partakes of the nature of the succeeding consonant, to which in the native characters it is closely united?

(iii). Lastly, as to ඍ, ඎ—the Sinhalese 'bleating vowels' as they will continue rightly or wrongly to be called. No amount of ingenuity can frame a vowel combination which will adequately express their sound. It is therefore not merely useless writing them by *æ* or *æ*, but positively objectionable, on the score of representing one letter by two. The Government *ę ę́*, though inaccurate, are so far nearer the mark. This can best be approached by *a̤*, *á̤*, differing only in the accent from the symbols suggested by the Editor (*ą*, *ą́*). "In selecting a basis for these sounds we must direct our attention to the fact that in Sinhalese a mark is added to ඇ to represent it for the reason, no doubt, that it is the nearest sound to it. Why then should not this plan be followed in transliterating it? As marks are added to ඇ to represent the bleating vowels, so let marks be added to 'a' for the same purpose. The best mark is a dot. A little calm consideration would convince any unprejudiced mind that of the representations hitherto proposed this is the best, as it is analogous to the Sinhalese method."

The changes above enumerated, when summarized, amount to :—

c	for	*ch*	*ṁ* [*m̃*][1]	for	half-nasals	
s̃	,,	*ṣ*	*r̥*, *ŕ̥*	,,	*ṛ̈*,	*ṛ́*
ṣ	,,	*sh*	*l̥*, *ĺ̥*	,,	*l̤̈*,	*ĺ̤*
ṅ	,,	*ṇ*	*a̤*, *á̤*	,,	*ę̤*,	*ę́*

These alterations, whilst fulfilling the requirements of classified arrangement, necessitate but slight divergence from the Government scheme, to which, with the above modifications, it is worthy of consideration whether the *Orientalist* and Wesleyan Press may not advantageously conform—thus setting an example of concession not unlikely to be reciprocated by Government on its part.

I desire to add that the views enunciated in this note are purely personal and are not in any way to be held as binding the Society which I have the honour to serve as Secretary. H. C. P. Bell.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING MEMORANDUM BY Mr. DONALD FERGUSON.

Having been asked to give my opinion with respect to Mr. Bell's suggestions, I beg to submit the following remarks:—

(1.) Regarding the transliteration of the palatal sibilant, I would point out that most founts of type contain the French or Portuguese ç, and even where this is wanting a 'turned' õ (ɔ̃) can be substituted. Therefore on the score of economy the use of this symbol to represent the palatal nasal is to be defended. But, on the other hand, the presence of ç rather breaks the continuity of the sibilant series, so that ś is preferable on this ground; and, as I said in my former remarks, the cerebral ṣ can be also used for the palatal ś by being 'turned.' I do not think there would be any gain in adopting s̃, as Mr. Bell suggests. To be consistent, we should then have to place the sign ~ over c, j, &c.

(2.) With respect to the 'consonant vowels,' certainly we are met by a difficulty, and one which has not, as yet, been successfully overcome. Mr. Bell's endeavour to meet this difficulty is praiseworthy, but I cannot give my adherence to it, for reasons which I shall state further on.

(3.) With regard to the representation of the *anusvāra* or *bindu*, a simpler method than the use of *m* or *n* with the addition of dots or other distinguishing marks would be to write ~ over the nasalized vowel, as Lepsius does, or to adopt the *bindu* itself, writing it above the line, thus °.

(4.) I see no objection to the use of ń for representing the guttural nasal, except that ṅ has been adopted almost universally by Orientalists.

(5.) Mr. Bell's suggestion that ñ should be written in every case to represent the half-nasal does not meet the case of the half-nasal before the labial.[1]

(6.) It is true that the 'bleating vowel' is represented in Sinhalese by ඇ with a symbol added, and therefore the argument, that *a* with some diacritical mark should be used to represent this vowel, appears at first sight a reasonable one; but, on analysing the sound of ඇ we find that it is midway between ඇ, *a* and ඒ, *e* and for this reason, as well as because the symbol æ is found in all founts of type, I advocate the use of the latter sign. The ɛ̣ of the Ceylon Government system has also something to be said for it, since, as Dr. Müller has shown (see my former remarks), the Sinhalese probably brought with them from Bengal this peculiar sound which the Bengalis still confuse with the *e* sound.

(7.) Coming now to speak of the system of transliteration adopted by the Ceylon Government, I would point out that one objectionable feature is the use of the acute accent (ˊ) for lengthening the vowels. Either the circumflex (^) or the prosodiacal rule (¯) is preferable, the latter having the additional advantage of being written with one stroke.

(8.) Lastly, it must not be forgotten that there is a mechanical aspect of the question, and this is why I object to some of the symbols advocated by Mr. Bell and others. For instance, when he proposes to have a letter with three dots under it and an accent above he must bear in mind that in the actual types these dots, etc., would be very liable to be broken off. Moreover, their existence would necessitate the spacing of the lines, thus causing a waste of room. The simpler the symbols are, therefore, the better. Donald Ferguson.

REPLY TO MR. D. FERGUSON'S COMMENTS.

1. It is true that most founts possess the French-Portuguese ç, and that Dr. Müller and others have adopted it to represent the palatal sibilant. To my eye, nevertheless, it is far too like ordinary c to be satisfactory; and, moreover, looks strangely

[1] Added subsequently.

out of place when commencing a word, (*e.g. çásana*; *çarîra*) to those accustomed to its use it in the middle, as *François*; *naçôes*. Mr. Ferguson himself does not seem to fancy ñt, because, as he puts it, it "breaks the continuity of the sibilant series." This is very true, and I therefore suggested *s̃*. On the ground of economy alone *ṡ* would certainly be preferable, as *ṣ* reversed (which the Government fount has) would serve; but it is just because of its simplicity that I wish to avoid it. Compositors would undoubtedly confuse the two in setting up. For the same reason I took exception to *ṅ* for the guttural nasal, having decided on *ṇ* for the cerebral and *ṁ* for the *anusvára*. There is no want of consistency in not writing ˜ over *c*, *j*, &c., as they are sufficiently clear in themselves, whereas *ñ* and *s̃* require some mark to distinguish them from the other nasals and sibilants. If our Ceylon founts contained *ś* even—the Government Press certainly does not—I would unhesitatingly accept that sign in preference to either *ç* or *ṡ*, and thus save the expense of casting *s̃*.

2. As to the "consonant vowels." I admit that three dots are cumbrous, but I see no simpler alternative satisfactory in other respects. These letters, however, are so rarely used in Sinhalese and Páli that the above objection is minimised; and the same applies to what Mr. Ferguson terms "the mechanical aspect." If constantly used the letters might be liable to chip or spoil, but hardly when required so rarely. The spacing of lines, if any argument at all, certainly makes for, not against, the adoption of the proposed three-dotted *r* and *l*: nothing looks so slovenly as unspaced type, especially diacritical type.

3. The simplicity of writing with Lepsius ˜ over the nasalised vowel as the representation of the *anusvâra*, or of adopting "the *bindu* itself, writing it above the line" is more apparent than real.

Having elected to keep ˜ for the distinguishing mark of such letters of the palatal series as require some distinctive sign, it is objectionable as tending to misapprehension; whilst the adoption of the *bindu* above the preceding vowel or by itself in line after the vowel, though admitted in native character, cannot but hopelessly disfigure native words when transliterated—to say nothing of the inherent clue to the nasalisation being ignored. Original සිංහ looks neat enough and is in keeping with the character; not so *sîha* or *sîoha*, which are as clumsy as Prof. Rhys Davids' ungainly *siyha*.

4. Mr. Ferguson agrees to *ṅ* for the guttural nasal, if *ṅ* be not adopted. I have given reasons for retaining *ṅ*, though I should have been glad to see *ṅ* employed had not the *bindu* and cerebral nasal symbols (*ṁ*; *ṇ*) presented a difficulty, and the Government fount been working for years with *ṅ*.

5. Considering, as I do, the diphthong *æ* a mongrel letter, I cannot understand Mr. Ferguson's fondness for it. It does not represent the sound of the Sinhalese ඇ, and it breaks the rule of a single letter only for each native letter. The Government *e̯*, *ê* are infinitely better: *a̯*, *â* (or *ạ*, *ā* with the Editor) the best symbols yet devised. If economy must be studied let the Government *e̯*, *ê*, stand, but if the cost be trifling *a̯*; *â* might well be cast.

6. I noticed the oversight of a half-nasal before the labial *b*, after I had sent off my memorandum; and I subsequently asked that *m̆* should be added to *ṅ* in that part of my remarks. No more half-nasals are needed.

7. I cannot assent to Mr. Ferguson's view as to the acute accent (′) for lengthening vowels—and for this simple reason. It is without doubt the easiest way of accentuating in manuscript. Let any one test this for himself by comparing the time spent in transcribing a page of native character into Roman letters, lengthening the proper vowels by the prosodiacal sign (–), by the circumflex (^) and by the acute accent (′). Surely the last has not only the advantage, shared with (–) of being "written with one stroke," but the further relief of being written from right to left at an easy angle, whereas the prosodiacal sign is usually drawn from left to right and more slowly. H. C. P. Bell.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED BY THE CEYLON GOVERNMENT
(MINUTE, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1869).

