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JOURNAL
OF THE
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
1929.

VOLUME XXXI

No. 82—Parts I., II., III., and

PAPERS:

1. A THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE ABRAHAM
2. PRE-VIJAYAN LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS IN
CEYLON
3. PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN CEYLON
4. THE EARLIEST DUTCH VISITS TO CEYLON
5. THE THRONE OF THE KINGS OF KANDY
6. THREE CHOLA INVASIONS OF CEYLON
MAHAVAMSA
7. NOTES ON
8. "VIYAT PATI"
9. EXCERPTA MALD.

The design of the
into the History of
Sciences, and
former Inhabitants

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

• THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1929.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1929.

Meetings and Papers.

Four General Meetings were held during the year. At the Annual General Meeting held on the 8th June, 1929, the Annual Report and a paper on "The Lizardlike Reptiles of Ceylon" by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A. (Cantab)., which was illustrated by lantern slides, were read. The papers read at the remaining meetings were:—

13th Feb. A Thousand Years Before Abraham, by Dr. W. F. Bade, Director of the Palestine Institute of the Pacific School of Religion.

27th Sept. Pre-Vijayan Legends and Traditions pertaining to Ceylon, by Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

2nd Nov. Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon, by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

There were also four meetings of Council.

Publications.

Journal Vol. XXXI. No. 81., was issued containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, notices of books and a list of members, the following papers and notes:—

i. Feudalism in Ceylon, by Mr. Edmund Reimers.

- ii. Economic and Social Organization in Ceylon in Early Times, by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
- iii. European Chairs in Ceylon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
- iv. The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon, by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- v. Excerpta Maldiviana, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Retired.

The Aluvihara Edition of the Pali Classics.

The second and final part of the Papañca Sūdanī, containing Majjhima-paññāsa and Upari-paññāsa., pp. v. + 543 was issued. This part has very kindly been edited for the Society by Dhammakitti Siri Dhammānanda Nāyaka Thera, Principal, Vidyālankāra College and is now on sale at Rs. 3.00.

Members.

There are now on the Roll 343 members, including 5 Honorary and 54 Life members. During the year the following members were elected, *viz* :—

Dr. Francis Richard Alles, L.R.C.P. & S.; Rev. N. K. Siri Paññāsīha Thero; Prof. Narasinhulu Ayyah Narayanan, Messrs. Walvin de Silva, B.Sc., C.C.S., Hemasiri Henry Basnayaka; Edward Gerald Gratiaen; Richard Pieris Malalasekara; Dharmavamsa D. M. Goonaratna; D. Wanasundara, Mudaliyar; R. Noel Paton; Syed Rauf Pasha; Junius Richard Jayawardene; Samuel Robert Amarasekara; Rev. Acharya Ahungalle Anomadassi Tissa Sthavira; Wijesuriya Aratchige Don Albert Wijesuriya; Alexander Mendis Abayagunaratna; Subbaiya Natesan, B.A., B.L., The Hon. Mr. Edward St. John Jackson; Mr. Henry Ashmore Pieris, B.A. (Cantab); Miss Cornelia Hilda Miriam Pieris; Messrs. Felix R. Dias, M.A., L.L.M. (Cantab)*; John E. Perera Gunawardene, J.P., U.P.M.; Vaithianathan Kandiah; Leopold Alfred Ashby Hayter; Colvin Reginald de Silva, B.A.; Dr. Wythialingam Balendra, M.R.C.S., L.D.S. (Eng.);

Kaviraj K. Charles de Silva Kumarajeeva ; Messrs. Ralph Henry Bassett, C.C.S. ; Clement Leo Unamboowe ; William Cecil M'Kechine Martin ; Ananda Rajah Hallock, C.C.S. ; K. Charlin Fernando, B.A. (Lond.) ; Mantri Witana David Gunasekara ; Dionysius Bartholomeus Seneviratna, C.C.S. and Rev. Father Emmanuel Edmund Pieris, O.M.I.

Deaths :—The Council records with regret the deaths of the following :—Sir Albert Gray, C.B., K.C., Dr. Charles Alwis Hewavitarna, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Dr. Paul Benedict Sarasin, and Mr. C. J. A. Marshall, J.P., U.P.M.

Sir Albert Gray, C.B., K.C., at one time a member of the Ceylon Civil Service, was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1894. Among his literary works he translated Francois Pyrard of Laval's account of his voyage to the East Indies, for the Hakluyt Society of which he was once the President.

Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna joined the Society in 1905 and served on this Council for several years.

Dr. Paul Benedict Sarasin was elected Honorary member in 1888, and contributed an article called the "Outline of two years' Scientific Researches in Ceylon" to our Journal. His monumental work "Ergebnisse Naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon," deals with his investigations into the Natural History of Ceylon.

Resignations :—Mr. M. S. A. Hydari, I.C.S., resigned his membership on his leaving the Island.

The Council.

Sir A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., President of the Society from 1926, left the Island on being appointed Governor of Fiji. His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., who as Governor is Patron of the Society, graciously consented to accept the Presidentship.

Dr. Joseph Pearson was elected Vice-President in place of Mr. R. G. Anthonisz whose term of office expired.

Under Rule 20, Mr. L. J. B. Turner, and Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara retired by seniority, and Mr. A. M. Hocart

and the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera by least attendance. Out of these Mr. Turner and Mr. Perera were re-elected and the other vacancies were filled by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Hon. Mr. L. Macrae and Mr. Edmund Reimers.

Clerk to the Society.

Mr. D. Jayaratna who had served the Society for seventeen years, left us to better his prospects and your Council desire to place on record its appreciation of his faithful services. His place as clerk to the Society has been taken by Mr. J. C. Jayasinha who has been appointed on six months' probation.

Library.

The additions to the library including parts of periodicals numbered 109.

The Society is indebted for donations to the following :—

The Government of India ; The Government of Ceylon ; The Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India ; The Pali Text Society, London ; The Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma ; The University of Madras ; The Engineering Association of Ceylon ; The Forest Department of the Madras Presidency.

Exchanges were effected during the year with the following institutions :—

The Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland ; The American Oriental Society, New Haven, U.S.A. ; Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig ; The Royal Empire Society, London ; Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo ; Geological Society of London ; The Siam Society, Bangkok ; Department of Agriculture, Washington ; l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi ; The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ; The Indian Antiquary, Bombay ; The Smithsonian Institution, Washington ; The American Philological Society, Baltimore ; The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai ; The Musée Guimet, Paris ; The Archaeological Department of Mysore, Bangalore ; The Editor, Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, Munchen-Neubiberg ; The Bihar

and Orissa Research Society, Bankipore ; The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon ; The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore ; Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Taal-land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie.

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

The Editor-in-Chief has forwarded the following report of the work done during the year:—

1. The work of collecting material for the Dictionary from literary sources is now nearly completed. During this year 24 books were indexed, which, added to the figures given in my previous Report, brings up the total to 583.
2. The work of transferring words collected from books and common speech to cards for the purpose of editorial treatment was continued this year. On the 31st of December the number of entries so transferred was 287, 207. Arrangement of cards in alphabetical order was also continued and by the 31st of December, cards *a* and *kau* totalling 39,472 had been arranged.
3. Some considerable progress has already been made in the editorial treatment of words that have been alphabetically arranged.
4. Early last year it was thought advisable to prepare a few specimen pages in order to ascertain the views of Oriental scholars on the method of arrangement and treatment of words which it is proposed to adopt in the compilation of the Dictionary. These specimen pages were printed and forwarded to the members of the Consultative Committee and other scholars in November last. Already we have received a number of criticisms which will enable us to improve considerably the provisional plan that had been adopted in the specimen pages.
5. The first part of the revised edition of Dampiyā Atuvā Gāṭapadaya was issued in December last ; and the second part is now going through the press. The second part of the Saddharma Ratnāvaliya consisting of 160 pages is now ready to be issued.

The Archaeological Work in 1929.

The acting Archaeological Commissioner has sent the following summary of the work done by his department in the year 1929:—

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

1. Conservation.

Anurādhapura :—The most important work of the year, now practically completed, was the preservation of the Image House known as the brick building to the west of the Eastern Dāgāba. The type of the building is similar to the Demaḷa Mahā Sāya or Northern Temple at Polonnaruva. Nothing remains of the colossal statue but fragments of the lotus pedestal. The door of the temple was of such dimensions as to allow a full view of the statue within and the chief interest of the ruin are the immense doorposts formed of monoliths 36 ft. in height, nine feet of which are sunk into the foundations. These monoliths had been broken into respectively three and five sections and the work of lifting them and replacing them in position was accomplished with no little difficulty. The smallest pieces of the finely moulded frame weighed several tons each: the work was handicapped by the lack of modern appliances and chain blocks had to be used for lifting the fragments with the least possible danger to those employed. The broken sections have been fitted together by steel rods: unfortunately the third monolith which formed the lintel has not been found. In the course of searching for the scattered parts of the door frame further features of the building such as walls, steps, etc. were brought to light and are now being carefully conserved.

Polonnaruva :—As during the previous few years the main conservation party was engaged at Polonnaruva on several important monuments.

Work on the following buildings has been brought to a close :—

(1) The pointing of the Priory walls, which was started last year.

(2) The conservation of the group of buildings, including a small Dāgāba, known as the Ransimāligāva, was undertaken this year.

(3) The pointing of the main building of the Audience Hall; on the surrounding outer walls is still in progress.

(4) Conservation of the small plastered building so-called the Mausoleum opposite the circuit bungalow.

5. The Island Pavilion in the bed of the Tōpāvāva tank; this last with its remains of plastered walls showing traces of colour, and concrete landing stages is now one of the most interesting secular remains of the ancient city.

Another section of the North-western retaining wall of the Quadrangle has been re-built.

Rain water was noticed to filter through the brick dome of the Thūpārāma, endangering the building. Water-proofing was tried successfully first on a part of the dome and this year on the remaining portions.

An improved form of weather proof protectors have been placed over the frescoes of the Demaḷa Mahā Sāya.

Conservation work has been started on the Lotus Bath near the Northern Temple and is now in progress.

2. Research.

Excavations :—Owing to the absence, on leave, of the Archaeological Commissioner, the excavations at Mantai were not continued this year; and consequently more money and labour were available for the excavations in the Citadel of Anurādhapura started on a small scale last year.

The building at which the excavations were started last year was completely removed of debris and its ground plan laid bare. This was buried to such an extent by the accumulation of centuries that it was necessary to dig to a depth of more than ten feet before the floor level was reached. The building is a pillared maṇḍapa 50 feet square on a brick faced plinth 2 ft. 2 ins. from the ground. One of the carved risers of the flight of steps was discovered about 10 feet away and the moonstone, now in the Anurādhapura Museum,

with its well executed elephants, horses, bulls, and lions and scroll work was found in a very disintegrated state, several feet above its original ground level. Fragments of glazed tiles of five different colours, bluish green predominating, were scattered in and around this building; but not a single complete specimen was found among them.

Remains of another edifice of massive brick construction were unearthed to the south-east of the building described above. The entrance to the inner room is from the north through a stone doorway now fallen down. Within this *sanctum* there is a platform, 2 ft. 7 in. high from the ground level, the side of which is faced with moulded slabs. The moulding consists of an ovolo and ogee with a vertical face between. When the inner room was excavated the upper slabs of this platform were found fallen down; but they have since been replaced in their original position. On one of the vertical slabs of the platform, on its north side there are five letters engraved, reading *uturudese* 'North side'; which doubtless was intended to guide the stone mason in fitting the slab together. The letters belong to the eighth century; and this inscription therefore is of great importance in supplying a date for the building.

Epigraphical :—The total number of inscriptions copied during the year is 73. Of these 28 are Brāhmī inscriptions on the driplines of caves. Of the new discoveries, the following deserve special mention :—

1. A pre-Christian record from Pulmoddai in the Trincomalee district contains some word forms not found elsewhere.

2. A pillar inscription of Dappula V. found at Deṭa-gamuva a mile to the south of Kataragama and now preserved in the temple at the latter place is interesting for the very ornate style of the language and also introduces us to an historical personage not mentioned in the Chronicles, namely Lāmāni Mihindu, son of Udaya II.

3. A rock inscription at Kāḍigala in the Vanni Hatpattu is the only inscription so far found of Vaṅkanāsika Tissa.

It also gives us the name of that monarch's mother 'Jita Devi.' The re-examining of the rock inscriptions at Akuru-keṭugala near Hātigamuva in the Hiriyāla Hatpattuva and Velangolla resulted in ascribing these two records to Amaṇḍa Gāmaṇī and Jeṭṭha Tissa II, respectively. No other inscriptions of these two rulers are known to exist.

Volume III, part 2 of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* was published. It contains three articles namely:—

Oruvala Sannasa, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

Badulla Pillar Inscription and Mannar Kacceri Pillar
• Inscription, by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

Owing to the present financial situation it has been decided by Government that the future production of the *Epigraphia* be deferred with the exception of such work as the local Epigraphical Assistant and other contributors can put up for publication.

Finances.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 3,375.71 to the credit of the Society at the close of the year.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and the Chinese Records Translation Fund are also annexed.

Your Council desire to thank Mr. Herbert Tarrant for having so kindly audited the Society's accounts for the year under review.

General.

The Council hope that with the speedy completion of the western wing of the Museum it will now be possible to provide adequate accommodation for the expansion and proper arrangement of the Society's library. The present unsatisfactory arrangements have been a subject of complaint for many years and we are now so uncomfortably crowded that systematic arrangement even of our existing valuable collection of books is impossible.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, for the Year 1929.

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1929			Charges	1,609	67
Government Grant (Sinhalese Dictionary)	43,750	00	Salaries	1,191	00
do Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.	1,000	00	Books	488	01
Entrance Fee	94	50	Chairman, Sinhalese Dictionary Manag- ing Committee	43,750	00
Sale of Publications	71	67			
				47,038	68
Sundries :—					
Bank Interest and Commission 24.95			Sundries :—		
Interest on Fixed Deposit .. 35.00			Postage	194	08
			Petty Cash	109	05
			Bank Charges—Cheque Book	2	50
Annual Subscriptions, 1930			Balance :—		
1929			R.A.S., C.B. current a/c in I.B.I. 2,046.88		
1928			R.A.S., C.B. Library Fund		
1927			in I.B.I.	136.42	
			R.A.S., C.B. Fixed Deposit in I.B.I.	2,183	30
			Cash in hand since paid into bank 99.75	1,035	00
			Cheques since paid into bank .. 36.75	136	50
			Postage	13	41
			Petty Cash	7	50
				3,375	71
				50,720	02

Audited and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
14th April, 1930.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

of the Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year, 1929.

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1928			Balance :		
Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I.	1,248	00	Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I.	1,248	00
Current a/c in the I.B.I.	767	47	Current a/c in the I.B.I.	767	47
	2,015	47		2,015	47

Audited and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
14th April 1930.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund for the Year, 1929.

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1928			Balance ..	806	55
.. ..	806	55		806	55

Audited and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
14th April, 1930.

(Sgd.) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 13, 1929.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C., in the Chair.

Mr. J. W. de Alwis,
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva,
M.L.C.
,, Thomas Gracie
,, W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar
,, G. E. Harding, B.A.
,, E. W. Kannangara, B.A.,
C.C.S.
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
Ph.D.

Mr. S. Pararajasingham
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Dr. A. Rajasingham, M.B.
Mr. J. L. C. Rodrigo, M.A.
,, R. Sagarajasingham
W. A. Samarasingha,
Atapattu Mudaliyar.
Dr. R. L. Spittel, F.R.C.S.
,, Mr. C. L. Wickramasingha,
C.C.S.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*

Visitors : 7 ladies and 16 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 26th October, 1928 were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman in introducing the lecturer, Dr. W. F. Bade, Director of the Palestine Institute of the Pacific School of Religion, said :

Dr. Bade is a distinguished archaeologist who has been engaged in archaeological excavations in Palestine since 1926. He is now on his way to the United States by the S.S. President Hayes which is due to sail at 10 o'clock to-night.

Dr. Bade's name was first brought to the notice of the Royal Asiatic Society through the kindness of Mr. Thomas Gracie who received a letter with regard to him from Mr. Kenneth Saunders late of Trinity College, Kandy, and so well-known in the Island.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Gracie for having given us this opportunity of hearing Dr. Bade.

Dr. Bade is a very distinguished archaeologist. He has been Professor of Old Testament Literature and Semitic languages at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkley, California, since 1902, and Dean of the Faculty, since 1922. He is the Author of 'The Old Testament in the Light of To-day.' As literary executor of the late John Muir he has edited the writings and written the life of that great interpreter of Nature.

In 1926 Dr. Bade led an archaeological expedition under the aegis of the Pacific School of Religion, and conducted extensive archaeological excavations in Palestine, chiefly at a place named Tell en Nasbeh, situated on a hill seven miles north of Jerusalem. One of the discoveries made by Dr. Bade is that of the site of the ancient City of Mizpah.

Special mention might be made of two cave tombs, which according to Prof. H. Vincent, who visited the excavations several times during progress, belong to the Neolithic period (3,000 to 2,500 B.C.) The skeletons of no less than 72 persons were found in these two tombs.

The Mizpah Expedition conducted by Dr. Bade also unearthed at Tell en Nasbeh the most gigantic city walls ever found in Palestine. The width of the wall across the top, ranges from 16 to 26 feet, and in some places it was found still standing to a height of 20 feet. The period assigned to this wall is Middle Bronze Age (2,000 to 1,500 B.C.) and its age therefore reaches back beyond Moses and even the traditional age of Abraham.

“A THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE ABRAHAM.”

By Dr. W. F. BADE,

Professor of Old Testament Literature and Semitic languages in the Pacific School of Religion in California and Director of the Tell-en-Nasbeh Excavations in Palestine.

Dr. Bade said that he with his wife and an assistant were on their way back to Palestine to continue for the third season their excavations which were begun in 1926. He was fascinated by what he had seen in Ceylon and the wonderful vegetation and colour was different from anything he had seen before. During his all too brief stay here he had been tremendously excited by the possibility that they might after continued investigation in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine find certain evidence, of which already sufficient had been found, that in prehistoric times a great world migration had passed from the north of India across Turkistan and Persia into the Tigris and Euphrates valley. He thought that further progress in the investigations would show that there was most intimate connection between that civilisation and the type generally described as Semitic.

Continuing he said that he would give them a history of the excavations on which he was at present engaged and how modern inventions had come to the aid of archaeologists. During a period of a quarter of a century of teaching Old Testament Literature he had gradually become greatly interested in Old Testament history and had made up his mind that the ancient city of Mizpah of Benjamin was somewhere in the north of Jerusalem. There were five cities under the name of Mizpah, but it was the Mizpah of Benjamin that was mentioned in the 20th chapter of “Judges” which he was after, and he was positive it was not at the spot which had been identified as such since the days of the Crusaders, but at a place eight or nine miles north of Jerusalem. He went personally to Jerusalem in 1926, and one beautiful morning had wandered on foot among the hill-tops and had found

broken bits of pottery on a hill seven miles north of Jerusalem. On examining the fragments of pottery he had found them to belong to dates ranging from 3,000 B.C. down to the Roman era. These potsherds seemed clearly to indicate that on that hill-top there had been a settlement long continued and it suggested to him that there must have been a city on that hill. But as a matter of fact this city had been lost for 2,000 years. The ancient city of Mizpah of Benjamin undoubtedly stood there and believing that this hill would in all likelihood furnish an answer to his question he called to his aid some pictures which were taken during the war by aviators. So he went on a systematic hunt for photographs and discovered one by a German aviator which showed the outline of the hill-tops and the contours of the land around. These contours showed the sagging made by the debris and great structures stood revealed in pictures taken from a height of several thousands feet which were not visible to those walking on the surface of the hills. He took the chance and through the courtesy of a fellow archaeologist in Germany secured an enlarged copy of that picture. When it arrived it was perfectly evident that there was a large city buried on that hill which was in the shape of a coffin. He took some of his Egyptian workmen and set them to work and within half an hour they struck the top of a gigantic wall which was from 18 to 26 feet wide at the top.

He found afterwards that another archaeologist had years ago dug trenches there but owing to ill-luck had missed the wall by only six inches. They had now brought to light a wall in one place 26 feet wide at the top and 35 feet thick at the bottom. At regular intervals he found great projecting salient towers built out from the wall. The amount of debris that had collected led him to think that the wall must originally have been at least about 40 to 45 feet in height. It reminded him of the Biblical statement that scouts had been sent out to Palestine to spy out the lay of the land and had given alarmist reports of the size of the town and its inhabitants. They probably expressed their feelings when they saw the high walls. They had good evidence that the

city was taken at least twice and that the wall was built about 2,000 years before Christ. That would be about 700 years before Moses and 350 years before Abraham. This wall stood at the time that Abraham passed on his way to Palestine as stated in the 12th chapter of Genesis. In the lower structure of the city they found two tombs which threw an interesting light on the life of the people. These tombs went back to about 3,800 years before Christ. That would safely put them about two thousand years back of Abraham, on the assumption that he lived about 1,650 B.C.

They found the inscription M.Z.P. on jar handles that led them to think that the name of the city must have been Mizpah. This name translated in English would mean "Fair View" or "Belle Vue" because it commanded a magnificent outlook upon the environs of Jerusalem the hills of Moab, and Trans-Jordania. A number of indications pointed to the fact that they were dealing with the ancient city of Benjamin. It was mentioned in Samuel where the Israelites were assembled. The fact that the Israelites were assembled before Jehovah indicates that there was a sanctuary there. They found a rock which had cup marks on it revealing that it was a place of sacrifice and a holy place. They also found a grotto there but no temple. On the third level they found quite clearly the Hebrew period about the time of David down to the Babylonian exile 1000 B.C. to 586 B.C. They also found on this level a temple. One of his assistants suggested that the size of the building was unusual and might be a temple and so it proved to be. They had good evidence that that was an ancient sanctuary which was used in the days of Samuel and continued until the time of Josiah's reformation when sanctuaries were destroyed. The next information of it was at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebukadnazar and Mizpah was chosen by the Babylonian overlord to be his ruling place. The next mention of it was in the time of Judas Maccabarus. They found Maccabean corn in the grain bins. This was the last they heard of Mizpah in historical records and we find that from the second century B.C. until the present time there was no mention of it. It

lay hidden on the hill where the fellaheen had grown barley and lentils, and lovely spring flowers annually had spread their roots over the monuments of departed glory. Describing the difficulties encountered he said that the land had to be leased from the local fellaheen as it could not be purchased outright. The best they could do was to lease the land for one season and indemnify the owners for the loss of crops and cover the excavations again. To the archaeologist pottery found on the spot was very valuable in discovering the age and civilization of the people. Every piece of pottery was sent to headquarters where it was carefully washed and set to dry. Then men and women trained for the purpose tried the task of putting the pieces together. He was sure that they had got hundreds of jars that had been broken 2,000 to 4,000 years ago. Every ancient people had its own pottery and in the absence of written records these fragments were a sure means of dating that period. For instance at a depth of thirty feet they found pottery from Cyprus and Crete indicating that there was direct commercial relation between the ancient inhabitants and Cyprus and Crete about 1500 B.C. Incidentally he might say that he found a beautiful Greek wine bowl of about the period of 500 to 400 years before Christ.

In the first iron age level which dates from 1200 B.C. to 800 B.C. they found splendidly preserved houses of the Israelite period. In one of them they found beautiful pieces of pottery and a cooking pot with the contents still in it. Apparently the family had just sat down to a meal when disaster overtook them. In the quarter at the back of the house they found a stone which covered the mouth of a cistern. One of these cisterns could have held about 50 people and they had openings on the sides. Evidently the people when fleeing threw their belongings into these cisterns for that accounts for the things they found in them. They invited the Governor of Jerusalem to open one of these cisterns and found Israelite lamps and pebble burnished ware and also made an interesting find of a number of statuettes, one of them of the "Queen of Heaven" which according to Jeremiah

the Israelites worshipped and kept in their houses as the images of the Virgin are kept in the houses of Roman Catholics. They found a statuette in a very modern coiffure-bobbed hair—and that at a period of 700 to 750 years before Christ.

It took three weeks to excavate the Early Bronze Age tombs. Modern workmen were engaged who scraped only the debris. They had to place a guard round the place because the alarm had gone round the village. We found some remarkable cups which were in fact two cups one inside another. Evidently these had been used to pour out libations. They also found out that the tombs had been looted, probably by the people who built that great wall. They had removed practically all the gold ware, for we found several gold ornaments, which had been overlooked.

Speaking of the work yet to be done he said that they were keenly looking forward to find in the excavations some public monument which would furnish the key to the deciphering of the Hittite inscriptions. If they could only find that, they would make the greatest discovery of the century. The discovery of the tomb of Tutankamen would be hardly a footnote in a book as compared to what would follow the discovery of the key to the ancient Hittite inscriptions. Evidence was rapidly accumulating when it would be possible to find the connection of the people of India with those of ancient Palestine. Mention of the sacred deities of India was made in the Hittite inscriptions which included some tablets written in Babylonian cuneiform and thus could be read. But it was the key to the real Hittite inscriptions, not written in Babylonian cuneiform, which they desired to find. If the key were found they could imagine the universities of the world establishing chairs of Hittitology as they had chairs of Egyptology. Of course there were many confreres of his carrying on work in Palestine and he hoped that some one would find the key and help to discover the history of the past which might reach back even “into this fountain—head of human civilization and wisdom of which Ceylon forms a part.”

At the conclusion, the Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and added: "Gratitude," says Carlyle, "is a lively recollection of favours to come and I do hope that Dr. Bade, when he comes back, will give us something more on a further occasion of the great discoveries."

The lecturer in acknowledging the compliment promised to send to the Society a copy of the preliminary report which was in course of preparation and later a little memento.

The Chairman wished to know how it was that the cities now being excavated were buried.

The lecturer explained that the cities of old were surrounded by high walls with only one or two openings. The people never lived there but were always out. It was only at night they got in to sleep and for shelter in the rainy season. The daylight period as now was spent out of doors in the Orient. They carried in only what was actually necessary and the people threw out of the windows into the streets things not required in the household with the result the streets began to rise and there was a great deal of accumulation of materials of the occupational sort. And there were also regular attacks by marauding armies who would take the city by starving the inhabitants or by fight and generally slay them. The city would then lie desolate for fifty or seventy years. Vegetation would grow and a new village rise on the ruins of the former city. Thus in excavations the presence of pottery of the various people who succeeded one another was noticed and much could be discovered by the trend of pottery just as the geologists were guided by the index of fossils. That was how the cities got buried.

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana wanted to know something more of the connection between the civilization of Palestine and of India as stated by the lecturer.

The lecturer said that the connection between the ancient civilization of India and that of the Euphrates valley was traceable from the excavations carried on by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley of Oxford University who had found at Ur in Mesopotamia certain steatite seals which occur elsewhere only in India.

Mr. Gunawardhana believed that the civilization from the East may have been either from India or China. No doubt there was evidence of Indian civilization associated with Assyria. Archaeologists had found that there had been civilization from the middle West, namely Grecian influence in places like Mohanja-Daro and Harappa. The banks of the Tigris must have been civilised by the Mediterranean races. The earliest possible civilization in the world seemed to have its origin not in Europe, not in Asia, but in the Northern regions of Africa. He wished the learned lecturer to enlighten them on that theory.

The lecturer feared that a very debatable subject had been raised. There was but little material at hand and he did not feel competent to discuss it at length. He had given them practically all the outstanding evidence they had at present. The investigations now made indicated very clearly that there had been already a very high civilization in the Euphrates Valley, and that it had come from much further East and not from the West and it was also not the type of civilization extant in Egypt. They simply had to follow in the wake of the investigations yet to be made before they could come to a safe conclusion.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Bade for his lecture, proposed by the Chairman and to the Chair, proposed by Mr. G. E. Harding, were carried with acclamation.

COUNCIL MEETING

Colombo Museum, March 12, 1929.

Present :

Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate
Mudaliyar
The Hon. Mr. E.W. Perera, M.L.C.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
Ph.D.
Prof. R. Marrs, M.A., C.I.E.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary*.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 26th September, 1928, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were elected as members of the Society, *viz* :—

- i. Francis Richard Alles, { Andreas Nell.
L.R.C.P. & S. : recom- {
mended by { Aubrey N. Weinman.
- ii. Narasinhulu Ayyah Nara- { C. Rasanayagam.
yanan : recommended by { S. Gnana Prakasar.
- iii. Rev. N. K. Siri Paññāsiha { G. J. de Silva.
Thero : recommended by { K. S. Sumedha.
- iv. Walwin Arnold de Silva, B.Sc. { Aubrey N. Weinman.
C.C.S. : recommended by { A. E. Jayasinha.
- v. Hemasiri Henry Basnayaka. : { Aubrey N. Weinman.
recommended by { A. M. Caldera.
- vi. Edward Gerald Gratiaen : { Aubrey Weinman.
recommended by { A. M. Caldera.
- vii. Henry E. Amarasekara : { S. B. Kuruppu.
recommended by { A. E. Jayasinha.
- viii. Richard Pieris Malalasekara : { C. Suntharalingam.
recommended by { G. P. Malalasekara.
- ix. Dharmavamsa D. M. Goona- { W. A. de Silva.
ratna : recommended by { Aubrey N. Weinman.
- x. D. Wanasundara : recom- { C. H. Collins.
mended by { Aubrey N. Weinman.
- xi. R. Noel-Paton : recommended { S. A. Pakeman.
by { C. H. Collins.

3. The draft annual report for 1928 was read and passed.

4. The nomination of the following office-bearers for 1929-30 was considered.

The Secretary pointed out that under Rule 17 the President would retire.

Resolved to recommend that Sir Arthur Fletcher be re-elected.

It was pointed out that under Rule 18 the senior Vice-President would retire on account of longest continuous service. As Mr. Codrington and Mr. Anthonisz were with equal periods of service, it was decided by drawing lots that Mr. Anthonisz should retire. It was resolved to recommend that Dr. Joseph Pearson be elected a Vice-President.

Under Rule 20, it was also pointed out that Mr. L. J. B. Turner and Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara would retire by seniority and Mr. A. M. Hocart and the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, it was decided to recommend that Mr. Turner and Mr. Perera be re-elected and that the other three vacancies be filled by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Hon. Mr. L. Macrae and Mr. Edmund Reimers.

5. The Report of the sub-committee appointed to consider Mr. Deraniyagala's paper on 'the Lizardlike Reptiles of Ceylon,' was laid on the table.

Resolved that, in view of the high cost of publishing this paper on account of the large number of plates contained therein, that the Secretary be requested to forward the recommendation of the sub-committee to Mr. Deraniyagala for consideration.

6. A letter dated, 11th January, 1929, from the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva on the question of organizing well-arranged exhibits of Archaeological interest in the compound adjoining the Museum, was read, and the Council concurred with the suggestion made in Mr. de Silva's letter.

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Prof. R. Marrs, Dr. Andreas Nell and the Honorary Secretary be appointed to meet the Museum Committee and decide what steps should be taken in the matter.

7. A letter dated, 12th February, 1929, from the Hon. the Controller of Revenue inquiring whether the Society has any objection to his publishing the geneological trees of the Madura dynasty in the Diary of Sir John D'oyly, was read.

Resolved that the Hon. the Controller of Revenue be informed that the Council has no objection to his publishing the geneological trees in terms of his letter.

8. A draft programme of meetings for 1929 was considered and passed as follows :—

1929 :—

May.—The Lizardlike Reptiles of Ceylon by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.

June.—The Alakeswara Period by Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.

July.—Pre-Vijayan Legends and Traditions pertaining to Ceylon by Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Oct.—Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon by Mr. S. Paranavitana.

Nov.—Fernao de Queyroz by Miss M. A. H. Fitzler, with notes by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S.

1930 :—

Jan.—Some Notes and Documents on the last Four Kandyan Kings by the Hon'ble Mr. Edmund W. Perera.

9. The question of the desirability of examining the Poll Tax lists before they finally disappear for (1) Vāsagam, etc., (2) Personal names, was considered.

Resolved that the required permission be obtained from Government.

10. A letter dated, 2nd March, 1929, from the Secretary, Oriental Studies Society, Jaffna, forwarding a copy of a resolution passed by his Committee on a comparative Tamil Lexicon now being compiled by the Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar was read.

Resolved that the Secretary of the Jaffna Oriental Studies Society be requested to refer the matter to the compilers of the Tamil Lexicon, Madras, who would be in a better position to advise them.

11. A letter dated, 27th February, 1929, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary forwarding a copy of the following resolutions passed at the seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists regarding the compilation of the Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language :—

(i) To express their gratitude to the Government of Ceylon and the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for having undertaken the preparation of an Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, which, if scientifically compiled, will be a most valuable contribution to the study of Indo-Aryan Languages, ancient and modern.

(ii) To express their opinion that a Consultative committee of Comparative Philologists interested in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian language should be formed as soon as possible to advise with regard to the compilation of etymologies.

Decided to acknowledge receipt of the letter with thanks and inform Government that the following Committee had already been formed with reference to resolution (ii) above :—

Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum, Dr. Wilhelm Geiger of Munich, Prof. Jules Bloch of Paris, Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha and Prof. R. L. Turner of the Institute of Oriental Studies, London.

12. The date and business for the Annual General Meeting were considered.

Resolved that the Meeting be held in May and Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala's paper be read.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 4th, 1929.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva,
M.L.C.
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
Ph. D.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
M.L.C.
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,

*Honorary Secretaries.***Business :**

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 12th March, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. The following vote of condolence proposed by the Vice-President was unanimously passed in silence, all members standing.

Resolved that the Council do place on record an expression of its sorrow at the death of Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Lond.), who for many years was one of its members, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mrs. Hewavitarna and the other members of his family.

3. The following gentlemen were elected as members of the Society, *viz* :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| i. Syed Rauf Pasha : recom- | { A. M. Caldera.
Aubrey N. Weinman. |
| mended by | |
| ii. Junius Richard Jayawardene; recommended by | { E. W. Jayawardene,
R. C. Proctor. |
| iii. Samuel Robert Amarasekera: recommended by | { F. A. Tissavarasingha.
Aubrey N. Weinman. |
| iv. Rev. Acharya Ahungalle Anomadassi Thissa Sthavira : recommended by | { A. E. Jayasinha.
D. D. M. Goonaratna. |
| v. Wijesinga Arachchige Don Albert Wijesuriya; Recommended by | { Edward W. Perera.
W. James Fernando. |
| vi. Alexander Mendis Abayagunaratna : recommended by | { S. Paranavitana.
A. E. Jayasingha. |
| vii. Subbaiya Natesan, B.A., B.L. (Madras) : recommended by | { P. Ramanathan.
Aubrey N. Weinman. |

4. A letter dated, 18th May, 1929, from Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, regarding his paper on the Alakeswara Period was read.

Resolved that the paper be read at a General Meeting and that the question of its publication be subsequently referred back to the same sub-committee.

5. A review by Mr. S. Ratnaswamy, Proctor, S.C., on a book, "How Tamil Was Built Up," by Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., sent for publication in the Journal of the Society, was laid on the table.

Resolved that Mr. Ratnaswamy be informed that the Council having already recommended the author of the book, on an application made by him, to lay his request before the compilers of the Tamil Lexicon at Madras, now advise Mr. Ratnaswamy to follow the same course with a view to the publication of his review.

6. A list of members in arrear with their subscription was laid on the table.

Resolved that members who owe the Society more than Rs. 31.50 exclusive of the current year's subscription be informed that their names will be struck out unless they bring their subscription up to date within three months, and that a special appeal be addressed to the rest.

7. The question of nominating a President was considered.

On a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by Dr. Joseph Pearson, it was resolved that the matter be brought up in three months, in order to give the Council further time for consideration.

COUNCIL MEETING.
Colombo Museum, June 8th, 1929.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President in the chair.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.
Ph. D.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
M.L.C.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 4th June, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. A letter dated, 7th June, 1929, from the Vice-President Dr. P. E. Pieris, calling the meeting, was read.

Dr. Pieris explained that the Council's resolution to hold back the appointment of a President was *ultra vires* and would give rise to a grave complication. He proposed that His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley be invited to be the President. The Council unanimously agreed to the proposal.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.
Colombo Museum, June 8th, 1929.

Present :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., Patron in the chair
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea	Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A., Maha Mudaliyar
„ Julius de Lanerolle	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.	Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
„ Thomas Gracie	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera M.L.C.
„ Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar	Mr. T. A. A. Raheem
„ P. T. P. Gunawardana	Mr. C. Rasanayagam, Muda- liyar
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar	Mr. W. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Jayawardene	Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.	Mr. M. S. Vaidyasuriya
Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.	Mr. C. L. Wickramasinghe, C.C.S.
Mr. Donald Obeyesekere, M.A.	
Mr. Chas Wickramaratna	

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 13th February, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. The Annual Report for the year 1928., was read and adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha and seconded by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Jayawardene.

3. Dr. P. E. Pieris, proposed that the following Office-bearers for 1929-30 be elected to fill the existing vacancies :—

President :

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G.

Vice-President :

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.

Members of Council :

The Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera, M.L.C.

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., M.L.C.

The Hon. Mr. L. Macrae, M.A., M.L.C.

Mr. Edmund Reimers.

Honorary Joint Secretaries and Treasurers :

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. and Aubrey N. Weinman.

Dr. Malalasekara seconded and the motion was carried unanimously.

4. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A., who delivered an address on "The Lizardlike Reptiles of Ceylon," illustrated with lantern slides.

5. The Chairman, Dr. S. C. Paul, and Dr. Joseph Pearson offered remarks to which Mr. Deraniyagala replied.

7. Votes of thanks to the lecturer proposed by the Chairman, and to the chair proposed by Dr. S. C. Paul, were carried with acclamation.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, September 27th, 1929.***Present :*

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President in the chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S. and Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.,
F.R.S.E., Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Anomadassi Tissa Thero

Mr. Thomas Gracie

„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate
• Mudaliyar

„ A. E. Jayasinha

„ S. P. Jayasinha

„ E. W. Kannangara, B.A.,
C.C.S.Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A.,
Maha Mudaliyar

„ Syed Rauf Pasha

„ P. T. Pandita Gunawar-
dene

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

Mr. C. Suppramaniam

„ F. A. Tissavarasingha

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.***Business.**

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 8th June, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Director of the Colombo Museum, in drawing the attention of those present to the exhibits on views, said : that he had one or two specimens to show them. First of all, in Parker's well-known book on ancient Ceylon, he had the figure of a seal which he said belonged to the 2nd century B.C. and which he found in Yaṭṭhāla Dāgāba, Tissamahārāma. For some time he (Dr. Pearson) was trying to get this seal for the Colombo Museum and at last he had succeeded in tracing it to the Manchester Museum, to which it had been sold. The authorities there had very kindly agreed to give it to the Colombo Museum as an exchange, and he had very great pleasure in exhibiting this valuable seal which had only recently been received.

The second exhibit was a series of plaster casts they had taken from the Āmbākke Devāle near Peradeniya, an institution of the 14th century.

The third exhibit was quite modern. He had now in his empoly at the Museum a person by the name of M. K. Pannikar, of the School of Arts, Travancore, whom he had engaged to do some ivory carvings. The beautiful carvings they saw before them were a part of his special line of work.

There were in all seven carvings, representing characters in the Hindu Mythology. The work was of the deftest, clean and symmetrical, and in most cases the figures were evolved out of a single piece of ivory without joints.

3. His Excellency the Governor said that before they proceeded to the business of the day, he wished to express their cordial thanks to Dr. Pearson for the very interesting specimens which he had shown and explained to them.

"My next duty," said His Excellency, "according to the programme, is to introduce the lecturer of the evening. Dr. Paul requires no introduction to any audience in Ceylon. We have the highest feelings of respect and regard for him."

"I will not take up your time by telling you anything about Dr. Paul. He has very kindly promised to read a paper on Pre-Vijayan Legends pertaining to Ceylon. That is a subject of very great interest to this country. It is of great interest to me, but it is of greater interest to those whose home Ceylon is."

"If I may say so, it is a very happy circumstance that the people of the country and those who have time and leisure and scholarship should be able to take a lively interest in their historical antecedents."

"That is one form of nationalism to which all of us can subscribe in any circumstances, a love of one's own country, interest in one's own history, and the desire to elucidate what is obscured in it."

"Of course, there is a good deal of legend in all ancient history, and all legends are partly fantastic and partly based upon fact, and the interest lies in separating fact from the fantastic creations and discovering the true basis or origin of the history of a thing."

"I had the privilege of seeing an advance copy of the paper, and I am sure that it is a lecture of great interest to Ceylon."

4. Dr. Paul read the following paper entitled :—

PRE-VIJAYAN LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS PERTAINING TO CEYLON.

BY

Dr. S. C. PAUL, M.D.

Legends and myths have a certain value in the elucidation of pre-history where other data are not available. Instead of discarding them as worthless, as some people are inclined to do, it is now recognised that a critical examination of the legends relating to any particular place or country, gathered from various sources and investigated in the light of common sense with the help, if possible, of contemporary history or traditions, and any available ethnological evidence, will yield valuable results. "The European Ethnologist" says Perry in his book "Children of the Sun" (p. 104) "is frequently too apt to discredit tradition." It is an axiom that all tradition is based on fact ; while the details may be wrong, the main stem is generally right. In this, local colouring is one of the chief things to guard against. The local colouring is very often due to religious enthusiasm and bias, or to the glorification of a popular hero. Poetical licence in eastern countries is very much more pronounced than in the West. Poets are very prone to shower extravagant praise on their patrons or heroes, however mediocre they might be. Traditions of much earlier date are fostered on their heroes, and chronological sequence is very often set at naught. A careful scrutiny of these poems would enable us to disassociate the earlier legends and fix them in their proper chronological setting. In the East the custodianship of legendary lore was limited to certain families and they did not willingly communicate such knowledge to any and every one, but only did so either on their death bed, to a favourite disciple, or, in exceptional cases, to one whose knowledge and position entitled him to respect.

The authentic history of Ceylon may be said to begin about the beginning of the fourth century after Christ, when the *Dīpavamsa* was composed.

There was in existence at the time an earlier work, the *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvamsa*, which embodied the oral traditions and legends current at the time when the first Buddhist monks arrived in Ceylon. Some of these legends and traditions were known to Tamil authors of the second century. Both in *Manimekalai* and *Chilappadikāram*, two Tamil poems of the second century, references are made to the legendary visits of the Buddha to the Nāga King of Jaffna which tally with the accounts given in the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*. They supplement the information given in the *Ceylon Chronicles* by mentioning that the jewel throne which formed the subject of dispute between the two rival Nāga sovereigns, became an object of veneration to Buddhists not only in Ceylon and India, but even of far distant Java. In the *Manimekalai* there is an account of a visit of a King of Java to Manipallavam or Jaffna, to pay his homage to this very throne.

Legends relating to the Pre-Vijayan period are to be found in such Indian works as the *Rāmāyana* and the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

The Vijayan legends are referred to in the *Vaipava Malai* with a distinct local colouring. This work was composed in 1739 A.D. by one Mailvāgana Pulavar at the request of the then Dutch Governor of Jaffna, who realised that a work of this nature was of paramount importance, as most of the historical documents were lost when the Portuguese in their excessive religious zeal burnt and razed to the ground the Hindu temples of Jaffna, where most of these books were kept. The *Kailasa Malai*, a poem written to commemorate the building of the Kandasāmy Temple at Nallore in Jaffna, also has a reference to a legend which has a close resemblance to the Vijayan legends in many details, but differs in the chronological setting, as it is attributed to a king of a later Sinhalese dynasty. There is a good deal of uncertainty about the date of the composition of this poem, but internal evidence of the poem suggests that it was composed within a few years after the completion of the temple. If so, one

may safely say that the date of its composition was the 9th century. Two other minor works, the Vaya Pāḍal and Kalvettu, which contain a mass of legends and historical occurrences but without due care of chronology, also refer to the Vijayan legends, but with some variations and additional details.

It must be presumed that the authors of the above works were not cognizant of the existence of the Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa, as these were written in a language with which they were not familiar, and at that time the existence of these books were only known to a very few Buddhist monks. Some oral traditions must have been current then in Jaffna which were quite independant of the Sinhalese traditions.

It is very significant that the two chief Sinhalese chronicles do not mention Rāvaṇa's occupation of Ceylon. But they mention the fact of this Island being inhabited for a very long period anterior to the Vijayan Era. In the time of the first Buddha it was known by the name of Oja-dīpa, by the name of Vara-dīpa during the time of the second Buddha, and as Maṇḍa-dīpa during the time of the third Buddha. With reference to the last name it is interesting to observe that Ptolemy says that the Island was once known by the name of Palasi-Munda. Various conjectures have been offered as regards the etymology of this word. I venture to think that this Island was known as Palasi-Munda or the Old-Muṇḍa, at a period when it was occupied chiefly by the Muṇḍas, a Pre-Dravidian race, who are found, even now, in scattered and isolated units in various parts of India and Assam, and who are ethnologically related to the Veddas of Ceylon. As regards the name of Vara-dīpa, the Vāyu Purāṇa mentions an island Varāha Dīpa as one of the six islands round Jambudīpa.

The Skanda Purāṇa speaks of a period when there were two islands in the southern ocean, one of which is the present Ceylon, and the other, a much larger and bigger island to the south-west of it called Mahendra Giri.

This island was then the centre of a powerful civilization and it is said that the glory of its capital was so great that it eclipsed the capital city of the gods ; and that one who had

seen this city need not visit any other city in the world, as its buildings and streets and temples were so grand that no city in the world could compare with it. It was then ruled by a powerful monarch, Suran, whose name was dreaded and feared by all the kings of India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. He had made several captives of the Celestials and it was in order to free these distinguished captives that Skanda, the god of war and the son of Siva, undertook to raise an army and capture Suran. It is related how Vīravāhu, the Captain of the advance force of Skanda, flew through the air first to Ceylon, and then from there to the Island of Mahendra Giri to the south-west of Ceylon. Skanda landed with his mighty forces at Mahendra Giri, defeated and killed Suran, the King, and on his way back met and married Valli, the Vedda Princess of Ceylon, and for a time tarried at Kataragama, which is now regarded as one of the holiest shrines in India and Ceylon.

The memory of the existence of this larger island is reflected in the account of the first visit of Gautama Buddha to Lanka. During the first visit of the Buddha, he is said to have transferred the terrified Yakkhas to a neighbouring island, the island of "Giri," to make Lanka a fit place for the habitation of men. The Dīpavamsa gives a detailed account of this island, "He (Buddha) then thought of another island, similar to this, with low ground and high ground, with many various aspects, beautifully adorned by rivers, mountains and lakes, the island of Giri, most similar to the country of Lanka. It was free from danger, well protected, surrounded by the ocean, full of excellent food and rich grain, with a well tempered climate, a green grassy land, the beautiful island of Giri, superior to this island. It was charming and delightfully cool, adorned by exquisite gardens and fields. There were trees full of blossoms and fruits. It was empty and solitary, subject to no master. It was situated in the great sea in the midst of the ocean, and of the deep waters where the waves incessantly break; around it there was a chain of mountains towering and difficult

to pass. To enter it against the wishes of the inhabitants was very difficult.Ye Rākshasas and Ye wicked hosts of Yakkhas, I give unto you this island which is not far from Laṅkā, the whole island of Giri. May they all inhabit it and multiply undisturbed. Gautama by his miraculous power drew the island toward himself. Having joined the beautiful island to the other the Buddha transferred the Yakkhas saying, may all Yakkhas dwell in Giri Dīpa. The eager Yakkhas ran to Giri Dīpa like thirsty people in summer to a river. They all entered it, never to return. The Sage then returned the island to its former place. The highly pleased Rākshasas and the highly pleased Yakkhas having secured the excellent island, which they desired, all began to laugh with great joy.” Dismissing from this account the mythological connection with the Buddha, and the miraculous elements associated with him, we may see in it a corroboration of the Skanda Purāṇa story, the Mahendra Giri of the Skanda Purāṇa being identical with the island of Giri of the Dīpavaṃsa. Buddhist writers describe the existence of the island at a period when, from all contemporary accounts, no such island existed. It was evidently a tradition with which they were acquainted, and in order to make the visit to the island abound in miraculous incidents, they have detached it from its proper chronological setting to a very much later date.

