

JOURNAL
OF THE
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
1931.

VOLUME XXXII

No. 84—Parts I., II., III., and IV.

PAPERS :

	PAGE
1. THE SCHOOL COMMISSION, 1848-1859	37
2. LIFE IN EASTERN ASIA DURING THE FOURTH, FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES (A.D.)	55
3. SOME DOCUMENTS OF VIKRAMA BAHU OF KANDY	64
4. EXCERPTA MALDIVIANA	76
5. NOTES AND QUERIES	125
6. NOTICES OF BOOKS	131

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

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THE TIMES OF CEYLON COMPANY, LTD., PRINTERS.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1931.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1931.

Meetings and Papers.

Six General Meetings were held during the year. At the Annual General Meeting held on the 6th March, 1931, the Annual Report and a paper entitled "The Lost Ancient Sinhalese Mahavamsa" by Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D. (London), were read. The papers read at the remaining meetings were :—

29th Jan. "The Culture of the Indus Valley, and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro," illustrated with lantern slides by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

11th June. Medicine amongst the ancient Hindus, by Dr. W. Balendra, M.R.C.S., L.D.S., L.R.C.P.

4th July. Some Zoological Curiosities of Ceylon, by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.

4th August. Hawks, Eagles, and Birds of Prey, by Mr. A. R. Hughes, illustrated by Capt. Knights' motion picture "Golden Eagles."

30th Nov. The School Commission, 1848-1859, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A. (London).

There were also three meetings of the Council.

Publications.

Journal Vol. XXXI, No.82, was issued during the year, the contents of which were included in last year's report.

Journal Vol. XXXI, No. 83, now in the press, contains in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and notices of books, the following papers and notes:—

Papers :

- (i) Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames, by Mr. Edmund Reimers, Government Archivist.
- (ii) The Art of India and Indo-China with Special References to Ceylon, by Dr. Victor Goloubew, D. Ph.
- (iii) The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura, by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner.
- (iv) The Central School Commission, 1841-1848, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A. (London).
- (v) Place Names of Ceylon, by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.
- (vi) The Earliest Dutch Visit to Ceylon, by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (vii) Excerpta Maldiviana, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (retired).

Notes and Queries :—

- (i) Kirtti Sri Meghavarna II, by Mr. W. F. Guna-wardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
- (ii) The Invasion of Ceylon by Muslims, by Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.
- (iii) Antiquities discovered in a Culvert on the Kandy Road, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D. Sc., F.R.S.E.
- (iv) Iron and Chank Rings on New-born Babies, by Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.

The Aluviyara Edition of the Pali Classics.

The second and final part of the Papança Sūdanī, containing Majjhima Paṇṇāsa and Upari Paṇṇāsa, was issued in 1930. A few copies are still available.

The original intention was to issue the *Samanta Pāsādikā*, commentary on *Vinaya Piṭaka*. But a suggestion came from Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, head of the Department of Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese studies of the Ceylon University College, that the extended *Mahāvamsa* be included next in the series. This Pali poem called the *Mahāvamsa*, which is about double the size of the commonly accepted text of the Pali chronicle of that name, was discovered in 1902 by the late Prof. Edmund Hardy, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. The Council considered the question as to what should follow the *Papaṇṣa Sūdanī* in the *Aluvihāra Edition* of the Pali Classics, and decided that this matter be referred to Lord Chalmers for his opinion. It was pointed out that since the inauguration of the *Aluvihāra Edition*, there have come into being the *Tipiṭaka* publications issued by the Trustees of the estate of the late Mr. Simon Hewavitarna, and that thirty volumes of the commentaries had already been published and arrangements had been made to issue almost immediately an edition of the *Piṭakas* as well. Attention was also drawn to the fact that for the Hewavitarna publication, the services of the best Ceylonese editors available had been obtained, and the question was raised whether it would be desirable, or necessary to issue the same books from the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund as well, as the work would in all probability have to be entrusted to the same editors. Lord Chalmers, in replying to the Council's request, says :—

“I agree to including Dr. G. P. Malalasekara's edition of the Cambodian *Mahāvamsa* in the *Aluvihāra Edition* of Pali Texts which bears my name. I do this readily as the projected work is of a scholarly character and analogous to the *Tipiṭaka* commentaries which I had in mind when endowing the fund. I am not at all influenced by the facts that the late Simon Hewavitarna has issued a series of texts, etc., which are by no means of the critical value which I had in view as embodying Sinhalese Scholarship on a survey of the

various readings of the manuscripts, representing various manuscript families (such as were duly recorded in the Papan̄a Sūdanī).

For further publications, I suggest a critical edition of the Sutta Nipāta and the Khuddaka Pāṭha, with Commentaries and Tīkas."

As approved by Lord Chalmers, the next issue of the series will be the extended Mahāvamsa, which Dr. Malalasekara has kindly undertaken to edit critically.

Life Members.

Mr. C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S. (retired), and Mr. H. T. Ramachandra, Proctor, S.C., became life members.

Deaths.

The Council records, with regret, the deaths of the following members :—

Mr. Abraham Mendis Gunasekara, Gate Mudaliyar, Dr. Lionel de Silva, Mr. M. P. L. S. Fernando, Mr. H. R. Gunaratna, Mr. W. W. Karunaratna, Rev. M. D. Sirinivasa-tissa Thera, and Mr. D. D. Weerasingha, Mudaliyar.

Gate Mudaliyar Gunasekara joined the Society in 1891, became a life-member in 1898, and was on the Council from 1903 to 1928. By his death, this Society has been deprived of one of its most valued and zealous members, whose name will long be remembered as a leading authority on the Sinhalese Language, and to whom we are indebted for one of the best Sinhalese Grammars ever published in English. He also compiled a Sinhalese-English and an English-Sinhalese Dictionary. Besides these, he was the author of several other works in Sinhalese.

In addition to the many other services rendered to the Society he contributed to the journal, the following :— (i) Dharna ; (ii) Nāgadīpa ; (iii) Sabaeon and Yavanas ; (iv) Palikada or Halikada ; (v) Sinhalese terms of relationship ; (vi) The Nagas of Ceylon ; (vii) Time of day for planting, and (viii) The Yakkhas.

Mudaliyar Gunasekara was 40 years in the Public Service, and was Interpreter to the Director of Education at the time of his retirement.

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary now being compiled under the auspices of this Society, is the outcome of a suggestion made in 1923 by the late Mudaliyar, who was one of its editors from the time the work was commenced up to his death.

Resignations.

The following members have resigned their membership : Messrs. N. K. Choksy, Thomas Gracie, G. E. Harding, A. S. Harrison, S. G. A. Julius ; D. C. Pedris ; S. Periatambi, L. MacD. Robison, and Mrs. B. Hunsworth.

The Patron and the President.

Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., who was Patron of the Society from 1927-1929, and was President from 1929-1931, left the Island in February, 1931, on being appointed High Commissioner for South Africa. The office of President, vacated on Sir Herbert's transfer, was filled by the Hon'ble Sir Bernard H. Bourdillon. Sir Herbert Stanley was the first Governor who was President of the Society, and the Council desired to record its appreciation of the very active interest which he took in the proceedings and work of the Society.

Council.

Under Rule 20 Dr. S. C. Paul and Mudaliyar Herod Gunaratna retired by seniority and the Hon. Mr. L. Macrae and Mr. H. W. Codrington by least attendance, two of them being eligible for re-election, Dr. Paul and Mudaliyar Gunaratna were re-elected ; and Mr. Edmund Reimers, Gate Mudaliyar, Gunawardhana and Dr. Malalasekara were elected to fill the existing vacancies on the Council.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman was re-elected Honorary Treasurer. Mr. Collins and Mr. Weinman were re-elected Honorary Secretaries.

The Library.

The additions to the library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 132.

The Society is indebted to the following for valuable exchanges :—

The Smithsonian Institute, Washington ; the American Oriental Society, Connecticut ; The American Philological Society, Baltimore ; The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon ; The Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland ; The Geological Society, London ; l'Ecole Francaise de Extreme-Orient, Hanoi ; The Musee Guimet, Paris ; Die Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig ; The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai ; The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ; The Bihar and Orissa Oriental Research Society, Bankipore ; The Asiatic Society of Japan ; The Siam Society, Bangkok ; The Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, Singapore ; Asia Major, Leipzig ; The Mythic Society, Bangalore ; Koninklijk Instituut Voor de taal-land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, Batavia ; Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland ; The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta ; The Czechoslavak Oriental Institute, Prague ; The Burma Research Society, Burma ; Royal Geographical Society, London ; The Institute of Historical Research Institute, London ; The School of Oriental Studies, London ; The Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia ; The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay ; and the Chief Librarian, Vajirañña National Library, Bangkok.

Donations were received from the following :—

The Director-General of Archaeology, India ; The Government of Ceylon ; The University of Calcutta ; The Editor, Indian Antiquary ; The Editor, Tamil Lexicon ; The Government Epigraphist, Madras ; The Director, Colombo Museum ; and the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, Colombo.

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

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

I have the honour to submit the following summary of work that has been done in connection with the Sinhalese Dictionary during the year 1931 :—

1. During this period a large number of inscriptions and records in various Research Journals were indexed. The number of books so far indexed totals over 600.
2. The task of transferring words collected from literary sources and common speech to cards was continued. These cards number over 600,000. The cards dealing with *A*, totalling over 40,000, have been completely arranged in alphabetical order. The arrangement of cards dealing with other letters is making steady progress.
3. Of the *A* cards alphabetically arranged, over 8,000 were treated editorially during the year.
4. Upon the invitation of the Managing Committee Professor Wilhelm Geiger arrived in the latter part of December accompanied by Mrs. Geiger. He has since been engaged in arranging the materials, prepared by the Editorial Staff, on modern scientific principles, preparatory to publication.
5. It was our original intention to issue the first part of the Dictionary during the early part of this year. Materials had been prepared with this object in view. But Professor Geiger has strongly advised the Managing Committee that it would be far more satisfactory if publication was deferred until all the collected materials had been examined.
6. The second and last part of the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* has now been printed and is ready for publication. During the year, the revision of the Sinhalese *Jātaka* text was also undertaken and the first part containing 202 pages will be issued shortly.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1931.

The acting Archaeological Commissioner has sent the following summary of the work done by his department in the year 1931.

Summary of the Work of the Archæological Department for 1931.

Polonnaruva.

The conservation of the pavilion to the east of the royal palace at Polonnaruva, undertaken last year, was completed. During the course of this work, several inscriptions were brought to light and, one of these, inscribed on the landing slab at the head of the upper flight of steps, confirms Mr. Hocart's hypothesis that this monument is the Rājaveśībhujāṅga Maṇḍapa built by Parākramabāhu I. Evidence was also found that this building had undergone alterations at a later date—possibly in the Daṁbadeṇiya period—when the carved stones of the Council Chamber of Niśsaṁka Malla on the embankment of the Tōpāvāva were removed and utilized for its embellishment.

While clearing the surroundings of the Rājaveśībhujāṅga architectural remains, chiefly terraces, belonging to different periods, situated between that building and the palace, were exposed. The excavation of these terraces has considerably added to our knowledge of the lay-out of the royal precincts. An important find during these excavations was a hoard of over 300 Chinese coins, chiefly of the Tang and dynasties.

Sigiriya.

At Sīgiriya, an iron ladder, protected by iron hoops, has been set up to replace the wooden one which was hitherto the only means of gaining access to the fresco pocket.

Anuradhapura.

The inscribed stones, sculptures, terra-cotta objects and other antiquities that were lying at the former offices of the Archaeological Survey at Anurādhapura have been arranged and labelled. In spite of the inadequacy of the buildings available there, an attempt has been made to form the nucleus of a local Archaeological Museum and the different objects exhibited can now be studied with convenience. Antiquities that were lying in the Government Agent's premises at Jaffna and Mannar have also been removed to the Anurādhapura Museum.

Epigraphical Work.

The third part of the third volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, containing 11 articles, all by the Epigraphical Assistant was published in August, 1931. During the year under review, estampages have been prepared of 99 inscriptions, and 49 records on kaṭāras of caves have been eye-copied. Of the total number of 148 inscriptions, 108 were copied for the first time by this department.

