

JOURNAL
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OF THE
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1923.

VOLUME XXIX.

No. 76.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

PAPERS:

TANTRIMALAI.

PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS ON RIDIVIHARA.

THE CAPTIVITY OF MAJOR DAVIE

NOTES ON THE FORTS OF THE JAFFNA ISLANDS.

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

THE KAHÁPANA OF THE VINAYA PÁRÁJIKÁ PÁLI.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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JOURNAL

GENERAL STATE OF

THE

REVENUE

FOR THE

YEAR

1857

1858

1859

1860

1861

1862

CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Meeting: January 17, 1923	109
Council Meeting: February 26, 1923	110
General Meeting: February 26, 1923	111
Tantrimalai	112
Council Meeting: April 25, 1923	125
Annual General Meeting: June 27, 1923	126
Palm Leaf Manuscripts on Ridivihara	133
Council Meeting: October 17, 1923	145
General Meeting: October 17, 1923	146
The Captivity of Major Davie	147
Notes on the Forts of the Jaffna Islands	186
Excerpta Máldiviana	194
The Kahàpana of the Vinaya Pàrájika Páli	215

JOURNAL

ROYAL ASSOCIATION OF PHYSICIANS

GENERAL MEETING

167	General Meeting: 1871
168	General Meeting: 1872
169	General Meeting: 1873
170	General Meeting: 1874
171	General Meeting: 1875
172	General Meeting: 1876
173	General Meeting: 1877
174	General Meeting: 1878
175	General Meeting: 1879
176	General Meeting: 1880
177	General Meeting: 1881
178	General Meeting: 1882
179	General Meeting: 1883
180	General Meeting: 1884
181	General Meeting: 1885
182	General Meeting: 1886
183	General Meeting: 1887
184	General Meeting: 1888
185	General Meeting: 1889
186	General Meeting: 1890
187	General Meeting: 1891
188	General Meeting: 1892
189	General Meeting: 1893
190	General Meeting: 1894
191	General Meeting: 1895
192	General Meeting: 1896
193	General Meeting: 1897
194	General Meeting: 1898
195	General Meeting: 1899
196	General Meeting: 1900

JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
CEYLON BRANCH.

GENERAL MEETING.

University College, Colombo, January 17, 1923.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,
in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka.	Mr. A. R. B. Perera.
Revd. R. Dhiralankara Thero.	Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.
Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.	Mr. G. L. Rupesingha.
Revd. P. Lucien Jansz.	„ R. Sagarajasingham.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe.	Prof. C. Suntharalingam, B.A.
„ A. P. A. Jayawardana.	Mudaliyar Walter Samara-
„ Sam J. C. Kadirgamar.	singha.
„ L. M. Maartensz.	Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.	„ C. F. Winzer.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.	„ Alex. Wickramasingha.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors: 17 gentlemen and 6 ladies.

Business:

1. Dr. (Miss) Stella Kramrisch delivered a lecture illustrated by lantern slides, entitled "The Significance of Indian Art."

2. Votes of thanks to the lecturer proposed by Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam and to the Chair proposed by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam were carried with acclamation.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 26, 1923.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,
in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.

„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,

C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Business :

1. Letters of regret at being unable to attend from Dr. P. E. Pieris, Dr. W. A. de Silva and Mr. F. Lewis were read.

2. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 17th October, 1922, were read and confirmed.

3. The following having been duly proposed and seconded, were elected members of the Society :—

(a) Alexander Bartholomews Madanayaka.

(b) Joseph Light, C.C.S.

(c) J. R. Bhatt, B.Sc.

(d) Catheravelupillai Suppramaniam.

(e) Isaac Martin Tisera Sri Kularatna Basnayaka.

4. The Report of the Sub-committee consisting of Messrs. F. Lewis and L. J. B. Turner on the three notes by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi was considered and it was decided that these papers should be accepted for publication in the Journal.

5. The Council recorded with regret the deaths of the Ven'ble Sri Nanissara, Prof. Rhys Davids and Mr. F. D. Jayasinha, late clerk and Librarian of the Society, and decided that letters should be addressed to the relatives or friends of these late members, expressing the sympathy of the society with them in their bereavement.

6. A paper on "King Ganatissa" by Mr. John M. Senave-ratna was tabled and it was decided to refer the matter to Dr. P. E. Pieris and Mr. A. M. Hocart, for their opinion.

7. The question of the purchase of a copy of the centenary volume 1923 of the Parent Society was considered and it was decided that a copy be ordered.

8. It was resolved that a special appeal for funds for the purchase of new books for the library should be made and the Hony. Treasurer undertook to make the appeal.

9. A list of members whose subscription was seriously in arrears was tabled for action under rule 33 and the Secretary was authorized to proceed accordingly, if it was not found possible to collect the arrears.

10. A letter from Mr. L. J. B. Turner asking for permission to publish his paper on the Authorities for the History of the British in Ceylon was read.

The Council consented provided Mr. Turner agreed to make due acknowledgment to the Society when his paper was published.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 26, 1923.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.

Hon. Sir J. T. Broom, Kt.

Miss Norah C. Carter.

Mr. P. M. A. Corea.

Ven. F. H. de Winton.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A.

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Prof. S. A. Pakeman.

Mudaliyar J. P. Obeyesekera.

The Hon. Sir P. Ramanathan.

Dr. R. L. Spittel.

Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha.

„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,

C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary.

Visitors : 6 gentlemen and 5 ladies.

Business :

1. Minutes of the General Meetings held on the 17th October, 1922, and on the 17th January, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.

3. Mr. A. M. Hocart, Archæological Commissioner, read a paper illustrated by lantern slides on "Tantrimalai."

TANTRIMALAI

BY

MR. A. M. HOCART,
Archæological Commissioner.

Tantrimalai, as you know, is a rocky wilderness about nine miles south-west of Cettikulam station on the Manaar line. It is an undertaking to get there, but the trouble is not to be regretted, and I am grateful to Mr. John Still whose paper published in your Journal of 1910 induced me to go there, and proved a valuable guide to the place and its history. If I disagree with some of his conclusions, it is because his study shed the light which enabled me to see. Like so many other places, Tantrimalai may have been a sacred place before Buddhism; but that is mere conjecture and likely to remain so as most of the monuments are based directly on the rock so that there is no hope of finding lower levels than we can at present see. Where there was a possibility of finding a lower level, Mr. Still looked for it in the large cave which he calls Upāsika Naga's cave. He there found some quartz fragments and I cannot do better than quote his account of them: "They are not in any sense implements, but they may have been waste chips thrown away while implements are being made. For they are quite foreign to their surroundings, such as could hardly have come to be where they were by accident. The floor of the cave in monastic times was rudely paved with uncut pieces of flat stone and some ten inches of earth intervened between this and the bed rock floor. It was on the rock floor that these chips were found." The cave therefore appears to have been occupied before Buddhism, but by whom it is

impossible at present to say. Buddhist occupation is first vouched for by inscriptions of about the 1st century B.C. I will not dwell on these inscriptions as they have nothing to tell us beyond their approximate age. Mr. Still seems to assign to the same period the small rude stone platforms that occur here and there on the rock. He may be right, but he may be wrong; for there is a gap of many centuries, possibly nine, between the inscription and the monument we shall deal with next and these rude stone platforms therefore have a vast range of time at their disposal. These platforms were made by spreading earth on the rock inside a square of rude stones and paving it with rude stones. There is not a perfect one left: the rain has washed away the earth and disturbed the stones; shooting parties have used them to build themselves little bastions commanding the waterholes. But we gain some idea of their dimensions: 18 ft. \times 17 ft. is the largest mentioned by Mr. Still. As there is no brick about we must suppose the walls were of mud or wood. There is one on the East side of the hill which particularly interests me because the platform is enclosed by a double row of rude stones leaving a space of about 2 ft. between it and the platform; only two sides are left, but you can take it that it once ran all round. Presumably, this stone enclosure is the base of a mud wall, and is the equivalent of those double rows of stones which in Anuradhapura almost invariably constitute the foundations of brick walls. They are however also found, as on the Outer Circular Road, without any trace of brick whatever, and we must therefore suppose that a mud wall stood upon them. The hermit's cell was therefore surrounded by a wall, presumably a low one, or, it may be, by a railing. It is interesting to get back to the early types of hermits' cells and compare them with representations on monuments. I have not been able to find any evidence that these rude stone platforms were ever double. They seem to indicate that Ceylon, in the country at least, was very much behind India in its

monasteries: they appear to have gone on building hermits' cells after India had adopted the cloister. It is possible however that Tantrimalai was the resort of solitary monks. More information is required about these rude platforms, because as I said perfect specimens are hard to find; if indeed they exist at all, they must be so rare that for one man to seek alone is like looking for a needle in a haystack. Unfortunately, so far it has been a one man job; the reason is that it has been too much the habit in Ceylon of valuing monuments according to their size or artistic merit, and these rude platforms possessing neither have remained unnoticed, as far as I can see, except by Mr. Still. Now the artistic point of view is a very important one. We like to find beautiful things and we ought to like them; a people that does not appreciate beautiful things is dead; but besides wanting beauty we also want information and the two do not always go together. The Taj is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world and it has done good to thousands to see it; but its value to the historian bears no relation to its artistic value; if it were destroyed the artist in us would have to mourn the loss of one of the world's masterpieces, but the historian would lose little as there are plenty of perfect specimens of Saracenic architecture in India. Even so from a merely historical point of view we could easily give away a dozen of those finished platforms of Anuradhapura in exchange for one complete set of these rude stones rudely set together into a rude square that give no pleasure to the eye. Those who wander about the jungle for pleasure or on duty should not therefore imagine that because these structures are so insignificant, they are not worth reporting. They are very much worth reporting, and there must be plenty about especially, I should think, in the region of Tantrimalai and East of Anuradhapura.

Mr Still and Mr. Parker differ as to the date of the stupa on the top of the main hill, which I will call Stupa

Hill. Mr. Parker says it is the first century B.C.; Mr. Still ascribes it to the 12th century A.D., a difference of 13 centuries. Obviously, there must be something fundamentally wrong with the chronology of Ceylon antiquities if such enormous differences of opinion are possible, and it is worth while to pause therefore in order to see if we cannot improve upon this state of affairs. First of all, let us have clear ideas; that is the foundation of everything, clear ideas. What do we mean when we say the stupa belongs to this or that century? Do we mean it was founded then? or do we mean that what we see belongs to that time? This seems a most important and obvious distinction, yet it is often left unmade. The Mahavansa says such and such a building was erected in the 1st century B.C., and there is an end of it; the expert who repeats this statement may be well aware that this is merely the date of the foundation, but he does not make this clear to others and thus confuses the general public, and that is how in the Colombo Museum we come to have specimens of the 13th century ascribed to the 1st, or *vice versa*. This vagueness is disastrous to the history of Ceylon art. Suppose that some one read in an old chronicle that St. Paul's was built in 1,000 A.D. (I do not know the true date, but we will say 1,000 for the sake of argument); suppose he concluded that St. Paul's as we see it is a specimen of the Norman style of architecture, then he would go completely astray and his chances of ever grasping the development of English architecture would be nil. But we have not only to distinguish between the original building and the one at present standing, we have to distinguish between various parts of the same building. Take Gloucester Cathedral: the skeleton is Norman, yet he who would take every detail as Norman would soon be as hopelessly at sea as the one who should set up St. Paul's as an example of Norman, for not only have

perpendicular annexes been added, but, the Norman work itself was cased in perpendicular so that in the choir we must distinguish between the inside and the outside of the walls. In Ceylon we have to go even further than that and distinguish between the material and the form: for it was the common practice to rebuild out of old materials, a practice which is continued to the present day by the Archæological Department. Go to Polonnaruva and there you will find 1922 work made with bricks that may belong to any century from the XIIIth up.

Having tidied up our minds we can proceed to weigh the evidence concerning our stupa. The date of its foundation, we may be sure, must be remote, for the stupa being in those days the central point of Buddhist worship, it is hard to conceive of a monastic settlement without a Stupa. Further the Buddhist in Ceylon always turns to a hill to set up his shrines, if there is one at hand, and our stupa is on the highest hill; the rude stone platforms are round the base, evidently appendages to whatever was on the top. Is there anything of this ancient stupa remaining? Mr. Parker assigned the bricks to the 1st century B.C., basing himself on their size. Now I do not agree with Mr. Still that this is a bad way of dating monuments: it works in India, Babylonia and elsewhere, and it should work in Ceylon. Mr. Still does not believe that bricks were standardized in those early days; why not? They were standardized in India in the Maurya period. Besides our whole experience is against the view that people are haphazard in the sizes and styles of their materials; each age has got its preference for certain proportions and it does not vary them much for the excellent reason that it is much easier to stick to one size than to chop and change, easier for the brick-maker who can thus work automatically, and for the brick-layer who can lay his courses automatically without having to hunt round for the particular size that fits a particular gap. Besides, we

have fairly good evidence that bricks were standardized in the 1st century B.C. : if you will go up Ruvanväli Säya before it is completely covered over by the new brickwork you will find on one side a kind of brick rubble typical of the Polonnaruva period; on the other whole bricks regularly layed and exceedingly constant in size $15'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. I think it is a legitimate inference that we have here the original brickwork of the early 1st Century B.C. Mr. Parker's method is therefore unimpeachable in theory; but when it comes to practice a critical spirit is essential; but Mr. Parker was not critical; he did not first make sure of the date of the particular part of the monument from which he took his bricks; that may explain why his data for Ruvanväli Säya differ from mine. As regards our stupa I am at a loss to understand how he got at his size seeing that, at the present day at least, nothing but broken bricks appear, and Mr. Still's inferred measurements give all different sizes. You may say this supports Mr. Still's view that bricks were not standardized. Not a bit. It merely shows that the stupa was rebuilt at some time with the ruins of previous structures, as, I repeat, was commonly done in Ceylon, and almost invariably done in the Polonnaruva period, and in the 20th Century. We may infer from this that the dome of the stupa was rebuilt in the Polonnaruva period, since we shall find later on definite evidence of a revival of Tantrimalai in those days. As far as that dome goes therefore, we can agree with Mr. Still. But the dome is built upon a square stone platform which is almost certainly earlier than the twelfth century. Stupas on square stone platforms do not appear to have been built in the XIIth century; I may be wrong, but that is as far as my present information goes. The mouldings too point to an earlier period. It is indeed possible that the retaining wall of the platform and the pavement on the top of it are not on the same date, for the coping stones are smooth, whereas the pavement

slabs show parallel chisel marks. I am as yet however too vague about these chisel marks to press the point. Round the platform runs a square line of rude stone which I take to be earlier still, possibly at the same date as the rude stone platform already described. Indeed it is difficult to see the point of this square once the stone platform had been built; and it is best explained as an original pavement. Thus when we get down to the foundations we also get down to a period which comes very near to that suggested by Mr. Parker; only he got there by quite wrong inferences, of which the worst will come later on. Next to these rude stone platforms I would place the double platform that stands opposite the artificial cave and to the so-called Potgula. The reason is that it is obviously less developed than the double platforms excavated by Mr. Ayrton on the outer circular road; on the other hand they represent a very great advance on the rude stone platforms, the stone being cut in large slabs. Since Mr. Ayrton's excavations this double platform type has gained considerably in interest, partly because they constitute a problem which former investigators scarcely realized to be a problem, and partly because the thoroughness of his work enables us to draw conclusions. I will therefore briefly sum up the characteristics of this type: the building consists of two square or slightly oblong platforms; if they are oblong, the long sides form the back and front. The building faces east, and the eastern platform is evidently a mandapa or entrance hall; whether it was roofed or not is uncertain; Mr. Ayrton thinks it was not; I think it was; and naturally I think I am right; anyhow we both agree there were no walls, or at least no full walls. The west platform is the shrine, and is invariably built on the solid rock; it was roofed and walled. The two platforms are connected by a bridge which may assume very big dimensions if the conformation of the rock on which the western platform is built leaves a deep hollow between

the two platforms. This double platform in the later examples is surrounded by a square wall and verandah. These double platforms occur also at Mihintale, Ritigala, Mānākanda, Arankāle and Veherabāndigala. The Anuradhapura examples were assigned by Mr. Ayrton to a period covering the VIIIth to Xth centuries. I think his dating can be taken as correct for the finished examples, but I think he has ignored the fact that these have been built on earlier structures of the same type. The platforms he had in view are remarkably uniform in moulding. The earlier ones have no mouldings at all, but consist merely of a retaining wall set direct on the rock, sometimes without a plinth, and plain slabs as coping stones. It is to this type that the Tantrimalai example belongs. Only the upright stones are only roughly dressed not beautifully smoothed as at Arankāle and Mānākanda; nor is there any plinth. This may be due to the fact that it was a cheap building, but it may be also due to an earlier date, and the Anuradhapura evidence rather favours this latter hypothesis. It is typical inasmuch as the West platform is built on the higher part of the rock and directly upon it. The Eastern platform is not so distinctly a platform but rather an earth terrace contained by stones: it is very much larger, though the exact outlines cannot be followed exactly without excavation. Like other earlier examples it is not enclosed by a wall and a verandah: in its cramped position it could scarcely be. If I am right in putting it down as an early example this would take us back beyond the VIIIth. century, how far I would not like to say, but I think we should be safe in saying VIth. or earlier. Anyhow it is certainly older than the cave opposite and the Potgula which is of the same age as the cave. Here we are on firmer ground for the style of both is unmistakable, it is what I shall call the rectilinear style which is characteristic of so much of the Anuradhapura work. It holds exclusive sway along the Western limb of the outer circular road in Anuradhapura.

These monasteries have been assigned, as I said, by Mr. Ayrton to the IXth. century approximately. Now the Potgula and the cave have their nearest of kin in the cave at Arankāle. This cave I believe to be a little earlier than the monasteries on the outer circular road, partly because of an impression which I cannot as yet justify, and partly because all the other work at Arankāle is certainly earlier. I will ask you to compare the Polonnaruva style with Potgula. First I will show you that Potgula on a large scale. You will note that all the stones are cut with perfect regularity, you will observe their careful bonding, varied yet without violent irregularities. It is this neatness in the fitting of the stones which gives this building and the cave temple at Arankāle such a pleasing appearance, for ornament there is practically none: just the plainest of pilasters at each corner. Turn on the other hand to the Hindu temples: the stones are irregularly cut; the faces of the stones are often so irregular that small pieces have to be let in to fill the gaps; the bonding is most haphazard, and has reference neither to strength nor to the mouldings. At Tantrimalai the bonding forms part of the design; at Siva Dēvāle No. 2 it works against it. Take the ornamentation: it is as elaborated as at Tantrimalai it is simple: the pilasters bear capital placed on capital without any constructive reason but just in order to impress the onlooker by mere elaboration. I am afraid the two buildings have nothing in common beyond the fact that they are both built of stone and are square. Mr. Still supports his contention with inscriptions. He found characters of the late XIth. or of the XIIth. century on some of the stones. I am not at all so certain that they are not of the Xth.; however let us assume that they are of the XIIth.; inscriptions, we know, may be engraved on a monument ages after the building of the monument. Mr. Still is aware of this but he contends that as there never is more than one letter on one stone, they must have been carved by the

masons to guide them in placing the stones. I would add that, as far as I could trace them, they are only found on corner stones. Mr. Still's case is thus a very strong one. Yet even so I pin my faith on style, and refuse to be led astray by any number of inscriptions. And if we look round we shall soon find something to justify our faith. The top of the rock has been partly levelled; a square has been smoothed out to fit the building exactly; but we find this square intersected by another which has exactly the same dimensions but the orientation of which is 29° different from that of the first. What is the inference? That the building originally stood on this square; that it fell into ruins during the chaos which preceded the advent of Parakrama Bahu the Great, and was set up with a slightly different orientation either to fit it more closely to the rock or to make it face the same way as the cave below. It may well be that XIIth. century masons marked the corner stones to serve them as a guide in rebuilding, supposing the characters are of the XIIth. century. The evidence of rebuilding puts it out of the question that the building was built in the XIIth. century, since the rebuilding can scarcely be later than the XIIIth when the tide began to ebb once more and *recede* from the North. The original building then must have been a few centuries earlier. We have here then but one of those cases that confront us at every turn in Anuradhapura: buildings of the VIIIth. to IXth. centuries restored in the XIIth. when, for a brief period, the old fire flamed up again and shed a passing glory on Lanka. We have definite evidence that its radiance fell upon Tantrimalai. For we have two works there which are unmistakably of the Polonnaruwa period, namely the sitting and the recumbent Buddhas. Mr. Parker assigns them to the 1st century B.C. but there is not a shadow of doubt that Mr. Still is right in ascribing them to the XIIth A.D. or thereabouts. First of all we now know that the type

of the Buddha was not created till the 1st century A.D., so that Mr. Parker's date is an anachronism. Secondly we know that no such Buddhas as the Tantrimalai examples were ever produced even in the early centuries A.D. Of the early style we have examples in this Museum; there are two fragments from Amaravati of the 2nd century A.D.; compare them with our Tantrimalai Buddhas and tell me if you can see the slightest resemblance. The scenes from Amaravati still belong to an early stage, though not the earliest, they are full of life, and the artist evidently rejoices in his newly acquired skill; the Buddhas of Tantrimalai are obviously of a decadent period: they are stiff and conventionalized, the artist knows all the tricks of the trade, and he is so familiar with them that he ceases to rejoice in them, but uses them in a mechanical way. The work at Issurumuniya in Anuradhapura is later than the Amaravati slabs, but it is still earlier than the statues at Tantrimalai; it is less naive than the art of Amaravati, but it is still warm with life. Even the Buddha near Burrough's stone pavilion, similar as it is in style to Tantrimalai Buddhas, is assigned to an earlier period by its soft expression of its kindly face. We do however possess examples of the XIIth. and XIIIth. centuries to compare with Tantrimalai, in particular the Buddhas of the Galvihara at Polonnaruva. A general resemblance is unmistakable, yet there are differences of technique and style which should not be overlooked. There are indeed slight differences among the four Buddhas of Galvihare, differences due to different hands, but the general method is what may be described as the double groove method, that is each fold is indicated by two parallel grooves between them, one shallower than the other with a narrow ridge between them, the surface between these double grooves is convex or forms a cyma curve. In the standing Buddha the grooves are almost of the same depth; in the colossal sitting Buddha the groove nearest the hem is shallower; in the recumbent

Buddha each fold is marked by three grooves. These are all variations, which may be individual merely or due to a small lapse of time. At Tantrimalai the folds of the drapery are formed by ridges dividing flat or concave surfaces like the Buddhas at Kalāvāva. Is this earlier or later? The flame on the Tantrimalai sitting Buddha's head suggests later. The first appearance of this flame has not, to my knowledge, been determined, but the sculptures so far known to me incline one to the opinion that this type was unknown to the XIIth. century. The probability then is that the sitting Buddha of Tantrimalai at least is later than the XIIth. This agrees with the unfinished state of the whole work: either funds failed or the monastery was broken up by war; either cause points to the end of the Polonnaruva period, to the beginning of the debacle. The evidence of the pedestal also points to the XIIIth rather than the XIIth. for it closely resembles the square platform or *mandapa* that faces the Lankatilaka at Polonnaruva. This platform cannot be earlier than the Lankatilaka of which it is an adjunct; it may be contemporaneous or later; the style of the pillars distinctly suggests a later date; in shape and ornament they resemble the pillars that stand on the porch of the Vāṭa-dā-ge added by Nissanka Malla; in fact this style of pillars with square base and top and octagonal shaft seems to have come into vogue about the time of Nissanka Malla. The two Buddhas close the history of Tantrimalai. That history, first written by Mr. Still, is a compendium of the chief styles in Sinhalese art. If we could date definitely everything that we have passed in review there would be few problems for the historian of Buddhist architecture in Ceylon. We are far from having dated them definitely. I am afraid there has been far too many probably's and apparently's; but I think this review will have helped us to take stock of our knowledge, sort it out, and range it on the shelves of our

memories so that we can more easily refer to it in the future.

A discussion followed in which Drs. Hewawitarne and Spittel and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan took part.

4. Votes of thanks to the lecturer proposed by Dr. Pearson and seconded by Prof. Pakeman and the Chair proposed by Sir P. Arunáchalam, were carried with acclamation.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 25, 1923.

Present :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,
in the Chair.

Dr. W. A. de Silva

Mr. A. M. Hocart

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 26th February, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Arulappa Bastianpillai Rajendra having been duly proposed and seconded, was elected a member of the Society.

3. It was decided to recommend that the following be the office-bearers for 1923-24 :—

President :

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.

Council Members :

Hon. Mr. D. W. Perera

Dr. W. A. de Silva

Dr. A. Nell

Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam

Prof. Robert Marrs

Mr. L. J. B. Turner

„ A. M. Hocart

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne

Dr. S. C. Paul

Gate Mudaliyar W. F.

Gunawardhana

Revd. Father S. G. Perera.

Honorary Secretaries and Treasurers :

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Lionel de Fonseka.

4. The Annual Report for 1922 was passed.

5. The report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider Mr. John M. Senaveratna's paper on "King Ganatissa" was tabled and it was decided that the paper should be accepted for publication in the Journal in the form of two notes.

6. It was decided that the Librarian should be instructed not to lend books or to issue publications to members whose subscription for the current year had not been paid.

7. A letter from Mr. Tissavarasingha to Dr. Nell on the subject of Archæological finds near Jaffna and in the Island of Delft was read, and it was decided to ask Mr. Hocart, Archæological Commissioner, to arrange to visit the site if possible during the year.

8. It was decided that the Annual General Meeting should be held if possible during the first week of June, when Dr. W. A. de Silva would read a paper entitled "Ola Manuscripts on the Ridi Vihara."

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 27, 1923.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Wm. H. Manning, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.,
Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.

Miss N. C. Carter	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. V. E. Charavanamuttu	Mr. S. A. Pakeman
„ Lionel de Fonseka	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
„ W. A. de Silva	Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
„ Gabriel Gunawardhana	Mr. E. Reimers
„ J. J. Gunawardene	„ W. Sathasivam
„ G. E. Harding	„ C. Suppramaniam
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna	„ F. A. Tissavarasingha
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana	„ D. D. Weerasingha,
„ N. H. Jinadasa	Mudaliyar
„ Robert Marrs	„ E. B. Wickramanayaka.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secy. and Treasurer.

Visitors: 2 ladies and 7 gentlemen.

Business:

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 26th February, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following report of the Council for 1922, which was adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. G. E. Harding and seconded by Dr. W. A. de Silva.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1922.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1922.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. In January a General Meeting was held when a lecture on "the Aims of Archæology in Ceylon" by Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., was delivered and a "Note on an Ivory Panel in the Colombo Museum" by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., was read. The Annual General Meeting was held in July when His Excellency Sir William H. Manning, G.C.M.G., Patron, presided. The Annual Report was read and a lecture was delivered by Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., on "the Daily Routine of Parakkrama Bahu II." In October, a General Meeting was held with the Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh, C.M.G., V.D., in the Chair and a paper was read on "the Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the Early Greek Writers" by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.

PUBLICATIONS.

Journal, Vol. XXVIII., No. 73, 1920, was issued during the year, containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries, the following papers:—

- (a) Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese Guardian Spirits (Deva), by Dr. W. A. de Silva.
- (b) Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih Lueh, by Dr. Lionel Giles, Litt. D.
- (c) Prince Taniyavalla Bahu of Madampe, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., retired.

Journal, Vol. XXVIII, No. 74, 1921, which was in the press at the end of the year and was issued early in 1923, contained in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries the following papers:—

- (a) Aryan Question in Relation to India, by Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.
- (b) Articles used in Sinhalese Ceremonial Dancing, by Dr. W. A. de Silva.
- (c) The Overlordship of Ceylon in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, by Dr. S. C. Paul.

CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

The thanks of the Society are due to Government for a further grant to the Society of Rs. 1,000 for this year. The references to Ceylon contained in Tao I Chih Lueh appeared in the Journal No. 73, and the Secretary is in communication with Prof. Giles regarding further extracts from Chinese writers.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 352 members of whom 42 are Life members and 9 Honorary members.

During the year 32 new members were elected and the following were struck off for non-payment of arrears, viz.:—

- J. N. C. Tiruchelvam
- M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar
- B. James Pieris
- O. M. Obeyesekera
- D. D. S. Mutucumarana
- C. L. M. Muheeth
- R. de Vaas Gunawardhana
- F. J. Lucas Fernando, (jr.)
- Dr. W. A. Fernando
- Geo. E. de Livera
- C. M. M. Abdul Cader
- B. S. Cooray
- M. T. de S. Amarasekara
- D. S. Wijayasinha
- K. Sirinivasa Bhikku
- M. K. Dharmasiri Thero
- W. Sri Deepankara Thero
- M. K. Dhammaloka Thero.

Willegoda Dhammananda Thero became a Life Member.

DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph. D., Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., the Ven'ble Mahagoda Sri Nanissara Maha Nayaka Thero, Gate Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, J.P. and Mr. F. D. Jayasinha.

Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph. D., Barrister-at-law, one of the oldest members of the Society, died during the latter part of the year. He joined the Society in 1867 and became a Life Member in 1868. Prof. Rhys Davids was a member of the Ceylon Civil Service from which he retired in 1873.

His contributions to the Journal of the Society include:—

- (a) On Methods of taking impressions of inscriptions.
- (b) Inscription at Weligama Vihara.
- (c) Dondra Inscription and many other articles appeared in the Journals of the Parent Branch, Bengal Branch and in the Indian Antiquary.

His literary works include:—

- (a) Buddhist India
- (b) Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon
- (c) Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales, 1880
- (d) Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, 1881
- (e) Pali Dictionary, now in course of publication.

He was the founder of the Pali Text Society.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph of the Ceylon Civil Service, died in his 52nd year, on the 14th March, 1923. For more than 29 years from 1893 to the time of his death, he held the post of Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum. He also held the Society's Librarianship for two years, 1891 and 1892. He joined the Society in 1893 and in the same year he was elected joint Secretary. In 1907 he became in addition Treasurer of the Society. He contributed the following to the Society's Journal:—

- (a) Antiquarian Discovery relating to the Portuguese in Ceylon.
- (b) The Gal-vihara and Demala Maha Saya Paintings.
- (c) Ancient Door-ways and Pillars.

The Ven'ble M. Sri Nanissara Maha Nayaka Thero, who died in November, joined the Society in 1910 and became a Life Member in 1916. He took a keen interest in the Society's work, particularly in connection with the Alu-vihara Edition of the Buddhist Classics, inaugurated by Lord Chalmers. He was the Principal of Vidyodaya College and was an erudite and able oriental scholar. His literary works include:—

- (a) Nītisataka Vyākhyā.
- (b) Bhaṭṭi Kavya.
- (c) Samantakūṭa Vannanā.
- (d) Dhammapadāṭṭha Katha.
- (e) Kankhāvitarāni, and
- (f) Vrittaratnākara Sanné. The first two works exist in manuscript only. The latter four have been printed.

In Gate Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, J.P., the Society has lost a most valuable member. He joined the Society in 1904 and took a great interest in the work. He contributed the following to the Society's Journal:—

- (a) Vijaya Bahu VI.
- (b) Inscription at Keragala.

He was the author of a Sinhalese Grammar called Sabdanu-sasanaya and prepared a set of readers still in use for the use of Government Sinhalese Schools, and also edited Nikaya Sangrahawa, an account of Buddhism (the Buddhist Church) for the Government.

Mr. F. D. Jayasinha joined the Society in 1915. He was the Clerk and Librarian for nearly 17 years from 1898 to 1914, and did useful work for the Society as Librarian and also after retirement from that post.

COUNCIL.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam was re-elected President and Dr. P. E. Pieris was elected a Vice-President. Under Rule 20, Gate Mudaliyars Simon de Silva and W. F. Gunawardhana retired by seniority and Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and W. A. de Silva were re-elected. Prof. R. Marrs was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. C. W. Horsfall. Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary of the Society, was elected in addition Honorary Treasurer in place of the late Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 213. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges:

The Geological Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; The Smithsonian Institute; The Pali Text Society, London; The American Oriental Society; Asiatic Society, Bengal; The Musee Guimet, Paris; The Royal Colonial Institute; l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi; Director, Colombo Museum, The Editors, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Colombo.

For donations to the following:—The University of Calcutta; Archæological Survey of India, Archæological Survey of Burma, The Director, Public Works Department, Ceylon.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

The Archæological Department of Government has been under the charge of Mr. A. M. Hocart, Archæological Commissioner, during the year. A considerable amount of useful work was done, including the conservation of the Dhatu Mandiraya, at the Sela Caitiya; all the stones forming the retaining wall of the platform were replaced in position with a backing of cement concrete and most of the dome was pointed. Pointing was also carried out on the brick work of the "Elephant Stables." Work was also done on the Kiri Vehara, the Demala Maha Säya and the Lankatilaka at Polonnaruva.

Arrangements are being made to reserve Arankäle, in the Kurunägala District, in many respects one of the most interesting remains in the Island.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the late Archæological Commissioner, spent several months in the early part of the year in the Maldive Islands, in connection with history and archæology of the Islands. He is preparing a monograph for Government for publication and it is hoped that he will contribute to the Society some interesting papers and notes on subjects connected with the Islands.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 965.49 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,127.25 and the expenditure was Rs. 3,218.56. The Society commenced the year in debt, and its finances had been for a number of years at a very low ebb. During the year under review all arrears were paid off, and at the end of the year the Society had no outstanding liabilities to face. Many members however remain in arrears with their subscription. A determined effort was made to recover as much as possible, with certain amount of success, but a great deal of the outstandings appear

to be irrecoverable and steps have been taken to delete the names of chronic defaulters from the list of members under rule 33.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 1,009.50 and Rs. 1,923.77 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

The Council is indebted to Mr. Herbert Tarrant for auditing the Society's accounts.

GENERAL.

The Society is able to report a somewhat more satisfactory state of affairs this year than has been the case for many years. The Journals for 1920 and 1921 have been issued and that for 1922 is in the press and will be issued shortly. This means that the journal is at last up to date and it is hoped that it will be possible to publish it in regular quarterly parts in future. The financial position has also improved, as the Society was out of debt at the end of the year. Much however remains to be done. The Society's Library is in a very neglected state. The library is a very valuable one but it is impossible to purchase new books for some years now and the many publications which have been received are mostly unbound and not in a fit state to be placed on the shelves. A special appeal for funds for the library has just been issued and it is hoped that members will support the Council in its endeavours to put the library into a proper condition. The Society would be very glad to receive from members further Notes and papers on the subjects with which it deals. In conclusion the Council would most earnestly appeal to all members to pay their subscription with arrears as early in the year as possible, as the work of a Society such as this, which issues a journal and provides a valuable library for the use of its members, cannot be done satisfactorily unless members fulfil the obligation which is upon them of paying their subscription when due.

3. On a motion proposed by Dr. A. Nell and seconded by Prof. R. Marrs the following office-bears for 1923-24 were elected:

Members of Council.

NEW MEMBERS.
Gate Mudaliyar W. F.

Gunawardhana.
Revd. Father S. G. Perera, S.J.

RE-ELECTED.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

,, S. C. Paul, M.D.

Co-Honorary Secretary and Co-Honorary Treasurer: L. de Fonseka.

4. Dr. W. A. de Silva read the following paper on "Ola Manuscripts on the Ridi Vihāra."

**Balance Sheet of the
CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
For the Year, 1922.**

RECEIPTS	Amount		EXPENDITURE	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from the year 1921—					
Entrance Fee ..	1,056	80	Charges ..		42
Govt. Grant ..	105	00	Salaries ..		98
Life Membership Commutations ..	500	00	Sundries ..		211
Sundries ..	84	00	Balance-cash in hand ..	Rs. 20.75	
Annual Subscription for ..	15	75	Cheques not paid ..		
1924 ..	Rs. 10.50		into the Bank ,,	94.00	
1923 ..	52.56		in Bank ..	850.74	49
1922 ..	1,783.69				
1921 ..	377.50				
1920 ..	88.75				
1919 ..	52.25				
1918 ..	31.50				
1917 ..	25.75				
	2,422	50			
	Rs. 4,184	05		Rs.	4,184 05

Examined and found correct,

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
15th June, 1923.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,
Hony. Secretary & Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Receipts and Payments a/c. of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1922.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance in the Bank ..	..	77	..	..	77
Govt Grant. ..	..	00			
	Rs.	1,923		Rs.	1,923
		77			77

Examined and found correct.

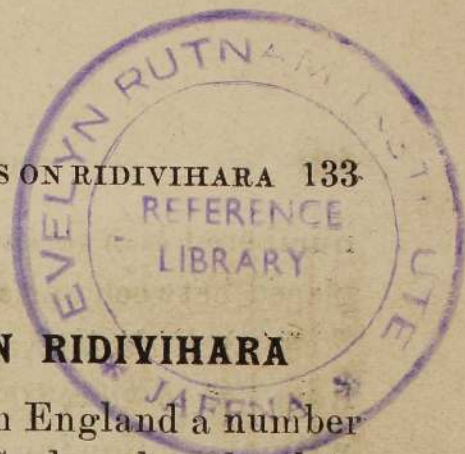
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
15th June, 1923.(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,
Hony. Secretary & Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund A/c. for the Year 1922.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance in the Bank ..	..	50	..	..	50
	Rs.	1,009		Rs.	1,009
		50			50

Examined and found correct,

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
15th June, 1923.(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,
Hony. Secretary & Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.



PALM LEAF MANUSCRIPTS ON RIDIVIHARA

Dr. Andreas Nell had secured from England a number of Palm leaf MSS. collected in Ceylon by the late Mr. H. Parker of the Ceylon Irrigation Department and catalogued for sale by a London bookseller. He very kindly handed me four of these MSS. bearing on the history of Ridivihara near the Deduruoya in the Kurunegala District.

During the last fifty years a large number of old Sinhalese MSS. collected from the remote villages both from the villagers and from the Buddhist Viharas (temples) have been taken away to Europe and America and have been lost to the Island.

The following are the 4 MSS. referred to above.

MS. No. I.

Ridivihara Satara Mayim Asum (Narrative of the Four Boundaries of Ridivihara) contains 13 pages of 18 inch palm leaf, 7 lines to a page. There are 7 leaves marked in Arabic figures 1 to 7 and Tamil letters *k* to *kru*. The ola is quite new and the writing modern and written by a good copyist.

The first page of the MS. has no writing, but on its left corner is given a circle with lines denoting the eight directions and some of the names given in the text as the eight boundaries of Ridivihara endowment are marked there.

The MS. starts with the invocation *Namo Buddhāya* නමො බුද්ධාය adoration to the Buddha and ends with *Ridī Vihārayehi Satara Mahim Asum Samaptai* රිදී විහාරයෙහි සතර මානිම අසුම් සමාප්තයි. (The Narrative Regarding the four Boundaries of Ridivihara ends) and is followed by the words *Siddhirastu* (සිවිරසු) *Subhamastu* (සුභමසු) “ May I obtain my wishes; and may I gain good.”

MS. No. II.

contains three different books, 28 pages, 14 leaves of 9 inch length with 7 lines to a page. The leaves are

numbered *k ක* to *kaw කො*. On the first leaf the *k ක* is placed between *sva ස* and *sti ස්*. The Ola is not very old.

(a) *Ridivihara Satara Mayim Asum* contains leaves from *k ක* to *ku කු* 10 leaves, twenty pages. This MS. ends with the following sentence:—

In this way the manner in which this was done on the Kings's order for having it recorded in writing for future information—(was made by) Rajasekera Weerawickrama Devapoti Devanarayana Bhuwanekabahu Sittara (artisan).

(b) contains leaves *ke කෙ* to *ko, කො* 3 leaves, 5 pages, *Medirivihara* and *Sripavuwa Vihara Mâyim*. The boundaries of Vihara near *Sri Pavuwa* (Yapahuwa).

(c) contains one leaf, two pages. *Vurtama Vihara* (Sripavuwa) *mâyim*. The boundaries and conditions on which land has been set apart for *Vurtama Vihara* of Yapahuwa.

MS. No. III.

Ridivihara Asna contains 26 pages, 13 leaves of 10 inch length with 8 lines to a page. The leaves are numbered from *jhru කො* to *ñi, ක්* showing that the MS. is composed of leaves taken from a large MS. which had 127 leaves or 254 pages removed from it. A single MS. does not usually mean one book; very often a copyist writes a number of books in a single volume and marks the total number of leaves in the order in which it is written. The ola is fairly old and its characters are formed in accordance with MS. of an older date somewhat in the shape of characters found in Sinhalese stone inscriptions. The perfectly formed round characters in palm leaf MS. appear to date from a recent period. The writer of the MS. ends it with the expression of wishes:

May I obtain my wishes

May good accrue to me and

By the merit of writing this may I be freed from the sorrows of being and see Nirvana.

The MS. begins with two invoking phrases.

MS. No. IV.

consists of 18 leaves of 10 inches with 5 lines to an inch. The leaves are numbered in accordance with old Sinhalese numerals, the tens of these figures are indicated by a vertical line carried on the top of each letter. Of the 18 leaves 15 are numbered in accordance with these numerals; from leaf No. 16 another form of marking is adopted, namely that of giving the names of the 27 *nekats* or asterisms in their order.

MS. appears to be a very old one. The book is written in practically pure Sinhalese words without the use of letters which have been derived from the Sanskrit alphabet. Hard consonants are not used at all.

The MS. begins with the Pali form of adoration to the Buddha.

MS. I. and MS. II. (a) both deal with the construction of Ridivihara and offerings of land for the endowment of the Vihara and give the boundaries of these lands. The account is styled

“ THE NARRATIVE OF THE FOUR BOUNDARIES OF
RIDIVIHARA.”

This narrative appears to have been written for the purpose of reading in public with a view to inducing pious Buddhists to give contributions for repairing and renovating the old Vihara. The last few lines of the narrative show this: “Therefore good men who are wise, when King Dutugemunu has done so much for this one Vihara and in addition to this Vihara (he) completed 99 Viharas, 24 large Dagobas and numberless shrines with images and small Dagobas and (planted) Bodhi trees and for completing these works those who are able to wisely discern things will note the extent to which he spent and also after seeing with eyes of wisdom that all this was done for the future and after listening to this narrative, protect and improve the land that was offered for the Buddha and in his name so that the King’s edict may not be disregarded and get the Vihara which is in a state of disrepair renovated and by offering the produce of the land as a noble duty and by making the customary

offerings and worship to the Buddha. Let all in their future states become free from the sorrows of evil places, obtain happiness in the human form and Deva (heavenly) forms and endeavour to see the future Buddha and attain to Nirvana. The MSS. describe the foundation of Ridivihara, giving the incident of the discovery of silver in a cave in the township of Emtota Pali, Ambatthakola near Deduruoya, at the time King Dutugemunu was about to build Ruwanweli Saya in Anuradhapura; the building of the Vihara at the cave by order of the King; the King's state visit to the place and the granting of lands for the endowment of the temple of which the boundaries are described in detail.

The King learning of the discovery of silver at Emtota Danáúwa sent a minister Senapati with the chief artisan Visvakarma Patira and three hundred stone masons, and seven hundred artisans with three loads *Bara* (௨௪) gold for expenses and ordered him to collect the silver at the caves and construct a suitable Vihara on the spot. The minister started the work on the full moon day of *Durutu* (January) and completed it in three months and sixteen days and informed the King. The King was so pleased that he expressed the wish to visit the temple in person and take part in its dedication. The minister made necessary preparations for receiving the King and erected on the banks of Deduruoya a temporary royal city and decorated it suitably. The King visited the place in state and was highly pleased with the work done by the minister, and further desired to make a permanent offering to the Vihara by endowing it with land.

He commanded that messengers should be sent in the eight directions and made to take their places at suitable distances. And he ordered those who were gathered within the premises of the Vihara to follow him and give a cry of joy *Sādhu* සාදු. The messengers who had been sent out in the eight directions were called back and the eight boundaries were marked at the spots where the

further ones heard the cry. Inscribed stones were planted in each place. The boundaries were Welimaluwa on the East, Muratuagama on the West, the camp where the vehicles were stopped on the North, bathing place on the South. The distance to each of these points it was found out was half a *gavua*.

The following are the marks that were engraved at each place. On the East at Welimaluwa (sandy patch) on a stone near the pond were engraved letters. On the *agni* (South-East) near the sluice of the tank a stone with engraved letters was planted. On the South at Tavalagama letters were engraved on a rock. On the *nirita* (South-west) at Ratisgama on a stone was engraved the figure of a crow. On the West at Lankesgama a stone pillar with engraved letters was planted. In the North-west near the bathing place a stone engraved with seven letters was planted. On the North where the chariot was stopped a stone pillar was erected. On the North-East at Liniavehera near the ridge of the hill the figure of a crow was engraved on a stone.

The King further made inquiries from the Rahat Elder Theras (saintly Buddhist monks) as to the length Buddhism will be maintained in the world. They informed the King that the *Sāsana* was once restored in the year 218 after the Buddha by the great King Dharmasoka. "Your Majesty has now restored it in the year 381 after Buddha by defeating the Tamils under Elāla who were destroying the country and the religion. It will remain for another 4621 years." The King then answered that when the kings of the four dynasties who are believers reign in the world true religion will be promoted by them, but when a country comes under the rule of a non-believing king, he will dispense justice and rule in accordance with the laws of the world, but he cannot be expected to maintain the "Law of the Buddha." Therefore it was ordered that further boundary stones should be planted. These were placed so as to make the land offered to the Vihare take the form of a semi-circle with Deduruoya as the base. The King

further ordered that the figures of fishes and four-footed animals should be engraved on pillars placed on East, South, North and West. On the Eastern pillar the figure of an eel was engraved. On the South was engraved the figure of a jackal, on the West the figure of a dog, and on the North the figure of a crow. Such marks and figures would, it was declared, bring to the notice of any one who through avarice is inclined to dispossess the land that he will when he dies be born again and again as a low animal through such remissness and suffer for long periods.

Further the King ordered that a stone inscription should be set up in the middle of the field describing the donation made by him and a suitable warning that the gift should not be taken away or misappropriated by any one at any time and should continue to be for the sole benefit of Ridivihara. He, the King, also gave three loads of gold *Bara* ၁၄ with orders to construct suitable tank and wells and clear the land and bring it under cultivation so that it may become a source of income to the temple. The ceremonies were continued for six days and the workmen were paid their wages: On the seventh day the ceremony of painting the eyes of the image of the Buddha was complete and the King entered the temple and made his adorations recalling to himself the Buddha during his life-time. After the adorations he made an offering of his crown and his jewellery that he was wearing at the time and all the ministers and attendants followed him by making an offering of jewellery and gold they were wearing. All these valuable offerings, it was declared, were to be used on future occasions when it became necessary to repair and renovate the buildings and they were buried in suitable places and marks were set up so that they could be taken up whenever required for the purpose for which they were intended. Some of the ministers and the workmen remained and in six months' time completed four large tanks and twenty-eight small tanks and opened up the land for cultivation

and the King was highly pleased with the manner in which the work had been completed. In addition to the wages of the men employed in the work they were given suitable presents by the King as a mark of his appreciation.

MSS. III. and IV. are named Ridivihara Asna, account of Ridivihara. The narrative supplements to some extent the account given in MSS. I. and II. (a).

The narrative introduces the subject by giving the account of King Dutugemunu's construction of Ruanwelisáya similar to the account in the *Thūpawaṇsa*—beginning with the prophesy of Mahinda Thera as regards the work that King Dutugemunu will undertake 140 years after Devanampiyatissa and gives the manner in which various articles required for the construction of the Thupa were found and the discovery of silver by an enterprising trader while he was travelling with his carts to the hill country for obtaining ginger, turmeric and other goods. At his halting place at Emtota near Deduruoya he found a ripe jak fruit on a tree on the side of the cave, the branch on which the fruit was borne was bent towards the cave. The silver was discovered in the cave and the trader hurriedly returned with a piece of silver and informed the King.

The King's order for the removal of the silver and the construction of a Vihara at the cave is given in similar terms as MSS. 1 and 2. MSS. 3 and 4 however give in detail state visit of the King to the new Vihara. The King was accompanied by five-hundred Bhikkus, one thousand five-hundred Brahmins well versed in the Vedas, four thousand officers and five royal princes including Prince Sāli who were well versed in the 64 arts and sciences (a list of these is given in the books). Others in attendance were 1,000 women carrying fans, three hundred and fifty carrying cymbals, 1,500 acrobats and dancers, 2,000 elephants including the two Royal elephants, 20,000 cavalry and the infantry consisting of 13 divisions of Sinhalese and a foreign army consisting of men from 34 countries—

This list of the composition of the army is followed by an interesting list of kinds of clothing worn by them containing 124 names.

Then follows a list of 50 kinds of weapons.

In mentioning crowns the following four varieties are mentioned. *Siddha* (celestial), *Sin̄ha* (lion), *Vyāgra* (leopard), *kadga* (sword).

The king was accompanied by the queens and their attendants.

All the various kinds of drums and pipes and other musical instruments used in the procession are named.

The King remained seven days at the Vihara. He constructed shrines at each place of stoppage on the way which included Sanganu Vihara, Devagiri Vihara, Walagamba Vihara. The concluding portion of the work gives an account of all the good work done by the King for the benefit of his subjects. This account is similar to that given in the Mahavansa, Chapter 32, and in the Thupavansa. These MSS. are an interesting study. They are evidence of the existence of a very large number of written histories of ancient Viharas, cities, town and public endowments. It is evident that the account of Ridivihara given in the MSS. has been compiled in very early times. One MS. No. 4 bears this out as the style and orthography pertains to a very early period. MS. No. 3 which is practically similar in its account to No. 4, uses the later form of Sinhalese with hard consonants and Sanskrit orthography. It is an adaptation of No. 3 written out at a later date. The form of characters used in the MSS. are also significant, each one indicates the time it had been copied. Another interesting feature is the numbering of the ola leaves. In the oldest MS. No. 4 the leaves are numbered in the Sinhalese form of numbers, and also by a form of numbering by the use of the names of the 27 nekats, asterisms Asvida, Berana, Keti.

MS. 3 is numbered in the usual way with the letters of the alphabet.

MS. 2 is numbered with letters of the Tamil alphabet.

MS. 1, in the usual method of letters of the Sinhalese alphabet.

The accounts in the MSS. give some interesting data in the measuring of distances. There is as is well known some confusion as regards the measure of distance given in different Sinhalese books. The distances are given in gauvas and 4 gauvas are a yojana. The measurement of $\frac{1}{2}$ a'gavu is given as the distance at which the shout of men were heard. The average distances of a yojana calculated in accordance with actual distances of places given in various books is 7 to 8 miles ("Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon"—Rhys Davids). A gavu there is $\frac{7}{4}$, *i.e.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, and half a gavu $\frac{7}{8}$ of a mile. Dipavansa gives the length of the Island of Lanka as 32 yojana, breadth 18 yojana, and in circuit 100 yojana. The word gavu is derived from the distance at which the bellowing of a cow is heard. Yojana, it appears, is nothing more than a stage—King Dutugemunu's march to Ridivihara was done in 8 days. Where the country is difficult the distance of a yojana will be shorter than when travelling is easy. Speaking of travelling the account of the trader who discovered silver at the caves of Emtota (Ridivihara) shows a trade route to the hill district (Malaya country) from Anuradhapura by way of Ridivihara. It is also worth mentioning that the trader was bound to the hill country in order to obtain such goods as ginger and turmeric. Evidently these products grew well in the wet zone.

The books also show that workmen and artisans were well organised and each group of artisans had their foremen and that all workmen were paid regular wages for whatever work they did. The builders of the temple were paid from three Bara—loads of gold—sent to them. A Bara—4,000 gold pieces of 100 Masaka weight of the seed of Madatiya Adanathera, Pavonia, about an ounce in weight (80 kalanda equal 1 lb.), and subsequently for

the construction of tanks and the opening of land another 3 Bara of gold were spent.

In the opening of forest land for cultivation tanks were built on the spot, in the $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile radius which formed the endowment to the Ridivihara. The land was made fit to be brought under cultivation by the construction of 4 tanks and 24 smaller tanks. This gives an idea as to the system of irrigation practised at the time.

The large irrigation reservoirs now found were reserve supplies of water and irrigation was promoted by the construction of small tanks. There are also passages which indicate the tenure of land at this early period. The King wanted to buy the land for the endowment of the temple. The lands belonged to the people. The defining of boundaries and the placing of boundary stones in partitioning out a land had been done in a very elaborate manner. Eight boundaries were marked and defined at eight points of the compass. Other boundary marks were placed between these so that there may be no mistake as to the boundary line. Next engraved stones were placed at the four cardinal points to show that the land was a religious offering and as a warning to the impious against the violation of the gift; in each of these the figures of an eel, a crow, a jackal, and a dog were engraved indicating that those who would dispossess the Vihara and the land will be born as one of the despised of the animal kingdom.

In addition a further stone was planted somewhere within the land giving an account of the donation.

This one land had one set of boundary marks, another of guiding marks, a third of warning marks and a fourth an inscription recording its donation.

The King's state procession is described in detail. The names of numerous officials employed in the court and in the administration of the country are given. There were two armies, the national army and the foreign army, and among those who composed the latter

are given the names of countries from which men were recruited.

The list of various kinds of arms carried and of wearing apparel, jewellery, music, etc., is a very large and comprehensive one. There is mention in the narrative, that the King was accompanied by five of his sons including prince Sāli, his eldest son. Mahawansa and other works make mention of prince Sāli only.

Finally there is mention of the five principal estates that formed the Government at that period, viz. :—

The King, the Viceroys, Hereditary Chiefs, elected Chiefs and the Chiefs of the Army. Each of these had their duties clearly defined and the Government was not complete unless these five institutions were in function.

Mr. Collins explained how the manuscripts came to be in the possession of the present owner. Some time ago Dr. Nell found in some catalogues published by London booksellers that Mrs. Parker was selling a collection of books which had been got together by Mr. Parker, a great antiquarian and research scholar in Ceylon. Amongst the books in the catalogue were these manuscripts. Dr. Nell thought it would be desirable that the books should be brought back to this country. The manuscripts undoubtedly came from Ridivihara, and were purchased by Mr. Parker who took them to England when he left Ceylon. The matter was brought to the notice of Government and steps were taken to bring the manuscripts back. Dr. Nell himself undertook to interest some public spirited gentlemen to guarantee the necessary outlay. The Government instructed the Crown Agents to make the purchase, and it might be mentioned that Mrs. Parker gave every facility for the return of the manuscripts to Ceylon. It was fortunate that they were saved for this country as they might have been sold abroad. Now that they have been brought to Ceylon it would be useless if they were simply restored to the temple and remained unused in the shelves of its library. Mr. de Silva had worked hard at the manuscripts; in fact, his holiday in Nuwara Eliya was partly spent on it—for which the Society was very grateful to him. With regard to the suggestion of Dr. Hewavitarna to print translations of the manuscripts for publication, it was all a question of money. If the Society had the money they could straightaway put the work in hand. The manuscripts for the future at any rate would be public property. They were extremely interesting. They might return them to the temple and have copies in the Library or send the copies to the temple retaining the originals with the Society.

His Excellency said that the thanks of the Society were due to Mr. de Silva for his very interesting paper. He had given them, an insight into the procedure adopted when those old Viharas and temples were established. He agreed with Dr. Hewavitarna and Dr. Paul that it would be very desirable if more translations of these ancient *olas* could be obtained, particularly since Dr. Hewavitarna has stated that there were still

in the Deduru Oya District some of the descendants of those who were the original grantees of land. Dr. Nell also deserved great praise for having rescued the manuscripts. (Cheers). They evidently contained a great deal of very interesting history—history which must be correct, supported as it was further by comparison with the Mahawansa. He hoped that it might be possible, as Mr. Collins said, to get further *olas* and somebody like Mr. de Silva discourse upon them. He had thoroughly enjoyed the evening and he was sure others present also had. The thanks of the Society were due to Mr. de Silva for this excellent paper. (Cheers).

Dr. A. Nell in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer said: that he had spent much time in search of a Sinhalese work on irrigation called "Jalanandana." Mr. Parker in his book "Ancient Ceylon" went into so thoroughly and in such detail the ancient system of irrigation that it seemed as though he had some special source of information. He tried to obtain the manuscript and had told the London book-sellers to let him know when the manuscript came in the market. All the 42 items in the catalogue were known in Ceylon, in the Museum Library, the Kandy Oriental Library and in the Maligakanda Library. The seven manuscripts just restored were not in Ceylon. He hoped that the work in Sinhalese on Irrigation could be secured and Mr. de Silva induced to translate it for the Society.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 17, 1923.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President,
in the Chair.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna.

„ A. Nell.

Prof. Robert Marrs.

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.,

„ Lionel de Fonseka.

Hony. Secretaries.

Business:

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 25th April, 1923, were read and confirmed.
2. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and seconded, were elected members of the Society:—
 - (a) Sangarapillai Pararajasingham,
 - (b) Albert E. Jayasinha,
 - (c) Arthur Donald de Fonseka,
 - (d) Percy Herbert Kuruppu Goonetilleke,
 - (e) Cecil Ernest Goonaratna,
 - (f) Lionel de Silva,
 - (g) Hon. Sir H. C. Gollan, K.C., C.B.E.,
 - (h) Joseph Lionel Christie Rodrigo,
 - (i) Don Stephen Senanayaka,
 - (j) Ratnasabapathy Sri Pathmanathan,
 - (k) K. Vaithianathan,
 - (l) Francis Benjamin de Mel,
 - (m) Rupert Wijesundara Jayasingha,
 - (n) Simon O. Sirimana,
 - (o) K. Kumaraswami,
3. A list of members elected by circular since last Council Meeting was laid on the table:
 - (a) C. E. A. Dias,
 - (b) Louis Lucien Hunter,
 - (c) Louis Siedle (jr.),
 - (d) Jaganathan Tyagaraja,
 - (e) Charles Pieris,
 - (f) Tampipillai Karalapillai, Gate Mudaliyar.
4. The Honorary Secretary read correspondence concerning the charges for printing made by the Colombo Apothecaries Co. The Council acquiesced in the action taken by the Honorary Secretary and authorized him to communicate further with the company.
5. A letter from the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., to the Honorary Secretary *re* Centenary Meetings of the Parent Society stating that he and Mr. Codrington had attended certain meetings as the representatives of this Society was read.