In the Vāyu Purāṇa, Chapter 8, V. 20-30, there is a description of the island of Malaya Dīpa which corresponds in situation and scenery to the Mahendra Giri of the Skanda Purāṇa and the Giri island of the Dīpavaṃsa. “It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there, and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas.

“ There is a great mountain named Malaya containing silver mines. Heavenly bliss is obtained on the mountain on every Parva and Amāvasya day. The famous Trikūṭa mountain is also situated in this island. The mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great City of Lanka is situated on one of the

slopes of this mountain. Its length is 100 yojanas while its breadth is 30 yojanas." Vader considers that the Maldive Islands cover up the same position which once was covered by the Rākshasa-Dīpa of the Rāmāyaṇa and he adduces several cogent reasons in support of this. The present Ceylon was known as Siṃhala Dīpa to the author of the Mahābhārata, and he describes the kings of Siṃhala Dvīpa and of Lanka as two separate entities when he speaks of the kings of Siṃhala, Barbara, Mlecha, and Lanka, as doing the work of serving food to the guests. (Vana Parva, Ch. 51.) In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purnāa, (Ch. 58, P. 20-29) Lankā and Siṃhala are described as separate countries. The Lankā of the Rāmāyaṇa would thus appear to correspond with the principal city of the island of Mahendra Giri and not to our Ceylon. This may explain why the Mahavaṃsa and Dīpavaṃsa in their account of the early history of the island did not refer to Rāvaṇa and Rāma. A further corroboration of this theory is obtained from Indian astronomical sources. Alberuni, writing in the latter half of the 10th century in his book on India, says that Hindu Astronomers determined the longitude of the inhabitable world by Lanka which lies in its centre, on the equator. (P. 303 Vol. 1). "They (the Hindus) say that Lanka is between the two ends of the inhabitable world, and without latitude. There, Rāvaṇa the demon, fortified himself when he had carried the wife of Rāma." Further, according to the Hindus its length from the east to west was 100 yojanas and its breadth from north to south is 30 yojanas, 30 yojanas its height. The line on which the astronomical calculations are based (as 0°. Longitude) passes in a straight line from Lanka to Meru and passes through the city of Ujjain in Malwa (P. 306-308). The great astronomer and mathematician Bhāskarācārya (born 1115 A.D.) writes in his work called Golādhyāya Bhuvanakosa 17 that Lanka is on the equator. Astronomers call the equatorial region by the name of Nirakas (*i.e.* 0° Latitude). In the seventh chapter, further on, he states that Lanka Puri was on the Equator and that there was a small difference in the longitude of Ujjain and Lanka.

Varaha Mihira, a great astronomer of India, giving the names of the countries of Southern India describes Lanka and Siṃhala as two different countries. In Griffith's translation of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, the following verses occur :—

“ Thence hasting on your way behold
 The Pandya's gates of pearl and gold ;
 There with your task maturely planned
 On ocean's shore your feet will stand,
 Were by Agastya's high decree
 Mahendra, planted in the sea
 With tinted peaks against the tide
 Rises in solitary pride
 And glorious in his golden glow
 Spurns back the waves that beat below.
 Fair mountain, bright with creeper's bloom
 And every tint that trees assume
 When Yaksha god and heavenly maid
 Meet wandering in the lovely shade.”

(Book IV, Chapter XLI).

The gates of pearl and gold of the Pāṇdyas refers to Komari, the Southern-most Port of India, which was designated as the Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa, literally the door of the Pāṇḍya—being the first Port in the Pandyan territory to those vessels coming from the West.

A considerable amount of discussion has arisen as to the location of the Lanka of the Rāmāyaṇa. A few locate it in India, in some place on the Vindhya mountain, while others place it in Assam. Ceylon has by many been regarded as the Lanka of the Rāmāyaṇa. But very strong reasons have been adduced to locate it on an island in the Indian Ocean which has now disappeared. Lanka was the name of the capital city and not of the island. According to the Skanda Purāṇa, there was a larger island called Mahendra Giri to the southwest of Ceylon abounding in untold wealth whose principal city contained houses several storeys high, and palaces and temples, the like of which was said

not to be seen even in the City of the gods. The Mahāvamsa and the Dīpavamsa refer to an island which was larger and more beautiful than the island of Ceylon, to which the Buddha transported the Yakkhas. According to the Mahābhārata the Rāmāyaṇa, and other Indian works, Lanka was the name of a city and not of an island, situated on the slopes of the Trikūṭa mountain. The Indian astronomers locate it on the equator, where its meridian passes through Malwa, the present Ujjain, and their holy mountain, Mount Meru. From time immemorial to the present day, Indian astronomers have based their calculations by taking the meridian of Lanka as the zero longitude. Ujjain was a centre of learning till the tenth century where astronomy and geography were taught and, although the longitude of Lanka was regarded as the same as that of Ujjain, which is $75.75'$, the astronomers of Ujjain, still continued to call it the meridian of Lanka. The meridian of Ujjain meets the equator now at a point where there is no island, and at least a degree to the east of Fua Mulaku, one of the islands of the Maldives on the equator. The Maladives, together with the Lakkadives and the Chagos Islands, are regarded as belonging to a submarine mountain chain on the summits of which coral polyps have built their reefs. (Geiger on Maldivian Linguistic Studies P.I. Vol. XXVII, Extra No. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society C.B.)

There is reason to believe that at one time there was a large continent in the Southern Seas, the so-called Lemurian continent which embraced Africa, India south of the Himalayas, China, Australia, and the Polynesian Islands. Geological evidence points to an era when the large chain of mountains beginning with the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Caucasian ranges, the Hindukush and the Himalaya ranges were non-existent, and the land area on which they now stand formed the basin of a large inland sea which circled the globe. Geological evidence further points to the fact that the Himalayas contain, in addition to a substratum of rocks, numerous representatives of marine fossiliferous strata of almost every geological age. This area remained mostly occupied by ocean, until in tertiary times the Himalayas were upheaved. The absence of such

beds from the remainder of the Indian peninsula, south of the Vindhyan range, indicates that this portion of India has been a continental area ever since the earliest geological times and is one of the oldest land areas of the globe. The same remark applies to the mountainous districts of Ceylon. The general geographical contour of southern India and Ceylon suggest that the two formed part of the same land area and that, at various periods, subsidences have occurred in the intervening areas so as to bring about a separation. The upheaval of the Himalayas did not take place all at once. There were three principal phases in this upheaval which were separated by long distances of time. The last upheaval appears to have taken place during comparatively recent times. This tremendous thrust of the Himalayan range, from the bed of the ocean to the majestic heights it now occupies, must have produced corresponding depressions in other land areas, thus bringing forth a separation of the land connections between Australia, India, and Africa. Primitive peoples of the palaeolithic period came to be thus isolated in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whose culture never advanced beyond this period.

Before the final upheaval of the Himalayas there appears to have been, according to Indian and Ceylon traditions, a large island occupying the position of the present Maldives called Mahendra Giri or Malaya Dīpa, whose chief city was called Lanka. In the Vāyu Purāṇa the following account occurs about Malaya Dīpa, one of the six islands round India. "It is said about this island that there are many gold mines there and the population consists of several classes of Mlecchas. There is a great mountain containing silver mines. The famous Trikūṭa mountain is also situated in this island. This mountain is very extensive and has several very beautiful valleys and summits. The great city of Lanka is founded on one of the slopes of this mountain."

After the Rāmāyaṇa period, seismic disturbances occurred which caused the disappearance of this island. It is quite possible that the final thrust of the Himalayas took place at

this time. A tradition incorporated in the Skanda Purāṇa supports this inference. Before the final thrust of the Himalayan range, the Vindhya formed the highest mountain range of India. When the final thrust took place, it had to take a second position. According to the Skanda Purāṇa, "The Vindhyas became proud, and reared its heights so high as to challenge the Himalayas. The sky was obscured and the Sun's light was cut off from the earth. The gods assembled on the Himalayas and invoked the aid of Siva, who commissioned the Rishi Agastya to press down the Vindhyas and reduce its height. This Agastya did by trampling it down with his feet. Ever since that, people were able to cross the Vindhyas and pass over to the southern part of India." This tradition enshrines the recollection of a big seismic disturbance, as the result of which the Himalayas were thrust ever so much higher than the Vindhyas. This thrust would involve the depression of land somewhere else. Indian traditions state that Lanka became immersed in the ocean owing to the agitation of the waters soon after Rāma went back to Ayodhyā after the fight.

Vague recollections of the existence of a land continent to the south of India continued to exist till as late as the second century A.D. Indian geographers state that the Island of Ceylon extended on the West as far as Africa and on the East as far as China. These ideas were also reflected in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. The unknown author of the Periplus makes Ceylon almost stretch to the shores of Africa. Hipparchus conjectured that it was not even an island, but the commencement of a south-eastern continent. There is a tradition which had currency among the early Tamils that the cruel sea swallowed forty-nine Tamil lands, including the Pahruli river and the Kumari Peak with a chain of mountains. (Chilappadikaram, Canto XI.) The story of the deluge as given in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa probably refers to the submersion of the big Lemurian continent. "When Satyavrata, a righteous king of Drāviḍa, was offering his oblations in a river, a fish came with the water in the hollow of his hands. The fish requests protection

which the king gives by putting it into receptacles filled with water. The king recognises in the fish the disguised god Vishnu. To the enquiry why he had assumed this disguise, the god replies, "On the seventh day after this the three worlds shall sink beneath the ocean of the dissolution; when the Universe is dissolved in that ocean, a large ship sent by me shall come to thee. Taking with thee the plants and various seeds, surrounded by the seven rishis, and attended by all existences, thou shall embark on the great ship and shall without alarm move over the dark ocean."

According to Indian tradition, the present island of Ceylon played a very minor part in the early days, being merely an intermediate station on the way to the larger and more important island situated to the South-west of it, and it was ruled by a king who was a subsidiary sovereign to the one who ruled in Mahendra Giri. Both these islands were originally occupied by two primitive races, the Australoid and the Negroid. We have in Ceylon to-day the remnant of one of these pre-historic tribes, the Veddas. Ethnically, the Veddas are related to the Australoid race, which at one time extended from Australia to India and even further to Northern Africa and to Europe. Isolated in various parts of India, and distributed through the Malayan Archipelago and the Polynesian Islands, we find several types of this race. In Ceylon to-day we have at present no Negrito race as such but they have left behind them some of their customs and traditions. At one time there appears to have been a distinct remnant of this race in Ceylon. There are traditions among the Veddas of the Eastern Province relating to this race. They are described as a cruel and savage people of a very black complexion, and greatly feared by the Veddas as they attacked them with their claws, which were said to be long and of great strength. They built platforms on trees, covered with a thatch of leaves, and in these they lived. In Cochin, there is a similar race called Niadis, "who are a wandering, out-caste, abject race, so impure that hardly a slave will touch them. They collect roots, but do not know to snare game, and they eat tortoises and crocodiles.

They also live on tree-tops." These were, probably, the Nishādas of the early Sanskrit writers. They were a more primitive people than the Veddas. Both were food gatherers and did not know or practise the arts of agriculture. The Veddas, however, were expert hunters while the Negritos were in a more primitive condition, existing on crocodiles, tortoises, oysters, crabs, etc. Many years ago the ancestors of the Veddas fought the last remnants of the Negritos by driving them into a cavern. Before this cavern they piled firewood and kept up the fire for three days, after which the race became extinct. As both these races are very primitive races who have never advanced beyond the food gathering stage, and cannot have known or practised the art of navigation, their presence in such widely distributed areas of which a great number are isolated islands, separated by wide expanses of the sea, can only be explained on the assumption that by the subsidence of intervening land areas they have been left isolated in these islands.

Two other races make their entry into these primitive land areas at a very early date. They are the Nāgas and the Yakkhas. They came into India, Ceylon, and the lost Island of the Rāmāyaṇa from foreign parts. They are not, as they are held to be, mythical beings, uncivilised and primitive, but appear to be people of advanced civilization who appear to have peopled the globe before the Semitic and Aryan expansion. The Nāgas were the earlier emigrants, and they colonised the lost island of the southern ocean wielding great power even over their compatriots in India under their king Sura; this lost island was the centre of a great civilization. The Yakkhas under Skanda invaded this island with a great force, defeated Sura and his Nāgas, and became the paramount lords. Kuvera was their last king in this lost island-Kingdom. The wealth of this island at the time must have been enormous, as Kuvera is described as the god of wealth. The Nagas again reasserted their power and, under the leadership of Rāvaṇa, who came from Pātāla in the delta of the Indus, sent a challenge to Kuvera. Kuvera was defeated in battle. His aerial car, the Pushpaka

was taken over by Rāvaṇa who used it in his aerial flights to India. Kuvera was probably killed in battle, as Indian tradition euphemistically describes his death by stating that "he retired with all his wealth to Mount Kailāsa, the abode of the god Siva, who created him as the lord of wealth." The Nāgas continued in power until Rāvaṇa was defeated by Rāma, a Solar prince. Soon after this event, the larger island was submerged in the sea, and the smaller island, the present Island of Ceylon, continued to be inhabited by both the Nāgas and the Yakkhas. After the war of Rāma, the island appears to have been broken up into small principalities. At the time of the landing of Vijaya, the island was inhabited by these two principal races.

The Ceylon chronicles, as well as early Tamil works of the second century, mention that the western part of the island was under a Nāga king, whose capital was at Kelaniya, the Kalyāni of ancient writers. The northern part, including the peninsula of Jaffna, was under the Nāgas, whose capital was somewhere on the northern shore of the peninsula. There was, probably, a third principality in Mantotte, the Mahātitttha of the Mahavamsa, a port of great importance during the early period of the Christian era. This port had an iron hanging fort and a lighthouse which gave rise to fantastic stories about the wrecking of ships on this coast. The magnetic influence of this hanging fort was said to be such that the iron nails of the vessels were pulled out when the vessels were at some distance, and the ships fell to pieces. This iron fort and tower were destroyed by Karikāla, one of the Chola Kings. These Nāgas were a maritime people given to piracy and they were expert navigators. In the Harivamsa, 1,399 to 1401, it is related that "Yadu, the son of Hariasva who was a son of Ikshāvaku was carried off by the Nāga Raja Dhuma Varna whose kingdom was beneath the sea. This kingdom was called Ratnadīpa, and the people there had ships and trade and fished for pearls." These Nagas were not inhuman, uncivilised beings as portrayed by Buddhist and Brahmanical writers, but were highly civilised, and at one time they spread over a large area of the world and wielded

great power. They can be traced back to Egypt where, from predynastic days, it was divided into some 20 administrative districts called by the Greeks "Nomes." The Nomes were designated by signs either of animals or of plants. The relationship between the people of the Nome, particularly the ruling chief of the Nome, was close. The animal of the Nome was supposed to be the actual incarnation of the particular guardian spirit of the Nome who guarded the Nome during peace and marched at the head of the army during war. A representation of the hooded serpent was attached to the front of the head-dress of the Pharaohs, who therefore belonged to this Nome. They traced their descent from a female ancestor—the race ancestress, and descent was in the female line, and royal succession was also in the female line. In the early stages of this matrilinear society, in order to retain the throne, a son of a king must either marry a sister, or failing his sister, his mother. Thus we see Osiris married his sister, Isis, to occupy the throne of Egypt. About the time of the fifth dynasty a change took place; Heliopolis instituted the worship of the Sun and introduced the Solar Calendar, whereas, previously to this, the Moon claimed their worship as the representative of the great mother, and time was calculated by the moon. The Heliopolitan priests, in order to make the change doubly effective, conceived the idea of making the king the incarnation of the Sun, and the Sun became the object of worship, with the king as the high priest. The followers of this cult were known as the children of the Sun, and they seem to have spread through the Mediterranean area to the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from there their culture passed on as far as distant China. For the most ancient form of religion in China and the neighbouring countries is the worship of the Sun. According to Chinese historians, some of their early mythological Emperors were half man and half serpent. The Indian tradition states that the Nāgas were the children of Kadru, a daughter of Daksha. The Garuḍas or the Eagle tribe were the children of Vinata, a sister of Kadru. It is said that Kadru compelled the Garuḍas to convey her sons

across the sea to a beautiful country in a distant region. The Garuḍas, "who also worshipped the Sun," were another nome of Egypt and were perhaps the first navigators. Pātāla, at the head of the Indus Delta, was regarded as the headquarters in India of the Nāga and Garuḍa races. Vritra, the great leader of the serpent tribes against the Aryans, Kapila Vasudeva, the progenitor of the Sākya race, and Ikshvāku from whom the Solar dynasties of India claimed descent were rajahs of Pātāla. From Pātāla they extended up into the Indus valley and spread to the Gangetic valley, establishing various kingdoms; and they spread South and occupied Ceylon and the Mahendra island which has since been submerged. Pātāla, the capital of the Nāgas, became later in Brahmanical literature a synonym for the under-world, but they had the grace to describe it as "far more beautiful than the heaven of Indra, infinite in extent, filled with hundreds of palaces and elegant mansions, with turrets and domes and gate-ways, abounding with wonderful places or various games and entertainments. In this under-world the houses are made of silver and gold, decorated with lapis lazuli, corals and gems, one of which is indetical with crystal and with the Sun. These houses are high and close to one another." Such praise from Brahmanical sources, who at other times speak of them disdainfully as non-human beings, is a truer conception of the position of the Nāgas at this period. They seem to have spread from Pātāla, their headquarters, to Java, Sumatra and the Indonesian and Polynesian Islands in search for gold and pearls, carrying with them wherever they went the cult of the Sun and the serpent and the civilization of which they were the exponents. Cultivation by irrigation, and the building of stone edifices have been a feature of their civilization and we can still see the traces of that civilization all along these islands, although the people who brought that civilization have disappeared. The western and southern parts of India were largely peopled by them and the cities they founded were called Ur, after their principal city, Ur of the Chaldees. They were skilled in astronomy. Garga, one of the fathers of Indian astronomy

having propitiated Sesha Nāga is said to have acquired from him a knowledge of astronomical science, of the planets and of the good and evil denoted by the aspect of the heavens.

The central and eastern portions of Ceylon were occupied by the Yakkhas, who are not to be confounded with the Veddas, as most writers have done; the Yakkhas are a branch of the Turko-Mongolian race, of a yellowish-white complexion. They brought with them the art of terrace cultivation. They came from a mountainous region. They were also matrilinear and practised polyandry, but differed from the Nāga polyandry by being fraternal in type. They appear to have entered India from Tibet through the Brahmaputra valley into Nepal and also, round the Khyber Pass, into Kashmir. The Chinese called them Yuechi. They, again, in the 1st century, swept into India under the name of Kushans and gave rise to the Kushan dynasty. The legends of the Nīlamata in Kashmir reflect the history of the movements of the different culture elements of the population of Kashmir. Kashmir was said to be originally a lake whose water was drained by Siva. "The Nāgas with Nīla, their king, first peopled it. Kāsyapa, Nīla's father, wished to introduce men to whom the Nāgas objected. Kasyapa cursed and condemned the Nāgas henceforth to dwell with Pisācas. Nīla interceded on behalf of the Nāgas. Kasyapa said there was an Island six yojanas in extent in the Sand Ocean. Fierce Pisācas, Yakshas and Daityas live in that island. Every year Nikumba, the king of the Pisācas, would lead five crores of Pisācas to Kashmir and live there six months. The Nāgas would live with them the remaining six months." Regarding the ethnographical significance of these legends, Grierson writes, "by the expression, an island in the Sand Ocean, to the North of Kashmir, the Nīlamata can only mean an oasis in the central Asian desert lately explored by Stein".....The Nāgas were the original inhabitants of Kashmir and were half conquered by Pisāca or Yaksha invaders from an oasis of the central Asian desert. In the Suryagarbha Sutra of the Mahasamnl Pata, the Māhātmya of Khotan, we find the

same story repeated. "The Yakshas or Pisācas are again brought into prominence as superseding the Nāgas. The latter refused to accept the charge of the twenty holy places of Buddhism. The Yakshas then accept the responsibility of nineteen, the twentieth, Gosringa in Khotan, being left to the Nagas." (Indo-Aryan Races by Chanda, pp. 76-77)

The Newars of Nepal, and the Licchavis, were the representatives, in later years, of this mountain race. "The Paṇḍavas first come into view with the later Buddhist literature which recognised the Paṇḍavas as a mountain clan," (P. 253, Ancient India, Vol. I, Cambridge History of India) and in P. 258 it is stated thus: "a later age offered various explanatory excuses for the polyandry of the Paṇḍus who, however as a northern hill tribe or family were really polyandrous and needed no excuse." The same fraternal polyandry exists in the up-country districts of Ceylon. In Malabar, polyandry exists, but it is of the promiscuous variety and not fraternal. There is also a striking similarity, as pointed out by Ferguson, in the style of Architecture of Canara, Nepal and Tibet. The characteristic feature of this is the reverse slope of the eaves above the verandah. This style of architecture is that which obtains in the Kandyan districts. The head measurements of the people of the outer countries, *i.e.*, those outside the Madhyadesa of India, *viz.*, Western Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, the Maratha Country, Orissa, Bihar and Bengal, is mainly brachy-cephalic, and measticephalic, while the midlands are dolicocephalic. The Telugu, Kodapu and Kanarese, among the people of Deccan, have a good proportion of brachy- and measticephalic skulls. Further, the languages of the outer band present certain peculiarities which are described as "the Pisācha characteristics." These characteristics of the head measurements and peculiarities in the language, with the polyandrous tendencies of some of those people, characterise them as originally belonging to the stock of the Yakshas or Pisācas who have been superseding the Nāgas in these parts.

Their god was Siva who is painted in a red colour in contrast to Vishnu, the god of the Nāgas, who is painted dark or blue black. Siva is represented as riding on a bull: among the Tibetans even to-day the bull is used for riding. In the Skanda Purāṇa, a Sivite work, he is always described as being attended by Yakshas, Pisācas and Bhūtas where ever he went. Both Siva and his son, Skanda Kumāra—the god of Kataragama—are hill gods and his Southern Indian counterpart, Muruga, is also a hill god.

The Yakshas, originally a hill tribe, brought with them their gods and their customs, and we find them ousting the Nāgas in Ceylon, and, at the time we are now considering, they occupied the central and eastern portions of the Island. The city of Mahiyangana, the present Alutnuwara, and the ancient city of Pulastipura, or the present Polonnaruwa, were their chief cities. The shrine of Kataragama was evidently their chief shrine and they had constructed a high road from Kataragama passing through Buttala and Alutnuwara to Polonnaruwa. Parker, (*Ancient Ceylon*, P. 240), states that this ancient highway, part of which is now in existence, is called Kalu Gal Bāmma and can be seen at Nilagala, where it is 100 feet broad at the base and 30 to 40 feet broad on the top and about 20 feet high, and it is said to have been paved with stones. Both the Brahamin and Buddhist writers who have in their writings characterised Yakshas as demons and goblins have, however, unconsciously praised them. The branch of Yakshas which came over to Lanka had attained such prosperity and wealth that the city which their king Kuvera built was said to be so magnificent that there was no rival to it, either in this world or in the world of the gods, and this Yaksha king is now worshipped by them as the god of wealth. A tribute like this paid by writers who have denounced them in their writings, shows that they must have been a highly civilised race who had attained great material prosperity. The air chariot of Rāvaṇa was said originally to belong to Kuvera.

At the period we refer to, however, both the Nāgas and Yakshas had declined in their power and influence.

The Nāgas, however, were still a seafaring people, undertaking long expeditions both in an easterly and a westerly direction.

The Buddhistic chronicles open with the three legendary visits of the Buddha to Ceylon. The Rājaratnākara, alone of the Buddhistic chronicles, gives a rational explanation of these legends. It states that, "Before the Buddha came, the Island was an abode of devils, but when his religion was preached and followed, it became the abode of men. Some Buddhas who undertook that service, although they in person did not leave Jambudvīpa, yet, by their power they expelled the devils from Ceylon, as the influences and rays of the sun pervade the darkest recesses. Other Buddhas came in person to cast out the fiends to make this Island of Lanka a habitation for men by depositing in consecrated places the *dhātu* or bones of the Buddha." According to the Rājaratnākara, the earlier Buddhas never visited Ceylon, but they influenced the people of Ceylon by their teachings, and that, while the Buddha himself never visited Ceylon, he did so indirectly by the deposition of his sacred relics on three separate occasions. The first to receive the sacred relics were the Yakkhas of Mahiyangana, the present Alutnuwara. The Vaipavamalai, throws an interesting sidelight on this. It states that Vijaya who was himself a Saivite, invited the Magadhese Buddhists who had wandered to Assam and Burma in search of an asylum when they were driven out of India after the death of the Buddha, by the revival of Brahminism, to come and settle in Ceylon and follow their religion without any let, or hindrance; various crowds of men and women came and were settled in different parts. If, as I hope to prove, Vijaya landed in the South, as suggested by Parker, and not on the West, as is commonly believed, the first advance settlement of Vijaya's colonists would have settled round Mahiyangana, one of the chief cities of the Yakshas, and on the highroad from Māgama to Anuradhapura. The Buddhist colonists, probably, brought with them the relics of Buddha's hair and his right collar bone, over which they raised the Mahiyangana Dāgoba.

Five years after this, the Nāgas of Jaffna or Nāgadīpa, as it was then called, were converted to the Buddhist faith, and, as a token of their reverence to the new faith, the two Nāga kings, Mahodara and Cūlodara, who were contesting the ownership of a jewelled throne, agreed to consecrate it to Buddha. This throne remained as a sacred object of worship for some centuries, and occupied very much the same position that the tooth of Buddha does to-day. Three years after this the Nāgas of Kalyāni were converted to Buddhism and, as South India has not become a Buddhist country at this period, it is more than probable that the Nāgas embraced Buddhism through the efforts of the Buddhist Colonies in the Yaksha territories of Ceylon.

It will thus be seen that Ceylon had accepted Buddhism long before the arrival of Mahinda. The Sinhalese kings before Devānampiyatissa continued to be Hindus while a good number of their subjects had been converted to Buddhism. Devānampiyatissa was the first Sinhalese monarch to embrace the new faith and when Mahinda visited Ceylon a great number of the people of Ceylon had already become Buddhists and it was after the arrival of Mahinda that Buddhism became the State Religion of Ceylon. The legends connected with the three visits of Buddha are, therefore, according to the author of the *Rajaratnakara*, to be explained, not by the assumption that Buddha actually visited the Island in person, but that he, by means of his relics, influenced the spread of his religion in Ceylon.

Previous to the present Buddha the Island had been visited by three other Buddhas. This, according to the *Rājaratnākara* is to be explained by the fact that the teachings of these Buddhas had reached Ceylon and influenced their beliefs. The Jains and Buddhists hold that there have been several avatārs of the Buddha of which Mahāvīra of the Jains and Gautama of the Buddhists are the greatest and chief avatārs. The first of such Buddhas whose teachings influenced Ceylon was called Kakusandha and in his time the Island was known by the name of Ojadīpa. The second Buddha was called

Konagama and in his time the Island was called Varadīpa. The third teacher was called Kassapa and in his time the Island was called Maṇḍadīpa.

From the Indian and Ceylon traditions we learn that the two earliest races that entered India and contested each other for mastery were the Yakshas and Nagas. To the Aryans who entered India about 1500 B.C. the two races appeared as sister races and they were described as being descendants of Pulastya; Rāvaṇa, king of the Nāgas, and Kuvera, king of the Yakshas, were said to be half brothers. As both these were matrilinear races, as opposed to the patrilinear Aryans, the Aryan people must have regarded them as closely related races although ethnically they belonged to two distinct types of the human race. The Nāgas were, probably, a branch of the large Mediterranean race which, originating somewhere on the shores of the Mediterranean, had penetrated into Europe and Asia in the early neolithic period. They were a dolichocephalic race with a narrow nose, and buried their dead and practised promiscuous polyandry, and were divided into clans who adopted the name of some animal or plant as their totems. The Yakshas were a brachycephalic race probably allied to, or possibly, the early representatives of the proto-alpine race, who moving from the Tibetan plateau had, in early times descended into India, and also passed westward along the Iranian Tableland and then moved into Europe entering in part by the Balkan peninsula, but mainly around the northern side of the Black Sea, and spreading along the northern edge of the European Highlands. The civilisation that existed in the Indus Valley during the third millennium before Christ, was, probably, an offshoot of this branch of the human family. The Indus civilisation had reached a very high level, and was far ahead of the Babylonian civilisation at the beginning of the third millenium. The vast cities, with the regular streets, houses, and temples with all the amenities of the city life such as drains and baths, remind one of the descriptions of the Yaksha cities in Indian tradition. It is said that the people of the Indus civilisation

practised cremation, and they deposited the ashes in cinerary urns or in small brick shrines. But in one case at Mohenjo Daro a skull had been ritually buried without the other bones of the skeleton but accompanied with vases and offerings. This skull was markedly brachycephalic. The alabaster statuettes found here also give the impression of a brachycephalic race.

Professor Ernst Herzfeld, in some recent articles contributed to the "Illustrated London News," has drawn attention to the fact that Susa in Elam had close cultural relations with a Neolithic civilisation of the Iranian Peninsula and differed materially with the civilisation of Sumer, and was probably older than it. The Elamites were a mountainous race and were brachycephalic, while the Sumerians were a dolichocephalic people. The later Babylonian civilisation appears to have been due to a mingling of these two civilisations. I am tempted to regard these two civilisations as corresponding to the Yaksha and Naga civilisations of the Indian traditions. Some great calamity appears to have overtaken the cities of the Indus Valley shortly after 3000 B.C., when they were completely abandoned, and that civilisation disappeared long before the Aryans entered India and Indian historical traditions had enshrined the memories of this civilisation in their legends. These two races have been found in early neolithic times even in Britain. The Iberian basis of the Welsh people is revealed by the numerous local nicknames prevalent in modern Wales which were probably old totems such as the pigs of Anglesey, the dogs of Denbigh and the cats of Ruthin. The Iberian was short, dark and long skulled. He had no iron implements, but his ground and polished flint weapons and arrow head axes and knives show that in stone he was a proficient and deft worker. His sepulchre, the long barrow which can still be seen, was fashioned in the model of his dwelling. The basis of Iberian society was tribal and totemistic. This section of the British population agrees in its description with that of the Mediterranean race elsewhere and with the Nāgas of India.

“The early Britons were said to wear their hair long, shaving all the body except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve men have their wives in common, brothers very commonly with brothers and parents with children. The offspring of each wife is reckoned to belong to the husband who first married her.” (“Story of Nations, Early Britain.” P. 5.)

This section of the British race may be traced from the practice of its fraternal polyandry to the Proto-alpine race which, in Indian tradition, is called the Yakshas.

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PART II.

THE VIJAYAN LEGENDS

The Dīpavamsa begins with the account of a lion living with the daughter of the Vaṅga king in the forest; and, as a result of the union, two children were born. No mention is made of the running away of the Vaṅga princess with a Magadhese caravan, nor is any mention made of the children of the lion being married to each other. When the young prince attained his sixteenth year, he is said to have left his cave dwelling, and to have built a city called Simhapura, from where he reigned over his kingdom of Lālaratṭha. Then follows an account of sixteen twins being born to this prince; the eldest of whom, Vijaya, was sent adrift with his companions on account of a series of fearful and most wicked deeds against the people of the country. They, their wives and children were sent in three separate vessels. The ship in which the children sailed reached Naggadīpa, the naked island, identified by some with the Nicobar Islands. The wives drifted to the country of Mahilā Rata, probably the delta of the Godāvari on the eastern coast, Illa being the Tamil name of Lanka. Ceylon, a southern Lanka, was said to be colonized from Janasthan in the Godāvari district. But the men were said to have drifted to Suppāra, a leading sea port on the western coast, where they were hospitably entertained by its people. Vijaya and his followers abused the hospitality of the inhabitants of Suppāra, and being again convicted of drink, theft, adultery and falsehood, they were obliged to leave for fear of being murdered and went to the next port, Bharukaccha,

where they tarried three months. They were still unregenerate and were obliged to leave Bharukaccha for similar offences, and were driven by the violence of the winds to the shores of Lanka, where they landed at Tambapanni which was so called on account of the red colour of the earth. No mention is made of Vijaya's marriage, either with the Yakkha princess, Kuveni, or with the Madura princess. Tambapanni, the city of Vijaya, was built in the South on the most lovely bank of the river. It is further stated that many people, crowds of men and women, came together and, hence, each of the princes who came with Vijaya was able to found separate towns in different parts of the Island and that, when seven years of his reign had passed, the land was crowded with people. In this connection it is interesting to note that, according to the Vaipavamalai, Vijaya is said to have invited Indian settlers, but no one was willing to come to the land of the Rākshasas as they were afraid, and, therefore, Vijaya invited the Magadhese Buddhists, who had wandered to Assam and Burmah in search of an asylum as the result of Brahmanical persecution after the death of the Buddha, and, settled them in various parts of the Island with full liberty to follow their own faith.

The Mahavamsa, which is the later work, gives more details about the parentage of the Vaṅga princess; her father was a Vaṅga prince and the mother was a Kalinga princess. She is said to have been an amorous girl, so much so that her parents were disgusted with her. She ran away, disguised probably as a boy, with a caravan going to Magadha. On their way a lion attacked them when the others fled in all directions, but the princess flew in the direction from which the lion came. She made love to the lion who took her on his back to the cave and lived with her. As the result of the union a male child was born with hands and feet like those of a lion. Then followed a baby girl. At the age of sixteen, he, with his mother and sister, left the cave during the absence of the lion and came to Vaṅga, where their mother was recognized by her cousin, who took her to his home and married her. The lion, who was

stricken with sorrow at the loss of his wife and children raided the border villages. The king offered a large sum of money to whoever would kill the lion. The prince offered to kill the lion and, after the third attempt, killed it and brought its head to the king and received the blood-money. On the death of the King the people offered the kingdom to this prince, but he waived his claim in favour of his step-father and went to the land of his birth and founded the city of Simhapura and married his own sister, and had sixteen twins of whom Vijaya was the eldest. Vijaya with his 700 followers was banished from the kingdom for his misdeeds and he landed in the Tambapaṇṇi division of Lanka after touching Supāraka on the way. Their wives and their children were sent adrift in two other boats. Vijaya and his followers were blessed on their landing by Indra who came in the form of an ascetic. Then they met with the Yakkha Princess, Kuveni, whom the prince weds and through whom he gets the sovereignty of Lanka. When they were gathered together in a big marriage feast at the Yakkha city of Sirīsavatthu, he was able, with her help, to destroy the Yakkha princes and to assume the sovereignty of Lanka. He then built the town of Tambapaṇṇi which he made his capital. After living for some time with the Yakkha princess and after two children were born, he put her away and married a princess from South Madura.

The Rājāvali account agrees in the main with the Mahavaṃsa account, giving as many details. It further mentions that the Vaṅga king built a new city in the country of Lada Desa and made the prince the king of this country in recognition of his having killed the lion. The marriage of the brother to the sister is mentioned and the banishment of Vijaya, the eldest son, with 700 of his followers, who were said to be born on the same day as Vijaya, were banished for their misdeeds and sent on board ship. The Rājāvali mentions particularly that the exiles perceived Adam's Peak when their ship was sailing towards Rūne Raṭa or Rohana, the Southern division of the Island, and they landed at Tammanna Toṭa. The Kuveni incident is related

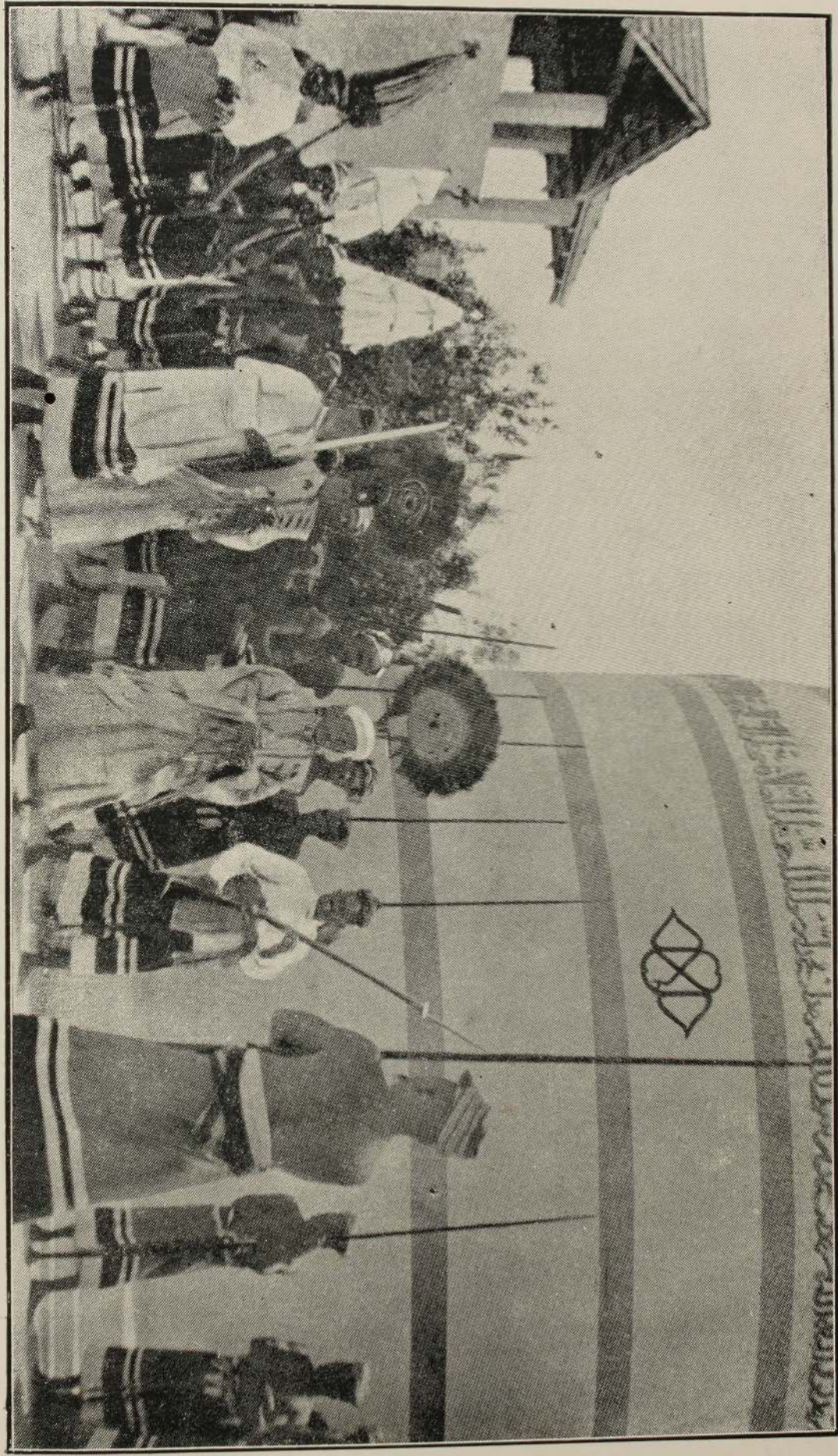
in more detail and it is said that the town of Tambapañṇi was built by Vijaya in fulfilment of a promise made to Kuveni when she restored the 700 followers of Vijaya, who, through her spell, had been bound and put into a tank. The Rājaratnākara gives a very short account of the elopement of the Vaṅga princess into the wilderness when she met and married a lion, and a son was born as the result of that union. No mention is made of a daughter nor of the marriage of the daughter with the son. No mention is made of the killing of the lion by the son. In his sixteenth year the young prince builds the city of Simhapura over which he reigned; of the 32 sons born to him the eldest prince, Vijaya, is given a good character unlike as in the other chronicles. He is said to be fair, mild and beautiful, and in accordance with a prophecy made by Buddha that, on his death, Vijaya would go forth from Jambudvīpa to Ceylon and become its king, Prince Vijaya with 700 others embarked on board after being blessed and sprinkled with holy water by the god Vishnu. They arrived in Ceylon and travelled into the interior and rested in a place where the dust on their hands was the colour of copper. They built a city on the spot and called it Tambapañṇi Nuvara. No mention is made of Vijaya meeting with Kuveni or of his marriage with the Pandya's daughter.

A common sense view of all these legends and traditions of the Ceylonese chronicles would be to regard Vijaya as having been a descendant of a race of people called Simhas whose nome or totem was the lion. A romantic marriage took place between a princess of Vaṅga and a prince of the Simha race. It is apparent that this was not a marriage that was arranged by the parents of the young people, nor was it a run-away marriage between the two young people. The princess, according to three accounts, ran away of her own accord, probably disguised, in the wake of a caravan, which raises in one's mind the picture of a number of tents and followers. A prince of the Simha dynasty meets her at some place away from home. Either he falls in love with her, or, according to some accounts, she falls in love with him and

they marry each other. Their first residence is in a cave-like dwelling very similar, perhaps, to the Jain caves in the Orissa country. The Hāthi Gumphā Cave in Orissa consists of two storeys each with a verandah, the lower 43 feet long with three cells behind and the upper 63 feet long with four cells behind. In addition, there are chambers of irregular plan in the wings to the right and left of the verandah. In both storeys, the facades of the cells are enriched with pilasters and highly ornate freizes. (See *Ancient India*, Cambridge History of India, P.640). Ancient India and Ceylon were rich in such cave dwellings and it is not inconceivable that a prince of a small tribe had a cave dwelling of superior workmanship as the one described as his first palace. Whether Vijaya went of his own accord or was banished is not quite certain. The story of the wives being sent on ships which reached Mahilarata and the children drifting to Nagga Dīpa may be given the interpretation that these regions were colonized by younger branches of the same family. Oldenberg has pointed out that the Pāli of the Buddhist Scriptures is widely divergent from Māgadhi, and is essentially the same as the dialect of the old inscriptions found in Mahārāshtra and Kalinga. Bandarkar is of opinion that the Aryans went to Kalinga not by the Eastern but by the Southern route and this would lead to the inference that Kalinga was a settlement from Mahārāshtra. I am of opinion that Rādha or, as it was then known, Gangarāṭṭha, was another of their settlements.

This legend of Vijaya appears in the Kailāsamalai, a poem composed in Jaffna about the ninth century in commemoration of the building of a temple to Kandasāmy or the Skanda Kumāra, son of Siva, at Nallore, which was regarded as another Kailasam, the abode of Siva. The legend, however, is related in connection with a later king of the Sinhalese dynasty who made a gift of the peninsula of Jaffna to a lutist. This disassociation of the legend from its proper chronological setting and its transference down the sands of time to a later period is not an uncommon failing with Indian poets. They often attempted to give

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ROYAL PROCESSION TO "HUKURU MISKIT"

a halo of glory to their patrons by associating them with events that happened ages ago in connection with more ancient and renowned kings. Similar references are made to this legend in the Vaipavamalai, Vaypādal and Kalvettu. These legends as related in the Jaffna histories bear a striking similarity to the Vijayan legends of the Sinhalese Chronicles. The authors of the Kailasamalai and the Vaipavamalai were not probably aware of the existence of the Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvamsa which were written in Pali and known only to a few Buddhist priests.

We must therefore conclude that these traditions existed in Jaffna from sources independent of the Mahāvamsa and Dīpavaṃsa. The Kailasamalai's legend runs as follows:—"A Chola princess was advised to bathe in the Keerimalai springs to cure her of a deformity of the face. She arrives and camps out at Keerimalai in a part which, unto this day, is known as Kumarathi Pallam or the valley of the princess. One day, while she was asleep in her tent surrounded by her guards, the powerful male lion with the lion face who lived at Kadiramalai, or Katara-gama, in the country of Senkāḍu, or the red forest, came and, crossing through the guards, carried her away to his old beautiful mountain cave and married her. To them was born, first a male child who was given the name of Varasinharājan Mahārājarājan Narasinharājan. He was of human shape with a beautiful tail and with a beautiful profusion of hair on the top of his head. He was called the lion with a beautiful face like the moon and eyes which shone like diamonds. After him was born a daughter. They were both brought up with all care as two precious children. When they were grown up, they were married to each other on an auspicious day and crowned with the crown of nine gems, while he thus reigned, receiving tribute from various kings, there arrived in his court Yalpanan, the prince among poets " etc.

The Vaipavamalai relates practically the same legend, but the husband who sought the hand of the lady at Keerimalai is a human king by the name of Ukkirarājasinham

who took her forcibly from her camp at Keerimalai to Kadiramalai or Kataragam. He subsequently moved to Senkāḍu Nagar, or the city of the red forest. While reigning there, a son was born to them as beautiful as Manmathan, the god of love, but with the tail of a lion. He was called Narasinharājan Jayatungarājan. A daughter was subsequently born who was named Senpahavalli. They married the two to each other. The Vaya Pāḍal gives the same details but more succinctly; it has this variation, that the lady after bathing at Keerimalai went to Kataragama to worship Skandar, the son of Siva, when she met the king Ukkirasinha and married him. He built a lovely palace for her in Varavettimalai. Then to him was born a son, very beautiful, but with the face and tail of a lion. On the death of his father he became king. Vibhisana installed him as king of all Ceylon, giving him the crown which was given him by Rāma, the magical sword and the disc, and the club weapons which will subdue all enemies, and bring the whole world under his feet, and the gold ring which he wore on his hands. This king sent ambassadors to Sinhaketu, king of Madura, asking for the hand of his daughter, Somathuth. The king of Madura complied with his request and sent his daughter with the company of 60 Vanniars.

The Kalvetṭu agrees, in the main, with the description given in Vāya Pāḍal. There is no consensus of opinion as to whether Vijaya came from the West or East coast of India. Although he is represented to have been born and bred in the neighbourhood of Bengal, yet all chronicles agree that he first touched at Bharukaccha and Suppāraka, two ports on the western coast. Neither is there any agreement as to which coast of Ceylon he landed on. Neville was of opinion that he landed on the west coast and he has identified the village of Tammanna in the neighbourhood of Puttalam, while others have regarded as Mantotte as the probable place of landing. If Vijaya came from Bengal, it was more likely that he landed at Mahatōṭṭa or Māntotta; but, if he came from the west coast, then Tammanna,

near Puttalam, may have been the port. The Portuguese writers assert that it was on the east coast. Parker has made out a strong case in favour of Kirindi on the South coast as the probable place of landing.