The most epigraphical discovery of the year is a rock inscription at Saṅgamu Vihāra near Gokarālla in the Hiriyāle Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District, recording the treaty between Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu I. This epigraph, though short and not well preserved, is the only document of its class so far found in Ceylon. Other noteworthy inscriptions brought to light during the year are :—

A rock inscription at Ridī Vihāra, in the Vāudavil Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District, of a king named Gamiṇi Abaya who, from the genealogical information given in the record, may be identified with Āmaṇḍa Gāmiṇī Abhaya. According to the chronicles this monarch was the founder of the monastery of Rajatalaṇa (Ridī Vihāra).

A rock inscription at Pokuṇuviṭa, in the Rayigam Kōralē of the Kalutara District, of the reign of Śrī Meghavarṇṇa.

This record, though very fragmentary and has hardly anything else except the king's name and the regnal year preserved, is noteworthy as the only inscription so far discovered of a king of the early centuries, in the Western Province.

A rock inscription, belonging to the reign of Sirināga I, discovered at the Periyakaḍu Vihāra in the Hiriyāle Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District.

A rock inscription at Aragama, in the same Hatpattu, dated in the reign of Pāridadeva (Pārindadeva), one of the six Tamil rulers who preceded the accession of Dhātusena. This epigraph is the earliest document mentioning a Tamil king, found in Ceylon.

A pillar inscription found at Velmilla in the Rayigam Kōraḷē of the Kalutara District. This record belongs to the reign of Sena III, of whom no other documents are known. It also tells us that the Prince Udaya, who held the office of *Yuvaraja* or *Mahapa* in Sena III's reign and later ascended the throne as Udaya III, was a son of Sirisaṅbo Kasub (Kassapa IV). This information is of particular interest as the chronicles fail to mention how Udaya III was related to his predecessors.

A fragmentary slab inscription of Sundaramahādevi, wife of Vikramabāhu II, found at the building known as " Rajamāligāva," now identified as Rājaveśibhujāṅga, in the Citadel of Polonnaruva. This record introduces us to a thera named Ānanda who had something to do with the welfare of the Buddhist Church in Tambaraṭṭha (Ligor in the Malay Peninsula) and the Cola country.

An inscription of the *bōkoṭuva* at Mādagama in the Vāudavili Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District. This inscription badly weather-worn, confirms the date of A.B. 1696, given in literary sources for the accession of Parākramabāhu I.

A rock inscription at Koṭṭaṅgē, in the same Hatpattu, of king Lokeśvarabāhu Cakravartti (Lokeśvara II). This is the only inscription of this monarch so far discovered ;

and from it we learn that Lokeśvara belonged to the Kāliṅga dynasty. It registers a grant of land to a general named Lōkē Ayatānnā for repelling a Cola raid about which the chronicles are silent.

An inscription, on a rock at the old Vihāra of Nātagaṇē (Muṇḍakoṇḍapola) in the Dēvamādi Hatpattu of the Kurunāgala District, which records a grant of land by Bhuvanekabāhu VII for the spiritual benefit of Vīdiyē Adahasa, Dharmmapāla Adahasa and a person called Kadurugama Āraci.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The Secretary of the above Commission has kindly furnished the Council with the following account for the information of the members of the Society :

A Historical Manuscripts Commission for Ceylon was first suggested during the discussion following a paper of more than ordinary interest read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1930 entitled: "Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames." Our late Governor, Sir Herbert Stanley, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, who was present in the chair, warmly supported the suggestion, and it was mainly due to the interest taken by him in the matter that the Commission was constituted just before his departure from the Island.

Before the appointment of the Commission, the Royal Asiatic Society was written to regarding the proposal, and the sub-Committee which was appointed by the Society to report on the suggestion made certain recommendations regarding the formation of the Commission based on the terms of appointment of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts in England in 1896 and on those of the Indian Historical Records Commission constituted by the Government of India in March, 1919. The recommendations were approved by the Government and the Commission was appointed in February, 1931, consisting of Professor S. A. Pakeman, Chairman, the Hon. Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and E. W. Perera, Dr. P. E. Pieris, Messrs. H. W. Codrington and C. H. Collins,

Rev. Father S. G. Perera, S. J., Dr. A. Nell, Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, Rev. Rambukwella Siddhartha, Mr. E. Reimers, Secretary.

The activities of the Commission since its constitution have followed mainly on the lines of the older Commission referred to. Circulars have been issued to Institutions, individuals, and the press in the Island, in Europe, and elsewhere, and the response has been most encouraging, although it is still felt that a large number of historical documents have for some obscure reason not been brought to the notice of the Commission.

Among the large number of documents received are some of very special interest, chiefly a large number of ola books from D. M. S. S. Kaviraja obtained through the kind offices of Mr. S. D. Fonseka, M.S.C., an elaborate Lekammitiya of the villages of Dedigama and Menikkadawara from Mr. P. C. Dedigama, R. M., rubbings of olas in the Edinburgh Museum from Mr. L. J. B. Turner and Photostat reproductions of documents in the British Museum from Dr. Andreas Nell. Among the most interesting is an original Manuscript by the Hon. George Turnour, Lieutenant of the 73rd Regiment, relating to the investment and capture of Trincomalie by the British forces in August, 1795, and the occupation of Jaffna and Mannar.

The Secretary of the Commission would be greatly obliged to members of the Royal Asiatic Society for information regarding any historical documents in their possession or in the collection of others.

A copy of the circular issued by the Commission is annexed for general information.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

SIR,

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint a Historical Manuscripts Commission to ascertain what Manuscripts connected with the Civil, Ecclesiastical, Literary or

Scientific history of this country are extant in the collections of private persons and in corporate and other institutions.

The Commissioners think it probable that you may feel an interest in this object, and be willing to assist in the attainment of it, and with that view they desire me to lay before you an outline of the course which they propose to follow.

If any person expresses his willingness to submit any paper or collection of papers within his possession or power to the examination of the Commissioners, they will cause an inspection to be made by some competent person, upon the information derived from whom the Commissioners will make a private report to the owner on the general nature of the papers in his collection. Such report will not be made public without the owner's consent, but a copy of it will be deposited and preserved in the Government Archives, to which no person will be allowed to have access without the consent of the owner of the papers reported on.

Where the papers are not mere insulated documents, but form a collection which appears to be of literary or historical value, a chronological list or brief calendar will be drawn up, and a copy thereof presented to the owner, and to no other person without his consent, but the original of such calendar will be deposited for preservation in the Government Archives to which no person will be allowed to have access without the consent of the owner of such collection.

The Commissioners will also, if so requested, give their advice as to the best means of repairing and preserving any papers or Manuscripts which may be in a state of decay, and are of historical or literary value.

The object of the Commission is solely the discovery of unknown historical and literary materials, and in all their proceedings the Commissioners will direct their attention to the object exclusively.

In no instance will any Manuscript be removed from the owner's residence without his request or consent, but if for convenience the Commissioners be entrusted with any Manuscripts, they will be deposited in the Government Archives, and be treated with the same care as if they formed part of the Government Archives, and will be returned to the owner at any time specified by him.

The costs of inspections, reports and calendars, and the conveyance of documents will be defrayed at the public expense without any charge to owners.

The Commission will therefore feel much obliged if you will communicate to them the nature of the documents, if any, in your possession, and also assist in any way possible in obtaining the objects for which the Commission has been issued.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

E. REIMERS,

Secretary,

Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Finances.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 7,258.46 to the credit of the Society at the close of the year. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 32,363.90 and expenditure was Rs. 27,508.40.

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

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

Accommodation.

A portion of the old offices of the Land Settlement Department, a building situated opposite to the Museum, has been handed over to the Colombo Museum, and will in future form part of them. The Director has arranged to place the front room of the building, suitably equipped with electric lights and fans, at our disposal for our public meetings. The room is in every way suitable for a lecture hall and there is also ample parking space for motor cars within the grounds. When this arrangement comes into force, the Society will have more room for the library and stores in the main buildings of the Museum.

of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) for the Year 1931.

[illegible]

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
11th March, 1932.

(Sgd.) A. N. WEINMAN,
Hon'y. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT of the Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1931.

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1930	2,059	15	Bank charges		08
Interest on Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I.	45	19	Balance :—		
			Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I.	1,336	87
			Current A/c do.	767	39
				Rs.	
				2,104	34
				Rs.	
				2,104	34

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
11th March, 1932.

(Sgd.) A. N. WEINMAN,
Hony. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1931.

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1930			Bank Charges, etc.		
By Sales	163	00	Balance :—		
Bank Interest	14	23	Fixed Deposit in Ceylon Savings Bank	1,000	00
			Do Imperial Bank of India	1,000	00
			Current Account do do	281	72
			Cash in hand (since paid into Bank) ..	63	00
				Rs.	
				2,350	07
				Rs.	
				2,350	07

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
11th March, 1932.

(Sgd.) A. N. WEINMAN,
Hony. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, January 29, 1931.***Present :*

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram	The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.
„ J. R. G. Bantock	Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya
„ W. E. Bastian, J.P.	„ V. Kandiah
„ H. H. Basnayaka	„ S. B. Kuruppu
„ L. E. Blazé, B.A.	Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D.
„ A. M. Caldera, B.A.	Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A., Maha Mudaliyar
„ J. C. De, M.A.	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.	Mr. G. F. Perera
„ J. F. P. Deraniyagala	Rev. M. Pannalankara Thero
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C.
Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle	Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
„ Felix R. Dias, M.A., LL.M.	„ C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S. (Rtd.), Mudaliyar
„ J. S. A. Fernando	„ F. C. Roles
„ D. C. Gammanpila	„ C. Suppramaniam
„ Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar	Rev. R. Siddhartha Thero, M.A.
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar	Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha
„ A. E. Jayasinha	„ K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S.
„ J. R. Jayewardene	„ Charles Wickramaratna

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. Edmund Reimers,
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 7 ladies and 17 gentlemen.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on Friday, the 31st day of October, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. On a motion proposed by the Chairman the following vote of condolence on the death of Sir P. Ramanathan, Kt., K.C., C.M.G., was unanimously passed, all members standing :

“ Resolved that we do place on record an expression of our deep regret at the loss this Society has sustained by the death of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan.”

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya, who delivered a lecture on “The Culture of the Indus Valley, and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro,” illustrated with lantern slides.

4. Messrs. Aubrey N. Weinman, J. C. De, P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, Dr. S. C. Paul, Mr. F. C. Roles, Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, Messrs. P. I. Roberts and J. S. A. Fernando offered remarks.

5. Mr. Jayasuriya replied.

6. The Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

7. Mr. E. W. Perera, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Governor for presiding, said that that pleasure was tinged with regret because of the sadness of farewell. The Governor, following time-honoured tradition, had been their Patron. Their Society owed a great deal to the Governors of the Island, and, following the precedent of His Majesty the King who is the Patron of the Parent Society in England, their Governors had taken a general interest in the welfare of that Society to foster the spread of culture. Some Governors had taken a greater interest than the others, and in that connection they ought not to forget the names of Sir William Gregory, Sir Arthur Gordon, who had inaugurated the Archæological Department and also given them the translation of the Mahāwamsa, Sir William Manning and Sir Hugh Clifford. But it had been left to Sir Herbert Stanley not only to help them fully by being the Patron of the Society but also at a crisis, in spite of his manifold duties, to accept the responsible and onerous position of President of the Society.

Many of them had felt that it was his consideration for the Society that made him to accept the post but none of them at that time realised that he was going to attend every meeting and be a real active President and to preside at the meetings of the Council of the Society and help them with his wise counsel and guidance. He also wished to express on behalf of the Society their gratitude for what had been notable in the administration of the Governor. He had helped the Society in the publication of the Mahāwamsa. His Government had lent the aid of the State through that Society in inaugurating a scientific etymological dictionary of the Sinhalese language. He would appeal to him to secure a competent Archæological Commissioner to help them to preserve the great and priceless treasures which the ancients had left them. In a work-a-day world Governments particularly of those dependencies so far away from the head centre of Empire were likely not to pay much heed to the claims of culture unless a man of wide culture and broad sympathies was at the head of the administration and they were most fortunate in their President in that respect.

He wished to remind the meeting of the great services to research that their President had done when he got his Government to obtain the services of an expert from the Dutch East Indies to report on the valuable documents in their archives which shed such a flood of light on the administration and social and economic conditions of Ceylon in the 17th and 18th centuries. If he was not mistaken the Governor was going to lay them under a further debt of gratitude before he left them by appointing a Historical Manuscripts Commission—none too soon—to work on the lines of similar Commissions in England and in India. On behalf of each and every member of the Society he wished their departing President and Lady Stanley God-speed and health and happiness in their new sphere of work.