GENERAL MEETING

Colombo Museum, October 17, 1923

Present :

Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., Vice-Patron, in the Chair.	
Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.	
Miss N. C. Carter.	Mr. F. Lewis.
Mr. V. E. Charavanamuttu.	„ R. Marrs, M.A.
„ J. E. Gunasekara.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
„ G. E. Harding.	Mr. S. A. Pakeman.
„ D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.	„ S. Pararajasingham.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.	Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana.	Mr. H. Pound.
„ Harry Jayawardana,	„ R. Sagarajasingham.
Mudaliyar.	„ W. Samarasingha,
„ C. H. Jolliffe.	Atapattu Mudaliyar.
„ T. Karalapillai, Gate	„ W. Sathasivam.
Mudaliyar.	
Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.,	} Hon. Secretaries.
„ Lionel de Fonseka.	
Visitors: 7 ladies and 2 gentlemen.	

Business :

1. Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on the 27th June, 1923, were read and confirmed.
 2. Sir P. Arunáchalam moved the following vote of condolence with the members of the family of the late Sir W. E. Davidson:— Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Sir W. E. Davidson be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Society be conveyed to the members of Sir W. E. Davidson's family.
 3. Mr. C. H. Collins moved the following vote of condolence with the members of the family of the late Mr. J. P. Lewis:— Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Mr. J. P. Lewis be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Society be conveyed to the members of Mr. J. P. Lewis' family.
 4. Dr. A. Nell read a paper entitled "The Captivity of Major Davie," by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.
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THE CAPTIVITY OF MAJOR DAVIE

A century has passed since the death, in captivity at Kandy, of Major Davie, the principal survivor of the massacre, in June, 1803, of the British garrison. It will be recollected that with the exception of Davie, who was the commandant, and five others, the whole of the Europeans were massacred. Eleven officers of the 19th and the 51st Foot (both of them Yorkshire regiments), the Malay Regiment and the Bengal Artillery, and twenty men of the 19th Regiment were butchered near the Paranagantota ferry, two miles from the town on the path to Trincomalie, and one hundred and twenty men of the last named corps at the hospital within the palace.* Captain Richard Humphreys of the Bengal Artillery, who escaped from the ferry massacre, and Captain Edward Rumley of the Malay Regiment, who seem to have been spared, died at Kandy within a fortnight. A sub-assistant surgeon of the Malay Regiment, who had eluded the Kandyans at the ferry by hiding in a dry well and had helped Humphreys also to get away from them, managed to make his escape to Colombo in the following September. His name was Greeving and this and the fact that he was a native of Colombo show that he was a Dutchman or of-Dutch descent.†

The two others who escaped were Corporal Barnsley of the 19th Regiment and Sergeant Jan Egbertus Thoen of the Bengal Artillery. Both had marvellous experiences, which they described to officers of the British

* It is not correct as stated in an article entitled "A Forgotten Tragedy" in the "Cornhill Magazine" for October, 1909, by a writer who calls herself "Balkis," which is according to Mohammedan tradition the name of the Queen of Sheba who visited King Solomon, that "of the whole garrison one thousand strong, but one man escaped." Neither is it correct that the number of Europeans massacred at the hospital was so large as 190. Captain De Bussche makes it 150, Dr. Marshall 120.

† From an account of the massacre published in "Illustrated London News" of August, 1850.

Army in narratives which were taken down from their lips, one within thirty-six hours, the other twelve years after the event. Barnsley's narrative is familiar to us as it is printed in books on Ceylon that are easily accessible.*

It was from the Watapuluwa massacre that Barnsley made his escape. Thoen's experience at the hospital was even more thrilling.† As the book in which Thoen's "Narrative" is published is difficult to come across, and as we shall meet with Thoen's name more than once in this account of Davie's captivity, we will describe his adventures. A long hall in the palace had been appropriated to the purposes of a hospital by the British, and Thoen was seated in the middle of this hall when the Kandians entered and began to butcher indiscriminately every one in the room. He tried to reach the door on his crutches but was like Barnsley "felled like a bullock." But fortunately for him as for the corporal this blow was conceived to be sufficient—probably the butchers, with 120 men to kill, were in a hurry—and he was left for dead. When he came to his senses he found him lying in the court outside the hall naked and partially flayed, for he had bandages on, and "they had torn off the handkerchief and blisters, and with them all the skin from my belly." It was then about five or six in the evening, and he crawled away into the back purlieus of the palace, straight into the hands of a dozen Kandians who promptly hanged him to a beam in a gateway of one of the adjoining temples and left him in that case. But his luck did not desert him, the rope broke and when he next recovered his senses, he was lying

* It is published as an Appendix to Captain Anderson's "Wanderer in Ceylon" and there is a summary of it in "A Narrative of Events which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a gentleman on the Sports," London, 1815. The author is supposed to have been William Tolfrey of the Civil Service.

† Thoen as we shall see, who was not the only Dutchman at Kandy at this period, is referred to as "the Dutchman who had been taken in the war, who made gun-powder and married a Moor woman," also as "the Artillery soldier Jan."

on the ground under the beam: it was quite dark and he was alone. He crawled away to a deserted house, a quarter of a mile off, and here he remained for seven or eight days and never saw a soul. It was the height of the south-west monsoon and it rained day and night. During this period all that this Dutchman, who had been for two months in hospital suffering from fever and beri-beri and who was so weak that he could only walk on crutches, who had been in addition knocked on the head, partially flayed and finally strung up by the neck, had to eat, was some high grass that grew close to the hut, to which he crawled out and ate, and for drink he had "the dirty water that fell on the ground." He was besides quite naked. Yet the wound in his head gradually healed and in 15 or 16 days he had quite recovered. He himself attributes his recovery to constant bathing, for which he had every facility, as he was naked and it never stopped raining. But he certainly seems to have been liberally endowed with the tenacity and stolidity of his race.

At the end of the eight days he was found by a Kandyan who treated him well, for he supplied him with curry and rice "sufficient for four men," the whole of which Thoen ate up at once. He then slept the rest of the day and till next morning. Two Caffres came for him and shut him up in a prison. Eventually he was taken before the King who was so much impressed by his wonderful escapes that he expressed the opinion that, after all he had suffered, no one but God would kill him, and promised that no one should ever do him any harm. He had already come across another European at Kandy, an Englishman named Benson who had deserted from the Bengal Artillery at the time of the expedition sent from Kandy against the King at his palace of Hanguranketa, some seventeen miles distant from the capital, eleven days before the final catastrophe. This renegade was still wearing the uniform of his old corps, with the addition, quite in keeping with the tastes of deserters, mutineers and buccaneers at all times, of a gold chain

round his neck, and, slung under his arm-pit, Kandyan fashion, a silver-hilted sword of the Sinhalese pattern—the hilt a grotesque lion's-head and the blade about eighteen inches long. These were presents from his new master, the King. Benson spoke to him, and after that, says Thoen, he used to follow Benson "like a dog," but he did not get much benefit from this, for Benson gave him "neither victuals nor anything else, and when I asked him for a little tobacco, he said he had none." They however shared some salt beef and arrack "left behind by the English," which the King gave them. Benson coward and swaggerer as he was, had never even learnt the details of his profession. "He used sometimes to drill the natives a little.....but did not know much about the matter." He seemed in great favour with the King, and was "a good deal with the great people." The end of him was that he accompanied the King in an unsuccessful raid against the British at Hanwella, eighteen miles from Colombo, in the following September, and was so severely wounded by a retributive British bullet that he died in six weeks in great pain, and was buried by Thoen with his own hands.

A few days before his death he had told Thoen that there was no subsistence for Europeans in Kandy, and that he should inform the natives that Thoen could make gunpowder, and in consequence of this Thoen was set to this work on pain of death. Benson had left them a book containing how to make it and the Kandyans supplied him with arrack, sulphur, charcoal and salt for the purpose, but Thoen gave away the arrack to the Bengal lascars and camp-followers of the British garrison that were left in Kandy and had been ordered to assist him in the work, and substituted lime water for it. The result was that the powder that he produced was useless, "just like so much flour," which made the Kandyans so angry that they put a stop to his making of gunpowder, as they "could make better themselves." The King made Thoen an allowance of about nine shillings a month paid with oriental irregularity, and he was given a piece of

ground on which he built a hut, and here he lived for the rest of his time in Kandy. After four years' captivity, he married a Mohammedan girl, himself becoming a Mohammedan for the purpose, as she refused to marry him unless he did. But he says "I never learnt any of their prayers, nor even saw their churches; it was only for the name of it and to get some one to take care of me. I always prayed to God, night and day, in the Christian religion." And just as Robert Knox, his predecessor in captivity of a century and a half before, happened on an English Bible and looked upon the find as a special manifestation of God, "of the same nature with the Ten Commandments he had given out of Heaven," so Thoen found the greatest consolation in a few chapters of Jeremiah, all that was left to him out of a torn Bible which had belonged to an English soldier, and on all occasions when in trouble he resorted for comfort to the perusal of these fragmentary denunciations or "Lamentations" of the Hebrew prophet's.

When the British troops occupied Kandy in 1815, "a European of meagre and sallow appearance, in the dress of a Kandyman, with a long matted beard," presented himself before the staff. This was Thoen. He was given a subordinate post in the Ordnance Store Department at Galle, where he and his wife spent the rest of their days. A book was to be written of his adventures, but Thoen "never could speak the English language correctly," and besides, was no Robert Knox, and the book was never written.

His more important fellow captive, Major Davie, was less fortunate, for he was destined never again to hear that language spoken, or to set eyes on an Englishman. His name is still known among the Kandyans, though his own countrymen, not without reason, have been content to let it rest in oblivion except for the designation, "Davie's road," given to the path by which the fatal ferry is approached from Kandy. The tree which stood on the summit of a small hill, overlooking the ferry and the "Great Sand River" with its waters,

now shallow, translucent and placed, now deep, turgid and muddy, but ever gliding away on their hundred-mile course towards Trincomalie—the tree under whose wide-spreading branches Davie and his officers passed their last night together before the dawn of that gruesome Sunday, the 28th of June—existed and flourished down to 1903, or for exactly a century after the massacre, and then to all appearances died away with only a great gaunt trunk and withered arms, rapidly rotting, remaining. It was known to the villagers as “Davie’s tree.” The site has recently been marked, and the name perpetuated by the erection of an inscribed stone reminding the visitor of the tragedy with which the tree was connected.* Curiously enough no sooner had this tribute to the memory and misfortunes of the brave but hapless garrison been rendered, than it was discovered that the old tree a *bo* or peepul, the sacred tree of Buddhism, had, as is the habit of this species—witness the celebrated *bo* tree of Anuradhapura which is exactly twenty-one centuries old—thrown out a new and vigorous shoot which was growing up in the midst of the decaying stump, so that the name, even without the help of the more enduring record, is likely to be handed on to future generations of Kandyans.

Adam Davie—history has not been kind to this conjunction of names for the only other Adam Davie known to history was “a fanatical rhymer” of the fourteenth century—was an Edinburgh man. He was the son of John Davie, well known in that city by the cognomen of “Sooty Davie,” from the circumstance that he owned a manufactory there for making sal ammoniac from coal soot. He received a commission in the 75th Regiment, obtained his company in 1793 and joined his regiment in the Madras Presidency. On April 25th, 1801, he was gazetted major in the Malay Regiment, which had just been raised in the Island. He became commandant of

* See Appendix A.

Fort Ostenburg, Trincomalie, on October 19th, 1802, and of the garrison of Kandy, whither he had proceeded with his regiment, on May 8th, 1803, when Lieut-Colonel Barbut left to join the Governor and General Hay Macdowal at Dambadeniya. A letter from Davie dated June 17, just a week before the debacle, shows that he accepted the position very unwillingly and with many misgivings. He does not seem to have shone "in the unexalted routine of regimental duty" any more than he did on active service. While in India he on one occasion obtained leave from the commander of the forces, without reference to his colonel, with the result that that officer had him arrested at one of the ports on the Bombay coast at which his vessel happened to touch. He was tried on a charge of "absconding" but acquitted. At Colombo he was acting commanding officer in 1801-2, and was therefore responsible for the discipline of the corps, when an incident occurred which shows that he was hardly an exponent of that fundamental element of a soldier's training. On May 8th, 1802, exactly a twelve month before Davie became commandant at Kandy, an ensign of the Malay Regiment was tried by Court-martial for having challenged a captain of his corps to fight a duel, and on other charges arising out of an altercation between them. The proceedings of the court martial disclosed "an extraordinary lack of discipline" in the regiment, and General Macdowal, when confirming the findings of the court, gave the officers a severe lecture on these symptoms of insubordination and want of discipline.

Davie is described by those who knew him as "well disposed, inoffensive man without any practical experience of hostile military operations. He had never seen any active service in India or elsewhere. Judging from his conduct in captivity, when, for the most trivial reason, he made no attempt to carry out any suggestions as to his escape, he was of an undecided character, without any element of heroism about him. Captain De Bussche, who took part in the expedition to

Kandy in 1815, says "I should almost think that he had become reconciled to his fate, as after the most minute inquiry I cannot find that he ever made any serious attempt to regain his liberty, the effecting of which, difficult as it might be, was certainly not impracticable."

Different writers have taken different views of his conduct in the surrender of the garrison.* Dr. Marshall endeavours to defend him against William Knighton who in his "History of Ceylon," accuses him of misconduct. Marshall remarks that Major Beaver in his account of the Kandyan war (this, with the exception of extracts in gazettes, has not been published) and the Rev. James Cordiner "are both very cautious in attributing misconduct to Major Davie." But even Dr. Marshall, who was evidently one of those men who like to take the unpopular side, damns him with faint praise. In captivity all that he appears to have cared for was his creature comforts and such small luxuries as tea, sugar candy and chickens to eat.

It is interesting to learn from the diary of Mrs. Heber, wife of the Bishop, that Sir Edward Barnes, whose opinion on such a matter should carry weight, considered Davie's action in evacuating the town "improper and unnecessary." (Journal, Vol. II., p. 166). He rode out with her to the scene of the massacre, after Church on Sunday, the 18th September, 1825. At that time, only 22 years after the event, tradition was naturally more full and definite than it is now. "A large flat stone, elevated on lesser ones, was shown me as the place where the King beheld the massacre; and a tree on the spot where the negotiation was held still bears the name of 'Major Davie's (sic) tree.'"

At the present day, it seems doubtful where exactly the massacre took place, but from Corporal Barnsley's account of it and of his escape, it cannot have been far

* I doubt whether it is correct, as stated in the "Cornhill" article that Davie's officers held the same view as himself as to the expediency of offering no resistance. I have heard a tradition to the contrary.

from the river. The troops were encamped on or near the bank of the river, they began, by Davie's orders, the return march to Kandy, and had "proceeded 200 yards on their way thither" when they were stopped by the Kandyans, and after half an hour, led forth two by two and butchered. But Sir Archibald Lawrie says: "The place where the Englishmen were killed is called Wagolla, it is near a large bo-tree, in a lane leading to the river. The railway line to Matale is carried close by. On the rising ground above the river Mahaweli-ganga stands a tree still known as Davie's tree. It overlooks the ferry which the troops in vain tried to cross. It was not at this tree but near the bo-tree nearer Kandy that our men were killed." ("Gazetteer of the Central Province," Vol. II., p. 565). It would be worth while endeavouring to identify this stone platform if it still exists. This writer regrets that he had not seen this reference to it in Mrs. Heber's Journal before he left Kandy. The officers, it should be noted, met their death whether at their own hands or at those of the Kandyans, at some distance off, possibly nearer Kandy and at the bo-tree at Wagolla. Shots were heard by the men while they were halted after the officers had been carried away.

Our information about Davie has recently been supplemented by the discovery of the official diary (unfortunately in a very incomplete and imperfect condition) of Mr. John D'Oyly, who was Collector of Colombo from 1806 to 1815, and combined with that office that of Chief Interpreter to the Ceylon Government, a position which he owed to the fact that he was a notable Sinhalese scholar. He accompanied the British army to Kandy in 1815, acting as guide and interpreter, and on the conquest of the Kandyan provinces, remained at Kandy as its first "Resident," and in 1820 was made a baronet for his services during the expedition.

It is with his diary, beginning in 1810, that we are concerned. D'Oyly had various agents at Kandy and was in communication with Davie by means of

messengers of all sorts. These agents and spies comprised Buddhist priests, chiefs and minor headmen, Kandyan and low-country Sinhalese as well as Dutchmen and "Moors" or "Moormen."

The diary from 1806 to September, 1810, is unfortunately, not forthcoming,* and there is a gap from February 3rd to November 12th, 1811, as that portion of the diary is also missing. The first reference to Davie in what remains is dated September 10th, 1810, and the last February 21st, 1813.

When we first hear of Davie he was so much in favour with the King that he had even been given an office of some importance for he had been appointed "Madige Disawa," or chief of the bullock carriage department, the members of which were chiefly "Moors," with some Sinhalese of fisher caste, who must have been from the low-country or coast. Their chief business was to trade for the King in the royal monopolies, arrack, arekanut, salt, etc. They also transported the royal

* The lost portion must also have contained entries referring to Davie for in an interview with one of D'Oyly's messengers, Pilime Talawwa remarks "How many presents and how many letters had been sent to Kandy within the last four years and what advantages had been derived from it. If the Disawa were wise he would not send any more letters.....Tell him not to send any more letters till I come to Kandy." The Adigar was then residing at a village in the seven Korales. By "the Disawa" is meant D'Oyly who was usually styled by the Kandians "the Disawa of Colombo" as the head of the Western Province. The title of "Disawa" was borne not merely by the chiefs of the largest divisions or provinces of the Kandyan kingdom but also by some of the Dutch officers, e.g. the "Disawa" of Colombo, the Disawa of Matara, the Disawa of Jaffanapatam. The last 4 years is exactly the period during which D'Oyly had been Collector of Colombo, and it may well be that communication with Davie and definite information about him had only been obtained with D'Oyly's advent to Colombo in 1806. The authorities at Colombo must have thought him dead or at least as good as dead, in May of that year, when steps were taken to administer his estate, the value of which was returned at 5,200 rix-dollars, (about 3,900 rupees). The administration was resumed in 1813, when he was really dead.

grain. There were two of these Madige departments each attached to one of the storehouses which were called the Maha Gabadawa or "Great Storehouse," and the Uda Gabadawa or "Upper Storehouse." The chief at the head of the former, who had special charge of Davie afterwards, was called the Maha Gabada Nilame, and his brother known as "Puswelle Disawa," was one of the chief headmen in frequent communication with D'Oyly.

Davie had been given place of residence in the Palle Wahala or "Lower Palace," which was the name given to that part of the palace not reserved to the King, the establishment of the queens and princes. "Wahala" means "gate," the "Maha Wahala" meant originally the main entrance to the palace, and secondarily the palace itself, and from this signification it came to be applied to the King himself, who was looked upon as so august that he could not be spoken of in plain terms but by a circumlocution, he was "the Supreme Great Gate," "the Great Gate Supreme," and it was by this title fit for a comic opera, that he is mentioned, both by D'Oyly and the officials from the court of Kandy in interviews which took place between them.

The punctiliousness, the gravity, and the bombastic language characteristic of these interviews—which never had any practical result—are indeed suggestive of W. S. Gilbert and the Savoy. For instance, on February 18th, 1812, we find it recorded in the diary that two Kandyan headmen arrived at the office of the Collector or as the Kandyans called him the "Disawa," of Colombo, with a letter from the First Adigar of the King. The envoys appeared before D'Oyly with the usual Kandyan ceremonial walking in a procession with their attendants, namely an "Arachchi" or Sergeant bearing a lance, two men on each side with large fans fanning the envoys at intervals, two men behind the envoys holding

large round talipot leaves as umbrellas over them, a "Liyana Duraya" or clerk, and then eleven lascoreens and coolies. One of the envoys bore the letter, which was written on an ola or palm leaf, uplifted in his right hand as high as his head. The envoys bow and the ola, held in both hands, is presented to the Collector. The following dialogue then ensues:—

"When you left Kandy how was the health of the Supreme Great Gate?"

"When we left Kandy the Supreme Great Gate was in good health without any affliction."

"I am much gratified to hear it. How is the health of the Principal Chiefs in the Circle of Ministers of the Great Gate Supreme?"

"When we left Kandyan territory they were all in good health."

"Who delivered to you this ola which you have brought?"

"Pallegampaha Maha Adhikaram Mantriawarayanwahanse delivered it to us to be presented to the Great Disawa of Colombo."

"How was the health of Pallegampaha Maha Adhikaram, etc," when you left Batagedera?"

"He was in good health without any indisposition."

"I am much rejoiced to hear it. If you were instructed to deliver any verbal message you are at liberty to communicate it."

"There will be a verbal message."

"Then you are at liberty to state it."

"We are instructed to inquire after the health of His Excellency the Governor."

"H. E. the Governor is at present in proper health. Have you any other message?"

"We are instructed to inquire after the health of the Great Disawa of Colombo."

"I am in good health, I am much gratified that he has made this inquiry. Have you any other message?"

“We are instructed to inquire after the health of the Maha Mudaliyar.”

“Have you any other message?”

“No. At present we have no other message.”

“It is well. You may go to the place of your residence and remain there till you receive a message. If anything should be wanting you will make it known to the Muhandiram. Having perused this ola, I will call you hither again. You may take your leave.”

They make obeisance and retire. Besides the four Lascoreens who bear the talipots and fans, another Lascoreen carries a copper kettle filled with water and still another a coarse cloth with blue stripes. The use of this last article is to be spread on stone or tree trunk for the envoys to sit on whenever they want to rest themselves during their travels. And it will be noted that these are all the “impedimenta” required by Kandyans of importance in a journey of seventy miles or more “over hill, over dale, through bush, through brier”—positively cool climate at from about 2,000 feet elevation to a grillingly hot one at sea level.

To return to Major Davie. He seems at one time to have been living at the house of the Maha Gabada Nilame at a place called Migon Arambe, “the arekanut palm grove of the buffaloes” which was close to the Malwatta, or “Flower Garden,” monastery, which is still the principal Buddhist establishment in Kandy, situated on the opposite side of the lake to the palace. The King was just then having the lake constructed by forced labour—much to his subjects’ distaste. The quarters which Davie was assigned in the Lower Palace had been the residence of the late “Asthana Dewiyo,” who was a brother of two of the King’s predecessors on the Kandyan throne and were now occupied by Muttal Sami, the King’s cousin. They were in “Kumaruppe Street,” now called

“Malabar Street,” where in the time of the last Kings, their relatives, the Malabar princes, lived, and which the Sinhalese were forbidden to approach, “where none but Malabars, not even priests, can go.” All the best houses were situated in this street, though that, it is true, is not saying much, for nearly all the houses in the town were built of mud and thatched, a few only, belonging to the headmen, were tiled and whitewashed. Davie’s house appears to have been under the *bo* tree which is still to be seen in the grounds of the Military Hospital, overlooking the placid waters of the lake.

But Davie soon got into trouble owing to some letters of his that were seized in transit, and in consequence an order was made that he should be beheaded, but he was spared through the intercession of the Maha Gabada Nilame and of Kobbekaduwe, the priest of the Poya Maluwa temple next to the Malwatta monastery, who had been tutor to the last King and had taught him Sinhalese, and, it was said, the priest knew English, and was one of D’Oyly’s correspondents. Such at least was the information received by D’Oyly from his spies. Davie had been for eight days in Kandy, at the house of the Maha Gabada Nilame at Migon Arambe, and had then been sent back to the Dumbara district north of Kandy, to a village two leagues from the town—no doubt Hurikaduwa which was a Madige village, *i.e.*, a village attached to the Madige department. Here he remained for some time, attending, as Thoen had to do, to the making of gunpowder, and also to “various carpenter’s works,” and here he was seen about the end of November, 1810, by one of D’Oyly’s emissaries who took a letter to him concealed in a quill.

He describes him as sitting on a “messa,” a hurdle-like platform constructed of sticks, used in Kandyan houses for sitting or sleeping or keeping pots on. It

was covered with straw and a mat but had no cloth on it. He was wearing an old jacket in good condition and white pantaloons which were torn. He had a long beard and seemed to be "ill provided with victuals" since the chiefs had left Kandy. It should be explained that the King had recently sent the Disawas to their districts ostensibly to catch elephants, but really, it was suspected, to prepare for incursions into British territory. D'Oyly, on January 25th, 1811, ascertained this from one of his agents, a Buddhist priest who at first told him that it was for the purpose of catching elephants. "Was there no other cause?" asked the astute Collector, to which the priest, who seems to have had some sense of humour, mouth duly hidden behind fan, and with the Kandyan equivalent of a wink in his eye, replied: "Publicly I know of no other cause, but secretly I can tell a little. It was because there was intelligence of War proceeding in the Sea, and that the French and Dutch were coming. But now there is no talk of that nature." Probably the chiefs resident in Kandy had orders from the King to supply in turn the captive with provisions in order to save the Gabadawa. Consequently when they were away he fared badly. Thoen says that he used to buy things for him in the bazaar and send them to him and we shall later see that Davie got into debt to traders.

Davie read the letter and inquired how many days ago the messenger had received it. When asked whether he would go with the messenger and attempt to get away he replied that he could not for want of sandals, and he desired that a pair might be sent to him. He added that for want of ink he could not write an answer and requested that ink in a phial or ink-powder might be sent to him. The messenger returned to Kandy but visited Davie again thirty days later, when he again asked him to bring ink and paper, also to tell "the Disawa" (D'Oyly) that he wanted money to buy fowls. During this interval of a whole month it had apparently never occurred to this feckless person to set about devising any

method of writing a reply to D'Oyly without pen and ink. Yet the native method of writing on an ola with a style was easily acquired and Davie must have often seen the Kandyans around him writing in this way. He was certainly not resourceful and compares very unfavourably in this respect with Thoen's wife. Thoen was in constant communication with him through her and used to "make ink with burnt rice" and buy things such as China paper for him in the bazaar and employ Tamils and Kandyans in carrying notes to him. But Davie could not write without ink nor escape without shoes.

Towards the end of December, 1810, Davie was brought into Kandy ill, had been cured in about eight or nine days, and had been sent back into Dumbara as soon as he recovered. This information came from the Gabadawa people. Twelve days later, came another report that he was now quite well and had been supplied with victuals and was wearing English clothes but had no shoes or stockings. The King used to send for him occasionally and then return him to his village in the country.

We must now perforce skip nine or ten months. Davie must also in the meanwhile have been supplied by D'Oyly with ink and paper, for he wrote two letters to D'Oyly from a village called Gomagoda, distant fourteen or sixteen miles from Kandy, one dated "April 6th," and the other "July 1st," 1811, which were not received by him until December 6th and November 13th, respectively. Davie had apparently not despatched the first letter until November, for the messenger stated that he had received it from Davie "30 days ago." Davie had then been living for two months at the Migon Arambe, and had been very sick, but had been supplied by the messenger's brother—so he said—with two bottles of arrack from Negombo, by the use of which he was sufficiently recovered to walk about.

The explanation of Davie's removal to Kandy on this occasion was curious. He had been living at Napana, near Hurikaduwa, and while there had dreamt that the palace would be burnt down, and had sent to inform the

King of his dream. The very next night, as it happened, the "Setapenage" or sleeping apartment in the palace near the audience hall had been burnt, and in consequence the King had sent for Davie and detained him at Kandy. He was in a fair way to becoming the Joseph of this Kandyan Pharaoh.

With this letter Davie sent a draft for 800 Bombay rupees on the Ceylon Government in favour of a trader named "Lala Brahman," who kept a shop for medicines and drugs at Kandy, and to whom Davie was in debt.

In this letter of July 1st, he acknowledges the receipt of 10 pagodas sent to him on September 14th, 1810. The messenger who was a villager from Degaldoruwa reported that he found him lying down, apparently sickly. He read the Collector's letter and immediately tore it up, as if displeased, but "he appeared pleased with the ten pagodas." Possibly D'Oyly was urging him to make an effort to escape. He told the messenger not to come again, but that he would send an answer through the "gammahe" who cooked for him.* The answer, *i.e.* the letter of July, was brought by the "gammahe" about five days later and twenty days before the messenger left for Colombo. The "gammahe" had told him that he had caught a man from Talawinna, another Dumbara village, who had come to get a letter from Davie, had beaten him, and was about to send him into Kandy, but owing to his importunities, had released him, merely taking away his knife. The messenger added that the "gammahe" was in Davie's interest, but would not suffer other people to hold communication with him without his privity. Judging from the character of his custodians, one is inclined to think that it would have been an easy matter for Davie, at this time, if he had wished it, to have made his escape and sure enough, next day, November 14th, there came a Buddhist priest with a plan of his own for effecting his rescue which he said he had long had in contemplation.