Dévanágara.	Siṅhalese.	Tamiḷ.	Roman.	Dévanágara.	Siṅhalese.	Tamiḷ.	Roman.
अ	අ	அ	a	ञ	ඤ	ஞ	ñ
आ	ආ	ஆ	á	ट	ට	ட	ṭ
इ	ඉ	இ	i	ठ	ඨ		ṭh
ई	ඊ	ஈ	í	ड	ඩ	ட	ḍ
उ	උ	உ	u	ढ	ඪ		ḍh
ऊ	ඌ	ஊ	ú	ण	ණ	ண	ṇ
ऋ	ඍ		ṛi	त	ත	த	t
ॠ	ඎ		ṛí	थ	ථ		th
ऌ	ඏ		ḷi	द	ද		d
ॡ	ඐ		ḷí	ध	ධ		dh
	එ	எ	e	न	න	ந	n
ए	ඒ	ஏ	é	प	ප	ப	p
ऐ	ඓ	ஐ	ai	फ	ඵ		ph
	ඔ	ஒ	o	ब	බ		b
ओ	ඕ	ஓ	ó	भ	භ		bh
औ	ඖ	ஔ	au.	म	ම	ம	m
	ඇ		ę	य	ය	ய	y
	ඈ		ǫ́	र	ර	ர	r
अं	ං	ம்	ṇ			ற	ṟ
अः	ඃ	ஃ	ḥ	ल	ල	ல	l
क	ක	க	k				
ख	ඛ		kh				
ग	ග		g	व	ව	வ	v
घ	ඝ		gh	श	ශ	ஸ	s
ङ	ඞ	ங	ṅ	ष	ෂ	ஷ	sh
च	ච	ச	ch	स	ස		s
छ	ඡ		chh	ह	හ		h
ज	ජ	ஜ	j	ळ	ළ	ள	ḷ
झ	ඣ		jh			ழ	ḻ

ON SOME PORTUGUESE WORDS COMMONLY USED BY THE SINHALESE.

An enquiry of this nature presents many difficulties and many perplexities. It is with some diffidence that we enter upon it. Our knowledge of comparative philology is slight, our acquaintance with the Portuguese and the Sinhalese languages is at the best superficial, and limited to the colloquialisms prevalent over the S. W. portion of Ceylon, and we are totally ignorant of the languages of the Dekkan, of Sanskrit, and even of Pāli, all of which bear a very close affinity to the Sinhalese. These very difficulties, we claim however, are in our favour. For those who possess a more critical knowledge of the last named languages, will, by their very depth of knowledge, be compelled to hesitate long before roundly declaring such and such a word to be foreign. They will lose themselves in a puzzling enquiry into structure, and root-form, and derivation. One man will put forth one theory; another, another; over these they will dispute and wrangle for ever, and the sum-total will result in the world at large being able to hold no views on the subject at all.

What we consider to be more essential to a broad enquiry into this question is a somewhat correct idea of the relative amount of civilization possessed by the two nations, the Sinhalese and the Portuguese, at the period during which the one was subject to the other, or at all events some broad conception of the advance of Europe over Asia in arts, in manufactures, in social and domestic life. For never before had backward Asia been brought so closely face to face with European life. Now on a sudden Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese, rounded the Cape, and ushered in his countrymen as the pioneers of European merchant-trade. This was the first great dawn of the sun of European Progress. Those who came after, the Dutch and the English, only followed in their wake.

In this article we shall attempt to examine, by a classification of Sinhalese words borrowed from the Portuguese, the extent and the direction of the obligation of the former to the higher civilization of the latter.

At some future time we hope to make a similar enquiry into the relation of the Sinhalese towards the Dutch and English languages. The total number of Portuguese words commonly used in colloquial Sinhalese, which we have been able to discover, is somewhat above a hundred. There are no doubt many others which have escaped our notice. Some words perhaps we have accepted too readily to be Sinhalese. If there are any we hope that more learned scholars will make a modification of our list. Till such time we ask our readers to consider our attempt merely as one of examination and investigation. Afterwards we can arrive at a final decision.

I have had the opportunity of consulting Mahomed Sheriff Khan, a native of Patiala, India, who is conversant with Hindustani and Arabic, with regard to my list of words. Thus I am able to note such words as have been introduced into India, as well as to Ceylon by the Portuguese. Those words, which are not purely native, I have marked with the letter H.

Dress.

A large number of words, connected with the European style of dress, have been incorporated into the Sinhalese. And this is not strange; for the primitive native found everything else superfluous in a warm climate, save the white cotton cloth which he girt around his waist. This, the *redda*, is a pure Sinhalese word. But *durias*, red cotton cloth, and *villūda*, velvet, are Portuguese introductions. So *cīlla* (chītta), calico. We read, Tennent, ii. p. 542, that a party of calico-painters were invited in mediæval times to settle in Jaffna, where their descendants still pursue the same trade. But, on the other hand, history is against the probability of the word for silk *sēda*, having been first introduced by the Portuguese. For, as early as 550 A.D., the Chinese had

traded with Ceylon in this article. The Dutch word for silk is *zijde*. It is most likely a Chinese word. A similar doubt occurs as to the word *camise*, shirt. It is an Arabic word mentioned in the Koran. The Portuguese may have borrowed the word and the article from the Arabs, and handed them on to the Sinhalese. I have met with no mention of shirts in Ceylon prior to the Portuguese arrival. Other words are:

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Calçoens,	kalisan,	trousers.
Saco,	sākkuva,	pocket.
Botam,	bottama,	button.
Golpe,	golpida.	

Of articles of female clothing, the *kabāya*, *kuruttuva* is well known in Portuguese and in Sinhalese. This is a Turkish garment according to Vieyra's Portuguese-English Dictionary. But the former word is in the Arabic, and the latter in the Hindustani languages. *Sāya* is a petticoat.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Sapato	sapattu,	shoes.
Chapeo,	toppiya,	"topee" or hat.
Fita, H.	pītta,	ribbon.
Alfinete,	alpenettiya,	pin.

Among other requisites for a full toilet are:—

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Abana,	avāne,	fan.
(b, v, f interchangable)		
Lenço,	lēnsuva,	handkerchief.
Poeier,	puyara,	hair-powder.
Bastam,	bastama,	walking-stick.

Of dressing-room furniture:—

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Almario, H.	almāriya,	"almirah" or wardrobe (Tennent, ii. 70.)
Vidros,	vīduruva,	glass

So mōstarē, a pattern, is from the Portuguese amostra.

The Kitchen.

The Portuguese were the masters of Sinhalese servants. Who were more likely to have greater intercourse with the new people than the cook and other domestics? Often, too, the 'headmen of the villages acted as purveyors to the Portuguese army' (Lee's Ribeiro's "Ceylon"). Thus although the honour of inventing curry stuffs has by some authors been transferred from the Portuguese to the Malays, there can be no doubt that they introduced other dishes to Ceylon; for instance that peculiar process, by which a relish is given to meat, called *temperado*, (Sin. *temparādu*), is Portuguese. have also:—

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Salada,	salāda,	salad.
Vinagre,	vināgiri,	vinegar.
Canje,	keṅda,	porridge.

The Bakery.

Remembering the passage in the Rājavali which says that the Sinhalese mistook sugar-candy (?) for white stone when first they saw the Portuguese eat it, we may expect to find a transfer from one language to the other of many of the names for the paraphernalia requisite for the production of this article; thus:—

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Pão,	pāṉ,	bread.
Maça,	māsa,	dough.
Farelo,	paralu,	bran.
Forno,	pōrnuva,	oven.
Peneira,	penēre,	sieve for sifting bran.

The Tea-Table.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Copa,	kōppe,	cup.
Pires,	pīrisiya,	saucer.
Doce,	dosi,	sweet.
Biscouto,	viscōtu,	biscuit.
Cordial,	kordial,	sweet-meat.
Bule,	būliya,	tea-pot.

Fruit-Trees, &c.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Anana, H.	anōna,	apple.
Mungo, H.	muṉ,	pulse.
Maçaa,	masaṉ.	
Moranga,	muruṅga,	"drumsticks."
Papoula,	pepol.	papaw.
Pepinha,	pipiññā,	cucumber.
Pera,	Pēra,	Pear.

There is evidence of this last being a

Portuguese introduction in T. Burmann's "Thesaurus Zeylanicus," Edition 1737, p. 112.

Pera Zeylonensibus. *Mus. Zeyl.* ubi dicitur: Lusitani hanc arborem in Zeylonam transtulerunt."

Carpentry, Masonry, &c.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Cunha,	kūñňe,	wedge.
Balde,	bāldiya.	bucket.[1]
Roda,	rōde,	wheel.
Taipa,	tāppe,	wall.
Mesa, H.	mēse,	table.
Alavanca,	alavaṅkuva,	lever.
Cano,	kānuva,	drain.
Banco,	bankuva,	form, bench.
Pedreiro,	pedarēruvā,	mason.

With respect to the *alavanca*, Tennent, Vol. I., p. 478, explains that large slabs were so seldom used in ancient buildings owing to the want of mechanical aids to raise ponderous blocks into position. But that there is evidence to show that wedges (*kūñňe*) were employed in detaching the blocks in the quarry.

Military.

Language bears witness to the assertion of De Couto that the Sinhalese were ignorant of the use of gunpowder at the beginning of the 16th century (Tennent, Vol. II., p. 12). They were indebted to the Portuguese for their knowledge of this. Thus *patrona, patturam,* is still the ordinary word for a charge of powder.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Frasquinho,	praskiñňe,	powder-horn.
Muniçam,	munissaṇ,	small shot.
Pistola,	pistolē,	pistol.
Capitam,	kappittā,	captain.
Soldado,	soldāduvā,	soldier.

Religion.

One of the professed objects of Portuguese colonisation was the spread of religion—of the Roman Catholic religion. How far they succeeded in their aim is evident in the results even at the present time. Of that faith, perhaps of more than any other, the token is the cross, *cruz, kurusiya.* The Friar who went about to gain converts, was known as *Padre, Pādiri-unnaha.* This term originally applicable only to Roman priests, is now applied indiscriminately to the ministers of every Christian faith. *Pascoa, pāskuva,* on the other hand, has contracted its former application to any of the three great Romish festivals. The term is now restricted in Sinhalese to the feast of Easter only.

Buddhism deals largely with the lower hierarchly of fallen souls, with demons and devils. The new faith gave a conception of the higher hierarchy of heaven, the angels, *anjos, āñjusvarayō.* Do the Buddhists pray? I should be surprised if they do. They kneel down, they worship, but they do not pray. What they do is merely to repeat the creed after their unnānse (priest). What a grand idea must then have been presented to them with the word for prayer, *oraçam, orasama.*

The Household, &c.

The native sleeps on the ground on a mat. Hence the words:—

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Godrin,	gudirima,	quilt.
Lançol,	lansōluva,	sheet.
Carreto,	karatte,	carriage.
Coche,	kōcciya,	coach.
Almario,	almāriya,	almirah or wardrobe.
Garfo,	gārpuva,	fork.
Diamente,	diyamanti,	diamond.