Barnett thinks that there were two streams of immigration, one from Gujarat, from the modern Singor, and the other from Orissa. Vijaya would, therefore, not be an individual, but would represent the union of two immigrant streams from the East and West which had subsequently blended to give the subsequent Sinhalese race. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this view. The Sinhalese language has a peculiarity of substituting H in place of S, a feature which is characteristic of Iranian and of the border tribes of the Indus. The Sinhas of Punjab are still known as a separate entity, while in Bengal there is at present no such race. But there is evidence that Rādha or Lādha was in the sixth century bounded on the east by the Ganges; on the west it extended to the western limits Manbhum and Sinbhum, and on the south it was bounded by the sea. It was also known by the name of Gangārāṣṭra. Manbhūmi and Sinhbhūmi were also known by the name of Vijaya Bhūmi and comprised the modern Chota Nagpur division of the province of Bihar and Orissa. Vijaya Bhūmi and Sinhbhūmi may at first suggest a connection with king Vijaya and his Sinhas. But these names, however, appear to have reference to Mahavira, the founder of the Jains. Vijaya Bhumi means the country of the conquest where Mahāvīra, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jains, made a conquest of his passions and became a "Jina," or conqueror. Manbhum is a corruption of Mānya-Bhumi which means the venerable country, and it evidently derived its name from Mahāvīra who was called the "venerable ascetic Mahāvīra." Sinbhum is a corruption of Sinhabhūmi, which means the country of the lion, and it derived its name from Mahāvīra who was compared to a lion and whose symbol was the lion (Kesarisinha). The whole tradition of Vijaya's connection with Bengal may have evidently been due to a confusion with the Jain traditions. According

to the Tamil traditions we find that it was not Vijaya who landed in Ceylon, but it was his grandfather or great grandfather who had landed in the vicinity of Kataragama where he had established a small principality, having as his residence a cave palace in one of the hills that surrounds Kataragama. If that is so, this agrees with Parker's identification of the landing of the first Sinhalese colony in Kirinda. This is also supported by the statement in the Dipavaṃsa that the capital, Tāmrapaṇī, was built in the South, and with the statement in the Rājavalīya that the colonists saw Adam's Peak as they were sailing in the sea bordering Ruhuna. Adam's Peak is visible from the sea in the neighbourhood of Kirinda. Parker has further pointed out that Gonagama, the port at which Paṇḍuvasa Deva landed at the mouth of the Kandura river, is no other than Kirinda. Kirinda in the Mahāvaṃsa is referred to as the Maha Kandara river. The Mahāvaṃsa also mentions a Kappa Kandara river which is identified as the Kumbakan river. Reference is also made to a Kappa Kandara village as well as to Uda and Maha Kandara. Kirinda, which was known as Karinda, may have been called Kandara by metathesis. The Tamil authors called the district round Kataragama Senkāḍu or red forest, and the town which Vijaya built "Senkāḍu Nagara or Senkaḍaga Nagara," or "the city of the red forest." Senkāḍu is a Tamil form of the Pali Tambapaṇṇi. If so, the division of Tambapaṇṇi referred to in the Mahāvaṃsa was originally the district comprised between the Kandara or Kirinda river and the Kappa Kandara or the Kumbakanaru. The name Tamraparni was subsequently applied to the whole of Ceylon and it was known by this name in the times of Onesicritus who was on the staff of Alexander and of Megasthenes an ambassador in the court of Chandragupta. Asoka refers to Ceylon as Tambapaṇṇi in his rock Edict XIII. Reference is also made in the Mahābhārata to the island of Tambapaṇṇi while, in other parts, it is referred to as Siṃhala Dīpa. Siṃhala must therefore be a term applied to Ceylon after Ptolemy's time, *i.e.*, 150 A.D., as he refers

to Ceylon as the island of Tamrapani. *Siṃhala* in the *Mahābhārata* is probably an interpolation of later date. The Tamil traditions certainly support the views of Parker that the landing place of the first colonists was in the South. Parker, however, has identified it with *Tissamahārāma*. But from the *Mahāvamsa* it would appear that it must have been further south on the bank of the river, as it is expressly stated that on the death of *Kākavaṇṇa Tissa* at *Tissamahārāma*, his body was taken by his queen to *Māgama*. From *Māgama* there was a road through *Tissamahārāma* to *Buttala* from where it ran up to *Mahiyangana* and thence to the *Amba Ferry* at the crossing of the *Mahaveliganga*.

The *Nāgas* of the Southern and Western coasts of the Island were a maritime people, with ships of their own, and it is not conceivable that a party of ship-wrecked people could have landed with any safety, much less founded a Kingdom on the Western or Northern shores of the Island. That the *Nāgas* continued to hold this position till at least the second century after Christ is proved from contemporary records. Resconstructing the history from all available sources, it is conceivable that the Southern part of Ceylon was colonized by an Aryan speaking people between the 7th and 6th century, B.C. The *Yakshas* do not appear to have been a maritime nation; all their chief cities were inland, and the coast was unprotected. It was, therefore, possible for any enterprising colonists to have settled on the Southern coast without much opposition. According to Sir Bhandarkar and other eminent Indian authorities there was a large movement of colonization from *Sindh* and *Punjab* about the 7th century B.C. (*Vaidya, History of Mediaeval India, Vol. I. p.79*). Particular mention must be made of one clan called the *Rāshṭras* in Sanskrit, and *Raṭṭhas* in Prakrit, who appear to have moved South along the Western coast, first settling down in *Gurjara Rāṣṭra* or the modern Gujarat, *Surarāṣṭra* the modern *Surat*, and *Mahārāṣṭra* the coastal districts South of Bombay, at present known as the country of the *Maharattas* or, shortly, *Marathas*. Expeditions were undertaken to far distant

lands such as Java. Traditions are still current in Gujarat with regard to these expeditions. A Gujarati proverb runs thus, "He who goes to Java never comes back, but if he does return, his descendants for seven generations live at ease," (Bombay Gazetteer I, 402). The log books of the Rarotongans, Maoris, Tahitians, &c. mention that their ancestors left India and settled in the Polynesian Islands about the year 450 B.C. (Children of the Sun, Perry, P. 104). We have reason to believe that even the Southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula was colonized by the same band. Madura was named after Mathurā in Northern India, and the Tinnevelly district, with its principal river, the Vaigai, was known by the name of Tāmraparṇī. The port of Kumari near Cape Comarin would be the port from which embarkations to more distant lands in the East would have taken place, as it possessed a fine harbour.

The first port of call on the Ceylon coast after leaving Cape Comarin would appear to be Galle, which in ancient times was known as Kalah and is akin to Kalah in Sinhalese and Kālai in Tamil, which has the significance of an enclosure for cattle, particularly for cart bulls, which are untethered at intervals at various places on a long journey. By a transference of idea, the name came to be applied to ports of call, and we meet with these names in Ceylon, in Galle and Tangalle; in the Malayan Archipelago every port of call is called Kalah. Looking at the south coast map of Ceylon, we come across these names, Galle, Matara, and Tangalle. Matara reminds one of Madura, and we meet this name again in Madura in Java. Tangalle is akin to Tangala, a town in the Tinnevelly district, which is mentioned as one of the inland towns of the land of Pandion by Ptolemy. If, as is believed, the first Aryan colonists landed and settled in the south, and called the land Tāmraparṇī from the copper coloured soil, we have a further coincidence that the Tinnevelly district, which was known by the name of Tamraparni, should have contributed one other name to the settlements in Southern Ceylon. At the mouth of the Kirinda river there is still a village called Gonagama

Villa, beyond which is a port with a nice harbour and plentiful supply of good water; it was probably the last port in Ceylon, touched by the sailing vessels of old, before they went on their long expeditions to Java. Kataragama, the famous shrine worshipped by Hindus from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, was only a few miles from this place. According to the Jaffna tradition, an ancestor of Vijaya first established his kingdom in this part, living in one of the caves in the Kataragama hills, and subsequently built a city which he called Senkāḍu Nagara or the City of the Red Forest. According to the Sinhalese chronicles, Vijaya built the town of Tammanna in the South on the lovely bank of a river, and the whole Island was given the name of Tāmraparṇi and was known as such during the time of Chandragupta and Asoka.

The particular branch of the Raṭṭas who occupied Southern India and Ceylon were known as Simhas. At the head of the Tāmraparṇi river in the Tinnevelly district is a town known by the name of Vikrama Singha Pura. These Sinhas originally came from Simha Pura in the Punjab near the present Multan, which was subsequently the seat of a famous Buddhist shrine. They next founded a city of similar name in Gujarat, then in Southern India; we meet with a Simha Pura in Orissa and another in the present Singapore of the Malayan peninsula. The Battas of Sumatra say that their first great king was Singha Maharajah, (Children of the Sun, Perry, P166). About the time of the Buddha there were a people called Gangaridae and their country was called Ganga Rāshṭra or Ganga Rāḍha or Ganga Raṭṭha. The name was subsequently shortened to Rāḍha. The R was changed to L and the country then came to be known as Lāḍha and Lāṭa. While one band of colonists went further East and colonized the Malay peninsula, Java and Sumatra, another band appears to have gone to the Eastern coast of India and formed settlements in the Kalinga and Bengal districts. One of the Tamil traditions states that a Chola or, more probably, a Bengal princess came to Kataragama after bathing first in the springs of

Keerimalai to pay her vows and that, while she was camping out, the Lion King of Kataragama carried her off to his cave dwelling. This princess may have been a descendant of one of the same clan of Rajput princes who had settled in the Ganga Rat̥tha division of Bengal. To them was born a son and daughter who, when they were grown up were married to each other. This brother and sister marriage is quite foreign to Aryans and was looked upon with disgust by them. But this form of marriage was common among the ruling families of the Solar race, or, the Children of the Sun. The Simha clan, who called themselves descendants of the Solar-race, were therefore originally a branch of the Children of the Sun or the Mediterranean race who had become Aryanized at this period. A son was born to them who was called Jayatunga Raja, according to the Tamil traditions and Vijaya according to the Sinhalese traditions. Jaya and Vijaya both signify victory and are, therefore, identical. They sought for him the hand of the Princess of Madura. The King of Madura readily complied with this request. Such ready compliance suggests a previous connection of the two houses and, as I have already pointed out, there is reason to believe that the throne of Madura was then occupied by members of the same clan. The tradition of Vijaya with 700 of his followers sent adrift on the sea was perhaps based on another legend. The bards in Marwar have a legend that Bhoj Rajah, the great Puar chief of Ujjain, in anger drove away his son Chandrabhan who sailed to Java. (Bombay Gazetteer, I, 448). The marriage with Kuveni is not mentioned by the Dīpavamsa nor by the Tamil traditions. May it be that the marriage of Kuveni was not to Vijaya, but to Vijaya's great grandfather? If we assume that it was Vijaya's great grandfather who came to Ceylon and settled in the South, and married a Yaksha princess, then it is easy to understand how a good part of the Yaksha kingdom would have come under his sway without much bloodshed. Both among the Nāgas and the Yakshas the right of succession to the throne was through the female line, as it obtains even to-day

in Travancore and Cochin. Among some matri-linear races, the husband of the daughter of the house generally succeeded to the throne. Vijaya's great grandfather having married the Yaksha princess would become the ruler on the demise of the reigning king. Their son married a Bengal princess, probably the daughter of the king of the Singha clan who had, by now, established itself in the Ganga Raṭṭa division of Bengal. All the legends of the Ceylon chronicles of the runaway match of the Bengal princess would be naturally explained if the Tamil traditions be true. The cave palace of the Ceylon king in the vicinity of Katara-gama, and the encamping of the princess round about the Kataragama shrine in camps would suggest all the materials for the Ceylon legend.

According to the Tamil legends, Vijaya was himself a Saivite, and he invited and sent for the Magadhese Buddhists who after the death of Buddha had wandered into Burma and Siam in search of an asylum, as they were driven out of India by the Brahmans. They probably settled in Mahiyangana which had by this time perhaps become the chief seat of Government. There they enshrined the collar bone of Buddha which they brought with them in the great dagoba. The first visit of Buddha to Ceylon is thus easily explained, that the first relic of the Buddha to be enshrined in Ceylon was in the Yaksha country at Mahiyan-gana. The statement that Vijaya was a Saivite, according to the Tamil tradition, is supported by C. V. Vaidya's statement that Siva worship was most predominant in those days. The Rajput families, almost all of whom established powerful kingdoms at this time, were worshippers of Siva. (History of Mediaeval India, Vol. II—Rajputs-by C. V. Vaidya).

When Vijaya died without issue, the kingdom was taken over by the junior branch of the Singha clan which had established itself in Bengal.

The Sengar Rajputs, who are now scattered about Oudh and Agra, have a tradition that an ancestor of theirs

Bhoja Raja by name, migrated from Burdwan in Rāḍha to Ceylon and became the first Sengar king of the Island. A family bard of the Sengar Rajputs, while singing the eulogies of his forefathers, reminds him of Sengars having once ruled in Siṃhala Dvīpa, and in doing so he calls him a Singhel (Sinhala) down to the present day. (The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 2, 404, 405).

If we assume that Paṇḍuvasudeva was a descendant, of a Siṃha clan which had established itself in Rāḍha a division of Bengal and that he was not literally the younger brother of Vijaya, but a descendant of a junior branch of the clan, the confusion of the Vijayan tradition in the Ceylon chronicles can be explained. The first band came from the West, and in their wandering, they had touched at the ports of Bharukaccha and Supāra, well known ports of that period, in the West. A junior branch of the same family had gone to Bengal and settled down there and called their country Ganga Raddha or, shortly, Raddha, in the same way as their forefathers called the country they settled in on the Western coast Guja Rāshṭra, and Sura Rāshṭra and Maha Rāshṭra. A descendant of this junior branch came over and assumed the sovereignty when Vijaya died without issue. As suggested by Barnett there were two streams of immigration. This accords with the Tamil tradition and the tradition of the Sengar Rajputs, and this view gives a more rational explanation of the Vijayan occupation of Ceylon.

A survey of all the traditions from Sinhalese, Tamil and Indian sources would lead to a more correct reconstruction of the History of Ceylon of this period, than when viewed only from Sinhalese sources.

5. Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, Dr. Joseph Pearson Dr. P. E. Pieris, Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha and the Chairman offered remarks.

6. Dr. Paul replied.

7. Votes of thanks to the lecturer and Dr. Pearson, proposed by the Chairman and to the Chair, proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris, were carried with acclamation.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, November, 2nd 1929.***Present :*

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., Patron in the chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. W. E. Bastian, J.P.
 „ J. D. de Lanerolle
 „ J. S. A. Fernando
 „ H. Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
 „ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate
 Mudaliyar
 „ R. W. F. Jayasingha
 Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
 Ph.D.

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A.,
 Maha Mudaliyar
 „ P. T. P. Gunawardana,
 The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
 M.L.C.
 Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
 „ C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.,
 Retired
 „ W. Samarasingha, Ata-
 pattu Mudaliyar
 Rev. R. Siddhartha, M.A.

Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*

Visitors) :—2 ladies and 13 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 27th September, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2: The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, who read the paper entitled “Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon.”

PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN CEYLON

BY

S. PARANAVITANA,

Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.

The religious beliefs that were prevalent among the Sinhalese people before they accepted Buddhism in the third century before Christ have been very little studied. The materials available for a such a study are very scanty. From the chronicles, we learn very little on this subject; and even the meagre information they furnish us with has not received the attention that is due.

The *Mahāvamsa*, in its account of the foundation of Anuradhapura by Paṇḍukābhaya in the fourth century B.C., mentions a number of religious and public institutions established there by that monarch. Anuradhapura, in later times, became the holy city of the Sinhalese Buddhists; and, as such, the monks must have preserved authentic tradition about its origin. Therefore, it may be assumed that this account in the *Mahāvamsa* is based on facts. The present paper is mainly a study of the religious foundations of Paṇḍukābhaya, supplemented here and there by epigraphical and other literary evidence wherever such are found throwing light on the subject under discussion.

I do not propose to discuss them in the same order as they are found in the chronicle. On the other hand, it would be more convenient if they are taken in connection with the different cults to which they appertained. In so doing, we shall first discuss those beliefs of a lower level of culture as the worship of the yakṣas.

Yakṣa cults: Cittarāja.

In Vv. 84-88 of the 10th chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*, we read:—“He (Paṇḍukābhaya) settled the yakṣha Kāḷavela on the east side of the city, the yakṣha Cittarāja at the lower end of the Abhaya tank. The slave woman who had helped in time past and was reborn a yakṣhiṇī, the thoughtful king settled at the south gate of the city. Within the royal precincts, he housed the yakṣhiṇī in the form of a mare. Year by year, he had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other yakṣhas; but on festival days he sat with Cittarāja beside him on a seat of equal height, and having gods and men to dance before him, the king took his pleasure, in joyous and merry wise.”⁽¹⁾ In the same chapter, vv 104-105, it is said:—“With Kāḷavela and Cittarāja who were visible (in bodily form), the prince enjoyed his good fortune, he who had yakṣhas and bhūtas for friends.”⁽²⁾

Mr. Henry Parker ⁽³⁾ is of opinion that the two yakṣhas Kāḷavela and Cittarāja were two chiefs of the aborigines of Ceylon whom Paṇḍukābhaya treated with special honour, as a matter of policy, to reconcile these savages who had been dispossessed of their land by the invading Sinhalese. But the trend of the *Mahāvamsa* narrative does not show that the two yakṣas gained anything by sharing an equal throne with Paṇḍukābhaya. On the other hand, it is cited as an example of the king's majesty and greatness that he sat on an equal eminence with these supernatural beings. There is also other evidence, outside the *Mahāvamsa*, to prove that a yakṣa named Cittarāja was the object of a popular cult in ancient India. In the Kurudhamma Jātaka, it is said of Dhanañjaya, king of the Kurus:—“Every third year, in the month of Kārttika (November) the king used to hold a festival called the Kattika Feast. While keeping this feast the kings used to deck themselves out in great magnificence,

1. Geiger's translation, p. 74. 2 *Ibid* pp. 75-76.
 2. *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 26.

and dress up like gods, they stood in the presence of a goblin (yakkha) named Cittarāja, and they would shoot to the four points of the compass arrows wreathed in flowers, and painted in divers colours. This king, then, in keeping the feast, stood on the bank of a lake, in the presence of Cittarāja, and shot arrows to the four quarters.”⁽¹⁾

Besides the identity in names, the two spirits mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the *Jātaka*, have other points in common. At Anuradhapura, the abode of Cittarāja was below the tank Abhayavāpī (Basavakkulam). When king Dhanañjaya of the Kurudhamma Jātaka stood by the side of Cittarāja, it was on the embankment of a tank (*vāpī pāliyā*). From this, it becomes clear that Cittarāja was a water spirit. On special festival days, Paṇḍukābhaya enjoyed erotic pleasure (*ratikīḍā*) in the presence of Cittarāja, and in the Jātaka story, the Kuru king stood by the side of this spirit on the day of the Kārttika festival and shot flowery arrows to the four quarters. In later Indian mythology, the flowery arrows are a symbol of Kāma, the god of Love; and their occurrence in this story shows that Cittarāja, too, was of a similar nature. This is also borne out by the story given in the *Mahāvamsa*, that in the clandestine love affairs of Cittā and Gamaṇī, the parents of Paṇḍukābhaya, this yakṣa took the part of the young lovers and saved them from many a perilous situation.⁽²⁾ The name Cittarāja itself—if we may interpret it as meaning “King of the mind or heart”⁽³⁾—has affinity with *Manobhava* ‘mind born,’ one of the names of the Hindu Cupid. The festival of Kārttika, during which this yakṣa was worshipped, had a saturnalian character. Much sexual license was allowed on this day;⁽⁴⁾ and, according to one account, it was the custom, on the night

1. *Jātaka*, translation II, p. 254.

2. See *Mahāvamsa* Ch. IX.

3. Rouse, in his translation of the Kurudhamma Jātaka has rendered it ‘King of many Colours’ (Skt. Citrarāja).

4. *Jātaka*, I, 433 shows that this festival was enjoyed in the company of women.

of this festival, for the king to go round the city splendidly attired, stopping at the doors of the chief houses, whilst young women came and scattered flowers on him. ⁽¹⁾

But the *Mahāvaṃsa* would make us believe that along with Kāḷavela, Cittarāja also was of Ceylon origin. Before he was born as a yakṣa, he is said to have been a trusted servant of Paṇḍukābhaya's father; and we have already referred to the part he played in that prince's love intrigue. Stories connected with the gods of a people are very often associated with their heroes. Paṇḍukābhaya was the national hero of pre-Buddhist Ceylon; and, it is very likely that many stories from the current folklore of the day were grafted to the romantic account of his career as given in the chronicle. In doing this, it is natural to make Ceylon the scene of these stories, and, in this way, Cittarāja is described as a yakṣa of Ceylon origin; though his cult was prevalent at the same time, or even earlier, in India. As an analogous instance, it may be mentioned that to the Hindu colonists of Java, the heroes of the Mahābhārata were of Javanese origin and the battles between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas were fought on Javanese soil.

The Genius of the Tisavāya

As the Abhayavāpī had its guardian spirit in Cittarāja, so had the Tissavāpī an unnamed genius as its protector. For, we are told in an inscription of the tenth century, that the Isurumuṇi Vihāra was situated "by the side of the Tissa tank the waters of which formed the dwelling place of a genius (*rakus*) who was converted by the Saint Mahinda and was made to be of service to the religion as well as to the world."⁽²⁾ This spirit is here called a *rakus*; but the words *yakṣa* and

1. See Ummadanti Jātaka, Vol. V p. 21ff

2. Vessagiriya Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV E.Z.I., p. 33ff

Anu budu Maha Mihindu Mahahimiyan visin vinoyā sasun vāda lovādehi yedu rakus piringā pān Tisa uvanisā pihiti Isurmuṇu, etc.

Owing to the extreme similarity, in the tenth century script, between the symbols for *ha* and *nga*, Dr. Wickremasinghe has wrongly read *pirihā* for *pilingā*. Therefore, his translation of this passage, which he admits is doubtful, is far from accurate.

rākṣasa are applied indifferently to the same being,⁽¹⁾ and hence the genius of the *Tisāvēva* is mentioned here in dealing with the *yakṣa* cults. As the people in the tenth century believed that this spirit was converted by Mahinda, the apostle of Buddhism in Ceylon, it is obvious that he was known in pre-Buddhist times. As far as I know, there is no mention in literature of the conversion of this *yakṣa* by Mahinda; but similar feats are ascribed to his brother missionaries who proclaimed the message of the Buddha in Kashmir and other countries.

Kāḷavela

Kāḷavela who is associated with Cittarāja in the story of Paṇḍukābhaya is not known from other sources. His shrine which was near the eastern gate of the city continued down to later times; for Mahāśena in the fourth century is said to have constructed a *cetiya* at this place.⁽²⁾ It is not stated that Mahāśena's *cetiya* supplanted the *yakṣa*'s shrine; therefore, it is likely that the older worship of the *yakṣa* prevailed side by side with the honours paid to the *cetiya*. Moreover, as will be seen in the sequel, the *cetiya* was, in pre-Buddhist India, a feature of the *yakṣa* cult; and this particular one built by Mahāśena may have been devoted to that worship. The site of the eastern gate of Anuradhapura is near the modern Nakā Vehera.

Maheja

Another *yakṣa* worshipped by the Sinhalese in Paṇḍukābhaya's time was named Maheja. His shrine, situated a little distance to the west of the present Thūpārāma was

1. For instance, that monster called Raktākṣi who proved to be a scourge to the people of Ceylon in the time of Siri Sanghabodhi is called a *yakkha* by the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* but in the later *Hatthavanagalla Vāṃsa* he receives the epithet of *rakkhasa*. (See *Mv.* Ch. XXXV, v. 82 and *Hatthavanagalla Vāṃsa*, Ch. VI, V. 1.) In the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, Rāvana is indifferently styled 'King of *Yakṣas*' and 'King of the *Rākṣasas*.'

2. *Mv.* XXXVII. V. 44.

called Mahejaghara.⁽¹⁾ It is stated in the *Māhāvamsa* (Ch. 17 V. 30) in connection with the foundation of the Thūpārāma, that the royal elephant bearing the sacred relic that was to be enshrined in this *Stūpa* came out of the city from the southern gate, proceeded as far as the shrine of this yakṣa and then returned to the site of the sacred Bo-tree. No more reference to him is found in later literature and it is possible that his shrine was demolished to find room for the Buddhist monastic buildings that sprang up around the Thūpārāma.

Vaiśravaṇa and other Yakṣas.

The king of all the yakṣas is Vaiśravaṇa who is a familiar figure in Buddhist mythology, being considered one of the four great kings reigning in the lowest of the six heavens. He is also well known in Hindu mythology as Kuvera, the god of riches. Naturally, this important personage was not neglected by Paṇḍukābhaya in his scheme of religious foundations when lesser divinities who were his subordinates were honoured. As his abode was fixed a banyan tree near the western gate of the city.⁽²⁾ About tree worship we will speak in its proper place.

Another yakṣa, of whom a separate cult is not mentioned, but who is connected with Paṇḍukābhaya's legend, was named Jutindhara. His haunt was the lake named Tumbariyaṅga near the river Mahavāligaṅga in the eastern part of the island. His wife was the yakṣiṇī Cetiya who has already been mentioned.⁽³⁾ Jayasena of Aritṭhapabbata was another reputed yakṣa in ancient Ceylon. The *Rasavāhini* has an

1. Mv. X. 90. The mss. contains the readings *Mahejjā and pabheda*. The *Samanta pāsādikā* has *paheja*. It is the commentary which says that this was a Yakṣa shrine. (See the Colombo edition p. 269).

2. Mv. X. 89.

3. Mv. X, 53 and *ṭikā*, p. 201. It is also stated there that this yakṣa was killed in the battle of Sirīsavatthu when Vijaya annihilated the yakṣas.

interesting story of a fight between him and Goṭha-Imbara, one of the ten warriors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.⁽¹⁾

In the first of the three supposed visits of the Buddha to Ceylon, he is said to have preached his doctrine to Sumana, the deity who had his abode on the summit of Samantakūṭa (Adam's Peak). It is, therefore, probable that this deity was known to the Sinhalese before their acceptance of Buddhism. In the *Āṭṭanāṭiya Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, a yakkha named Sumana is mentioned. It is possible that Sumana of Adam's Peak was identical with this yakṣa and was later elevated to the dignity of a *deva*. The fact that his abode was on a mountain and not in one of the six heavens agrees quite well with the epithet of *bhummadeva* 'the gods of the earth' applied to the yakṣas. Elsewhere, I have identified him with the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Samantabhadra; guided by the iconographical representation of the deity in later times;⁽²⁾ Such merging in of local deities with gods of a more universal character is a familiar phenomenon.

Yakṣinis.

Of the female spirits worshipped in ancient Anuradhapura, in the fourth century B.C., the first in importance was Vaḍavāmukhī, the mare faced fairy who seems to have been specially honoured by Paṇḍukābhaya as she was installed within the royal palace itself. There is hardly any doubt that Vaḍavāmukhī was the same as the yakṣiṇi named Assamukhī, mentioned in the Padakusalamānavaka Jātaka.⁽³⁾ In this story, she acted as a fairy god-mother to the Bodhisattva then known as Padakusala. She taught him a charm by the virtue of which one was able to detect a thief even after the expiry of seven years. Assamukhī seems to have been the centre of a popular cult in North India at the time of the rise

1. Edition of 1907, p. 87 ff.

2. See *Mahāyānism in Ceylon C. J. Sc. Vol II. pt. 1 p. 64.*

3. *Jātaka*, III. p. 502 ff.

of Buddhism. She is depicted in early Buddhist sculptures at Bhājā, Sānci, Bodh Gayā and Pāṭalīputra. In some of these she appears in scenes depicting the Padakusala Mānavaka Jātaka ; whereas, in others she appears alone. She also appears amongst the peaks of Govardhana, in a later stele from Maṇḍor.⁽¹⁾

Another yakṣinī was installed at the southern gate of the city. Her name is not given ; but it is said that in her previous birth, she was the slave woman who rescued Paṇḍukābhaya, in his infancy, from the plots laid out by his uncles, to murder him.⁽²⁾

The Western Queen.

The *Mahāvamsa*, chapter X, v. 89, tells us that Paṇḍukābhaya installed a goddess named Pacchimarājini near the western gate of ancient Anuradhapura. Prof. Geiger, in the introduction to his edition of that chronicle comments on the name as follows :—The name *pacchimarājini* seems to mean ‘the Western Queens’ ; it is used for the name of the chapel or sanctuary of those goddesses. I think, it is not merely accidental, that the sanctuary of the *pacchimarājini* was built *pacchimadvāradisābhāge* (at the Western Gate). We do not know anything, however, about the character of these Western Queens ; they were perhaps death goddesses.”⁽³⁾ Prof. Geiger translates the word *pacchimarājini* as if it were in the plural number. It is more probably singular ; one of the variant forms occurring in the manuscripts *pacchimarājiniṃ*, if taken as the correct one, is in the accusative singular. Therefore, it is evident that only one ‘Western Queen,’ and not many of them, was installed by Paṇḍukābhaya.

The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsiang gives us a clue to the identity of this ‘Western Queen.’ He gives two versions

1. See Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 26. 2. *Mv.*, X. 85.
3. *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger’s edition, Introduction, p. LIV.

of the legend connected with the origin of the Sinhalese people ; one of them, most probably, was what was told him by the Sinhalese monks whom he met at Kāñci, and the other based on the Sanskrit *Sim̐halāvadāna*. In the former version, the meeting of the amorous princess with a lion, their living together, the birth of a son and daughter to them, the manner in which the mother and children escaped from the lion's den, their subsequent arrival in a human habitation, the lion's pursuit of his wife and children, the ravages committed by the king of the beasts among the country folk, the king's proclamation offering a rich reward to any person who would rid his country of this unwelcome visitor and the killing of the lion by his own son agree, in the main, with the version of this legend as told in the Ceylon chronicles.

From this point, Hieun Tsiang's narrative differs widely from the Ceylonese tradition. According to the latter, the lion's son was offered the kingdom of Vaṅga by the grateful people. He refused this offer, and went to Lāṭa where he founded a city and reigned there with his sister as his queen. His son was Vijaya, the conqueror of Ceylon and the eponymous hero of the Sinhalese race. According to Hieun Tsiang, it was the lion's son, and not his grandson, who colonised Ceylon ; and the lion's daughter, the sister of Sim̐hala, was the ancestress of a race of Amazons known as the ' Western Women.' That part of the story which is pertinent to the subject under discussion may best be given in the Chinese pilgrim's own words.

" The king then said, ' Who is this man who has done such a wonderful deed ? Allured by promises of reward on the one hand, and alarmed by fear of punishment on the other, if he kept back anything, he at last revealed the whole from beginning to end and told the touching story without reserve. The king said ' Thou wretch, if thou wouldst kill thy father, how much more those not related to thee ! Your deserts indeed are great for delivering my people from the savage cruelty of a beast whose (passion) it is difficult

to assuage, and whose hateful tempers are easily aroused ; but to kill your own father, this is a rebellious (unnatural) disposition. I will reward your good deed largely ; but you shall be banished from the country as the punishment of your crime. Thus, the laws will not be infringed and the king's word not violated.' On this, he prepared two large ships (boats) in which he stored much provision (cured rice or other grain). The mother he detained in the kingdom, and provided her with all necessary things as the reward of the services done. The son and daughter each were placed in a separate boat, and abandoned to the chance of the waves and the wind. The boat in which the son was embarked, driven over the sea, came to this Ratnadvīpa. Seeing it abounded with precious gems, he took up his abode here."

"Afterwards, merchants seeking for gems frequently came to the island. He then killed the merchant chief and detained his children. Thus he extended his race. His sons and grandsons becoming numerous, they proceeded to elect a king and ministers and to divide the people into classes. They then built a city and erected towns, and seized on the territory by force ; and because their original founder got his name by catching a lion, they called the country (after his name) Simhala."

"The boat in which the girl was embarked was driven over the sea till it reached Persia (Po-la-sse), the abode of western demons who by intercourse with her engendered a clan of women children, and therefore the country is now called the country of the Western Women."⁽¹⁾

According to this story, the ancestress of this mythical race of the ' Western Women ' was the sister of Simhala, the reputed founder of the Sinhalese race. Therefore, it is natural that their queen (i.e. the Western Queen) was an object of popular veneration among the primitive Sinhalese. As

1. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. pp. 239-240.

these women are said to have had their origin by the intercourse of Simhala's sister with the western demons (yakṣas), the worship of their queen must be considered one phase of the then widely prevalent yakṣa cult.

In his account of Persia, through which country he passed on his return to China, Hieun Tsiang gives some more information about the 'Western Women.' He says:—"To the southwest of Fo-lin, ⁽¹⁾ in an island of the sea, is the kingdom of the Western Women. Here, there are only women, with no men; they possess a large quantity of gems and precious stones, which they exchange in Fo-lin. Therefore, the king of Fo-lin sends certain men to live with them for a time. If they should have male children, they are not allowed to bring them up." ⁽²⁾

The existence, to the west of India, of an island inhabited by a race of Amazons has also been believed in by mediaeval travellers. Marco Polo says that 500 miles to the south of Kesmacoran (identified with Makran in Baluchistan) there was an island of Males and another of Females. About their location, Colonel Yule, the editor of Marco Polo remarks:—"It is not perhaps of much use to seek a serious identification of the locality of these islands or, as Marsden has done, to rationalise the fable. It ran from time immemorial and, as nobody ever found the islands, their locality shifted with the horizon though the legend long hung about Socotra and its vicinity." ⁽³⁾ Yule also gives reference to other mediaeval travellers who had left accounts of these two islands.

A reminiscence of the stories about the island of the Amazons is also found in the *Mahāvamsa* version of the Simhala legend. When Vijaya, the conqueror of Ceylon, was banished with his followers from his native land, their wives were sent abroad in one ship and their children in another.

1. Supposed to be the same as the Byzantine empire.

2. Beal, *op cit*, p. 279.

3. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, London, 1926. Vol. II. pp. 404-

The women were cast ashore in an island where they found husbands. The Island was thenceforward known as Mahilādvīpa (the Island of Females). The ship in which the children sailed was driven to another island which received the name of Nagnadvīpa (the Island of Naked Men). These two islands correspond to the two mentioned by Marco Polo.

(¹) According to the *Mahāvamsa* narrative, the ancestress of the inhabitants of the Female Island was the wife and not the sister of the hero of the Sinhala legend. This confusion may be due to the fact that the clan to which Vijaya belonged seems to have practiced the custom of sister marriage.

Sinhalese folklore, too, knows of a land, named Strīpura (the City of Women), peopled by a race of Amazons. I have heard that Gajabāhu I, the hero of many a popular ballad of the Sinhalese, visited this Land of Women on the occasion of his expedition to South India. My informant also told me that Strīpura is but another name for Malabar. This Sinhalese tradition about a race of women reputed to have lived somewhere on the west coast of India is supported by Persian and Arab travellers of the ninth century A.D. who 'reported at Bussora that there dwelt in the kingdom of Thafek on the west coast of India, a race of women very fair and beautiful'. According to its situation as given by these travellers, J. Kennedy thinks that the land of these fair women was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Goa. He also mentions that there is a local tradition in Goa to the effect 'that there existed not far off to the south-east a race of women noted for their fairness and their beauty, the descendants of a Portuguese convent of dissolute nuns who had established a community of free love and were ruled by an abbess' (²) Ibn Batuta, the uxorious Arab traveller of the fourteenth century had

1. Etymologically, the names Mahilādvīpa and Nagnadvīpa seem to be identical with Maladive and Nicobar, the names of two groups of islands off the west coast of Ceylon. *Mahilādvīpa*=Sin. *Mālādīva* and *Naggadīpa*=T. *Nakkavāra*.

2. J. R. A. S. for 1904. p. 163.

also heard about this land of women; and tried to get definite information about it; but without success.⁽¹⁾

From the above, it becomes clear that the myth of a race of Amazons living somewhere to the west of India or in the west of India itself was widely prevalent from remote down to modern times. In the time of Hieun Tsiang, it was believed that these women had their origin in the sister of Simhala. The mention of the Female Island in the *Mahāvamsa* in this connexion, and the stories still current in Sinhalese folklore about a 'City of Women' points to the fact that the myth of the Amazons was known in ancient Ceylon. Therefore, it is hardly open to doubt that the 'Western Queen' of Paṇḍukābhaya's time was the queen of 'the Western Women' mentioned by the Chinese traveller.

What the nature of this goddess's cult was, when she ceased to be an object of popular devotion, whether there are any traces of her cult in modern Sinhalese folk religion and whether her cult was absorbed in that of any of the female divinities worshipped by the Sinhalese today, are questions, there is not sufficient evidence to answer with certainty.

General Remarks on the Yakṣa Cults.

Considering the wide diffusion, in ancient Ceylon, of the cult of the yakṣas, some remarks about these beings in general may be appropriate here.⁽²⁾ From what we learn in the Buddhist and Jaina writings, the belief in, and propitiation of the yakṣas appear to have been the principal factor in the religion of the middle and lower classes of society in India during the times preceeding and just following the advent of the Buddha. In many a Buddhist legend, we read of yakṣas who had their abodes in trees, lakes, mountains, rivers, and other striking natural phenomena. As a class,

1. The location of the Amazons in Malabar might be due to the matriarchal organisation of society prevailing among the Nāyars.

2. About yakṣa worship in India, see Sir Chas. Eliot *Hinduism, and Buddhism*, Vol. I., p. 103, *Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir No. 30*, p. 7 and Ramprasad Chanda in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University. Vol. IV, p. 77 ff.

the yakṣas corresponded very closely to the fairies and elves of European mythology. The great majority of the early converts to Buddhism in India were from the classes of people devoted to yakṣa cults and even after their adoption of the higher faith, they continued to honour their former gods. Among the sculptures of Barāhut, one of the earliest Buddhist stūpas in India, there are depicted a large number of yakṣas ; and the earliest known sculptures in the round, in India, are figures of these demigods.⁽¹⁾ Several legends narrate how the Buddha converted many of these yakṣas and thereafter these beings gave up their evil ways and became good Buddhists themselves. Each of these legends, it is evident, commemorates the conversion of a yakṣa worshipping tribe to the tenets of Buddhism. The people, loth to give up their familiar superstitions, converted the object of their former veneration to the new faith they had adopted; and, divesting him of those features not in keeping with Buddhistic ideas, continued to honour him in a new capacity. We have seen above that this has happened in Ceylon in the case of the genius of the Tissavāpī.

Each country and town in ancient India had its tutelary yakṣa. The *Mahāmāyūrī*,⁽²⁾ a magical text of the Northern Buddhists, which was translated into Chinese in the fourth century A.D., gives a long list of such yakṣas and the places where they had their abode. Among these, three, namely, Vibhīṣaṇa,⁽³⁾ Kalasodara,⁽⁴⁾ and Dhaneśvara⁽⁵⁾ are said to be the tutelary yakṣas of Ceylon. Of these, the first, Vibhīṣaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, is still worshipped at Kālaniya and is supposed to be one of the four guardian deities of the island. Dhaneśvara is another name of Kuvera Vaiśravaṇa who, we have seen above, was worshipped in ancient Anuradhapura.

1. The Parkham, Patna, Mathurā and Besnagar figures. Jayaswal is of opinion that the first two are portrait statues of Sisunāga kings.

2. Edited by M. Sylvain Levi, in the J. A. for 1915. p. 40 ff.

3. *Vibhīṣaṇas Tāmrāparṇyām*.

4. *Laṃkāyān Kalasodarah*.

5. *Siṃhaleṣu Dhanesvarah*.

in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya. This god was, at a later time, incorporated in the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon and several images of him have been found in Ceylon. The second named Kalasodara ('pot-bellied') may be another name of Vaisravaṇa.

The word *yakṣa* is now generally rendered into English as 'demons,' but the conception of yakṣas as evil spirits is of later growth. Though, from the very beginning, the yakṣas were more feared than loved and were supposed to cause great calamities unless propitiated in time there was originally very little difference between the yakṣas and the devas. In fact, one of the names of the yakṣas as a class, was *bhummadeva* 'the gods of the earth.' The god Sakka the king of heaven is, in one place, styled a *yakkha* ;⁽¹⁾ and in one of the earliest Buddhist books, the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the Buddha himself is given this epithet in a hymn of praise.⁽²⁾ In the *Mahāmāyūri*, already mentioned, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Kārttikeya, the most popular of the Purāṇic Hindu gods are mentioned as the tutelary yakṣas of different cities. In an inscription on a statue of Māṇibhadra, discovered at Pawaya in the Gwalior state, that yakṣa is called a *bhagavat*,⁽³⁾ one of the most familiar of the epithets of the Buddha as well as of Viṣṇu. The word *yakṣa* is derived from the root *yaj*, 'to offer,' and means a 'being worthy of offerings.' The degeneration in the meaning of this word finds parallels in the history of the word *asura*, in India, and that of *deva* in Persia.

Some of the principal features of the yakṣa religion recur in the popular aspects of Buddhism. The worship of the *caitya*, so characteristic of popular Buddhism in many countries including Ceylon was originally connected with the yakṣas. The Pali piṭakas mention several *cetiya*s which existed in the Buddha's life time at Vesālī, Rājagaha, Ālavī and other places. Buddhaghosa in his commentaries informs

1. *Majjhima Nikāya* I. p. 253.

2. *Majjhima Nikāya*. I. p. 386.

3. *The Annual Archaeological Report of the Gwalior State*, 1915-1916.

us that they were dedicated to yakṣa worship and after the advent of the Buddha, the people converted them into Buddhist Vihāras.⁽¹⁾

The conditions, in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, of the yakṣa cults appear to have been exactly similar to those in North India in the time of the Buddha ; and, in spite of the adoption of Buddhism as the national religion, the earlier yakṣa worship flourished side by side among the masses and has persisted down to modern times. It has also given rise to a considerable amount of folk literature. Most of these, as they exist today, are of late origin ; and, a good number of the yakṣas in vogue at present are either later creations ; or as their names imply, introduced from the peoples of a lower culture in South India. Still, a critical study of this literature, comparing them with the evidence furnished about the yakṣas in Buddhist, Jain and other Indian literatures would doubtless yield interesting results.

Tree Worship.

The banyan tree which was sacred to the king of the Yakṣas has been noticed. At Anuradhapura, in Paṇḍukābhaya's time, there was another sacred tree in a palmyra palm which was the abode of a god named Vyādha or Vyādhi deva.⁽²⁾ There is some doubt as to the correct form of the name ; both forms occurring in the manuscripts. Prof. Geiger adopts the form Vyādhideva and translates as 'god of disease.' But as Paṇḍukabhaya is said to have established a settlement of hunters (*vyādha*) to the north of the city, it may have been that this god was installed for their benefit ; and I take the form Vyādhadeva as the correct reading and translate it as 'god of hunters.' This is also the view adopted by Sri Sumangala and Batuvantudave, the learned translators of the *Mahāvamsa* into Sinhalese. Whatever the interpre-

1. See *Paramatthajotikā* p. 344.

2. *Mhv.* Ch. XV. 89.

tation of this word may be, we have here two instances of tree worship in pre-Buddhist Ceylon. The palmyra palm seems to have been considered sacred in ancient India during the time of the Buddha. For, we read in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* that on one occasion when the disciples of the Buddha cut down young palmyra palms to make sandals out of their leaves, the people made an up-roar and complained that they were destroying 'life with one sense' (*ekindriyam jīvaṃ*). The Buddha in order not to hurt the religious susceptibilities of the people forbade the use of sandals made of palmyra leaves, with the remark 'that the people believe that life dwells in a tree.'⁽¹⁾ This passage would make us believe that the tree itself was considered a spirit. But in the two instances of tree worship quoted above, and in almost all the other references on the subject we come across in Indian literature, the sanctity of the tree was due to its being regarded as the abode of a divinity who had an existence quite apart from the place of his temporary sojourn.

The worship of trees seems to have been intimately connected with that of the yakṣas and the cult of the *caityas*. Most of the sacred trees owed their sanctity as the abodes of yakṣas. Some of the *stūpas* mentioned in the *piṭakas* and which are said by Buddhaghosa to have been yakṣa sanctuaries were sacred trees or groves. Among the Barāhut sculptures are several sacred trees which in the inscriptions engraved below them are said to be *cetiya*s. Quite in keeping with this, the *cetiya* and the tree are intimately connected in popular Buddhism. The tree specially venerated by the Buddhists is the *asvattha* (Sin Ro) under which the Buddha received enlightenment. This tree was already an object of popular worship in India before it was appropriated by the Buddhists as a means of honouring their master.

There is nothing improbable in the story that the Bodhisattva on that critical night spent his time under an *asvattha* tree. But the fact that this tree was already considered sacred must certainly have contributed to the wide popularity which its worship attained later among the Buddhists. The worship of *caitya* trees is also alluded to in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 164). Apart from the special veneration paid to the Bo-tree, the tree cult of ancient times is still prevalent among the Sinhalese. There are many trees in villages which are reputed as the homes of supernatural beings and no villager would dare to lay an axe on one of these for fear of offending the deity. Many a calamity which has overtaken a rustic family is traced by the wise men of the village to a member of that family having committed the offence of depriving a powerful spirit of his leafy abode.

Patron Deities of Particular Trades.

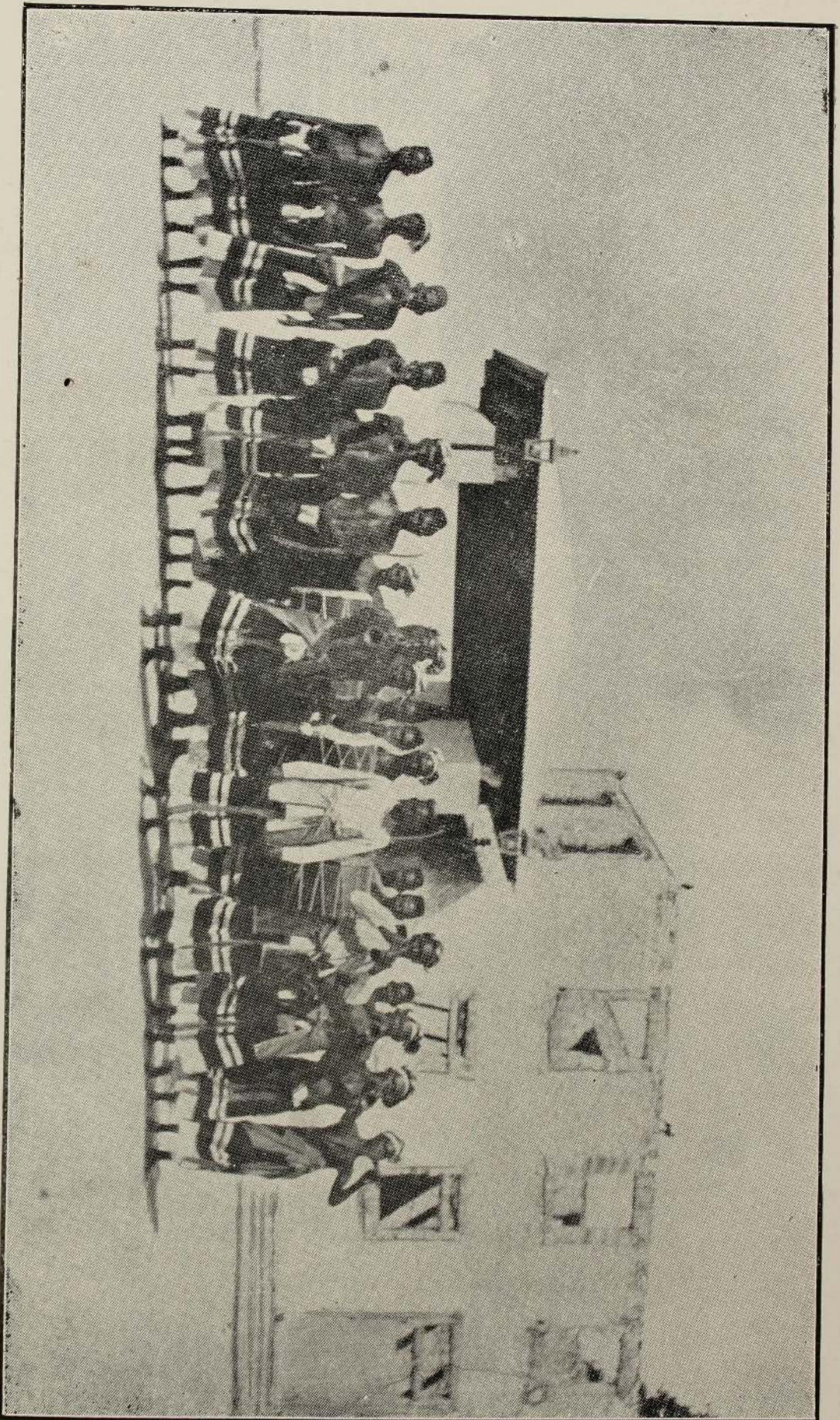
If the deity who had his abode in the sacred palmyra of Anuradhapura was the hunters' god, it shows us that there were special divinities worshipped by the people of different trades in pre-Buddhist Ceylon. Another such deity was the Kammāradeva or 'the god of the blacksmiths.' When Devanampiya Tissa marked out the boundaries of the consecrated ground set aside for the Buddhist Church, the boundary line is said to have passed by the side of the shrine dedicated to this god.⁽¹⁾ In addition to these deities of particular castes, there was also a guardian deity of the whole city of Anuradhapura. His shrine is mentioned in the twenty-fifth chapter (v. 87) of the *Mahāvamsa*. In that memorable encounter of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi with Bhalluka, when the heroic king went to face the Tamil invader on the plain of Kolam-bahālaka to the north of the city, the king's elephant and along with him, the whole army retreated as far as the shrine of the city god near the boundary of the Mahāvihāra.