* An hereditary village headman. There was a "gammahe" in charge of Davie, living in his house.

But he told a story about him which shows how Davie occupied himself with comparatively trivial things while neglecting the weightier matter of co-operating with D'Oyly and his emissaries in devising a means of escape. The priest had been living for two or three years at the Degaldoruwa rock temple about two miles from Kandy near the Lewella ferry on the way to Davie's village in Dumbara. Davie had been insulted by his Tamil servant, and had started to go into Kandy to complain of him. He had passed the temple and got as far as the ferry, but was prevented from proceeding further and was detained at the temple. But headmen came from Kandy and inquired into the complaint, the servant was punished and others were allotted to him from the Gabadawa.

The priest suggested that this messenger and three or four trustworthy persons should be employed to bring Davie away at night, carrying him in a cloth as he was unable to walk. It should be arranged with the "gammahe" that no intelligence of his escape should reach Kandy or be published in the neighbourhood till they had brought him across the limits of the King's territory, which could be done in three nights. For this purpose wanted 50 star pagodas and 50 porto novo pagodas, which he would repay if unsuccessful.* He was not certain of success but would use his best endeavours. D'Oyly gave him the money when he attended with the messenger two days later, and he gave the messenger a letter for Davie with the following articles: a phial of hartshorn, 1 pound of tea, some salt fish, 2 sheets of paper, 2 quills, some ink-powder, a pencil, 5 gold mohurs and 10 star pagodas.

But nothing came of this priest's efforts. D'Oyly received a letter from him on January 8th, 1812, which was brought by another Buddhist priest with a letter

* The Madras pagoda was the "Star pagoda," which contained 42 "fanam," that of the Dutch Company was the "Porto Novo Pagoda," which was equal to 35 only.

from Davie wrapped in a lump of jaggery (native sugar). A priest of the Asgiriya monastery—the other great Buddhist establishment at Kandy—was the channel of communication with Davie. The letter was to the effect that Davie could be rescued if D'Oyly would now send two good silk cloths (presumably for bribes), with 20 or 30 pagodas and 200 star pagodas. On February 1st, he received another letter from the priest informing him that he had interviewed this Asgiriya priest, who held the position of second "Anunayaka Hamuduruwo," *i.e.*, third in order of rank among the Asgiriya monks, and who said that "he was well able to accomplish the matter if the Disawa would send him a letter of recommendation." The priest himself appeared on March 15th. He had spent the 50 porto novo pagodas in gaining over coolies to convey Davie away, and also the greater part of the 50 star pagodas. His failure seems to have been due in part to Davie's having got into further trouble with the King and to rumours that had got abroad about a scheme for his rescue, which had resulted in a stricter watch being kept over him, as will presently be related. The priest reiterated that he would repay the money if he could not accomplish his object of which he did not altogether despair. All that he wanted now was a pencil and paper, and he could find a means of bringing a letter from the gentleman. D'Oyly gave him a letter and two sheets of paper and here we hear the last of his efforts at rescue.

On December 5th, 1811, D'Oyly despatched "the Malay Muhandiram," a Malay who had been in the service of the King and the functionary who had, in fact, carried out his orders for the massacre of the British troops, but had recently joined Pilima Talawwe, the First Adigar, in his abortive plot against the King and had fled to Colombo to British protection, to make himself acquainted in the most secret manner with the state of the Kandyan country.....with the paths to Dumbura, and to ascertain if possible where the Englishman was residing, also whether there was an opportunity of

accomplishing his rescue. If the country was favourable for the expedition, he was to proceed to Kandy with some Malays now stationed at Batticaloa whom he was to select, and to be careful to pass through the Kandyan country "not as if he was making war." He was not to permit his followers to burn houses or to kill men, plunder property or commit any kind of violence. He was to keep them in ignorance of the exact object of the expedition for the present. The scheme, entrusted to such an agent, proved a failure. Within three months or so the Muhandiram had returned to Batticaloa, having done nothing beyond talking freely of the object of his journey—the very thing he had been cautioned not to do—so that the whole country side knew what he had come for and the King also. It was reported to D'Oyly on January 13th that the letter he had sent off on November 13th could not be delivered on account of the strict guard which was now kept over the captive.

On December 10th, another letter was despatched to him, with some chocolate, biscuits and 5 star pagodas. Two days later came news that the King had gone to his palace at Medamahanuwara in the Dumbara country about sixteen miles north-east of Kandy, and that before his departure "the English Major" had been brought into Kandy and was living at his old quarters near the new guard house at the bottom of Malabar Street. On January 8th, a packet of medicines from Dr. James Anderson, the chief medical officer, was despatched to him, also 10 gold mohurs. The medicines included "two bottles of pills and some cream of tartar," and were accompanied by directions.

On January 10th, 1812, a Moorman brought a letter from him addressed to Thoen, which had been miscarried, one to Governor Maitland* (who had left the Island in March, 1811), one from Davie to his father and one from

* This letter is apparently not among those of Davie's letters which have been preserved, as it is not referred to by "Balkis," who seems to have had access to them.

Thoen to Government asking for 50 pagodas to pay Davie's debts. There was also a draft for 600 rix-dollars on Governor Maitland.* The Moorman stated that he had seen these papers in the possession of Lala the trader five months ago from whom he had received them just before he had left Kandy. He was to cash the draft, which was in the name of a Chetty of Trincomalie who had escaped from Kandy, and to receive payment as Lala was indebted to him.

On January 14th, 1812, the news was that the unfortunate captive was again sick, had nearly lost his eyesight and had a bad swelling in his leg—no doubt the first symptoms of the dropsy from which he died. But on February 13th Puswelle sent a message to D'Oyly that owing to the care and attention and the medicines given him by his brother, the Maha Gabada Nilame, he had recovered. This was no doubt the occasion on which Thoen saw him for the first and last time during the course of their captivity. He says "Major Davy I only saw once, and that was about three years since when he was brought into Kandy very sick, and carried in a cloth by four Kandyans. I was not permitted to go near him, and he was carried up to the King's pleasure house, where he was then sitting." As Thoen dictated his story to the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the British forces in February, 1815, "about three years since" would bring us back just to the date of this illness. But the immediate cause of Davie's being brought into Kandy was the detection, for the second time, of letters of his on their way to Colombo, and we learn from Thoen that the three men who were seized with it were agents of his wife's, and according to him all three of them were put to death, "one of the men who informed against us was put upon the spit (impaled.)" According to the diary the man who was detected with the letters was one of the three servants allotted to Davie from the Gaba-

* The rix-dollar in Ceylon in 1812 was fixed at one shilling and nine pence. It was equal to 12 Ceylon fanams.

dawa, who had been with him when he was residing at Badulla from which it appears that Davie was at one time resident in the province of Uva. This man had ingratiated himself with the Maha Gabada Nilame. He was caught at Balane, the "Pass" or "guard"-house at the end of the Kandy plateau on the side facing towards Colombo, with a steep drop into the country of the "Four Korales." Three letters had been found on him, one from Davie, one from a Tamil—the trader Lala—and one from "the Dutchman who shot the Fiscal at Colombo," also 7 pagodas. In the use of this last description, the diary has thrown a new and unexpected light on a mysterious murder that was committed at Colombo nearly seven years before. On May 20th, 1805, Mr. Thomas Farrell, the "Sitting Magistrate" of Colombo—this was the quaint title, somewhat suggestive of productive poultry and of Red Indian chiefs—by which the minor judicial officers were designated during the first thirty years of British administration—was shot dead at ten o'clock at night as he sat in his easy chair in the balcony of his house facing the old Dutch burial ground in the "Pettah" of Colombo. The shot came from the burial ground, but nothing was seen of the assassin, and he was never brought to justice, though the Government offered a reward of 5,000 rix-dollars for his apprehension. Now the Dutch name for a Magistrate was "Fiscaal," and even to this day this is one of the names by which that functionary is known to the Sinhalese of the Southern part of the Island. The Magistrate is the "Fiscal," and the District Judge is the "Maha" (or great) "Fiscal." There can be no doubt that this Dutchman now resident in Kandy, was the assassin. He had fled there for sanctuary, but in the end Nemesis overtook him. According to one account he and Lala were beheaded and impaled at Ampitiya, the village at the head of the Kandy Lake, and this is probably true for there is no word of this Dutchman when "the fatal heights of Balane" were stormed and Kandy for the second time taken by the British forces three years later.

Thoen states that the "Bazar man," *i.e.*, Lala, "was discovered and put to death." It seems that he had got Thoen to write for him a draft for 50 pagodas in Major Davie's name. Thoen "signed it, merely to satisfy the Bazar-man." It was Thoen who handed to Lala the "order from Major Davie on the Ceylon Government for 600 rix-dollars," and he applied to Government for the 50 pagodas to pay Major Davie's debts.

According to another account received by D'Oyly, the messenger and another person implicated were punished with the *wada bera* or "punishment drum," which means that they were crowned with blossoms of the "shoe-flower" (*nibiscus*), and whipped through the streets of Kandy to the accompaniment of tom-tom, which may have been but the preliminary to their execution.

There were half a dozen different accounts of what had happened to Davie on the discovery of this correspondence. According to one, he had at first refused to come when sent for—it is more likely that he was unable to walk owing to his illness. Fifty people had then been sent for him, and he had been brought in on a *messa*—Thoen says "carried in a cloth by four Kandyans," but one method of conveyance might easily be mistaken for the other. He had had a long audience with the King and had been detained at the palace. He had acknowledged that he had given the letter; he had sent it because "he was in such a dubious state, neither released nor put to death, and he expected some benefit from it." The King said he was very culpable for it. A variant was that Davie had denied all knowledge of the letter and upon examination it did not appear to have been written by him. The King asked him, says a third account of a Gilbertian character, whether he had given the letter, and he replied "Yes, I did so, because your people asked for it." The King thereupon observed to the "circle of ministers" around him that every one was naturally anxious for his own deliverance, and that the fault was not in him but in his own people who asked for the letter. The chiefs agreed and Davie was acquitted. One man

said that this interview had taken place on the dam of the new tank which the King was constructing, now the Kandy lake: another said that it took place at night. A headman reported that it was not the King who interrogated Davie, but "Katchi Dewiyo," alias Muttal Sami, the King sitting by. Thoen says that it took place in "the King's pleasure house," *i.e.*, the building now known as "the Octagon." "The King was heard speaking very loud and angry," continues Thoen, "but whether to Major Davie or those with him we did not know: but he was carried to Malabar Street, where he was certainly taken good care of for 15 or 16 days." Davie was sick at the time and was lodged for one night (variant, "three days") at the Asgiriya monastery and then sent to a *pansala* in the forest which covers the hills at the back of the palace. These particulars D'Oyly learnt from the priest who had charged himself with Davie's rescue, who had heard them from a brother of the yellow robe, whose sister was mistress of one of the Malabar relatives of the royal family. After fifteen days at the *pansala* Davie had been taken to his old quarters in Malabar Street, and here he was at the beginning of April. A much stricter surveillance was now kept over him. The King had learnt that he could not trust the Kandians in this matter. Thirty Madura people were on watch night and day, and three headmen whose ordinary duty it was to watch at the door of the King's bed-chamber, had to visit Davie every night and no one except Muttal Sami was allowed access to him.

A curious story was told the Collector on January 12th, 1812, by another of his monkish agents, *viz.*, that Davie had kept the silk cloths and the 50 pagodas sent to him, but had returned the rest of the things—the medicine, 10 gold mohurs and 160 star pagodas. This seems to refer to medicines and money sent twelve days previously, of which particulars are not given. It is not clear from the diary whether Davie got back the rejected money and medicines. Notwithstanding this rebuff, D'Oyly sent further supplies to the fastidious

captive on March 15th. These consisted of small luxuries, to wit, "8 bottles of Madeira wine, 3 bottles of sugar candy," some sugar, tea, biscuits, dates and salt fish. He also sent two "nanquin pantaloons," and "2 white jackets." But, strange to say, on this and every other occasion when supplies were sent to him, the sandals or shoes or boots, without which Davie had said that he could not escape, were omitted. It appears that he was allowed by the King to receive provision and clothes but not letters. Possibly boots and other footwear were also forbidden.

When these articles were exhibited by the Puswelle Disawa to the King as a preliminary to their being handed over to Davie, that oriental edition of Henry VIII. remarked, that the dates were musty, and then proceeded to annex the dates, the salt fish and a bag containing three or four of the bottles of Madeira. The rest he kindly sent on to "the Gentleman." The episode would have suited the "Bab Ballads."*

On June 13th D'Oyly was told that the King was going to Kurunegala, the chief town in "Seven Korales," lying north of the path between Kandy and Colombo, and that he was taking Davie with him. It was his intention—rather late in the day—to celebrate the festival of "Girding the State Sword," a ceremony corresponding to our Coronation, at Puttalam, a port on a lagoon about 80 miles north of Colombo, and the head-quarters of the salt supply of the Island. There was some imprudence in the publication of this programme, for Puttalam was not at this time in the King's possession but in that of the British, and the King was very anxious to obtain it in exchange for his captive, whom he wished, for this reason, to keep alive.

* Hugh Boyd says of his predecessor Rajadhi Raja Singha, "on the whole his figure and attitude put me much in mind of our Harry the Eighth" (*Embassy to Kandy*, p. 214). His dress would supply the necessary appearance of corpulency, which no doubt suggested the comparison, and this factor would be of equal prominence in the case of the last King also.

It is clear that up to this time and in fact for some months later, D'Oyly believed that he was still living, for he despatched a letter to him dated "May 6th, 1812," which ran "Lieutenant-General Brownrigg, the present Governor, holds you in Recollection, and will leave no means untried to procure your Release. How is your Health? Describe your Residence. Have you received any Articles sent to you about 3 weeks ago?" On June 30th, this letter was reported delivered. The messenger said that he had handed it to Davie at the village of Watapane in Dumbara where he was then residing. Davie had read it and put it under a mat with the pencil and paper, and said he would not send an answer then but hereafter. He was dressed in an old red coat and white trousers. This was about 20 to 30 days ago. But the Collector suspected this information to be false. He had, four days before he received it, despatched another letter to Davie, again inquiring as to the state of his health and the place of his residence. There was, however, no further news of him for three months and then came the tidings that he was removed to a village in Hewaheta within three or four miles of Kandy, that he had been attended there by native doctors sent out for the purpose, had recovered his health but was very thin. D'Oyly seems to have thought this news to be authentic.

But now there began to arrive numerous reports of his death which D'Oyly regarded as false. He had died at the village near Kandy, and his body was exceedingly swelled. No one was allowed to speak of his death. He had died at Ampitiya ten days before the commencement of the annual festival of the Sacred Tooth (which takes place usually towards the end of July or beginning of August). Then he had come to life and was again in Dumbara as late as September, and D'Oyly even received a letter purporting to be from him which was brought by a Buddhist priest but which D'Oyly suspected to be a bogus one. It was on China paper and was written in invisible ink. The priest explained that if the paper was "scorched by a Fire of Charcoal made with coconut

shell," it could be read, and he suggested that he himself should carry out the process. The Collector agreed and the priest returned with the letter in about three hours. It was "slightly scorched and had a writing in reddish characters," which had evidently been executed with lime juice. This read "I don't know who inquires of my Health.....(unintelligible).....but I is now very well and I resident in the town of Candy." The phraseology certainly does not sound like that of an Englishman, and D'Oyly's suspicion was probably correct.

To satisfy himself he forwarded, on October 23rd, a letter to Thoen inquiring as to Davie's health and present residence, but there is no note in the diary of his having received a reply from him. Three days after the despatch of this letter there was another report of Davie's death. He had died at Kandy thirty days after he had been brought in there and his body had been removed, no one knew whither. It was forbidden to speak of him. But within a week came news that he was in the Matale district north of Kandy. Next he turns up in Kandy itself, very much alive going out on the lake in a canoe and firing pistols from it for the King's amusement. He was soon back at his old village of Gomagoda, whence he was removed to Peradeniya or Kandy from which being sick, he was again removed, no one knew where, but it was supposed to the borders of Uva. Finally there came a report that he had died of dysentery in the garden of Muttal Sami in July (1812), and had been buried in the forest behind the palace. The King had forbidden anyone to speak of him, on pain of having his tongue cut out.

D'Oyly immediately took steps to inquire into the truth of this last report. The result was that it was contradicted, and it was stated that Davie was still sick at Migon Arambe, with swellings and pains in the arms and legs, and fever, and on March 20th, 1813, came news of his death. He had been living near the *bo* tree in Muttal Sami's garden and had died fifteen days before the messenger left Kandy.

These two last reports are probably correct: the symptoms described in the first correspond with those of dropsy, the disease of which he died, and the date in the second agrees with the date which as we shall now show, was most likely the actual date of his death, though hitherto most writers who have concerned themselves with the subject, have fixed it as having occurred in 1812.

To ascertain exactly when it happened inquiries were instituted within a year of the capture of Kandy, and the result, recorded in the Colombo Secretariat, was that "he died in the Cinghalese Month Mandig of the Gentoo-Year Angura.....about 35 months previous to.....the 23rd of January, 1816, which was the day on which some of the Malabar Princes, relatives of the King, were questioned about it. Now the Gentoo or Hindu year "Angura" is 1812-3, the year everywhere in India and Ceylon beginning in April. The Sinhalese month "Mandig" (*Medindina*) is the period from the middle of February to the middle of March. Therefore the date of Davie's death would be February-March, and the year 1813 and not 1812, remembering that the year began in April, "35 months previous to January 23rd, 1816," would make it the first week in March, as the Sinhalese year begins on the 11th-13th of the month.

It seems likely, therefore, from this record and from the diary that the actual date was February-March, 1813.

The whole affair was hushed up by the King, who had false rumours circulated to keep up the idea that his captive was still alive, and D'Oyly received accounts of his alleged doings even after March, 1813.

The house in Malabar Street which was occupied by Davie was pointed out to Captain De Bussche, Governor Brownrigg's A.D.C., in 1815. He states that "his remains were deposited at a short distance from the town.....on the south side of the upper lake in an isolated valley.....and a monument is to be erected to his memory." This has never been done, and his only memorial is "Davie's tree," *rediviva*, with the stone at the foot of the hillock the original tree surmounted—now

a rubber plantation. The "upper lake" is the present lake, and the south side of it is the side on which stands the Malwatta monastery, where also was situated that "Arekanut Grove of the Buffaloes," where Davie had spent so many weary days.

In course of time various Davie myths, reminding us of the Hector Macdonald myths of a few years ago, got into circulation. A correspondent of the *The Ceylon Observer* in the issue of April 22nd, 1844, describes how at the summit of a pass half way between Kurunegala and Matale, he met Major Davie's servant, a Mahratta man who had been his "dressing boy," and who had been spared with his master. According to this man, who evidently possessed a fertile imagination and realized that he had struck a good medium for the propagation of romance, Major Davie lived for fourteen years after his capture in the principality of Uva, and then committed suicide by shooting himself with a pistol,—because the Governor had discovered his existence there and had sent for him!—"he was at the time sick in body and heart." He had been sent to Uva lest he should escape. He was allowed a retinue of fan-bearers, etc., and it was ordered that respect should be paid to him; he let his beard grow and lived like a native; he had children now alive at Badulla, the chief town of Uva; he was ashamed and afraid to make himself known; he had forgotten English so that he was unable to speak it fluently, and suffered from very bad health and latterly became very despondent. "His remains lie in Oovah covered with a carved slab of stone. The Governor offered to educate and protect his children, but their Sinhalese relatives would not allow their removal. Major Davie was very amiable in temper and disposition—was idolized by the Sinhalese and all who knew him.

There is no need, however, to reject the whole of this story, or to conclude that the man was altogether an impostor. One can only regret that further inquiries were not made about him at the time. Possibly he was the same Malabar servant who had been dismissed for

insolence to his master, which would account for a great part of his story being manifestly false, as it was based merely on hearsay, rendered all the more untrustworthy from the lapse of over thirty years. But some of his statements were probably founded on fact—for instance, those as to Davie's health, his appearance, his disposition, his evident desire not to return to the society of his own countrymen, his residence for a time in Uva, the consideration and respect with which he was treated, his popularity with the Kandyans and the despondency of his later days. There is corroboration to a certain extent of another. He had been allotted by the King a woman of low caste, and by her he had a son, who, in April, 1819, when Sir Robert Brownrigg paid his second visit to Kandy, was brought by his mother before the Governor, who ordered that he should be sent to school at Colombo. When he had finished his education there, he was given employment under Government at Kandy. He ran away but was once more given Government employment this time at Colombo, as the Kandyan chiefs objected to standing while he was seated in their presence on an office stool. Anyone who knows the Kandyans will recognize the inherent probability of this incident. That he was befriended by Sir Robert Brownrigg is related in the "Government Gazette," also that when Sir John D'Oyly died at Kandy in 1824, among other recipients of the bounty of the distinguished civilian who had done so much for his father was "the natural son of Major Davie."

We cannot agree that "his captivity was probably harder, and certainly more hopeless, than Slatin's.* On the contrary, he had quite an easy time in his sojourn in the pleasant land of Kandy, and to a man of action, escape would have been easy. He was allowed a certain degree of liberty, could receive provisions, clothes and money from his English friends, was supplied with a house,

*"A Forgotten Tragedy," "Cornhill Magazine," 64, October 1st, 1909.

servants, doctors and a wife, and even given a position of some importance and dignity.* He was in fact, a veritable Lotus Eater, and had no wish to escape—he was probably treated with greater respect and consideration than he would have received from the Colombo garrison. No doubt he endured minor hardships such as are incidental to the life of a captive in a strange land, and he suffered much from constant illness. His frequent journeys from the Dumbara villages into Kandy and back made, as they must have been on foot, were probably rather trying. We can picture to ourselves the sorry figure of the *quondam* British officer, with his long and unmilitary beard, clad in his old and faded scarlet tunic and frayed white “nanquin pantaloons,” toiling bare-foot—without even those sandals which he considered a bare necessity—up and down the Kandyan hills in wet weather often slippery and infested with land leeches, and across the muddy and narrow ridges of the rice fields. Doubtless his attendants, with Kandyan courtesy, held over his head the leaf of the *talipot* palm which would be some protection from sun and rain, but he can never have been quite at his ease or looked dignified, and he is not likely to have paid much attention to the beauty of the scenery around him, where

“through mountain clefts the dale

Was seen far inland, and the yellow down,

Bordered with palms, and many a winding vale.”

One thing was spared him. In his journeys to Kandy the ferry he had to cross was not the “Old Village-ferry” which was the scene of the massacre of his troops, and where a year later Captain Johnston on his gallant but futile expedition to Kandy from Trincomalie, saw their

* Thoen says in his “Narrative” “I understand from every one that Major Davy had received some valuable presents from the King, consisting of silver plates, gold and silver chains, a silver-hilted sword, different brass articles, etc. The King, it was said, also gave his three servants, natives of Döomberah, where Major Davy always resided, and allotted two women at different times but he never co-habited with them, spoke to them, nor even allowed them to enter his house. In this last statement, however, Thoen was not quite accurate.

whitening bones. The path that Davie used was not the old road to Matale, close to which they were butchered. He would cross the river two miles further down, by the Lewella ferry, which would bring him within a mile and a half of the capital. Strange to say, the name of this ferry too might serve to commemorate another tragedy, also altogether forgotten, for it seems to mean "sand of blood." But, after all, it may merely refer to the appearance of the sands there, and one "Tragedy of the Ferry," not quite "A Forgotten Tragedy," is enough.

J. P. LEWIS.

APPENDIX A.

It is desirable that there should be some record of what this historic tree was like. An illustration of it appeared in the "Illustrated London News" of 17th August, 1850; so far as I am aware, the only one ever published up to the present. In my possession are two pencil sketches made by the late J. L. K. Vandort in the same year, 1850, of which, as they are somewhat blurred and creased, I have made pen-and-ink copies, here reproduced. With them may be compared a very rough sketch made by myself in 1888, which at least serves to show what little change the lapse of more than half a century had made in the appearance of the tree. On one of Mr. Vandort's sketches, under a belt of corpse or jungle in the foreground, is written in his handwriting, "Where Corpl. McDermott is said to have hid himself." This may represent a local tradition current at the time he made the sketch, but now vanished. "McDermott" must be a mistake of his for "Barnsley," as I never heard of the escape of a Corporal of that name as well as that of Corporal Barnsley.

The tree stood in the village of Mawilmadu, which adjoins Watapuluwa, but the latter village, under various quaint disguises of its name such as "Waterpologa," "Wallapolloa" (Cordiner) has always been

associated with it by English writers. The scene of the massacre is known to the villagers as "Wagolla kerella." The man who helped Barnsley to escape was Pallegedara alias Polgollegedera Kawrala. When I was Government Agent of the Central Province (1906-1910), a grand son of his named Polgollegedera Ukkurala of Kahalla, where the family had not a very good reputation, was living, applied for some favour from Government as a recognition of this deed of his ancestor's. The incident, I found, was generally known by tradition among the people of the neighbourhood. The story as related by Ukkurala was that Kawrala was out fishing in the Mahaweliganga after dark on account of an order of the King prohibiting fishing in the river on pain of death and discovered an exhausted British soldier on the bank "with his ears cut off," the usual way of punishing rebels, who asked him "the road to Trincomalie." Kawrala took him to a *pela* (hut) on his threshing floor, gave him rice and a cloth and conducted him during the night through Talawinna and Doranagama to the Etgala road where it falls into the Matale-Trincomalie road and left him there.

The road from Matale *via* Etgala to Kandy comes out on the bank of the river exactly opposite "Davie's tree" at the abandoned ferry of Paranagantota. Half a mile further up the river is Alutgantota ferry, which succeeded it, but was superseded by the Katugastota bridge in 1860.

APPENDIX B.

"Balkis" speaks of the astuteness of the First Adigar, and of his skill as a statesman and diplomatist. In the diary he hardly appears in this light. He was evidently looked upon by the Kandyan people as their chief protector against the oppressions of the King. In his messages to D'Oyly he shows himself in the character of a devotee of his religion, which he certainly was; he had in 1801 built the "New Wihara" (image house)

at the Asgiriya Monastery. He seems, too, to have been a man of wider views than the King. He had some opinions and a moral communicated to D'Oyly a few days later: "He did not think either the King or the English had acted very wisely. The English had conquered Puttalam and other countries. Is it likely they will give it up? If the King were sensible he would not persist in demanding it. The English gentleman would be given up. Ambassadors would be sent from Kandy to to Colombo and from Colombo to Kandy. The English had not prevented the King from communicating with the French and Dutch, which was done regularly through some Tamil people at Puttalam, who took advantage of the fact that the English Disawa at that place was not a man of sense, and was not aware of these communications. If D'Oyly were wise he would not send any more letters but only verbal messages. He wished to tell him of one method by which he might subdue and keep possession of Kandy, and that was "by rendering Worship and Honour to the Four Temples. Thus the *belyma** of the Gods will be over us. But as some of the Temples are dishonoured by killing cattle and other Pollutions, the Gods become incensed and sickness seizes the people." From which it would seem that the First Adigar was more of a Buddhist than a patriot and withal somewhat simpleminded or was adopting the role of a simpleton, to send this advice to a British official. But this perhaps was a specimen of his artfulness. "Balkis" remarks that he was "a great artist." Or may we be permitted to ask whether the Kandy massacres were really due to the Adigar; whether they were not in fact the acts of the King himself? D'Oyly does not seem, judging from his dealing with the Adigar, to have regarded him as chiefly responsible for them. The King next year shewed what he was capable of in this way in his treatment of the family of Ehelapola, the successor of Pilama Talawwe as First

* Regard literally "looking at."

Adigar when he, like his predecessor, began to intrigue with the British Government. The story of their cruel deaths, suffered under the direct orders of the King himself, is still remembered as it was at the time detested by the Kandyan people, and may be seen depicted on the brass trays sold at the present day to visitors to the last seat of the Sinhalese monarchy. Dr. John Davy's* account of the massacre also lends support to the view that it was the King and not the Adigar who was responsible for it. He says:—

“The Minister objected to the order remarking, ‘It is highly improper for those who have submitted to be put to death.’ ‘What! (said the enraged King), are you siding with the English again?’ The Minister then left the royal presence, observing, ‘Since he urges the measure, what can we do?’ He made another attempt to dissuade the King by means of a favourite who went in and represented the impropriety of such proceedings. On this second application the King became furious, and starting from his seat, cried aloud, ‘Why am I not obeyed?’ The order now was too soon obeyed,” (p. 314).