Tennent implies that Ceylon produced no diamonds.

Painting.

This art had for ages been restricted to daubing the images and walls in dāgobas and temples. But after the arrival of the Portuguese, its cultivation spread so widely, and the paintings in Roman Catholic Churches were so much superior, that the Sinhalese name for a previously known accomplishment gave way before the new usurping Portuguese word. Henceforth the) art was known as pintārukerīma (*Port.* pintar and paintings as pinture (*Port.* pintura).

Domestic.

Sabam H., *Sabaṇ,* soap. The "dirty natives" one might exclaim on seeing this

[1] In Hindustani *bādia* means a large basin.

item, not to have used this essential in ablution. But it is well known that lime-fruit (*dehi*) holds its ground to this day as a substitute, as well as the nuts *costura*, of the *penela* tree. *Kustūra*, literally a sewing, is generally applied in Ceylon to the white-washing between the seams of bricks on the floor.

Saal H., sāle, hall, (Dutch Zaal).

Varanda H., barāṅde [a Persian word: bar = out, āmdah = past participle of āmden, to come].

Camara H., Kāmare, room.

Sinhalese rooms were not originally portioned off for separate uses, the bedroom often serving for a sitting and dining room as well. They knew but little of the luxury of ventilation by means of a *janella, janēle*, window, nor had the *cortina, kurtiññe*, curtain, come into fashion. Their children had no *bomeca, bōnikkā*, doll, to play with, nor did their young men then pride themselves in the music of a *viola, viyole*, violin.

Education.

What education there was then was received in the temple cloisters. Besides these there were no establishments of sound learning, no schools (iscōla). Both *guru* and scholar read from ola-books which had been written on with stiles. The pen (*pāṇe*) and ink (*tinta*) were Portuguese introductions.

Valla, vaḷa, pit. This is a curious though a common word, curious if it marks the transition state from cremation to burial of the dead in a *grave*. I could not otherwise explain the presence of the Portuguese valla in the Sinhalese language, for holes and pits must be known to any nation, however uncivilised. Disposal of the dead by burial in graves was a custom strange to a people long used to no other means than cremation. Hence its adoption.

Speaking of death and burial brings us to the word *algoz, alugōsuvā*, hangman. Is it not strange that the Kandian kings, with all their various methods of inflicting punishment, should have been unaware of this means of speeding their victim from this world? and that they should have been taught this process by Roman Catholic inquisitors. The Sinhalese method was to empale their victims or cut their bodies in pieces. Ribeiro bears witness to the different methods, p. 52, "The four dessaves *hung* up at the first tree any *Portuguese* offending against their authority. The punishment inflicted on *natives* of the country was different."

Navis,[1] *naṿa*, ship. It was only after Vasco De Gama's discovery of the Cape route that large ships were seen in Asia. The Sinhalese have ever been apathetic to a sea-faring life.

Ṛamada. I have shewn above that a large number of garden fruit trees must have been introduced by the Portuguese. The word *ramāde* was the arbour erected in the garden for vegetable creepers. So too the

Palha, paḷa, straw-loft, is the watch tower, wherein the watchman kept his watch over the paddy fields by night. One would imagine that a purely agricultural people like the natives of Ceylon would of themselves have invented some contrivance of this nature to keep themselves safe from wild animals. While on the subject of paddy I have to observe that even the little worm, which attacks rice, pulse, &c., seems to have derived its name from the Portuguese gurgulho, *gullā*. If this be really the case it would perhaps not be too ingenious to find a plausible reason in the supposition that the storing up of the harvest against a bad season by the more provident Portuguese gave birth to these plague insects.

Dedal, didle, thimble, requires no remark, nor does *renda, rēnda*, lace. There is another word, similarly spelt in both languages, meaning rent. The renter is known as *rēndarāla*. The custom of farming out lands to natives was followed on a larger scale by the Dutch.

[1] [The Sinhalese *naṿa* comes from the Sanskrit नौ *nau*.—EDITOR.]

Par Merce, courtesy. This word is invariably used as the preliminary to a request, *mersērukaralā*.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Bolsa,	bōlsa,	bag.
Funilla,	punīle,	funnel.
Estalla,	istāle,	stable.
Queijo,	kēju,	cheese.

will also give food for reflection.

Assinar, assana, sign or mark. Only a few of the Sinhalese knew how to write. They could not long have intercourse with a European power, and not find the necessity of attesting a signature.

Names, Geographical, &c.

Manar, "to flow as water does." So says Vieyra's Portuguese Dictionary. Note the fact of this being the name of the *gulf*? Was the town then originally Portuguese? Ribeiro says *Mannar* means in Malabar a sand river.

kayts or *cays*. This island was so named from *cais* or *caes*, the Portuguese for a wharf,—*vide* Tennent, Vol. II., p. 549.

Uva. Who would believe me were I to suggest that this fertile district, rendered so famous at present by the prolonged discussion about railway extension, was so named from *grapes*, for that is the meaning of the Portuguese word uva? The historical evidence shews grapes were largely cultivated in this district as early as 1602. The Dutch Admiral Spilbergen, on his visit to Kandy at that time, tasted of this wine from Ūva.

A few more examples and I have done.

Port.	*Sin.*	*Eng.*
Espaço,	ispāsu,	space.
Grosso,	gorōsu,	thick, coarse.
Lustre,	lūstara,	polish.
Papas,	pāppa (a medical term),	plaster made of flour.

Pata, foot in the phrase *atapata*.

Parangue, parańgi, a Neapolitan disease first introduced into the country by the Portuguese, Ribeiro, p. 69. Parangue is the Sinhalese name for a Portuguese. The origin of the word is from Frangue,[2] the Moorish name for a Frenchman. Thence the name was extended to all European Christians.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT, PĀLI, AND ELU WORKS EXTANT IN CEYLON.

Sanskrit.

The Jānakīharaṇa.

Our first article under this head, which will be found at page 97 of Vol. I, dealt with the *Navaratna*, a Sanskrit work consisting of eleven stanzas, the first two introductory, and the other nine ascribed to the nine gems of the court of king Vikramāditya. For reasons we have there stated, we appended the work itself to that article, and this plan we deem it desirable to adopt also in regard to the *Jānakīharaṇa*, a Sanskrit poem of no mean order; not only on account of its manifold claims on the attention of Sanskrit scholars, but also for the reason that this poem is nowhere to be found—not even a unique copy to which the reader may be referred. This will no doubt sound strange to our readers, who would naturally be inclined to ask the question how a non-existing work can possibly be described; but yet the fact is really so, for the work is irretrievably lost, all search for it in the *pansalas* and other places where there could be any likelihood of its presence having hitherto proved unsuccessful.

A curious and unparalleled circumstance in connection with this work is that, although the work itself is lost, all the words comprised in its stanzas are found lying disjoined, scattered and in apparent confusion in a Sinhalese *sanna* or translation which has come down to us, happily escaping the ravages of time or the wanton destruction of vandalism. Of almost all Sanskrit and Pāli works in verse extant in Cey-

[2] [We think this word is of Persian origin. The Persian name for "Europe" is فرنگ *Farang*, and for "European" فرنگي *Farangī*. —Editor.]

lon, we find such *sannas* or translations evidently written in times long past by learned Pandits who must have had an intimate acquaintance with the literature of these two languages. These *sannas* are of two kinds. The first may be termed word-for-word translations, as they quote the original words before their Sinhalese equivalents, arranging them so as to suit the natural order of the translation. The second are mere translations, without quoting the words of the text. Both kinds of *sannas* are *sometimes* accompanied with the original stanzas placed in their integrity immediately before their translations in consecutive order, a stanza first, then its translation, and so on.

The *sanna* of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, which has come down to our times, is of the first kind, but unluckily it is not accompanied with the text as the generality of *sannas* are. As, however, it quotes the words of the stanzas in the manner described above, the poem may be reconstructed, though not without much time and labour. To enable the reader to form a better idea of this *sanna*, we quote here its translation of the first stanza :—

[Ayodhyeti *ayodhyā nam vū*, purī *purayak*, avanyām *pṛthiviyehi*, āsīt *vū*, kimbhūtā purī *kebaňduvū purayakda*] atibhogabhārāt, atibhoga *adhikavū samptt̄n*, bhārāt *bhārayen*, divaḥ *divyalokayen*, avatīrṇṇā *baṭuvāvū*, divyā nagarīva *devu-nuvarakaṭa baňduvū*, [punarapi kimbhūtā purī *tavada kebaňduvūpuriyakda*,] kṣatrānalasthānaśamī, kṣatra *rajanamati*, anala *vahninge*, sthāna *siṭumaṭa*, śamī *śamīrukakvū*, samṛdhyā *sampattikaraṇakoṭagena*, purām *purayaṇ-aturehi*, parārdhyā *utkṛṣṭavū* ayodhyeti *ayodhā nam vū*, purī *puriyak*, avanyām *pṛthiviyehi*, āsīt *vū*.

The arduous, and we may say the bold, task of reconstructing the stanzas from materials thus at hand was undertaken by the learned Buddhist High Priest H. Sumangala, one of our ablest living scholars and the principal of the Vidyodaya College in the metropolis, which, by the way, bids fair to become in time as important and useful an institution as any of the kind in India at the present day. How far he has succeeded in accomplishing the task he had imposed on himself, can be seen from an examination of the restored text which will be appended to this article, and we doubt not that the thanks of the cultivators of Sanskrit Literature will be accorded to him for thus unearthing as it were a hidden treasure or snatching from the hand of destruction a work of rare beauty.

In the opinion of the High Priest the *Jānakīharaṇa*, a work composed in the Island, may justly be ranked with the acknowledged great poems of India such, for instance, as the Raghuvaṇsa, Kumārasambhava, Meghadūta and other productions of the celebrated Kālidāsa. The elaborate description of its style, its elevated poetical ideas, and the general character of the composition leave no doubt in our minds that the poem was composed in the same age in which the works of Kālidāsa were written.