Cult of the stars.

Personal names borne by men and women reflect the religious beliefs prevailing in a country. Therefore, an examination of the names occurring in the earliest inscriptions will throw some light on our topic. The earliest inscriptions are short donative records; and are all Buddhistic. But as it takes some time after the introduction of a new religion for the people to adopt personal names suggestive of the changed religious atmosphere, those found in the earliest Buddhist inscriptions may be taken as evidence for pre-Buddhist religious conditions. The great majority of the personal names occurring in these records are astral ones (*nakṣatranāma*). From the Vedic times, the knowledge of the twenty-eight lunar mansions was prevalent in India and each day of the month had its particular *nakṣatra*. These constellations were known to the primitive Sinhalese; and the custom of naming a person after the *nakṣatra* in which he was born, was common. The *Rasavāhinī* expressly mentions this in the case of Phussadeva, one of the warriors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.⁽¹⁾ He was so named because his natal star was Puṣya. This was considered a particularly lucky one; and its synonymn Tiṣya (P. Tissa) was adopted as the name of many of the early kings of Ceylon. Other constellations which were in popular favour were Kṛttikā, Rohaṇa, Āśleṣa, Phalguṇa, Viśākha, Anurādhā, Āṣāḍha and Revatā. The constellation Anurādhā seems to have been specially favoured by women, for most of the princesses of ancient Ceylon known to us were named after this *nakṣatra*, (Anuradi, Anuḍi, Anuḷa). The public holidays were solemnised in connection with these *nakṣatras*; and were consequently called *nakṣatrakrīḍā*. The day on which the full moon was in conjunction with one of the lucky stars was celebrated with great merriment and rejoicing. Of these, the Kārttika festival, which has been mentioned in connection with

1. Colombo 1907 p. 161.

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Cittarāja, continued till very late times, for Knox gives an account of its celebration in the time of Raja Sinha II.⁽¹⁾ The worship of the stars, in the time when Buddhism was first being preached in India, is referred to in the *Therīgāthā* (v. 143) where, of course, the practice is condemned as useless. The Barāhut inscriptions prove that, in the North-West of India, too, the people had a predilection for names suggestive of astral constellations. The Suṅgas, a dynasty which ruled at Vidisā about the second century B. C. had all such names, e.g. Puṣymitra, Phalguṇimitra etc. This custom is still practised by the Maharajas of Travancore, whose personal names are those of their natal stars.

The propitiation of heavenly bodies, as many other superstitions of pre-Buddhist Ceylon, is still in vogue among the Sinhalese. But in the modern practice, more importance is attached to the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the planets than to the lunar mansions. The former, of course were unknown in India and Ceylon during the time that we are speaking of.

Brahmanism in pre-Buddhist Ceylon.

Side by side with these religious beliefs of a lower level of culture that we have so far discussed, the Brahmanical religion also seems to have had its followers in pre-Buddhist Ceylon; and the Brāhmaṇas held an honourable place in society in those early days. One of the followers in Vijaya's train, Upatissa, who founded Upatissagāma which was for some time the capital of the Sinhalese kingdom, and who wielded the sceptre of Ceylon from the death of Vijaya until the arrival of Paṇḍuvāsudeva was a Brāhmaṇa; and held the office of domestic chaplain to Vijaya.⁽²⁾ The young prince Paṇḍukābhaya was entrusted by his mother to a Brāhmaṇa named Paṇḍula to be instructed in royal accomplishments. This Brāhmaṇa was a man of great wealth and it was he who

1. Historical Relation, p. 80.
2. Mhv. Ch. V. VII. V. 44.

furnished Paṇḍukābhaya with the sinews of war in the long struggle between the latter and his uncles. Paṇḍula's son Candra, like many others of his caste in India, served Paṇḍukābhaya in the capacity of a military commander in addition to priestly functions.⁽¹⁾ Paṇḍukābhaya's buildings in Anuradhapura included a dwelling place for the Brāhmaṇas.⁽²⁾ Another building of Paṇḍukābhaya named Sotthisālā is explained by the commentator to the *Mahāvamsa* as 'a house set apart for the recital of *mantras* by Brāhmaṇas'. But this explanation is doubtful as the alternative meaning of 'hospital' has also been given by the commentator. Devānampiya Tissa had a Brāhmaṇa chaplain who was sent in company with the king's nephew Ariṭṭha on an embassy bearing presents to Aśoka.⁽³⁾ When the branch of the sacred Bodhi tree was brought to Anuradhapura, one of the halts between that city and the sea-port was in the village of a Brāhmaṇa named Tivakka or Tavakka.⁽⁴⁾ Among the distinguished persons present on the occasion of the planting of this sacred tree, this Brāhmaṇa is specially mentioned ;⁽⁵⁾ and one of the eight Bodhi saplings was planted in his village.⁽⁶⁾ In the enumeration of the different places passed by Devānampiya Tissa whilst marking the boundaries of the consecrated area in Anuradhapura, the shrine belonging to a Brāhmaṇa named Dīyavāsa is mentioned in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*.⁽⁷⁾

The earliest inscriptions too, bear testimony to the presence of Brāhmaṇas in Ceylon just after the introduction of Buddhism. They must therefore, have been living in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, too. And the presence of the Brāhmaṇas is evidence for the prevalence of their religious beliefs. One of the donors of caves at Sāssēruva in the Kurunāgala District

1. *Mhv.* Ch. X. V. 20 ff.

2. *Ibid* V. 102.

3. *Ibid* Ch. XI. V. 20.

4. *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 19. V. 37.

5. *Ibid* V. 54.

6. *Ibid* V. 61.

7. *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 136.

was a Brāhmaṇa named Somadeva son of Vasakaṇi. The owner of a cave at Yāngala in the Nuvarakalāviya District is given in the inscription on the brow of the cave as Viritasana the son of the Brāhmaṇa Kosika (Kausika).⁽¹⁾ The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the chronicles and the inscriptions were naturally those who were in sympathy with the Buddhist movement. There must have been many others who were indifferent or opposed to the cause of Buddhism; and, hence were not mentioned in the records of the times. Whether these Brāhmaṇas were versed in Vedic lore and solemnised Vedic sacrifices, we do not know; but the name •Yagadata (Sacrifice-given) occurring in one of the 'Vessagiriya' Cave inscriptions shows that even after the introduction of Buddhism, a memory, at least, of the Brahmanical sacrifices was preserved in Ceylon. The Brāhmaṇas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* till comparatively recent times and the office of the *purohita* continued down to a late period.

Jainism in Ceylon.

Paṇḍukabhaya is also said to have built dwelling places for the *nigaṇṭhas* named Jotiya, Giri and Kumbhaṇḍa.⁽²⁾ The word *nigaṇṭha* (Skt. *nirgrantha*) is applied in the Pali writings to the Jainas, the followers of *Mahāvīra*, (*Nigaṇṭha Nātha-putta* of the Buddhist Scriptures) a teacher contemporary with the Buddha.

It is true that in later Pali writings, the word is used vaguely to denote non-Buddhist sects. For instance, in the *Dāṭhāvamsa* (v. 209), *nigaṇṭha* evidently means a Vaiṣṇava. But in the fifth century, when the *Mahāvamsa* was written, this word has not yet assumed this uncertainty of meaning for Buddhaghosa always uses it in its original sense. Therefore, it is likely that Mahānāma had the Jainas in his mind

1. These inscriptions have not yet been published.
2. *Mahāvamsa* Ch. X. VV 97-99.

when he used this word. Is it possible that so early as Paṇḍukābhaya's time, the followers of Mahāvīra had penetrated so far to the south as Ceylon? According to Jaina literary tradition, in the reign of Candragupta, the Maurya, the followers of Mahāvīra under Bhadrabāhu migrated to South India owing to a severe famine in the north. The introduction of this religion to Mysore, where it prevails till now, is traced to this event. Chandragupta himself is said to have accompanied Bhadrabāhu on this journey and ended his days in South India as a Jaina ascetic.⁽¹⁾ From Tamil literature, too, we learn that there were Jainas in the Pāṇḍya country from very early times. The tradition of the migration of the Jainas to the South in Chandragupta's reign has been accepted by historians as trustworthy. If the Jainas, on this occasion, travelled from Magadha as far as South India, it is not improbable that some of them crossed over to Ceylon.

According to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, Paṇḍukābhaya's reign was earlier than that of Chandragupta. But the dates of the early kings of Ceylon, as given in that chronicle have been proved to be untrustworthy. Paṇḍukābhaya was the grandfather of Tissa, the younger contemporary of the great Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta. Therefore, it stands to reason that Paṇḍukābhaya himself was a contemporary of the first Maurya emperor. Then, the migration of the Jainas to the south falls within his reign and the statement in the *Mahāvamsa* that Paṇḍukābhaya patronised the Jainas seems to be a historical fact.

One of the Jaina monasteries built by Paṇḍukābhaya, that of the *nigāṇṭha* named Giri, figures later in the history of Ceylon. Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya, when he was flying before the Tamil invaders, passed this monastery; and the Jaina abbot cried out 'The great black Sinhalese is running away.' The king kept this affront in mind; and when he regained

1. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg, p. 3 ff.

the throne, he demolished the Jaina monastery and built the Abhayagiri Vihāra in that place.⁽¹⁾ According to the *Mahāvamsaṭīkā*, this monastery was the scene of a tragedy in the time of Khallātanāga, predecessor of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. This king, when he discovered a plot against his life by his nephews, went to Giri's monastery and ended his life by entering the fire. At the spot, where this event occurred, Khallātanāga's kinsmen built a *cetiya* called the Aggipavisaka⁽²⁾. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's persecution of the Jainas was perhaps not confined to the destruction of the monastery of Giri. At any rate we hear no more of them in the Ceylon chronicles; and, Jainism seems to have disappeared from Ceylon about the beginning of the Christian era.

No remains of any Jaina monuments have ever been found in Ceylon. The earliest *Stūpas* and *Vihāras* of Jainism did not differ from those of Buddhism: so much so, that without the evidence of the inscriptions or of iconography it would be extremely difficult to differentiate between the two. Jaina iconography had not yet developed in the times that we are dealing with. In the period during which this religion was prevalent in Ceylon there were no monuments built of durable materials. Moreover, when Jainism disappeared, their places of worship must have been appropriated by the Buddhists—as it happened with regard to the monastery of Giri—and any traces of the earlier faith would certainly have been obliterated in this way. Some of the earliest unidentified *stūpas* of small dimensions may, however, be Jaina in origin.

Paribbajakas, Ajivakas etc.

The wandering ascetics named the Paribbājakas and the Ājivakas, the sect founded by Makkhalī Gosāla, a teacher contemporary with the Buddha, were known in early Ceylon.

1. *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 34, V. 444.

2. *Mahāvamsa ṭīkā* p. 444.

The queen of Paṇḍuvāsudeva and her attendants came to this island in the guise of Paribbājakas.⁽¹⁾ Paṇḍukābhaya built a monastery for the Paribbājakas and another for the Ājivakas.⁽²⁾ In addition to these sects which are definitely named, it is said there were numerous ascetics who are referred to by the vague epithet of *samaṇa*.⁽³⁾ This word can be applied to any non-Brahmanical religious including the Buddhist monks. To the west of Anuradhapura, Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have settled five hundred families of heretics.⁽⁴⁾ What religious beliefs are intended by this term it is not at all clear.

Phallic Worship.

In v. 102 of the tenth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa*, it is said that Paṇḍukābhaya built, here and there in ancient Anuradhapura, houses named Sivikāsālā and Sotthisālā. The latter name we have already dealt with. That first word has been explained by the commentator as 'a shrine housing a Sivalinga'; but he is not confident of this interpretation as he gives the alternative meaning of 'lying-in-home' ⁽⁵⁾ Prof. Geiger, in his translation adopts the second explanation. But as these two terms are mentioned in company with other buildings of a religious nature, the first explanation might be possible. If so, in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya, phallic worship formed part of the religion of the people of Ceylon. Considering the great antiquity and the wide diffusion of this cult, it is not impossible that it was so. Kauṭilya, in enumerating the deities to whom shrines should be dedicated within a king's capital, mentions Śiva also.⁽⁶⁾ It is not stated whether the deity was to be represented by an icon or by the *liṅga* symbol. At this time, Siva had not yet risen to the position of the Supreme Deity as he became to one great section of the Hindus at a later age. For Kauṭilya mentions him in

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 8. V. 24.

2. *Ibid* Ch. X. VV. 101, 102.

3. *Mv.* X, V. 98. (4) *Ibid* V. 100.

5. *Mahāvamsa* *ṭikā* p. 207.

6. Dr. Samasastry's translation, 2nd edition, p. 59.

company with such minor divinities as the Asvins (the Divine Physicians) Vaisravana and Madirā (the Goddess of Liquor). The *Mahāvamsaṭīkā* has another reference to phallic worship in ancient Ceylon. King Mahāsena, after he was forced to desist from persecuting the orthodox Mahāvihāra, directed his destructive energies against non-Buddhist religions. The chronicle says, that he demolished several shrines of the devas ;⁽¹⁾ and the *ṭīkā* adds that they were shrines housing *liṅgam*s.⁽²⁾ It is possible that the commentator unconsciously transferred the conditions of his own times to those of a previous age ; but, on the other hand, when we consider that phallic worship was the principal religious faith of the Tamils, the nearest neighbours of the Sinhalese, it is not difficult to believe that the latter people were also attached to this cult before they adopted Buddhism ; and also continued to honour the Sivaliṅga even after this event. Proper names such as Siva, Mahāsiva and Sivaguta occurring in the earliest inscriptions show that this god was worshipped by the Sinhalese of the earliest period.

Conclusions.

From the foregoing discussion about the religious conditions prevailing in Ceylon when the missionaries of Asoka preached the doctrines of the Enlightened One, it becomes clear that the great majority of the people worshipped nature spirits, called the yakṣas, who were supposed to dwell in rivers, lakes, mountains, trees, etc. The worship of the sacred trees or groves was also connected with this primitive religion. The heavenly bodies received the adoration of the people, and to a great extent influenced their every day life. The more intellectual among the people, perhaps followed the Brahmanical religion. Ascetics of different sects lived in the country and each must have had his own following among the masses. These conditions are, on the whole very similar to the state of religious beliefs prevailing in North India during the life time of the Buddha.

1. *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 37 V.40.

2. *Mahāvamsaṭīkā* p. 502

The Governor said it was not in his power to contribute anything of value to the discussion on the very interesting paper to which they had all listened, and it was hardly necessary, at that late hour, to waste their time and his by saying things which were not worth saying. But he wished those who were in a position, to do so, and thus show their appreciation of the trouble which Mr. Paranavitana had taken in preparing the paper and make any suggestions on the subject matter which the lecturer had collected by his erudition.

Dr. Paul E. Pieris said that as one who had had a particularly long connection with the Society he wished to express his very great appreciation of the paper which had been read. 'It is of a type which we are glad to welcome here and which I am afraid is not so common as might be and I can only express the hope that this will be the first of a long series of papers which we shall receive from Mr. Paranavitana. I have long had the feeling that our Archaeological Department is more likely to produce us best work only when it works in conjunction with the Department in India and the paper that has been read to us tonight is to my mind not only proof of the great intrinsic ability of the lecturer, not only proof of the great pains which he has taken, but also of the excellent training which he has received in India.

A number of questions were asked from the lecturer and an interesting discussion ensued.

The lecturer, in reply to a question by Mr. E. W. Perera whether the symbol of the God "Ilandāri Deiyo," dug out from some part in Anurādhapura was still in existence, said that he knew of no symbol associated with that God. He knew of a god duly worshipped in villages in connection with their harvests.

Replying to other questions raised, the lecturer dealt with certain criticisms of Tamil and Saivite references. With regard to the references to "Lanka" in the Rāmāyana, the lecturer said emphatically: "I don't believe that the Island of Ceylon is the same as Lanka. I subscribe to the view that Ceylon is not Lanka, which, perhaps, was a mythical island which never existed."

The Governor proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer and expressed great appreciation of the paper. They were all grateful to him and for his own part he was gratified to feel that in the Archaeological Department there was an officer who was taking so much pains in the study of the foundations of the religions and other matters connected with the island. He hoped that the department to which Mr. Paranavitana belonged would continue to benefit by his erudition in the cause of research, and he wished to express his thanks to the lecturer in a special sense.

The vote was carried with acclamation.

Mr. E. W. Perera proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the President. They had been very fortunate in their past Governors in having them invariably as their Patrons. His Excellency had not only been their Patron but had taken upon himself the onerous duties of President, and taken those duties not as a sinecure but very seriously. He hoped that other members of their Society would take an example from His Excellency and not only have the same sense of loyalty to the Society, but also attend its meetings more frequently. They all knew how busy a man the Head of the Government was and they were grateful to His Excellency.

The Governor acknowledged the very kind words in which Mr. Perera had proposed the vote of thanks to him and the kind way in which the meeting received it. It was always a pleasure for His Excellency to come to their meetings and he had never come there without learning something which he was able to carry away with him

COUNCIL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, December, 16th 1929.***Present :*

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., Patron in the chair.
 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D, C.C.S., and Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva,
 M.L.C.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
 „ W. F. Gunawardhana,
 • Gate Mudaliyar.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka,
 M.A., M.L.C.

The Hon. Mr. L. Macrae, M.A.
 Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
 Ph.D.

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

Dr. S. C. Paul M.D
 The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
 M.L.C.

Mr. Edmund Reimers

„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.
 C.C.S.

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 8th June, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. The following candidates were elected as members of the Society *viz* :—

- i. The Hon. Mr. Edward St. { E. W. Perera.
 John Jackson : recommen- {
 ded by { W. H. Perera.
- ii. Henry Ashmore Pieris, B.A. { P. E. Pieris.
 (Cantab); recommended by { P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
- iii. (Miss) Cornelia Hilda Miriam { P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
 Pieris : recommended by { P. E. Pieris.
- iv. Felix Reginald Dias, M.A., { P. E. Pieris.
 L.L.M. (Cantab) : recom- {
 mended by { P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
- v. John Eric Perera Gunawar- { P. E. Pieris.
 dana, Mudaliyar, J.P., {
 U.P.M. : recommended by { P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
- vi. Vaithianathan Kandiah : { R. C. Proctor.
 Recommended by { F. A. Tissavarasinghe,
- vii. Leopold Alfred Ashby { P. E. Pieris,
 Hayter : Recommended by { J. P. Obeyesekera.
- viii. Colvin Reginald de Silva : { Aubrey N. Weinman.
 recommended by { A. E. Jayasingha.
- ix. Dr. Wythialingam Balendra : { Aubrey N. Weinman.
 recommended by { A. E. Jayasingha.

- x. Kaviraj K. Charles de Silva { W. F. Gunawardhana.
Kumarajeeva : recommen- {
ded by { H. R. Gunaratna.
- xi. Ralph Henry Bassett, C.C.S.: { C. H. Collins.
recommended by { Aubrey N. Weinman
- xii. Clement Leo Unamboowe : { T. H. E. Moonemale.
recommended by { K. B. Kaduruwewa.
- xiii. William Cecil M'Kechine { Thos. Gracie.
Martin : recommended by { A. S. Harrison.
- xiv. Ananda Rajah Hallock, { C. Rasanayagam.
C.C.S. : Recommended by { C. L. Wickramasingha.
- xv. K. Carlin Fernando, B.A. { P. de S. Kularatna.
(Lond.) : recommended by { G. P. Malasekara.
- xvi. Mantri Witana David Guna- { W. A. de Silva.
sekara : recommended by { Aubrey N. Weinman.
- xvii. Dionysius Bartholomeus { C. H. Collins.
Seneviratna, C.C.S.: recom- {
mended by { A. E. Jayasingha.
- xviii. Rev. Father Emmanuel { S. G. Perera.
Edmund Peiris : recom- {
mended by { S. Gnana Prakasar.

3. The appointment of an Honorary Secretary under Rule 21 was considered. It was decided that the matter be held over till the Annual General Meeting.

4. The question of revising the list of members of the Society was discussed.

It was resolved (i) that the names of those members who were in arrears. for three years and over should be struck off, and a revised list be published in the journal and (2) that the question of similar lists to be published annually should be considered next year.

It was also decided that 500 copies of the contents of the Journals, Rules and Regulations past and present office-bearers, etc. be published separately and a copy sent to those likely to be interested, inviting them to become members of the Society.

5. A letter No. R. 157/29, dated, 25th November, 1929, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary regarding the reprint of Dipavamsa was laid on the table.

Resolved that a sub-committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana be appointed to report on the matter.

6. The appointment of a clerk to the Society was considered.

It was decided that the post be advertised. A sub-committee consisting of Dr. Joseph Pearson, Mr. L. J. B. Turner and the Honorary Secretary was appointed to select a suitable man.

Resolved that the appointment should be on probation for six months on a salary of Rs. 60 per mensem, at the expiry of which period the Council would confirm the appointment if the clerk was satisfactory in every way.

7. The date and business for next General Meeting was considered.

It was resolved that a paper by Mr. E. Reimers on "Sinhalese Names" should be read, and that the meeting be held in the early part of January, at 6 p.m.

8. The Honorary Secretary brought to the notice of the Council that the second part of Papanca Sūdani would be ready in January. It was decided to fix the price at Rs. 3/- per copy.

9. Resolved that the Government be addressed on the subject of the translation of the work of Fernao de Queyroz by Father S. G. Perera with a request that such action necessary be taken to expedite its publication.

10. Decided to inform Mudaliyar Rasanayagam, with reference to his request *re* the publication in the journal of a criticism by him on "Pre-Vijayan Legends pertaining to Ceylon" by Dr. S. C. Paul, that the Council were unable to fall in with his wishes but that they would be prepared to consider a paper by him on the same subject.

THE EARLIEST DUTCH VISITS TO CEYLON¹

BY DONALD FERGUSON.

Continued from Vol. XXXI., No. 81., p. 179.

21st November, 1604.—Having sighted the land of Ceylon the admiral assembled his council of war, to resolve if they should sail on forward with the fleet or if they should approach the land, because they were in great anxiety that they would not very well be able to reach the strait of Malaca, since it began to veer to the east *moussoen* and the wind began at times to blow from the east ; but it was resolved that they should go and anchor before an inhabited town that they saw lying in front, where they rode. And while riding in 10 fathoms, the admiral caused the old Portuguese prisoner, who was captured before Calicut with the galliot², to be brought from the ship *Amsterdam*, and asked him what kind of a town or city it was that he lay before. The Portuguese answered

¹ The extract here given is translated from No. VII. of the " Documenten voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in het Oosten," mentioned above. It consists of the journal, so far as it exists, of Steven van der Hagen, the admiral of the fleet of 12 ships that left Holland for the East on 18th December, 1603. The whole of the journal preceding the passages here quoted is missing,—a grievous loss, not compensated for by the survival of the diary of Hendrik Jansz. Craen, a large part of which is printed by de Jonge in his *Opkomst* ii. 164-204. See extracts from this *infra*, notes 11, 12).

According to his instructions (printed as No. IV of the " Documenten,") van der Hagen proceeded from the coast of Africa to Goa and passed down the west coast of India, doing all the damage he could to Portuguese shipping, and seeking the friendship and alliance of various native rulers. He was also ordered, "the *mousson* being past," to "go along the coast of Malabar to the island of Ceylon," and then: "Having come under the island of Ceylon, they shall remain there only 5 or 6 days, unless there were the appearance of making some considerable profits." Accordingly on 21st November, 1604 the fleet of ten ships (two had left the fleet at the Cape of Good Hope for Mauritius, and two had been sent to Gujarat for purposes of trade") appeared in sight of Columbo,—the first Dutch vessels that had ever been in that offing. I can find no reference by any Portuguese writer to this visit.)

² On 30th October (see Craen's diary, in *Opkomst* ii. 168, where the captured Portuguese vessel is called a frigate).

that it was Colombo, the chief place and fort that the Portuguese had in Ceylon. And he asked him further regarding every circumstance and as to how many men lay therein; he answered that there were about 400 Portuguese soldiers there, and that there dwelt there several thousand Indian Christians³, who held with the Portuguese.

And when the council had assembled it was voted by the majority that they might gain honour enough there, if they tried with the fleet to conquer such a place and fort as Colombo. As almost the whole council understood the matter thus, that they were fully authorized by their interpretation of the secret instructions to take that work in hand; as in the secret instructions is stated that they must not remain lying in Ceylon more than five or six days, unless they saw that there were some considerable profits to be made there⁴, that was understood by the council as considerable profits, and that it was sufficiently said that they might attack the town and fortress of Colombo⁵. The which the admiral understood wholly otherwise, and therefore would in no manner consent thereto, because it seemed to him that such considerable profits were much more likely to turn to considerable loss, because, as is said above, that if one should attack such a place, of which no one of all those that were in the fleet had any knowledge, that one would there so plainly without reason so greatly imperil and place in hazard the fleet, whereby the conquest of the Archipelago of Ambona and other places⁶, would have to be abandoned, of which the admiral had the best knowledge⁷, and of what great importance this was to their noble and mighty highnesses the States General, His

3 See further on, where the same number is given for the Portuguese soldiers, the native Christian militia being reckoned at 6,000. In 1615, according to a letter of Gijsbrecht van Zuylen's from Meda-mahanuwara, there were only about 150 Portuguese soldiers in Colombo.

4 See the quotation from the instructions in note 1 above.

5 A most extraordinary and far-fetched interpretation of the instruction, which van der Hagen did quite right to resist.

6 One of the principal duties with which van der Hagen was charged.

7 He had been at the Moluccas in 1600, in command of a fleet of three ships (see *Opkomst* ii. 226-9).

Excellency and the East India Company. Whereupon many words passed between the admiral and the council of war, who said to them that he was admiral, who would have to answer for all going amiss on land. Wherefore he would not consent to that, nor also could he find from the instructions that they were authorized to do so ; and since he found that almost all of the council were disposed to take in hand such wrong work, the admiral requested of the council a writing signed by them all, wherein was stated that they absolved him of all blame that might be laid upon him on account of that, it resulting therewith that he be able to defend and answer for himself before their noble and mighty highnesses the States-General, His Excellency and the East India Company ; and he having this from them, then would he willingly be the first to make the expedition to land, because he said he did not hold his body and life dearer than another his. Thereupon they altogether remained silent without anyone's answering thereto. And this was now the third time that the admiral was so treated by his council of war, who had sought to persuade and embarrass him with unnecessary, unprofitable and unauthorized conquests,—the first time before Mossambique, the second time before Cananor⁸, and the third time before Colombo. But it was quite another thing that moved them to this : it was those that sailed on the ships that were destined to sail for Patane and Bantam⁹, these had a great dislike of the Ambonese and Moluckese voyage, therefore they stuck to each other, in order to persuade the admiral to the aforesaid affairs, in order to be released from the Ambonese and Moluckese voyage. And being thus occupied with this matter, there come one of the boats alongside bringing a captured Indian, of San Thome by birth, whom they had taken out of a *pangay*¹⁰, that they had chased to shore, from which the Portuguese had sprung

⁸ Owing to the loss of the first portion of van der Hagen's journal details of the first two disagreements are wanting to us.

⁹ By the instructions, three ships were to go to Patani, and one to Bantam.

¹⁰ A small sailing canoe (see *Hobson-Jobson* s. vv. 'Pangara, Pangaia').

over board, swimming to land¹¹. The admiral examined and questioned the Indian regarding every circumstance, who also said that in Colombo lay four hundred Portuguese and that there dwelt there about 6,000 Christian Indians, the which agreed with the statement of the old Portuguese prisoner. And all being further considered between the admiral and his council, it was resolved that they should at the first opportunity proceed with the fleet to Achyn, Malaca and Johor, and from there to Ambona and Moluken, in order there to take in hand better and more profitable things than certainly would have been got from Colombo¹².

31st December.—Then came the admiral a little before mid-day with the fleet into the road at Bantam, where he found the yacht *Medenblick*¹³, which had lain there only eight days, and the admiral learnt there how all things stood throughout the whole of India, as also besides of the ill faring of Sibolt de Weert with his men, who in Ceylon were all smitten dead, whereby the admiral now understood why the Samorijn,

¹¹ Craen's diary has:—"21st November. The wind northerly and saw in the morning the island of Selon, towards which we set our course, east and east by north, and arrived there the same day, before a fortress named Colombo. On ditto there came four *Pangaeyen*, two of which were brought to the admiral and which were free men from Bengalen, who were allowed to sail unharmed, the other two stranded, which were unfree, both Portuguese, from which our people fished a lot of cotton cloths out of the breakers, but most drove on shore with the sea, as the foists went to pieces immediately".

¹² The next entry in van der Hagen's journal as printed is the one of 31st December that follows this, no explanation being given of the *hiatus*. Craen's diary has the following:—"22nd November. It was resolved to sail close before the castle of Colombo and each in passing to shoot and to sail on our course: on this fortress were only two guns (!?), one should have been able to capture it with two ships. (In the account of this voyage in de Bry, 1606, we are told that from Cochin the ships directed their course to Zeylon, where they arrived the 22 ditto (November) and anchored near the town of Columba, where they fired some shots at the castle, which answered with a shot at each ship.") From this island Selon comes (*sic*) the best pipes of cinnamon thence; it is a beautiful land.—23rd November. A north-east wind, our course to east south-east; at mid-day southern sun, the altitude of about 6 degrees. Selon, to wit Colombo, lies 6 degrees 50 minutes north of the line." From the same diary we learn that on 11th December it was resolved that the *Delft* with the Achinese ambassadors (*sic*.) but actually only the one surviving envoy and suite,) should leave the fleet and proceed direct to Achin. This took place next day, after a farewell banquet on the admiral's ship.

¹³ This was one of the two ships sent to Mauritius.

King of Calicut, that night¹⁴, when he was with him warned him so often that he should not touch at Ceylon with his fleet, saying that there was not much of importance to the Hollanders in that country, and that he should pursue his voyage without touching at Ceylon¹⁵. And that (neither) the Samorijn nor anyone of his people had never¹⁶....given the admiral to understand of the murder that had taken place in Ceylon, he seems to have kept it concealed and secret, because he wished to speak with the admiral himself verbally, as he thought that had the admiral known of that he would not have got him on land so easily.



¹⁴ Of 11th-12th November, (see Craen's diary, s.d.).

¹⁵ Craen reports nothing of this.

¹⁶ *Sic.* In the document as printed there are dots (...) after this word, but no omission is apparent.

LETTER FROM THE KING OF SPAIN TO THE
VICEROY OF INDIA, DATED 26th FEBRUARY,
1605.¹

Dom Martim Affonso de Castro², friend viceroy, I the King send you all greeting. By letters from Ayres de Saldanha, the archbishop primate, the bishop of Cochin, and others that I received by the ships of the past year, I had advice of the disasters that had taken place in the conquest of Ceilam³, and of how, after Dom Hieronymo de Azevedo had brought it into a good condition, all the black troops that he had in his army rebelled against him, excepting only Dom Fernando *modiliar*⁴, with a thousand men of his following; from which resulted the rebel Dom Joao's recovering forces and courage with these troops that deserted to him, and capturing some forts with the garrisons of Portuguese that were in them, and chastising them and keeping them with him; and that after having made himself master of all this, he sent to the said Ayres de Saldanha ambassadors, asking of him terms of peace⁵, and offering to return to our holy faith and my obedience⁶, on their being given to him a son of his⁷,

1. This letter is printed in *Documentos Remittidos da India*, i. 8-11.

2. Left Lisbon, 2nd May, 1604, arrived at Goa, 19th May, 1605. (see *Arch. Port.-Or.* I. ii. 141-2), and succeeded Ayres de Saldanha as viceroy.

3. Details of these "disasters" are wanting; but P. du Jarrie, in his *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, ii. 795, says that on Candlemas day, (2nd Feb.), 1603, D. Jeronymo de Azevedo captured Balane (*cf. C. Lit. Reg. vi.* 334), and occupied it for four or five days, but had then, on account of D. Joões's revolt (*sic.*), to retreat by way of Malvana to Columbo. Bocarro twice (45 and 508) refers to this retirement of D. Jeronymo's forces, and says that it was called "the famous retreat" (*a famosa retirada*). It is probable also that it is this affair that Baldaeus describes briefly in chap. v. of his *Ceylon*, and of which H. A. van Rhee de speaks (Valentyn, *Ceylon* 265). See also Bree's journal, *supra*, under 13th May, 1603.

4. Regarding this man (the Samarakònràla of the Rājāvaliya 99), see *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 165 n.)

5. I can find no other reference to this embassy.

6. If Vimaladharma really made such an offer, we cannot believe that he intended to fulfil it.

7. This son, who is also referred to by Rÿcks (see his journal *supra*, under 2nd June, 1603), must I think, have been born to Dom João when he was a professed Christian, the mother being his first wife, the daughter of Tammitaràla or Udammitaràla, (see *supra*, B. 1, note 35).

who is in that city of Goa in the college of the Kings⁸, the which the said Ayres de Saldanha did not grant, and sent back the said ambassadors to Dom Hieronymo.

And that whilst the said rebel Dom Joao had despatched these ambassadors there arrived at Baticalou seven Dutch-ships⁹, and in that latitude captured four Portuguese (ships¹⁰), and on Dom Joao's coming thither in order to confederate with them it did not effectuate, on account of dissensions that they had¹¹, although it appeared that in the end they were reconciled, and with a promise of being bound to return against the port and fortress of Gale¹².

From all these events I received the displeasure that you can consider, to see so greatly retarded the business of this conquest, which has cost so much trouble and blood of my vassals, in addition to the great expenses that for many years have been laid out on this part. And although the the said Ayres de Saldanha advised that some forts had been recovered, and others had been fortified anew, and that on a ship's going direct from this kingdom to that island with men and munitions, the loss would be recovered, and it would be possible quickly to finish this conquest; nevertheless, considering the great need there is of going in aid with all the power of this State, and with that which can be sent from there to the ports of the South¹³, in order to expel from them the rebels¹⁴, as in another I advise you¹⁵; and taking in this the opinion of persons that understand it well, I have resolved to command to desist for the present from this conquest in the form in which it has hitherto been prosecuted; and that

8. The Franciscan college of the *Reys Magos* (Magi) in Bardez, where the scions of Asiatic royal families were educated. There were several Sinhalese lads there at this time (see *infra*, note 17).

9. The fleet of de Weert, which arrived at Matecalo on 25th April, 1603.

10. See the journals of Bree and Rycks under 16th-23rd May, 1603.

11. It is very strange that not a word is said of the massacre of de Weert and his companions.

12. This is hardly a correct statement of the fact.

13. "The South" was the term used by the Portuguese to denote what we call Malaysia.

14. The Dutch.

15. This letter does not appear in *Doc. Rem.*

the fortress of Columbo, with some other forts around that shall seem well to you, be fortified and conserved, and that in them be placed the garrisons needful for their not being captured by the enemy; and that the fortress of Gale be likewise finished fortifying, in such manner that it may become defensible, and that in it be put the garrison of men, arms and munitions that shall seem necessary, in order to keep such good guard as befits a stronghold so important for the navigation of the South, and that it may not come into the possession of the enemies, who could from there (if they occupied it) do much harm to the navigation of the South, because of all the ship's sighting that point that come from those parts to India¹⁶.

And in case the treaty of peace with the rebel Dom João be made in the future, or it appear to you that it can be concluded with good conditions, you shall effectuate it, securing yourself very well from the inconstancy and faithlessness of that people; and you shall propose in council whether for the greater security of the said terms of peace or in order to make war on the said rebel and expel him altogether from the island, it would be convenient to send to it the lad Dom Joao, grandson of Raju¹⁷, who is being educated in the said college of the Kings, to whom the kingdom belongs¹⁸, and give him some assistance with the least expense possible; and what you shall resolve thereupon as being most convenient you shall cause to be put into execution¹⁹.

Written in Lisbon, the 26th of February, 1605.

THE KING.....—FERNÃO TELLER.

16. Cf. Sebald de Weert's letter *supra*, and note 58 there.

17. "Dom João" here is a mistake for "Dom Filipe" (as he is called in other letters in the *Doc. Rem.*); and the lad was in reality not grandson, but grand-nephew of Rāja Sinha's (see C. A. S. JI. XX., 396, 398, 392 n. 5).

18. The Portuguese had maintained the right of Dona Catharina as heiress to the throne of Ceylon until she was captured by Konappu Bāndāra and forcibly made his wife; after which they transferred the right to the two captive youths D. João of Kandy and D. Filipe of Sittāvaka.

19. This proposal was not carried out, since Vimaladharma was already dead when this letter was written, and D. Filipe died a few years later.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ANTONIO MARTINS TO THE KING OF SPAIN, WRITTEN IN 1611, OR 1612.¹

And as it appears to me very necessary to give your Majesty first a description of the island of Ceilão, which is that which the Dutch enemies aim at taking, and where I have been and served your Majesty many years, and where I have been a captive of the Moorish² Kings, with whom the said Hollanders have endeavoured to ally themselves, to treat of it becomes of the utmost importance and necessity, because thus with more light the malice of the enemy can be remedied and prevented, and it is as follows.

And besides the King of this island has on the coast thereof, towards the South³, three ports, where he loads and discharges his goods ; one of them is called the port of Baticaloa, which is 70 leagues from our Point of Gale ; and further on, 14 or 15 leagues, he has another, which is called Triquilumaleque (*sic.*) ; and another further on, which they call the port of Cutiare.⁴

And I tell your Majesty that this said island of Ceilão is the key of the whole of India, in so far as concerns trade and merchandise, which is what aggrandizes and enriches it ; because all the ships that come from China, Japão, Malaca, Pegu, Bengala and the Malucas islands, and from the other

1. Of this letter (which was printed in *Doc. Rem.* iii. 109-113). I gave a complete translation, with introduction and notes, in the *M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 164-8, to which I would refer the reader. The importance of the letter in the present connection lies in the fact that the writer was (or professes to have been) an eye-witness of the massacre of de Weert and his companions.

2. Below the writer describes Vimaladharmas as a " Moor." The term is of course quite incorrect as applied to the Sinhalese. (For a similar error see C. A. S. JI., xx. 232 et seq.).

3. In the Portuguese maps Batecalou is shown on the south coast. This writer goes further in placing Trincomalee also there.

4. The above confirms the statement of Davis (see Introduction) that trade by sea was carried on not only at Matecalo but at Trincomalee. The figures given for the distance between Galle and Matecalo are about right, if we reckon the league as equal to 3 miles, but as a fact the Portuguese league was about $4\frac{1}{4}$ English miles. The distance between Matecalo and Trincomalee is absurdly understated. It will be noticed also that the writer locates Kottiyar beyond Trincomalee.

parts and regions of the South,⁵ all of them by force of necessity are unable to reach India, unless they first manage to get a sight of and reach the said Point of Gale, in order that thus they may make a good voyage ; nor as little can the ships that sail from India for the said ports of the South neglect to get a sight of the said point.⁶

All this being then the truth, as it is, it is clear that if the said Dutch enemies were masters of this said island, or of its Point of Gale, which God forbid, with great ease they would become masters of all the ships that called there ; and the trade of India would infallibly be lost : and thus if Your Majesty does not command that this matter be taken up and remedied shortly, the said enemies will be masters of this country so fertile and so extremely valuable, and will very seriously injure the whole of India and its commerce, which may God forbid.

And in order that your Majesty may be pleased with the more diligence and speed to send and take measures against the pretensions and evil designs of these astute enemies, I may say that in the year (1) 603, in the time of the Moorish King who through arrogance called himself Dom Joao d'Austria,⁷ the Hollanders arrived at the port of Baticalous, which is a port of the said Moor's as has already been said, and having entered with many kinds of merchandise, the said King came to receive them near the said port, and with great rejoicing on each side peace and perpetual friendship was agreed to between them, and to expel from the country the Portuguese that dwelt in it, vassals of your Majesty's, and thus they made a treaty⁸ in the following manner.

5. The Portuguese always spoke of the countries beyond Ceylon as "the South."

6. Cf. *supra*, C. I. note 101.

7. The accusation is unwarranted, since the name of "Dom João d'Austria" was bestowed upon Konappu Bandara at his baptism by the Portuguese themselves.

8. No treaty seems actually to have been made (cf. the narratives of Bree and Rÿcks *supra*) ; but the writer states very accurately the requests of the Dutch and the promises of the King.

To wit: That the Hollander should be obliged to aid him by sea against the said Portuguese, and that by land he should do the same, without resting, until not one remained; and that when they had been expelled, the said Moor undertook to give them all the said three ports, which they (the Portuguese) now possess⁹, and thus as they captured any one of them, the said Hollanders should become masters of it; and that he would also give them all the lading of pepper, cinnamon, and all the other commodities that might be in the island, and victuals and supplies for their ships, with other advantages besides.

And the treaty and confederation being celebrated with a great banquet,¹⁰ which the King ordered for them and in my presence gave them, the supreme goodness of our Lord God permitted that the Dutch Governor ordered wine to be brought from his ships for the banquet,¹¹ and with it he gave a toast to the Moor,¹² who took it so much as an affront, that incontinently with great wrath he commanded him to be killed and all his men that were at the feast¹³; and thus their desire and pretension succeeded badly, and with sad lamentation the ships made their escape from the port,¹⁴ wherefore this agreement did not take effect for the time being.

9. Columbo, Galle and Mature.

10. The purpose of the banquet was not what the writer states.

11. This writer is the only one that mentions this circumstance, which I see no reason to doubt.

12. The terms of the alleged toast are not given; but compare what Baldaeus says (*infra* F. 5) of the gross insult offered by de Weert to the King.

13. A great many more than those that were at the feast were killed.

14. A decidedly inaccurate version of the fact, seeing that the Dutch did not leave Matecalo roadstead until nearly two months after the massacre.

“THE VOYAGE OF FRANCOIS PYRARD”. II.,
146-7.¹

This King [“Don Jouan”], having revolted and abjured the faith, put to death all the Portuguese that were found in his borders, and so it was that afterwards the Hollanders passing the *pointe de Galla* with three ships, as their wont is to cast anchor and make a sojourn there, contracted a peace and alliance with this King,² and such was the confidence reposed in one another, that the Hollanders used to go ashore in all freedom and assurance, and the Cingalla in like manner used to come aboard their ships. But upon this the King conceived a great treachery, assembling all the chiefs, principal soldiers, and most eminent men at his palace for a grand solemn banquet,³ which he gave to all the highest grandees of his court and of the Nairs.⁴ The Hollander general went thither in good faith with sixty or seventy of the chiefmen of his three ships,⁵ chosen by himself, and arrayed in the bravest style possible. They were there received very magnificently, according to the custom of the country; but the poor Hollanders’ dessert was after another fashion, for while they were at table thinking only to enjoy themselves and make good cheer, they were incontinently seized and massacred there, and then by suborned villains.⁶ The design of the King was at once to surprise all the ships, but God did not permit that, and saved them: for three or four mariners that were there waiting upon them escaped, and ran and flung

1. I quote from Mr. Albert Gray’s admirable translation, as printed by the Hakluyt Society. Pyrard seems to have called at Ceylon on his way to Malacca in 1608: his description of the island and of events there is full of inaccuracies, and the account he gives of the visit and massacre of de Weert is ludicrously erroneous.

2. This refers to Spilbergen’s visit in 1602.

3. Here the writer proceeds to mix up de Weert’s second visit to Ceylon in 1603, with the visit of Spilbergen in 1602.

4. The use here of this last word is of course absurd, there being no Nairs in Ceylon. Mr. Gray says that Pyrard’s informants “meant probably the Tamils of Batticaloa,” which may be correct, but Pyrard himself may be responsible for the blunder.

5. Spilbergen had only two ships; de Weert had three on his first visit in 1602, but seven on his second visit in 1603.

6. There was no subornation in the affair, which was entirely unpremeditated and unexpected.

themselves into their boats, to give word to those on board the ships of what had taken place. So it was they straightway cut the cables, leaving their anchors there, laying a course for Achen, whither God conducted them, for all their pilots had been slain.⁷ I have heard it said by the two Hollanders who came to the Maldives, and subsequently by others, that that general was one of the bravest and most valiant men that had come out of Holland this many a day, and that the rest of his comrades were of the same temper. The perfidious King that played them this sorry trick did it all to make his peace with the Portuguese ;⁸ for I have heard them say themselves that this came about of their counsel, and that the King had promised to deliver up the ships to them, saving a part of the valuable cargo that he should retain.⁹ The general was not slain at the time,¹⁰ nor were two or three others ; but when the King saw that one part of his design had failed, he fell into such a rage and choler, that he had their eyes put out, and practised a thousand other cruelties upon them.¹¹ These Kings of Ceylon are sometimes friends, sometimes enemies, of the Portuguese, changing thus in a thousand fashions.

7. A very garbled version of the facts.

8. A most unjust allegation.

9. If the Portuguese made such a statement, it was a pure invention of theirs.

10. Amazing error.

11. Another slander.

MEMORANDUM ON CEYLON BY ADRIAN VAN DER MEYDEN,. DATED, 20TH SEPTEMBER, 1660.¹

Honorable sirs,—After King Emanuel of Portugal, A.D. 1497, through Vasco Gama had first discovered the East Indian route round the Cape of Hood Hope, and had occupied all the best harbours and bays, about a hundred years thereafter our united Netherlanders also came here to trade ; and the admiral Joris van Spilberghen arrived A.D. 1602 before Baticalo² and thereafter had speech with the Emperor of Candi about a quantity of pepper, and further with that prince regarding cinnamon, in order, if it was possible, to obtain them for a reasonable price, and then to come and fetch them from him yearly. The year after appeared here also the vice-admiral Sebalt de Weerd³ with six⁴ ships ; but he with fifty and odd⁴ Netherlanders was (God better it) treacherously murdered on 1st May,⁵ 1603 ; which his Majesty excused, because de Weerd also had wished to force him to come on board, or at least to the shore, in order to view his ships, or otherwise he would not help him to conquer Punto Gale ; although it was more probable that the Portuguese, with whom he was then again at peace, had arranged this thus for us, in order to expel us once for all from Ceylon⁶ ; although others lay the blame on the Emperor's envoy, [who had] come over from Atsjien with de Weerd,⁷ and [had been] treated by him somewhat more contemptuously than the Portuguese ; who also think that in revenge for this insult, of having seated the Portuguese at the higher and him

1. This memorandum, addressed to the Governor-General and Council at Batavia by Adriaan van der Meyden on his retirement from the office of Governor of Ceylon in 1660, is printed in Valentyn's *Ceylon* 141-8, a portion of it (with verbal alterations) having already appeared in Baldaeus's *Ceylon*, chaps. xli.-xlii. (xlii.-xliii. of the English version).