Dr. Nell then read the following contribution from Mr. T. B. Keppetipola, Attapattu Muhandiram Nilame.

The messenger villages of “Patte” people, Katupulle villages, were: For Pallegampaha, Ampitiya, Dehideniya, Mavilmadu, Owissa and Alutgama, for Udagampaha, Peradeniya, Kotmale, Pussellawa, Mulgampola, Bowela, Dodanwela (Nuwara) and Tumpane.

The ferry is at Watapahuwa, Davie's tree is in Mawilmadu.

The terms Paranagantota for Watapuluva ferry and Alutgantota for Katugastota ferry are still in use.

There can still be seen in Mawilmadu, the larger flat stone elevated on lesser ones mentioned by Mrs. Heber in her diary 1825.

* This was John Badger, Ceylon Civil Service 1805-1818, who was Collector, Chilaw, 1809-1814. He died, 29th April, 1918, at Panadure.

Wagolla is now planted with rubber and cocoa; it is a flat piece of land in Mawilmadu, on which grew Waya trees.

Maha Gabada Nilame was Pilima Talawwe; Udagabada Nilame was Dehigama Pilima Talawwe, held 17 other appointments, he was the first Adigar, Pallegampaha, Maha Adikaram Manthriswaranwahanse, also known as Agra Senadhipathi, and to the rural folk as "Deveni Rajjuruwo." Unambuwe was second Adigar, *i.e.*, Udagampaha Adikaram, the 3rd Adigar was Dullewe (Sivapattuwe Maha Nilame). Later in 1812, Ehelopla was first Adigar. Hurikaduwa and Napane are in Udagampaha Korle in Pata Dumbara, 8 or 9 miles from Kandy (Katugastota-Teldeniya road).

Gomagoda is in Palispattu West Korle in Pata Dumbara; Talawinne in Pallegampaha Korle, Etgala Road, Kandy-Elkaduwa-Ukuwela-Matale.

5. Mr. D. P. E. Hettiarachi read the following remarks relating to the Chief Executioner of Major Davie's Detachment.

All accounts on the massacre of Major Adam Davie's detachment at Watapuluwa (Kandy) in 1803, showed that the work of destruction was accomplished with celerity and expedition, and perhaps with less horror than Napoleon butchered 1,200 Turks after taking Jaffa.* In this "atrocious art of perfidy" the vilest part was played by Kaffirs in the employ of Sri Wickrama Raja Sinha, "who were inured by practice, to perform cruel executions, which were certainly repugnant to the Sinhalese character and Buddhist religion."

The publication in the R.A.S., C.B. Journal No. 71 for 1918 of Dutch Assistant Surgeon Greeving's Diary—one of the most authentic narratives relating to the massacre—seems to be an opportune occasion to bring to light particulars of interest hitherto forgotten, concerning

* Marshall's conquest of Kandy, p. 111.

the Chief Executioner of Davie's party, Joseph Fernando.* Faithful reproduction of the sketch of this Kaffir engraved on satinwood by a native artist named Juan Silva is annexed to this note. Joseph Fernando lived in Kandy till the year 1848.† His residence was a snug and clean house near an arrack shop which he frequently patronized. He was able to speak in Portuguese and was intimately known to Rev. Mr. Reinaud, a Roman Catholic Priest.

Through an Interpreter Joseph was interviewed by "a late resident of Kandy" (*vide* Note 2) on the 9th of April, 1848, and the following hurried replies are recorded to have been received by him:—

"I am 90 years of age. I cannot speak English. I came to Ceylon from Mauritius. Came as a servant to Mr. Bellicombe on a French ship, in the Dutch time. I have been 50 years in Kandy. I was once a very strong man. I get six shillings a month as pension from the British Government, and being well known many people assist me. I have been 20 years in my present house. I first went to Trincomalie, then accompanied some Moor merchants from that place to Matale and then ran away to Kandy. Raja Singha was then King. I went to the chief Adigar‡ and said I had nothing to gain my living. He brought me before Raja Singha who ordered that I should enter his Kaffir and Malay Regiment. I got clothes and food and 5 *ridies* per month (equal to about 3s. 4d. per month). When Muttu (Budda) Samy|| went to Colombo to show General Macdowal the road to

* A graphic description with a portrait of this man by 'a late resident of Kandy' appears in the 'Colombo Observer' of 17th October, 1848, from which I have gathered materials for this note.

† Mr. J. B. Siebel in his "*Notes on Kandy*," states, that in the fifties there was a very old kaffir named Thomas, who dragged himself along the streets of Kandy on crutches and begged for alms and who, when given a few coppers, put himself into a fighting attitude shouldered his crutch and described with much gesticulation how he cut down the poor soldiers near the Poranagantota Ferry.

‡ Pilime Talawwe.

|| Brother-in-law of Rajadi Rajasinha. He was put on the throne by Governor North and was executed by Sri Wikrama Rajasinha in 1803.

Kandy, I was with the King Raja Singha at Hanguranketa. General Macdowal, Colonel Barbut and Major Davie came to Kandy with other officers. The Kandians attacked Major Davie's detachment, about 250 or 300 soldiers were in Kandy, about 20 or 30 were sick of fever. The detachment left their arms* in Kandy and walked out to the Mahaweli Ganga. They were then separated, and killed in parties of 5 or 8.† They were struck with clubs—knives were not used.‡ I prayed to Jesus Christ because I was a Christian and because they were Christians, and then they were killed by blows on the head as they sat down; and we were sure that they had no knives on their persons. They did not offer any resistance.‖ Major Davie and two other officers lived some time in Hanguranketa—had severe fever—the officers died§—Davie then went to Dumbara—He went about without shoes, without hat, or trousers—very thin—very sick—and very sorrowful.** The people laughed at him because he had the Malabar itch. He died and his house was empty.†† He had a

* Dutch assistant Surgeon Greeving states that the Adigar insisted that the garrison should not take with them 'a single cartridge, nor a grain of gun-powder.'—C.B., R.A.S. Journal, No. 71, p. 170.

† The interviewer adds that he could not get Joseph to confess that he had with his own hands felled the poor English soldiers, though he admitted the notorious fact in an indirect manner. On several occasions Joseph is said to have uttered in Sinhalese "*Mokada koranne? Rajjuruwo kiapuheti korandaone.*" = "What can I do? What the king says must be obeyed."

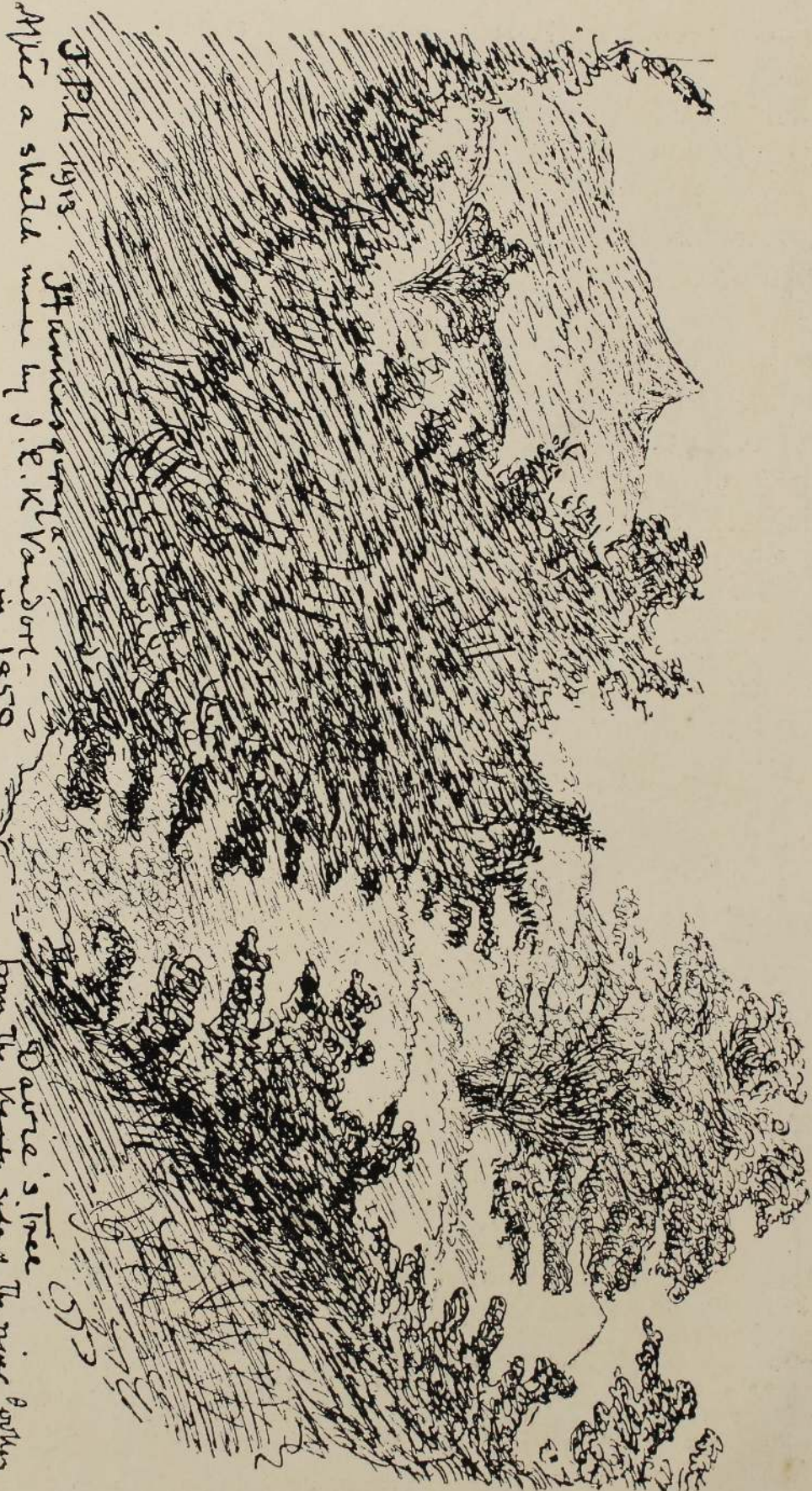
‡ Most authoritative account of Marshall shows that "they were put to death, mostly with the butt-end of a musket or large club."—p. 103.

‖ Here Joseph "gave a look of helplessness and turned up his hands and shrugged his soldiers, conveying an idea of utter despair, and mental prostration, and sobbed aloud."

§ Captain Humpherys of the Bengal Artillery and Captain Rumley of the Malay Regiment.

** "January 29, 1811—Major Davie was still alive and well in Dumbara, was supplied with victuals and clothes such as we wear, but had no shoes or stockings."—*D'Oyly's Diary*, C.B. R.A.S.J., No. 69, p. 57.

†† Muttal Samy, first cousin of Sri Wickrama, took possession of all his property.—See *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V., Part IV., p. 170.



J.P.L. 1918. It is a sketch made by J.E.K. Vandort in 1850.

Quartzite is here from the West side of the river and the lower end of the sketch.

PLATE I



JPL
1914

Davie's Tree
from the river bank

where Corp. McDermott is
said to have hid on his retreat

After a pencil sketch by
J.L.K. Vandorn, 1850

PLATE II



J.P.L.

Davies Tree in 1888.

same view as No 2 but from nearer point:

or

PLATE III



PLATE IV

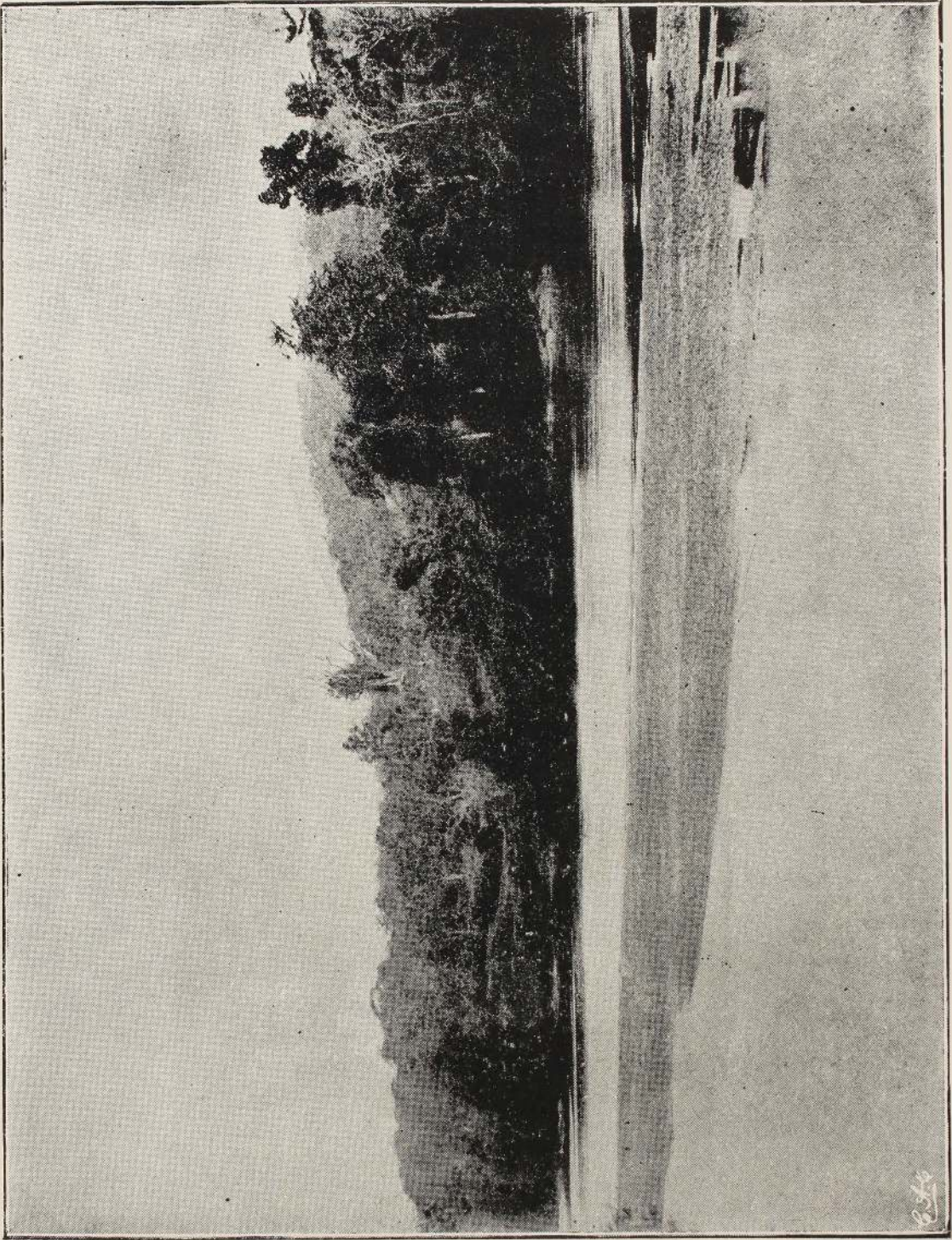
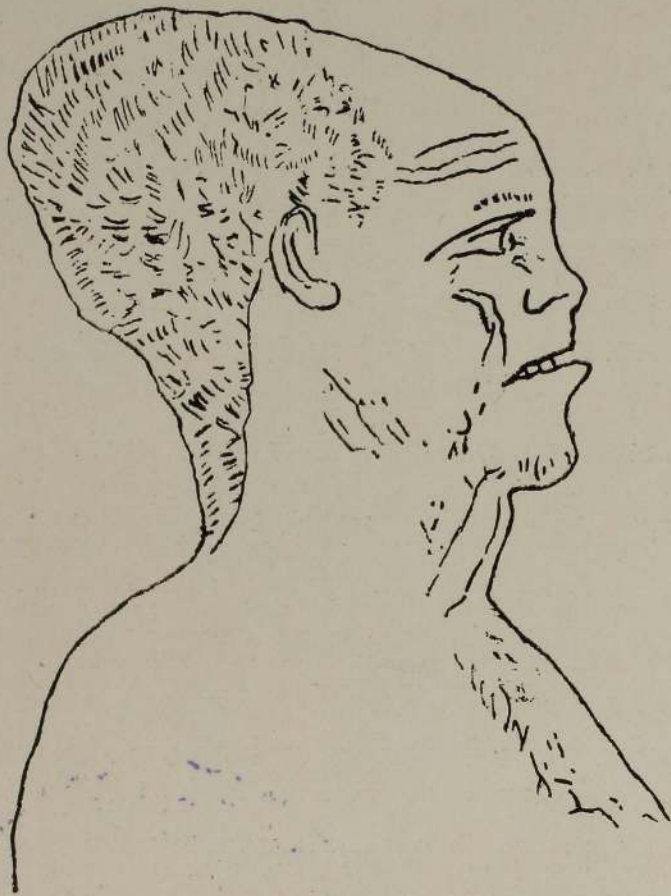


PLATE V



Joseph Fernando

PLATE VI

The Executioner of Major Davie's
Detachment.

house on the south side of the lake. He was burned there amongst the coconut trees near Captain Bird's* house. Major Davie had a son; what became of him I do not know."

The foregoing details of the sad end of Major Davie have an air of truth, and it is a matter for regret that more particulars about him were not sought for. However, it is most interesting to note that Joseph Fernando bears out not only Captain de Bussche's statement that "Davie's remains were deposited at a short distance from the town of Kandy on the south of the upper lake in an isolated valley,"† but also Mr. J. P. Lewis' observations that "his remains lie in the Migon-Arambe or somewhere close to it in the south side of the present Kandy lake."

6. A discussion on the paper followed in which Mudaliyar Walter Samarasingha, Messrs. C. H. Collins, F. Lewis and the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera took part.

7. Votes of thanks to Dr. Nell for reading the paper proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and to the Chair proposed by Sir P. Arunáchalam were carried with acclamation.



* Perhaps the reference here is to "Horambe House." According to Ceylon Almanacs there was in Kandy from 1840-1845 a Lieut. H. Bird, of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, who was Dept. Assistant Commissary there.

† *Letters on Ceylon*, p. 84.

‡ *Tombstone and Monuments of Ceylon*, p. 431.

NOTES ON THE FORTS OF THE JAFFNA ISLANDS

BY

JOSEPH PEARSON, D.Sc., F.R.S. (EDIN.), F.L.S.,
Vice-President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(a) THE PORTUGUESE FORT AT DELFT (*Plates 1-9*).

I have had the opportunity of paying two visits to Delft Island—the first in April, 1912, when I stayed several days, mainly for the purpose of examining the coral reefs of the neighbourhood; the second in September, 1920, during the visit of the trawler "*Lilla*" to the Palk Strait in connection with the marine biological survey of the littoral waters of Ceylon.

On my first visit I made careful measurements and drawings of the old Fort and took some photographs in ignorance of the fact that Mr. J. P. Lewis, c.m.g. had already given a description of the fort, with plans and illustrations, in his interesting "*Notes on Delft*" published in the Society's Journal.* As my interpretations did not altogether agree with previous accounts of the fort, I decided to revise and confirm all the work I had already done when the opportunity of a second visit to Delft presented itself, and in this note I have given a more detailed account of the structure of the fort and have offered one or two criticisms of the work of previous observers.

During the course of the research I decided to make a reconstructed model of the fort and this has been done by Mr. C. C. Solomons of the Colombo Museum under

*Journal C.B.R.A.S., 1909, Vol. XXI., pp. 341—359.

my immediate supervision. This is sufficiently instructive to justify my including some photographs of the model in the present paper. (See Plates iii.—vii.).

The fort at present would appear to be in much the same condition as when examined by Mr. Lewis twenty years ago and by "Penn," the writer in the *Colombo Journal**, ninety years ago. The southern face is the most perfect and here the roof line is clearly marked at a height of nearly thirty feet above the ground level, but no sign of a roof is to be seen. The northern and eastern faces are very dilapidated but there is sufficient to enable one, after careful examination, to reconstruct the whole building.

Roughly speaking, the fort consists of a rectangle 73 feet long (omitting the buttresses) on the southern side, and a square with a 40-foot side to the north. The southern rectangle is strengthened by a continuous buttress which reaches as high as the first floor, and which is 5 feet thick at the ground level for the greater part of its length, and as much as 10 feet in thickness on the east side. Most of the walls are double as far as the level of the first floor, but single in the upper storey. This is quite clearly seen from a comparison of the two plans. (Plates i. and ii.). In the plan of the upper storey the walls D. E, F. G. H and J only extend as far as the floor, the walls of the upper storey being coloured black in that plan.

There are six rooms on the ground floor. The square at the south-west corner is filled with earth as far as the level of the first floor, and I have no doubt that there was never a room on the ground floor in this position. The six rooms are arranged in couples, each pair having one entrance from the outside. Rooms 1 and 2 (see Plate i.) are not connected by a door, but by an opening half way up the wall. Rooms 3 and 4 are connected by a door and likewise rooms 5 and 6. There are no windows in any of the rooms of the ground floor.

* Colombo Journal, February 25th, 1832.

In the upper storey there are also six rooms and there are two entrances—one by staircase A to room No. 12 (see plan of upper storey) and the other by staircase B which gives entrance to the other five rooms. A staircase (C) leads from room 12 to the roof, passing through the thickness of the walls in its upper portion. My opinion is that this staircase opened directly out of room 12 and was not separated from it by a wall. Room 12 is immediately over rooms 5 and 6, and also has the additional space provided by the inner walls of those rooms only reaching as high as the first floor. Room 12 has two windows, one on the southern and the other on the eastern wall. Room No. 8 may be regarded as the ante-chamber of the upper story, as it is connected directly or indirectly with all the rooms except No. 12. It is furnished with one window. Opening out of it to the north is room 7 which was undoubtedly a lavatory. This room contains one small window. Room 11 also opens out of the ante-chamber and has one window and is in turn connected with room 10. This latter room must have had a window, but the masonry is so dilapidated that it is impossible to say where the window was situated. I have placed it in the east wall, both in the model and plan. Undoubtedly the principal room of the fort was No. 9, which opens out of the ante-chamber and has two fine windows looking south and west.

The account given by "Penn" in the *Colombo Journal* of 1832 is incorrect in some respects. For instance, that writer said there were five rooms in the upper storey of the northern square. There are only four. He referred to the lower rooms of the northern square as vaults "for they must have been extremely dark, from the total want of windows or doors, being only entered from above." It is true they had no windows, but they were all connected with the exterior directly or indirectly, by doors, as is clearly shown in the two plans. In Plate ix. the entrance to room 4 is plainly seen. There is no evidence to show that these rooms were entered from above. It seems quite clear that the

arrangement of the ground floor was much more obscured in "Penn's" days than at the present time. All the three entrances on the ground floor escaped him and he said "there have been two entrances to the building" clearly referring to the two staircases A and B.

The plans accompanying Mr. Lewis' note are not quite correct. The staircase A is not shown and he wrote "that the flight of stone steps have disappeared." The lower steps have since been excavated and are clearly present in both staircases A and B (see Plate 8). His plan does not show the door leading into room 4 nor the door connecting rooms 3 and 4. On the other hand his plan shows a door between rooms 2 and 4 which is incorrect. It is only fair to say that Mr. Lewis did not make the plans himself, and there can be no doubt that such a keen observer as Mr. Lewis would have given a very accurate account of the fort if he had had the time to spend on excavation. Doubtless the ruins have been considerably cleared since Mr. Lewis' time. I myself had a considerable amount of "rubbish" cleared in 1912 in order to expose the ground floor more clearly. Mr. J. N. Sandarasegara, Maniagar of Delft at that time, gave very valuable assistance both in excavation work and also in supplying me with certain measurements which I omitted to make on my first visit.

(b) URUNDIKOTTE OR KAYTS FORT (*Plates 10—11*).

About half a mile or so west of Kayts and facing the well known Fort of Hammenhiel are to be found the ruins of a Portuguese fort which for some reason have not received the attention they undoubtedly merit. The references to this fort in the literature are few and scanty. According to Baldæus the fort was in ruins at the time the Dutch conquered Jaffna in 1658, and it is probably owing to this fact and also to the proximity of the well-preserved fort of Hammenhiel that writers on the Jaffna district have either ignored it or have dismissed it with a word. Dr. P. E. Pieris in a note on "O Floral de

Jafanapatam”* stated that “two garrisons were maintained in the North, one at Jaffna and the other at Kayts, amounting to four companies of fifty men each, with the usual complement of officers, while eighty lascarines and four Arachchis formed the Captain-Major’s guard.” In the maps of the Jaffna islands Baldæus shows the “Oude” Fort near Kayts, but the position is vague and may or may not refer to the fort known by the Kayts villagers as *Urundikotte*. A writer in the *Ceylon Literary Register*† spoke of the ruins as follows:—“It was evidently a small square fort with a bastion at each corner and a half moon bastion or semilunar bastion on the land side. It has the appearance of having been blown up by gunpowder.” Mr. J. P. Lewis‡ refers to the name *Urundi* which he took to mean “(the place where) the village used to be.” I learned at Kayts that *Urundi* referred to the rounded southern face of the fort and this interpretation was also suggested independently by the President of the C.B., R.A.S., Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, when I showed the model at a meeting of the Society, *Urundikotte* may, therefore, be taken to mean “The Round Fort.” The fort was visited by “Penn,” who wrote an account in the *Colombo Journal* of 8th February, 1832. According to him this fort was called Fort Erie.¶ In describing the ruins he writes “enough remains to show it was a square of about 130 ft. with four circular bastions having walls of great thickness, bomb proof in various places and gateways in the east and west curtains. The sea washed the north face, the remains of a glacis are visible to the west and commanding the plain to the rear.” Further on he refers to the fort as “but a green mound and shattered ruin.” In passing, it may be said that Mr. Lewis has stated on at least two

* Journal C.B., R.A.S., Vol. XXVI., No. 70, Part II., 1917, pp. 105-109.

† Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. I., Nos. 3-6.

‡ Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. II., Part II., p. 94. Some notes on archæological matters in the Northern Province.

¶ See note at the end of the paper.

occasions that he is inclined to identify "Penn" with Simon Casie Chetty, the compiler of the *Ceylon Gazetteer*. There are, however, several articles by "Penn" in the *Colombo Journal* which seem to indicate that he was an Englishman. I am strongly of opinion, from a careful perusal of "Penn's" writings, that he could not have been Simon Casie Chetty.

This fort at the present day is a very dilapidated ruin, and it was only with great difficulty that I was able to make out the ground plan. "Penn's" description of "a square of about 130 feet with four circular bastions" gives no idea of the real shape and proportions. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the fort is horse-shoe shaped with the convexity facing landwards to the south. The two horns of the horse-shoe form two bastions jutting out northwards into the sea, and these two bastions are joined by a curtain which is washed by the sea. (See Plate x.). The length of the fort is 274 feet to the northern wall joining the bastions. The extreme width is 206 feet. The outer wall of the horse-shoe is 19 feet in thickness and encloses two well defined rectangles, the northern one of which is 116 feet long by 95 feet wide and which undoubtedly acted as a courtyard. The southern portion of the fort was occupied by the residences of the garrison, arranged on three sides of the southern rectangle, which doubtless formed an open courtyard devoted to the more peaceful avocations of the garrison. In all there are ten rooms opening on to this southern courtyard, the dimensions of which are 91 feet by 83 feet.

The northern portion of the fort has outer and inner ramparts, both on the eastern and western sides, separated from each other by an open space 13 feet wide and 150 feet long. The inner wall is extremely interesting as an arched passage runs around it on the outer side, supported at intervals by internal buttresses which project into the passage, thus dividing it into a number of compartments. This doubtless is the bomb-proof portion referred to by

“Penn.” There are two such passages, one on the east and one on the west side, and each passage has six buttresses. The function of these passages is difficult to determine and I was not able to discover how they were connected with the exterior. The inner wall is perfect in some parts and shows that there was a low parapet on the outer edge. On the western wall a gun emplacement is clearly shown, and there are also two openings on the eastern wall which were probably for guns. On the east side of the northern courtyard there is a vaulted chamber. Mr. Lewis refers to this as follows* :—“There is a vaulted chamber on the east side of the fort, with the greater part of the roof intact, but on this last occasion an *itti* tree (*Ficus retusa*) had begun to twine its roots about the stone masonry of the roof, a circumstance which was ominous for its future.” Time has justified Mr. Lewis’ prognostications, as the whole of the roof has now collapsed, as can be clearly seen from Plate xii. The full height of the arch is 12 feet, the spring of the arch being 6 feet above the ground.

At the southern end of the chamber is a niche in the wall and there seems no doubt that the building functioned as a chapel. Two opening (doors or windows) are found in the west wall of this building and the northern end is completely open.

On the western side of the same courtyard there is short and steep inclined road leading from the ground level to the battlements. On the inner wall near this spot is a large stone with a deep square hole in the top. This may possibly have been the base for a flag-staff.

I am unable to explain the meaning of the structure of the wall separating the two courtyards. The top of the wall is divided transversely into small compartments as shown in the plan.