The author of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, was no less a personage than *Kumāradāsa*, also called *Kumāradhātusena*, one of our own kings, who, as the son and successor of Moggallāna, ascended the throne A.D. 515, and reigned righteously for a period of nine years. He was also the author of several other works, all of which have shared a much worse fate than the work under notice. Much is not narrated of this monarch in the historical works of the Sinhalese, whose principal chronicle, the Mahāvaṇsa, disposes of his reign in the following three verses :—

तस्सच्चये कुमारादि धातुसेनोति विस्सुतो ।
अहू तस्स सुतो राजा देवरूपो महाबलो ।।
कारिते पितराकासि विहारे नवकम्मकं ।
कारेत्वा धम्मसङ्गीतिं परिसोधेसि सासनं ॥
सन्तप्पेसिमहासङ्घं पच्चयेहि चतूहिपि ।
कत्वा पुञ्ञानिनेकानि नवमे हायनेतिगा ।।

"After his (Moggallāna's) demise, his son, who was known as Kumāra-dhātusena, (both) mighty and godlike, became king. He repaired the temple which had been built by his father, held a convocation of [Dhamma] the Bauddha Scriptures, and purified the religion. He pleased the priesthood with the four paccayas ; and, having done many meritorious actions, passed away in the ninth year." *Mahāvaṇsa ch.* 41.

The fact that King Kumāradāsa, of whom as of Buddhadāsa, another of their kings, the Sinhalese may well be proud, was the author of the poem under notice is not only borne out by tradition but is also distinctly stated in the *sanna* we have spoken of as well as in the *Perakumbāsirita*, a Sinhalese poetical work of some celebrity, from which we quote the following verse :—

Veheradasaṭak purā karavā daha-aṭak
maha vav baṅdī,
Vasara ekadā bisav abises mahanuvam
tema gulyedī,
Ajara kiviyara pinin janakīharaṇa ā
maha-kavu beṅdī
Kumaradas-rada Kālidas nam
Kiviṅduhaṭa siya divi pidī.

"King Kumāradās, who on the very same day celebrated a three-fold feast in honour of the accession of the Queen-consort to the throne, the installation into office of a number of the priesthood, and the founding of 18 temples and 18 tanks; and who in masterly and elegant rhymes composed Jānakīharaṇa, and other celebrated poems, offered his life for the poet Kālidās."

Tradition, too, affirms the contemporary existence of Kumāradāsa, the author of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, and Kālidāsa, the Indian Shakespere. Both these celebrated personages came to a tragical end, under circumstances of a very painful character, which are thus narrated by the late Honorable James d'Alwis in his introduction to the *Sidatsaṅgarāva*, p. cliii.

"Kumāradās conceived an attachment to a female of great personal attractions, and during his visit one evening at her house (which was situated on the borders of a beautiful pond overgrown with lotuses,) the king observed that a "bee" which had alighted upon a lotus, and "sat on the bloom extracting liquid sweet," was insensibly imprisoned within the fading petals of this flower of the oriental poet. A felicitous poetical idea, having reference to the danger of his own situation, was the result of the observation; and the royal poet, not wishing to give utterance to the whole of his sentiments, left two lines on the walls of the apartment which he then occupied, with the addition to them of a promise to grant the request of any who should complete the stanza.

"Kālidās,—not Ṛṣi Kālidās, the 'Shakespere of the East,' who during this reign visited Ceylon, acquired the native Sinhalese, and made accessions to the literature of this Island by his own compositions;—invited perhaps by the attractions of the lady to whom we have already referred, was once spending a day with her, when he saw the lines and that which followed them.

"The poet, to whom the pen of royalty was perceptible could not be long in conceiving the comparison, which the prince with a sense of delicacy had failed to institute; and at once completed the stanza.

"The courtezan, with a view to obtain the promised reward, murdered the poet, and represented to the king that she had herself completed the stanza. The king required but little reflection to detect the falsehood, and discover the murder of a friend who had suddenly disappeared. Inquiries were instituted, and the body of the murdered pandit was found. The end was tragical, The king

"With tears
Watering the ground, and with his sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from heart contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned"

"prostrate fell" upon the blazing funeral pile of the murdered poet, and sacrificed his own life for that of Kālidāsa!

"According to tradition this sad occurrence happened at a place called Hath-bōdivatta at Anurādhapura; and some suppose, from the similarity of the name which they find given to a spot in the Matura District, that Kumāradās died in the latter place. But this we apprehend is a mistake."

Mr. Alwis' statement that Kumāradāsa's friend Kālidāsa was "not Ṛṣi Kālidās, the '*Shakespeare of the East*,'" is noteworthy. What his reasons were for denying this fact we are at a loss to know, nor has he given them in the foregoing account, or, as far as we are aware, anywhere else in his varied and interesting writings. He must have, perhaps, been led to the conclusion by the age generally assigned to Kālidāsa, viz., the first century B.C., but this view of the matter was exploded long ago by certain scholars, who, as the reader will find on a perusal of our notice of the Navaratna (*see* Vol. I., page 108), assign to this celebrated poet the first half of the 6th century,—the very date universally assigned to our own Royal Author. If then, they were contemporaries, is there anything which makes it improbable that Kālidāsa should have visited Ceylon? There is nothing improbable it a powerful and art-loving sovereign, such as

Kumāradāsa was universally acknowledged to have been, sending a special message to a poet of Kālidāsa's celebrity in the adjoining continent, inviting him to his court for the purpose, probably, of soliciting his aid in the composition of the *Jānakīharaṇa* or of submitting it for his revision. The similarity of the style of the work to that of Kālidāsa's own works would lend probability to this supposition. However this may be, there certainly do not exist any valid reasons for the view propounded by Mr. Alwis, and therefore the question whether or not the Kālidāsa of the *Perakumbāsirita* was the Kālidāsa of Indian celebrity, must remain an open question until cleared up at some future time by further researches of Orientalists.

The subject of the Jānakīharaṇa, as its name implies, is the abduction of Sītā, *Jānakī* being a patronymic meaning "the daughter of Janaka" and *haraṇa* signifying "taking away." Mr. Alwis, to whose notice the *sanna* of the poem was brought by the learned Pandit Baṭuvantuḍāve has the following notice of its contents in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli and Sinhalese Literary Works*, p. 194.

"In the book [namely the *sanna* we have referred to] which we have discovered there are only fifteen chapters; and the last chapter is called the twenty-fifth. Poems, which were anciently designated "*Maha-kavu*," seldom fell short of twenty or twenty-five chapters. There is moreover a want of continuity in the narrative. Each chapter, except the last which is very short, contains on an average eighty slokas. The first chapter treats of the history of Daśaratha; the second, of the visit of Indra, and other gods, to Vishnu in the Nāga-loka after they were defeated by Rāvaṇa, and Vishnu's promise to be born in the human world; the third is on Ṛitu-varṇanā; the fourth on the worship of Agni and the birth of Rāma in the womb of Kausalyā, the Queen of Daśaratha—his education—his departure with Lakṣmaṇa on the application of Vaśiṣṭha to fight with Rākṣasas, &c.; the fifth gives a description of, and particulars connected with, the jungle residence of Vaśiṣṭha; the sixth treats of the departure of Rāma, &c., to Mithilā, where a marriage was concluded for him; the arrival there of Daśaratha, &c., the seventh, on Rāma's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of King Janaka, the eighth treats of their honeymoon; the ninth, the departure of Daśaratha and the new-married couple to Ayodhyā—the battles fought during their journey, &c.; the tenth relates the circumstances attending Rāma's expulsion by the infirm Daśaratha, owing to the application for the throne by Kekayī for her own son, the invitation by Baratha to Rāma, and the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa; the eleventh contains the fight between Garuḍa and Rāvaṇa to prevent Sītā being carried away, the death of Garuḍa, the flight of Rāvaṇa with Sītā to Laṅkā and the acts of Rāma in connection with the battle of Sugrīva and Bāli; the twelfth gives a description of Śarad-Varṇanā or Autumn and Sugrīva's visit to Rāma; the thirteenth records Rāma's lament for the loss of Sītā, gives a description of Varṣā or the rainy season. Sugrīva's attempt at consoling Rāma, etc., the fourteenth mentions the construction of Adam's bridge; and the fifteenth (which is called the twenty-fifth, and which is evidently deficient in matter) gives a glowing picture of (the blessing of) Peace, as opposed to (the ravages of) War; which is introduced as a message sent by Rāma to Rāvaṇa."

We purpose publishing this poem in *extenso* as reconstructed by the High Priest Sumangala, with a metrical translation by S. M. Burrows, Esq. M.A., of the Ceylon Civil Service. We give below the first four verses of the poem as a first instalment:

आसीदवन्यामतिभोगभाराद्-
दिवो ऽवतीर्णा नगरीव दिव्या ।
क्षत्रानलस्थानशमी समृद्ध्या
पुरामयोध्येति पुरी पराद्ध्याँ ॥ १ ॥

यत्सौधशृङ्गाग्रसरोजराग-
रत्नप्रभाविच्छुरितः शशाङ्कः ।
पौराङ्गनावक्त्रकृतावमानो
जगाम रोषादिव लोहितत्वम् ॥ २ ॥

निशासु या काञ्चनतोरणस्थ-
रत्नांशुभिर्भिन्नतमिस्रराशी ।
सर्व्वस्य कृत्वापि मुदं समृद्ध्या
हर्षाय नाभूदभिसारिकाणाम् ॥ ३ ॥

चीनांशुकैरभ्रलिहामुदग्र-
शृङ्गाग्रभागोपहितैर्गृहाणाम् ।
विटङ्ककोटिस्खलितेन्दुसृष्ट-
निर्मोकपट्टैरिव या बभासे ॥ ४ ॥

In days of yore, there was upon the earth,
A regal city named Ayodhyā,
Nor has the world e'er seen, before or since,
So excellent and prosperous a town;
As though the weight of its excessive wealth
Had gently pressed it earthwards from the sky.
And full it was of heroes, kings of men,
As is the Sami-tree of sacred fire.

When sailed the moon across the mansion tops
Studded with priceless rubies, lotus-red,
An angry flush of pink suffused her orb,
Angry, forsooth, at being all outshone
By such a galaxy of faces fair
As thronged the city.

Never was it dark
Within the city-walls; for every arch
Was all ablaze with gems and lustrous gold,
Right noble sign of rich prosperity,
But to the women creeping forth at dusk
To meet their lovers, odiously bright.