8. The Governor, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said that he could not leave that hall without acknowledging his thanks to them. He would always remember the very friendly feelings which had been expressed and the far too generous appreciation of the

services which it had been his pleasure to render to the Society. He was pleased to be able to state that by persuading his colleagues in the Government he was able to appoint a Historical Manuscript Committee.

He wished it had fallen to his lot to inaugurate the greatest cultural need of the Island and that was the Ceylon University. He had done what he could to promote the scheme, but circumstances had been against him and the details had been much delayed. He was glad that those details had been settled during his term of office and now a real effective beginning should be made with the University which would not only teach but also engage in research and be a centre from which light and knowledge would spread. He would ask all of them who were members of the Society and who had some influence among their fellow-citizens to do what they could to promote the cause of the University and see as soon as financial and other circumstances permitted a University established worthy of Ceylon.

A University of that nature would be helpful to their Society and their Society would be able to give much help to the University. That really was his parting wish to them as the efforts they were making were to keep the light of culture burning in the Island and they could do so by the only means which still remained by filling the one great gap which still remained to be bridged and that was the need for a teaching and research University, and not merely an examining body.

COUNCIL MEETING.**Queen's House, Colombo, February 6, 1931.***Present :*

His Excellency Sir Herbert J. Stanley, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.
 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President
 Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-President
 Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C.	The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., M.L.C.
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.	Mr. S. Paranavitana
„ Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar	„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, M.L.C., J.P.	„ C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 27th day of October, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Arising from the minutes, Mr. Weinman moved that the clerk Mr. J. C. Jayasinha be confirmed in his appointment.—Carried.

3. The following new members were elected :—(i) Hilary Pilkington Kaufman, B.A., C.C.S. Recommended by W. Samarasingha, C. Wickramasingha. (ii) Gongáwalavitánagé Don Punchi Singho Witana. Recommended by C. P. Wijeyeratna, F. Seneviratna. (iii) Percy Ivan Roberts. Recommended by G. P. Malalasekara, A. E. Jayasinha. (iv) Abhayaseela Ginige, M.A. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (v) Henry Rupasingha Gunawardana, Recommended by A. E. Jayasinha, A. N. Weinman. (vi) A. R. Hughes. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha.

4. The draft Annual Report and the Balance Sheet for 1930 were read and passed, subject to revision by the Vice-Presidents.

5. The Honorary Treasurer moved that a sum of Rs. 1,000 from the balance standing to the credit of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund Current Account be placed on fixed deposit.

Suggestions to invest the money to better advantage were considered, and it was decided to leave the matter in the hands of a sub-Committee comprised of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Dr. S. C. Paul and Mr. A. N. Weinman, who would decide whether the money should be placed on fixed deposit, Government Loan or in the Ceylon Savings Bank.

6. The Council unanimously voted an honorarium of Rs. 600 to Mr. A. N. Weinman as a mark of its appreciation for the services rendered by him to the Society during the past year as its Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

7. Office-bearers for 1931-32.

Decided that the following nominations be made to fill vacancies :—

To be President : The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, C.M.G. *Hony. Secretary and Treasurer :* Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman. *Hony. Secretary :*

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. *Members of Council (Re-elected)*: Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar. (*Elected*): Mr. Edmund Reimers, and Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar, *vice*, The Hon. Mr. L. Macrae, M.A., and Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., retired under Rule 20 and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, in place of Mr. C. H. Collins, elected Honorary Secretary.

8. Consideration of the report from the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary Managing Committee with reference to the letter dated 3rd October, 1930, from Dr. P. E. Peiris was deferred.

9. A request from Rev. I. V. S. Corea asking that his subscription for 1928 be waived in consideration of the fact that although elected that year, he had not enjoyed any of the privileges of membership till 1929 was considered, and it was resolved that the request be allowed.

10. Dr. Andreas Nell's resolution that the printing of the Journal be temporarily suspended was withdrawn.

11. Resolved that the Mudaliyars C. Rasanayagam, and H. E. Amarasekara be thanked for the papers entitled "The Alakesvara Period" and "Sinhalese Chronology of the 14th and 15th Centuries A.D. recast according to Sinhalese Inscriptions and contemporary Sinhalese Annals" offered to the Society, and that they be informed that the Council regrets its inability to accept these papers.

12. The report of the sub-Committee appointed to report on the following papers was deferred for consideration at the next meeting :—

(1) Some Place Names of Ceylon, by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

(2) Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries, A.D., with special references to Ceylon, by Mr. J. C. De, M.A.

(3) The Culture of the Indus Valley and Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

13. Tabling of letters from Prof. W. Geiger and Mrs. Rhys Davids were deferred for the next meeting.

14. The consideration of estimates for printing the Society's Journal was postponed for the next meeting.

15. A letter dated 4th February, 1931, from Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D. (a) inquiring whether the Society would be pleased to make a contribution towards the edition of a Festschrift by Dr. W. Wüst for presentation to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger on his 75th birthday, and (b) asking the Society to recommend to Ceylon Government to give a donation towards it.

Decided with regard to proposal (a) that the Society should contribute Rs. 100 towards the project and with regard to (b) to await a reply to the questions raised through the Director of Education in a letter dated 6th September, 1930.

16. The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair, made reference to His Excellency's abiding interest in the affairs of the Society. As their President he had attended practically every meeting, and helped them with his wise counsel and able guidance. He would be greatly missed by them. On behalf of every member of the Council, he wished His Excellency and Lady Stanley God-speed and health and happiness in their new sphere of activities.

17. His Excellency in reply thanked the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva and the other members of the Council for the very kind things that had been said about him. It had been a very great pleasure to attend their meetings and his only regret was that he had not been able to do more to help the Society to foster the spread of culture. He would take away many happy memories connected with the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and assured them that he would always have a very soft corner in his heart for the Society.

COUNCIL MEETING**Colombo Museum, February 25, 1931.***Present :*

Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka,
M.A.

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

Mr. S. Parnavitana

Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.

„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera,
M.L.C.Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Mr. Edmund Reimers, Dr. G. P.
Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D., *Honorary Secretaries.***Business.**

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the sixth day of February, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. Sembhacuttiaratchige Arnolis. Recommended by T. D. S. A. Disanayaka, A. N. Weinman, was duly elected a member of the Society.

3. A report from the Chairman of the Sinhalese Dictionary Managing Committee with reference to a letter dated 3rd October, 1930, from Dr. P. E. Pieris was read.

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, Chairman of the Committee, stated that a further report would be submitted at an early date. Resolved that the whole question should be fully gone into on receipt of such further report.

4. Read the remarks of the sub-Committee appointed to report on the following papers :—

(i) Some Place Names of Ceylon by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

(ii) Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries, A.D., with special references to Ceylon by Mr. J. C. De.

(iii) The Culture of the Indus Valley, and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

It was decided—

(i) That No. 1 paper be printed and that the recommendation of the sub-Committee be communicated to the writer for his consideration ;

(ii) That No. 2 paper be referred to Dr. G. P. Malalasekara for his opinion ;

(iii) That No. 3 paper be printed provided the sanction of the Director-General of Archaeology was obtained.

5. Letters from Prof. W. Geiger and Mrs. Rhys Davids were read.

Resolved that the letters be printed in full in the minutes of the Council, and this decision communicated to the writers.

The letters referred to are as follows:—

(1) From Professor W. Geiger to the Royal Asiatic Society,
Ceylon Branch.

München, Neubiberg,

Germany, 26th December, 1930.

To the Royal Asiatic Society,
Ceylon Branch, Colombo.

Gentlemen,

The kind letter by which I was informed of my election as an Honorary Member of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has arrived just a day before Christmas-eve. This election is an extraordinary honour for me, all the more as it comes from the most authoritative side. I accept with great pleasure and with sincere gratitude. Through more than thirty years I have tried to contribute a little to the elucidation of Sinhalese language and history, within the limits of my faculty I trust that my membership to the R.A.S., C.B., will be a new and a firm bond which unites me with old friends in Ceylon and with all the distinguished scholars who are interested in the same subject and who are working on the same field with me.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) Professor WILH. GEIGER.

(2) From Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids to the President, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Pali Text Society,
C/o Rhys Davids,
Chipstead, Surrey,
31st December, 1930.

Dear Sir,

I am very sensible of the honour which you and the Royal Asiatic Society, C.B., have conferred upon me in electing me a Honorary Member. I am sorry my husband is no longer with me to be deeply gratified by the act.

I beg you will count upon my readiness to serve your Society in anyway I can.

It may interest you to know that the Society named above, founded by my husband in 1881 enters on its jubilee year in 1931. We hope to complete our original programme of first editions in about seven years more.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS,
President, Pali Text Society.

6. Estimates for printing the Journal were tabled.

Resolved that the matter be left in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries and Mr. L. J. B. Turner.

7. A letter from the Librarian, Connemara Public Library, Madras, asking for a free issue of this Society's Journal was read.

Resolved that the Librarian, Connemara Public Library, Madras, be informed that the Council regrets its inability to accede to the request but his Library could be granted membership on the usual terms.

8. The remarks of the sub-Committee appointed to report on the investment of Rs. 1,000 from the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund, were read.

Resolved that the money be deposited in the Savings Bank.

9. A letter from the Secretary of the 18th International Congress of Orientalists, requesting the Society to nominate representatives to attend the meetings of the Conference was considered.

It was decided to ascertain from Dr. A. Nell whether he would kindly represent the Society, as it was understood that he intended to attend the Congress.

10. A draft programme of meetings for 1931 was considered and passed as follows :—

Programme of Meetings for 1931.

January 29.—Lecture : The Culture of the Indus Valley, and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, illustrated with lantern slides, by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

March 6.—Annual General Meeting. Paper : The Lost Ancient Sinhalese Mahavamsa, by Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D.

May.—Paper : Medicine amongst the Ancient Hindus, by Dr. W. Balendra, M.R.C.S., L.D.S., L.R.C.P.

July.—Lecture : Some Zoological Curiosities of Ceylon, by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.

September.—Paper : The Early Mission Schools, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.

November.—Paper : Glimpses into the Social and Economic Conditions of Ceylon during the Ninth and the Tenth Centuries, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.

11. The following motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka was unanimously adopted, all members standing :

“Resolved that we do place on record an expression of our deep regret at the loss this Society has sustained by the death of Gate Mudaliyar Abraham Mendis Gunasekara.”

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, March 6, 1931.***Present :*

Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
 Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa	Mr. J. R. Jayawardene
„ K. W. Y. Atukorala,	„ S. B. Kuruppu
Muhandiram	„ V. Kandiah
Dr. W. Balendra	Dr. G. C. Mendis, Ph.D.
Mr. A. M. Caldera, B.A.	Mr. W. C. M'K. Martin
The Hon.* Mr. W. A. de Silva,	„ R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
J.P.	„ S. Parनाविताना
Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle	„ G. F. Perera
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.	Prof. S. A. Pakeman, M.A.
„ R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala,	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
B.A.	Mr. C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.
„ J. S. A. Fernando	(Retd.), Mudaliyar
„ D. D. M. Goonaratna	„ P. I. Roberts
„ Herod Gunaratna,	„ W. A. Samarasingha,
Mudaliyar	Atapattu Mudaliyar
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate	„ K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S.
Mudaliyar	„ D. D. Weerasingha,
„ P. T. P. Gunawardana	Mudaliyar

Mr. A. N. Weinman, Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.,
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 4 ladies and 7 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 29th January, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. The following vote of condolence proposed by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka was unanimously passed in silence, all members standing :

“Resolved that the grief of this Society on the death of Gate Mudaliyar Abraham Mendis Gunasekara be placed on record and that an expression of the sympathy of the Council be conveyed to the members of Gate Mudaliyar Gunasekara's family.”

3. Read and adopted the Annual Report and Accounts for 1930* on a motion proposed by Atapattu Mudaliyar Walter Samarasingha and seconded by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.

4. On a motion proposed by Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor and seconded by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, the following Office-bearers for 1931-32 were elected :—

President :

The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, C.M.G.

Honorary Secretary & Treasurer :

Re-elected : Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.

* Vol. XXXI, pp. 423-435, C.H.C., Hon. Sec.

Honorary Secretary :

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

Members of Council :

Re-elected : Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar

Elected : Mr. Edmund Reimers

„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.

5. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D., who read his paper entitled “The Lost Ancient Sinhalese Mahavamsa.”