2. No mention is made of de Weert's first visit to Ceylon.

3. Read " seven."

4. According to Rÿcks (*supra*) 47 men were killed and 6 mortally wounded.

5. Read " June."

6. An entirely unwarranted accusation.

7. No Sinhalese (but an Achinese) envoy accompanied de Weert ; and the statements that follow are probably pure inventions. (see further, *infra*, F2, note 5.)

at the lower end at a meal, he had not only incited the Emperor against him [de Weerd], but had made the former believe that de Weerd plotted an attempt and treachery against the Emperor's life, and had no other reason than this for so earnestly inviting the Emperor on board his ships, and to the shore.

BALDAEUS'S "CEYLON." CHAP. VII.

After this came Sebald de Weert, vice-admiral to Wybrand van Warwijk, to Ceylon¹, and made a contract with the Emperor Don Jan,² proceeding on to Achin in order to collect a larger force, and arrived at Matecola with seven ships on 26th April, A.D. 1603, and having informed the Emperor of his arrival, forthwith set out thitherwards³, in order to speak with each other of the intended transaction. He then⁴, having come to the vice-admiral Sebald de Weert at Matecola, asked in the first place after the captured Portuguese, taken from four vessels; and as the aforesaid de Weert had thoughtlessly released them, he exculpated himself in the matter, saying, that according to the engagement he could not hand them over; at which Don Jan was angry, and became suspicious, which suspicion was greatly increased by the ambassador of the Emperor, who had come with the vice-admiral Sebald de Weert from Achin⁵, declaring that as

1. The English translator of Baldaeus erroneously makes Wybrand van Warwijk as well as de Weert come to Ceylon.

2. No contract was actually made between de Weert and Vimaladharmas.

3. That is, to the town of Matecalo which was some miles from the roadstead (see the statements of Bree and Rÿcks.)

4. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 107-9) takes over, without acknowledgement, all that follows, altering the wording here and there, and introducing some statements from the Spilbergen journal or of his own.

5. Baldaeus appears to have copied this fiction about a Sinhalese envoy from the memorandum of Adriaan van der Meyden quoted above, and to have enriched it, in his usual style, with a number of details of his own invention. How van der Meyden came to transform the Achinese envoy into a Sinhalese, and whence he got the cock-and-bull story that he relates, I do not know: in any case, there is not the least ground for suspecting the Achinese envoy of playing a double part.

long as he was with the Hollanders he could perceive nothing else than that they were at one with the Portuguese, seeking by false means to deceive his Majesty, and to get possession of his country ; that during the time of his ambassadorship he had not been paid respect to by the Hollanders, but on the contrary shamefully treated, causing, to the serious vilipendency of his imperial Majesty, whose person he represented, the Portuguese to sit at the upper end of the table, and him at the bottom, in addition releasing the aforesaid enemies, contrary to the promises given and the agreement made ; from which could very well be guessed what was their intention. This envoy further testified that he had heard that the vice-admiral would invite the Emperor and the chief lords to view the ships, and manifest great signs of pleasure, in order thus to get his Majesty into his hands, and to invade the country : of which, as he was assured of it, he wished to warn his imperial Majesty, with the request that he would neither believe nor trust the Hollanders, so that his person with his princes and lords might not be betrayed, the territories laid waste, and the commonalty brought into slavery ; protesting that he had quitted himself like a faithful servant of his master's, and a maintainer of the country's welfare, so that afterwards could not be laid to his charge the calamities that were at hand :—at this falling at the Emperor's feet, doing according to the manner of the country *sambaye*⁶ or reverence.

Don Jan having heard this speech consulted with his lords as to what was to be done in this matter, seeing that the statement of the ambassador's appeared in part true, since the vice-admiral Sebald de Weert had plainly broken his promises in the release of the Portuguese ; questioning whether

6. Baldaeus here, as in other places in his book introduces this word in order to display his knowledge. In the list of " Malay, Ambonese and other unintelligible words " prefixed to Valentyn's description of the Moluccas, *sombayen* is entered as a Malay word, and is explained as meaning " to bow down low reverentially with the hands above the head." The Portuguese adopted the word into their language in the form *Zumbaya*. It is Malay *sembahyang*, worship, ritual, prayer, which is a compound of *sembah*, a salutation, a respectful offering or address, the act of solutation or homage consisting in raising the hands to the face, and *yang*, divinity. The word *sembah* perhaps-Sanskrit *sambhavana*, worship, honour, respect, esteem.

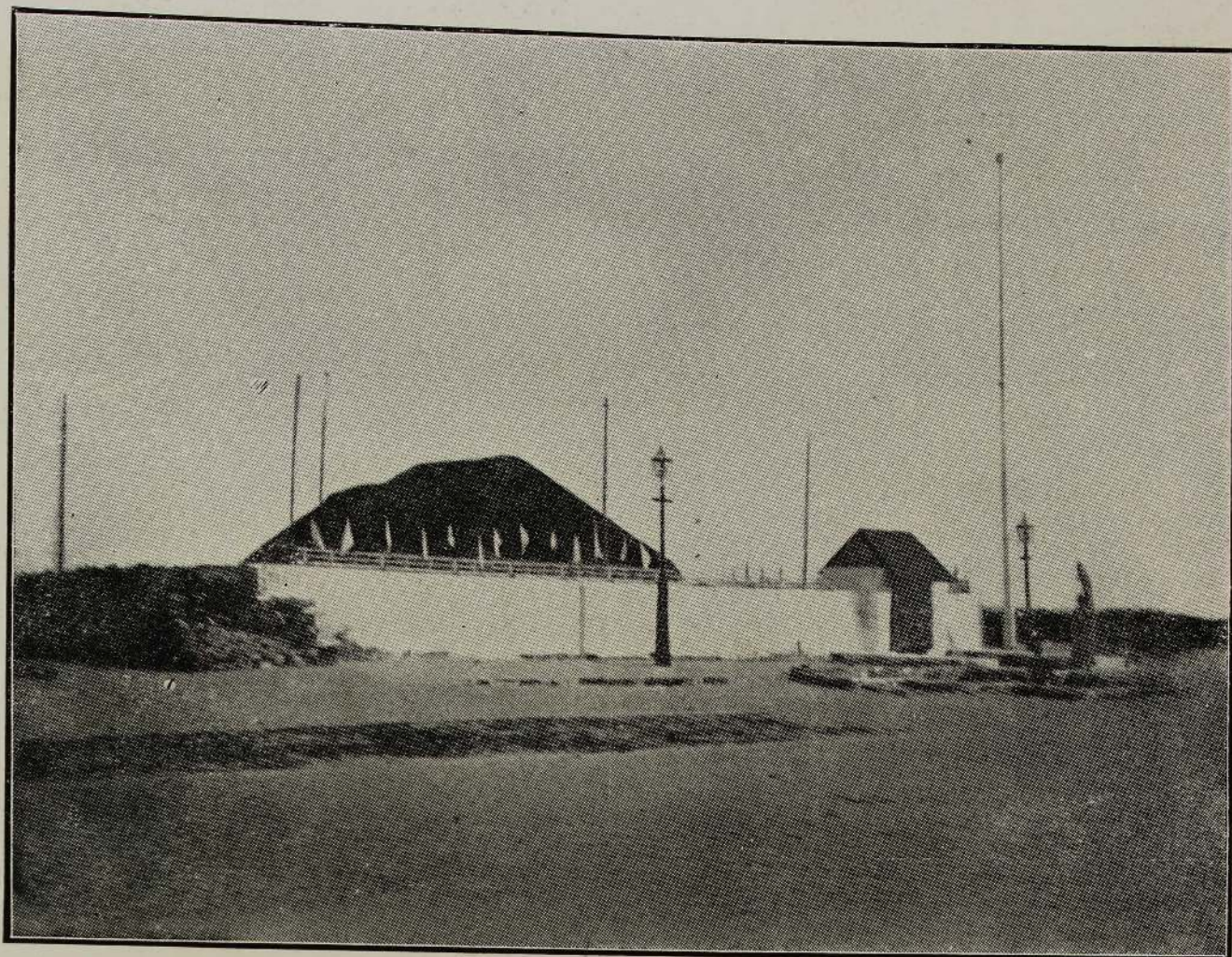
further trust should be put in him, or all further dealings broken off: upon which after various deliberations it was resolved that they should endeavour by all means to get the vice-admiral de Weert to go to Gale, in order according to the contract to invest the place, and meantime to notice how he de Weert should in that siege bear himself towards the Portuguese.

Sebald de Weert, having come to the Emperor, after many and various discussions begged and invited his Majesty to view the ships, which his Majesty declined, saying that his lords would not listen to it and that there was no reason to request it. Sebald, seeing that the King was not minded to come on board the ships, begged that his Majesty would just come to the shore and see the ships from afar; [saying] that to this end he had caused a tent to be bedecked with cloth, in order to lodge his Majesty therein. This was likewise refused, and gave the Emperor further suspicions; the aforesaid ambassador, who availed himself of this opportunity, and was prepossessed with great hatred against the vice-admiral because of the release of the Portuguese, and the slight done to him, saying: "See you [not], my most gracious lord, that my statement is true? because he seeks to get your Majesty into the net; therefore be on your guard;" with other assertions, all intended to strengthen still more the Emperor's suspicions.

The vice-admiral Sebald de Weert, being discontented at this refusal, answered, "that if his Majesty did not desire to come to the shore or on board the ships, he would not help him against the Portuguese:" at which speech Don Jan was angry with the aforesaid de Weert, but restraining his wrath said that according to his promises he [de Weert] was to sail with his ships for Gale, and that he [the Emperor] must go up to Candy to the Empress,—who, as his half-brother⁷.

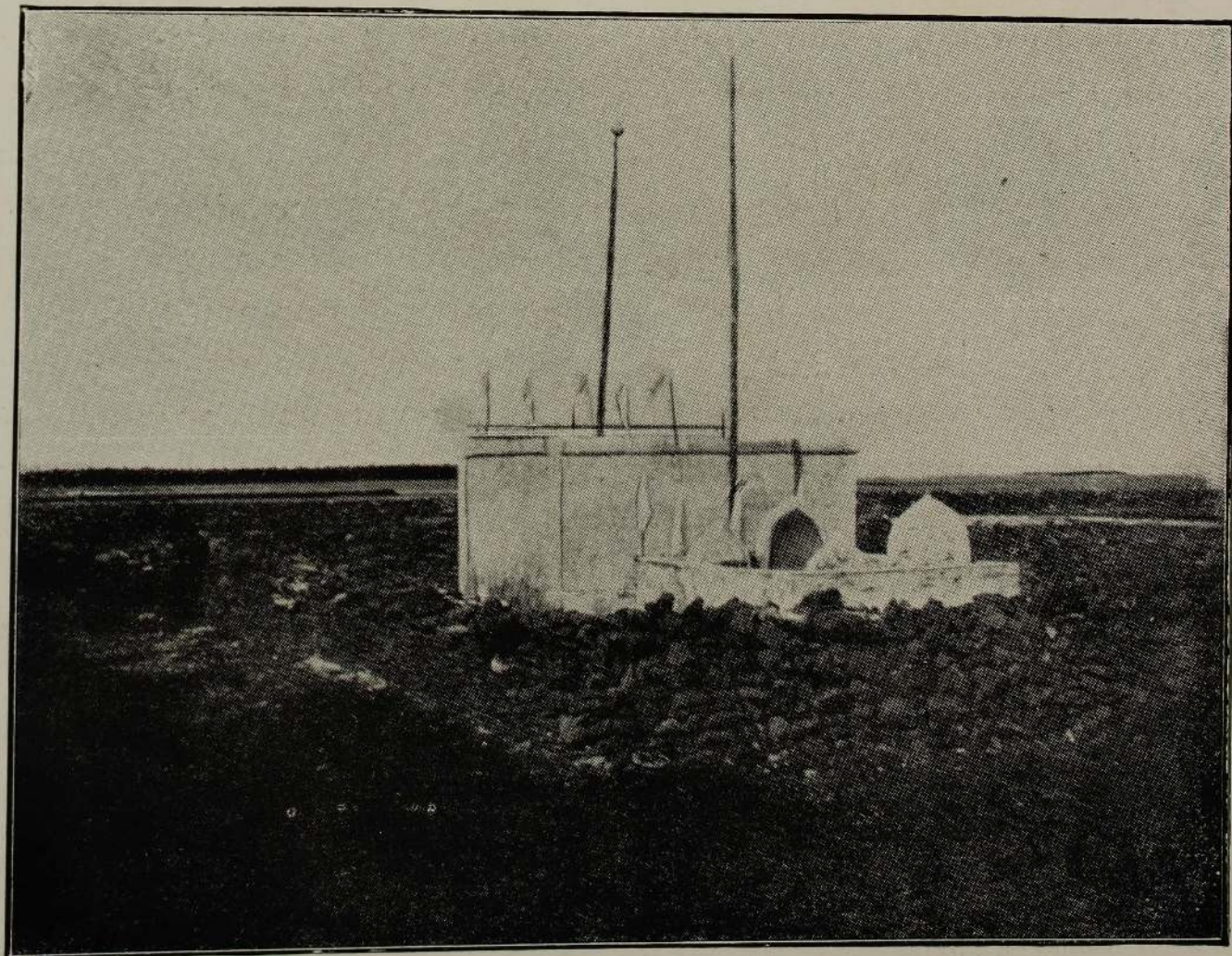
7. Further on Baldaeus has "step-brother." The *Mahavamsa* (328) calls Senerat Vimaladharmas "younger brother," while the *Rājāvaliya* (100) says that Senerat was "the son of his (Vimaladharmas younger sister" (*i.e.*, cousin). What the real relationship was, I do not know.

MÁLE ISLAND



1. SHÁIKH NAJÍB ZIYÁRAT

MÁLE ISLAND



2. GRAVE OF SULTÁN MUḤAMMAD

Cenuwieraat Adascijn had gone to the frontiers⁸, was all alone,—whence he would make haste to follow with the whole force.

Sebald, having drunk rather more than was proper⁹, indiscreetly gave answer, “that the Empress would not want for a man¹⁰, and that he did not wish to go to Gale, or to fight against the Portuguese, before and until his imperial Majesty had viewed the ships, and had shown him such tokens of honour.” Don Jan, who was a very hasty and fierce man, was by these words inflamed to increased anger, and raging with fury like a fire stood up in haste saying, “*Banda lapa mebal*,”¹¹ that is, “Bind me that dog,” upon which words the vice-admiral was seized by four nobelmen, who tried to pinion him; but as he resisted, drawing his sword, making a great outcry in order to obtain help from his men (but these had, at the request of the Emperor, remained at the shore), Sebald de Weert was meanwhile seized from

8. Where Baldaeus got this information from, I cannot say: it may be pure invention. At any rate, we know from the Sinhalese historians that before his accession to the throne Senerat was a Buddhist monk hence Baldaeus's statement is very unlikely.

9. This is confirmed by the statements of Rijcks and Antonio Martins, *supra*.

10. Commenting on this, Valentyn (*Ceylon* 108) says: “The first part of his answer was an expression [of such a nature] that he could not have employed worse of a public trull or brothel-whore, and that he used nevertheless of the Empress.” Philaethes (*History of Ceylon* 92), in translating from Valentyn, does not give the English of the above, but says: “The first part of this answer was a gross insult upon the character of the Empress,” and adds in a footnote: “The Dutchman says, with more plainness than would suit the refinement of English ears,” and then quotes Valentyn's comment in the original Dutch. Knighton, in his *History of Ceylon*, after speaking of Senerat as “her [Catharina's!] brother, and giving Baldaeus's words in a fuller form, appends in a foot-note (p. 254) the comment of Valentyn in the original, but exposes his ignorance of Dutch by adding “was his insulting expression”! It is impossible to say if de Weert actually made use of any such words as those attributed to him by Baldaeus, though doubtless he was, especially when intoxicated, quite capable of doing so.

11. Correctly, “*Bendapalla me balla*.” But according to the Spilbergen diarist (*supra*) Vimaladharma spoke in *Portuguese*, and his order was, not “Bind this dog,” but, “Kill this dog...” One cannot help suspecting that here [as elsewhere] Baldaeus is displaying his knowledge of Sinhalese. At any rate, Valentyn here throws him overboard, and reports the King as saying “Mara [*sic*] isto can.”

behind¹², and his head cleft with a broad sword, so that he fell dead to the ground, the which however no one durst inform the Emperor of, except the prince of Ove¹³.

Don Jan was very much disturbed at this, saying : " why did you not take him prisoner as I ordered you ? " the which the prince declared had been made impossible by the drawing of his sword ; whereupon Don Jan answered : " Well, since he is dead, kill the rest also so that they may enjoy a like reward with their master ; " which also was immediately carried out, there remaining of the persons that were on land with the vice-admiral only a youth, Isack Plevier of Vlissingen, whom the Emperor kept by him, and who was in his service on 22nd November, 1614¹⁴, besides several that saved their lives by swimming to the ships...

The Emperor, after this deed had been carried out, returned to Candy, sending a short letter to the commanders of the ships, with these few words in Portuguese¹⁶. "*Que bebem vinho noa he bon. Deus fes justicia. Se quisieres pas, pas ; se quires guerra, guerra.*" That is : " He who drinks wine is not good, and therefore God has done justice ; consequently, if you desire peace, I give you peace ; if war, war." ¹⁷

12. Valentyn, evidently having before him the very realistic but entirely fanciful picture of the massacre in Baldaeus's book, adds " by a lock of hair."

13. Who this "Prince of Uva" was, I do not know. In the next chapter we read of his being murdered by Senerat, whose rival for the throne he was.

14. This Isaak Plevier is referred to in letters from Kandy by Boshouwer and Gysbert van Zuylen written from ten to fifteen years after the massacre of de Weert, and a letter sent to the Dutch at Matecalo in March, 1610, on behalf of the King of Kandy is signed " By me Isaac Ploviere of Vlissingen of the ship on which Lauwerims [*sic*] Franssen was captain." The mention by Baldaeus of the date " 22nd November, 1614 " is puzzling, but I suspect that it was the day of Plevier's death, since Gijsbert van Zuylen, in a letter from " Venoer," dated, 15th March, 1615, says:—" You must also be apprised of the death of Isaac Plauwiersz, who died some four to six months ago." Valentyn, in copying from Baldaeus, omits this clause, which contains an erroneous statement, in that it was in Senerat's and not Vimaladharma's service that Plevier died. I cannot help thinking that is to some letter of Plevier's that Baldaeus is indebted for the details he gives.

15. This may be true, though neither Bree nor Rycks mentions any men as having swum off to the ships.

16. Cf. the statement of Bree *supra*.

17. Valentyn alters the Portuguese a little, and gives a more literal translation. I suspect the Portuguese is Baldaeus's, and not Vimaladharma's, as it is by no means correct. It should probably read:—" *Quem bebe vinho não he bom. Deos fiz justiça. Se quizeris paz, paz ; se quereis guerra, guerra.*"

Don Jan lived [but] a short time after Sebald's death¹⁸, falling into a great sickness, having such unbearable burning within his body, that he had to lie constantly in cold water, without however obtaining in any wise relief therefrom. His drinking water was brought from a little river, named Halgradoje¹⁹, lying between the districts of Ove and Mata-rette, which is so cold, that one can hardly take it into the mouth, but this water likewise could not cool his burning. He often lamented the Netherlanders that were struck dead innocently, but the vice-admiral Sebald de Weert, he said, "had well deserved it." During his illness he could never rest, nor settle any order in the Kingdom, and that through intolerable pain, which finally deprived him of life in the year 1604²⁰. He left behind a son, named Mahastanne Adascijn, and two daughters, the one called Soria Mahadascijn, or "Well-beloved Sunshine," the other Cathan Adascijn, that is, "Well-beloved Peace," whom he had got by Dona Catharina, named in Cingaleese Mahabandige Adascijn, that is, "Well-beloved Empress."²¹

18. The account Baldaeus gives of Vimaladharma's last days is the only one that has come down to us [so far as I know], and it is probable that for these details we are indebted to Isaak Plevier.

19. The Halgranoya [which is crossed by the main road from Nuwara Eliya to Udapussellawa) is evidently the river referred to, and the location is fairly correct. Valentyn rather absurdly abbreviates this part as follows:—"so that he was constantly obliged to lie in water, that was so cold, that one could not keep it in the mouth."

20. It is unfortunate that the month and day are not given, as no other writer supplies these details. *The Rájáwaliya* says (100) that Vimaladharma died after a reign of 12 years in the hill-country, "in the year 1525 of the Saka era," i.e., A.D. 1603-4.

21. Spilbergen and de Weert [see supra] mention only one daughter and one son. On the other hand, the *Rajawaliya* says (98):—"The Queen [Catharina] bore four sons and one daughter to Vimaladaham Súriya; the names of the four princes were, his highness (*Āsthānaya*) Rájásuriya, his highness Udumāle, his highness Kumarasinha, and his highness Vijeyapála," the daughter's name not being given, and states that when the King was dying he committed his "four sons" to the care of his cousin and successor. Baldaeus has taken his information from a Portuguese document written probably in 1643, which is printed in Judice Biker's *Collecção de Tratados*, &c. i. 218-25. This says:—"D. João died in the year 1604, leaving with D. Catharina his wife a son, called Mahastana, and two daughters, the elder Soria Mahadassin, and the younger Antanassin." (According to this authority Kumárasinha and Vijayapála were the sons of Senerat, and not of Vimaladharma). It is evident therefore that "Cathan" is an error: perhaps the ms. that Baldaeus copied from had Çātan, i.e. Çantan. Valentyn has "Cathan, or Hantanne, and (according to another report Hatane (!) Adassyn."

**“REBELION DE CEYLON,” BY
JOÃO RODRIGUEZ DE SÁ EMENEZES, CAP X.¹**

Pledged by so many causes to this conquest, our princes continued it with various successes the whole time that the tyrannical reign of the rebel Don Juan, the mortal enemy of our nation, lasted; and prosperously enjoying the fruits of his tyranny, four years after the death of Pedro Lopes he obtained a considerable victory over the general D. Jeronimo de Azevado;² and his prosperity not stopping there, his almost insuperable arms outweighing our fortune, he gave entrance to the Hollanders in the year, 1601.³ There having put into the port of Batecalou the general Jorge Aspielberg with three ships,⁴ he brought them⁵ to Candia, and welcomed them with applause and public rejoicing, assigning them a site where they might build a fortress and factory, in hatred of the Portuguese, and to flatter Maurice, from whom he had an embassy, and in respect of them he began to intitle Candia “new Flanders,” [and] learnt the French⁶ language with a view to gain over the heretics in order that they might aid him to expel our people from Ceylon. There has been printed in one volume⁷ some ruttiers, written in the Latin and French languages, of these and other voyages that they made to Asia, so full of lies, that the least informed in the matters of the East could detect them; because they make it all their study and business to accuse the Spaniards, and speak evil of their valour, industry and religion.

The just indignation that obliged me to reply to the falsehoods with which these Calvinists provoke us must be

¹ As the translation by Lt.-Col. St. George in the C.A.S. JI. xi. 555-9 is in parts very incorrect, I have made a new translation from the original, published in 1681.

² See *supra*, B1, note 101.

³ A misprint for 1602.

⁴ Spilbergen arrived with only one ship, another arriving later; the third did not come to Ceylon, but proceeded to Achin (see Introduction).

⁵ The Dutch.

⁶ An odd mistake for “Dutch” or “Flemish.”

⁷ Apparently de Bry’s publication is meant, though the description is inaccurate.

the apology for this short digression ; and returning to the barbarian⁸ of Candia, the friendship and consideration that he contracted with them attained to great prosperity, although it is true that there did not at that time result from this league any harm to our people ; because it vanished through fears and distrusts of the Flemings, so that on the admiral Jacobo Necio's⁹ returning the following year with some ships to the port of Batecalou, the King of Candia went from his court to see him, and the admiral disembarking to receive him with the best and finest from his armada, and wishing to force the King, in order to welcome him, to go on board his ships, by his excessive¹⁰ persistency, he rendered the compliment suspicious ; wherefore the barbarian, estimating the mind of the heretic by his own so accustomed to treasons, taking apart him and his principal companions under colour of regaling them on land cut them all in pieces.¹¹ Thus did that apostate continue (*sic.*) the friendship of his greatest confederates, smirching the sacrosanct laws of hospitality so many times by sacrificing to his idols the blood of so many innocents, although in spite of his ill-deeds the Calvinists praise him in their writings as a great prince solely because of the inexorable¹² hatred that he displayed towards the Portuguese, although provoked by this wrong they never more dared trust in his word, though they dissembled the outrage ; because they are people with whom the convenience of the state has more force than the reputation of honour, and as they strove so much to enter into the island, they did not lose the means of obtaining it, seeking all that there were to render the Portuguese odious to the Zingalas in order to provoke them to our injury.¹³

8 Vimaladharma was in no sense a " barbarian," but a well educated and able statesman.

9 By " Jacobo Necio " is meant Jacob van Neck. The writer appears to have been misled by the erroneous reference to van Neck in the " address to the reader " prefixed to the Eighth Part of de Bry's collection (see *supra*, D2, introduction).

10 Or, " unmannerly."

11 Lt-Col. St. George (*loc. cit.* p. 558) has misinterpreted this passage in the most extraordinary manner.

12 The original has the impossible word " inexacrable."

13 The writer then records the prophecy referred to *supra*, D2, at note 41, which, he says, the Dutch utilized to their advantage.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SOUTH - EASTERN, SOUTHERN, AND SOUTH-WESTERN COASTS OF CEYLON AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

(From Linschoten's "*Reys-Geschrift Uande Navigatien der Portugaloysers in Orienten*," &c.. 1595).¹

CHAPTER II.

Deroute,² or the Navigation and course from India to Porto Piqueno de S. Iago,.....in the kingdom of Bengalen, &c.

Whoever wishes to sail from India to Porto Piqueno,³ or the little Harbour, situated in Bengalen, to wit, outside of the island of Seylon, must set sail from the harbour of Cochijn from the 10th.⁴ to the 20th of April, taking his course along the coast, as far as a place named Brinjao.⁵ (which lies near the cape or point of Comorijn, to wit, the uttermost point or end of the Indian coast south-westwards), from there taking his course south, as far as $6\frac{2}{3}$ degrees, and from there south-east, as far as $5\frac{2}{3}$ degrees. On getting there you shall run east, until you have the island of Seylon in sight: because the point of Seylon, named *A ponta de Gualle*, (that is to say, "the point of the galley,"⁶) is the furthest land thereof lying in the south under the altitude of 6 degrees; so that, if one holds this course at $5\frac{2}{3}$ degrees, he cannot fail to have sight of the said island of Seylon. This way and course you shall

1. This is the second part of Linschoten's famous work, and appeared before the first part (see Hakluyt Society's edition of his *Voyage*, Introd. xxx). This second part was carried by all the earliest Dutch voyagers to the East, including Spilbergen (see *supra*, B1, note 8).

2. This word represents the Portuguese *derrota*, course. On Linschoten's fondness for using synonymous words in several languages see the Hak. Soc. ed. of his *Voyage*, Introd. xl.-xli.

3. Satganw on the right bank of the Húghli (see Hak. Soc. ed. of Linsch. i. 95, and *Hobson-Jobson* s. vv. 'Porto Piqueno Porto Grande').

4. By a printer's error. apparently, the English translation has "which" for "10th."

5. Read "Brinjão." See note 8 *infra*.

6. Linschoten repeats this absurd interpretation of the name several times.

thus hold, leaving Cochijn from the 13th to the 20th April, as before [said]: because if you depart from there later, you will need to be more on your guard, because then the winds begin to blow very strong from the south, having at other times the winds blowing very furious and turbulent from the south-west and north-west.

When you come to see this island of Seylon, you shall run along the coast there (one runs along the coast east and west and has somewhat of east by north and west by south) as far as the first shoal lying in 6 degrees scarce, and the other shoal lies still further in $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, being separated from the other 7 miles),⁷ in the same direction of east and west and east by north and west by south. From the point *A punta de Galle* to the first shoals is about 28 miles.

CHAPTER 12.

Another Description of the same Voyage and course... recorded by another pilot, more fully and correctly related, with all the situation and extent thereof.

Sailing from the coast of India to the harbour named Porto Piqueno in the kingdom of Bengalen, to wit, outside of the island of Seylon, you shall take your course along the coast of India, until you come to see Brinjao,⁸ lying near the C. de Comorijn, the uttermost end of the coast of India, taking your way from there right across: because from here onward it is a good country and makes the shortest way across, as also to go assured of not falling inside of or between

7. It will be noticed that the figures for distances and degrees differ in the several ruttiers.

8. Viliñjam, 12 miles south of Trivandram in Travancore. It was burnt by D. Lourenço de Almeida in 1506 (see C. A. S. JI. xx. 25). William Hore, who anchored here in March, 1619, calls the place, "Brimion," and Martin Pring, who spent several days there in April, 1618, spells the name "Brin Jan." Pring does not say anything of the dunes mentioned below but speaks of "a high picked hill like unto a sugar-loafe, bearing north-east by east by the compasse, which is the best marke if it be cleane, to know the place." (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, v. 70, 6). In Dalrymple's collection of maps, plans and charts, (1774-92), vol. 5, is a view of "Brinchojn Hill" in 1701.

9. That is, region of the sea (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v. "Country, 1" q.v.) The orig. has "*contreye*."

the island of Seylon.¹⁰ So when you come to see the *Barreiras*¹¹ that is, the dunes of Brinjaon aforesaid, you shall run south, taking your course thus far from 15 to 20 miles, and from there onwards you shall shorten your way, according as you think best and have opportunity, in order to come under 5 degrees ; on getting there you shall run east as much as you think needful in order to assure yourself of being able to round the point or cape of Gualle, which is the uttermost end of the island of Seylon, at the south-west side, lying under the altitude of 6 degrees. When you think you are in the region of the *Punta de Galle*, in order to be surer, you shall approach the island so as to recognize it, before you come near the shoals, to wit, between Tanadare¹² (which is 5 miles from the Punta de Galle) and the first shoal, where in general all ships can recognize the land, of those that wish to sail to Bengalen,.... Having the land in sight in the aforesaid country, approach it as close as you wish, only not passing under 12 fathoms towards the land, because there lie some rocks along shore, of which one has not particular knowledge, besides the shoals, between which and the land one may sail, as shall be said hereafter.

Sailing thus, as has been said, along the land, you must know that the land of Tanadare (in order to recognize the same), to wit, from there onwards 5 miles as far as the shoals on the shore of the sea, is altogether a low land. And when further on you begin to see inland some mountain ranges, to wit, 3 great mountains, on coming opposite to them you shall forthwith come to see the first shoal,¹³ between which and the land one may well pass : because most of the ships that go and come past the island sail through there ; you shall find there, to wit, midway between it and the land,¹¹ to 12 fathoms depth good and in some places stony ground, and you have nothing else to fear there, but what you see

10. *Sic* in orig : " and the mainland " is understood.

11. Port., meaning " barriers," also " targets," or " butts." (compare the description of the south coast of Ceylon in chaps. 18 and 19 below).

12. Dondra.

13. The Great Basses, or Bassas (Port, *baixos*, shoals) reef, regarding which see Imray's *Indian Ocean Pilot* 891-2.

before your eyes. This first shoal lies under the altitude of $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees full, and right opposite thereto you will see on land a single rocky hill,¹⁴ without seeing any others in all this region. From this first and great shoal 6 miles further on lies another but smaller shoal: ¹⁵ one sails from one to the other north-east and south-west, and has somewhat of north-east by east and south-west by west. This little shoal lies under $6\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, distant about two miles from the land: if you wish to sail through between it and the land you may well do it, because one has there 5 to 6 fathoms depth at low water with sandy ground, which I know from one who has passed through there more than thirty times, both in going and returning; but if one has a big ship, it is better to keep outside to seaward of it.

Having passed the aforesaid shoals you sail on along the land, without diverging therefrom, because it is a good course to sail forward close thereto; and on coming past the end ¹⁶ of the mountains and the high land,¹⁷ you will come to see a high pointed top standing in amongst other mountains, from which projects a prominent peak sloping to the south-west: this top is named *O Capello de Frade*, that is, "the monk's cowl or hood"; ¹⁸ it is under the altitude of 8 degrees full. I do not put down here the course that one takes along this coast as far as the aforesaid *Capello de Frade*, because one does not sail along it in any direct course. This *Capello de Frade* forms a cape or point of land, from which runs a reef projecting half a mile to seaward on which one sees the water breaking in some places.¹⁹ From this point as far as Trinquanamale is 17 miles: one runs along the coast north and south, which is everywhere low land having all along there a shelvy ground, and you will see none of the land except away inland.²⁰ 5 miles before one comes to

¹⁴. Probably the "Rocky Knob (resembling a square tower)" of modern charts, or, possibly, Little Elephant hill.

¹⁵. The Little Basses, or Bassas, reef, regarding which see Imray's *Ind. O. Pilot* 892-3.

¹⁶. The Eng trans. has the curious error "Iland" for "end."

¹⁸. The well-known Friar's Hood. (Cf. *supra*, B1, note 11, D3,) note 3).

¹⁹. This is an extraordinary error, the Friar's Hood being many miles inland.

²⁰. By an error, the Eng. trans. has "inward five miles."

Trinquanamale one finds a little river.²¹ Trinquanamale is a large harbour, having at the mouth more than 3 miles breadth; at the entrance thereof is low land, being everywhere deep: he that wishes to go in there to anchor may lie under the shelter of one of the islands; within is a river that runs as far as to Seyta Vagua;²² as far as here²³ is everywhere low land. To recognize Trinquanamale from afar, it must be known that at the mouth thereof situated on the North side is a dune of yellowish colour, and it has on the one cape or point two far-stretching mountains of elevated land, extending right inland, without one's seeing before or afterwards any other high land besides along the sea-shore.

CHAPTER 18.

Deroute or the course of navigation from Malacca to Goa, with all the extent and situation thereof declared at large.

In the course to the island of Seylon you shall sail under $7\frac{1}{3}$ and 7 degrees, with which course you shall come to the island of Seylon, to a place named Matecalou, which is to luffward of the shoals; here one has no ground but within 2 miles of the land. You must also be warned that from the middle of the gulf to the island of Seylon the currents and streams (in this season or *mouson*) run out to seaward; likewise the compass ever deviates more towards the north west, to which you shall always have good regard. And coming to the island of Seylon, on getting sight of it, you must not lose it again, always keeping bottom, to wit, from under 30 fathoms (looking well to yourself and guarding against the shoals, which are bad and perilous, the outermost thereof being of stone and rocks, the length of a galley, without having any more but what one sees). Running into the depth of 14 and 16 fathoms, at halfway or midway from

21. Perhaps the Virgil-ganga.

22. This river is, of course, the Mahaweli-ganga; but it certainly does not take its rise at Sitáwaka. The statement shows how ignorant the Portuguese were of the interior of Ceylon.

23. The Eng. trans., in place of these four words, has "the other to it."

there and the land you will find the aforesaid depths and another shoal that remains behind you, which is the first, and one can see nothing but that the sea breaks thereon; they say that with small ships one can pass between it and the land, being 4 fathoms in depth, notwithstanding it is better to keep to seaward thereof. From here to the land is a mile distant; you may approach it up to 16 and 18 fathoms, and if by chance you find yourself here at night, it will be needful to sail with the foresail only, to wit, when one has sight of unknown land, not passing under 18 fathoms towards the land, nor above 30 fathoms to seaward.

From this shoal onwards one must run along the coast, in depths of 15, 16, and 20, 25, 30 fathoms, but in such manner that you do not lose bottom; because you may have calms, so that, losing bottom, the currents and streams might drive you to the island of Maldiva, wherefore it is needful to have a good lookout until one comes to Negumbo (which is in the island of Seylon), from whence it is good to run right across to the main land. On coming to Negumbo you shall not put off from the land, except from 15th February onwards: because from that time forward the currents and streams begin again to run inwards; and it being from 15th February onward you may sail away from the land (to wit, from the islet of Verberijn,²⁴ which lies close by the coast of Seylon, as far as the fortress of the Portuguese called Columbo)²⁵, as you shall best have opportunity, so that it may not befall you as it has happened with many ships, which through heedlessness have been driven to the islands of Maldiva.

From this last shoal to Tanadare and as far as the cape named *A Punta de Galle*, to wit, along the coast and seashore, the land is everywhere almost alike and equally high, and right opposite the aforesaid shoal one sees inland three high mountains. From here as far as Tanadare one has sandy shores; you may throughout run along the land without fear, as far as in sight of Tanadare, which is very well recognized, and let it not deceive you: because coming to it from without

24. Bérúwala.

25. In the orig. the parenthesis mark is placed after "Seylon," but the sense seems to require it to be here.

it looks like the *Punta de Galle*. The signs and right indication thereof are as follows : to wit, it has a prominent point of narrow land, forming the fashion of a tongue, with a reef of stone projecting therefrom seaward, the length of a good stone wharf ; this point of land or projecting tongue is full of Indian palm-trees, which present themselves very beautiful and charming to the view,²⁶ and a mile or two before one comes thereto this cape or point of land has the appearance of a tongue, to wit, outside the palm-trees towards the sea : but the grove of palm-trees in itself is thick and beautiful in appearance ; and before one comes to Tanadare one has two or three sandy bays, whereof there is no need to make mention.

So when you come opposite to this grove of palm-trees, you will see in the middle of it a white *pagode* (that is, an Indian idol temple or idol) ;²⁷ from this *pagode* to the north side you will see some butts or dunes of white and red earth, which are good landmarks and the right indication of this region ; you must not come too close to the land, because there is a small shoal projecting somewhat to seaward, but only a little ; when you discover these aforesaid butts you shall sail into 18 and 20 fathoms depth : because if the wind begins to drop, and the bottom to become deeper, you shall cast anchor ; because if you neglected that, you would soon be off the ground, because the currents and streams run very strongly to seaward.

From Tanadare to Belliguao is about 6 miles : this place Belliguao is a very large bay, and on the south side of it are seen some big butts or mounds of red earth,²⁸ to wit, inside in the bay : because one cannot see them except when one has completely discovered the bay ; and on the north side it has two little islets close to the land, from which islets a small shoal projects : but it is from the south side towards the land.

26. The " Indian palm-trees " are, of course coconut trees, which grow densely on Dondra Head.

27. It is curious that the writer gives both meanings of the word (see *Jobson-Jobson* s.v. ' Pagoda ').

28. An old name for Weligama Bay was " Red Bay," from the red cliffs seen from seaward.

From Belliguao to Gallee is 5 miles : this course from Belliguao to Gallee is altogether along the seashore full of palm-trees, and between both lies an Islet (close to the land) of rocks.²⁹

So when you come near to Gallee you will come to see a high flat land full of woods, and a level wilderness, and on the north side of the bay it has a large grove of palm-trees ; and if it were needful for you to anchor in the bay, you might well sail in up to 15 and 14 fathoms depth ; but he that wishes to follow his course has no object in running in.

From Tanadare to this harbour of Gallee (which is 12 miles) one sails from the one to the other north-west and south-east and has somewhat of north-west by west and south-east by east. You must be warned not to make this course along this coast to Guallee without bottom.

From Guallee to the point named Belitote³⁰ is five or six miles, which point has a thick grove of palm-trees (and right opposite there about half a mile away it has a large rock), and between both lie many rocks along the land³¹. Near this point of Guallee lie two shoals on which water breaks : one lies before one comes to the point, which projects $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to seaward, and the other right opposite to the bay, projecting a little mile to seaward on the north side ; and against these you must principally guard yourself³². One may well sail past here in the night, having conveniently 20 fathoms depth, so there is nothing to fear. On this shoal³³ the sea breaks sometimes very gently, to wit, when it is high tide.

All along from here one may take his course to Columbo, just as the coast extends, and from the island of Verberijn onward the bottom is shelvier or shallower.

On coming close to Columbo, to wit, at 3 or 4 miles towards near Negumbo,³⁴ one may everywhere anchor in 8 or

29. I do not know what islet is referred to.

30. Welitota.

31. The Eng. trans. has " many stonie cliffes : along the shore, by the point of Guallee, are two sandes."

32. The first " shoal " is probably the Outer Kadda Rocks, and the other, one of the numerous rocks with which Galle Harbour abounds.

33. The Eng. trans. has " same," a misprint, apparently, for " sande"

34. This is expressed rather oddly, and I am uncertain of the writer's exact meaning.

9 fathoms : but near Columbo you must not do it, unless it were of great necessity, then you might anchor within 18 fathoms of the land. One has there stony bottom, and the same is the case also above 25 fathoms to seaward, and that in most places. You must everywhere be on your guard when you cast anchor to prove that first with the lead : the bottom of this region is in some places small and in other coarse sand, which is the safest ; there is also occasionally red sand ; likewise patches of white and black sand. These are the signs of the bottoms along this coast, on all of which bottoms one may anchor.

The proper marks and indication of Columbo (which is where the Portuguese have their fortress) are these : to wit, when one is in the harbour, the so-called *Pico* of Adam (which is a high peak, the highest of all the surrounding region) will be in the east. Making your course towards the harbour of this fortress, you will gradually come to lose all the mountains and hills, and begin to come near thin³⁵ or flat low land, which is a sign of the harbour and a very good indication.

The winds that one will find here mostly at this season or *monsoon* will be north-north-east, north-east and sometimes east-west-east and also east winds. The *viraçoins* (that is, the winds that blow from the sea) are often in the north and north-west. I make this explanation, in order that no one may be surprised at finding such there. In like manner one finds there also even west-north-west, west and west-south-west winds, according to the conjunction of the season when one comes to that coast. These winds, which are called *viraçoins*, which generally blow from out of the west through the whole of India, to wit, the time that one spends at sea (which is in the summer from the afternoon to midnight), come from the sea to the land, wherefore they are named by the Portuguese *viraçoins*³⁶, that is to say, winds from the sea. But from midnight on to midday the winds generally blow from out of the east, which come from across the land

35. That is, thinly wooded.

36. Port. *viraçoes*, plural of *viração*, breeze (from *virar*, to turn, to bear).

to the sea, called by the Portuguese *terreinhos*³⁷, that is to say, winds from across the land to the sea: as we have explained more fully touching all this in my *Itinerario* and description of India³⁸; it is only related here so that it may appear strange to no one, the manner of the description of it, and the blowing of the winds along all this coast. When you wish to set sail by night with the *terreinhos* (or land-winds), if they are not north-east you must not set sail but from midnight onwards; and if they do not veer³⁹ (blowing seaward) you must not put off too far from the land, because it would be difficult for you to sail far to seaward, in order afterwards to come again to the land, because the *viraçóins* or sea-winds from the north and north-west often come slowly and feebly.

CHAPTER 19.

Description of all the Harbours, Places, Coasts and Shoals on the east and south sides of the Island of Seylon with their altitudes, courses, extent and the situation thereof, with the navigation all along there, as far as the fortress of Columbo, where the Portuguese have their residence.

In the first place, beginning from Trinquanamale, which lies under the altitude of 9 degrees, to wit on the east side of the island of Seylon: 8 miles south from here lies a small river⁴⁰, and before one comes to this river, coming from Triquanamale, there are some islands⁴¹ (which are whitish from bird's dung). At the mouth of this aforesaid river also lie two little islets⁴², which are full of trees. From Triquanamale to this river the course is north and south and north by east and south by west. Running along the coast to this river, you must leave the aforesaid islands on the land side, going outside of them: because between them and the land

37. Port. *terrenho*, earthen, land (adj.): hence land-wind, *vento* being understood. (See *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. 'Landwind')

38. See Hak. Soc. ed. of Linsch. i. 234.

39. The Eng. trans. has "if they be not full."

40. See note 21 *supra*.

41. I cannot identify these.

42. I cannot identify these.

are many stones, and rocks. This river and Trinquanamale lie about 8 or 9 miles the one from the other, as before (said)⁴³

From the aforesaid river (with the islands at the mouth or entrance) to the river of Mataqualou⁴⁴ is 12 miles, and it lies under the altitude of $7\frac{1}{3}$ degrees ; the course from the one to the other is north-west and south-east. This river being passed, coming between the islands and into⁴⁵ the mouth, you may approach the land as near as you will : because it is everywhere good and clear. At a pederero ⁴⁶ shot from the land one runs into 20 fathoms depth.

From Matecalou to about 5 or 6 miles away, the course is north and south as far as a point or cape. From this point other 5 or 6 miles onward one runs along the coast north and south and north by east and south by west. Somewhat further on towards the first shoals, as far as about 5 or 6 miles to the north, stands a grove of palm-trees ;⁴⁷ on coming opposite thereto one runs along this coast north-north-east and south-south-west and somewhat north by east and south by west. From this five miles towards the first shoal the course is north-east and south-west and north-east by east and south-west by west. Before one comes within 4 or 5 miles of this shoal you will see some hills and heights of red earth, to wit, along the sea-coast near the shore, and inland are visible some high mountains, and the most northerly of all of these mountains has a hillock projecting above, which appears to be a blockhouse⁴⁸, and is of red earth. One may sail through between this first shoal and the land in 7 and 8 fathoms depth, to wit, as far from the shoal as from the land : because from there to the land is a mile away ; and in sailing around outside to seaward you will find everywhere sandy bottom. This aforesaid shoal lies under the altitude of 6 degrees.

43. The Eng. trans. has, instead of these last words, " at the furthest."

44. There was no " river of Mataqualou," as Spilbergen discovered (see *supra*, B1, note 8).

45. This word appears to have got in by a printer's error.

46. Orig. "*guetelingh*." The Eng. trans. has " a great shotte."

47. Cf. *supra*, B1, note 10.

48. Perhaps, Westminster Abbey is meant. The maps in the Spilbergen journal gives a mountain that seems to be intended for this, with a " blochuis " near the foot.

About 6 or 7 miles south of this shoal there is yet another shoal, and from the one to the other one runs along the coast east-north-east and west-north-west. This second shoal lies under the altitude of scarce 6 degrees, between which and the mainland there are 12 to 13 fathoms depth, all clear bottom.

From this last shoal to a bay named Ajalla⁴⁹ one runs along the coast east and west and east by north and west by south.

Four or 5 miles further on from this bay of Ajalla lies another bay, named Ilulpulam⁵⁰, from whence to Tanadare may be 7 miles.

Tanadare is a point of land, on which stands a grove of palm-trees, and when one comes right opposite here one will come to see a white *pagode* (that is, an Indian idol temple); and on the north side of this pagode stand some butts or mounds of white and red earth. Sailing past here, you must not come very close to the land: because some shoals lie there. This point being passed, you straightway run into 20 fathoms depth: because everywhere it is good and clear bottom, and if the wind failed you it is good anchoring there.

From Tanadare to Belliguon is about 6 miles. Belliguon is a very large bay, having on the south side some large hillocks of red earth, which stand inside in the bay: because one cannot see them before and until one has wholly discovered the bay; and on the northside there are two islets lying close to the land; along these islets runs a reef or shoal from the south side thereof.

From Belliguon to Gualle is 5 miles. On this course from the one to the other the land is everywhere dense and full of palm-trees, to wit, right along the sea-coast. About half way, from Belliguon to Gualle lies a rocky islet close to the land, and yet another on the south side of Gualle; in sailing towards it, you will see a high flat land, full of trees, and of a level wilderness; and on the north side of the bay there stands a large grove of palm-trees, on the edge of the sea; and inside the harbour you will see a white house, which is a churchlet

49. Cf. *supra*, B1, note 141.

50. Cf. *supra*, B1, note 141.

of our dear Lady..⁵¹ Sailing from Belliguon to Gualle (and coming opposite to this point) on the south side towards the bay, you shall take care to put to seaward, in order to avoid a shoal whereon one sees the water break; and in order to anchor, you must run to north and north-north-west, in such wise that you continually have open some rocks (which stand on the north side), and inwards of the bay you shall see the grove of the palm-trees, the which will be on the south side of you towards Belliguon, which is hidden from you by the point, you will there find 14 or 15 fathoms depth, and running as far as 13 fathoms, and finding sandy bottom, you shall anchor: because to seaward is everywhere rock. .