The lofty housetops kissed the very sky,
And over each proud summit there did float
Translucent flags of finest china cloth
Dazzling, as when the moonlight strikes athwart
The pointed terminations of the eaves
Shedding white flakes as sheds the snake his skin.

(*To be continued.*) THE EDITOR.

SPECIAL REPORT ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE MAHĀ-VAṆSA.[1]

The portion of the Mahā-vaṇsa that I am engaged in translating consists of 61 chapters; that is, from the 39th to the 101st chapter. It contains 5,970 verses, and embraces a period of 1,336 years, from A.D. 479 to 1815. During the year I have translated 32 chapters, containing 2,992 verses, or a little over half of the whole work. There now remain 29 chapters, containing 2,978 verses, to complete the task. The elaborate and provokingly intricate diction adopted in that portion of the work, comprising chapters 62-79, requires more than ordinary care to secure a correct rendering of the original. These chapters contain the narrative of the life and reign of Parākrama the Great, and form nearly one-third of the whole book. The Mahā-vaṇsa, "The Great History," or "The History of the Great" is, as is well-known, a metrical composition of the history of Ceylon from its earliest period down to the time of the British occupation of the kingdom. The first portion containing 36 chapters is known as the work of Mahānāma, an elderly monk, the uncle of King Dhātusena. To it there is a Ṭikā or Gloss, supposed to have been prepared by the same author. This portion and chapters 37-38 were transliterated and translated by Mr. Turnour in 1836, which, together with his learned and valuable dissertation, threw a good deal of light on some obscure points in the history of India, and consequently attracted the attention of the great Oriental scholars of that time. The work is out of print, and is extremely rare, and I would, therefore, respectfully recommend to Government the desirableness of printing a new and revised edition of this work, which, though it contains many defects and errors, is, nevertheless, a production of rare value. The importance of the portion of the Mahā-vaṇsa translated by Mr. Turnour is admitted by a great many. But the larger portion of it treats of a period so early that legend and myth are intermixed with historical facts. It is not so, however, with the later and subsequent portion of this "Great History": except in two or three instances, there is nothing of the marvellous or incredible related in its pages, and the most scrutinizing reader is struck with the air of soberness and truth which pervades the narrative as a whole. Exception must be taken, however, to that portion of the history which treats of the wonderful career of Parākrama the Great, wherein the author betrays a cringing flattery and blind adulation of perhaps one of the greatest monarchs who wielded the sceptre of "Laṅkā," but the lustre of whose great fame has been tarnished by some deeds of wanton cruelty and foul treachery. The murder of his foster-father's faithful general and the spoliation of his wealth recorded in the 65th chapter; the dissimulation and treachery exhibited at Polonnaruva while remaining as an honoured guest in the

[1] Published by permission of the Ceylon Government.—ED.

palace of his cousin, King Gaja-bāhu, recorded in the 65th chapter, without one word of indignation or blame, shew that the hand of an unscrupulous minion was at work in the composition of the narrative. Another salient feature observable throughout the whole of the Mahā-vaṇsa, is the abhorrence shewn to the too-frequent Tamil invader who was held in detestation, not only because he was a heartlessly ravaging foreigner, but also because he desecrated the holy places and demolished the shrines of the land. Nowhere in the pages of this history does it appear that the Dravidian adventurers built up altars or shrines or monuments or works of public utility to improve the land over which they held temporary dominion from time to time. On the contrary, their vandalism and spoliation of the country are recorded in words eloquent with the indignation of patriotism. These are facts which militate against the view held by Mr. Burrows in his "Buried Cities," attributing a Dravidian origin to the superb architecture in which the ruins of those cities still abound. It might be said, however, that national prejudice made the Sinhalese historians suppress the good that might have been effected by foreign usurpers; but this is not the case, as will be seen by a reference to the 21st chapter, in which the reign of the Cholian usurper Elāla (B.C. 204) is described in most laudatory language. This King reigned over the north of the island for 44 years, and although he left no public work as a monument to preserve the memory of his extraordinary reign, the historian records the fact that although he continued to cling to his heresy throughout his reign, yet he was free from bias, and enjoyed much glory. Besides these considerations, there is another significant fact recorded in the Mahā-vaṇsa, which likewise goes to shew the improbability of Mr. Burrows' theory. The 78th chapter contains an account of the erection of sacred buildings by Parākrama-bāhu, and among them is a great Chetiya or Dāgoba towering above all others and called the "Damila Chetiya," because it was built by the combined labour of Sinhalese and of Damilas (Tamils), who had been brought as captives after the invasion and conquest of the Pandian country The passage occurs in the Mahā-vaṇsa, chapter 78 vv. 79-81. It runs thus:—"He caused the great stūpa to be built by his own royal might, without the intervention of supernatural aid from gods or saints—a stūpa *one thousand and three hundred cubits in compass*; it was larger than all other stūpas, and was like a second Kailāsa, and was named the Damila Stūpa, because it was caused to be built by the Damilas *also*, who were brought hither from the Pandian country after it had been conquered." What the author means here, it seems to me, is that Tamil labour was employed *jointly* with Sinhalese labour in the construction of this stupendous edifice, and that the reason why the circumstance is specially mentioned is because it was an uncommon instance in which the services of Tamils were utilized. It proves the exception rather than the rule. Another important fact that would strike the attention of any ordinary reader of the Mahāvaṇsa is the prominent, if not the leading, part played by the lords and princes of Rohana, the South of Ceylon, in the past history of the country. When the kingdom was divided against itself and became dismembered, when internal disorder brought on revolution after revolution, or when the foreigner took forcible possession of the Crown and ruled with a rod of iron the "King's Country," as the north was then called, deliverance came from the south. A Duṭṭhagāmini (Duṭugaṃunu), a Vikramabāhu, or a Parākramabāhu arose from among the princes of the south, drove the invader or usurper away, reduced the country under "one canopy of dominion," and restored order and prosperity throughout the land. "The Hillmen," or the Malaya inhabitants, now known as the Kandians, were, it would seem, of no consequence then. Enclosed by the hills and mountain fastnesses which nature had set up for them, they lived in

the obscurity of their vales and glens a life of ease and inactivity, without bestowing so much as a patriotic thought on their down-trodden countrymen. Their roads were impassable, their forests impenetrable, their rivers and streams dangerous, and their country unfrequented by their more civilized brethren of the north and south. Here is a casual but terse and graphic description of the great wilderness, which, as a contrast to its highly favoured appearance at the present day, may perhaps be interesting. The passage occurs at the opening of the 70th chapter, wherein the successful campaign of the great Parākrama-bāhu against the north is narrated:—"By cunning he (Parākrama-bāhu) induced Rakhha Daṇḍanātha, who was a General of King Gaja-bāhu placed in charge Yaṭṭhikaṇḍaka and Dumbara in the Great Malaya country, to come to him, and, after gratifying him by a display of great attention and hospitality, the King arranged with him for the surrender of the Malaya, a country passable only by a foot-path, and which, on account of its many mountain fastnesses and wild beasts, was difficult of access and unfrequented by men of other districts, being moreover rendered horribly frightful by its being overspread with deep waters infested with crocodiles that eat human flesh."

I need only say that the General proved a traitor, and subdued the country for Parākrama in spite of the resistance of the people, whose wishes he was bound to consult, and whose rights he should have protected. It is to be regretted that the perusal of the Mahāvaṃsa might tend to damp the ardour of many an enthusiastic explorer. Its records will show conclusively that the Tamil invader who from time to time held uninterrupted sway over the land for many years had ransacked its high places and plundered their treasures, so that it would be almost useless to make expensive excavations into the half-buried ruins scattered about the island with a view to a find of anything valuable, ancient or great. Even the Ruvanvali Dāgoba, in which were emboweled the richest offerings of a devout monarch, did not escape the savage rapacity of the ruthless invader, and the pages of the Mahāvaṃsa abound in notices of the spoliation which had been thus committed from time to time. As an instance, a striking passage occurring in the 80th chapter may be quoted. It relates to Maha, a powerful man of Kalinga, who invaded and conquered the island, A.D. 1222, and held sway overland for 21 years, devastating the country and spreading dismay among its inhabitants.

In consequence of some great sins committed by the people of Laṅkā, its tutelary deities abandoned her to her fate, and a certain cruel and ignorant king, by name Magha, who was born of the Kalinga race, and was a ruler over 24,000 strong men, invaded and conquered the island. Like a wild fire raging in a wilderness during a drought, his strong men spread themselves throughout the land, and boasting that they were "the Giants of Kerala" plundered the country everywhere. They robbed the people of their raiment and jewels, violated the purity of families that had been long preserved, cut off their hands and feet, broke down houses, seized and took cattle, tied up and tormented rich people, and taking possession of all their wealth reduced them to poverty; and they broke down image houses and destroyed many shrines, took up their abode in Vihāras, flogged devotees and children, persecuted monks, novitiates, and candidates for orders, and made the people carry heavy burdens and put a heavy yoke on them. They, moreover, loosened valuable books from their covers and bindings and threw them about everywhere. Even the high and noble structures, such as the Ruvanvali Dāgoba and others, which stood like the embodied glory of former kings, they spared not, but broke into and destroyed a multitude of relics which were to them like their own lives. Alas! alas!" (ch., 80 vv. 54-79, A.D. 1223.)

The number of tanks and other reservoirs

of water for purposes of irrigation said to have been constructed by former kings would strike one as really wonderful. I fancy, however, that the inexactitude of the writers in using the same word "kara," *make*, to convey the idea of both *construct* and *repair*, has swelled the number to an incredible extent. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the country was everywhere studded with tanks and ponds in the days of former kings, and that there was neither lack of water nor population to till and cultivate the land. Among these great works of agriculture Kalavapi or Kalaveva appears to have been the scene of struggles for power between rival princes arriving at supreme ascendancy over the whole kingdom. It seems that either from a strategic point of view or on account of the flourishing district that surrounded it at that time, it was regarded as the key to the opening up of the whole upper country. In A.D. 624 it was the scene of a pitched battle between two aspirants to the throne, Jetthatissa and Agrabodhi III., and about A.D. 1160 one of the famous Generals of Parākrama the Great fought hard there to force a passage across the Kalāveva river. He raised fortifications on its bank and spanned the river with a solid bridge, which is thus described:—"This General (Deva Senāpati) who was gifted with great prudence, equipped all his host, and advancing to the banks of the Kalavapi river built a fortress and occupied it. Then by order of the king he constructed over the Kalavapi a bridge made of timber, two hundred cubits long and twenty broad, fastened and made exceedingly strong with iron plates and pegs—a most beautiful bridge—passable by elephants and horses and chariots and infantry. And the General having left some of the officers thereof proceeded thence, fighting heavy battles in various places." (*Mahā-vaṇsa*, ch. 70, vv. 126-129.)