6. A discussion on the paper followed in which the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Prof. S. A. Pakeman, Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. S. Paranavitana, J. D. de Lanerolle and J. S. A. Fernando took part.

7. Dr. Mendis replied.

8. The Chairman then addressed the meeting and after thanking the lecturer, declared the meeting closed.

COUNCIL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, May 14, 1931.***Present :*

The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.
 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President
 Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
 „ W. A. de Silva, J.P.
 „ Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
 „ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate
 Mudaliyar
 „ D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

Mr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
 Ph.D.
 Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.
 Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
 Mr. E. W. Perera
 „ Edmund Reimers

Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
 Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Mr. A. N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last meeting of the Council held on the 25th day of February, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. Arising from the minutes—

Dr. Malalasekara's remarks on Mr. J. C. De's paper on "Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries, A.D., with Special References to Ceylon" were read.

Resolved to inform Mr. De that his paper was accepted for publication in the Journal provided he would cut it down to half its present length.

3. The following new members were duly elected :—(i) Dehiwala Liyanage Satyaloka Wijesinghe. Recommended by E. W. Perera, W. H. Perera. (ii) Richard de Silva. Recommended by W. A. de Silva, G. P. Malalasekara. (iii) Loku Bandara Attanayaka. Recommended by D. B. Jayatilaka, A. E. Jayasinha. (iv) John Rawdon Dashwood. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. R. Hughes. (v) Pearl Selina de Mel (Mrs. Cecil de Mel). Recommended by G. C. Mendis, A. E. Jayasinha. (vi) Mereña Francis de Silva Jayaratna, B.A., C.C.S. Recommended by A. E. Jayasinha, G. C. Mendis. (vii) Chandradipathi Jothirathnagay Selestinu Fernando. Recommended by A. E. Jayasinha, A. N. Weinman.

4. A letter dated April 21st, 1931, from Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka intimating that he was obliged to vacate the post of Editor-in-Chief, Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, by the end of April, 1931, in view of the elections to the State Council was read. The Chairman moved that the Council expresses its regret at Mr. Jayatilaka having to resign his post as Editor-in-Chief and that he be thanked for having volunteered to continue as Honorary Editor. Dr. P. E. Pieris seconded and the motion was carried unanimously.

5. A further report from the Chairman of the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary Managing Committee with reference to the letter dated 3rd October, 1930, from Dr. P. E. Pieris was laid on the table.

It was decided that Mr. Jayatilaka's offer to continue editing the Dictionary in an honorary capacity be given a trial for six months, at the expiry of which he should report as to whether he was able to continue or not, and the whole position be again reviewed.

The question of the London Committee was gone into fully. It was decided that the 500 specimen entries asked for be sent as desired to the London Committee.

The other points arising from Dr. Pieris' letter were considered and the information required by him supplied.

6. A letter dated 13th April, 1931, from Dr. W. A. de Silva, stating that there was no justification for the effigy from Polonnaruwa hitherto labelled Parākramabāhu being recently changed to "Agastya."

Resolved that Messrs. W. A. de Silva, D. B. Jayatilaka, E. W. Perera, and Dr. Andreas Nell, with the last named as convener, be appointed a sub-Committee to report on the matter.

7. The paper "Aryan and Dravidian—a Study in Indian Antiquities" by Prof. N. Narayanan was referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Dr. S. C. Paul, Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar, and Mr. S. Paranavitana for report.

8. A letter dated 15th April, 1931, from the Editor, "Rupam," offering to give three or four lectures on "Buddhist Sculpture in and outside India" provided his travelling expenses, cost of slides, etc., were paid, was laid on the table.

Resolved to write and ascertain approximately what the cost of such a tour would be.

9. Printing of the Society's Journal.

The Secretary stated that the matter was under consideration but that the sub-Committee had not yet arrived at any decision. Resolved that Mr. Paranavitana's letter dated 2nd May, 1931, on the system of transliteration be submitted to the Printing sub-Committee for remarks, and that Mr. Paranavitana be invited to contribute a note on the subject for publication in the Journal.

A letter dated 25th April, 1931, from Messrs. The Times of Ceylon Company, Ltd., *re* printing the Society's Journal was also referred to the above sub-Committee.

10. A letter dated 25th April, 1931, from Dr. P. E. Pieris *re* the transfer of the Royal Asiatic Society's Room to the Land Settlement Building was read. A sub-Committee comprised of Dr. P. E. Pieris, Convener, Messrs. E. W. Perera and L. J. B. Turner, was appointed to report on the proposed transfer, as well as the Society's rights at the Museum.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, June 11, 1931.***Present :*

The Hon'ble Sir Bernard H. Bourdillon, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.	
Mr. L. B. Attanayaka	Mr. P. I. Roberts
„ Julius de Lanerolle	„ C. P. G. S. Chitrasoma
„ J. A. S. Fernando	Dr. R. L. Spittel, F.R.C.S.
„ A. E. Jayasinha	Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha
„ R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
„ Edmund Reimers	„ C. Wickramaratna
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, <i>Honorary Secretary</i> .	
• Visitors: 4 ladies and 16 gentlemen.	

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 6th day of March, 1931, were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Dr. W. Balendra, who read his paper on "Medicine amongst the ancient Hindus."
3. Mr. Turner and the Chairman addressed the meeting.
4. Mr. Turner, on behalf of the Society, congratulated the President on the honour which had recently been conferred on him by His Majesty the King and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair which was carried with acclamation.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, July 4, 1931.***Present :*

Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.	
Mr. J. W. de Alwis	Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
„ L. B. Attanayaka	„ D. C. Gammanpila
„ C. Don Amaradasa	„ J. R. Jayewardene
„ K. W. Y. Atukorala, Mudaliyar	„ A. E. Jayasinha
„ W. Dias Bandaranaike, Gate Mudaliyar	„ Donald Obeyesekere, M.A.
„ V. E. Charavanamuttu	Prof. S. R. Pasha
„ Felix R. Dias, M.A., LL.M.	Mr. S. Parnavitana
„ J. F. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.	Miss C. H. M. Pieris
„ G. E. Edirisingha, B.A.	Dr. A. Rajasingham, M.B., C.M.
	Mr. Edmund Reimers
	„ F. A. Tissavarasingha

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

Visitors : 9 ladies and 16 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 11th day of June, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. P. E. Pieris Deraniyagala, who read a paper on "Some Zoological Curiosities of Ceylon," illustrated with lantern slides.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, August 4, 1931.***Present :*

His Excellency Sir Graeme Thomson, G.C.M.G., Patron, in the Chair.
 Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa	Mr. J. R. Jayawardene
„ S. Arnolis	„ E. W. Kannangara, B.A., C.C.S.
„ R. H. Bassett, C.C.S.	Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.
„ W. E. Bastian, J.P.	Mr. R. Noel-Paton
„ L. E. Blazé, B.A.	„ Donald Obeyesekere, M.A.
„ M. J. Cary, M.S.C.	„ J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A., Maha Mudaliyar
„ V. E. Charavanamuttu	„ S. Pararajasingham
„ C. P. G. S. Chitrasoma	Rev. Father Edmund Pieris, O.M.I.
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.	Mr. E. W. Perera, M.S.C.
„ J. C. De, M.A.	„ W. von Pochhammer
Dr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., M.S.C.	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. W. Dias Bandaranaike, Gate Mudaliyar	Mr. Edmund Reimers
„ J. D. Dharmasena	„ H. L. Reed, M.A.
Mrs. H. H. Dulling	„ P. I. Roberts
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar	„ J. R. Toussaint, C.C.S.
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
„ L. A. Hayter	„ W. E. Wait, M.A., C.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., M.S.C.	„ Charles Wickramaratna

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

Visitors : 14 ladies and 40 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 4th day of July, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. A. R. Hughes, who delivered his lecture on "Hawks, Eagles, and Birds of Prey," illustrated by Capt. Knight's Motion Picture "Golden Eagles."

3. Messrs. Donald Obeyesekere, E. C. T. Holsinger, P. E. P. Deraniyagala, and W. E. Wait offered remarks.

4. Mr. Hughes replied.

5. Mr. E. W. Perera proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency, and Dr. S. C. Paul seconded the motion which was carried with acclamation.

6. The Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and his companion, Mr. Lauritz Blichfeldt, who operated the Cinema machine.

COUNCIL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, September 16, 1931.***Present :*

The Hon'ble Sir Bernard H. Bourdillon, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.
 Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Dr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., M.S.C.
 Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
 „ Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
 „ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
 The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
 Mr. E. W. Perera, M.S.C.
 Prof. R. Marrs, C.I.E.
 Mr. S. Paranavitana
 „ E. Reimers
 „ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

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

Business.

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 14th May, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. The following new members were duly elected :—

(i) John Abraham Perera Samarasekara. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (ii) Peter Henry Wilson Peiris. Recommended by G. C. Mendis, A. E. Jayasinha. (iii) Horanapattirage Don Arthur Alwis. Recommended by W. J. Fernando, A. E. Jayasinha. (iv) Alexander de Abrew Abeysinghe. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (v) James Christopher Drieberg. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (vi) Balapitiyage Aldin Amarasingha. Recommended by K. C. Fernando, S. Arnolis. (vii) (Dr.) Anian Walter Richard Joachim, Ph.D., B.Sc., F.I.C. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (viii) Itoop Mathew. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (ix) Colomba Muhandiramge Alexander de Silva. Recommended by A. E. Jayasinha, A. M. Caldera. (x) William Addison Smyth. Recommended by A. R. Hughes, A. N. Weinman. (xi) Ralph Henry Beeson. Recommended by A. R. Hughes, A. N. Weinman.

3. The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary. Considered a report from the London Committee dated 20th July, 1931, the Editor-in-Chief's comments thereon, and a report from the Dictionary Managing Committee on the subject.

Resolved to send a copy of the comments of the Editor-in-Chief to Dr. Barnett, and inform him that the Council regretted that they were unable to accept the suggestions contained in his letter. It was further resolved to authorize the Managing Committee to invite Prof. Geiger to come to Ceylon as early as possible with a view to supervising the Dictionary work.

4. The remarks of the sub-Committee appointed to report on the letter dated 5th May, 1931, from Messrs. Times of Ceylon Company were tabled.

Resolved that the report of the sub-Committee be accepted and that the printing of the Journal be given to Messrs. The Times of Ceylon Company, Ltd.

5. The remarks of the sub-Committee appointed to report on Mr. Paranavitana's letter dated 2nd May, 1931, on the system of transliteration was considered, and it was resolved to refer the question to Messrs. H. W. Codrington, S. Paranavitana, and the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka for further report.

6. The report of the sub-Committee appointed to report on the letter from Dr. P. E. Pieris regarding the proposed transfer of the Royal Asiatic Society Library to the building at present occupied by the Land Settlement Department, as well as the Society's rights at the Museum, was read.

Resolved that the sub-Committee's report be accepted, and that the Director of the Museum be written to as indicated by them.

7. A letter dated 31st January, 1931, from Prof. Geiger thanking the Society for having congratulated him on the occasion of his 75th birthday was laid on the table.

8. A letter dated 31st May, 1931, from Lord Chalmers agreeing to the inclusion of an edition of the Cambodian Mahavamsa by Dr. G. P. Malalasekara in the Aluvihara Edition of the Pali Texts was laid on the table.

9. The remarks of the sub-Committee appointed to report on the paper "Aryan and Dravidian" by Prof. N. Narayanan were accepted, and it was resolved to thank the author for his offer and inform him that the paper was not required for publication.

10. A letter dated 3rd September, 1931, from the Secretary to the Minister of Education, forwarding an application from Dr. A. P. de Zoysa requesting the Government of Ceylon to allow him a scholarship or a grant for two years to do research work in Sinhalese literature, and asking the opinion of the Society was considered.

Resolved to reply that the Council regretted they were unable to see their way to recommend the proposal at the present time.

11. Correspondence with Mr. O. C. Gangoly was laid on the table for the information of the Council.

GENERAL MEETING.**Colombo Museum, November 30, 1931.***Present :*

The Hon'ble Sir Bernard H. Bourdillon, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

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

Mr. J. C. De, M.A.

Dr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., M.S.C.

Mr. J. S. A. Fernando

,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A.,
Ph.D.

Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D.

Mr. S. Paranavitana

,, C. Wickramaratna

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

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 4th August, 1931, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, who read the following paper entitled:—"The School Commission, 1848-1859."

THE SCHOOL COMMISSION, 1848-1859

BY

MR. L. J. GRATIAEN.