From Tanadare to this harbour of Gualle (which is 12 miles) one runs from one to the other north-west and south-east and north-west by west and south east by east. This harbour of Gualle lies in $5\frac{1}{3}$ degrees.

Following the coast around from Gualle sailing towards the fortress of the Portuguese (named, Columbo).⁵² This course and navigation we have sufficiently set forth in detail in the Navigation of Malacca to India, wherefore it is not necessary to relate it again.

51. The Eng. trans. has "a small chappell of the Virgin Marie."

52. The sentence stands thus in the orig.

THE BATTICALOA AND PĀNAWA TERRITORIES : AS DESCRIBED BY GOVERNOR RĲKLOF VAN GOENS IN OCTOBER, 1675.¹

Going somewhat further², we come now to the jurisdiction of the territories of Batticalo, that have their beginning in the north, with the aforesaid river of Nateoer³, or the inlet of Venlo's Bay⁴, and ending in the south with the gravet of Samgam Candi⁵, making along the seaboard at the very least a distance of 16 German miles⁶, or for an ordinary pedestriaan 24 hours' journey, and to landward, where this territory ends at the confines of the Weddas, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 hours' journey, and used of old to be ruled by special *bandares*, descended from the aforesaid three-breasted woman and the Tanasserysh prince⁷; but afterwards, owing to mutual disagreements and wars, conquered by the Malabaarish and Jaffanapatnamish Kings, derived from the same stock, as has been already herebefore in some measure related, and who still held sovereign rule about the year 1500, before the arrival of the Portuguese, in such wise that the Candian King never after that had

1. I translate this from the description of Ceylon, &c. written by RĲklof van Goens the elder, on vacating the governorship of Ceylon, for presentation to the Governor-General and Council at Batavia, and dated at that place 24th September, 1675. This extremely valuable document, the original of which has unhappily disappeared, was printed (in an abbreviated form unfortunately) by Valentyn in his *Ceylon* 204-46, and the passage here translated occurs on pp. 222-6.

2. The writer has been describing the district of Tambancarrewarre (Tamankadawara now Kōralai Pattu), and is now going southward.

3. The Nāttūr river is a branch of the Maduru-oya, which disembogues at Vālaichchénai. In the map of Ceylon in the *History of Ceylon* by "Philalethes" the point north of "Natoor River" is called "Point Oude Grens" the last two words meaning in Dutch "old limit."

4. This bay was named either from the town of Venlo (in Limburg), or, more probably, from a ship bearing that name, which, may be, was the first to visit it after the Dutch obtained a footing on Ceylon, (Cf. *C. Lit. Reg.* ii. 351, *C. A. S.* JI. xvii. 318). On English maps the name appears in all kinds of erroneous forms, such as Vendeloos, Vandeloos, Vānderloos, &c.

5. Sengamāmkanda, a little north of Kōmariya.

6. By the present coast road the distance is about 80 miles.

7. In the earlier part of his report van Goens gives the legendary origin of the Sinhalese, falling into the same error as that committed by Couto (V. i. v.) in making Vijaya come from Tenasserim. The "three-breasted woman" is Kuvēni (see *Rājāwaliya* 18).

complete rule over them, but had to content himself yearly with some presents of wax, honey and other trifles⁸.

The Portuguese also were never able to obtain further jurisdiction than over the islet of Poelian⁹, where they used to levy some tolls and dues from the foreign vessels¹¹, without daring to come inland, except with a large force, where-with however they never accomplished anything, except to despoil the country to their own hurt, and to lose a portion of their men, so that, on our arrival in these territories, they were not further occupied than a narrow strip of land, stretching from the islet of Poelian to the fisher's village named Cattencoedereripo, situated 3 hour's journey from there on the seashore¹²; and subsequently, when we handed over Batticalo to the King of Candi, we had before us a very dismal example, namely, that the King caused all these poor men to be carried off pitiably, and caused them for the most part to be put to death¹³. And since all the inhabitants of Batticalo (both in customs, religion, origin and other characteristics,) together with those of Jaffnapatnam, Cotjaar, and on westward right over to Calpentyn and the northern portion of the Mangul Corle inclusive, have been from the remotest times and are still now Malabaars, divided into their tribes, and very unwillingly mix with the Cingaleese, Weddas, or others outside their tribes, as also the others are not willing to do with these, they are up till now to be considered no otherwise than that they form with those of Jaffnapatnam, Cotjaar, &c. a people separate from the Cingaleese, and have up till now remained pretty well in their freedom; having accepted of their free will the Company's protection only in order to protect themselves against the cruelty of the King of Candi, wherefore it behoves us not to leave them in need or to delay if we do not wish to see them presently stand exposed to the

8. This statement, as to the semi-independence of the chiefs of the east coast territories, is corroborated by the writers of the accounts of the first visits of the Dutch to Ceylon, given above.

9. Puliyantivu (see note 36 *infra*).

11. I have no details of these levies.

12. Káttánkudiyiruppu, now a large Moorish village, on the coast, 3½ miles south by east of Puliyantivu (Batticaloa town).

13. See Baldaeus, *Ceylon* xxi. (xxii. of Eng. trans.), and the accompanying realistic but fanciful plate.

same cruelty; since otherwise we have to expect from this rich, populous and fertile territory yet many fruits both temporal and spiritual.

This whole territory is not only very fertile, but also everywhere flat, and mostly clayey soil, excepting the shores, which are sandy, but nevertheless also fertile, and which are all mostly planted with *clappus*¹⁴, *manggos*, *soorsaks*¹⁵, and other useful trees, and further full of beautiful arable lands, meadows, and forests, that are watered by various rivers, all of which discharge into a large inland lake, that is quite 12 German miles long¹⁶, and at its broadest 1 mile broad, and at its narrowest a musket shot wide, and wherein is so much fish, that, if matters were arranged therefore, one could transport from there yearly hundreds of lasts of salted fish, as commandeur de Graemme¹⁷, (in order not to send the Company's yachts and shallops, of 20 and 35 lasts, empty to Colombo, whence he likewise requisitioned his wants) often did.

Nowhere in Ceylon is there more game, both of beasts and of birds, in the forests than in these territories, and nowhere also do the inhabitants, both rich and poor, eat rice, but here and in the ¹⁸Corles in the west, situated right opposite thereto.

Cinnamon also grows here in super-abundance, and it was certainly exported from here yearly long before our occupation¹⁹.

Nowhere in Ceylon is there more pepper, ginger, cardamom and other aromatic products, as also nowhere but here

14. Coconut (Malay *kelapa*).

15. Jak (see *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. "Soursop" *b*, and Wolf's *Life and Adventures* 126 for a quaint derivation of the name).

16. The lake is between 30 and 40 miles long.

17. In a previous part of this document van Goens describes how this man, by a strange artifice, persuaded the Veddas to haul timber for him. A full plate depicts the incident.

18. This blank occurs in the original.

19. Tennent (ii. 34*n*.) quotes this statement (which he credits to Valentyn), and shows, on the authority of Dr. G. H. K. Thwaites, that cinnamon must once have grown extensively in the region round Batticaloa. See the statement of van Goens further on. I have found no reference to cinnamon in these parts in any of the Portuguese authorities.

is to be found in such super-abundance timber (although this is lacking nowhere in Ceylon); also nowhere are robuster and brave men, and in greater number, than here, so that they are in a position to repel all foreigners and inland enemies, being covered in the rear by the wild Weddas, so as not to be surprised by the highlanders, who could not approach them but from the direction of Panoa.

Thus one has everything that is distributed here and there over the whole of Ceylon here brought together briefly and concisely, whereby the Company will enjoy great profit herefrom, if we only remain 20 years free from European enemies²⁰.

The territories of Batticalo, which were also indeed named Mattacalappa²¹, are divided [into] various provinces, or small shires, and they were of old under three chiefs, either as *bandares*, who were appointed *dessaves* or Governors, either sovereign, or dependent on a higher one, or otherwise, and they are now still divided into three dessaveships, which we have now reduced to one (preserving, however the old division in names), namely Calare, Sjampanture, and Acrepatte²². The dessaveship of Calare is the principal and largest and has in it 4 provinces, named Mamone, Porredive, Errewielle, and Eraure²³.

Mamone consists of 11, Errewielle of 7, Porredive of 4, and Eraure of 5 large well peopled villages, besides many small hamlets, scattered in the rice-fields, and which with all their inhabitants are accurately described.

Especially noteworthy are the villages of Mamone, and still more so the chief village of Sjampanture, that is reckoned

20. The English and French had both made attempts (which had been frustrated by van Goens) to obtain a footing on Ceylon (see my *Captain Robert Knox* 13-14 and 25n. 11).

21. Sinh. Maḍakalapuwa, said to be from *mada*, mud, and *kala-puwa*, backwater; but the latter word seems to be undoubtedly of Tamil origin. H. Nevill (*Taprobanian* v. 141) thinks the first word should be *matti* (Sinh.), *mattai* (Tam), 'cockle.'

22. Kallaru, Chammanthurai, and Akkarai Pattu.

23. Manmunai, Porativu Éruvil, and Eravur. In a map of Ceylon published by Joannes van Keulen about 1740, and said to have been drawn by order of Rijklof van Goens, the first two and the last provinces are named, but not Eruvil. The same is the case with a map of "The East Coast of Ceylon," published also by J. van Keulen about 1740.

to be quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours' journey in length, ²⁴ being situated on a fine river, at the passage where the *tsjanpans* arrive from the sea by the great backwater; and since the little word *ture* in Malabaars signifies a harbour, ferry, or place of arrival, it appears therefore to have obtained thence the name of Sjampanture²⁵, which kind of harbour, where the *tsjampans* arrive, is also found in the little district of Cotjaar²⁶.

And as I have myself travelled through this territory, I shall now describe it somewhat more particularly²⁷.

24. The village of Sammanturai consists at present of a small Tamil and a large Moorish division. In the map of Ceylon referred to in the previous note "Chiampanature" and "Motecaleppe" are shown adjoining each other, and in van Keulen's map of the east coast we find the same two names affixed to a huge enclosure, divided into two, and described as "Groote markt of handelplats" (great market or trading-place), outside of which is a small fort with the Dutch flag. This proves beyond a doubt that the town of "Matecalo" referred to by the first Dutch visitors to Ceylon was identical with Sammanturai, which was the residence of the "King of Matecalo" (see Spilbergen, Bree, and Rjcks).

25. Mr Henry Parker writes to me:—"I am sorry that I cannot tell you much about Sammanturei (Sampanturai). The Sinhalese call it Hambantota, and the local tradition is that the water of the Batticaloa lake once extended up to the village. Since that time that end of the lake has silted up, a process still going on. The village is now some miles from the lake. It was certainly an ancient site, and there must have been a wihara near it in olden times. I saw some carved stones at the village which were said to have been removed from a site not far off. Two of these were the usual balustrades, with the *ali-honda* or elephant's trunk proceeding out of the mouth of a *makaran*. Another which I sketched is a triple-headed cobra in relief on an arched slab, which must have stood as a door guardian, at the end of the balustrade. There is also a pillar with fan, &c. and I think a dog and a crow engraved on it, but no inscription. You will find some particulars of Sammanturei in the 'Taprobanian,' vol. v, pp. 141-4." The article by Mr. Nevill is interesting, though not free from error, and shows the importance of the place in early times. That Sammanturai stood on the shore of the lake in the 17th century is proved by the statement of the Danish admiral Ove Giedde in his diary that in August, 1620, on returning from his embassy to Kandy, he obtained a "kanou" at "Siambandure," in which he proceeded to "Palligamme."

26. The reference seems to be to the village of Sammanturai in the Kottiyar Pattu of the Trincomalee district.

27. In his memorial of 26th December, 1663, handed to his successor Jacob Hustaert on vacating the governorship of Ceylon the first time, van Goens said of the territories extending from the Walaweganga to Trincomalee: "This territory I have never been able to travel through, it being wholly inhabited by the emperor's people; moreover a barren and dry land," &c. A better acquaintance with the region in question had shown him that he was entirely mistaken, so far as the northern portion was concerned.

The northernmost province Eraure borders on Tambancarrewarre, reaching to the bank of the river Nateoer, or to the inlet of Venlo's Bay, the border of the bank or west side of that backwater also belonging to this province from, Chittady Coedi Eripo²⁸ northward to the salt lake of Cockewille Polle²⁹ inclusive, so that Tambancarrewarre lies wedged between Cotjaar and Eraure; and this lake of Cockewille Polle and the great river of Mawielleganga lie scarcely 2 German miles from one another in a moorland and very marshy country, that could with little difficulty be dug through by the inhabitants, when one could sail through from the south from Accrepatte³⁰ as far as into the outer bay of Tricoenmale, and convey the timber, found in abundance in the territories of Batticalo, by this backwater right to the carpenter's shed. In this province is also found a very extensive cinnamon forest³¹, stretching in landwards, running through Welasse, and to all appearance as far as the west side in the Seven Corles, which here lie right opposite to and confine with each other³². This great forest is also full of fine timber, so that this province, on account both of its good situation and of its value, may certainly be placed amongst the best territories of Ceylon.

28. Sittandikuḍiyiruppu, near the Nattur lake, in Érávúr Pattu.

29. I cannot with certainty identify this "salt lake." J van Keulen's map of Ceylon of *circa*, 1740 shows "Koekevillepolle" as a village on the northern arm of a backwater entered by Venloos Bay, between "Tanmaquod" and "Tamboncarrewarre," but in Valentyn's map "'t Lak Cockewille Polle" is shown as a large inlet of the sea between "Cotjaar," and "Tambancarrewarre." Perhaps Kankuvélíkulum in Koṭṭiyār Pattu is meant, "Polle" representing *palli* village.

30. The text in Valentyn has "Accepta."

31. Cf. note 19 *supra*. In a map of Venloos Bay, published by J. van Keulen about 1740, but drawn probably a good deal earlier, on the tract of land south of the bay is the notification "Hier wast wilde Caneel" (Here grows wild cinnamon).

32. Of course the Seven Korales do not confine with Wellassa, nor is it possible that the cinnamon jungle spoken of extended to anything like the distance supposed by the writer.

Next to this follow in order southwards Mamone³³, Porredive, and Errewille³⁴, which form the dessaveship of Calare³⁵.

These last three provinces occupy along the sea and along that backwater a distance at the least of 12 hours, and landwards 6 to 7 hours' journey as far as the wild forests of the Weddas, being all very fine and mostly fertile arable land, and further full of fruit-trees and timber, as also full of men, villages, and hamlets, from which one can very easily judge of the importance of the same.

The islet of Poelian³⁶ belongs with the adjacent island³⁷ to Mamone, lies about a cannon shot from the river inward, whereof the old Portuguese fortlet³⁸ has now been again entirely renewed with a small outwork,³⁹ and is also quite sufficient for the Company's convenience there, being very

33. Misprinted "Mancone."

34. See note 23 *supra*. Valentyn's map shows "Eraure," "Porredive" and "Errewille" as forming the dessaveship of "Calare," and "Mamone" by itself to the south of "Errewille." The positions of the provinces are very incorrect.

35. Misprinted "Elare."

36. Puliyantivu (see Introd. note 36 and note 38 *infra*). H. Nevill (*Taprobanian* v. 141) spells the name with an ordinary *l*, and derives the name from a certain Puliyan. He also says, not quite correctly:—"The silting up and elevation of the lagoon, having caused ships to anchor far north, near Puliyantivu, Puliyantivu has acquired the old port's name of Mattakalapu or Batticaloa, amongst European and native sailors, but not amongst people of the province."

37. Buffalo Island.

38. This "fortlet" was built in 1627 by Constantino de Sá, according to his son in his *Rebellion de Ceylon* xi (see C. A. S. JI. xi. 566-7, where, however, the translation is faulty). But in the *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* compiled in 1646 by Pedro Barretto de Ressende (B. M. Sloane Ms. 197), it is stated that this was built by Damiam Botado in 1628 during the captain-generalship of Constantino de Sá. (This is confirmed by Baldaeus, who tells us that Botado was a mixty—*cf.* pp. 44c and 44g of his *Ceylon*). The Ressende MS. contains a coloured plan of the fort, which corresponds pretty exactly with the plan given by Baldaeus (*Ceylon* 55), except that in the latter the position is reversed. The Ressende MS. gives a detailed description of the fort, its ordnance, garrison, &c., and Baldaeus gives a brief description in chap. xxii. of Eng. trans). Ribeiro also, in his *Fatalidade Historica* I. xii., has a short account of the fort.

39. Valentyn, at p. 32 of his *Ceylon*, gives a plan of Batticalo fort by "T. C. Worzee, Ingenieur," dated, 4th July, 1698, which shows the alterations made at that period, a fourth bastion having taken the place of the old Portuguese *couraça*. The description of the fort given on p. 32 is taken (without acknowledgment) from Baldaeus, and does not correspond with the plate.

easily capable of being defended in time of peace by 25 men ; but the air here is heavy, and very unwholesome, owing to the adjacent pools and marshes ; the drinking water and fuel also have to be brought from outside⁴⁰, which is very inconvenient for the capital of a province of such importance, wherefore, having looked out for a healthier and better place, one has found best the point of Soratjan Candave⁴¹, close to the shore, near a little inlet, in the middle of the territory, close by an ever outflowing fresh river⁴², and supplied within with very fine fresh water, as also of a high ground, and free, wholesome air, as good as anywhere else in Ceylon, the very finest villages standing around it on the land side⁴³, as it is also so convenient to the sea, that one can very easily lie there (without any surf) with large and small vessels, and step out dryfooted on to a jetty ; and what in addition results very fortunately is, that the ships could lie here the whole south season right under the weather shore with a bad sea, scarcely a musket shot from the shore, as well as before the fort of Jaffnapatnam⁴⁴.

Here dwell the most people, and all building materials, such as stone, lime, firewood, and everything else, are here in abundance at the shore, and hereby also the whole strip of

40. Baldaeus (*u. s.*) states that it was the seizure of the water supply by the Dutch that forced the Portuguese garrison to capitulate.

41. What this name represents, it is not easy to tell. But of its situation there is little doubt. Valentyn enters it in his map ; but the latter teems with errors, and no reliance can be placed in it. Curiously enough, H. van Keulen's map of Ceylon of *circa* 1740 does not contain the name ; but his map of the east coast of Ceylon has "Sorotjancondave" at a point forming a bay to the north in $7^{\circ} 10\frac{1}{2}'$ N. This latitude is incorrect, however, for the place lies between "Lansimaradarey" (Saintamarutu) and "Panicoewetavi" (Panichchavattaván) : so that it must be located in the vicinity of Karativu, which lies in about $7^{\circ} 20\frac{1}{3}'$ N. This location corresponds with the details given by the writer and the distance mentioned by him further on (see note 50). In Nicolaus Visscher's map of Ceylon (? 1680-1725) is the entry, south of "Chanchimadre" (Saintamorutu), "Sorotjan Codowe. een Kleyen Baaytje om te landen" (S. C., a little bay for landing).

42. A branch of the Gal-oya flows into a small backwater near Karativu.

43. Among them Sammanturai, to which a road leads direct from Karativu.

44. What amount of truth there is in these sanguine statements, I am unable to say.

land on the east side of the backwater or lake is protected, and cut off from the mainland⁴⁵.

What kind of fortifications could be built there, can be seen in the accompanying map⁴⁶, which in time could be completed without any appreciable expense owing to the abundance of requisites.

Bricks can also here be baked in abundance, which is already carried on by the potters; and in conformity with the division of the sea-shore⁴⁷ a hardy walker should be able to go in one day from here to the river of Coeboucan-oye⁴⁸, where our Gale lascaryns, it being the end of the Gale jurisdiction, always keep watch; whence an ordinary walker can easily get in three days to Mature, and in four days reach Gale, as also now already letters are brought through from watch to watch divided into six hours' journey.

Most of our men are now always garrisoned at Cinnecalatte⁴⁹, 2 miles north of Souratjan Condava⁵⁰, who after the effectuation of the new chief residency would in no wise be

45. At that period the Batticaloa lake extended as far south as Sammanturai (see note 25 supra).

46. Whether this map is still extant, or, like van Goen's original memorial, has perished, I cannot say.

47. That is, the division made by the Dutch for its defence.

48. The Kumbukkan-arū, or Kumbukgam-oya, which forms the boundary between the Eastern and Southern Provinces. The distance from Karativu by the present coast road is $68\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

49. J. van Keulen's map of Ceylon has "Cinneklattedelle" located erroneously, the compiler having misunderstood the name as representing the village of Kallodi, half-a-mile south-east-by-south of Puliyantivu, and placing it accordingly. (In consequence of this error other places have been wrongly located.) In his map of the east coast of Ceylon, however, van Keulen shows "Chinnecalette" much further south, on a little island in the Batticaloa lake, close to the sea, with a fort flying the Dutch flag, south of it being "Periecalette." It is evident that by this last name is meant Periyakallaru, and that the former name represents Chinnakallāru, now Kōttaikkallāru, so called from the fort mentioned. Another small map of van Keulen's shows the fort of "Ciri Calattedelle" (Sinnakallarruveli?) right on the sea-shore, and to the south a little bay with the curious name "Sioetanterloedan" from which is drawn a line due east and west to the Friar's Hood, which is shown in the background. Sailing directions from coming into "Civi Calatte delle" are appended.

50. According to the scales on van Keulen's maps, 2 German miles = about $2\frac{3}{4}$ English or French leagues; so that "Souratjan Condava" should be about 8 miles south of Kōttaikkallaru. Karativu is 9 miles from the latter place. (Cf. note 40 supra).

needed there, but could be placed in this new fortification⁵¹.

The second dessaveship consists of the provinces of Sjampanture and Carrewauwe⁵², the latter being situated on the sea, and all mostly arable lands and fruit-trees, forming thus a fine open country; but Sjampanture extends quite 8 to 9 miles inland, full of arable lands, great forests, and flowing rivers, everywhere studded with large and small habitations of men.

Next to these two follows the province of Accrepatte, or the third dessaveship, having its beginning with the river of Singanpoedi⁵³ in the north, as far as the gravet of Sangamcandi in the south, being the limit of the Batticaloa territories, and the entrance to the territories of Paneme, otherwise called Panoa by the Cingaleese⁵⁴.

This is likewise, not less than Sjampanture, a very large and rich province, extending far inland as far as the gravets of Welasse and the territories of the Weddas, very full of men, and such fine forests, arable lands, villages and hamlets, that one cannot look at it without wonder; so that this last Batticalo dessaveship may well be esteemed as the first.

Here also stands the *pagode* of Tricoen entered in the map as Tricoyl, this Tricoen being a certain Malabaarish idol, who is invoked for success at sea, and in agriculture, as Tricoyl signifies no other than "Tricoen's temple," and Tricoen-male "Tricoen's mount."⁵⁵

The inhabitants are all Malabaars, just like those of Jaffanapatnam and Cotjaar; but are said to be somewhat

51. For some reason unknown to me van Goens's proposed transfer of the Dutch garrison and seat of government of the east coast territories from "Baticalo" to "Soratjan Condava" did not take effect. I have found no other allusion to the subject.

52. Karaiváku Pattu. Neither of van Keulen's maps referred to above has this name. The maps of Nicolaus Visscher and others have "Carrewarre" as a town or village on the coast north of "Chanchi-madre" (Saintawarutu), and Valentyn's map (copied by Isaac Tirion) has the same place as "Carrewauwe."

53. The Sangapada or Sengalpadai-arú, a branch of the Gal-oya.

54. Pánama or Pánawa.

55. All this is, of course, very incorrect. Tirukkivil means simply "Sacred temple" (though it might mean "temple of Tiru," the goddess of prosperity), and it is dedicated to Skanda, the god of war (cf. what the Spilbergen diarist relates, *supra*). Trincomalee is a corruption of Tirukonathamalai, "hill of the sacred Konatha."

more ill-natured, and knavish owing to their intercourse with the Cingaleese, Moors, and others : because thus far did the dominion of the old Malabaarish rajas extend, and so along the high mountain range and the territories of the Weddas right over to Putelam and the middle of Calpentyn or Navecar⁵⁶, it being further expanded to the southward under their control along the sea-coast on the west side as far as Nigombo, and on the east side as far as Paneme and the river of Coeboucan Oye, when even now ordinarily nothing but Malabaarish is spoken (although they also understand Cingaleese) ; and because the Cingaleese language from here southwards does not begin before one crosses the river Coeboucan Oye in the east and comes into the Mangul Corle⁵⁷ on the west, and the territories of Panoa seem to belong most properly to the Malabaarish division, they have by your honors' confirmation been placed under the Batticalo *commandement*, because the territory and the people are entirely in unison with those of Accrepatte, are intermarried, and have one language and customs, although they used to be subject to a separate rule ; but now to their particular satisfaction taken, with those of the Batticalo territories, under the Company's protection.

The district of Panoa is found to differ markedly from the Batticalo territories, both in fertility and especially in men ; however, from the gravet of Sangamcondi to the large village of Arroockgamme⁵⁸ it is very fertile, and as full of men

56. Nawakkadu in the Akkrai Pattu of the Puttalam district, at the south-western end of the Puttalam lake (*cf. M. Lit. Reg.* iv. 157 n. §).

57. The Mangul (Magul) Kóralé (regarding which see Casie Chitty's *Gazatteer*) no longer exists as a separate division but is represented by the Magul Ótótà Kóralé and the Magul Medagandahé Kóralé East and West of the Vanni Hatpattu, Kurunegala district, N.W.P.

58. Potuwila is doubtless meant, which is a large Tamil and Sinhalese village just north of Aragam *Kalapuwa* and bay. This bay is entered in J. van Keulen's map of Ceylon as "de baey van Aoebgamme" with a village on the northern point. Casie Chitty's *Gazetteer* (as corrected by him for a new edition, never published) has :—"Arroockgam, a [*large and populous*] village of Panoa Pattoo, about 64 miles [*east*] south of Batticalo, situated on the bay of the same name, and encompassed on the land side by thick jungles, the resort of all sorts of game. It was once occupied by the Dutch Government as a military post, and had a small mud fort ; but [*now there is only a large store house, in which the paddy tithes collected in this part of the country are deposited*] is now deserted except by wood cutters, and a few, Singhalese Dhoneyes on their way home at the end of the south-west monsoon."

as in the case of the Batticalo territories ; but from Arrocgamme southwards the territory is more sparsely inhabited and cultivated.

Half-an-hour's journey south of Arrocgamme lies the harbour of Appretotte⁵⁹, where it is thought that a redoubt would come in very well, to secure our property and the inhabitants there, it being of a particularly good situation, in that the hookers can lie there in a rough sea so close to the shore, that one can go out of them by a plank. Moreover there is here nothing to fear as to coming in there during the whole of the south and north *moesson*, as one also can easily come here from the north the whole year through, and so also depart again to the north, which in the south season can be done with great difficulty more to the south or west, except here, because the land here begins to fall off more westerly.

If this place of arrival were only secured with a redoubt, the whole of Batticalo and Panoa would be protected, which therefore also ought to be made the sooner the better, as has several times been represented to your honors.

59. " Appretotte Bay " is to be found on maps of Ceylon and, Admiralty Charts down to quite recent times ; but there is a mystery about the name that I have not solved. In N. Visscher's map of Ceylon it does not appear ; but in J. van Keulen's map " Approeretotte " is shown as a village on the southern point of the bay of " Aoebgamme " (see previous note). There is also a large scale map of van Keulen's with the following title (translated) :—" Chart of the bay of Aproeretotte situated at the north-east angle of the district of Panoa or Paneme, in the island of Ceylon, under 6 degrees 45 min., but according to the saying of others under 6 degrees 55 min., 16 ordinary, that is, about 14 true German miles south of the entrance to the river of, Baticalo." This shows a bay, with an inner *Kalapuwa* into which fall several rivers or streams. At the northern point of the bay is a cliff, and the name " Aoebgamme." At the southern point of the bay is another cliff, and the name " Aproeretotte." On the north side of the *Kalapuwa* is a peaked hill, and on a point running into the *Kalapuwa* on the south is a rocky mound. Beside a stream that runs into the *Kalapuwa* at its western side is the name " Agasum or Agaus." (This last name is also found in fairly recent maps and charts, with the variant spellings " Aganis " and " Agais.") Taking all things into consideration, it seems almost certain that " Appretotte Bay " is Aragam Bay under another name. (Cf. Casie Chitty's statement, quoted in the previous note, as to the existence of a Dutch fort there). And I cannot help suspecting that " Appretotte " is a " ghost " name, evolved from the Tamil *appuratturei*, " beyond the ferry." " Agasum " appears as a village north of " Mandagale " in Gerard van Keulen's map of Ceylon (circa. 1720), and on Thomas Bowrey's map of the island drawn in 1681 is " Agaijun ; " but I do not find the name on other maps.

These territories of Panoa used also to have a *dessave* over them, and if he was one of their fellow-countrymen the Cingaleese Kings got on best ; as otherwise they used very readily and frequently to revolt, and to flee to the provinces of *Acurepatte*.

How far landward their limits are, has not yet been investigated ; but according to the report made to us, the Cingaleese within the uplands could reach them quickly ; so that it appears that to the south of *Aporetotte* they could not be freed inwardly so well as could the Batticalo territories by means of the *Weddas*, and therefore used now and then to be subjected to the inroads of the Cingaleese.

For many years now on the other hand one has found these Panoars, above others of these regions, very devoted to us, so that, to our great wonder, they are not only obedient to us, but also so faithful, that they, as well as those of the Batticalo territories, come to present themselves at their proper time to fulfil their obligations, also bringing our letters right over to Colombo. And as soon as any rumour comes from above, our people, both at *Mature* and at Batticalo, are at once warned and our protection sought by them. They also will not desist from asking, until we have placed there a redoubt with 18 to 20 of our men, which cannot be done entirely without expense to the hon. Company, but which will also conduce to great security of the lowlands, and serve as a southern frontier for the border of the seashores, round about the island, and for the Batticalo territories in particular.

THE THRONE OF THE KINGS OF KANDY.

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

When the Kandyan Provinces were subjugated by the the British and Srī Vikrama Rājasinha, last King of Kandy, was deposed in 1815 the golden throne was removed from Kandy to Colombo, and later to England where it now rests in Windsor Castle.

The throne and footstool are shown in Plate I and I am indebted to the authorities at Windsor Castle for permission to reproduce a photograph of the throne.

In another paper in this Journal¹ I have commented on the fact that very few pieces of old furniture in Ceylon possess an authentic history. One would have thought that an important chair such as the Kandyan throne would have proved an exception to this rule but I find that nothing has been placed on record regarding the origin and history of this chair and footstool. My earliest notes on the chair read as follows "The Origin of the Kandyan Throne appears to be unknown. I suggest that it was made either by Dutch or French prisoners in Kandy and was decorated by the Kandyans or that it was made by the Dutch in the Low-country and decorated by Low-country Sinhalese and presented to the King of Kandy. The chair belongs to the period 1690-1700 and is in the Baroque style of Louis Quatorze..... The elaborate carving, in which the acanthus ornament is abundantly used is Sinhalese." The throne is an interesting adaptation of a European design to conform with Eastern

1. J. Pearson.—"European chairs in Ceylon in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries." *Journ. C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXI pp. 77—101.

conceptions. The basic style is undoubtedly Louis XIV but the decorative *motif* is Eastern. The general design of the back and the arms is also Eastern. The French influence is not surprising as Dutch furniture craft at the end of the seventeenth century became profoundly influenced by French designs and ideas owing to the influx into Holland of Huguenot *ébénistes* who had been obliged to leave France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

After having made many fruitless inquiries into the origin of the Kandyan throne I appealed to Mr. Reimers, the Government Archivist, who was good enough to look up the Dutch records of the period 1690-1700, with the result that definite information on the subject has now come to light. In the Dutch Council Proceedings of October, 1692 reference is made to a number of articles collected from various quarters by Governor Thomas van Rhee (1692-1697) for the King of Kandy. Mr. Reimers' translation of the Proceedings is as follows "The question of sending the gifts lying in the warehouse here for the King of Kandy having been resumed, it was resolved to select such of them as may make up a regalia for His Majesty, as those noted below. It was also understood that by their being kept longer in the warehouse they would altogether lose their colours, depreciate and perish and finally be of no use whatever."

The following is a list of the gifts referred to—

- 1 throne with its accessories
- all the gilt leather (in the warehouse)
- 1 great mirror with gilt frame
- 2 chamber screens
- 3 carpets
- 1 clock
- 8 pieces of lace for cravats
- 45 pieces of white lace
- 1 piece of old lace
- 4 pieces of Surat cloth
- 4 pieces of Dutch material with gold and silver
flowers and stripes.
- 1000 assorted bells, etc., etc., etc.,

It would appear, then, that the throne was presented to King Vimala Dharma Sūriya II. (1687-1707) by Governor Thomas van Rhee, probably in the year 1693.

The actual origin of the throne is still in doubt but its Kandyan origin may be rejected quite definitely. It is probable that the chair was made either in Colombo by Sinhalese workmen under Dutch supervision or in one of the Dutch settlements in India. The decoration does not help us to decide this point as the carving might be either South Indian or Sinhalese.

As I have not examined the chair I quote from Pridham's description¹.

“The ancient throne of the Kandian sovereigns for the last century and a half, resembled an old arm-chair, such as is not unfrequently seen in England. It was about five feet high in the back, three in breadth, and two in depth, the frame was of wood, entirely covered with a thin gold sheeting (studded with precious stones), the exquisite taste and workmanship of which did not constitute the least of its beauties, and vied with the best modern specimens of the works of the goldsmith. The most prominent features in this curious relic were two golden lions or sphinxes, forming the arms of the throne or chair, of very uncouth appearance, but beautifully wrought, the heads of the animals being turned outwards in a peculiarly graceful manner. The eyes were formed of entire amethysts, each rather larger than a musket ball. Inside the back, near the top, was a large golden sun, from which the founder of the Kandian monarchy was supposed to have derived his origin. Beneath, about the centre of the chair, and in the midst of some sun-flowers, was an immense amethyst, about the size of a large walnut; on either side there was a figure of a female deity, supposed to be the wife of Vishnu or Buddha, in a sitting posture, of admirable design and workmanship; the whole encompassed by a moulding formed of bunches of cut crystal, set in gold; there

1. Charles Pridham—“An Historical Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon and its Dependencies” 1849, vol. II, p. 860.



THE KANDYAN THRONE AT WINDSOR CASTLE

was a space round the back (without the moulding) studded with three large amethysts on each side, and six more at the top. The seat inside the arms, and half way up the back, was lined with red velvet. The footstool was also very handsome, being ten inches in height, a foot broad, and two feet and a half long; the top was crimson silk, worked with gold; a moulding of cut crystal ran about the sides of it, beneath which, in front, were flowers, studded with fine amethysts and crystals. The throne behind was covered with finely wrought silver; at the top was a large embossed half moon, of silver, surmounting the stars, and below all was a bed of silver sun-flowers. The sceptre was a rod of iron, with a gold head, an extraordinary but just emblem of his government."

It will be seen from an examination of Plate I that acanthus foliage is abundantly used in the decorations of the chair. This acanthus ornament according to Coomaraswamy is "suggestive of European influence" (presumably introduced by the Portuguese or Dutch) but if the acanthus *motif*, so commonly used in Indian and Sinhalese art, is European it is probably of the Greek period and reached India many centuries ago along with other Greek influence. Coomaraswamy assumed that the chair is Kandyan, which it can hardly be if the evidence given in the present note is correct. Referring to the presence of a few turquoises in the chair he said they were "the only ones I have seen in Kandyan work."

It would be interesting to know how the chair came into the hands of Governor van Rhee or his predecessor in the first instance.

THREE CHOLA INVASIONS OF CEYLON NOT RECORDED IN THE MAHAVAMSA.

By S. PARANAVITANA

The Chola king Kulottuṅga III, who ascended the throne in 1178 A.D. claims, in his inscriptions, to have gained victories over the Sinhalese. Inscriptions dated in the 12th-29th years of his reign state that he “took Madurā and Īlam (Ceylon) and was pleased to take also the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya.” An inscription of his 21st year says that Kulottuṅga Chola III “placed his feet on the crown of the King of Īlam, *i.e.*, Ceylon.”¹

Kulottuṅga III appears to have pursued the successes gained by the armies of his predecessor Rājādhirāja II, in vanquishing Laṅkāpura, the general of Parākramabāhu, till the Sinhalese forces were compelled to abandon their conquests in the Pāṇḍya country. An inscription of his 9th year (1187 A.D.) states that ‘the Siṅgala soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the rolling sea.’² Not content with driving the Sinhalese invaders from the Tamil lands, Kulottuṅga, according to his inscriptional records, retaliated by invading Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* has no reference to an invasion of Ceylon by the Cholas during this period; but in the old Commentary (*sanne*) of the Sinhalese poem *Sasadāvata*, there is a statement which shows that Ceylon was thrice invaded by the Cholas sometime before the accession of Līlāvatī.

The *Sasadāvata* was composed during the time that Līlāvatī was being maintained on the throne by the general, Kitti. In the eleventh verse of that poem, the author,

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. III, pp. 205-206.

2. *Ibid.* p. 212.

singing the praises of Kitti, says that he was 'a lion in destroying the pride of the herd of elephants, the Cholas.'¹ The author of the *sanne* amplifies on this theme and gives the reasons to justify the above panegyric. He comments:—
 "By saying that (Kitti) was like a lion to the elephants who were the Tamils, the following is meant. The Chola forces which came on three occasions, twice from the seaport of Māvatu² as far as Anurādhapura and again from the seaport of Salāvat³, as far as Śrīpura, with the four classes of armaments and overran Ceylon like the disturbed ocean at the time of the destruction of the world, were conquered by the general Kīrtti, just as the sage Agasti drank, with his two hands, the waters of the four great oceans and like unto a king of the lions who rushes into the midst of a herd of rutting elephants and, tearing their foreheads, eats their brains. Thus were the Tamils conquered by him."⁴

The earliest mention of the victories of Kulottuṅga in Ceylon is contained in records of his twelfth year, *i.e.*, 1190 A.D. Līlāvati was placed on the throne by Kitti in 1197 A.D. and was allowed to reign only three years for after this

1. සහදප් සොළීගජමුළ දළදප් බුන් කෙසරවන්.

2. Mahātittha, the modern Māntai.

3. Chilaw.

4. දෙමළ නැමැති හසනි සමුහයන්ට කෙශර සිංහයෙකු වන්නෙහි කීමෙන් දෙවාරයක මාවටු තොරින් අනුරාධපුර නුවර දක්වාද නැවත සලාවන් තොරින් ශ්‍රී පුරය දක්වාද පුලය කාලයෙහි ක්ෂුණික සාගරය මැඩ දිවන්නාසේ තුන් වාරයෙක වතුරඬගිනී බල යුක්තව ආ සොළී සෙනාව සතර මහා සාගරයෙහි ජලසකකිය දෙහොතින් උකා ගෙන බී විශ්ලාපුවාව අගසනි සෘෂිහු මෙන්ද ත්‍රිමද ගලිත හසනි සමුහ මැද වැද කුෂාපීඨපාටනය කොට මුල කබල ගන්නා කෙශර සිංහයෙකු මෙන්ද මතු කියන ලද කිතීනි සෙනාධි නාථයෝ දෙමළ විජය කලිහසි යනු අනිප්‍රායයි. *Sasadāvata*, Colombo edition of 1925. p. 5. The translation given above is not quite literal.

Kitti lost his political ascendancy. Therefore, the three Chola invasions of Ceylon mentioned above must have occurred between 1190 and 1200 A.D. From 1187-1196, Nissamka Malla was occupying the Sinhalese throne; and that monarch, too, claims to have undertaken two expeditions to South India in which he, not only humbled the pride of the Pāṇḍya, but also received tribute from the Chola monarch¹ Nissamka Malla's boasts have not been taken seriously by students of Ceylon history; but the existence of one of his inscriptions at Rāmesvaram² shows that he, at least, crossed over to South India with warlike intentions. After Nissamka's death, there was confusion in the island and the Cholas must certainly have seized upon this opportunity to attack Ceylon. It seems that there was a state of chronic warfare between the Cholas and Sinhalese from the closing years of the reign of Parākramabāhu I. to the end of the Polonnaruva period, in which there were invasions and counter-invasions with varying fortune, till it was brought to a close with the destruction of the Sinhalese monarchy by Māgha and the overthrow of the Chola empire by the Pāṇḍyas.

General Kitti, in his third encounter with the Cholas, defeated them at a place called Śrīpura. This town is mentioned in a rock inscription of Nissamka Malla at Polonnaruva, where it is stated that an almshall was built at Śrīpura by the king.³ Mr. Codrington has drawn attention to a Prakrit text of the Jainas which mentions the town of Śrīpura in the country of Ratnāsaya in the island of Ceylon;⁴ but the identity of the place has not yet been established. It has already been mentioned that the Cholas landed at Chilaw and advanced as far as Śrīpura. Their objective must have been Polonnaruva which was then the capital of the island. It may, therefore, be conjectured that Śrīpura was on the ancient route from Chilaw to Polonnaruva.

1. See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. V, p. 152.

2. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, section G. Vol. II. p. 105.

3. *E. Z.* II, No. 29.

4. J. C. B., R. A. S., Vol. XXVIII, p. 56.

An inscription on a stone throne found at Malasne Dévāla, situated on the bank of the Dāduru Oya, near the village named Galkāṭiyāgma in the Mahagalboḍa Egoḍa Koralè of the Kurunāgala District, definitely settles the identity of Śrīpura. The record¹ is of Nissamka Malla and is identical in its contents with the Kantalai *Gal-āsana* inscription,² save for the concluding sentence which, rendered into English, reads :—[“ Nissamka Malla] thereafter proceeded to witness the distribution of alms in the Nissamka Abhaya alms hall in Śrīpura ; and this stone seat does His Majesty occupy whilst engaged in witnessing various amusements such as dancing and singing that took place therein.”³

There is no reason to think that this *āsana* has been removed from elsewhere to its present site and therefore this place is to be identified with the old Śrīpura.

1. No. 44 of Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*. The inscription is considerably weather worn. Dr. Müller read only the opening sentences which enabled him to ascribe it to Nissamka Malla. The record has recently been copied by the writer and is included in the Inscriptions Register of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon as No. 550.

2. *E. Z.*, II, No. 42.

3. ශ්‍රීපුරයෙ නිශංකඅභයසත්‍රයෙහි දන් බලා වදුරන
පිණිස වැඩි ආ නාතය භිතාද්‍යනෙකක්‍රීඩායුක්තව
තිඤ්ඤා ආසාදනයයි.

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT HABITATION NEAR KUDIRAMALAI

By R. L. BROHIER.

Kudiramalai, not too well known nowadays, is a headland situated on the north-western coast of the Island, between Puttalam and Manaar. Its geographical position is approximately $8^{\circ} 32'$, N. Lat. and $79^{\circ} 52\frac{1}{2}'$, E. Longitude.

No section of Ceylon's coastal scenery presents a more dreary or desolate aspect than the sweep of shore which extends to right and left of this headland. A low cliff varying in elevation is here and there washed on to by the incoming tide, and here and there divided from the water's edge by a narrow beach. A low scrubby forest rising from the edge of the cliff dominates the landscape and spreads itself miles inland with unfailing and wearisome persistence. The greater portion of the desolate waste stands proclaimed as a sanctuary for game.

About three miles south of Kudramalai Point there is a little fisher settlement consisting of a few temporary cadjan huts and a migratory population which increases when the North-East monsoon brings with it favourable fishing. The Topographical map of the district indicates its position and names it Palkaturai.

Nearly three miles further down at the southernmost point of a crescent shaped miniature bay, which has fretted a way inland by gradual erosion, there is another temporary fisher settlement referred to as Kollankanatta. On a recent visit I found this settlement abandoned.

On the shore of the bay and at a point between these two fishing stations, the map makes reference to an "Ancient Harbour, Well, and Ruins."

Seven years ago, when the Survey Department carried through a programme connected with the Topographical Survey of the Island, off these north-western shores, a su-

veyor, Mr. G. H. A. de Silva, while traversing the country in the course of his work, came upon such evidence as indicated that an ancient settlement existed at the spot. The credit for what I might venture to term the discovery of this archaeologically important site rests with him.

On a visit to the site shortly afterwards, I made as comprehensive a study of its features as time which could be spared from business of more pressing importance at the moment permitted. A recent and more leisurely visit has enabled me to elaborate my notes, which I set down on the presumption that they might stimulate expert and scientific investigation.

The remarkable feature of this ancient site is the scope it affords for methodical excavation. The encroachment by the sea has provided a section which with a wealth of stratified remains offers an ideal ground to work on.

Previous reference bears out the fact that this stretch of coast-line terminates in a cliff. At this particular spot it is about fifteen feet in height, fringed by a very small strip of foreshore. A horizontal bed of sandstone of varying strata elevated a few feet above the present water level constitutes the lower portion of the cliff. Above it there rests a section of limestone—conglomerate of shell and coral—which in turn is covered by a layer of sand, from two to three feet in thickness.

Between the layer of sand and the limestone, more often than not mixed with the latter, a mass of broken pottery, brickbats of various sizes, and other debris lie embedded on the face of the cliff within a length of possibly five hundred yards. Bits of pottery and similar debris washed clean and sculptured in the most delicate manner by the action of the waves lie strewn in large quantities along the adjoining length of fore-shore.

So far as I am able to judge, the pottery deposited at this site is of very ancient origin. In fact, some of the specimens picked up and examined bore striking similarity to the pottery finds described by Parker in his Tissamaharama

Archaeology¹, which he assumes leaves little room for great error if estimated at a period not later than 50 B.C.

Broken "chatties" and plates, plate covers and large bowls formed the greater portion of this litter. The thickness and quality of the pottery varies considerably, some of them being rough and thick, while other specimens indicate thin and well-finished articles.

I collected some specimens on my first visit to the site. These were submitted to the Archaeological Commissioner in 1923, with a brief descriptive memorandum. Unfortunately no notes concerning them were retained. The following observations are based on fragments picked up on my recent visit:—

- (a) A flat circular dish, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick, with a top-rim a quarter inch wide and of similar thickness. It bears a polished surface inside and a slightly roughened surface outside. The fragment suggests a depth of 2 to 3 inches.
- (b) The bottoms of two vessels, apparently water-goblets or small round water-pots. They appear to have been about four inches in diameter at the widest point, and being of a reddish hue presumably imperfectly burnt. The crude finish inside suggests a small neck. The outside of these vessels is unpolished and is decorated by cross-hatched lines stamped in relief.
- (c) The spout of apparently a clay kettle, unglazed, imperfectly burnt.
- (d) Several specimens of the terminal ends of Chanks which have been very cleanly sawn off and discarded. The central portions of the shell would appear to have been sawn and used as bracelets and ear-rings. Some of these treated chanks are embedded in the sandstone strata and are highly silicified; there is little doubt they are of very ancient origin.

¹ Journ. C. B., R. A. S., Vol. 8, No. 27.

There is no exaggeration in the statement that thousands of fragments of articles may be picked off the cliff. Presumably the strata extends some distance inland. I gathered this from the debris thrown up round a hole in the forest nearly a chain from the edge of the cliff which had been dug by some wild animal. Every effort to obtain the measurement of an unbroken brick proved futile.

From this aspect of the remains on this ancient site I shall take up the description of a much more unique feature.

Among the sandstone boulders which strew the narrow margin between the cliff and the water's edge, there stands what remains of a well—an undisputable relic of ancient origin. It is constructed on the principle of the *ūrā-lin*, composed of a setting of earthen rings made by the potters.²

These clay cylinders, perfectly round in shape, about 18 inches in height and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness, have been baked to a cast-iron hardness. The upper end rounds off at the rim and is three feet in diameter, the lower edge finishes off in a flat rim and is about three feet three inches in diameter. Consequently when each cylinder was fitted on to the one below it, the well maintained an average diameter of three feet throughout in construction.