It is to be regretted that such an important historical work as the Mahāvaṇsa should have been composed in verse, wherein, for the sake of metre or euphony, a writer is often tempted to make superfluous additions or important omissions that tend to obscure the narrative. The Mahāvaṇsa, therefore, is not free from such flaws, and it requires great tact and discretion to make out where they occur. To enter at this stage of the translation into a critical examination of the style of each separate chapter of the text would, I think, be unnecessary, and would besides entail an expenditure of time that could be more advantageously devoted to the work of the translation itself. Moreover, the composition and style of several chapters taken together are so similar that groups of them appear to point to the hand of one writer, or one school of writers. For the present, therefore, I shall only briefly point out these groups which, in my humble opinion, deserve a critical examination by Pāli scholars. Chapter 39, as well as the one preceding, appear to be the work of one writer. The 40th chapter is missing, but the 41st chapter continues the narrative unbroken, although the reign of Kumāradāsa, a celebrated King, whose name is associated by tradition with a tragic occurrence, is but cursorily mentioned. The 42nd chapter is very elegantly written, and appears to be the work of a master of the language. The 43rd does not appear separately numbered, but has evidently run into the 44th chapter, which, together with the following chapters as far as the 50th, is remarkably well written, the language being chaste and elegant. From the 51st to the 61st the style and phraseology are very rich, and abound with the beauties of poetry. From the 62nd to the 78th chapter the construction of sentences is intricate and complex, and the language elaborate, ornate and verbose. They relate several incidents in the early life of Parākrama the Great, and give a minute and tedious account of his prolonged contest with Gaja-bāhu and Manabharana for supreme power. It also gives an interesting account of the great irrigation works and other public and sacred buildings constructed by him. The chapters abound in ful-

some flattery of the king, in whose lifetime it appears to have been composed. This portion is evidently the work of one writer who was a proficient in Sanskrit literature, but who was sadly deficient in good taste and judgment for writing the history of a remarkably great man. From the 79th to the 87th there is a striking likeness in style and phraseology, and the chapters are moderately well written. The five chapters following them are very elegant, and abound with the graces of style and diction.

Chapters 92 to 101 contain many errors of grammar and prosody, and some of them are composed unsystematically. They appear to have been written at a period when literature was in a state of decay. Between A.D. 1542-1592 Rājasiṇha of Sītāvaka, who embraced Saivism, used all his efforts to destroy Buddhism and its literature by putting to death its priests and destroying its temples and books. In consequence of this fierce persecution a large number of monks cast off their robes, a few remained in concealment, and some left the country, so that the religion of the land lost its vitality, literature perished, and the order disappeared. This state of things continued until Kīrtisri-Rājasiṇha, who ascended the throne about A.D. 1744, endeavoured to restore Buddhism and its order. It must have been at various intervals during this lamentable period that the chapters in question were composed.

As requested, I have appended to this report a rough synopsis of the remaining chapters of the Mahāvaṇsa, including therein those chapters also that have been already dealt with. I regret that I am not able to make a complete and full detail of this latter without sensibly interfering with the progress of the translation itself. With regard to the time within which the work will be completed, I have only to give the Government my assurance that it is my one endeavour to submit it in its final form within the time allowed me—a result which I do not despair of achieving.

L. C. Wijesinha.

A ROUGH SYNOPSIS OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE MAHĀ-VAṆSA.

Chapter 39.—Contains 59 verses, and records the reigns of two kings—Kassapa, the parricide, and Moggallāna, his brother—and their struggle for the crown, A.D. 479-515.

Chapter 41.—Contains 103 verses, and records the reigns of eight kings—viz., Kumāradāsa, Kittisena, Sena, Upatissa III., Silākāla, Dāṭhappabhūti, Cūḷa Moggallāna, and Kittissirīmegha, A.D. 515-564.

Chapter 42.—Contains 69 verses, and records the reigns of two kings—Aggabodhi the Great and Aggabodhi the Less, A.D. 564-608.

Chapter 44.—Contains 155 verses, and records the reigns of six kings—viz., Asiggāha Saṅghatissa, Dalla-moggallāna, Asiggāha, Sirīsaṅghabodhi or Aggabodhi III., Jeṭṭhatissa and Sirisaṅghabodhi or Aggabodhi IV., A.D. 608-641.

Chapter 45.—Contains 82 verses, and records the reigns of four kings—viz., Dāṭhopatissa, Kassapa, Dappula II., and Hatthadāṭha, A.D. 641-665.

Chapter 46.—Contains 47 verses, and records the reigns of three kings—viz., Sirīsaṅghabodhi or Aggabodhi, Datta, and Hatthadāṭha, A.D. 665-683.

Chapter 47.—Contains 66 verses (defective at the end), and records the reign of one King Māṇavamma, A.D. 683-718.

Chapter 48.—Contains 160 verses, and records the reigns of six kings—viz., Aggabodhi V., Kassapa III., Mahinda I., Aggabodhi Silāmegha, Aggabodhi VI., and Mahinda II., A.D. 718-804.

Chapter 49.—Contains 94 verses, and records the reigns of five kings—viz., Dappula II., Dhammika Silāmegha Mahinda, Aggabodhi VII., Dappula III., and Aggabodhi VIII.

Chapter 50.—Contains 87 verses, and records the reign of one King Silāmegha Sena, A.D. 843-863.

Chapter 51.—Contains 136 verses, and records the reigns of two kings—viz., Sena and Udaya, A.D. 863-900.

Chapter 52.—Contains 82 verses, and records the reigns of Kassapa V., and Kassapa VI., A.D. 909-936.

Chapter 53.—Contains 52 verses, and records the reigns of five kings—viz., Dappula IV., Dappula V., Udaya III., Sena II., and Udaya III., A.D. 936-968.

Chapter 54.—Contains 73 verses and records the reigns of three kings—viz., Sena III., Mahinda III., and Sena IV., A.D. 968-1007.

Chapter 55.—Contains 34 verses, and records the reign of one King, Mahinda IV., and the pillage of the country by the Cholian King, A.D. 1007-1043.

Chapter 56.—Contains 17 verses, and records the reigns of six kings—viz., Kassapa *alias* Vikkama-bāhu, Kittisenāpati, Mahālāna-Kitti, Vikkama Paṇḍu, Jagatipāla, and Parakkama, A.D. 1043-1065.

Chapter 57.—Contains 76 verses, the reign of Lokissara, and the life of Vijaya-bāhu the Great as Prince Kitti, A.D. 1065-1126.

Chapter 58.—Contains 59 verses, and records the account of his taking Anurādha and the city of Pulatthi.

Chapter 59.— Contains 51 verses, and contains his acts of kindness to the members of the royal family.

Chapter 60.—Contains 91 verses, and an account of the renovation of the Buddhist religion and his preparation to invade the Cholian country, the mutiny of his army, the advancement of the country, and various other acts of merit done by him, A.D. 1065-1115.

Chapter 61.—Contains 73 verses, and records the reigns of four kings—viz., Jaya-bāhu, Vikkama-bāhu, Mānābharaṇa, and Kittisirīmegha, A.D. 1126-1148.

Chapter 62.—Contains 67 verses, and records an account of the birth and childhood of Parakkama-bāhu the Great.

Chapter 63.—Contains 53 verses, and records the departure of Parakkama-bāhu for the city of Saṅkhanāyakatthali.

Chapter 64.—Contains 64 verses, and records the account of his spying out the north of the "King's Country."

Chapter 65.—Contains 44 verses, and records the account of his killing his foster-father's general.

Chapter 66.—Contains 158 verses, and records the account of the measures he adopted in ascertaining the condition of the "King's Country" while living at Polonnaruva.

Chapter 67.—Contains 96 verses, and records an account of his return to his foster-father's kingdom and his appointment as the Chief Governor thereof.

Chapter 68.—Contains 59 verses, and records the account of the construction of various irrigation works by him.

Chapter 69.—Contains 38 verses, and records an account of his preparation for the invasion of the north.

Chapter 70.—Contains 336 verses, and records an account of his war with his cousin Gaja-bāhu and the conquest of the north.

Chapters 71 and 72.—Contain 362 verses, and record an account of his coronation.

Chapter 73.—Contains 164 verses, and records an account of his improvement of the city of the Pulatthi (Polonnaruva).

Chapter 74.—Contains 250 verses, and records an account of various festivals and offerings made by him.

Chapter 75.—Contains 209 verses, and records an account of the rebellion of Rohana and the subjugation of the country.

Chapter 76.—Contains 338 verses, and records an account of another rebellion at Rohana, his invasion of the Rāmaññā country, and various invasions and counter-invasions.

Chapter 77.—Contains 109 verses, and records an account of his conquest of the Pandian country.

Chapter 78.—Contains 113 verses, and records an account of the construction of Jetavana-vihāra and other buildings.

Chapter 79.—Contains 87 verses, and records an account of various improvements. These chapters comprise a period of 55 years, A.D. 1148-1203.

Chapter 80.—Contains 80 verses, and records the reigns of 16 sovereigns—viz., Vijaya-bāhu, Mahinda V., Kitti Nissaṅka, Vīra-bāhu, Vikkama-bāhu, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī, Sāhasamalla, Kalyāṇavatī, Dhammāsoka, Aṇīkaṅga, Līlāvatī (again), Lokissara, Līlāvatī (again), Parakkama Paṇḍu and Kāliṅga Māgha, A.D. 1203-1252.