In 1832 Government had definitely taken in hand the education in English of the children in the towns of the Island, and had entrusted the management of the schools to the Archdeacon of Colombo and a School Commission, consisting of Government officials and the Anglican clergy in Colombo. This Commission did not prove a success. In 1841 it was dissolved and a new one established which contained, in addition to officials, representatives of the Missionary Societies which had opened schools in Ceylon.¹

This second School Commission was presided over first by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Anstruther, and then by Bishop Chapman, and from 1841 to 1847 it did a great deal for education. A large number of English schools were begun; schools of a higher class were opened for girls as well as boys under trained teachers specially imported; normal classes for teachers were started; and a system of aid to Mission schools was established.

As regards vernacular education too, the earlier prejudice was overcome; a normal institution was set up, schools were opened, and the translation of text books into Sinhalese was begun. The Commission worked harmoniously, and there was every prospect that the work so well begun would continue to prosper.

Then in 1848, Sir Emerson Tennent being in control, financial depression made retrenchment necessary. Government cut down the vote for schools, and decided to run

1. For the previous history of the Commission see *The Story of Our Schools*; the First School Commission (1832-41) published by the Colombo Historical Association, and *The School Commission, 1841-1848*, in the *R.A.S. Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 83.

them "on a reduced scale of expense with greater efficiency," and to introduce "the system of self-support to a certain extent without any sudden shock," the two main changes being a large increase of school fees, and dispensing with as many teachers as possible.² In January, 1849, Sir Emerson Tennent's scheme came into force.

The eighty-five Government schools existing in 1848 fall into four groups: (1) *Twenty-four vernacular free schools*, which had lately been begun, and the teachers for which were trained at the Native Normal Institution at Colombo. (2) *Fifty-two English schools*, the pupils of which paid a fee of 3d. a month; these schools were in the towns and larger villages. (3) *Three Central Schools* for boys and *three Superior Schools* for girls, and the *Colombo Academy*, the only classical school in the Island. All these superior schools had imported Head teachers and higher fees, and gave a more advanced education. The Central Schools had also Normal classes, which trained teachers for the English schools. (4) There were also the twenty-eight English schools of the Jaffna Missions, which received grants from Government and taught about a thousand children. There had been a few other aided schools, but when possible they had by 1848 been definitely taken over by Government.

We have now to see how the Government schools were reorganised by getting rid of teachers and raising fees. The Academy and the Central Schools, which had imported teachers, suffered most by the new policy, for they had their staffs cut down at the same time that their fees were raised. The Academy was the first school in the Island. It was now twelve years old and had for six years had Rev. Barcroft Boake as Principal. His staff included five Englishmen and there more than 200 pupils in the lower school and about 30 in the upper school. The salaries of

2. Report of the School Commission, 1847-8, and the following volumes in the Archives, under the dates shown—A 1968, January, 1849; 732, 20th September, 1848. The information in the paper which is derived from the reports of the School Commission, or the Government Almanac and Calendar is only occasionally referred to its sources by means of footnotes.

the English teachers raised the cost of the school to more than £33 a year for each boy in the upper school and £15 for each boy in the lower. In 1849, therefore, the lower school was abolished, the fees of the upper school raised to £1 per head, and three of the English teachers discontinued. The Academy became a school of less than 30 pupils with two teachers, Dr. Boake and Mr. Caldwell.

When the numbers decreased the Commission recommended that the school should be closed. It came very near extinction, for neither secondary education nor Boake was popular with authority, but Government was persuaded by petitions to lower the fees to 10s. and allow the school to continue, while the matter was further considered. This lowering of the fees was followed by an increase in numbers and the Academy had the first of its hair-breadth escapes from extinction.

After the Academy ranked the three Central Schools at Colombo, Galle and Kandy, which were of somewhat lower standing because they gave a more practical and commercial education. The three schools had imported Headmasters, and two of them were struck down by retrenchment. At Galle and Kandy the raised fees brought down the attendance, upon which the masters were got rid of and the schools converted into elementary schools.

With the departure of the trained English masters and the abandonment of the advanced classes the normal classes, for the training of teachers, had likewise to be closed, and the training of teachers for the English schools now ceased. The Colombo school under Rev. Kessen was the only Central School left, and this had ceased to have Normal classes some time before.

These were the hardest blows struck at the schools, but not the only ones. In the elementary English schools the fees had been absurdly low—3*d.* a month. They were now raised to 6*d.* a month in some schools and to 1*s.* 6*d.* a month in others, while the vernacular boys' schools which had been begun as free schools now required a fee of 3*d.*

The Vernacular Normal Institution was left untouched by Tennent, and so were the feeble girls' schools, since it was too clear that a very slight jolt would utterly destroy them.

Such was Tennent's reorganisation, intended to secure efficiency with reduced expense, and to introduce the system of self-support without any sudden shock. He reduced the cost of a few needlessly expensive schools and demanded that those who received an education in English schools should pay for the privilege. At first sight there appears little cause for criticism, but two things must not be forgotten. The closing of the Normal Classes, which had begun to do such satisfactory work, definitely checked the movement for improvement inside the English schools, and led to such a lowering of standards that the Government schools of the south-west coast were, for many years to come, outclassed by the Jaffna Mission schools. In Jaffna the Missions had a balanced system of Tamil and English education, but in the south-west the work of the Government and the Missions had since the thirties been more or less complementary, the Missions being responsible for Sinhalese schools in the villages and the Commission for English schools in the towns. When the Commission began to discourage English education it began to upset the balance of the system, so that the Missions and the Government instead of being partners, as the very composition of the Commission was intended to secure, since both officials and Missionaries sat on it, became rivals. This led ultimately to English education in the south-west of Ceylon, which had during the thirties and the forties been practically in the hands of the Government, falling into the hands of the Missions, which now appear to claim the entire credit of encouraging English education in Ceylon. St. Thomas' College, for example, was founded in 1851, one of the first signs of the new rivalry, and it very nearly supplanted the Academy.

As a measure of retrenchment Tennent's scheme was undoubtedly a success. It took eleven years for the expenditure on education, increasing slowly, to exceed that of

1848, and in those eleven years the income from fees more than doubled. On the other hand, the number of pupils in 1858 was practically the same as in 1848.

This table gives the figures for three years :—

	Total ex- penditure.	Receipts by fees.	Govt. schools.	Pupils in Govt. schools.	Aided schools.	Pupils in aided schools.
1848	£ 10,684	£ 658	85	3,579	28	1,049
1850	£ 7,281	£ 1,096	86	3,523	28	1,428
1858	£ 10,318	£ 1,358	98	3,974	14	722

These figures by themselves show only half the truth. In the earlier period the Government schools, though few, made up in quality for their lack in numbers ; as the years went on it became more and more difficult to make such a claim.

With regard to the relation between English and vernacular schools the recommendations of 1848 accepted the point of view which had prevailed for the past few years. “ Fully agreeing with the advocates of English education as to the paramount importance of a complete renovation of the native mind, of a letting in of new light,”³ the Committee yet thought the time had not come for making English the sole medium, but considered vernacular schools essentially subsidiary to English schools. The policy of the Commission was not, however, quite so simple. Its attitude to the vernacular schools varied from time to time. Supervision of rural schools was difficult and the Missions were able to shew that they could run village schools more economically and efficiently than the Commission. There was, therefore, always some readiness to abandon vernacular education to the Missions, and in 1853 a Committee of Council recommended the abolition of the vernacular schools. Later, however, another Committee recom-

mended that free vernacular education should be encouraged where no education could otherwise be obtained.⁴ The Commission, in short, did not know its own mind and was equally willing to discourage English education or to abandon vernacular education, and it is not surprising therefore that its direction of schools was not a pronounced success. In spite of the Commission, however, the vernacular schools increased in numbers if not in other directions during the period. The 24 vernacular schools and 855 pupils of 1848 grew in ten years to 45 schools and 1,362 pupils. Vernacular education which Government had refused to help in the thirties and to which it gave some slight attention in the forties was well on its way to occupying the first place in the Government scheme.

The Government vernacular schools were the children of the Native Normal Institution, which was begun in 1845 by Government on the suggestion of the Missions to train teachers for existing schools. In a short time the schools where trained teachers worked were taken over by Government, and as more teachers were trained more schools were opened for them,⁵ so that Government vernacular schools were at least begun on the right lines.

The Principal of the Native Normal Institution was Rev. Mr. Kessen. As he was also head of the Colombo Central School the work of the Normal Institution depended mainly on the Headmaster, Mr. I. John Perera, "a very meritorious teacher."⁶

The Normal Institution escaped abolition in 1849, but it had to go at last. In 1855 the pupils' allowances were abolished, but there were still many more applicants than could be received.⁷ The next year Kessen returned to England, but the class, numbering 18, continued under John Perera and two assistants. When this class completed

4. Observer, 21st December, 1857.

5. 12 schools opened in 1851—2110, 19th April, 1851; and Report, 1851.

6. 2285, 19th September, 1855.

7. Report, 1855.

its course, however, no more pupils were admitted.⁸ For 12 years there was no training of vernacular teachers, on the principle enunciated later that what Government was prepared to pay for was the education of children, not the training of teachers.

We learn that the standard of work in the Sinhalese schools rose considerably after the establishment of the Normal Institution,⁹ and the report for 1852 declared the work of the schools to be most satisfactory. The trained masters were far superior to the ordinary teachers, and generally attracted a large number of pupils, who received a much better education than was usual in such schools.

It would appear, however, that with lack of supervision the schools deteriorated¹⁰ and failed to attract pupils, in spite of the fact that the fee required in 1848 was soon abolished.¹¹ What was taught in these schools was elementary reading, writing and arithmetic and little else of any value.¹² Pupils did not, therefore, stay more than 4 or 5 years. It was found that less than 6 per cent. of the pupils were over 15 years of age and nearly half were under 10.

When we turn to the vernacular girls' schools we find they were so little appreciated that no attempt was ever made to charge a fee. In 1848 there were nine girls' schools with 231 girls, but the numbers dwindled till in 1858 there were only three, with 82 girls.

Mixed Schools.

The bulk of the Government schools in 1848 were elementary English schools. In 1849 these schools were reclassified, two types being distinguished: those in which education was in English only and those in which teaching was first in Sinhalese and later in English.

8. Report, 1858.

9. From Murdoch, 2285, (12th July, 1853.)

10. Overland Observer, 15th October, 1859.

11. 838, 22nd October, 1852; 2110, 24th August, 1852; and Report, 1852.

12. Report, 1855, 56.

Forty-one schools, mainly small schools in small towns, were now classified as mixed, *i.e.*, English and Sinhalese schools, in which teaching was supposed to be given first in Sinhalese and then in English, as they normally admitted non-English-speaking children. The fee was fixed at 6*d.* a month. This led to a drop in attendance, and to the closing of some schools, but in 1852 the fee was lowered to 3*d.* a month.¹¹ During the fifties there were between 30 and 40 boys' mixed schools, with an attendance of about 1,300.

The chief criticism of these schools was that they regarded themselves as English schools, and neglected the vernacular, which in some schools was taught only to the lowest classes, while in others it was not taught at all, but only used for explanation in lower classes.¹³ In some schools non-English-speaking children were set to spell and read in English as soon as they were admitted.

The mixed girls' schools were not generally successful, owing to the lack of regular superintendence and of qualified mistresses.¹⁴ The numbers dropped between 1848 and 1855 from 13 schools with 331 pupils to 6 schools with 208 pupils, but later there was a slight improvement. The schools were better than the boys' schools in not entirely neglecting the vernacular speaking children or obliging them to begin reading English immediately they were admitted, but the only object of the teaching of Sinhalese was reported to be to find the children employment for part of the day.¹³

English Boys' Schools.

The English Elementary schools, "taught through the exclusive medium of the English tongue" and attended chiefly by Burghers, required at first a fee of 1*s.* 6*d.* a month, but this was reduced to 9*d.* in 1852.¹¹ On the introduction of the new fee the attendance at most of these schools fell considerably, and did not again reach the level of 1848.

13. Report, 1860-1.

14. Report, 1851-2.

The following were the schools in this class :—St. Peter's, St. Thomas', the Dutch Consistorial, Grandpass, Morotto, Caltura, Negombo, Galle, Matara, Kandy and Trincomalee schools, the best being those in Colombo, Kandy, Galle and Morotto.