There is no sign of an entrance to the fort. A modern road, however, runs along the beach and a way has been cut through the ruins of the fort as shown in

* Ceylon Antiquary, *loc. cit.*

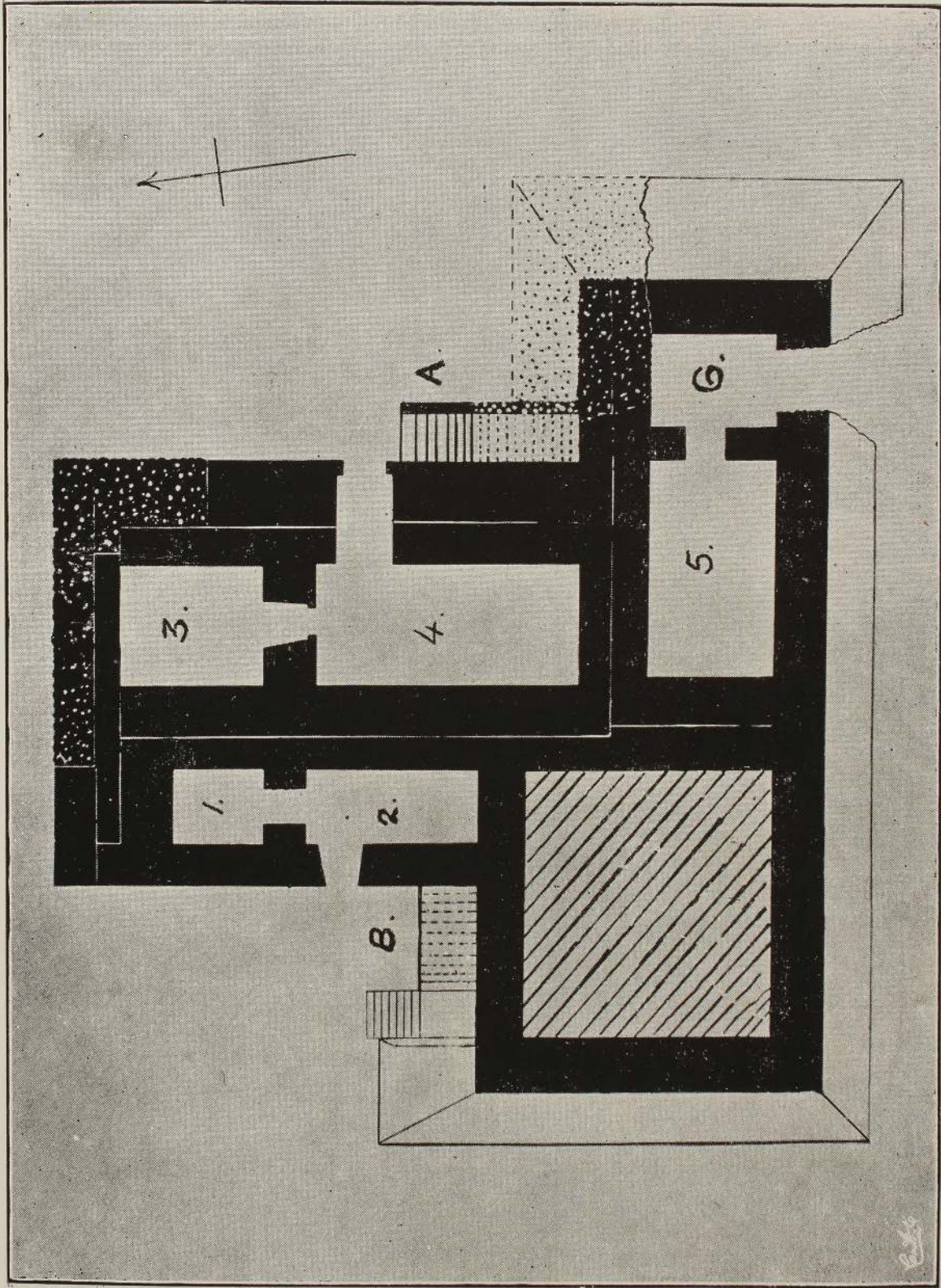


PLATE I.—GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF DELFT FORT.—Scale 1 inch = 21 feet.
(The dotted portion represents the part that has disappeared).

The steps A and B go from the ground floor to the first storey. The steps C go from the first storey to the roof. The walls D.E.F.G.H. and J. extend from the ground floor to the first storey. The other walls (coloured black) extend from the ground to the roof.

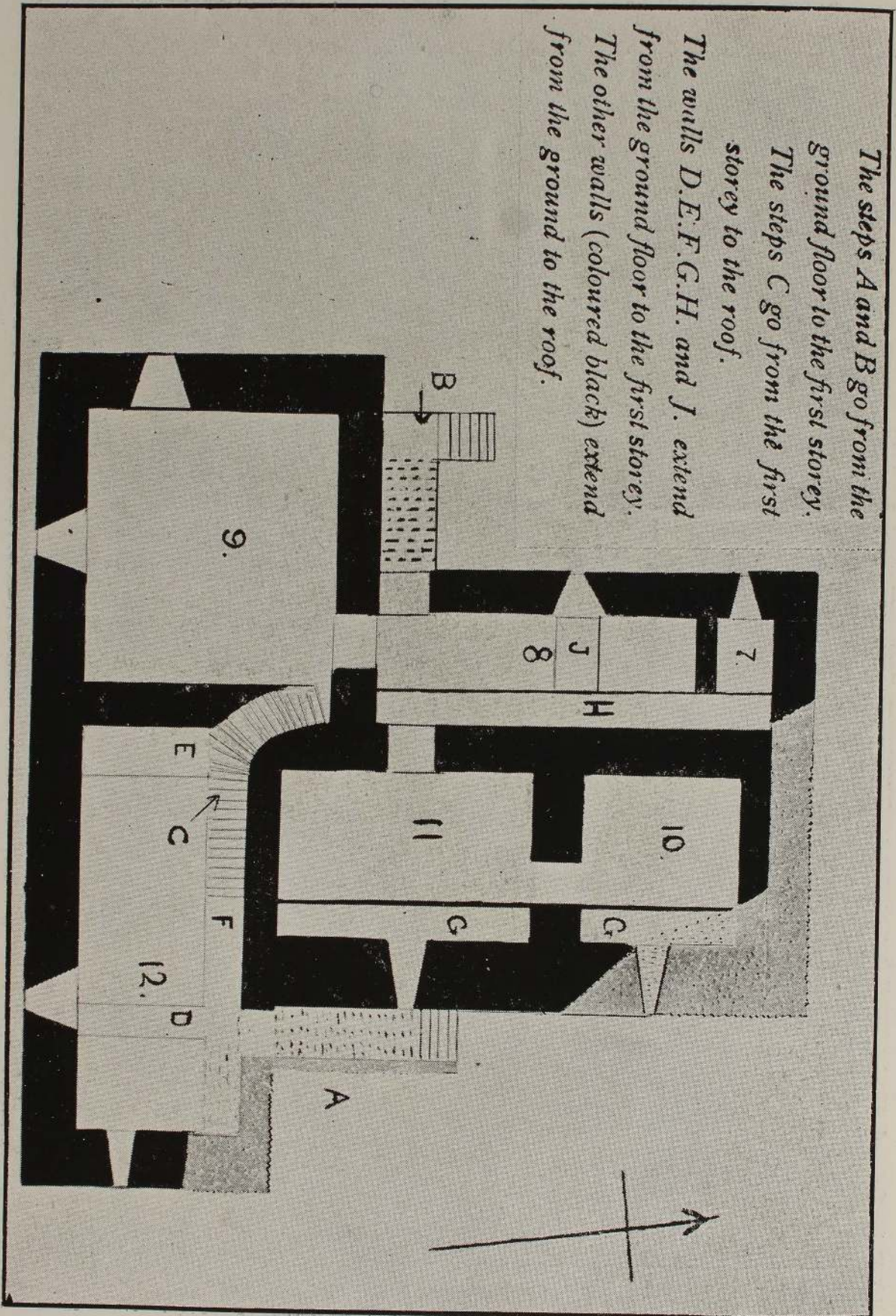


PLATE II.—DELFT FORT.
Plan of upper storey. 1 inch = 21 feet.

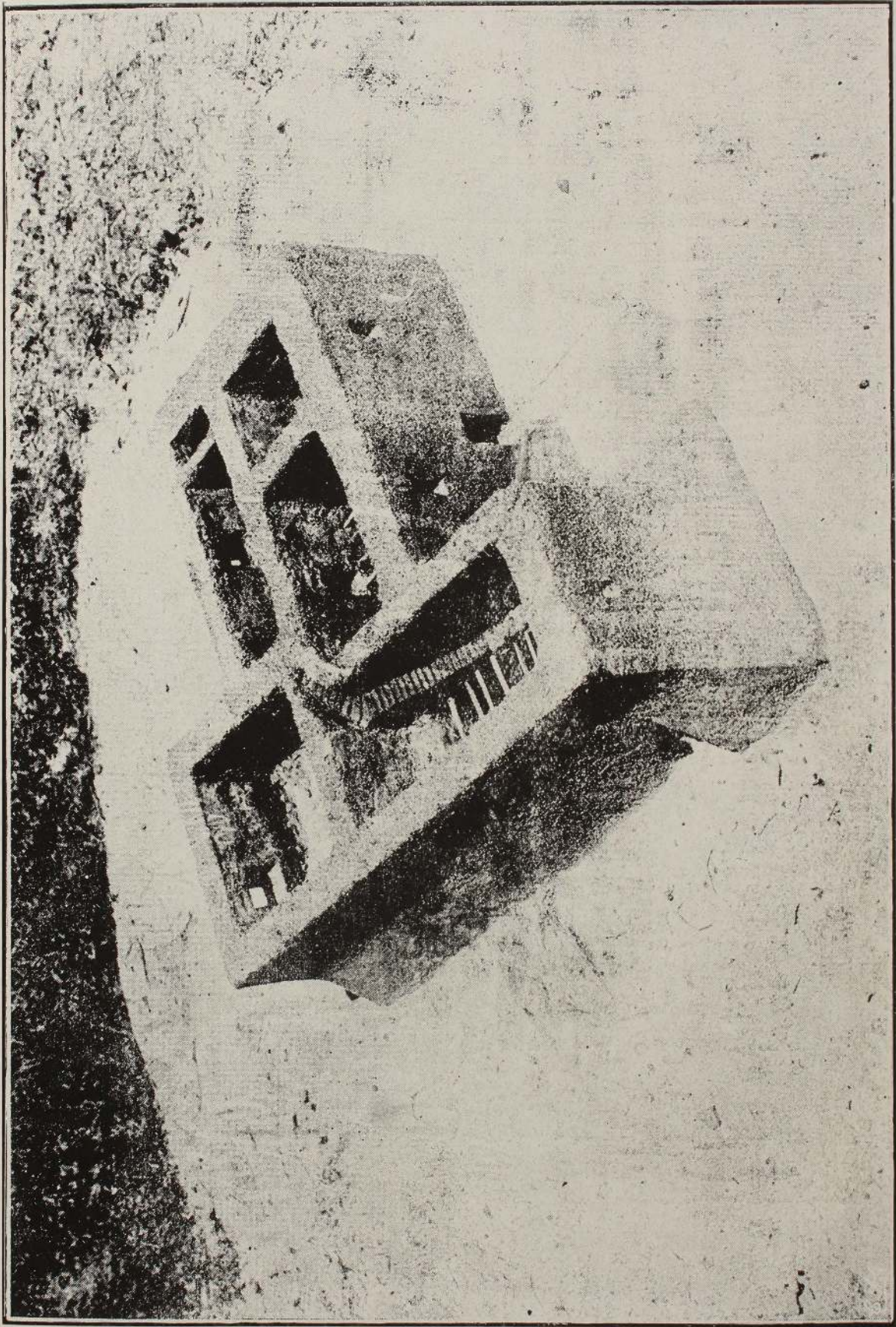


PLATE III.--DELFT FORT.

Bird's eye view of reconstructed model (without the roof.) From the south-east.

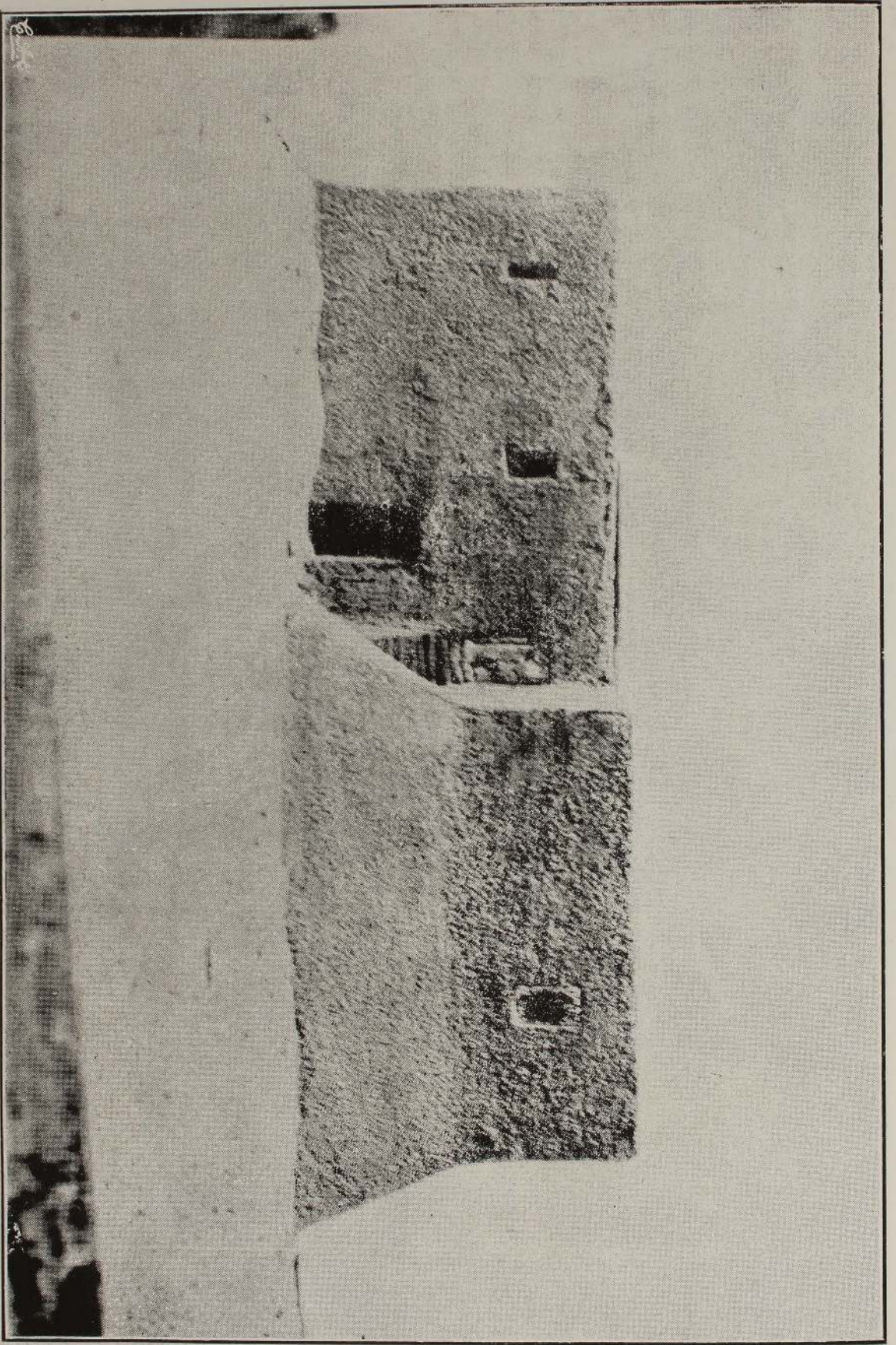


PLATE IV.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the west.

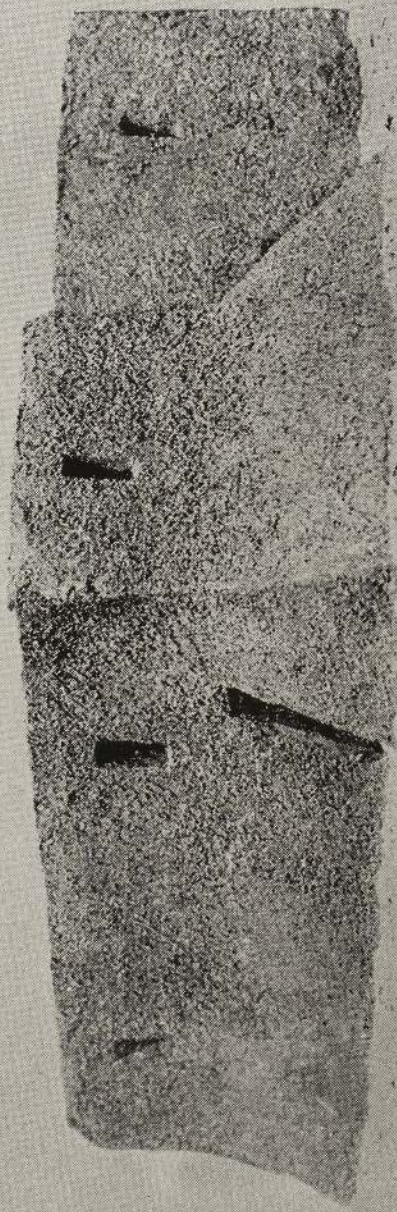


PLATE V.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the south-east.

Robt

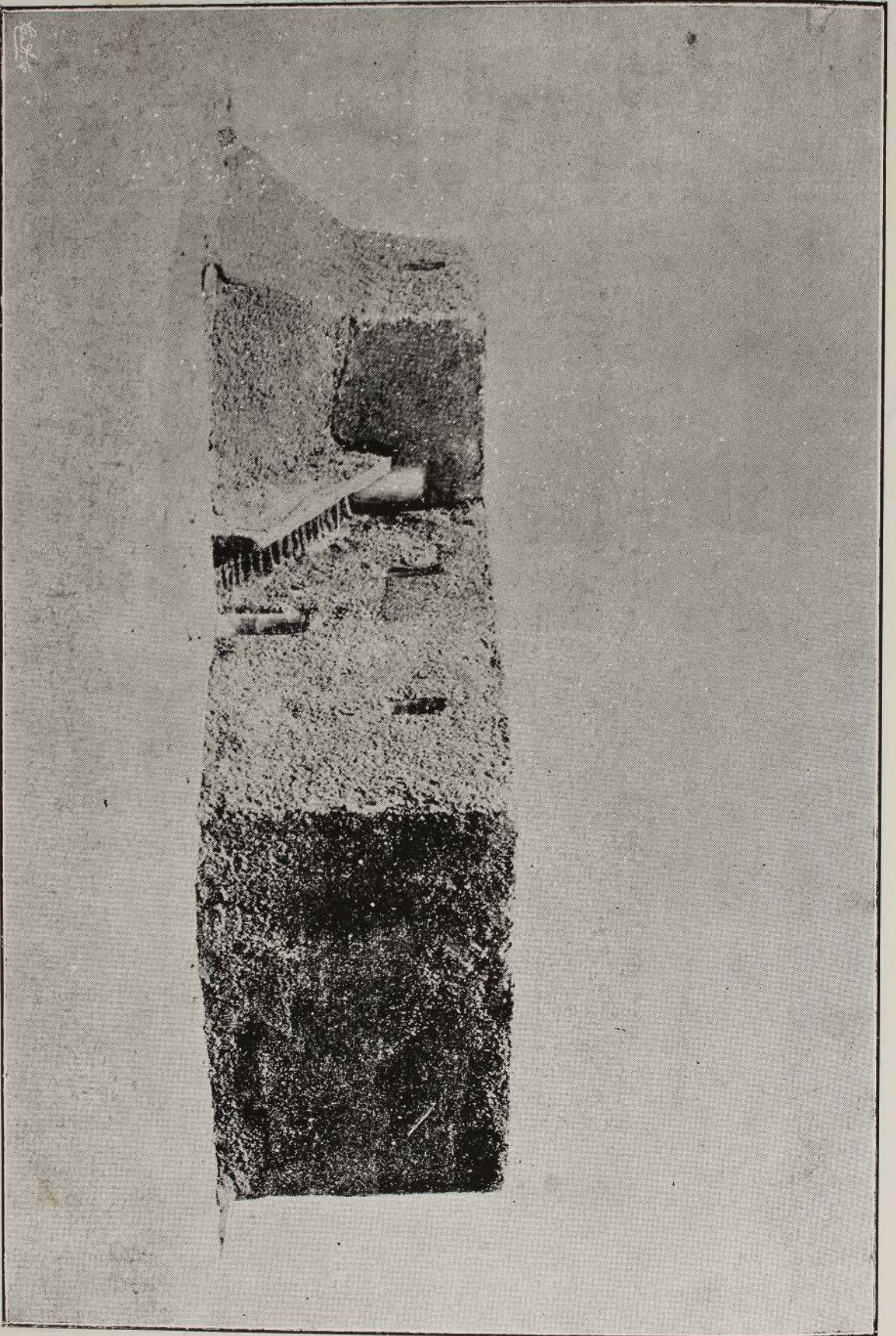


PLATE VI.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the north-west.

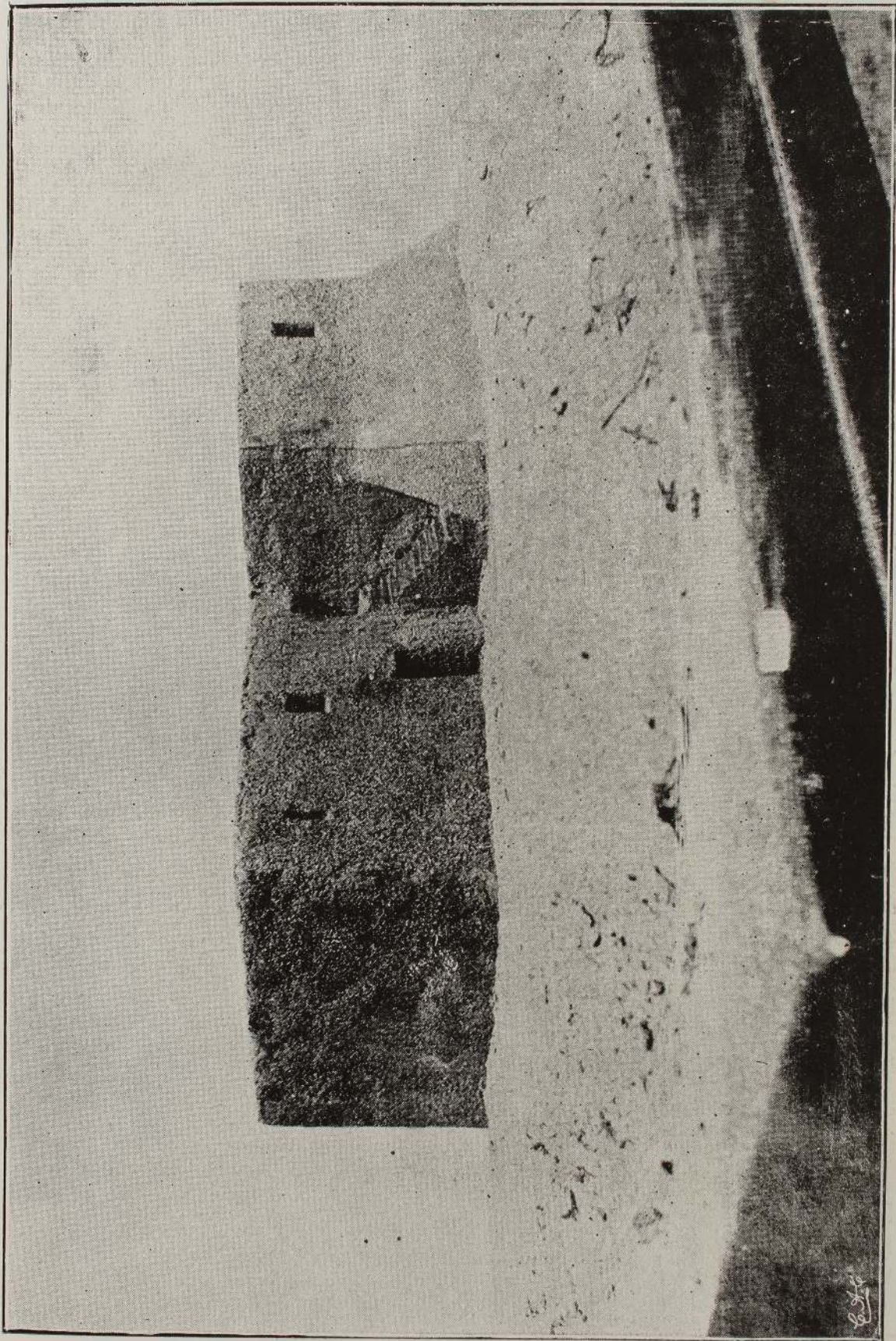


PLATE VII.—DELFT FORT.—Reconstructed model, from the north-east.

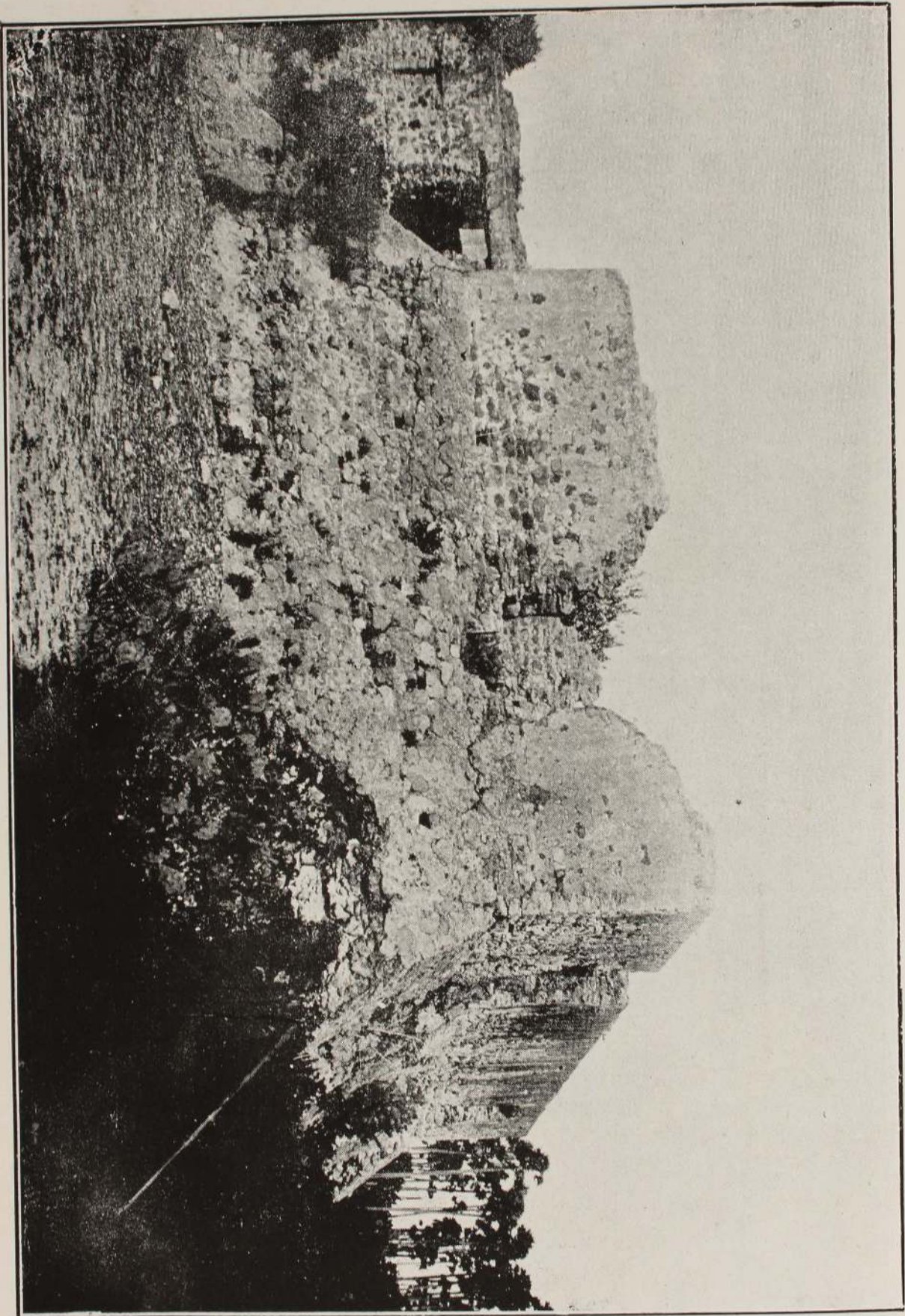
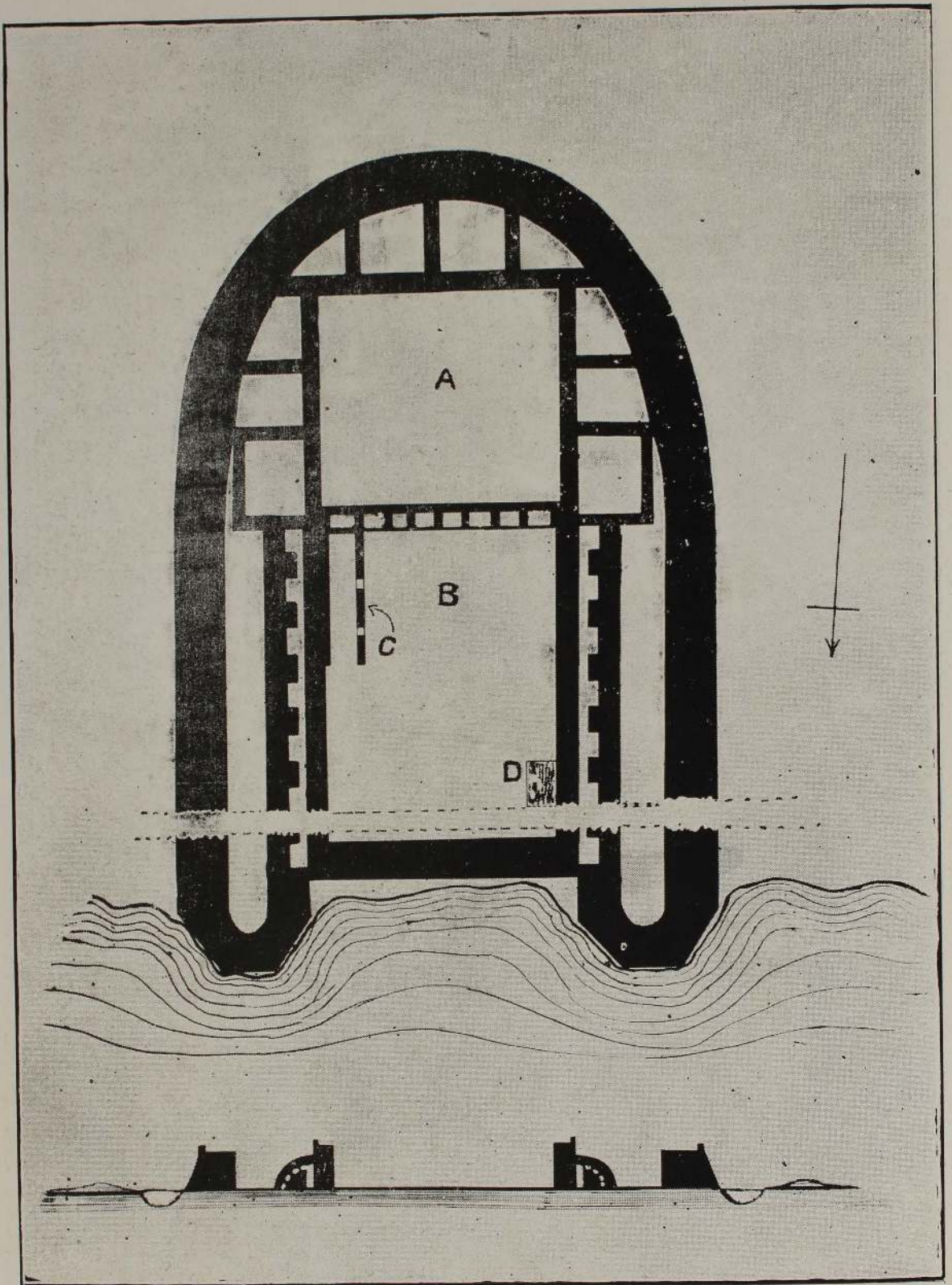


PLATE VIII.—DELFT FORT.—Ruins from the south-west.