The sandstone boulders on the shore disclosed in section the stratified remains of three of these cylinders which lie broken by the action of the waves. The series of cylinders below these are embedded in a sandy soil. These are in a perfect state of preservation. By removing the sand and loose particles of sandstone which filled the hollow within these cylinders, I was able to trace four of them, as shown in section on the annexed diagram. Much to my disappointment I could not get any further down owing to the position of the boulders atop of them. The removal of the sand within these cylinders did not disclose any objects of special interest. A bit of deer horn, fragments of bones of some animals, both

² *Ūrā-lin*, very common in the Kandyan Districts. The earthen rings are called *urākāṭa* and the wells, as *ūrākāṭa-lin*, abbreviated to *ūrā-lin*.

It is suggested that the *ūrākāṭa* help to keep the water cool.

of which abound buried in the cliff, and the usual fragments of pottery, represent objects which I considered had found a way in—washed down during the process of silting.

Stratified sections of similar cylinders were present in the sandstone nearby, which proves that there were more than one of these wells on the site. Particular interest attaches to the stratified remains of a wide, tall, earthen jar, about two feet in height and a foot in diameter, strongly made with a thick solid lip over an inch in thickness. It is reddish in colour. This stands by the side of the stratified remains of a series of cylinders and was possibly a vessel for holding water.

Finally, I would mention the presence of one example of stratified pottery in a broken boulder of sandstone at a spot a little over a quarter of a mile north of this site. It appeared to be the lower portion of a round pot, extremely thin but so strong that I was first led to think it was metal. I could not locate the portion of stone in which the remaining part of this vessel must lie stratified, nor did I from the hasty inspection made of the cliff in the vicinity locate any other remains of interest at the spot. The boulder seems too large to have been washed up from the site under reference in these notes, and I can find no theory to account for its presence in its present position.

From this general description of the site and particular reference to a few of its features, I now venture to refer to a few observations intimately allied to theories which may be raised to account for these remains of a lost habitation.

That an ancient town existed in the environs of this headland called Kudiramalai is a fact which both traditional and historical speculations testify to. It is invested with a measure of renown which was wafted to the ends of the inhabited earth, for it would appear that even in ages beyond count intrepid adventurers were lured to it by the precious pearls which the adjacent shallow seas produced.

Perhaps the intrepid Phoenicians issuing from the Red Sea in their ships knew of it centuries before their experienced sea-men piloted the fleets of Solomon in search of the

luxuries of the East³. And may be, that as tradition tells, in ages before the birth of history, it was the residence of a famous queen, Alliarasani by name, traces of whose palace it is popularly believed lie, buried beneath the forests which now harbour wild beasts and reptiles.

And so, on to the first century which presents more authentic facts leading to the identification of Kudiramalai as the " Hippurus or Hipporus mentioned by Pliny, the port to which a freedman of Annius Plocamus (who farmed the customs of the Red Sea in the reign of Emperor Claudius), was unexpectedly driven after having been blown off the coast of Arabia in a violent tempest⁴."

In modern references, Casie Chitty writes :—⁵.

A considerable settlement once existed in the neighbourhood of the hill (Kudremalai) formed by Mohamadan emigrants from Arabia as early as the eighth century ; their brethren at Manaar and Mantotte afterwards received from them large supplies of pearls which were most probably fished on its coast, as the abundance of old shells on the beach testify to the fact of expensive pearl fisheries having been carried on there.

Major Forbes observes that there are the remains of a town near it: " but whether it was a colony of Mohammedans or Malabars or neither, I could not make out from the traditions concerning it⁶....".

Admitting then that a town did exist, it must naturally be assumed that a water-supply stood near by. A glance at the Topographical map offers conviction that there are no artificial tanks whatever in the vicinity. Moreover, as regards the " villus " near the coast, I have found the water in some of them brackish. It is extremely probable that the water in all of them bears a similar taint, which although acceptable to deer and the forest denizens, is unpalatable and not generally fit for human consumption.

3 Bochart, who was the first to suggest an eastern locality for Ophir and Tarshish, fixed on Kudiramalai as the site of the latter. (Note, Manual of the Puttalam Dist., p. 28, Modder).

4 Ceylon Gazetteer.

5 Ceylon Gazetteer.

6 Eleven Years in Ceylon, pp. 268-269.

Nevertheless, under the circumstances, it is strange that fresh water can be obtained at any point along the coast from Karaitivu to Kudiramalai by digging a few feet down about a chain or more from the water's edge, below the cliff. The fisher folk at Palkaturai, their brethren who settled a few years ago at Kollankanatta, and other isolated units of the same fraternity who form the only human element along these shores at the present day—all procure their water from such a source.

Concede me the assumption that this ancient Emporium and habitation courted the protection afforded by the break-water which we call the island of Karativu, rather than the exposure to the full blast of the open sea along the coast-line between Kudiramalai Point and the mouth of the Modaragam Āru. Should you do so, excluding thereby the one natural water-supply, there is not the least reason to doubt that the hydro-geological conditions peculiar to an apparently waterless tract of country were tapped in a remote age, and that the location of the ancient city below the cliffs of Kudiramalai has been fairly conclusively established.

As of passing interest it might also be observed that two ridges of low hills which run parallel to the coast leave an expanse of flat land at the spot where the ancient habitation is located. The suitability of access to the interior also presents a clue in favour of the accepted theory.

The next intriguing point is to account for the mass remains of pottery.

In between the sandy stretches along this coast are deposits of rich alluvial earth, potter's clay, and fresh water marl. Brodie makes observations with regard to this.⁷

Modder, from evidence which he gathered, asserts that : "A stratum of very brackish *clay* underlies nearly the whole of the Puttalam District," and that : "The brackish stratum was probably the bed of a large lagoon similar to the Puttalam lake."⁸

⁷ Journ. C. B., R. A. S., Vol. 2, Part 2, No. 6, p. 38.

⁸ Manual of the Puttalam Dist. Modder, p. 40.

The soil at the spot marked by the traces of ancient remains is sandy on the surface. There is no reason to dispute the presence of the strata of clay below.

Occupying very nearly a central position on this site there is a comparatively large pit—nearly thirty feet in diameter and to all appearances artificially constructed. It has, naturally, silted to some considerable extent, and erosion has washed away the section of the cliff adjoining. A shallow layer of water which has found a way in from the sea at high tide stands stagnating in the depression.

The brick bats, 'and the enormous quantity of fragments of pottery,' point to but one surmise' and although based on superficial evidence present the obvious inference that they mark the site of a pottery establishment. The clay was obtained from the pit, and the water from wells.

It must be left to experts to assign a period for these interesting, and from the archaeological point of view, valuable remains. As I have mentioned before, many features peculiar to this site present a striking resemblance to the Tissamaharama site, excavated and reported on by Parker.

There but remains to theorise on the acceptance of the site as an ancient harbour.

The utility of the Island of Karaitivu as a break-water has already been stressed, but that there were changes in the relative position of sea and land along the maritime portions of the north-western shores of Ceylon is an axiomatic contention.

Tradition attributes changes of a drastic nature to the times of Queen Alliarasane, and suggests that originally the "Gulf of Kalpitiya had no opening northward, but communicated with the sea by a channel running in the line of the present Chilaw canal." The Queen, we are told, used to proceed from "Kudiramalai to Akkaraipattu by land, until a great flood came, buried her palace under the waves, and bursting through a neck of land converted the lake into a gulf which form it still retains⁹."

9 Brodie. Journ. C. B., R. A. S., Vol 2, part 2, No. 6, p. 38.

Two other collateral versions of this tradition are culled from Reports on the Pearl Fisheries. The writer of the earlier report states :—" When I sounded on the ridge which runs from Cardivan Island, I was....surprised I had never heard of its existence. I caused enquiry to be made and after some time was informed that the people of that part of the country have a wild notion of a powerful Queen having resided at Kudremalee, and that the dead from the city were placed on an island in the sea, which has disappeared₁₀."

In the later report we read : " It is said that what is now called the Karativu shoal formed the northern portion of Karativu (island) which is supposed to have extended as far as the Cheval banks. There is a tradition that Queen Alliarasani used to inspect the (pearl) fishery of the Cheval and Moderagam banks from the (then) extreme point. There are from two to three fathoms of water on what is now the shoal." (Plan annexed)¹¹.

These stories offer the legendary origin of a harbour while scientific theory suggests that most of the submerged reefs in Dutch and Portugal Bays are of rising coral and sand, and that the banks forming the outer boundary of the lagoon were formerly part of the ocean¹². Nevertheless, though geologically speaking they are accepted to be of recent growth, from a historical aspect of time there is little reason to doubt that a sheet of water has existed between Karaitivu (island) and the mainland from a dim distant past.

" The opinions of Lord Valentia, Macvicar, Gardiner and Kelaart, all favour the hope that the whole of Ceylon, particularly the Western coast, will gradually rise above the sea level.¹³"

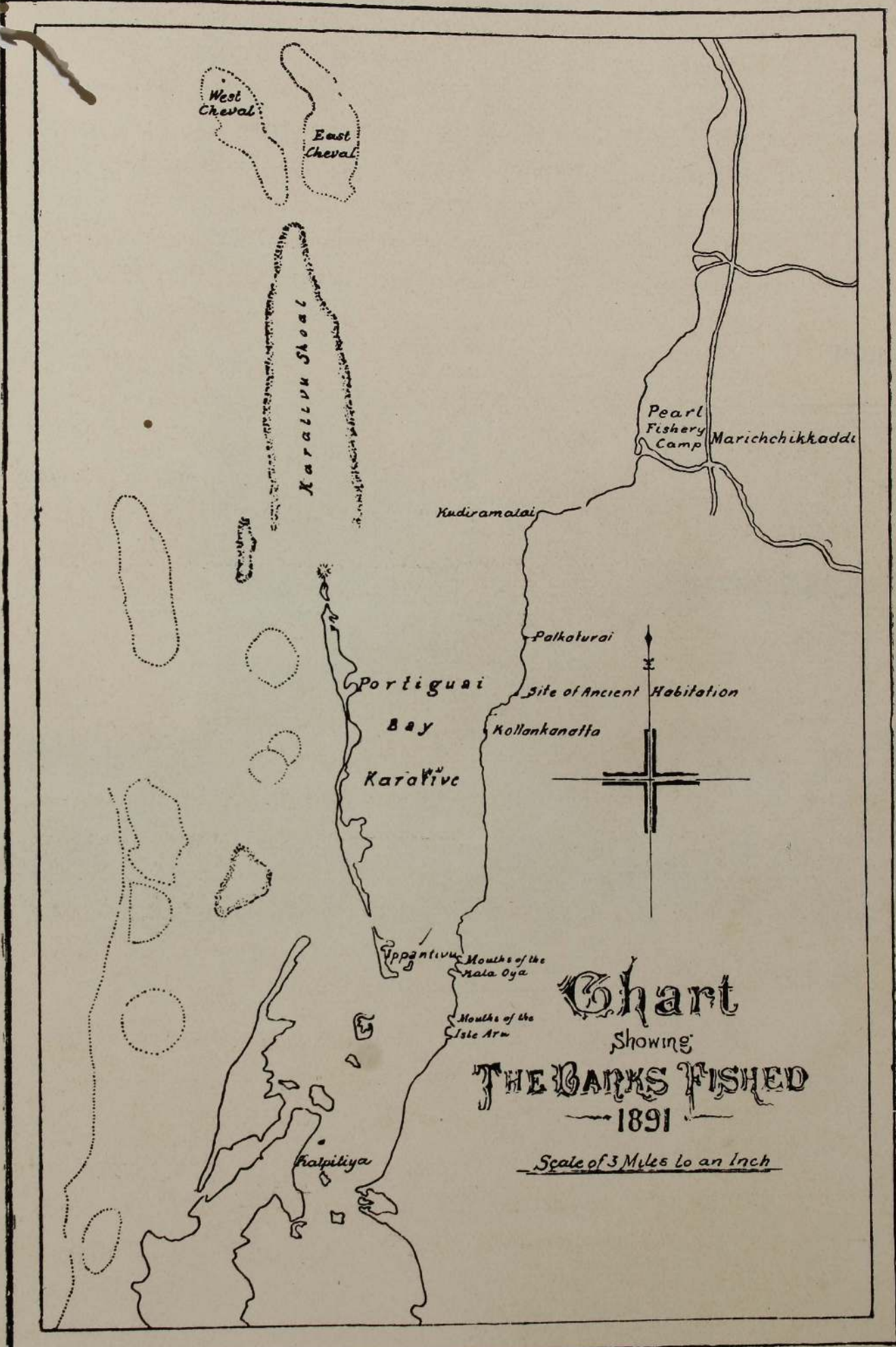
Conflicting though the circumstance might be, I conclude on the evidence of the steady encroachment of the usurping sea.

¹⁰ Cor. on the Pearl Fisheries, Cey. Gaz. Dec., 14th 1841.

¹¹ Report on Pearl Fisheries, 1891, W. C. Twynam, Sessional Papers.

¹² Lord Valentia's Travels, 1804.

¹³ Manual of Puttalam Dist. Modder, p. 39.



West Cheval

East Cheval

Karallu Shoal

Pearl Fishery Camp

Marichchikkaddi

Hudiramalai

Palkaturai

Portugai

Bay

Site of Ancient Habitation

Kollankanatta

Karative

Uppantivu

Mouths of the Mala Oya

Mouths of the Isle Aru

Kaspitiya

Chart

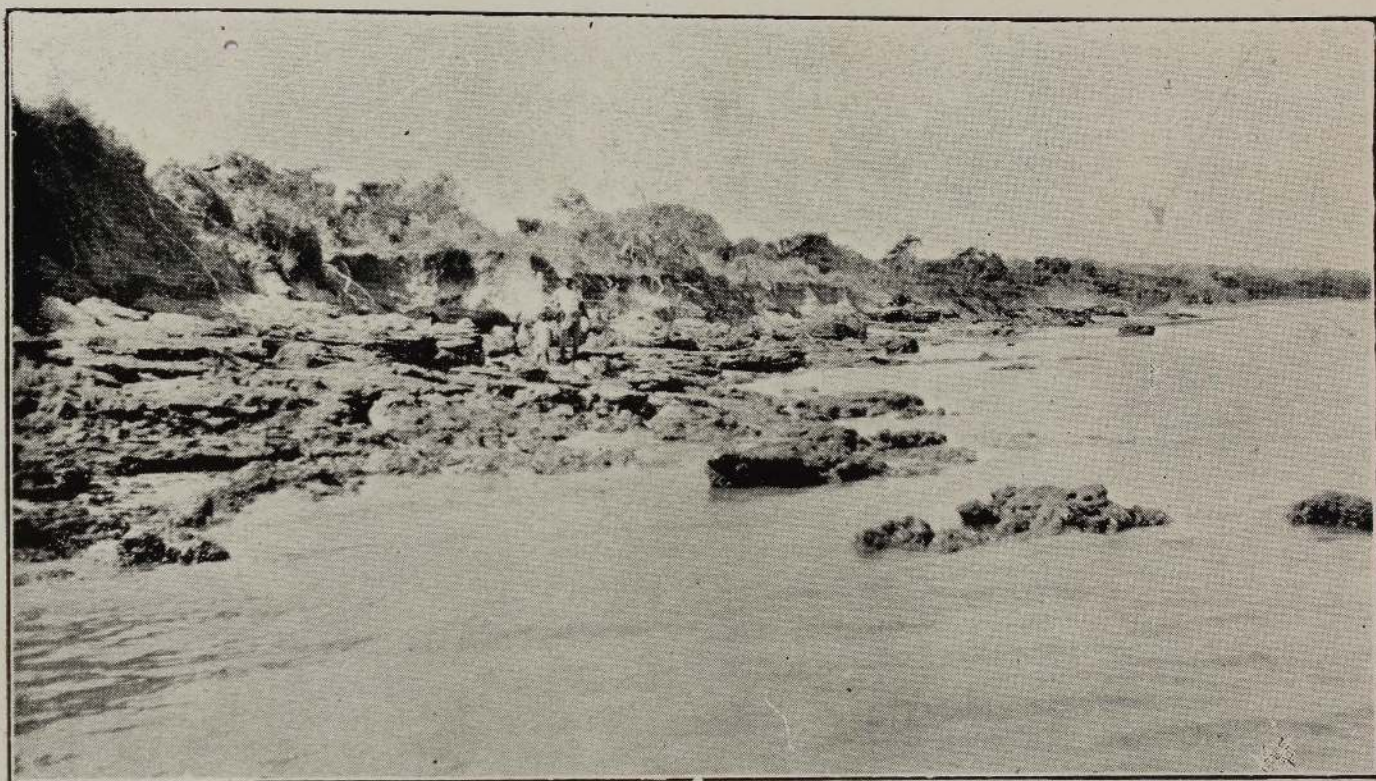
Showing

THE BARKS FISHED

1891

Scale of 3 Miles to an Inch

Plate I.



General View of Coastline and site of Ancient Habitation.

Plate II.



The well (ura-lin) among the sandstone boulders between the cliff and the water's edge.

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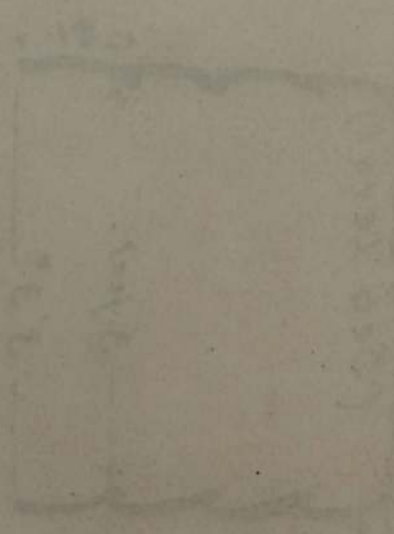
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Twynam, later, Sir William, writing in 1891 as Supdt. of the Pearl Fishery, records as his opinion that : “ The sea is no doubt encroaching fast on Karativu. Ippantivu, on the south, was formerly a portion of Karativu. It is now separated from it by a channel that has been washed through the sandy isthmus which connected the (now) two islands. Between the close of the fishery and the end of the year (1891) the sea made encroachments on the north of the island and washed a channel through the sandy spit. I have no doubt the whole of the spit north of the channel will shortly be washed away and form part of the Karativu shoal..... Karativu island will probably in a few years be cut up into several small islets and finally be washed away altogether, when the Karativu shoal will extend from the entrance to Dutch Bay to the Cheval Paar and what is now Portugal Bay will no longer be a bay¹⁴. ”

Comparison between the chart of 1891 (annexed) and the map produced from surveys carried out in 1923 indicate at a glance how rapidly the changes predicted by Sir William Twynam are being accomplished. Ippantivu, rather than being separated from Karativu by a narrow channel, stands divided by a stretch of water nearly two miles in width, while Karativu, considerably reduced in length, is represented now by two islands with a mile of water between.

In lesser proportion, nevertheless steadily, erosion is taking place on the main shore of this ancient harbour. What was possibly a straight coast-line with a city and many wells has merged into the bed of the bay.

May be, yet a few years and all traces of it will for ever be lost.

¹⁴ Report on Pearl Fisheries, 1891, W. C. Twynam, Sessional Papers.

VIYAT PAT ATA GANAYA

By H. W. CODRINGTON, Ceylon Civil Service.

According to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava Parākrama Bahu I.* established certain departments of State, the first named being the “Viyat pat aṭa gaṇaya,” the second the Eight Maḍigés, the third the Four Treasuries (*aramudala*). Mr. C. M. Fernando rendered the phrase now under discussion by “the eight departments of record.” What these departments were is not at all clear, nor is it easy to identify them with any existing under the Kings of Kandy.

Another rendering may be suggested, namely “the eight corps of skilled foot-soldiers,” viz. (1) *viyat* (Skt. *vyakta*, Pali, *vyatta*, *viyatta*) being “experienced, accomplished, learned, wise, clever,”¹ and thus in connection with troops perhaps “trained” as opposed to the raw levies called up in time of war; (2) *pat*, infantry.

The existence of eight military corps in the fourteenth century is proved by the mention in the Niyangampāya inscription of the *sénánáyaka aṭa-dená*, “the eight corps-commanders.” The Seneviradun, of course, was the Commander-in-chief.

Some light is thrown on the identity of these corps by the Kobbékaḍuwé Vihāré *sannasa* of the thirty-seventh year of Siri Saṅgabó Śrī Sénāsammatā Vikrama Báhu of Kandy (? sixteenth century); this speaks of the village as in *Yaṭinuwara bada Atapattu sénánáyaka bhágaya*, “the division of the Atapattu (bodyguard) corps-commander belonging to Yaṭinuwara.” A similar expression occurs in the Wannipola plate of the twentieth year of the same king, a spurious document but one which undoubtedly reproduces the phraseology of an old grant. There thus is a probability that the eight corps commanded by the Sénánáyakas corresponded with the later Kandyan Lékamas. These in origin were

1. The Pali Text Society's Dictionary, s.v. *Vyatta*.

military bodies; one was the Maha Atapattuwa, of which the Raṭémahatmayás round Kandy were the Muhandirams in their respective districts.

For the use of *viyat*=*paṇḍita* in connection with the military affairs we may compare the title *paṇikki-rāla* applied to the fencers of the Kandyan Sudaliya and Mārāliya, otherwise known as the Kaḍu-palis Ilaṅgamé. *Panikki* is the Malayalam equivalent of *paṇḍita*.

Since writing the above I have seen the copper plate grant of Meḍawela Viháré in Hárispattuwa, dated Śaka 1677. This rehearses the dedication by a Gampola king of *sénánāyaka aṭa bhāgayen aṭa denaku há*, “and eight persons from the eight corps-commander divisions.”

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

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

No. 8.—MULAKU ATOL : KOLU-FURI ISLAND.

1. MULAKU ATOL.

Mále, Capital of the Máldive Islands, is situated, speaking broadly, about halfway in the long strung-out Archipelago, stretching 470 miles from Ihavandufu Atol on the extreme North (lat. $7^{\circ} 6' N.$) to Addú Atol below the Equator (lat. $0^{\circ} 42' S.$)

Of the Atols lying directly South of Mále, Mulaku is the third ; separated by *Wádu Kádu* Channel ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, wide), South Mále Atol (20 miles, N. to S.), *Fulidú Kádu* ($8\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Felidí Atol (22 miles), and *Wattaru Kádu* (8 miles), or a little more than 60 miles in total distance.

Mulaku Atol itself has a North and South length of 25 miles. It is separated, on the West, from North and South Nilandé Atols by some twenty miles of open sea, known to Máldivians as "*Hataru Atoļu Među*," ("Between Four Atols.") Kolumađulu Atol lies S. S. W., across *Má (Kuda Huvadú) Kádu*, which is 15 miles in breadth.

Irregular in form, Mulaku Atol bulges on the East from South gradually towards N.E., before curling back ; but runs very straight along its Western reef¹.

Within the Atol's lagoon, (the depth of which varies from 28 to 40 fathoms, sandy bottom), are several coral

shoals. Small shallow " passages " occur through the West and North-East reefs.

The Atol contains only 10 of the 217 inhabited Islands of the whole Group. All of these are on the broad, hardly broken, Eastern reef; except Mulaku Island, the largest (lat. $2^{\circ} 57'$ N., long. $75^{\circ} 35'$ E.), which stands nearly one mile inside that reef, athwart *Bodu Kaḍu* the principal entrance.

From North to South, the occupied Islands are Diggaru, Maḍu-vari, Raiman-dú, Maḍi-furi, Vévar, Mulaku, Muli, Nálá-furi, Váriya-furi and Koḷu-furi; but the two first-named are treated fiscally as appertaining to Felidí Atol, having been peopled by migrants from that Northern neighbour.

Excluding Diggaru and Maḍu-vari, the total population in 1922 numbered 1,744 (males 986, females 758); Nálá-furi containing 388, and Maḍi-furi but 64, persons.

One-fourth of the male population is engaged in fishing operations; whilst coir making occupies a third, or more, of the women ².

2. KOLU-FURI ISLAND.

Koḷu-furi, the picturesque, among the smaller of Mulaku Atol's inhabited Islands, stands at the extreme Southern end of its Eastern reef.

Approaching from the South, the lagoon is most easily reached through the *Kuraili Kaḍu* passage.

The Archaeological Mission to the Máldives of 1922, sailed through the whole of Mulaku Atol in April of that year; having entered the Atol by the *Bodu Kaḍu* channel, half-way up the Eastern reef, on April 2nd, visited Koḷu-furi the following day, and emerged on the North, April 6.

Some details of the main features, and incidents, recorded during the few hours spent on Koḷu-furi Island are reproduced from Diary of April 3rd:—

After our inspection of Mulaku Island yesterday, "the *Fath-ul-Majid* (Máldivian Government Schooner), had sailed Southwards down the Atol's lagoon; but was forced to anchor some three miles off Koḷu-fuṛi Island, owing to extensive shallows (M. *faḷu*) intervening between somewhat deeper water.

"A *mas-dóṇi* (fishing-boat) could take us this morning within a mile only of the beach; the rest of the way having to be traversed, for those unable to wade, solely on *kadu-fati* (pronounced *kañdu-fati*)³, or native rafts. It being low water at the time, we had to make the last hundred yards over sandy pools.

"The inhabited village on Koḷu-fuṛi is close to the beach as at Mulaku Island; but the houses, and their detached kitchens, are separated by wider streets (*Plate A*). Some dwellings stand within their own cadjan fences.

"Areca and sugar-cane seem to grow rather freely on the Island.

"From the congeries of habitations, a magnificent cleanly kept road, (*Plate B*), flanked on both sides by towering coconut, huge breadfruit, and other fine trees, conducts to the *Hukuru Miskit* ("Friday Mosque") and its well-filled grave-yard.

"Opposite the *Kuḍa Miskit* ("Small Mosque"), reached first along this road, there has been constructed an excellent *Veyó*, or Bathing Tank, (*Plate C*). 30 ft. by 20 ft. with two flights of six matched steps down to the water.

"No tombstones lettered in "*Dives Akuru*" (an older form of Máldivian script) were noticed either at Mulaku or Koḷu-fuṛi; but at the latter Island there is a unique headstone of rounded-fan shape near the *Hukuru Miskit*, besides a typical Máldivian sun-dial (M. *vagutu-gá*).

"At this, the *Khutba Mosque*, erected by Sultán Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu, in honour of his father Ḥusain

Khaṭīb, are religiously preserved certain "relics," presumably genuine, of the great Sixteenth Century hero of Máldive history, the deliverer of the Islands from the Portuguese yoke. His famous sailing vessel "*Kaḷuwaḥḥumi Oḍi*" is traditionally believed to have been ultimately wrecked off Koḷu-fuṛi, where he lurked oft in safety when warring with the Portuguese ⁴.

" Obviously the Island *Khaṭīb* was very loath to bring these relics out of the Mosque for inspection, because of their great sanctity in the eyes of Máldivians; but yielded at length to the persuasive H. Ismá'il Dídí, our masterful cicerone. After the recital of sundry prayers by both within the Mosque, the articles were finally produced.

" These antiques consist of an old sword, part of a boat's pennon-staff (*Plate D*), and a choice silk kerchief.

" The sword (which was wrapped in nearly thirty separate cloths) is a very corroded Portuguese weapon; of which the blade is now much shortened, having broken into two pieces and been roughly clamped together. At present, it is 2 ft. 3 in. long, with 1 in. blade. The Islanders style it *Utímu Baṇḍárange Kaḍi-kolu* "Sword of the *Baṇḍára* (Sultán) of Utímu (Tiladummatí Atol)".

" As to the flag-staff (M. *féstára*), kept in similar wraps, measuring 3 ft. 6 in., this is little out of the ordinary;

But the fringed head-kerchief (M. *bolu féli*), 5 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft., is both well-preserved, and exceedingly attractive—its middle and main portion being of brilliant red colour, with chocolate, black and white stripes at each end.

" Of old documents as many as seven *Fat-kolu*, (Royal Grants,) issued by different Sultáns, were produced by the *Khaṭīb*. The three oldest belong to the Eighteenth Century and are written in "*Dives Akuru*" characters." ⁵

3. MÁLE UNDER PORTUGUESE RULE: A. C. 1558-73

Traditionally, Koḷu-furi Island is so closely connected with Sultán Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu, and his long continued warfare with the Portuguese invaders in the latter half of the Sixteenth Century, that excuse need not be offered for interpolating a condensed relation of that internecine struggle.

The “*Tárikh*,” or Máldivian State Chronicle, contains a brief narrative,—the more appealing from its simple, semi-sophisticated wording,—of the bitter fighting between the Máldivians, (led by the three *Khatīb* brothers, Muḥammad, ‘Ali and Ḥasan of Tiladummati Atol,) and the Portuguese, during the interregnum at the Máldives; and of the latter’s strangle hold on the Islands of more than a decade and a half, after their capture of Mále, following the glorious “martyr’s” death of the reigning Sultán, ‘Ali VI.

This is the stirring story:—

“After reigning for 2 years, 5 months, Sultán Ḥasan IX. proclaimed his determination to renounce Muḥammadanism. He left the Máldives in A.H. 959 (A.C. 1551-52) for Cochin, where he embraced the Faith of the Infidels (Portuguese), under the name of Don Manoel⁶.

“No less than three Expeditions (the first two disastrous) were despatched to the Máldives by the Portuguese at the instance of the renegade ex-Sultán.

“Finally, two and half months after Sultán ‘Ali began to reign, the third and largest Portuguese Expedition, commanded by ‘Captain Adiri Adiri,’⁷ attacked Mále vigorously, and effected landing on the West side. Sultán ‘Ali himself led his soldiers (*Askarun*) against the Invaders. When the Máldivians were driven back near *Ídu Miskit* Mosque, the Sultán, his Chief Vazír, and one attendant, alone stood their ground. These three, fighting bravely, were at length shot down.

“ Thus the Portuguese took Mále in the month of Rama-zán, A.H. 965 (May-June, A.C. 1558).

“ Then the Máldivians submitted to Adiri Adiri, who proclaimed himself Sultán. He sent Christians to take charge in all parts of the Máldives, and enforced submission.

“ The Portuguese ruled with utmost cruelty for several years, committing intolerable enormities : “ the sea grew red with Muslim blood ; the people were sunk in despair.”

“ At this juncture God Almighty moved the heart of *Khatīb* Muḥammad Takuru, son of *Khatīb* Ḥusain, of Utímu Island (Tiladummatí Atol), styled later ‘ Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu Akbar,’ to fight with the Infidels, and to end the crying wrongs. Praying to God for wisdom to conquer, he took counsel with his younger brothers, each also a *Khatīb*, ‘Ali and Ḥasan.

“ These three left the Máldives for Maliku Island (Minicoy), which belonged to Āli Rája (“ Sea King ”) of Kaṇṇanúr. There they were joined by two other Máldivian brothers, Ḥájí ‘Ali and Ḥájí Ḥasan, both skilled in arms. A solemn pact to exterminate the Portuguese was sworn by all ; and Muḥammad Takuru elected their leader.

“ Thereupon they returned to the Máldives, and commenced an unremitting guerilla warfare ; landing on different Islands at night to secure supplies, slaying any Portuguese there, and putting to sea before daybreak.

“ In the course of this long struggle for freedom by the three brothers, ‘Ali was surprised by the Portuguese and killed ; but the other four banded patriots continued hostilities, and in time killed nearly all their enemies on the Máldives, except at Mále itself.

“ The conspirators made one abortive attempt to land on Mále ; then sought the help of Āli Rája, who sent Malabar soldiers to aid them.

“ They all reached Mále the night before the day fixed by the Portuguese garrison for the forcible conversion of the inhabitants, on penalty of death for non-compliance. The Islanders ready to die for their Faith, had assembled with arms at the house of the *Qází*, Abu Bakr, prepared to fight to the last.

“ The joint force, under Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru, landed secretly when the night was two-thirds spent (i.e. at 3 a.m.). Adiri Adiri was killed by a musket shot fired by Boḍu Muḥammad himself; and the whole Portuguese garrison slaughtered.

“ This recapture of Mále took place on Rabi-ul-Awwal 1st, A.H. 981 (July 30th, A.C. 1573).”⁸

4. SULTĀN GHĀZÍ MUḤAMMAD BODU TAKURUFĀNU

“ Albeit the Portuguese had held the Máldives for 17 (Muslim) years,” comments the “*Tárikh*” sententiously, “ their rule and power was as transcient as sunbeams.”

The Máldivians, “ assigning all praise to God for the great victory over the Infidels,” at once elected Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru as their Sultān.

In organising the State Administration, he associated with himself his brother Ḥasan, under the title *Raṇṇa Baḍéri Kilégefānu*. Ḥájí 'Alí and Ḥájí Ḥasan were appointed respectively *Doriméná*, and *Sháh Bandar*, Vazírs.

Sultān Ghāzí Muḥammad “ ruled wisely, being just and considerate, protecting the poor, and ever solicitous for the people’s interests;” whilst earnestly feeling the pressing call for religious revival.

He was the first Máldive Sovereign to form the *Askarun* into a military body (*Hagu-be-kalun*). Under his brilliant sway the Islands remained wholly peaceful, and free from all injustice, “ like unto a festival, or marriage day.”

His death occurred on Ramazán 1st, A.H. 993 (A.C. August 17th, 1585)⁹.

From this reign dates the steady, if humble, rise of “*Divehi Rájje*” (“The Máldive Realm”), Phoenix like, from the ashes of a much chequered past.

5. MÁLDIVAN FAT-KOLU.

When “*Fat-kolu*” (pronounced “*Fai-kolu*”),—Grants under the Sultán’s Seal; written usually on Paper but occasionally on Parchment, *e.g.* *Kuda Huvadú*, *S. Nilandé Atol* (A.H. 1164), or even Wooden Board *e.g.* *Gan, Addú Alol* (A.H. 1063)—first superceded “*Lómáfánu*,” Copper-Plate Grants, at the Máldive Islands is unknown.

But, with much probability, the period may be assigned to the late Sixteenth Century, and the reign of Sultán Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu (A.C. 1573-85), that resuscitator of Muslim religious zeal and learning; after the Portuguese had been finally expelled from the Máldives mainly by his action, and the Realm settled down to nearly a quarter-century of peace and order.

For thirty years or more the Máldives had been without ‘*Ulama*’; since the death of Shaikh-al-‘Álim-al-Fagí Sulaimán, who came from Medína. All those who studied under this Shaikh had gradually died out, and no ‘Álim remained in the Islands when Sultán Boḍu Takurufánu began his reign.

“The Kingdom being, thus, in urgent need of a *Qází* there chanced to return to Mále from Hadramut (Yemen) Shaikh Muḥammad Jamál-ud-dín, a Máldivian, who had acquired his learning in the time of Sultán Ḥasan Shírází VIII. (A.C. 1528-48).”

He was received by Sultán Muḥammad with greater honours than ever before showered on any learned Máldivian; but, being a recluse, was unwilling to remain at Mále permanently, “caring” (says the “*Tárikh*”) “neither for riches, nor to mix with the world. Retiring to Wádú Island (*Huvadú Atol*), he died full of years and honour, leaving many pupils by whom the Faith of Islám was greatly spread.”

6. KOLU-FURI FAT-KOLU.

Among the Royal *Fat-kolu* Grants belonging to Kolu-furi, the most valued is that issued under the hand of Sultán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu (then styled still Vazir Boḍu Takuru) to the *Hukuru Miskit* of that Island.

This *Fat-kolu* (*Plates E. F.*), claimed to be quite the oldest extant at the Máldives, is preserved at Mále.

It is written upon ordinary paper in “*Dives Akuru*,”¹⁰—which continued to be the form of Máldivian characters almost exclusively employed for such special documents during two centuries and upwards; certainly on to the reign of Sultán Ḥasan Núr-ud-dín (A.C. 1779-99), when the modern “*Tána*” (right to left writing) seems to have ousted it virtually for every use.

The *Fat-kolu* runs to twenty-six (26) lines in all, read from left to right: of these lines the three (13, 14, 15), written downwards in the left margin, at right angles to the rest, should come in midway in line 12 of the consecutive Text (*Plate F.*)

This is headed (left top) by what is presumed to be the Sultán's manuscript Seal, greatly worn, within rough circular framing. The original legend on the Seal may be tentatively read, *faute de mieux*, as “*Al Ghází Vazír Muḥammad.*”

The other Seal has been affixed at a later period; possibly in quite recent years.

In its contents the *Fat-kolu* deals with the religious donation by the Sultán (under the more humble denomination of “*Ghází Vazir Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru*”, which, it is alleged, he adhered to even after being raised to the *Masnad* by the popular voice) to the *Hukuru Miskit*, or *Khuṭba* Mosque, that he had had rebuilt at Kolu-furi Island.

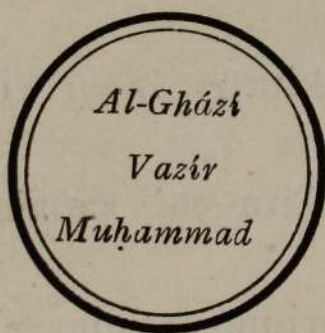
Produce from the three Islands, Kolu-furi, Nálá-furi and Medu-furi of Mulaku Atol is specifically assigned as *Waqf* for the upkeep of the Mosque and its services

As customary, the document closes, with an imprecation on the head of any Muslim acting counter to the Grant.

The authenticity of the existing *Fat-koḷu*, *quá* the original document, is accepted unquestionably by Máldivian authorities; and supported by the Seal of *Boḍu Baḍeri Ge*, the Government Treasury, (top right), stamped thereon ¹¹.

It will be as well to leave it at that; *pace* possible misgiving, not unnaturally arising from patent anomalies which differentiate it markedly from quite unimpeachable *Fat-koḷu*, of beautiful execution, granted by Máldive Sultáns in later centuries.

That such a *Fat-koḷu* was veritably bestowed on the Koḷu-furī Mosque by Sultán Ghází Muḥammad need not be doubted for one moment; but the absence in the present document of all dating, an almost illegible Seal, terse diction, crowded script in a running hand, and later insertion of lines slovenly omitted, cannot fail to strike attention.



SEALS

TRANSCRIPT ¹²

1. *Al-Ghází Vazír Muḥammad* Boḍu Takru vidálin
ma: Mulakatola(r) Fra

2. Baṇḍára furun kan kurevvuma(r) dánai míhunái
mi Atoḷu

3. Bó-himanai Váru-bai kán jahadai Ráda Baṇḍára
urun Ras-

4. kamá kemma(r) danínái mi fada emmena(r) vidáḷu
fate: mi Atoḷu

5. Koḷu-furī ma heddevi Miskitu machcha(r) mi raḥu
Fálabbuái

6. Fálabbaa(r) bima(r) niku(t) nahai rukai : mi raṛu
Fálabbā eḷu-

7. mái mi kan mi Miskita(r) lavvai fehcchee : mi Miskitu
Imárat

8. ko(r) vottelalaḷai kunálaḷai fange lai *Imárat* kuḷaima(r)
mi Mi-

9. skita(r) hunna huṛi kamái : ihu Miskita(r) hunnahái
ruka(r)

10. gahe(r) e fadain-me mi Miskita(r) hunna huṛi kamái :
mi raṛun

11. de míhunge boli mi fadain-me ihu Miskita(r) hunna
magun

12. nu-uvi hunna huṛi kamái :

13. mi Miskitu kare(n) eḷi

14. nama donu mati mi Miskita(r)

15. hunna huṛi kamái :

16. Naulá-fuṛi Mati Kibaa(r) Don Bíná Nau-

17. lá-fuṛi tibi ru(r) ru(r) fuḷái Medu-fuṛi kiyá ra(r)-
gaḍu tibi ru(r)

18. ru(r) fuḷái mi fadain-me mi Miskita(r) *Waqf* ve
hunna huṛi

19. kamái : Takru huddain me Miskitu mi fadain
Imárat ko(r)-

20. bala huṭṭun mi raṛu Hasan Kaló dari-miruminína(r)
dáden

21. mi uren mati kamái : mi raṛu Fálabbā mi raṛu mi
Miskita(r)

22. hunna huddave hunna huṛi kamái : komme míhaku
mi Miskitu

23. *Waqfái* ve(r) nu-vá huṛi kamái : mi Miskitu *Waqfái*
vevve mi maga(r)

24. lai nu-tibbân bahen bune kame(r) kuḷa komme
Muslimaku Waqf

25. uvai nahai kuḷa míhuna(r) vá fátuká vá kává huṛi
kamái : mita(r) magun

26. Takru kurevvi huddain Músá Náibu Kaló lín.

TRANSLATION 13.

I, Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru, Vazír, (thus verbally) order :—

To persons going to Mulaku Atol from the Pre-eminent Máldive Government (*Fura Bañḍára*) to get work done, and (those going to take) a Census (*Bó-himanai*), and (to collect) the Poll-Tax (*Váru-bai*)¹⁴ of this Atol and (those going) for Royal business (*Ras-kama*) from the Sovereign (*Ráda Bañḍára*)—to all such (persons is directed) this Documentary Order (*Vidálu Fate.*)

Upon the Mosque (*Miskitu*), caused to be built by me at Koḷu-furi (Island)¹⁵ of this Atol, (is bestowed) the *Fálabba* (Government Tree-Tax moiety)¹⁶ of this Island, and the *Fálabba* from coconut trees planted in future on ground (therein).

The work of demarcating *Fálabba* (trees) in this Island (must be done) by (the custodians of) this Mosque¹⁷.

Clause¹⁸. For providing this Mosque edifice (*Imárat*) with oil lights spreading mats (there in,) thatching with cadjans, and effecting repairs to the Mosque structure (*Imárat*), (the obligation rests) upon this Mosque.

Clause. The coconut and (other) trees possessed by the former Mosque (shall belong), in like manner, to this Mosque.

Clause. (Poll-Tax payments of) Cowries (*boli*) by two persons of this Island to the former Mosque, are to continue in like manner, (to this Mosque.)

Clause. Should a burial occur at (the graveyard of) this Mosque, (provision must be made for) the *donu-mati*¹⁹ to this Mosque.

Clause. The coconut trees (*rur rur fulái*) on Nálá-furi (Island) which belong to Mati Kibá Don Bíná of Nálá-furi, and the coconut trees in the islet (*rur-gaḍu*) known as Medu-furi²⁰ (are donated), in like manner, to this Mosque, as *Waqj* (religious trust)²¹.

Clause. The Takuru has decreed (that) the oversight of this Mosque edifice (shall be entrusted), similarly, to these persons, (to wit), Ḥasan Kaló of this Island, (and his) descendants in perpetuity (*dari-miruminína(r) dáden*).

Clause. This Island's *Fálabba* (income), as allotted (shall pertain) to the Mosque of this Island (undiminished)

Clause. No person shall nullify the *Waqf* (benefaction granted) to this Mosque.

Any Musalman doing aught, by word or by deed, to prevent the *Waqf* remaining as it exists, will incur the punishment of a person who infringes and renders abortive a *Waqf* (religious trust) ²².

Músá Kaló, Náib, wrote (the Decree) made in this wise by the Takuru.

NOTES.

1. **Mulaku Atol.** See Plan accompanying Sessional Paper XVIII, 1881, "The Máldive Islands."

2. **Ceylon Census Report, 1921.** See, for further particulars.

3. **Kadu-fati.** Light (as made at Koḷu-furi Island) rafts of twelve *kadu* (*Hernandia Peltata*) logs, lashed three and three together; about 15 ft. by 7 ft. 6 in. in superficial dimensions, but only 5 in. to 6 in. deep, bevelled at each end upwards. Propelled by poles, these primitive rafts do not ride quite clear of the water when mounted. *Kadu-fati* are much used by Mulaku Islanders (who claim to own about 150) when hunting the shell-yielding turtle.

4. **Kaluwaffumi Odi.** The romantic story of the bitter struggle of the *Khaṭīb* brothers and their companions—continued harassment of the Portuguese *Viyador* at Báraru; descents on different other Islands of the Group from North to South; details of the murder of 'Ali *Khaṭīb* at his own house; of the "*Kaluwaffumi Odi*" of Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu; his inaccessible haven of refuge at Koḷu-furi Island when hard pressed—is the subject of much quaint legendary lore and native song at the Máldives.

5. **Kolu-furi Fat-kolu.** Sixteenth Century: A.H. 981-93 (A.C. 1573-85), S. Gházi Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru. Eighteenth Century: A.H. 1153 (A.C. 1740-41), S. Íbráhím Iskandar II; A.H. 1182 (A.C. 1768-69), S. Muḥammad Ghiyás-ud-dín; A.H. 1189 (A.C. 1775-76), S. Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dín. Nineteenth Century: A.H. 1218 (A.C. 1803-04), S. Muḥammad Mu'in-ud-din I; A.H. 1276 (A.C. 1859-60); S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín IV. Twentieth Century: A.H. 1325, (A.C. 1907-08); A.H. 1326 (A.C. 1908-09), S. Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín III.

6. Sultan Hasan IX.—"The Christian King of the Máldives" (A.C. 1550-52); fratricide and renegade. "There sprang up, I know not why, between the Máldivians and their Lord, a youth of twenty years, discord of war; and he, finding himself unable to withstand the force of conspiracy, saved his life, though he could not his Kingdom, by flight to Cochin; where he trusted to obtain his reinstatement by aid of the Portuguese arms. The Fathers received him into their House, and S. Francis Xavier, who opportunely arrived there (January 14, 1552), solemnly baptised him." (Bartoli, *Asia* III., 201-2).

For the subsequent history of this ex-Sultán and his descendants see *Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, II., pp. 493-508.

7. Captain Adiri-Adiri.—Regarding this scourge of the Islanders, Máldivian tradition preserves certain romantic particulars.

During the reign of S. Kaļu Muḥammad, (died A.C. 1529) a Portuguese vessel commanded by a Noble of Goa, a relative of the Viceroy, with whom was his young wife, reached Huvadú, or Addú Atol. Kaļu Íbráhím Fáriná Takurufánu, of Gáfaru Island, was despatched to seize the ship. He killed the Captain and the crew, but saved the life of the lady, known as "Khánzi Kamaná," then pregnant. Her Portuguese child was brought up as a Muslim, and named Muḥammad. After murdering his half-brother, Matukkaláya (son of Kaļu Íbráhím Fáriná and Khánzi Kamaná), Muḥammad fled to Goa; whence he returned as "Captain Adiri-Adiri (? Andreas André) with the Portuguese fleet which captured Mále.

8. Portuguese at Male: A.C. 1558-73. Pyrard, writing after his captivity at Mále (A.C. 1602-07), confirms the "*Tárikh*", and adds some further details:—

"The Portuguese in this way ruled the Islands in peace for the space of ten years, during which time the father of this (reigning) King (Sultán Íbráhím III) and his brother were *Calibes*, each of his own Island; but, with the pride of their race, would never submit to the Portuguese yoke, nor obey the Governor whom they had left in power. They rebelled and levied a force of men and galleys for war and retired to the Atol *Souadou*, (Huvadú) at the Southern extremity of the Islands, whither the Portuguese dared not follow them; so that this Atol and the Islands belonging thereto, were never subject to the Portuguese; nor any of the other Islands and Atols to the South.

"They became in time so strong in men, arms, and ammunition that they, as it were, held Mále and the Portuguese in check, so that they durst not come out without daily experiencing a harassing war." This guerilla warfare lasted for "eight years."

Finally with the aid of four galleys of Malabar corsairs (whom they afterwards plundered), the brothers one night surprised Mále by escalade, and made themselves masters of the place, putting to death upwards of 300 men that were within, and taking prisoner the native Governor sent there by the Portuguese. (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, I., pp. 24-48).