It was reported that in most of these schools the masters were diligent and the progress satisfactory. "Many of the boys acquired a very fair knowledge of the English language, were well grounded in Arithmetic, and evinced a tolerable acquaintance with the elements of Geography and the main facts of History." The chief subject in which a marked deficiency existed was Religious Instruction.¹⁵

We may here pause for a moment to notice a new development in connection with the schools.¹⁶

Under Mr. Garth, whose "zeal in his vocation and high qualifications" are mentioned in reports, the Government English school at Moratuwa won the good-will of the people, who opened a wholly self-supporting preparatory school attached to it. The school hours at the Government school were from 7 a.m. to 12.30, with an interval of half an hour for breakfast. These hours allowed the boys the afternoons in which to serve their apprenticeship in carpentry. Out of this arrangement grew a carpentry school, which the Commission aided by a grant besides allowing it Garth's services. This carpentry school was run by a committee, composed of respectable villagers, and one member visited the school daily. The hours were from 1.30 to 5, and the work included furniture making and carriage building. Garth's industrial school introduced new models for furniture and greatly aided in the establishment of the carpentry industry of Moratuwa.¹⁷

The Colombo Central school, now the only Central school left, was considered the Commission's pet institution. It was reported that "the great success of this establishment,

15. Report, 1852.

16. Report, 1848-9.

17. Lorenz in Appendix to Report of a Committee of Council, 1867.

where an excellent elementary education in English was offered at a cheap rate, was an index of the wants of the people of Colombo and the cost at which they were prepared to purchase their education. The instruction was of a practical character, the aim of the pupils being principally directed to the subordinate offices of Government, or to employment in private establishments."¹⁸

This school too was not destined to live long. After the abolition of the lower school of the Academy, Boake spent a good deal of his energy in quarrelling with the Commission, especially regarding the lower school, which he ultimately got back. He went to England on a holiday in 1855, and Kessen, Principal of the Colombo Central School, acted for him, transferring the Central School to the Academy premises.

Boake was convinced that the Commission intended to abolish the Academy and elevate the Central School in its place, and was enraged when he heard that Kessen was to act for him. But when he returned from leave next year, Kessen too went on furlough, leaving the Central School at the Academy. Kessen did not return to Ceylon and his school was incorporated with the Academy.¹⁹

About the same time both the Galle and the Kandy English Schools were again allowed to do more advanced work and again became Central Schools, the former under Mr. J. E. Anthonisz and the latter under Mr. R. P. Jansz. Under Mr. Anthonisz the Galle Central School earned a high reputation for soundness and proficiency, being considered the second school in the Island.²⁰

The Kandy School was not so successful, as it suffered in numbers and position from having a rival in the Church Mission's Collegiate School.²⁰

Girls' English Schools.

The Superior Girls' Schools in Colombo, Mrs. Palm's Girls' School and Mrs. Elliott's Female Seminary, were

18. Report, 1852 and 2110, 7th September, 1852.

19. In 1856.

20. Reports, 1860-1 and 1861-2.

not affected by the reorganisation of 1849. The fees remained as they were originally fixed, 1s. 6d. a month, and the teachers were not retrenched.²¹

In 1851 the average attendance at the Girls' School was 50 and at the Seminary 58. In 1848 the Chaplain's Girls' School at Kandy was taken over by the Commission as a third superior school,²² and in 1851 the girls' school at Galle was also revived.

These schools were generally well reported on,²³ but it was confessed that as the girls in the upper classes could not be made to answer audibly it was by no means easy to judge their work.²⁴ To those who heard, the answering at the Female Seminary was as good as in any school in Colombo, while there was "a spiritedness and life about the Colombo Girls' School which it was quite pleasing to observe."

There was at this time one more Government Girls' School, the Female Orphan Asylum, for the orphans of English soldiers. The asylum stood in a spacious garden by the side of the lake in Colpetty,²⁵ and here the orphan girls who had at one time numbered 70, but now were only about 14 remained undisturbed for many years, superintended by the Archdeacon of Colombo, till in 1857 Government seized the building and moved the girls to a house near Hulftsdorp jail. "Pale and melancholy enough the girls looked even in their larger quarters at Colpetty," declared the "Observer,"²⁶ but in their new cramped quarters it was "quite pitiable to see the poor little creatures cooped up." Complaints in the papers led Government to discover that they had no right to the premises and it duly restored them to the orphan girls, who once more enjoyed their evening stroll on Galle Face.²⁷

21. Report, 1847-8.

22. 1968, 24th March, 1858.

23. Reports, 1849-50, 52.

24. Report, 1855.

25. Fifth Report of Bible Society.

26. Observer, 9th February, 1857.

27. Times, 10th February, 10th March, 1857.

Sir Emerson Tennent had been recalled to England in 1850 to face the Parliamentary enquiry into Lord Torrington's administration. The Colonial Secretary and President of the School Commission during the fifties was Sir Charles MacCarthy, whom there is no reason to accuse of doing anything for the schools.

Among official members of the Commission during his term as President were Mr. C. P. Layard (1850 to 1869), Mr. W. C. Gibson (1850 to 1854) and Mr. George Lee, once Secretary and Inspector (1856 to 1859).

The seat of the unofficial member of Council was occupied by Messrs. J. Smith (1850 to 1853) and James Swan (1854 to 1858).

Among the clerical members Rev. D. J. Gogerly (—62) Rev. J. D. Palm (—60) and Bishop Bravi (—60) held their seats longest. Other members were Revs. A. D. Gordon (—53), J. A. Matthias (—54), and J. Thurstan (1856-62).

Unfortunately the records for this decade are by no means as available or when available as full as those for earlier and later periods. The Commission itself placed it on record that the Inspector's reports were meagre and valueless.²⁸ It had reason to be disappointed, as it had for years asked Government to appoint a full-time Inspector, and when Mr. J. Brooke Bailey, who had been a successful master at the Academy, was appointed in 1845, it was "on such terms as allowed of his devoting the whole of his time to his work."²⁹ He had to be warned repeatedly by the Commission not to neglect his duties, and also "to abstain with the most scrupulous caution from any proceeding calculated to raise a suspicion that sectarian influences were brought to bear."²⁸ In spite of this he entered into Holy Orders and became Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Colombo, whose attitude to the Commission was not of the friendliest. The annual reports did not give full informa-

28. 2285, 22nd September, and 8th December, 1853; 2610, 5th August, 1851 (in the file dated 11th January, 1852); 911, 22nd November, 1854.

29. Report, 1845-6.

tion regarding the schools, and when questions arose involving sectarian difficulties the Commission could not use Bailey's assistance.

The Secretary of the Commission was at first Mr. John Fraser, who performed his duties with "assiduity and intelligence" and with "much satisfaction to the Commission."³⁰ On Fraser's death in 1855, Bailey acted as Secretary for four years in addition to his own duties. The fact that after Bailey was charged by the Commission with neglecting his duties and writing valueless reports he was appointed to do double duties as Secretary and Inspector shows the weakness of the Commission itself.

Shortly after it complained about Bailey the Commission was deprived of the powers given to it in 1841. Already in 1847 a great deal of its financial authority had been taken away. In 1855 Government took away all its administrative power, which was now vested in the President, from whom the Secretary took his orders.³¹ The Commission became a purely advisory body, to which the President referred only such matters as he wished. The President's position as Colonial Secretary and the free exercise of his power to act, without reference to the Commission, made it powerless,¹⁷ so that responsibility for educational policy was now the Colonial Secretary's.

All this helps to explain the ineffectiveness of the Commission. It was suggested by Boake³² that its chief function was to relieve Government of its responsibility for education and provide a convenient excuse for apathy. Governor Ward, whose energy overflowed in so many other directions, certainly ignored the schools, and he is stated to have justified himself by saying that he implicitly adopted the recommendations of the School Commission and could

30. 2110, 5th July, 1854, and B 808, 16th July and 13th September, 1851. His pay was £50. He complained about this, and was told that so long as his predecessor Dr. MacVicar drew part of the salary no addition could be allowed.

31. 910 and 911. 27th October, 1855 and Report, 1855.

32. Boake's letter to Colonial Secretary dated 1st December, 1854. I am indebted to Mr. L.E. Blazé for the loan of this pamphlet.

safely devote his energies to the other interests of the colony.³³

It is, of course, a question why the Missionary members remained on the Commission, especially after 1855. It must not be forgotten that religious instruction was given in the Government schools to all who did not object to receiving it. The Missionaries appear, therefore, to have looked upon the Government schools as part or at any rate an ally of their own system. A Missionary was able to write that the only difference between the Commission's schools and those of the Missions was that the former belonged to no denomination, while the latter were attached to particular bodies.³⁴ He was constrained to add that in proportion to the intimacy of the connection between Government and any society whatever was the estimation in which it was held by the people. This is the statement of a realist, not of a cynic, and it lays bare the difficulties of policy and circumstance.

As has been said the records for this period are scanty, but it is not impossible to recover from later reports some idea of the schools of that day. The school buildings were generally hired dwelling houses, and were frequently moved. They "were of all shapes and sizes, and of every degree of badness as regards lighting and ventilation."³⁵ Only the Academy, the Kandy Girls' School, the Female Seminary (which had one large room) and the Kurunegalle School had suitable buildings. In many places the school was held in the verandah and one or two rooms of the teacher's house. At Ratnapura the school room was "a small verandah, close upon a narrow street in the middle of the bazaar, and exposed to the sun almost immediately after

33. Overland Observer, 1859. Series of letters on Education. Letter VII.

The Overland Times (July 13, 1860) said Governor Ward's opinion was: why spend money on churches and schools when there are so many roads to future happiness in all creeds? Spend it on roads and bridges.

34. Letters in Overland Observer, 1859. Letter VIII.

35. R. 64, 5; R. 62, 3; R. 55.

mid-day." The Female Seminary was the only Government School which possessed a playground.

Regarding furniture we may note two reports.³⁵ At Caltura "there was no writing in the school—there being no tables sufficiently steady for the purpose." At Mullaitivu "there was one desk, two benches and a blackboard—no longer black." All school furniture, even that for Batticaloa, was forwarded from Colombo.

An outstanding difficulty with regard to Sinhalese schools has always been the provision of suitable school books. In 1850 no Arithmetic, no History, no Geography was available in Sinhalese,³⁶ but the arrangements made in the previous period now bore some slight fruit. Between 1850 and 1853 the Commission had a few books translated and printed; an Ancient History, a Modern History, a History of Ceylon, a Scripture History and a Historical Reader dealing with the British Empire, for most of which Rev. Gogerly was responsible.³⁷ More work of this kind was done independently of the Commission. Murdoch, who had left Government service to devote himself to providing vernacular literature for the schools, was able to say in 1853 that in addition to Sinhalese literary works there existed in Sinhalese upwards of 15,000 pages of printed matter, and additions were being made at the rate of 3,000 pages a year, chiefly translations of the best English publications.³⁸ A critic, however, declared that most of the school books were translations of unsuitable books into unidiomatic uncouth language.³⁹

The English schools had their own difficulties regarding text books. "Not only were different books used in different schools, but the same books were not always used by boys in the same school and the same class."³⁶ In 1850 the Commission resolved that no books should be used without

36. Report, 1849-50.

37. Report, 1851, 52.

38. 2285, 12th July, 1853.

39. Report, 1864-5.

its approval, and a Committee was appointed to revise the list. This Committee is notable as the first occasion when the voice of the Roman Catholic Church was raised on a matter of Island education. Bishop Bravi objected to the use of Tytler's General History, Watts' Scripture History and the seventh volume of the Instructor as not in accordance with the Governor's minute of 1841, which laid down that no books were to be used in Government schools which would exclude from instruction scholars of any religious belief. It was ordered that these books should remain in use "until books less open to the objections urged could be met with."³⁶

Teachers.

There is only one means of having good schools, and that is having good teachers. But good teachers, like other good things, are not cheap. This Government refused to recognise. Teachers were paid "miserable pittance, pleasantly called salaries."⁴⁰ The efficient teachers, particularly those who had been trained in the Normal Schools, went elsewhere. There was chronic discontent. The better teachers were eager to obtain other work, and there were constant changes. Teachers were no longer tested before appointment. The superintendent nominated them, and the men whom they nominated were reported to be "daily teaching the most egregious absurdities."⁴¹

The salaries of the vernacular teachers, as fixed by the Commission in 1848, were from £12 to £18 for head-teachers, and £9 for assistants. In mixed schools the head-teachers were paid from £24 to £48, and the assistants from £12 to £18, and in English schools the headmasters were paid from £48 to £84, and the assistants from £24 to £42. Later certain headmasters were paid from £100 to £120.⁴²

At the Girls' English Schools the salaries of the imported teachers were £200 a year and of their local assistants £20.