PLATE IX.—DELFT FORT.—Ruins from the north-east.
Showing remnants of staircase A and entrance to room 4. (Note the coral of which the fort was built).

PLATE X.



URUNDIKOTTE.

Upper Figure. Plan of the Fort Scale 1 inch = 90 feet.

A = southern courtyard

B = northern courtyard

C = vaulted chapel

D = inclined road up to the ramparts.

Lower Figure. Section across the northern portion of the Fort to show the outer and inner ramparts, with the arched passages.

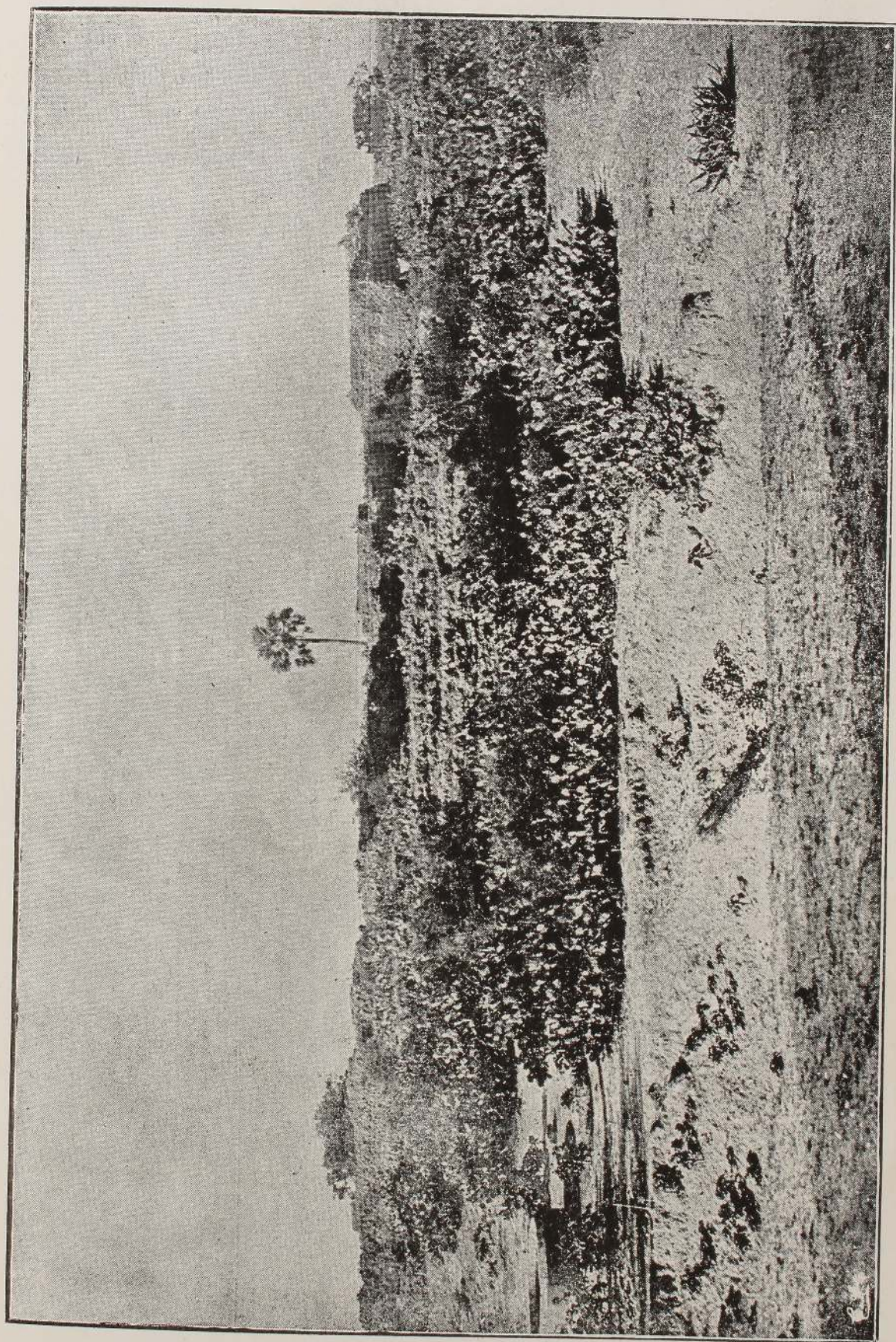


PLATE XI.—URUNDIKOTTE.—From the south-west.

the plan. Whether the original gates of the fort coincided with the present breaches is difficult to say. "Penn" speaks about "gateways in the east and west curtains" but this probably refers to the breaches made by the construction of the road referred to above.

Note.—The above account was communicated to the Society on December 14th, 1920 and the note was written sometime in 1922. Since then an account of *Urundikotte* has been given by R.H.B. in the "Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated" for April 27th, 1924. This writer uses the name Fort Eyrie, thus following Baldaeus and Simon Casie Chetty, and contributes a plan which agrees in the main with the one given in Plate x. of the present paper.

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

No. 2. SULTÁNS' MISSIVES: A.C. 1713; 1819.*

The Annual Embassy from the Sultán of the Máldive Islands to the Ceylon Government usually arrives at Colombo in the course of the last three months of the year.

During the Dutch occupation of the seaboard of the Island—and even in British times up to 1844 at least—a complimentary letter was sent yearly to the the “*Govorunadóru*,”¹ or Governor at Colombo.

This affords striking proof of the conservatism and ignorance of events, outside “their own little world,” formerly displayed by the Máldive Islanders, loath to break through a custom initiated at least as early as the Embassy in 1649 to Galle; then, and until Colombo was captured from the Portuguese in 1656, the chief seat of the Dutch Power in Ceylon.

The Sultáns' Missives have contained ordinarily request for the continuance of the friendship and favour of the Dutch and British Government in turn; for protection against enemies; and for aid to any Máldivian subjects who may chance to be wrecked on Ceylon shores; concluding—for a long period at least—with an apology for His Highness's Ambassadors, and the regular tender of presents.

These Letters clung so closely to a virtually stereotyped form, as to differ but little during the course of more than two and a half centuries.

* Indispensable help in the translation of the Máldivian texts and the notes has been generously afforded the writer by Ahmad Didi Effendí *Kuda Doriméná Kilagefánu*, and 'Abdul Hamid Didi Effendí, Máldivian Government Representative.

This applies almost equally to the replies of Dutch and British Rulers alike. The Colombo Governors (and Commanders at Galle no less) have studiously promised to do everything in their power to promote the good understanding subsisting with the Sultáns; undertaken to succour shipwrecked Máldivians, whilst stipulating for the same friendly office on the part of the Sultáns towards British subjects castaway on the Máldive Atols; closing their communications with expression of approval of the conduct of the Ambassadors; and finally specifying the return presents.

In the late Seventies of last Century, the writer, when serving as a Ceylon Civil Servant in Colombo, was enabled, by express permission, to examine the Dutch and English Archives at the Record Office; with the more special object of unearthing all available information regarding the Máldive Islands.

He was fortunate enough to reap a rich harvest; particularly in historical research touching Ceylon's Dependency, "*Divehi Rájje*" or "the Máldive Kingdom."²

More than 120 original Missives received from the Máldives came to light,³ covering the reigns, in whole or in part, of nine Sultáns, from S. Muzaffar Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín II., of the Diyamigili Dynasty (accession, A.C. 1704) to S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín IV. (accession, A.C. 1835), the fifth Ruler of the Mulí Dynasty; which still claims the throne, in the person of his grandson, Sultán Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín III. (first accession, A.C. 1893; second, A.C. 1903).

These Missives, or a representative selection, may possibly some day be given to the world by the Ceylon Government. Meanwhile, it will not be amiss to publish, from time to time, in the Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society some of the Letters of more than formal interest from the long series.

Towards this end, as a start, two Missives are being dealt with in the present Paper. These have been selected, advisedly, for four main reasons:—

(i.) The first Letter is the oldest known actual Missive extant, albeit written in *Tána* the present-day Máldivian script.⁴

(ii.) A century separates it in age from the other Letter.

(iii.) The evolution in the form of the current Máldivian characters is, thereby, the more clearly marked.⁵

(iv.) The contents of the two Missives differ wholly. Transcripts, with word for word meanings in English, are followed by explanatory Notes, and rounded off by running Translations.

A. SULTÁN'S MISSIVE: A.C. 1713.

This, the earliest original Letter from any Máldive Sultán discovered in the Dutch Archives,⁶ is of much historical value. It confirms the "*Tárikh*," and "*Rádavali*", or Chronicles of the Sultáns of the Máldive Islands, as to the particular Sultán reigning at the commencement of the 18th Century.⁷

By A.C. 1713 Sultán Muzaffar Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín II., had become firmly seated on the throne. He had secured the Sovereignty nine years previously (A.C. 1704) owing to fortuitous circumstances.

In that year, his predecessor, Sultán Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín, of the short-lived Isdú Dynasty, (who had ousted his own cousin, Sultán Ḥaşan X., a boy), went the *Hajj*; and was confidently reported to have perished at sea on the return voyage.

Persuaded of their Sultán's death, the stronger party's influence at Málé, over-riding the claims of his nephew, raised to the *Masnad* the Chief Vazír,

Muhammad *Dořiméná Takurufánu*, a distant relative, whom the departing Sultán had named as Regent during his pilgrimage.

In reality Sultán Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín had made landfall somewhere on the coast of India.

Three bold, but fruitless, efforts (the last and nearly successful in A.C. 1711, or only two years before the present Missive was penned) were made by the adventurous ex-Sultán—the “Bođu Kilagefánu” of story—to recover the throne, with aid obtained on the Indian Continent.⁸

Sultán Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín II. died in A.C. 1721; and was succeeded by his son, the able Ruler Sultán Íbráhím Iskandar 11.

At the latter's demise in 1750, the Dynasty passed from disaster to disaster; first by the capture and deportation of Sultán Mukarram Muhammed 'Imád-ud-dín III. in 1752;⁹ finally coming to an end, in the third generation, with the murder of Sultán Íbráhím Iskandar's only son, Sultán Muhammad Ghiyás-ud-dín, in 1774.¹⁰

The Letter now published is the Annual Missive of the year (A.C. 1713) it bears on its face;¹¹ and is couched in a strain humbler than are those of a later date. The fear of renewed attempts by his persistent rival to regain the throne may well account for the earnest, almost pathetic, appeal to the Dutch Governor not to deprive the Sultán of his “sheltering care.”

In style, the Missive affects, in the phraseology of the day, that simplicity which all Máldivian correspondence, official or private, has always assumed.

The type of the *Tána* writing will be seen to be both bolder and more stilted, than that in vogue a Century later.

Archaic word and letter forms prevail;¹² the peculiar “J” and “T” are at this day obsolete; “R”

and "N," for (a) silent termination and (b) re-duplication of succeeding consonant, by far out-number *avieni* (Λ), so freely used in the Letter of A.H. 1235¹³ (A.C. 1819); whilst palatal "Ñ" and cerebral "N" (and these, strangely, combined with dental "N") find no place in the later Missives.

The Sultán's seal, name, and the era are alone here written in Arabic: later Missives contain many words both Arabic in language and script.

The use of the honorific plural (*e.g.* ALUGADUMEN, MANIKUFÁNUMEN) was customary.

Very noticeable is the employment of the Christian Era, bespeaking the influence, at the period, of European traders to Málé. Letters of later years exhibit general preference for years *Anno Hijrae*, with occasional lapses to *Anno Christi* dating.

Transcript

SEAL¹⁴

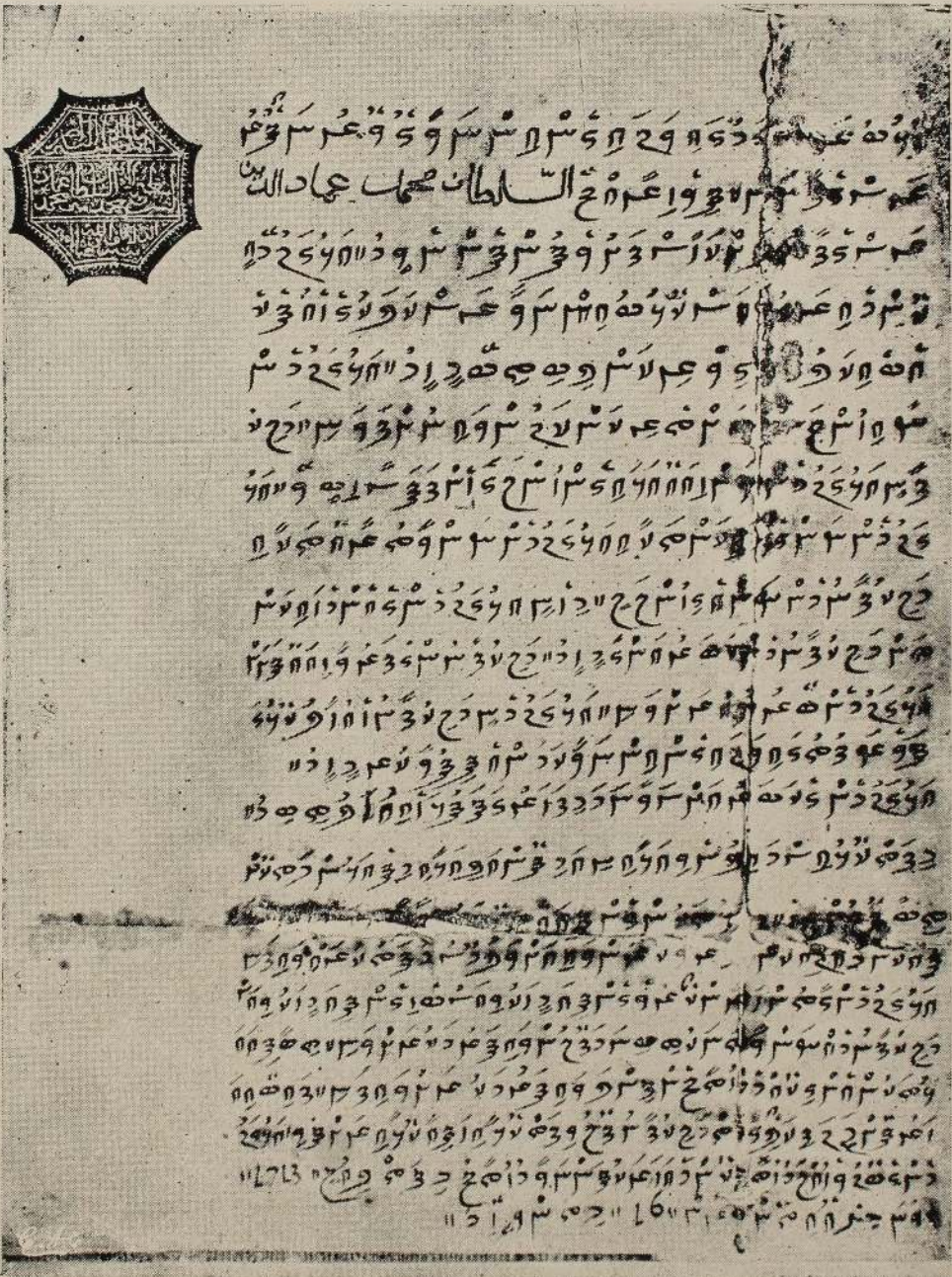
AL MA'UN BIL MALIKIL MUBÍN AN-NÁŞIR
SHAR'AT MUĤAMMAD UL AMÍN AS-SULTÁN MUĤAM-
MAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN. LATÍF ALLÁH IBÁDAT AMÍN.

LETTER

1. KOLUBU RASKAMUGAI VADAIGEN INNAVÁ
At Colombo the Kingly rule occupying who is
GOVORUNADÓRU
to the Governor
2. RASGEFÁNA (R) DIVEHI RÁ (Λ) JE AS-SULTÁN
Ruler of the Máldive Kingdom (We) Sultán
MUĤAMMAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN
MuĤammad 'Imád-ud-dín
3. RASGEFÁNU LA (R) KA HÁS FARU VEDUN¹⁵
King lakhs thousand fold salutation
DENNEVÍMU ALUGADUMEI¹⁶
make known. We

4. KO(N)ME IRAKU VIAS KOLUBU INNAVÁ
whatever time be it at Colombo (who) is
RASKALAKUGE HEU DEKE
of the Ruler kindness (who) have seen
5. E BEI KALUGE VÁGI VERIKAN LIBI TIBE
(and) of that person aid [*lit.* strength] (who) receive
MÍHÍMU ALUGADUMEN-
are the men. With Us
6. ÑÁI HUNNA SUHUBA(R)TERIKAN KADU(N)VAI
existing the friendship break
NU(R)FAVANI MAÑIKU-
do not Your
7. FÁNÍ ALUGADUMENÑA(N) HIAO ALAIGEN
Honour to Us shade affording
HUNNA GEHEN FADA SÁHIBÍ VÉ ALU-
(which) is a tree like the Lord (You) are.
8. -GADUMENÑA(N)GE HAI KANTAKAI ALUGADUMENÑA(N) VÁ
To Us any matters to Us
TURÁOTAKÁI
and difficulties
9. MANIKUFÁNUNENÑA(N) EGI HUNÑANÍ MIHÉNI
to Your Honour are known. This is because
ALUGADUMENGE E(N)ME HAIKAN-
of Our all affairs
10. -TA(N) MAÑIKUFÁNUNEN KABARU ANGÁ
to Your Honour news (who) inform
MÍHÍMU MAÑIKUFÁNUNGE FARUVÁ HIAO
(We) are the men. Of Your Honour's care the shade
DARU(N)
(who are) under
11. ALUGADUMEN BÉRU NUKURA(R)VANÍ
from Us separate do not
ALUGADUMENÍ MANIKUFÁNU HEU HÁLU-KOLU GA-
We Your Honour in good health
12. -DAVE RAFUTUGAI VADAI GEN INNAVÁ
vigour and happiness of the continuing
KAMA(N) EDI DUVÁ KURA MÍHÍMU
in the state (who) prayer make are the men.

13. ALUGADUMENGE KABARU A(R)SAVA NAMA
Of Us news (You) enquire if
MIFAHARU GADA DULAHEI UHALU TIBIMU
now in sound health (and) happiness (We) are.
14. MI FAT-KOLU ISMAILU NEVI¹⁷ ALÁI
This missive Ism'á'il Nevi (Our) servant (and)
NIAMI¹⁷ DON ALI ALÁI MI DE
Miami Don Ali (Our) servant these two
ALUN MATIKO(R)
(Our) servants in charge
15. TIBÁ FONU(N)VÍME (A) MI ALUTAKUN
placing (We) send. To these (Our) servants
GENDIA ETI KOLAKU VIÁFÁRIKAN
(which) they have taken few things for trading
KURA(R)VAI
cause (help)
16. DIAKANA MAADIAKANA (.) RAVA¹⁸ KARA(N)VAI
.....
A (R) VALU MUSUMU DATU¹⁶
In the early monsoon (their return) voyage
KURA(A)VAIFANI
cause (despatch of).
17. ALUGADUMEN GÁTUN HARÁN-KÓRU¹⁹ VEGEN
Us towards rebel becoming
DIA MÍHAKU VIAS BEHIGEN²⁰
has gone (any) man if driven out of course
DIA MÍHAKU VIAS
has gone (any) man if
18. MANIKUFÁNUMENNA(N)VA TANAKU TIBI NAMA
(where) Your Honour is to the place (it) be if
FONU(N)VAI DARUMA KURA(R)VANI TIBA
having sent the kindness do Us. To Your (country)
DIA A-
(who) have gone (Our)
19. LUTAKUN ENGI KO(A)ME MUHUTÁJEN²¹
servants make known whatever wants
FIN(N)LAVAI DARUMA KURA(R)VAIFANI
having satisfied the kindness do.
FAIBÉI A-
In the past



SULTAN'S MISSIVE : A. C. 1713.

Scale : One-third (approx.)

1871

NOV 1871

THE
PART

20. -HARU DO(R)ṬADAFI²² KALÓGE ATU MAṆIKUFÁNU
 year by Doṭṭadafi Kalóge's hand Your Honour
 FOṆUVI FAT-KOLÁI HADIÁ-KOLÁI²³ RA(R)DUVI
 (which) sent Missive and presents (We) received.

ALUGADU-
 Our

21. -MENGE BODU VE HU(Δ)NA MUHUTÁDÍ KO(N)ME
 great (which) are wants in whatever

AHARAKU DANNAVÁ MUHUTÁJU²¹
 year made known (those are) the wants.

MI FAT LIUNÍ 1713
 This Missive is written 1713

22. MI VANA JANÍRU²⁴ OITÉNBARU(N) 16
 of this being January October 16

MITA(N) VI HOMA
 this (which) is Monday.

Notes

1. *Govurunudóru*:—Corruption, doubtless through Portuguese, of the Latin *Gubernator*. The transliteration of the word greatly exercised the Máldivian State Secretaries: the first part appears in Sultáns' Missives under a variety of forms more or less close, e.g., *Govorana-*, *Goruna-*, *Gorna-*, *Govan-*, *Goun-*, *dóru*.

Of the "Commander" at Galle, they made *Kubudóru*.

2. Partially embodied in "Report on the Máldive Islands," Sessional Paper, XLIII., 1881.

3. *Sultáns' Missives*:—All the original Missives of the Sultáns which had survived between A.C. 1713 and A.C. 1880, were, with the consent of the Government, photographed and lithographed, or both, at the writer's charges.

These comprise Letters of S. Muzaffar Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín II. (*Máldivian Tána*, 2) 2: S. Íbráhím Iskandar II. (*Tána*, 9; Arabic, 2; Portuguese, 3; French, 1) 15: S. Mukarram Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III. (*Tána*, 8) 8: S. Haṣan 'Izz-ud-dín (*Tána*, 6; Arabic, 1) 7: S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín (*Tána*, 8; Arabic 1; French 1) 10: S. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dín (*Tána*, 3) 3: S. Haṣan Núr-ud-dín (*Tána*, 19) 19: S. Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín I. (*Tána*, 11; Arabic, 4) 15: S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín IV. (Arabic, 44) 44.

Some of the Missives are choice specimens of calligraphy, written in red and black characters; one (A.H. 1208) of S. Haşan Núr-ud-dín has an ornamental border in gold foliation.

4. The earliest original Missive in *Tána* known is dated A.C. 1713; the latest A.H. 1241 (A.C. 1825). Thereafter all have been in Arabic.

5. The oldest form of Máldivian script yet discovered, (i) *Evéla Akuru*, is that of copper-plate grants (*Lómáfánu*) which have survived to this day. This type, strikingly resembling medieval Sinhalese, gradually developed into (ii) *Dives Akuru* characters; which, though no longer employed, are known to a limited number of Máldivians on the Group.

Both (i) and (ii) read from left to right, the former approximating to the lithic script of Ceylon inscriptions much more closely.

The third form of character, (iii) *Tána*—based on Arabic and Persian elements, and, like them, read from right to left—seems to have been in concurrent use with (ii) *Dives Akuru* from the 17th Century at least, if not earlier.

For detailed information regarding the *Dives Akuru* and *Tána* Alphabets, reference may be made to C.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXVII., Extra Number, 1919, Appendix C.

6. The Dutch Archives contain an Arabic copy of Governor Laurens Van Pyl's reply, in A.C. 1688, to a Missive from "Muhammad Íbráhím," the Sultán then reigning, viz., S. Iskandar Íbráhím I., son of S. Shujáy Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín I.

7. See "The Máldive Islands," Sessional Paper, XV., 1921, p. 17.

8. *S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín*:—He made the first attempt to re-land at Málé within a month of his successor's accession (A.D. 1704). On this occasion he was seized, and banished to Fua Mulaku; his cousin, Sultán Haşan being sent to Hitadú Island in Adđu Atol, where he lived in exile until his death in A.C. 1758.

The former, after five or six year's captivity, managed to escape to Ceylon, and thence reached India: where, obtaining substantial aid, he again essayed to capture Málé, but had to retire ingloriously (A.C. 1711).

Towards the end of the same year he repeated his twice abortive efforts with a larger expedition; and by a night assault nearly succeeded in carrying Málé by storm.

The reigning Sultán notified the Dutch Governor H. Becker (October 19th, 1711) that Providence had intervened to repel his enemy: *Nu heeft God gementioneerd vyand weder van heer verdreven* (Dutch translation).

9. *S. Mukarram Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III.*:—Betrayed by the Máldivian Kázi, Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín, and his brother Ahmad Muhuy-ud-dín, Khatíb, to Ali Rája of Kannannúr in A.C. 1752.

Those of the Malabars who remained at Málé incontinently put the traitors to death; but were themselves overwhelmed within a few months by a rising of the Máldivians led by Don Maniku, son of *Muḥammad Famudéri Vazír* who met his Sultán's fate.

He was raised to the throne, as S. Haşan 'Izz-ud-dín, in A.C. 1759 by a grateful people, after the ex-Sultán's death in captivity.

10. *S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín*:—Shared the captivity in India of his uncle, the deported Sultán; but some years later escaped and returned to Málé; where he was given royal honour. On the death of S. Haşan 'Izz-ud-dín in A.C. 1767 he succeeded to the throne, the latter's sons being then minors. Sailing in A. C. 1773 on a pilgrimage to Mekka, he was refused landing on his return to Málé the following year, and murdered by adherents of the late Sultán whose wife and children he had banished.