9. Sultan Ghazi Muhammad. The *Bihorózu Miskit* at Mále contains his *Ziyárat*. "The Sword of Death" feelingly comments the "*Tárikh*" "severed the thread of life, and his soul was transported

to the Great Eternal Throne. His body, enveloped in a shroud and placed in a coffin, was borne by men of eminence to the burial place; where it was interred in special soil. The Earth treats all alike."

10. Dives Akuru. See Ceylon Asiatic Society Journal., Vol. XXVII, Extra Number, 1919. Appendix C. pp. 140-68; Vol. XXIX. No. 77, 1924, pp. 287-303.

11. Bodu Baderi Ge Seal. Within circle :—" *Ad-Daulat min al-Mahal Di biyat* " "The Máldivian Government."

12. Transcript. The Roman transcript, made personally from the *Fat-kolu* itself, has been most carefully checked with the "*Dives Akuru*" and "*Tána*" copies supplied, on Government direction, by Husain Takurufánu, *Khatib* of Hitadú Island, Addú Atol.

Some points to note in the Text orthography (*Plates E., F.*):—

(i) *Sukun*. This slightly curved diagonal symbol, written above and to right of preceding consonant or vowel, has here five values, viz :—

(a) Vowel *u* above consonant, e.g. *Bodu*, *hunna*; in contrast to *u* sub-scribed, e.g. *varu*, *huri*.

(b) "Stop" (equivalent to Sinhalese *al* symbol) on consonants; e.g. the *s* in *Miskitu*.

(c) Mute, when closing certain words ending in a vowel; e.g. *machcha(r)*, *komme(r)*, *ru(r)*.

(d) (e) Substitute for duplicating medial consonant, e.g. *he(d)devi*, *e(m)mena(r)*, *hu(n)na*, *vo(t)te*, *lala*. *kure(v)vi*; or for final *n*, e.g. *fadai(n)*, *Do(n)*, *furu(n)*.

(ii) Circular symbol for *r*, combined with preceding consonant and vowel, e.g. *Takru* for *Takuru*, *Fra* for *Fura*.

(iii) Word coalescence, e.g., *Mulakatolu* for *Mulaku Atolu*.

13. Translation. Entirely based on oral rendering kindly given to the writer at Mále in 1922 by I. Ahmad Dídí, *Doriméná Kilégefánu*, son of the late Prime Minister Hájí A. Íbráhim Dídí, *Bodu Doriméná Kilégefánu*.

14. Varu. The term for form and rates of Máldive Poll-Tax *per* head (M. *Bó-machcha-bahani Váru*) levied from every inhabited Island; now-a-days on the basis of a separate *Váru Fat-kolu*, or Written Assessment Mandate, for each Island, authorised by the Sultán.

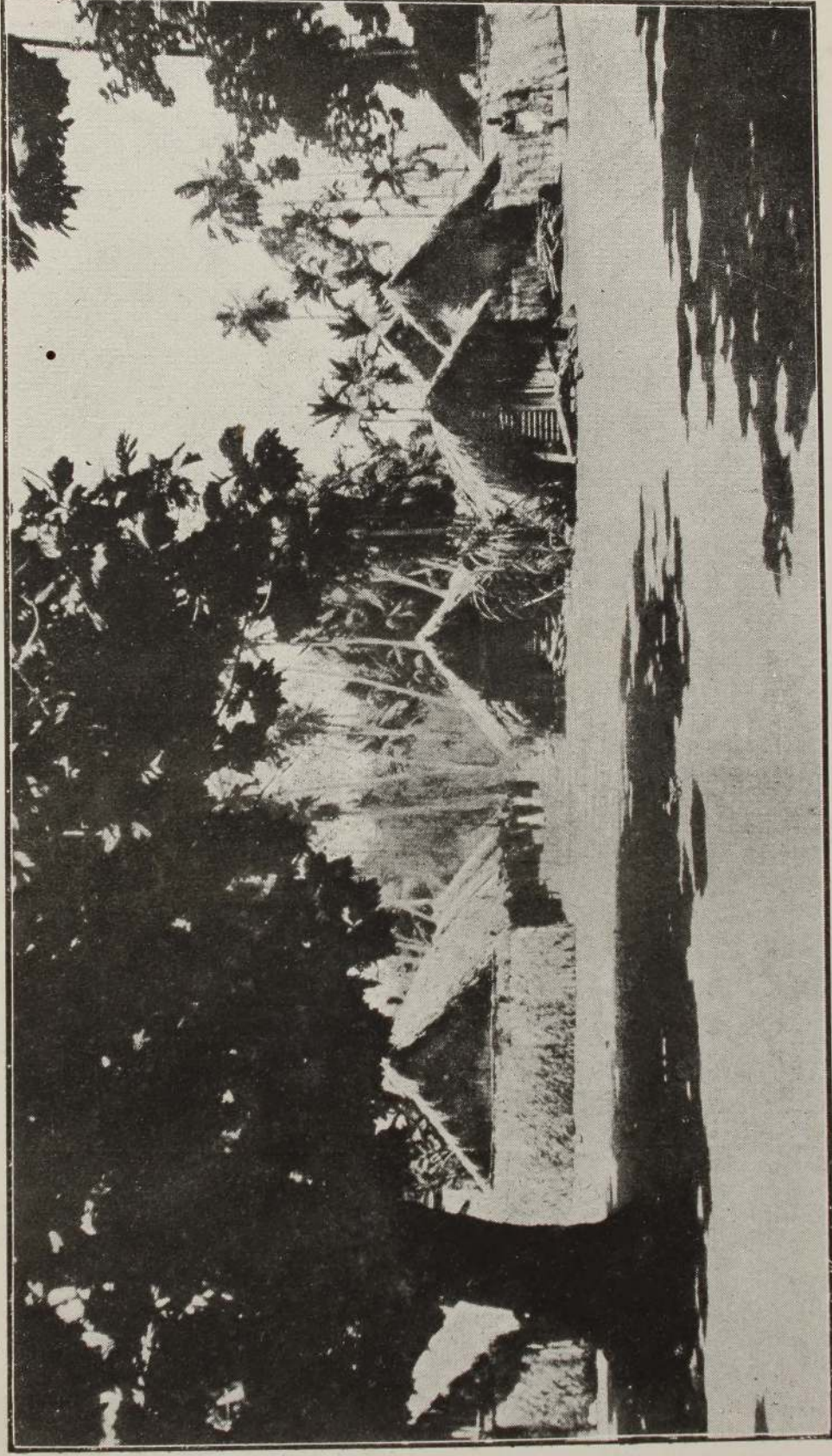
The Mandate specifies the number of males in the Island between the ages of 15 and 55 subject to the Tax; with the amount of the different commodities (including money) &c., to be supplied.

The levy is exacted under a fanciful fiction of adult pairs (male and female), termed *Bó-himanai*; males alone being liable to pay the tax (M. *Bai-haru*), but each treated, for the said purpose, as two individuals—one man and one woman.

Theoretically, every Island's assessment is subject to revision once in four years; but usually no change is made during the reign of the Sultán issuing the Mandate.

15. Kolu-furi Mosque. The Mosque in the adjoining Island, *Váriya-furi*, was built by this Sultán's elder sister *Daita Kamaná*.

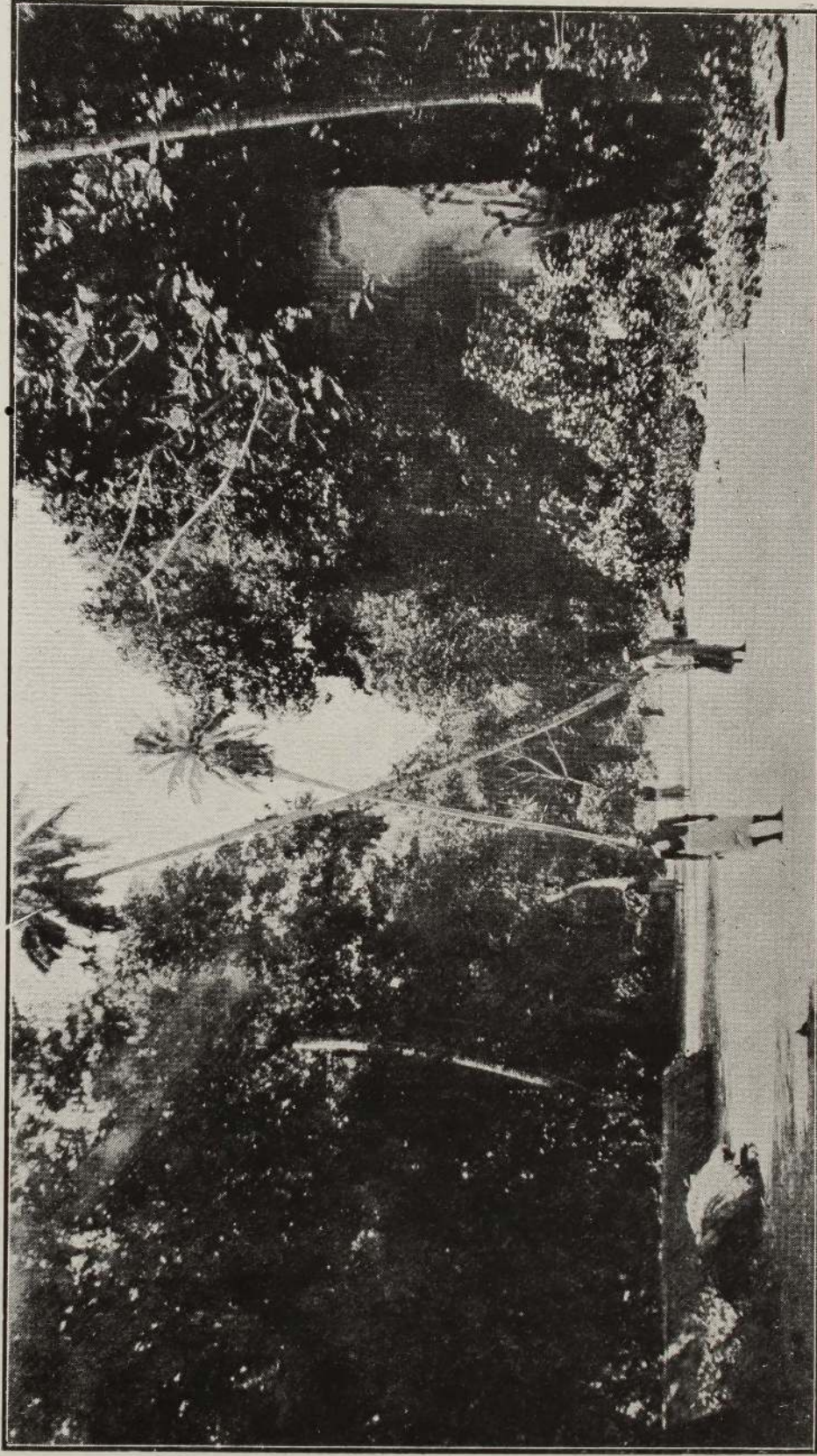
MULAKU ATOL : KOLU-FURI ISLAND.



VILLAGE.

Plate B.

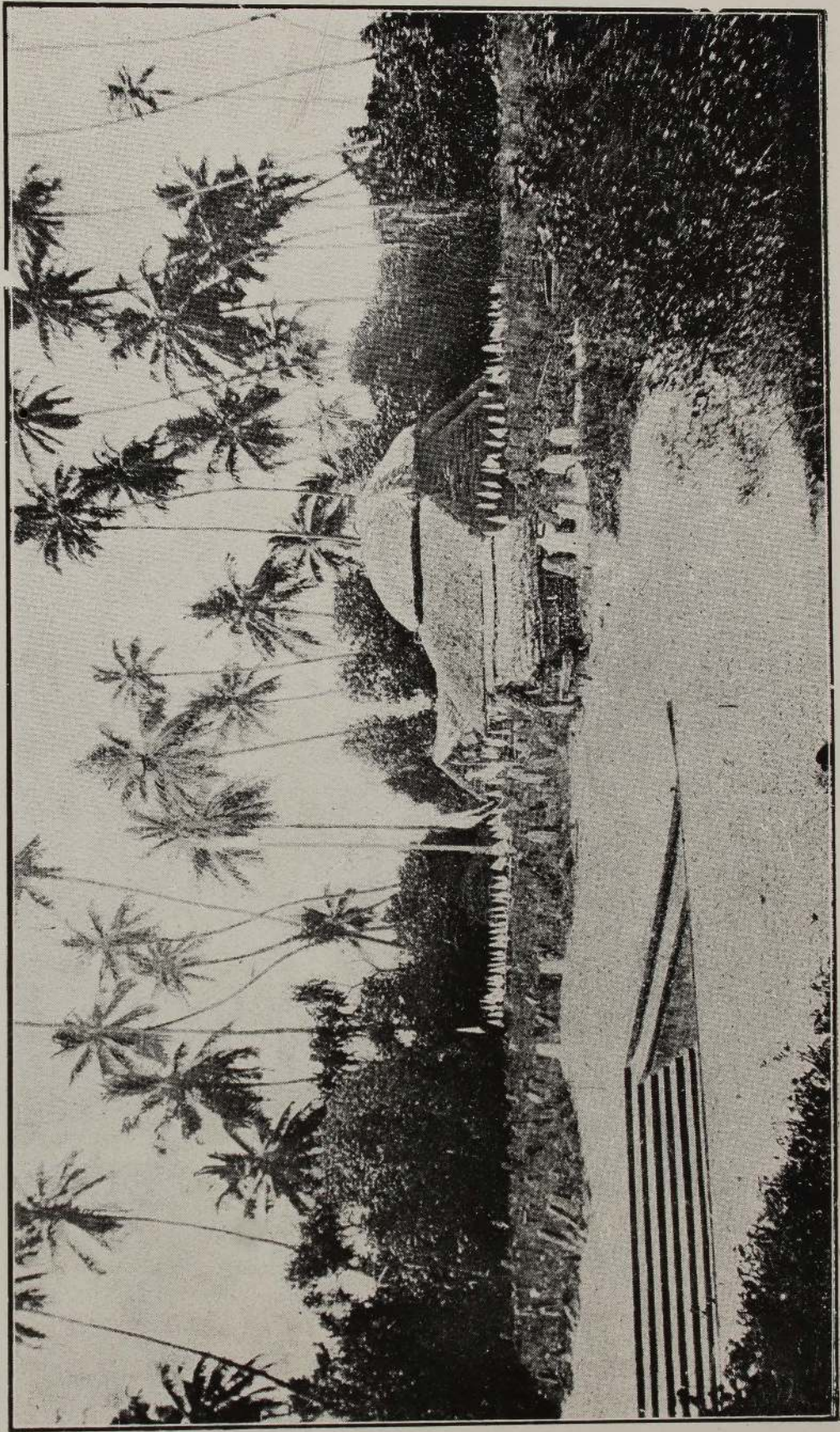
MULAKU ATOL : KOLU-FURI ISLAND.



ROAD TO HUKURU MISKIT.

Plate C.

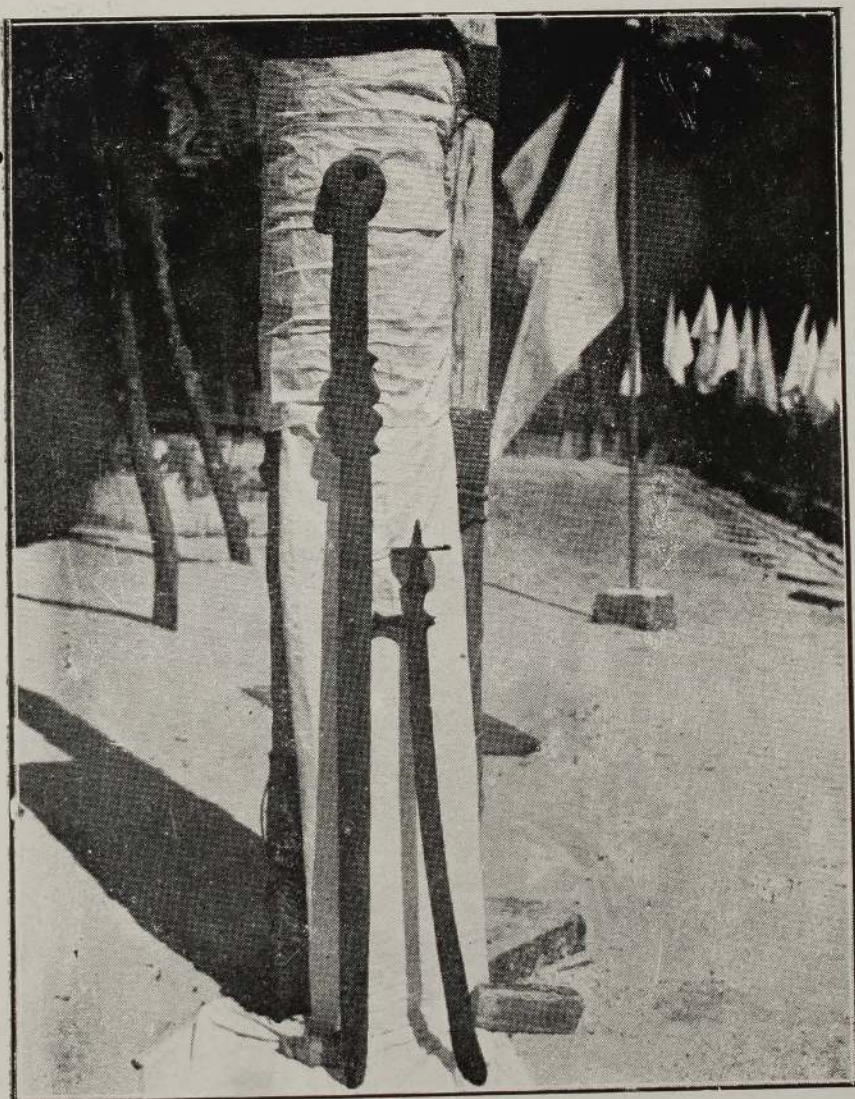
MULAKU ATOL : KOLU-FURI ISLAND.



HUKURU MISKIT.

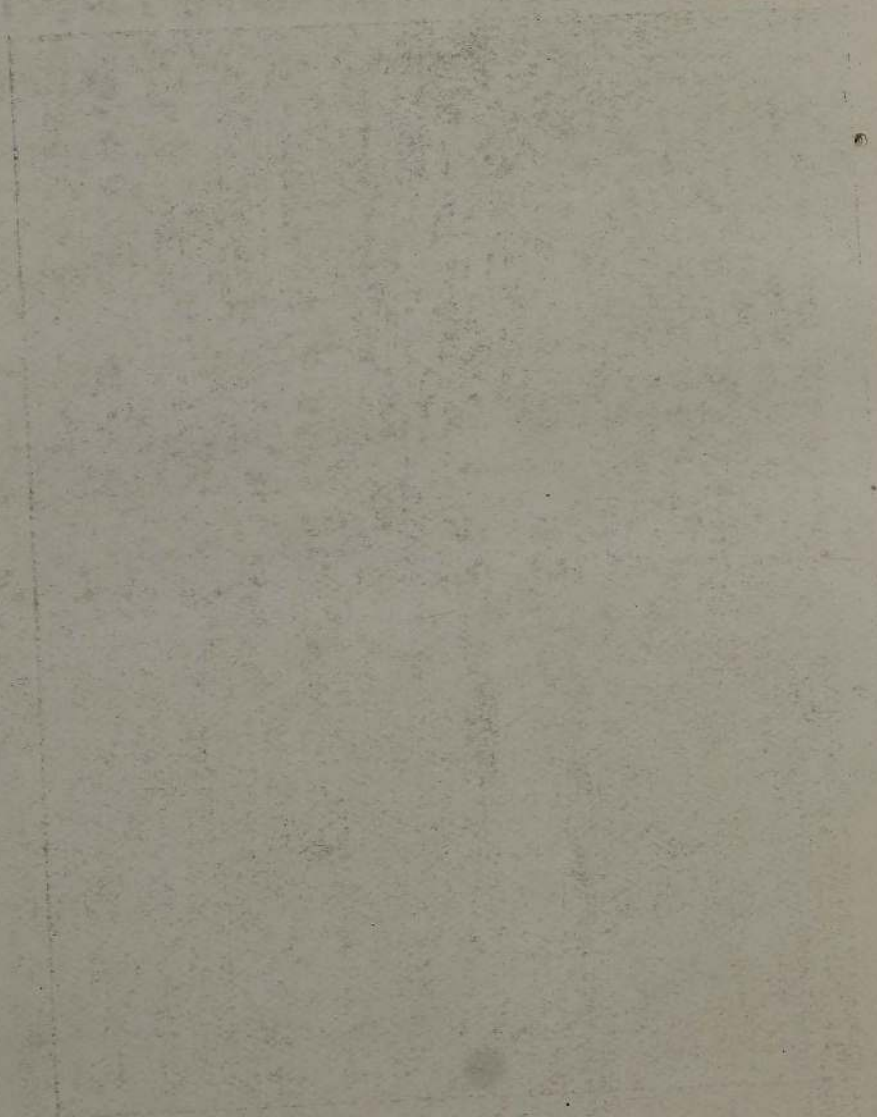
Plate D.

MULAKU ATOL : KOLU-FURI ISLAND

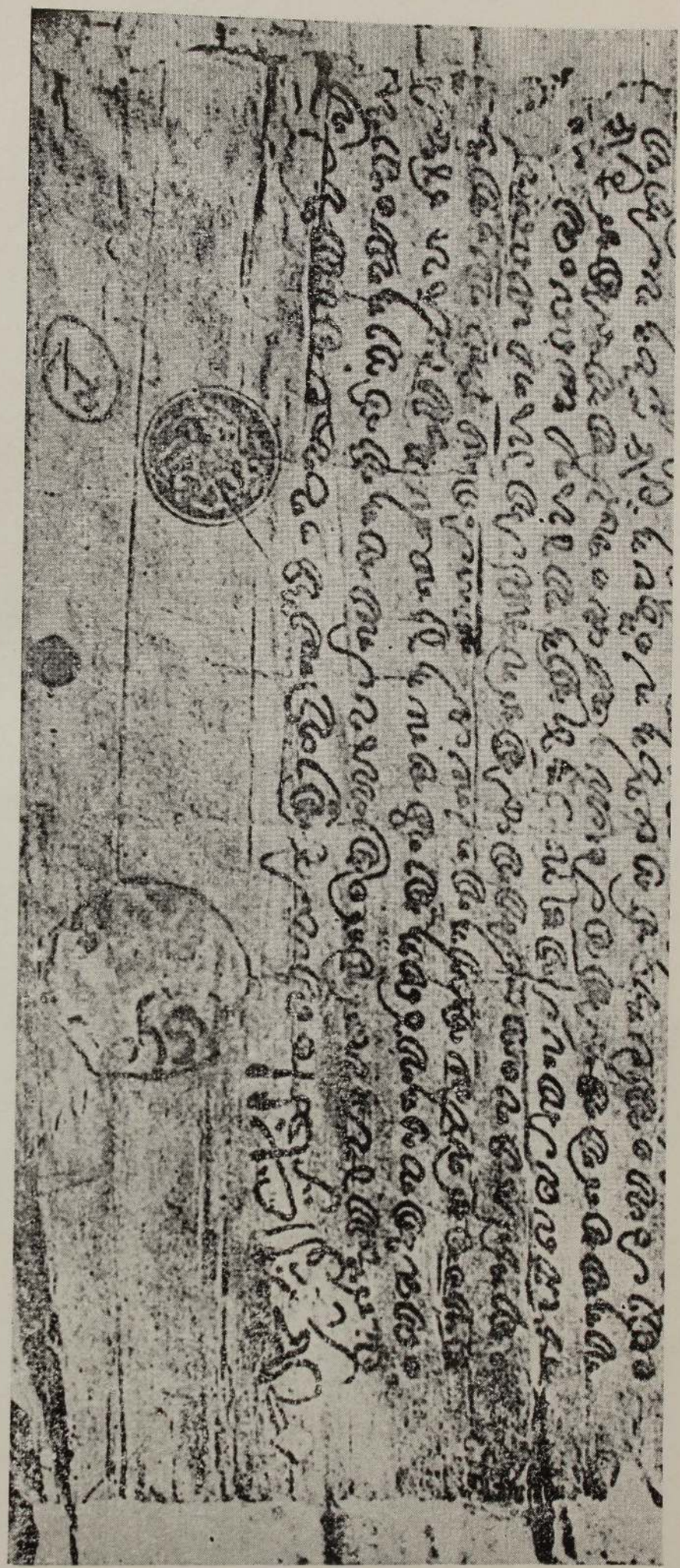


OLD PORTUGUESE SWORD, &c.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



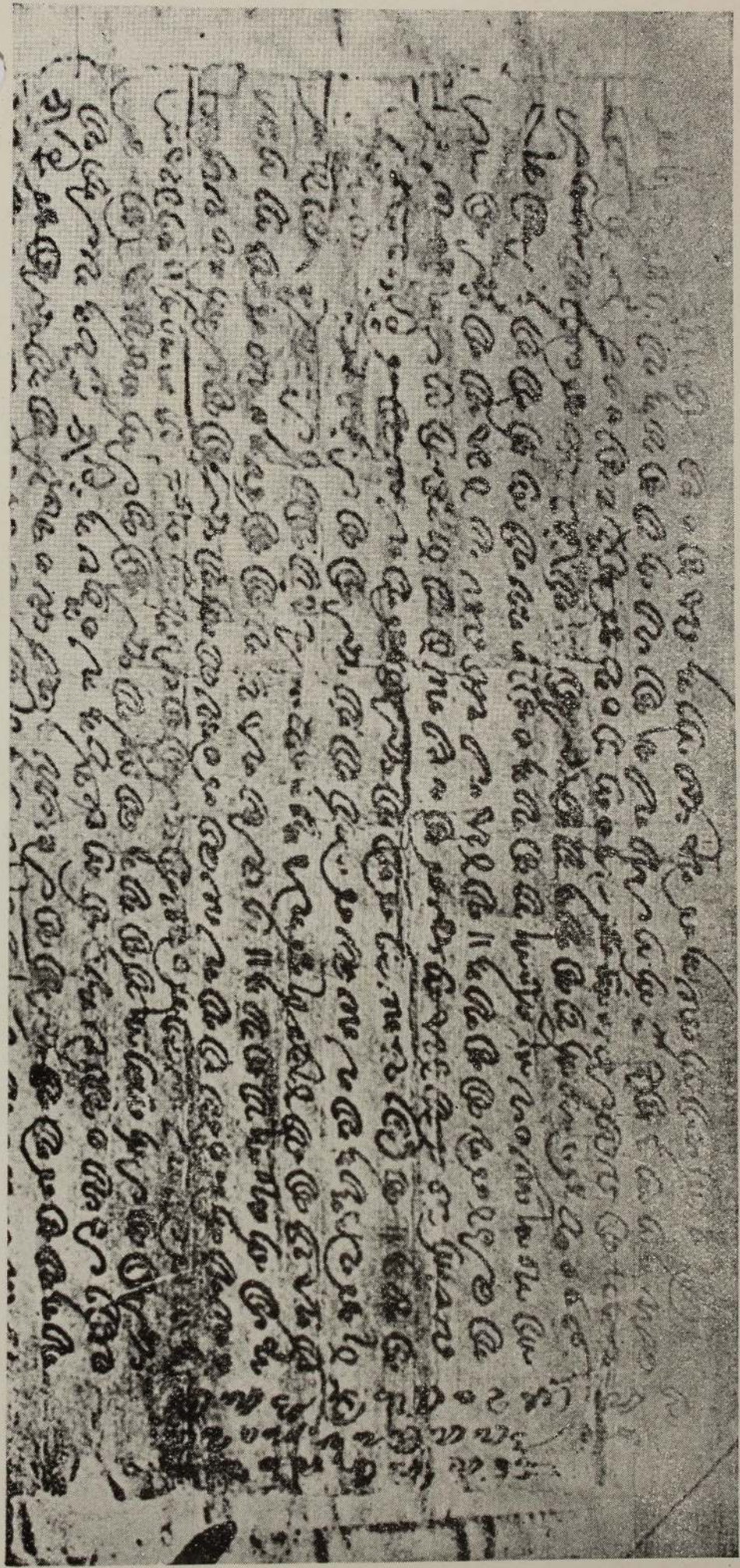
MULAKU ATOL : KOLU-FURI ISLAND.



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- 2.
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FAT-KOLU.

MULAKU ATOL: KOLU-FURI ISLAND.



- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.-16.*
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.
- 26.

FAT-KOLU.

* Lines 13, 14, 15 are to left of Text at right angles.

16. Falabba. Produce Tax (M. *Bin-bai*; *Varuva*), from trees and other cultivations, is levied by the Máldivian Government (M. *Baṇḍára*) in kind, or money, from the occupiers (M. *raiatun*) of inhabited Islands upon the respective yields of trees and crops, as fluctuating from year to year.

The *Varuva* Tax embraces three sub-divisions.; (a) *Fálabba*, (b) *Falamadi*, (c) *Gován*. These are rated, as under:—

(a) *Fálabba*. Half ($\frac{1}{2}$) share, equally divided between the Government and the inhabitants, of four special fruit trees—coconut (M. *kári*); arecanut (M. *fuvak*); breadfruit (M. *bambu-keyo*); *Pandanus*, or screwpine (M. *kari-keyo*), and the like (M. *talakai* in general).

(b) *Falamadi*. One-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of all root-crops and garden produce.

(c) *Gován*. One-fourth ($\frac{1}{4}$), in inhabited Islands, or one-fifth ($\frac{1}{5}$) in uninhabited islands, of the three species of fine grain grown at the Máldives, viz., *urá* (*Setaria Italica*), *Siṇ. tana-hál*; *bimbi* (*Elusine coracana*, *Siṇ. kurakkan*); *kudibai* (*Panicum miliaceum*, *Siṇ. menéri*).

No rice is grown at the Máldives; all is imported.

17. Stamping Trees. Trees are stamped (M. *tat-jahán*; *fálabba-kulán*) on the trunk in vertical line, by an iron-shod tool leaving circular mark (M. *tak-kari*), $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. One indentation denotes sole private ownership; three marks, entire *Baṇḍára* (Government) right; four marks, half possession in Government, half in the Islanders; a fifth mark on every twenty-fifth tree (M. *tak-kari rur*, "stamp tree,") signifies Government perquisite.

18. Clause. The recurrence at the end of many sentences of the stereotyped expression "*hunna huri kamái*", lit. "and (this) was (*hunna*), (and) is (*huri*) the fact (*kamái*)," seems to justify its rendering by the legal term "Clause."

19. Donumati. Essential requisites at burials, supplied to the Mosque by the deceased's relatives, viz. one coconut plant and one mat.

20. Medu-furi. Uninhabited island lying just South of Nálá-furi; not to be confused with Maḍi-furi Island between Raiman-dú and Vévar further North.

21. Waqf. *Waqf* (Arabic), *Waguf* (Máldivian); bequest for religious or charitable purposes.

22. Imprecation. The curse, as here laid upon any breaker of this *Waqf* benefaction, is far more forcibly worded in *Fat-kolu* Grants issued by later Sultáns e.g., *Filá-fat*, of Sultán Iskandar Ibráhím, dated A.H. 1063 (A.C. 1652-53) for *Gan Island*, *Addú Atol*,:—

"Whoever frustrates, or is minded to harm, and nullify, this (beneficiary) action (*kan*), will go to Hell (*Naraka*), with sinners who destroy the *Ka'aba* shrine (at Mekka), burn the *Qurán*, and worship images (*budu*, lit. Buddha)."

“CONQUISTA” OF DE QUEYROZ.

Translation by REV. FATHER S. G. PERERA.

The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon (*Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceyloa*), by Father Fernao de Queyroz, of the Society of Jesus, sometime Provincial of Goa, translated by Father S. G. Perera, S.J. In 3 vols., pp. 1,274, with an Introduction Notes and Index by the Translator. Published by the Government of Ceylon. Price Rs. 21.00.

The translation of perhaps one of the most discussed historians of Ceylon has just been issued by the Government Printer. Although completed for publication in 1687 and passed by the Imprimature of the Superiors of the Society in the following year, it was not till 1916 that the work was put into print by the Ceylon Government, Dr. P. E. Pieris being entrusted with the work of editing the text. The text itself has a history. Father Queyroz's MS. was sent to Lisbon for publication shortly after the author's death in 1688, but it ultimately found its way to the Royal Library of Lisbon and was among the books and papers which John VI. of Portugal took with him to Brazil when he fled to that country during the Napoleonic wars. It was later presented by that Prince to the National Library of Rio de Janeiro where it now lies.

A copy of the MS. was made in 1834 for the Instituto Historico e Geographico of Brazil and was duly listed in its catalogue of MSS. Father Joseph Cooreman, Vicar-General of Galle, saw the list and brought the existence of the copy to the notice of Mgr. Ladislaus Zaleski, Apostolic Delegate of the East Indies, residing at Kandy at the time, who, in turn, obtained a copy of the document from Brazil which he subsequently presented to the Papal Seminary at Kandy. The news gradually leaked out about 1907 of the mysterious de Queyroz, and in that year the “greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon, de Queyroz” was “trotted out” at a meeting of the R.A.S. to refute Donald Ferguson's contention that Ceylon was discovered by the Portuguese in 1506 (instead of 1505), which he had attempted to prove by all the available records, except de Queyroz. All the Ceylon cognoscenti clamoured to know who de Queyroz was, and Dr. P. E. Pieris, who had also in the meantime acquired a copy of the MS., sold it to the Government.

We certainly stand on firmer ground regarding the Portuguese era in Ceylon than the Dutch. The Portuguese have left us two completed histories of their occupation of the Island, (1518-1658), *viz.*, that of Ribeiro (*The Fatal History of the Island of Ceylao*), and the present work, and several incomplete accounts, chief of which are those of de Barros and de Couto. The Dutch have only given us Valentyn's work on Ceylon included in his work on the East-Indies, (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*) published in 1726, Baldaeus's earlier work included in his “*Malabar and Coromandel*,” published in 1672, the “*Beknopte Historie*,” a short summary also incomplete, and a few modern works devoted only to separate periods of individuals.

De Queyroz, like Ribeiro, was a contemporary of some of the events he describes, and right through their works runs the moral to

be derived from a concatenation of events all tending to a just punishment to the Portuguese from Heaven "for their sins." "Fatal" was the keynote of Ribeiro's history, because the loss of Ceylon sounded the knell in his ears of Portuguese domination in India. De Queyroz, however, who had arrived much earlier in India, when Portugal still held nearly all her early conquests in India and Ceylon, had a longer and more intimate knowledge of affairs. His was a more constructive effort, and his message was one of hope—hope for a repentant Portugal, who, when the Dutch who had been sent for her chastisement had been dissolved as "salt in water," would come back into her own.

The 6 Books of the *Conquista*, 2 in each volume of the translation, are divided into 3 distinct parts. The First Book is a long and detailed account of the Island, its peoples and their institutions; the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Books contain an account of the temporal and spiritual conquest of the Island; and in the 6th Book, de Queyroz ruthlessly exposes the maladministration of the Portuguese, all based on authentic information. A few captions of Book 1, as illustrating the learned nature of this part of the History, are as follows: Chapter 11, Of the Policy of the Chingalas, in particular, and in general of the Heathen of this Hindustan; Chapter 12, The Ceremonies of their Marriages; Chapter 13, Of the Justice of this Heathendom, and especially of the Chingalas; Chapter 15, What the Chingalas know of Mathematics; Chapter 17, Account which the Missionaries of China give of the Idol Buddum; Chapter 20, Of the knowledge which Oriental Heathendom has about the Law of Moses.

The history of the Conquest begins in Book 2 with the discovery of Ceylon by Don Lourenco de Almeyda in 1505. There is hardly a dull page in all that follows, and although already possessing a knowledge of the chief characters of the History through a modern work, "Ceylon: The Portuguese Era," we are introduced, in propria persona, to all the great men and captains of the time, to the "terrible," Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, "a man who was always a soldier, and 18 years General of Ceylon, and 5 years Viceroy of India," to the great Constantine de Sa e Noronha who reformed the administration and consolidated the Portuguese power in Ceylon. We are given some idea of the missionary zeal of the four great Orders of the Roman Catholic Church, the Franciscans who first came to Ceylon, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians. There were 55 churches in the Kingdom of Kotte alone, and "at least 71,074 Christians baptized by the Friars of St. Francis, as appears from a certificate of the General Constantino de Sa, sworn by anticipation (sic), and dated, Colombo, 23rd November, 1628."

A few of the captions relating to the Spiritual Conquest are, Book 4, Chapter 7, Other things which the Religious of St. Francis did in Jafanapatao; Chapter, 8, Notices of the Prodigies of the Sacred Image of Our Lady of Miracles; Chapter 11, Conversions of the Princes, Queens, Chiefs and people of Jafanapatao; Chapter 12 Other Religious come; Chapter 13, Of what the Religious of St. Francis did in the other places of Ceylon; Chapter 16, What the other Religious Orders did in Ceylon and the miracles which God wrought in the Island.

Apart from the general historical interest of the book, there are a few features, which, whilst relieving the tedium of the "history," afford a glimpse of, let us say, the standard of critical research of the period. One would hardly expect a grave cleric of de Queyroz's standing to perpetrate such "bulls," but it is all postulated with

such an engaging air of frankness that one can readily forgive him. Mabada (Maha Badde, Great Tax) he says means "Great Omer" (sc. Badawan); Mani-cauare (a Portuguese hash for Menikkadavara—an impossible word to the Portuguese judging by their various attempts to pronounce it—) means according to him "Come here, my precious stone;" one of the derivations of Jaffnapatam is stated to be Napunay-Patanao "Land of bad people;" similarly Uva—metamorphosed into Uure Rate, "Land of Pigs;" Gampola should be according to him "Gamapale," or preferably "Gama-mandepale," "Village, why do you go away?" Dondra (then Dewinuware) was called Tanauare, "from the name of a neighbouring village in which lived the dancing girls of the Pagode"—not because of the congenital difficulty of the Portuguese in pronouncing the cerebral "d" which abounds in Sinhalese place names, other examples being "Ambelangore," for Ambalangoda, "Kosgore" for Kosgoda, "Garaveto" Kadawata, etc.

An amusing incident is related in the Chapter devoted to Marriage Ceremonies, ".....relates that when he was Ouvidor (Magistrate) of Ceylon, there appeared before him a woman married to seven brothers to complain of the ill-treatment she received from so many, and begged in good earnest to be relieved of some of them. And as they were still subject to their laws and customs, the Ouvidor asked her whether two would be enough for her, and she replied that she would take four; and choosing those she liked, the case was settled. Such (the author sententiously remarks) are the fruits of Paganism."

De Queyroz obviously draws on his imagination when he confuses Admiral Pacob Necio with Sebald de Weerd, "with a name that foreboded the unforeseen event." In another place he expresses concern, when the Danes first visited the East coast, at the danger of the inhabitants' "passing from idolatry to heresy." It is a long story faithfully told, with all the detachment possible to a stern Catholic, of the tangled story of intrigue, invasion and retreat, victory and rout, and murder and treachery, and the vitalizing influences of the unselfishness and zeal of the Roman Catholic Church.

E.R.

THE MILINDA-QUESTIONS.

Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS (KEGAN PAUL IosH.)

With the publication of Mrs. Rhys Davids' "The Milinda Questions," a definite stage in the progress of Pali scholarship may be said to have been reached. Written in her usually vigorous style—language, at times, breathing hard and running into new forms to keep pace with the thought—the book is a kind of fulfilment of her husband's unrealized wish "to discuss the doctrines of the author of the Pali Book Milindapanha, comparing his standpoint with that of the earliest Buddhists, set out in the 4 Great Nikāyas, with that of the later books contained in the Piṭaka and with that of still later works not included in the Canon at all."

The attempt to give "a local habitation and a name" to the unknown author of Milindapanha (she recognizes only one creative hand at work on the book) is interesting in the extreme. Whether this has put the records in their historical setting and gained for us a more proper perspective or not, it is difficult to say. But "Mānava" and his college-comrades at Nālandā are certainly a more appealing picture than the royal student of the Pitakas and others of that ilk.

In indicating certain of the vital changes that came over Buddhism, the author discusses the history and thought-content of such terms as *atta*, *dhamma*, *arahant* and *nibbāna*. Several pages are devoted to the consideration of what the "man" was for Nagasena. And it is comforting to be told that in the Recorded Conversations there is "no positive denial *that the man is*," that men as individuals were very real for Nagasena as they were also for the writer of the Dilemmas who "does not appear in the least interested in the *anatta* dogma," and for whom "man" was no mere congeries of *dharmas* and *khandas*. But willing as we are to hold fast to the "Willer," it is a moot point whether the sense of *n'upalabbhati* has not been too much strained in this respect.

The pages on Nibbana are unique in their way and deserve careful thought. It is sought to make out that for the author of Milindapanha, *Nibbana* was a "very mighty going on" and that the real value of the negative terms is "to express freedom from all that stops us, not to cease becoming, but to become, not to will no more, but to be radiant will unchecked, not to end action but to work divinely." Brave words these, and comforting again,

".....for who would lose

Though full of pain, this intellectual being,

Those thoughts that wander through eternity?"

But what would Orthodoxy say?

The title chosen—"An Indian Utopia"—in discussing the parable-city, discloses at once new avenues of research, while it also makes the Milindapanha rank among some of the best works of all literature. While yet upon this theme our author makes the following observation:—

“Not easy is it to estimate what the recluse tradition has cost India and the countries where Hinayana spread. It has meant that a large proportion of the best manhood has for centuries been withdrawn from promoting the welfare of the land, and has served that mainly in the negative way, by not being drawn into movements where their gifts might have been misused to stir up strife.” A challenge to the Buddhist priesthood—and the cause is well worthy of a strong and able protagonist.

In the narrow compass of less than 200 pages, the author has discussed, with consummate skill, a host of problems bristling with difficulty, and much new and welcome light has she thrown upon many dark places. There is also much that will be distinctly unpalatable to the orthodox taste. But what of that, for orthodoxy, by a strange perversion of words, is not synonymous with the “right view.” A perusal of “*The Milinda-Questions*” makes the Milindapanha live for us far more really and truly than it did before. We are sent back to the fountain-source with fresh zest, with a keener perception and with many questions to propound and unravel. The book is, indeed, a *sine qua non* to the future student of the Milindapanha.

G.P.M.

WOMEN UNDER PRIMITIVE BUDDHISM

Miss ISALINE B. HORNER, (ROUTLEDGE & SONS,
LONDON, 15*sh.*)

This book is a truly fascinating study of how much was done by Buddhism for the uplift of Woman in India and how much women did, in their turn, as props and stays of the religion that had spelt such a change in their lives. Miss I. B. Horner is Research Fellow and Librarian of Newnham College, Cambridge. Mrs. Rhys Davids, the doyen of modern Pali studies, writes an illuminating foreword, characteristically full of suggestions.

In the first part of her book Miss Horner has described the varied role of woman as mother, wife, widow and worker. In drawing for us a picture of the times and the social conditions into which the new religion was born, where it lived and moved and had its being, the author has discussed such controversial matters as child-marriage, infanticide, divorce and widow-burning in the light of the early Pali literature with which she has made herself so much at home. And, happily for all lovers of India, she has shown in regard to each of these that India has been more sinned against than sinning. There is, indeed, no aspect of the life of an Indian woman of the day that has been left out of consideration. Nor is it a reconstruction of mere conjecture, for nearly all the books of the Pali Canon and much of the commentarial literature have been brought under contribution. From the information found scattered in these ancient pages, the author has succeeded in piecing together a picture that almost lives and breathes. The ministering care of the mother, the sacrificial devotion of the wife, filial affection and, in a word, all that goes to make a home happy are all here. Truly has Miss Horner, in this part of her book, done for the women who lived under Primitive Buddhism what two generations back and more was done in such charming fashion for the Women of Ancient India by Mlle. Bader.

Part 2 of the book is devoted to the consideration of the "Buddhist Order of Almswomen." One note of protest here. The choice of the word "almswoman" to denote the Pali *bhikkhuni* is, to say the least, not happy. For in this portion of the book this clumsy word, with its equally uncouth brother, is met with repeatedly, in quick succession, on nearly every page till it almost becomes an eyesore. Perhaps the difficulty is only temperamental, but one cannot help thinking that Mrs. Rhys Davids had shown a better way in her "Psalms of the Sisters." But this does not of course detract in any measure from the general excellence of the work.

The first Chapter of the 2nd Part discusses the question of the Buddha's hesitancy to admit women into the order—a hesitancy which yielded under the weight of the importunity of Mahapajapati and the warm-hearted solicitude of the noble Ananda. The Chapter that follows gives the eight chief rules that governed the Order and here, as throughout, the Vinaya Texts have yielded information that was scarcely suspected to be there. It is seen that the traditional superiority of man expressed in the Puritan poet's "Man to command and woman to obey," had even in the New Order raised its proud head. But in the words of the author herself while "precautions such as these were necessary for the safety of the weaker sex.....there is never any hint or suggestion that woman was too frail to run the

gauntlet of the world's attractions and temptations, or that the purity of her reputation could only be preserved if she were not allowed to go out of the Vihara precincts? Theirs, then, was no cloistered virtue, but the strength of a life lived in the open air.

This is very clearly brought out in the two very refreshing chapters dealing with the *Therigāthā*. Here we see passing before our reverent gaze a noble band of women, young and old, who had left the pleasures of home for the more austere joys of the life of homelessness. What thing irresistible lured these heroic ladies to tread the lone heights? What were the compelling motives that drove them from the shelter of their homes? From and into what did they thus seek escape? To these and other questions of a kindred nature the answer is found in these pages. We will not quarrel with our author when with, perhaps, more instinctive sympathy with those of her sex than approximation to truth, she tries to explain away "the apparent insensibility to nature" seen in the *Therigāthā* as compared with the Psalms of the Brethren, by saying "it was because in meditation they concentrate more intensely than men and shut away all distracting sights and sounds by an effort of the will." It is with difficulty that we tear ourselves away from this part of the book where we would willingly linger long, but in taking leave of these dear presences, we still must turn again to look at Somā who, like the Princess of a later day, sounded the clarion of woman's emancipation in words that burn—

"*Itthibhāvo no kim kayirā?*"

(How should the woman's nature hinder us?)

The pages that follow are devoted to the consideration of the life of women as it was lived in the Order—the trials and temptations that beset them, their lapses, their moral victories and the inter-communication with the Theras. The concluding Chapter gives the relationship between the laity and the Order and the account of the life of *Visākhā* brings out the attitude of mutual helpfulness in which the one stood to the other. The whole is a very human document where we see women who, while they were in the world, were not of it and who seem, while they tread on earth to touch upon a higher sphere.

The copious notes and references given at the foot of every page are alone an index to the patient industry and careful sifting of material that must have preceded the composition of this work—a work characterised also by sober good sense, sound judgment and learning and, above all, by that imaginative sympathy at whose touch alone the past renders up its jealously guarded treasures.

It is commonly held that until Christianity had leavened the life of the nations the lot of woman was an unenviable one. But the supreme lesson of Miss Horner's book is that in India at least, under the regenerating influence of the Buddha's Way of Life, woman had, centuries before the birth of Christ, rid herself of her shackles and risen to the full stature of her distinctive womanhood and shown that she was "not undeveloped man, but only diverse." To adapt the lines of the poet,

"Not from western windows only, when daylight
Comes, comes in the light
But eastward look, the land is bright."

In conclusion it may be said that the work administers the needed corrective to the vitiated taste that could produce a book such as "Mother India." Miss Horner has laid all lovers of India's great heritage and the Buddhist world in particular, under a deep debt of gratitude.

G.P.M.