40. Rev. Glenie, in evidence before Committee on reorganisation.

41. Dickson's Memorandum of June, 1860. Also Report, 1864-5.

42. Report, 1847-8.

It is interesting to read the views of Boake,³² and his assistant, Caldwell, on this point. In 1854 they printed letters addressed to the Colonial Secretary on education in Ceylon, in which they dealt not over tenderly with their nominal masters, the School Commission.

Boake was particularly severe regarding the payment of teachers. He thought them "miserably underpaid," and pointed out that while the average salary of the clerks in the Government offices was over £90 a year, and the highest salary paid was £300, the average salary of a teacher in the Government English and Mixed Schools was £46. 2s. 6d., and the highest salary £120, which was drawn by one man only, while only two received £100. He declared that there was "no inducement for any man of ability and character to enter that department or to remain in it if he could by any means, obtain admission into one of the better paid branches of Government service." As for the vernacular teachers they were paid the wages of servants and some of day labourers, and Boake pointed out the folly of "sending inferior men on coolies' wages to take charge of vernacular schools," and the "danger of employing an ignorant person as a pioneer of civilisation."

Caldwell's letter⁴³ urged that vernacular education should not necessarily be made a cheap education by the acceptance of the lowest standards for the teacher. Vernacular teachers were paid "coolies' wages," and "probably the present vernacular schools were no great acquisition to the country," but too much importance could not be attached to a system of village schools properly constituted and efficiently worked as a means of regenerating the country. For this purpose it was important that village teachers should not be inferior to other teachers and should themselves have a knowledge of English, in order that they might obtain the knowledge which they were expected to impart.

Boake and Caldwell virtually appealed to the Government over the heads of the Commission not to let narrow

43. Printed by Government Printer, 1854. I have to thank Mr. L. E. Blazé for the loan of his copy.

views interfere with the public interest. It was generally asserted that Government was not interested in education beyond seeing that it obtained a suitable supply of young men fit for clerkships and other subordinate offices. There was no need to encourage more advanced education. There was as yet no public opinion to compel recognition of the importance of the schools. Boake and Caldwell might publish protests, but, during the fifties, reaction remained in control.

Well might the Commission express in its report for 1860 its "conviction that very little had been done towards providing for the real education of the people," but such an admission was a sign that the sleeper was awakening. After the decade of apathy came years when storms beat upon its head and criticism tried to prod it awake. The sixties were days of controversy and of Sendall's devastating reports, which between them helped to kill the Commission. At all events the School Commission enjoyed a quiet, sleepy period in the fifties.

3. Dr. W. A. de Silva, Dr. G. C. Mendis, Mr. J. S. A. Fernando, Dr. P. E. Pieris and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara offered remarks.

4. Mr. Gratiaen replied.

5. The Chairman in winding up the discussion and proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his very interesting historical review of education in the Island, referred to the failures of the Commission, from which they could learn. One problem which the Commission had tried to tackle was the very difficult one of producing greater efficiency with reduced expenditure. "That is the great main problem which confronts us to-day and I hope that it is one which the first Ceylonese Minister of Education will be able to tackle successfully," concluded Sir Bernard.

**LIFE IN EASTERN ASIA DURING THE
FOURTH, FIFTH AND SIXTH
CENTURIES (A.D.)
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO CEYLON)***

BY

JATIS C. DE.

Space does not permit me to deal adequately with all the aspects of this vast subject here. I shall, therefore, attempt to discuss only a few of these.

One of the important features of this period was the rise and growth of the mighty Gupta Empire in Northern India. The second Emperor of this House was Samudragupta. In the opening century of our period, Kittis-Siri-Meghavanna I, King of Ceylon, sent an embassy, "laden," as Smith says, "with the gems for which Ceylon had always been renowned."⁽¹⁾ I may note here that one of the ancient names of Ceylon was Pao-Chu in Chinese and Ratnadvīpa in Sanskrit. It seems that the King of Ceylon wanted to build a residential monastery for those of his subjects who wanted to visit the sacred town of Bodh-Gaya. It was necessary to obtain the permission of the Gupta Emperor for this purpose. The customary presents which were sent by the King were, however, considered to be tribute by the Emperor, flushed probably with his military triumphs in South India. When the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Kumārāmātya Harishena, Minister in charge of peace and war, composed the famous Kauśāmbī Inscription, the Saimhalakas, "and all (other) dwellers in islands," together with the emissaries of several other powers were represented as rendering "acts of respectful service," such as submission of credentials by their ambassadors, "bringing presents of maidens,"

* This paper was read at a General Meeting held on October 31, 1930. See Vol. XXXI, p. 533, C.H.C., Hon. Sec.

1. Smith: *Early History of India* (IV. Ed.), p. 304; Codrington: *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 29.

and praying for charters bearing the Garuda seal (for the government of, *i.e.*) empowering them to govern, their own provinces and districts.⁽²⁾ The first thing to be noticed is that M. Levi's researches based on Chinese history are corroborated by a local source. Secondly, it is interesting from the point of view of the comparison instituted between Samudragupta and Napoleon by Dr. Smith, Prof. Mukherjee and others, to notice that the Mágadha apparently adopted Vishṇu's Bird as his emblem, in almost, though not quite in the same way, as the Corsican did the Eagle, centuries later. I may suggest that the compound word "sarvvadvípavásibhiḥ" (=by all the (other) islanders) refers to the "100 small islands distant from one another, ten, twenty, or even 200 le" which were "all subject to the larger island," *i.e.*, Ceylon.⁽³⁾ The embassy, therefore, was probably sent not only on behalf of the King of Ceylon but also definitely on that of his vassals. It will be noticed that the translation I have suggested above, differs from that of Fleet. Átmanivedana, for example, has been taken by him to be "offering themselves as sacrifices," and a reference to the Rájamedha sacrifice may thus conceivably be derived from it. Mr. Allan's rendering, "self-sacrifice," on the other hand, is very literal, and does not lead the reader anywhere.⁽⁴⁾ The passage which follows (svavishayabhuktiśásanayácana, etc.) has been interpreted by Fleet as "(surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories." The necessity of supplying the word "surrendering," to make the meaning clear, is obviated by the translation I have given above. The context also seems to indicate that bhukti here refers to the technical territorial division which was also known as bhoga.

The Śakas, Daivaputras, Sháhis, Sháhánusháhis and the Muruṇḍas also sent embassies of a similar nature to the Gupta potentate. Smith was of opinion that the Śakas were the western Kshatrapas who reigned in "Malwa," Sind,

2. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, No. 1, l. 23 and 24.

3. Legge : A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, etc., p. 101 ; Giles : The Travels of Fa Hsien, p. 66.

4. Catalogue of Indian Coins (Gupta Dynasty), p. XXIV.

Cutch," "Guzarat proper," "and the northern Konkan."⁽⁵⁾ Prof. Rapson considers this view to be a probable one.⁽⁶⁾ Though Mr. Allan relying on the prototypes of Samudragupta's coins found at "Peshawar, Rawal Pindi, the Swat Valley and the northern Punjab," argues that Samudragupta "penetrated far into the territory of Śakas of the North," he admits that the western Kshatrapas were also probably included by that term.⁽⁷⁾ I think it be probable (and intend to take an early opportunity of fully demonstrating it elsewhere) that the first two Gupta Mahārājas owed allegiance to the Muruṇḍa or Śaka King Viśvasphāṇi,⁽⁸⁾ and his predecessor or predecessors, till Candragupta I, took advantage of the fact that Viśvasphāṇi had no issue, and proclaimed his independence.⁽⁹⁾ It is conceivable that a struggle was carried on by Samudragupta against the Śakas till they sued for terms on bended knees. The war was carried on after Samudragupta's death with varying fortune, till Chandragupta II Vikramāditya succeeded in fully avenging the earlier reverses and covering the Garuḍa with glory. It is highly probable that in this life and death struggle the Śakas from beyond the (modern) Indian frontier also joined. We may now focus attention on the apparent fact of the hostile relationships in Eastern Asia, across which we come time after time. The submission of the Śakas to Emperor Samudragupta was very probably due to his military prowess. The Shāhi, Daivaputra and Shāhānushāhi were also probably overcome by force of arms. Allan holds that Shāhi was particularly associated with Gāndhāra where the Kidāra Kushāns ruled, and that the Shāhānushāhi King probably reigned in the Oxus country. Smith apparently holds that they were three kings reigning in the territory round Kabul and Kandahar and the Punjab. We do not,

5. J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 900-2.

6. Rapson's C.O.I.C., p. CL.

7. Allan's C.O.I.C., p. XXVIII.

8. His name is spelt in a number of different ways, e.g., Viśvasphúrji (Bhāgavata), Viśvasphaṭika (Vishṇu), Viśvasphāci and Viśvasphīni (Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 52, 53 and 73).

9. Viśvasphāṇi is said to be an enunch by the purāṇas: Klīva-vikṛtirūcyate").

however, think that Cunningham's view that all these three titles were assumed by the same Kushán King should necessarily be rejected. Smith's argument that the three titles would be too long and cumbrous for a king to assume, may be met by pointing out that the titles attached to the name of Samudragupta himself are quite cumbrous, and an oriental monarch would not let such an objection stand in his way. Smith, however, has two more objections, firstly, that we do not come across all the three titles in a single inscription, and secondly, that the Śakas also used the titles of Sháhi and Sháhánusháhi, and therefore there is no reason why they should be connected with the Devaputra rather than with the Śaka King. We may notice that Vásudeva is called Rájátirája. Sháhi and Devaputra in the Sanchi Inscription, the doctor himself admits that Rájátirája is an equivalent of Sháhánusháhi, that the three titles might easily have been combined in unrecorded instances, and that though the Śakas used the titles of Sháhi and Sháhánusháhi, they did not use that of the Devaputra, which (according to Smith himself) the kings on the North-Western Frontier of India specially assumed. Kennedy holds that the Indo-Kusháns were divided into three branches ruling in the Punjab, Kabul and Ksahmir.⁽¹⁰⁾

Chinese historians tell us that the Murunḍa king reigned over Páṭaliputra, and the Jaina works add that they had Kányakubja under their sway. Their power in India seems to have been great during the first and second centuries A.D. The context of the word in the Kauśámbí Inscription indicates that they ruled in the north-west, and Mr. Laissen thinks that they were reigning in the country which lies to the north of the Kabul river.⁽¹¹⁾

On the whole, it is almost certain that the Murunḍas were foreigners, and the war between them and the Indians was a long-drawn one.

10. C.I.I., Vol. III., No. I., I. 23 and 24 ; E.I. Vol. II., p. 369 ; J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 904 ; C.O.I.C. (Gupta Dynasty), p. XXVII and XXVIII ; J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 682 ; J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 1062 and 1063
 11. J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 984-986 ; Bháratke Prácína Rájavamśá, p. 257.

Ekádhirája Candra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription came in conflict with another group of foreigners. He is said to have “crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu,” and “conquered” “the Váhlikas.” I hold that Candra is identical with Candragupta I. Dr. Kern thought that the Váhlikas were the inhabitants of Balkh. I may, however, point out that this view is rather an improbable one, because in that case, he would have us suppose that the Emperor marched to the west after his victory in Bengal, defeated the princes reigning over the delta of the Indus, turned to the north, and after marching through the whole of Baluchistan, and by far the greater portion of Afghanistan, arrived at Balkh where he defeated the hardy and war-like hillmen. The difficulties of the route, the distance from Vaṅga to Balkh, and the need for the maintenance of a long line of communication, were obstacles which would deter a wise general. Moreover, I do not think that Candragupta I, whose main purpose was undoubtedly the consolidation of his newly won Empire, would undertake an unnecessary and perilous expedition to Balkh. We have also to take into account the fact that the route to Balkh “would not” lie “across the mouth of the Indus.” We notice that there are references to the Váhlikas in the Atharva Veda, the Śatapatha Bráhmāna, the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárata. Under the Ánavas, the Váhlikas probably lived in the Punjab. The Puráṇas regard the Váhlika dynasty to be an outlandish one, though, as usual, the passages in the Váyu, Brahmáṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhágavata are not identical. A comparison of the passages, however, shows us that the Váhlikas probably succeeded the Vindhyakas to power, shortly before the advent of the Guptas, and that their principality was situated somewhere within about three hundred miles of the modern Indus delta. Candragupta I was, therefore, probably responsible for the final extinction of this foreign colony in India.⁽¹²⁾

12. J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 8; C.I.I., Vol. III., No. 32; The Puráṇas (different editions).