De male quaesitis vix gaudet tertius heros. See Sessional Paper, XV., 1921, p. 19.

11. The writing on Missive of A.C. 1713 measures $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$, and runs to 22 lines. The photograph (Plate I) shows the old creases in the letter as found folded.

12. Cf: the old *Tána* writing on the *Pandanus* booklet of Máldive "Charms" (*Fađita Fot*) in C.A.S. Journal, Vol. XXVII., Extra Number, 1919.

13. See Sultán Haşan Núr-ud-dín's Missive of A.H. 1210 (A.C.1795), reproduced in Sessional Paper XLIII., 1881; as well as C.A.S. Journal Vol. XXXVII., Extra Number, 1919, where specimens of the present writing are given for comparison.

14. *Sultán's Seal*:—Octagonal; 1 9/10 in.; slightly cusped. This was the favourite shape up to the reign of S. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dín; though S. Ḥaṣan 'Izz-ud-dín used only smaller seals, round or oval. S. Ḥaṣan Núr-ud-dín changed from octagonal (one seal only), and large oval, to smaller horizontal *vesica piscis*. S. Muḥammad Mu'ín-dín I usually preferred a bold circular seal to the latter; but the pointed-oval has been re-adopted since invariably.

15. *Vedun*:—"Has two meanings, (a) 'present,' (b) 'salutation.' Inferiors use *Salám* (Arabic) in the latter sense" (A.H. Dídí).

16. Read *Aḷugaḍumeni* (line 3); *ḍaturu* (line 16).

17. *Nevi*; *Niami*:—*Nevi* was the Chief Máldive Agent and Senior Official in charge of Government or private goods shipped; *Niyami*, the Captain, or Tindal, responsible for the vessel's safety and navigation.

18. "The passage seems unintelligible as it stands: perhaps there is something omitted" (A.H. Dídí).

19. *Harán kóru*:—"Haram (Arabic) 'opponent' or 'rebel'. *Kóru* here is meaningless" (A.H. Dídí).

20. *Behigen* or *Behigen gos* (Pyrard: *behigue*, "sailing with the wind and current"). Cf. Drake's (old English) "spooming along before the sea."

21. *Muhutájen*:—"Muhutáju should be *mutádu* (Arabic, *muhtaj*)" (A.H. Dídí).

22. *Dotṭaḍafi*:—One of the many honorific titles (*kangati nam*), now virtually obsolete, such as *Dánná*, *Fenná*, *Kánná*, *Oḷiginá*, *Kavalanná*, *Waṭa Baḍéri*, &c.

23. *Hadiá*:—Arabic "present". "*Hadiá* presents are exchangeable between equals only; *Vedun* offered to a superior, or *vice versa*." (A. H. Dídí).

24. *Janíru*:—"January". "This term is still employed to denote the Christian Era; but *Isagefánu* ('Jesus Christ') is more usual." (A. H. Dídí).

Translation

SEAL.

The Noble Muḥammad, who seeks help from God of the Universe the Imparter of action (motives), by His knowledge of good and bad, and the

Grantor of happiness ; Whose laws he (*i.e.*, the Sultán) upholds, *viz.* the Sultán Amín Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín. O God, to that (His) Highness show kindness and mercy, overlooking his shortcomings. Amen.*

LETTER

To the Governor ruling at Colombo, (We), Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín, the Sultán of the Máldive Islands, offer countless (*lit.* lakhs and thousand-fold) salutations.

We have experienced at all times the goodwill of the Rulers at Colombo, and assistance from them. Be pleased not to (*lit.* do not) break the friendship which exists between Us. (Your Honour is) the Lord (*Sáhīb*) who, like the shadow of a tree, doth protect Us. Everything that befalls Us, and the difficulties which beset Us, are known to Your Honour, by reason of Our (*lit.* being the persons) ever keeping (Your Honour) informed regarding all Our affairs. Do not, (We beg), deprive Us of Your Honour's sheltering care, under which We abide.

We (*lit.* are persons who) offer prayers that (Your Honour) may continue in perfect health, vigour, and happiness. Should Your Honour desire to enquire regarding Our health, We are now in the enjoyment of sound health and happiness.

This Missive is sent (to Your Honour) in charge of (Our) two subjects Ismá'il *Nevi* and Don 'Ali *Niyami*. (Graciously) help them to dispose of the few commodities they have taken to trade withal; and (kindly) despatch them early in the monsoon.

Should any persons either inimical towards Us have gone, or (any other persons) been driven out of their course (*behigen*), to any place belonging to Your Honour, (kindly) send them back to Us.

* The writer is indebted to I. 'Abdul Hamid Dídí Effendi for transcript and translation of the Sultán's Seal.

Whatever requests Our servants who went to Your (domain) make, (be pleased to) satisfy.

The Missive and presents sent by Your Honour last year, in the hands of *Dottadafi Kalóge*, were (duly) received.

Our chief wants are those which (We) make known every year.

This Missive is written on Monday, the 16th October, of this Christian Year, 1713.

B. SULTÁN'S MISSIVE: A. C. 1819.¹

In 1819, the "Hayston," a British vessel, outward bound, with a cargo of metals, wines, glassware and spices, was driven by the S.W. Monsoon on to a reef, then uncharted, of the Northern Máldive Atols.

The officers, passengers, and crew took to the ship's two boats and a raft; but owing to the violence of the sea, the larger boat was lost, with all on board.

The other boat and raft, which held the Captain and twenty-nine men, after four days battling with the waves, were fortunately observed by some Islanders; who rescued all the surviving ship's company.

Taken first to Makunudú Island,² the Captain and other survivors were (in accordance with strict Máldivian regulation) conveyed subsequently in the Islanders' boats to Málé, the seat of Government.

From here the whole party was transported to Ceylon and India—fourteen men, with the Captain, to Galle; the remaining fifteen to Chittagong.

The Captain, with the first batch of castaways, reached Galle during the last week of August.

On August 28th, the Collector, Galle, reported to the Chief Secretary to Government:—

"I called upon Captain Sartorius, who informed me that every possible attention was shown himself, passengers, and crew during their residence at Málé.

Good houses were allotted them, plenty of the best food the Island afforded furnished, and as much clothing as they required. The boat in which they arrived here was furnished expressly to convey them; and all payment by bills on the shipowners at Calcutta, or other remuneration, refused. They all speak with gratitude of the kind treatment they received at Málé.”*

The present Missive of Sultán Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín I. is one of many similar communications received by Dutch and British Governors in Ceylon testifying to numerous instances which stand to the infinite credit of the Máldivians and their Rulers; wherein, for centuries past, like humane conduct has been displayed by the Islanders towards persons shipwrecked on their Atols.³

By former Máldivian Law, or long standing usage, all wrecks were invariably held to be royalty, the property of the Sultán.

This custom, mentioned by Pyrard (French captive at Málé, A.C. 1602-1607,⁴) also ruled in other sea-board States of India, *e.g.*, Kálastri, Sáwantwári, &c.

Under different Treaties with the East India Company, Indian Princes consented to waive their right to wrecks; but no such agreement would appear to have ever been contracted with the Máldive Sultáns.⁵

The Máldivians may lay claim to the proud distinction of being probably the only race, similarly situated on the face of the globe, who have not required to be taught by special contract, or legal enactment, the duty they owe their fellow men who have fallen into “troubles by shipwreck” on their “tempest-haunted” Atols.

“*Homines enim ad deos nullâ re proprius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando.*” (The Máldive Islands, Sess: Pap. XLIII., 1881).

* This communication from Galle was kindly supplied by Mr. E. Reimers, Government Archivist.

The "*Europa*" had been wrecked on the Máldives in 1812; in 1815 a Galle Dhoney was also driven ashore there; to be followed, within four years, by the "*Hayston*."⁶

In the first case the Governor of Ceylon, Sir R. Brownrigg, notified, the Sultán (S. Muḥammad Mu'ínud-dín I.) that he had expressed more than once his "sense of the kindness afforded" by His Highness similarly: on the second occasion the cargo of cinnamon from the Dhoney was presented to the Sultán in acknowledgment of his "humanity and care."

The third wreck, that of the "*Hayston*," called forth further hearty testimony to the same Ruler's enlightened action:—

"I have had," wrote the Governor (September 6th, 1819), "with great satisfaction the Letter which Your Highness' Messenger, who lately arrived at Galle, brought to the Collector of the District, containing the particulars of the loss of an English ship off the Máldive Islands, and of the humane treatment the officers, passengers, and crew who were so fortunate as to survive the wreck received from Your Highness during the period of their detention within Your dominions. The vessels in which they were despatched to Ceylon arrived in safety.

"I am most happy to learn that the conduct of the unfortunate sufferers gave Your Highness so much satisfaction while they remained under Your protection, and thereby rendered themselves worthy of the kind and benevolent care Your Highness was pleased to take of them.

"I have sent a present* similar to the Annual one usually made to you from this Government, together with

* The present shipped to the Sultán on September 22nd, 1819 comprised:—One bale of cinnamon; one ream of Europe paper; one quarter pound each of cloves, mace, nutmegs and cardamons; five pieces of sealing-wax; and five pounds of pepper.

a bale of cinnamon, which I request Your Highness to accept as a mark of my friendship and esteem.

“I shall always be most happy to assist the vessels belonging to my good friends, Your Highness’ subjects, whenever such assistance is required.

“May Your Highness continue to enjoy a long, happy, and prosperous reign.”

The sharp and pleasing contrast between the courteous behaviour of Captain Sartorius of the “Hayston,” and the disgraceful proceedings of Captain Alwayn and the crew of the “Europa”—conduct so outrageous as finally to necessitate the temporary incarceration, and subsequent surveillance, of Captain and Pilot at Málé?—doubtless induced the happy eulogy of the former so quaintly expressed in an unsophisticated paragraph of the Sultán’s Missive.

Transcript

SEAL

AS-SULTÁN MUḤAMMAD MU’ÍN-UD-DÍN

LETTER*

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 1. | AS-SULTÁN
The Sultán | MUḤAMMAD
Muḥammad | MU’ÍN-UD-DÍN
Mu’ín-ud-dín |
| | ISKANDAR
Iskandar | KULA
of pure | SUNDURA KA(Δ)-
race |
| 2. | -TIRI
a Kshatriya | BOVANA
of the Universe | MAHA RADUN
Great King. |
| | GÁLÍ
Of Galle | KÓTÉ
Fort | BODÁ
to the Great |
| | | SÁHÍBA(Δ)
Lord | MITA(N) LA(Δ)
these lakhs |
| 3. | -KA HÁS
thousand | FARUN
fold | DUVÁ SALÁM
prayers (and) salutations. |
| | MANIKUFÁNUMENGE
Of Your Honour | IGERÉZÍGE
an English | TIN
three. |
| 4. | -KUBU
masted | NAVE(Δ)
a ship | MI
at this |
| | URINJE EVE
grounded. | MI
This | NAVU
ship’s |
| | | | DIVEHI RÁ(Δ)JEYA(N)
Máldivian Kingdom |
| | | | KA(Δ)FITÁ-
Captain |

* Headed by HU’AL GHANI “He (God) is most bountiful.”

5. -NA(Δ) KÍ NAMÍ "SARUTÓSRIYÚS"
(is)called (by)the name Sartorius.
NA URUNUTÁ HATARU DUVAS
The ship grounded four days
6. VÍ FAHUN MÍHAKU NUDURÍMÁI
being after by a man not being seen
MIBAI MÍHUN NAVUN FAIBÁNÁ(Δ)
these men from the ship for landing
DE BA(N)-
two boats
7. -TE(N)YÁ KADUFATI GADAKÁI GEN NAVUN
and a raft taking from the ship
FAIBAIGE (Δ) OLENIKON BODU
got onto. While remaining (on the sea) in the big
8. BA(N)TE(Δ) YAN ERI MÍHUNÁ
boat (who) embarked the men
BA(N)TE(N)YÁ GE(Δ)LI(Δ)JE EVE KA(Δ)FITÁ-
(and) the boat sunk. The Captain
9. -NU ERI BA(N)TELI BAYAKU
(in which) embarked the boat people
DEKEGEN MAKUNUDU VE KIYÁ RAĀKA(N)
having seen Makunudú being called to an island
GENGOS-
having taken ;
10. -VAI RASGEFÁNU VADAIGE(Δ)VÁ RAĀ(N)
the King (where) residing to the Island
GENASLÍMAI MI KA(Δ)FITÁNU
when brought this Captain
11. KURE(Δ) AHAIFÍMU NUVUGAI HURÍ KON
from We asked "In the ship are what
E(N)CHE(Δ)-TOEVE EHÍMÁI KA(Δ)FI-
things"? When asked the Captain
12. -TÁNU BUNÍ DAGADÁI EKATAYÁI FURÁRU
said "Iron, steel, sheets,
LÓYÁI RÁYÁI KARA(Δ)
copper, wines, cloves,
13. -FULÁI BI(N)LÚRI TA(N)TÁI" MI OPIN
glass dishes. In this odi
KA(Δ)FITÁNÁI EKU SAUDA
the Captain with fourteen

1870

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14. MÍHUN GÁYA(N) EBA FONUVÍMU MI NAU
 men to Galle. We have sent. This ship
 URUNU TANA KÍ MI MÍHUN
 (where) grounded place called these men (Máldivians)
 GOS AI-
 gone (and) come
15. -SVÁ TANE(N) NUNEVE MI NAVUN
 a place is not. From this ship
 LA(Δ)VÍ E(N)ME KARA(Δ)FÚ BASDÁ EKEVE
 was beached in all cloves bag one.
16. MI MÍHUNGE RÁ(Δ)JEYA(N)
 Of these (Máldivian) people to the Kingdom
 MÍHA HEU MÍHE(N) DUHÁKUVES
 such good man at any days
 AI VÁHAKA VES
 came news
17. NÁHAMU ADI KALÁSÍNGE FANARA
 We never heard. Further of the sailors fifteen
 MÍHUN EHEN ODIYAKUN SADIGAMA(Δ)
 men in another *odi* to Chittagong
18. FONUVÁ(Δ) KA(Δ)FITÁNU BUNÍMÁI
 (whom) to send the Captain having asked
 EBA TIBÚ MANIKUFÁNUMENNA(Δ) MI-
 are remaining. To Your Honour these
19. -TA(N) LA(Δ)KA HÁS FARUN
 lakhs thousand fold
 DUVÁ SALÁM SANAT 1235⁸
 prayers and) salutations. (Hijra) year 1235

Notes

1. The writing (19 lines) on the original Missive covers 12½ inches by 8 inches. Both reduced photographs (Plates I, II.) are approximately one-third size.

The Seal is of horizontal *vesica piscis* shape; 1 5/12 inches by 1 inch.

2. *Makunudú* (*Malcolm Atol*):—A large lagoon reef, 15 miles long by 3 miles broad, 10 miles West of Miladummaḍulu Atol, North.

Said to have been unknown to Europeans previous to the Indian Navy Survey of the Máldives in 1834-36. According to native information many ships have been lost with all hands on its barren reef, scarcely a vestige of the wrecks remaining after a few hours, owing to the violence of the surf and the steepness of the reef.

Except Makunudú Island (lat. 6° 25' N., long. 72° 41' E.), inhabited, on the N.E., point and a small island N.W., there is nothing but the surf to mark the reef.

3. *Wrecks and Máldivian Humanity*:—Going back to the 17th and 18th Centuries.

In 1631 “the King (S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I., A.C. 1629-1658) of the Islands wrote to D. George de Almeyda (Captain of a Portuguese vessel, wrecked in the Group,) condoling his misfortune and sending him a parcel of rice.” (*Stephen, Faria-y Sousa, III., 397*).

In August, 1658, the “*Persia Merchant*” was wrecked on Tiladummatí Atol. The fifty survivors (passengers and crew) were well treated by the Islanders, given “toddy to drinke and rice to eate” with “fish and other good things, as hony (jaggery), on which they fed like farmers.” Despite some bickering (probably induced by mutual misunderstanding), the shipwrecked Europeans were, after a month's stay, provided with a “a very good boate” (finally “agreed for in 200 pieces of eight”), in which they reached Ceylon at “Caliputeen” (Kalpitiya); and (except Mr. William Vassal with twelve others, who were taken to Kandy, and shared the captivity of Robert Knox and his fellows of the “Anne”) ultimately found their way to India (*Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXI., 1902*).

Thirteen years later, Rykloff Van Goens, the Dutch Governor at Colombo, sent a Letter and presents to the Máldive Sultán (Iskandar Íbráhím I., A.C. 1658-1698) in courteous acknowledgement of his good treatment of some Hollanders and native sailors, crew of a Jaffna vessel wrecked in his dominions. (*Dutch Records; Resolutions of Council, Colombo, 1671*).

The survivors of the Dutch ship “*Ravestein*,” with a valuable cargo of gold, wrecked on the Atols in May, 1726, received every attention. The Sultán's tolerant action throughout, under most trying circumstances, justly evoked the gratitude of Governor P. Vuyst; who expressed his “hearty thanks for all the aid afforded and

kindness shown," admitting the Sultán's "generous and kindly spirit" which had ignored the unruliness of the Captain. *The Máldive Islands; Sessional Paper XLIII., 1881, pp. 44-45).*

In 1777 the "Duras," a French vessel, with some ladies on board, was cast away on the Island of Himití (N. Nilandé Atol). All the shipwrecked folk met with the kindest treatment from the Islanders of the Atol where the ship was lost as well as at Málé.

4. *Máldivian Salvage Law*:—"Il se perdit lá (les Maldives) vn nauire appartenant au Roy d' Achen. Le Roy gaigna toute cette marchandise, qui luy appartient selon la coustume." (*Pyrard, Voyage, 1679, pp. 210-11).*

The law at the present day was clearly stated (September 22nd, 1905), by the Prime Minister to H. H. the Sultán in connection with the salved goods from the SS. "Crusader":—"One half of the goods saved by the Máldivians from a vessel wrecked in His Highness' dominions shall be the property of the Máldivian Government and the people who saved them; the other half is the property of the original owners." (*Papers relating to the Máldive Islands, 1904-1910; p. 9.*

5. See *Sessional Paper, XLIII., 1881, p. 123.*

6. *Loc. cit.* p. 130.

7. "Europa." :—*Loc. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

8. A.H. 1235 = A.C. October 21st, 1819—October 9th, 1820.

Translation

SEAL.

The Sultán Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín.

LETTER.

(We), the Sultán Muḥammad Mu'ín-ud-dín Iskandar, a Kshatriya of pure race, Great King of the Universe, send to the Great Lord of Galle Fort countless greetings with our prayers.

A three-masted English vessel of Your Honour's Nationality has been cast away in this Máldive Kingdom. The name of the Captain of the ship is Sartorius.

Four days after the ship grounded, as no one had seen her, the (ship's) people took to the two boats and a raft.

Whilst still on the sea, the men who got into the large boat were lost with the boat itself.

The boat in which the Captain embarked having been seen by some of Our people (Máldivians) they took them (Captain and others) to an Island called Makunudú.

When they were brought to the Island where the King resides (Málé), We asked the Captain:—"What goods are on board the ship?" To this enquiry the Captain replied:—"Iron, steel, copper-sheets, wines, cloves, and glass-ware."

In this *Ođi* We are sending fourteen men, with the Captain, to Galle.

The place where this vessel was wrecked is a spot which Our people do not frequent.

Only one bag of cloves was washed ashore from the ship.

We have never heard at any time of the arrival in our Kingdom of a man so good as this (Captain).

For the rest, fifteen sailors, who were to be sent to Chitagong in another *ođi*, are remaining (at Málé), at the request of the Captain.

Lakhs and lakhs of salutations and prayers (We offer) to Your Honour.

(Dated,) A. H. 1235 (A.C. 1819).⁸

THE KAHÁPANA OF THE VINAYA
PÁRAJIKÁ PÁLI.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, B.A., C.C.S.

In the Vinaya are found two very early sets of texts relating to money, accompanied by ancient scholia. These are as follows:—

A. Párájiká Páli, 2nd Párájiká; Adinnádánamhi Patama Bhánaváraṇ.

Tena kho pana samayena Rájagahe pañca másako pádo hoti....Yo pana bhikkhu gámá vá arañña vá adinnaṇ theyyasaṅkhátaṇ ádiyeyya yathárupe adinnádáne rájáno coraṇ gahetvá haneyyuṇ vá bandheyyuṇ vá pabbájeyyuṇ vá corosi bálosi mulhosi thenosí ti tatháruṇaṇ bhikkhu adinnaṇ ádiyamáno ayam pi párájiko hoti asaṇváso ti.

(Padabhájana) Yatháruṇaṇ náma: pádaṇ vá pádárahaṇ vá atireka pádaṇ vá.....Coro náma: yo pañca másakaṇ vá atireka pañca másakaṇ vá agghanakaṇ adinnaṇ theyyasaṅkhátaṇ ádiyati, eso coro náma.

Now at that time at Rájagaha five másakas were a páda (quarter)....Whatsoever bhikkhu shall take, from village or from wood, anything not given—what men call “theft”—in such manner of taking as kings would seize the thief for and slay, or bind, or banish him, saying “Thou art a thief, thou art stupid, thou art a fool, thou art dishonest,”—the bhikkhu who in that manner takes the thing not given, he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.

(Soholium) “In such manner”: a quarter or things worth a quarter, or over a quarter.....“A thief”:

he who takes with theftuous intent what is not given, worth five *másakas* or over five *másakas*—this one is a thief.

B. *Ibid.* Kosiyavagga 8th nissaggiya.

Rúpiya sikkhápada. Yo pana bhikkhu játarúpa rajataṇ uggaṇheyya vá uggaṇhápeyya vá upanikkhittaṇ vá sádiyeyya nissaggiyaṇ pácittiyaṇ ti.

(Padabhájana) Játarúpaṇ náma satthuvaṇṇo vuccati. Rajataṇ náma kahápaṇo loha-másako dāru-másako jatú-másako ye voháraṇ gacchanti.

9th nissaggiya.

Rúpiya saṇvohára sikkhápada. Yo pana bhikkhu nánappakárakaṇ rúpiya saṇvoháraṇ samápajeyya nissaggiyaṇ pácittiyaṇ ti.

(Padabhájana) Rúpiyaṇ náma satthuvaṇṇo kahápaṇo loha-másako dāru-másako jatú-másako ye voháraṇ gacchanti.

Precept as to “*rúpiya*.” Whatsoever bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be kept in deposit for him—that is a *pácittiya* offence involving forfeiture.

(Scholium) Gold is called “colour of the Teacher.” Silver means the *kahápaṇa*, the (base) metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current

Precept on trafficking with “*rúpiya*.”

Whatsoever bhikkhu shall engage in any one of the various transactions in which “*rúpiya*” is used, that is a *pácittiya* offence involving forfeiture¹.

(Scholium) “*Rúpiya*” means gold (lit. colour of the Teacher), the *kahápaṇa*, the (base) metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current.

The *káhapaṇa* according to the fifth century commentaries is known as the *Níla* or “faultless” *kahápaṇa*, the adjective being said to be formed from *na-eḷaṇ*. As to this coin various traditions are current in Ceylon and Burma; all, however, agree that it consisted of 20 *másakas*.

The Ceylon tradition, apparently dating from the time of Buddhaghosa, represents the Níla kahápaṇa as well as the másaka as of gold; in other words they were supposed to be a coined kaḷanda and mañjādi of that metal. The fourteenth century Sinhalese Ummagga Játaka gives the composition of the Níla kahápaṇa as one half *mádha* gold and one half alloy.

The páda or quarter was of 5 másakas of gold †.

In the Burmese books in addition to a copper kahapana we find:

- (a) the káhapana of pure gold,
- (b) the "Mixed" or Missaka kahápaṇa, composed of 5 másas of gold, 5 másas of silver, and 10 of copper, with one paddy seed weight of *loha*, this kahápaṇa being the Níla kahápaṇa.

The Burmese páda was of 5 guñjás of gold, that is one fourth of the gold contents of the whole coin, which accordingly should weigh 20 másas of 7.2 grains each or double the Ceylon kaḷanda. It should be noted that the Ceylon páda on the basis of the Ummagga Játaka figures also contained 5 guñjás of fine gold ‡.

It is apparent that there is no unity of tradition on the subject of the Níla kahápaṇa among the Southern Buddhists.

European savants hitherto have considered that the kahápaṇa was of copper as laid down in Manu's Laws. There is, however, no doubt that these represented local usage and that the kahápaṇa varied in different parts of India ||.

* Sacred Books of the East, XIII, pp. 26, 27.

† Samantapásádika; Pálimuttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅgho; Tíká on last, &c.

‡ Sikkhápada Valañjana of Pañcamúla; Vajirabuddhi Tíká; Pátimokkha padattha Anuvaṇṇaná of Vicittálañkára; Uttara Vinicchaya Tíká of Vácissara (quoted in Nápakitti's Bhikkhu Pátimokkha Gaṇṭhidípani)

|| Rapson's Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty. p. clxxxiv.

We luckily possess a clue to the identity of the Níla kahápaṇa in the statements of Sáriputta and Vajirabuddhi that the Rudradámaka kahápaṇa was three fourths of the Níla, though we do not know the ancient sources to which these twelfth century writers are indebted*. The Rudradámaka kahápaṇa is first mentioned in the Samantapásádika of Buddhaghosa, and can hardly be any other coin but the silver kahápaṇa of the Western Kshatrapas, in which dynasty were two Rudradámans, the one a prince of some importance about A.D. 150, the other c.A.D. 327-358. These coins were issued from A.D. 119 to 388, and were continued by the Gupta from about 409 to 480 at least. The standard on which they were struck was that of the Persian hemidrachm of 43.2 grains. The Níla kahápaṇa therefore should weigh 57.6 grains; in other words it was the purána or eldling of 32 guñjás.

This identification of the Níla kahápaṇa with the eldling is in complete agreement with the known state of currency in early India, where gold circulated either as dust, ingots, or in the shape of ornaments such as the nishka or breast pendant, the coinage proper consisting of eldlings and copper paṇas or másakas supplemented by cowries. It also accords with the ancient scholia already quoted. Thus that on the eighth nissaggiya differentiates between silver (rajata), under which head are included the kahápaṇa and the various másakas "which are current," and gold on the other. The kahápaṇa therefore cannot have been of gold, which must have circulated in a raw or at least uncoined state. "Silver" was the silver kahápaṇa *par excellence* with its subsidiary pieces, the different másakas. These clearly were of low value, and as pieces of wood or lacquer of convenient size cannot have been equal to one of base

* Sáratttha dípaní Vinaya Tíká, Vajirabuddhi Tíká.

metal in worth I should suppose that the wooden and lacquer *másakas** were the fractional parts of the metal coin, the word “*másaka*” being applied generically to “small change” from its chief denomination, just as “*rúpiya*” in the Precepts, literally silver, includes gold and from the context must mean “bullion” or rather “money” in the sense of currency medium. Its employment much in the same way as the French “*argent*” further confirms the position that the silver *eldling* was the principal coin in circulation.

The old Magadha currency thus consisted of the silver *kahápana* with subsidiary pieces of base metal or other materials. If the texts really represent the usage in the sixth century B.C. it is quite possible that the base metal *másaka* was not even punch-marked but was a mere piece of metal with a conventional value such as was used in Upper Burma. With the wooden *másaka* should be compared the bitter almonds used for currency in Gujarat in the seventeenth century†, the tamarind seeds mentioned in the *Tíká* on *Pálimuttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅgaho*, and the cowries employed for the same purpose in many parts of the world.

According to the *Arthaśāstra* the later Magadha coinage consisted of the silver *paṇa* with its half, quarter and eighth, the copper whole and half *máshaka* with the whole and half *kákaṇi* in the same metal. The *paṇa* almost certainly was of the same weight as the *eldling* and equalled 32 *guñjás*.

In Orissa, Bengal and the old North-Western Provinces the same system continued as late as the nineteenth century and was:—80 cowries=20 *gaṇḍas*=4 *búris* (*kákaṇis*)=1 *paṇ*, 16 or 20 of the last going to the *kaháwan*, *káhan*, or *kahápana*. Here the *paṇ* of 80

* These I take to be *másaka-rúpa* as opposed to *másaka* (*Mhv. Tíká* on cap. IV, 13).

† Tavernier, *Indian Travels*, p. 2.

cowries corresponds with Manu's copper paṇa of 80 guñjās and was once identical with the Magadha metal másaka. The kaháwan is now merely the name of a sum of cowries and is no longer of silver.

To sum up, the kahápaṇa in or shortly after Buddha's lifetime was the well known silver eldling. In process of time and after the introduction of a gold coinage this was forgotten and the fifth century commentators naturally followed the monetary system with which they were acquainted, just as in the early nineteenth century the larin (Sinh. *massa*) was treated as a másaka. An example of the same process is to be seen in the translation of "denarius" by "penny" in the Authorised Version of the Gospels.