Chapter 81.—Contains 80 verses, and records the reign of one King, Vijaya-bāhu III., A.D. 1252, 1256.

Chapter 82.—Contains 53 verses, and records the reign of one King, Parakkama-bāhu II. or Paṇḍita Parakkama-bāhu.

Chapter 83.—Contains 52 verses, and records an account of the buildings and festivals, and of the invasion of the island by a Malay prince named Chandrabhānu.

Chapter 84.—Contains 44 verses and the continuation of his reign.

Chapter 85.—Contains 122 verses and the continuation of his reign.

Chapter 86.—Contains 58 verses and the continuation of his reign.

Chapter 87.—Contains 74 verses and the continuation of his reign.

Chapter 89.—Contains 71 verses and the continuation of his reign.

Chapter 90.—Contains 109 verses, and records the reigns of eight kings—viz., Vijaya-bāhu, Bhuvaneka-bāhu I., Parakkama-bāhu III., Bhuvaneka-bāhu II., Parakkama-bāhu IV., Bhuveneka Bāhu III., Jaya Bāhu II., and Bhuveneka Bāhu IV., A.D. 1291-1351.

Chapter 91.—Contains 36 verses, and records the reigns of four kings—viz., Parakkama-bāhu V., Bhuvaneka-Bāhu VI., Vīra Bāhu, and Sirī Parakkama Bāhu A.D. 1352-1410.

Chapter 92.—Contains 34 verses and records the reigns of seven kings—viz., Sirī Parakkama Bāhu, Jaya Bāhu III., Bhuvaneka Bāhu VII.,

Parakkama Bāhu VII., Parakkama Bāhu VIII., Vijaya Bāhu VI., and Bhuvaneka Bāhu VII., A.D. 1410-1542.

Chapter 93.—Contains 17 verses, and records the reigns of two kings—viz., Māyādhana and Rāja Siṅha.

Chapter 94.—Contains 24 verses, and records the reign of Vimala Dhamma Sūriya, and brings up the period to A.D. 1597.

Chapter 95.—Contains 27 verses, and records the reign of Sena Ratna, A.D. 1597-1632.

Chapter 96.—Contains 44 verses and records the reign of Rāja Siṅha II.

Chapter 97.—Contains 64 verses, and records the reigns of two kings—viz., Vimala Dhamma II., and Parakkama Narinda Sinha.

Chapter 98.—Contains 98 verses, and records the reign of Sirī Vijaya Rāja Siṅha.

Chapter 99.—Contains 189 verses, and records the reign of Kitti-sirī Rājādhi Siṅha.

Chapter 100.—Contains 306 verses, and brings down the history as far as Sirī Rājādhi Rāja Siṅha.

Chapter 101.—Contains 29 verses, and records the reigns of Sirī Rājādhi Siṅha Rāja and Sirī Vikkrama Rāja Siṅha, the last King of Kandy.

DESULTORY NOTES ON PĀṆINI AND HIS COMMENTATORS.

No. II.

The Laghukaumudī, edited by James R. Ballantyne, LL.D. Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares.

The late Dr. James R. Ballantyne, the author of several important works on Oriental Literature, including a portion of "the *Mahābhāṣya* with its commentary the *Bhāṣyapradīpa*, and the commentary thereon, the *Bhaṣyapradīpodyota*, with an English version of the opening portion of the *Navāhnika*," has done a lasting service to European students of Pāṇini by the publication of his *Laghukaumudī*, with an English translation, notes, and copious references. Before the publication of this work, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was a sealed letter to most European students of Sanskrit; and, on its appearance, Prof. Max Müller justly remarked that it "has enabled even beginners to find their way through the labyrinth of native grammar." Although the *Laghukaumudī* contains only a small number of the sūtras of Pāṇini, yet the study of this number is calculated to serve as a key to the whole, and to impart to the student a general knowledge of, at least, the outlines of the plan upon which Pāṇini has built his ingenious system. The thanks of the student of Pāṇini are, therefore, due in a marked degree to Dr. Ballantyne, whose name will, no doubt, be cherished and remembered with feelings of gratitude by all who take any interest in Sanskrit grammatical literature.

The study of Pāṇini was, however, in its infancy at the time Dr. Ballantyne wrote his translation of the *Laghukaumudī*, and we consequently find him stumbling here and there, notwithstanding the valuable assistance he had probably received from the learned Pandits of Benares—the centre of Sanskrit learning. His work went through two editions, the second of which, published after his death, is said to be an improvement on the first; but there is so large a number of errors even in the latter as would render the publication of a third edition necessary. In pointing out some of these errors and imperfections, we must not be understood as wishing in any way to detract from the merits of Dr. Ballantyne's work, our motive being to further still more the very object the author had in view, in thus devoting his time and attention to an undertaking of so useful and unprecedented a character.

(1)

ऌ

Lṛi.

The first error in the work occurs on its very first page, where our author has transliterated the vowel ऌ given in the second *śiva-sūtra* by "*lṛi*," thus showing that he was unacquainted both with the nature and the pronunciation of this letter. He shares this error in common with other early European Sanskritists, such as Wilson, Bopp, and several others, includ-

ing even Professor Monier Williams, one of the most celebrated of living Sanskrit Scholars, and the author, among other works, of an excellent Grammar and Dictionary of the Sanskrit language. The first Sanskrit scholar or writer, transliterating the Devanāgarī character into the Roman, must have committed the blunder, and others, as in most other similar instances, must have adopted and perpetuated it without examination. It must have originated from the circumstance that this vowel and the combination of the consonant ल with the vowel ऋ have one and the same form, viz., ऌ, in the Devanāgarī Alphabet, which differs in this respect from other alphabets, such as the Sinhalese in which two separate forms are provided for them. The character ऌ, occurring in the second Śiva-sūtra, is a simple vowel having the same relation to ल that ऋ has to र; but the compound letter ल्ऌ is ल combined with the vowel ऋ; the latter occurs in Pāṇini iii. 1, 33, and some other sūtras. The vowel ऌ has no admixture of *r* whatever, and it should have been transliterated (*l̥* or *l̥i* as some have it) while the compound letter ल्ऌ should be transliterated *l̥r* (or *l̥ri*.)

(2)

मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः ॥ I. 1, 8. ॥

"Let that which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth be called nasal." *Page* 4.

The second error to which we would call attention is the rendering of *anunāsika*, in the sūtra given above, by the word *nasal*. As a rule *Saññās* ought not to be translated, their equivalents not being found in the English language, and this is illustrated by the rendering referred to. A *nasal* sound is one pronounced by the nose either with or without the mouth, but an *anunāsika* is a sound produced by both the nose and the mouth. According to this definition *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, and *m* (among others) are *anunāsika*, because they are pronounced by the mouth and the nose. The letters *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, (among others), and the *anusvāra* are not *anunāsika*, the first five, because they are pronounced by the mouth without the nose; and the last (*anusvāra*), because it is pronounced by the nose without the mouth. But the *anusvāra*, although it does not fall under the class of letters called in Sanskrit *anunāsika*, as just shown, falls nevertheless under the class to which we apply the *English* word *nasal*. Hence the rendering of *anunāsika* by *nasal* is highly objectionable.

(3)

हलि सर्वेषाम् ॥ VIII. 3. 22 ॥

"Let there be elision of the *y* of all these, viz., the words in which it is preceded by *bho*, *bhago*, *agho*, *a* or *ā*, when a consonant follows." *Page* 39.

Our author has entirely mistaken the antecedent of the pronoun *sarveṣām* in this sūtra. It does not refer to the words *bho*, *bhago*, &c., as he has supposed, but to the three grammarians mentioned in the three sūtras immediately preceding VIII. 3, 21, viz., *Śākaṭāyana*, *Śākalya*, and *Gārgya*. The translation should, therefore, have been "According (or in deference) to the opinion of all these grammarians, let there be elision of *y* preceded by *bho*, *bhago*, *agho*, *a* or *ā*, when a consonant follows."

(4)

चुटू ॥ I. 3. 7 ॥

"Palatal (chu) or cerebral (tu) letters initial in an affix are to be elided." *Page* 46.

This translation is faulty in more than one respect. In the first place, the letters denoted by *cu* (*chu*) and *ṭu* are *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, *ñ* and *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ* *ḍh*, *ṇ*, but the English terms *palatal* and *cerebral* which our author has employed would include *i*, *y* and *ś* among the former, and *ṛ*, *r* and *ṣ* among the latter respectively, which Pāṇini never intended to bring under this rule.

In the next place, there is not a word in the sūtra, expressed or understood, about elision, but the term to be supplied in it is *it* (इत्) which occurs in III. 1, 2.

The translation should therefore have been "The palatal and cerebral *varga* letters initial in an affix are *its*."

It is true that, according to III. 1, 9, all *its* are to be elided, but it must be remembered that all letters that should be elided are not

its. For instance the particular letter *n* is elided when it is final in a *pada* which is entitled to be termed *prātipadika* (VIII. 2, 7), although this letter is radical and not indicatory. It is elided simply because it is at the end of a *pada* which is also a *prātipadika*. In the case of *jas*, its first letter *j* is elided because it is an *it*. It is an *it* because it is initial in an affix, which *jas* is. Pāṇini's system not being arbitrary but founded on certain fixed principles, the reason for each step should be distinctly made known to the student.

(5)

लशकतद्धिते ॥ I. 3. 8. ॥

"The letters *l*, *ś* and *ku* (that is to say *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *ṅ*) are indicatory in an affix not belonging to the class *taddhita*." *Page* 48.

If this translation were correct, then the *l* in the affix *āluc* taught in III. 2. 158 and likewise the *k* in the affix *ukañ* taught in III. 2, 154, would be *its*, which they certainly are not, notwithstanding their not being *taddhitas*. Our author has lost sight of the word *ādiḥ*, which is supplied in this sūtra from I. 3, 5 and is moreover actually cited in the *vṛtti*. The correct translation is as follows: "The letters *l*, *ś*, and *ku* (that is to say *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* and *ṅ*) are *its* when they are *initial* in an affix not belonging to the class called *taddhita*."

(6)

ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट् ॥ VII. 1. 54 ॥.

"*Nuṭ* shall be the augment of *what* [the italics are ours] comes after an inflective case ending in a short vowel or in *nadī* or in *āp*." *Page* 51.

Here again our author has lost sight of the word *āmi* which is to be supplied in the sūtra from VII. 1, 52 and is besides given in the scholium. By substituting for the word "what" which we have given in italics the words "*ām* when it" we get the correct translation, viz., "*Nuṭ* shall be the augment of *ām* when it comes after an inflective base ending in a short vowel or in *nadī* or in *āp*."

(7)

अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ ॥ VI. 4, 77 ॥

"*Iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* are the substitutes of what ends with the *pratyāya śnu* and of *what ends in* [the italics are ours] a verbal root in *i* or *u* (whether long or short) and of the inflective base *bhrū* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." *Page* 51.

The words "what ends in" given by us in Italics should we think, be omitted, and the word "ending" should be inserted after the word "root." The translation would then be, "*Iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* are the substitutes of what ends with the *pratyaya śnu* and of a verbal root ending in *i* or *u* (whether long or short) and of the inflective base *bhrū*, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows."

(8)

एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे ॥ I. 1, 48 ॥

"Of *ech ik* is the substitute when short *a* is substituted." *Page* 87.

The words of the sūtra undoubtedly admit of this translation, as the expression *hrasvādeśe* can be resolved into the component parts *hrasva* + *a* + *ādeśe*. Dr. Ballantyne's fault therefore lay not exactly in the translation but in his analysis of this expression, which though possible is inconsistent with sense, implying, as it does, that Pāṇini has in some of his sūtras, enjoined the substitution of short *a* for the letters *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au*, and that, when we meet with such an injunction, we are not to substitute short *a* but one of the letters denoted by, or included in, the pratyāhāra *ik*. Now this would be a round-about way of teaching grammatical operations, and would moreover be so absurd, inconsistent and cumbersome that we should be justified in rejecting the analysis for a more rational one. The expression referred to is simply a compound of *hrasva* + *ādeśe*, according to the rules of *Sandhi*, and hence the translation of the sūtra should be "of *ec* (*ech*) *ik* is the substitute when a short *vowel* [not short *a*] is to be substituted."

This rule became necessary on account of *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au*, which are always long,

having no corresponding short vowels in the Sanskrit language as they have in the Sinhalese, the Tamil and most other languages.

(9)

अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ VII. 2, 7. ॥

"Let *vṛiddhi* be optionally the substitute of a light *a* preceded by a consonant when *sich* follows and a *parasmaipada* affix preceded by the augment *iṭ*." *Page* 158.

Here our author assigns the augment *iṭ* to the *parasmaipada* affix, whereas Pāṇini assigns it to *sic* (*sich*). The words "*iḍādau parasmaipade sici* (*sichi*)" do not convey the meaning given to them by our author, but they clearly mean "when *sic* beginning with the augment *iṭ* and followed by a *parasmaipada* affix follows."

More than this, the rendering of *halādeḥ* by "preceded by a consonant" is also incorrect. The word *aṅgasya*, which constitutes VI. 4, 1, though not given in the *vṛtti* is valid in VII. 2, 7, and is qualified by *halādeḥ* which should therefore be rendered "of a base beginning with a consonant." The translation of the whole sūtra should therefore have been: "Let *vṛddhi* be optionally the substitute of the light *a* of a base beginning with a consonant when *sic* (*sich*), beginning with the augment *iṭ* and followed by a *parasmaipada* affix, follows."

The question whether the augment is or is not assigned to *sic* (*sich*) is of importance; for, the option of substituting *vṛddhi* for such a short *a* as is described in the sūtra is allowed only when this augment is assigned to *sic* (*sich*) as in *akanīt*, *akānīt*, otherwise there is no option and *vṛddhi* should absolutely be substituted in accordance with VII. 2, 3, as in the word *apākṣīt*. It must also be stated that the *parasmaipada* affixes, following *sich*, being *sārvadhātuka* do not take the augment *iṭ*; *sich* being *ārdhadhātuka* and beginning with *val* takes it by VII. 2, 35. The augment that some *parasmaipada* affixes take is *it*, not *iṭ*. See VII. 3. 96.

(10)

यमरमनमातां सक् च ॥ VII. 2, 73. ॥

"Of these viz. of the verbs *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, and what roots end in long *ā* let *sak* be the augment, and let *iṭ* be the augment of *sich* coming after these when the *parasmaipada* affixes are employed." *Page* 168.

This translation would mislead the student into the supposition that the roots mentioned in the sūtra invariably take the augment *sak*, for there are no restrictive words in it to shew any circumstances under which they take this augment. The fault, however, does not appear to be solely Dr. Ballantyne's. The scholiast should share it with our author, as the *vṛtti* is vague both in the *Laghukaumudī* and in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, as well as in Dr. Böhtlingk's edition of Pāṇini, all of which are defective in not properly defining these circumstances. The *Kāśikā*, however, which is generally very accurate, states them with precision in the following words:

यमरमनम । इत्येतेषामङ्गानामाकारान्तानां च सगागमो भवति परस्मैपदे सिचि इडागमश्च ॥

"Of these viz. of the *aṅgas* (bases) *yam*, *ram*, *nam* and what bases end in long *ā*, let *sak* be the augment when *sic* (*sich*) followed by a *parasmaipada* affix follows and let *iṭ* be the augment of *sic* (*sich*).

(11)

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ III. 1. 74 ॥

Of *śru* let *śri* be the substitute and let there be the affix *śnu*." *Page* 169.

This is another instance in which the case is not properly put by the scholiast, nor the defect noticed by our author.

The student would naturally be misled into the belief that *śru* is *always* changed to *śṛ*, whereas it is so changed only when the *vikaraṇa* affix *śnu* follows, which itself is added instead of *śap*. Dr. Böhtlingk's edition states the case with precision in the following words:

श्रु । इत्येतस्माद्धातोः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति । तत्सन्नियोगेन श्रु इत्येतस्य शृ । इत्यादेशश्च भवति ॥

"The affix *śnu* comes after the root *śru* and in that connection (or when that is the case) *śṛ* is the substitute of *śru*."

क्सस्याचि ॥ VII. 3, 72 ॥.

"There is elision (*lopa*) of *ksa* when an *átmanepada* affix beginning with *ach* follows:" "Thus *adhuk-shanta*."

This translation is quite correct, but the example, which is also given in the *vrtti* in the same form (अधुक्षन्त), not only does not illustrate the rule but is also in itself incorrect. According to I. 1, 51, it is the *a* of *ksa* that should be elided. Inthe example it is clear that this *a* has not been elided for otherwise *anta* could not have been substituted for *jha* or, to be more precise, *ant* could not be substituted for *jh* (VII. 1, 3). When the *a* has been elided the base would cease to end in *a* and the *jh* of *jhà* would become *at* by VII. 1, 5, and the form would be *adhukṣata* not *adhukṣanta*.

There are some other errors and imperfections in the work, which it would be needless to point out; as those already adverted to would be sufficient for our purpose, namely, to induce the lover of *Sanskrit* literature to undertake the publication of a revised edition of the work, with all the errors corrected and with a few more references than those given by our learned and lamented author.

THE EDITOR.

SANSKRIT PUZZLES.

No. XXIII.

राघवस्य शरैर्घोरैर्घोररावणमावहे ।
अत्र क्रियापदं गुप्तं यो जानाति स पण्डितः ॥

No. XXIV.

अन्नवस्त्रसुवर्णानि रत्नानि विविधानि च ।
ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नदीतीरे ददाति व्रज सत्वरम् ॥

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Most of the curious euphemistic expressions from the Māgam-pattuva given in the *Orientalist*, Vol. II., p. 94, will also be found in a paper of mine read before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1884, but not yet printed. The following extract from '*Myths and Dreams*' by Edward Clodd well explains why such expressions are used:—

"In the title of Eumenidês or 'the gracious ones' given to the Furies by the Greeks, may be noted a survival of the verbal bribes by which the thing feared was squared.' For example, the Finnish hunters called the bear 'the apple of the forest,' 'the beautiful honey-claw,' 'the pride of the thicket;' the Laplander speaks of it as 'the old man with the fur coat;' in Annam the natives call the tiger 'grandfather,' or 'lord,' and the Dyaks of Borneo speak of the small-pox as 'the chief' or 'jungle-leaves.'" (p. 159).

These are very like the expressions used by Sinhalese men when they go into the jungle to hunt, or for other purposes, or when they are on a pilgrimage, or are engaged in agricultural operations. I have not my paper by me, but it is, I think, the cheetah that is called "grandfather of the jungle" (*baddē muttā*), while the bear is called "the head-man" or "squire" (*gamarāla*), etc.

J. P. LEWIS.

Mr. W. A. Clouston in an article on the "Oriental Sources of some of Chaucer's Tales" published in *Notes and Queries*, 7th S. I., refers to Mr. Siddi Lebbe's Story of Jesus and the Jew and remarks: "From what sources Muhammad Casim Siddi Lebbe drew the materials of his version given in the *Orientalist* does not appear, so that we have no means of deciding whether the Persian poet's story is of earlier date than the Arabian Version."

I have elsewhere (*Orientalist*, Vol. II., p. 50) surmised that the story comes from the *Kalila and Dimna*.

Perhaps Mr. Siddi Lebbe can supply the information required by Mr. Clouston.

J. P. LEWIS.

The following folk-tale published in the *Panjab Notes and Queries* for July 1886, is current also among the Sinhalese without any other variation than the mere substitution of "man" for "Hindu," "burial" for "cremation," and "burning ground" for "burial ground."

"Once upon a time while a Hindu was asleep his soul went out to travel as usual. During its travels it felt thirsty, and entered a pitcher of water for a drink. While it was in the pitcher some one put a lid on to the pitcher, and this imprisoned the soul inside. Meanwhile the man went on sleeping, and at last his friends, thinking him dead, bore him off for cremation; but as he was being carried to the burning ground, it happened that some one took the lid off the pitcher and so released the soul, which at once flew off to its owner, and awakened him on the bier."—*Ghulám Hussain Khán, Kasúr.*

EDITOR.