This period also witnessed many wars between the Húnas and the Indians. Skandagupta, the greatgrandson of Samudragupta, is thus referred to in the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription :—

Vicalitakulalakshmístambhanáyodyatena
Kshititalaśayaniye yena nitá triyámá
Samuditaba(la)koshán yudhyamitrámsca jitvá
Kshitipacaraṇapīṭhe sthapito cámapádaḥ

The severity of the struggle is apparent from the statement contained in this passage that he had to spend a whole night “on a couch that was the bare earth.” The noise of the “close conflict with the Húnas” is probably likened to the roaring of the Ganges, and in the course of the struggle, the Emperor is said to have “shaken” “the earth” with his “two arms,” i.e., put forth all his energy and vigour. “Then,” says the inscription writer, “crying, the victory has been achieved,” he betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears “of joy,” just as Kṛṣṇa when “He” had slain “His” enemies, betook “Himself to (His mother) Devakí. I do not agree with Dr. Smith in holding that “about 470 A.D. the Húnas advanced into the interior, and again attacked Skandagupta in the heart of his dominions,” that the Emperor “was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule, and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners.” We do not possess any positive evidence of a Húna invasion till that of Toramána, and it is almost certain that Budhagupta succeeded in keeping the empire intact during the earlier part of his reign. Fortune, however, did not continue to smile on the Indians. The white Húnas killed the Sassanian King Firoz in 484 A.D., and established their sway over Persia and Kabul. Shortly afterwards, they invaded India and the Indians probably met them in battle under the leadership of Mahárájádhirája Budhagupta. The Garuda was borne back from western Áryávarṭta, as a result of the conflict, and the brother of the vassal of Budhagupta, Dhanyavishṇu, acknowledged the overlordship of the Húna.

The large number of coins discovered in Kashmir, and the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* seem to show that Toramāṇa's empire included Kashmir. The son of Toramāṇa extended the Hūṇa empire, till it included the whole of the Punjab and Rajputana, the northern part of the Central Provinces, and probably the western portion of the United Provinces. Gándhāra and Kashmir also seem to have acknowledged his supremacy. The Indians did not, however, leave their hereditary enemies in peace. Under the leadership of Bálāditya, they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas. The brother of the Hūṇa king turned against him. Mihirakula, however, probably succeeded in usurping the throne of Kashmir, and recovering his old province of Gándhāra. Yaśodharman of Malwa was perhaps engaged at this time in pushing his empire northwards. He may have overthrown the treacherous brother of Mihirakula, and met the Emperor himself in battle. In any case, we are certain that the defeat inflicted on the Hūṇas by the Indians under Yaśodharman was a crushing one, and Vásula, the composer of the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription, wrote :—

Nicaistenápi yasya prañatibhujabalávarjjanáklišṭa-
murdhná
Cudāpushpopaháraiḥ Mihirakulanṛpenárcitaṁ pádayu-
gmaṁ

The proud forehead of the Hūṇa Emperor was bent down to the feet of the Indian hero, and flowers from the locks of hair on his head had to be offered as presents.⁽¹³⁾

The Hūṇas as well as the other races who invaded India during this period seem to have been reinforced by fresh batches eager for territory and tribute. One of these hordes, it is recorded by the Bengali composer of the Apsad Stone Inscription, was met in battle by the powerful

13. C.I.I., Vol. III., No. 13 ; E.H.I. (IV. Ed.), p. 328.

The Fran Inscription shows that the eastern portion of the empire was under Budhagupta, the Sarnath Inscription says that he was ruling the central, and the Damodarpur plates prove that Northern Bengal was under his governors.

C.I.I. Vol., III., Nos. 19, 36, etc. ; *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Stein) Int. p. 65 and iii., 102/323.

C.I.I., Vol. III., No. 33, 1. 6.

Maukharis. "The proudly stepping array of" the "mighty elephants" of the Indians threw "the troops of the Húnas aloft," and trampled them to death⁽¹⁴⁾ I fully endorse the view of Indraji and Smith that the Maitrakas came of a non-Indian stock, and may point out that the occurrence of royal names like those of Duddá and Mimmá supports their position. They established themselves in Guzarat with their capital at Valabhí. Along with the Húnas and others they fell under the spell of Hindu civilisation and rapidly lost their identity.⁽¹⁵⁾

Smith is of opinion that the Gurjaras of Broach came to India with the Húnas, and were "possibly allied in blood to them." But I may point out that Dadda I seems to have come to the throne by 430 A.D., about a quarter of a century earlier than the first Húna invasion of India. The Gurjaras probably came to India from the north-west, settled in the Punjab, moved on to western Rajputana, and finally established a principality in the strip of country extending from the valley to the south of the Tapti to Sanand and Kaira in the north. The fact that they are not mentioned in the Kauśámbí Inscription, perhaps shows that they were under the overlordship of the Kshatrapas. When the Kshatrapa power was crushed by Candragupta II, the Gurjaras came under Gupta rule. The Húnas, as we have seen above, at first drove back the Garuḍa from Suráshṭra, but when Skandagupta appointed Paṇḍadatta as his viceroy, the Gurjaras acknowledged Gupta overlordship again. Toramāṇa probably brought Suráshṭra under his subjection. What happened afterwards is hard to guess, though it is almost certain that the Valabhi power in Guzrat had to acknowledge the sway of Yaśodharman and the Gurjaras like the other non-Indians rapidly assimilated Hindu culture.⁽¹⁶⁾

14. .C.I.I., Vol. III., No. 42, l. 8, 9, etc.

15. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., part I., p. 85 and 86; E.H.I. (3rd Ed.), p. 314.

16. E.H.I. (3rd Ed.), p. 321; I.A. XVII., p. 192; I.A., 1913, p. 200; I.A., Vol. VII., p. 63, etc.

The diamonds of the crown of Dadda I., *e.g.*, are said to be "polished by prostrations to the feet of the gods, Bráhmaṇas and other venerable persons."

Embassies were sent to China by the Indian Courts in 357, 428, 502 and 541 A.D. Kiu-to (=Gupta), probably Bhánugupta, sent that of 502 A.D. By 538 A.D. a Buddhist priest of Benares named Gautama Dharmajñána was appointed Governor of Yang Chuan by the Chinese Emperor. Emperor Wen Ti recalled him to the capital, and requested him to translate one Buddhist work.⁽¹⁷⁾

Among the Chinese savants who visited India during this period, the names of Tao Yung, To-ing, Song Yun, Hwui Seng and Fa Hsien may be mentioned. The observations of Tao Yung are to be found in the records of Song Yun. To-ing, a native of the Wei country came only as far as Gándhára. Song Yun's career as a traveller shows that a political envoy from China was sometimes entrusted with a religious mission.

Fa Hsien throws light on political and religious factors in Ceylon at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and the commercial connection between Ceylon and Java, and extols the courage and skill of the Indian and Ceylonese members of the mercantile marine. Many Indian and Ceylonese savants, Dharmapriya, Kumárajíva, Buddhabhadra, Dharmaraksha, Guṇabhadra, Guṇavṛddhi, Bodhiruci, Bodhidharma and others also carried their culture and religion to China and other countries. Ceylon fought her Pandyan wars during this period and the reign of Mogallána probably marks a distinct stage in the growth of the ancient Ceylonese navy.⁽¹⁸⁾

17. Duff : Chronology of India, p. 27 to 44.

18. My article in the Ceylon Literary Register (Oct., 1932) may be consulted for further information.

SOME DOCUMENTS OF VIKRAMA BAHU OF KANDY

BY

H. W. CODRINGTON.

An attempt to fix the chronology of the reign of Sēnā-sammata Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy has been made by the writer in an article destined for *Epigraphia Zeylanica* on the Gaḍalādeṇiya rock inscription of the eighth year of this king. It is the object of this paper to present to the student the texts of the various other documents, by means of which the initial point and the duration of the reign can be determined.

I. The Vannipola *sannasa* is dated in the year following the twentieth of the reign. The existing document undoubtedly is spurious, the contents being scratched on a copper plate in a modern hand. There seems, however, to be no reason for suspecting the text itself. This is not the text of a *sannasa* proper, but of a *tuḍupata*. By it land in Vannipala in the Atapattu corps commander's division belonging to Siduruvāṇā Uḍunuvara was granted by the king at the palace of Senkadagala to two craftsmen in recompense for a certain painting.

The expression *atapattu sēnānāyaka bhāgaye* is interesting. The Niyangampāya record speaks of the eight Sēnānāyakas. Our Atapattu Sēnānāyaka must be the officer in later times known as Maha Atapattuvē Lēkam-mahatmayā. The eight Sēnānāyakas thus were the forerunners of the chiefs of the Palace military Lēkamas.

II. The next document, the Kobbākaḍuva Vihārē *sannasa* is of importance. Though it now seems to exist only in a copy (Temple Lands Commissioners' Case No. 291), there can be no doubt of its authenticity. Its style is in accord with that of similar documents of the Kōṭṭē period.

By it land in the village Kobbākaḍuva was granted by the king in his thirty-seventh year at the Śrīvarddhana Palace in Seṅgaḍagala as a *dānakṣetra* to the Elder Śrīmat Mēṇavara Māvela Ratnavalli.

According to tradition the country where the Kobbākaḍuva Vihārē was built in the time of Vikrama Bāhu of Gampola was then in thick jungle. The stream Morahāla Āla, which runs through it, enjoying a repute for the cure of skin diseases, a queen of Vikrama Bāhu who was suffering from *taṃba kuṣṭa rōgaya*, was directed to take the waters. The king then had the jungle cleared and a *pallē vāhala* and a *vihārē* built. The queen was completely cured, and before returning to Gampola gave the village, which had sprung up, to the ancestors of the Kobbākaḍuva family, then living at Godavela, and dedicated the adjoining village of Ganēgama to the *vihārē*, which was to remain in the Kobbākaḍuva family. The *tālla* pendant, which had been worn by the queen, was granted as *kāṭa sākkiya* in lieu of a *sannasa*, and Vikrama Bāhu ordered that within a mile of the Kobbākaḍuva Pallē Vāhala in either direction all were to silence their musical instruments, descend from their palanquins, and pay all other marks of respect to royalty. I am indebted for this traditional account to the late Dr. T. B. Kobbe-kaduwe. As Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy constantly is confused with Vikrama Bāhu III. of Gampola, it is possible that the story refers to a queen of the first named king. The Elder Ratnavalli belonged to the Meheṇavara clan of the royal family.

III. The Galgānē Vihārē *tuḷupata* also exists only in a copy (Temple Lands Commissioners' Case No. 4). By it lands in divers places was given to Bamuṇu Buddhavaṃśa Sāmī, the great nephew of the head of the Sakala dik vijaya valiya ranṣa koṇḍa Parākrama Bāhu Piriveṇa, for the furtherance of the Galgānē Vihārē in Sēdeniya. The grant is dated on the eighth of the waxing moon of Vesak in the Buddhist year 2052 (1510 A.D.), at the Sirivarddhana Palace in Seṅkhaṇḍapura. The regnal year is not given. There appears to be no valid reason for suspecting the authenticity of the text.

The Hēndenīya Vihārē is said to have been built by Henakaṇḍa Bisō baṇḍāra. This princess was born in a *beli* fruit. According to one story she rejected all her suitors; according to another she became the chief queen of Vikrama Bāhu III. of Gampola. Her great beauty led to her death at the hands of Kataragama Deviyō, who strangled her in her palanquin and made her his consort. They are worshipped together at Āmbākkē Dēvālē.

The identity of Sakala dik vijaya valiya raṇṣa koṇḍa Parākrama Bāhu is not known. As Bamuṇu Buddhavaṃśa Sāmī was in the third generation from the chief of the Piriveṇa, this king cannot have been later than Parākrama Bāhu VI.

IV. The document described as a *sannasa* in the Kandy District Court Case No. 383 is closely connected with the preceding both by the date and the name of the grantee. It only survives in the form of a précis made for the Court. The mention of the "Dalada Maligawa" is an embellishment of the translator; document No. III. shows that the original must have had *Sirivarddhana Māligāvē*. This *sannasa* is in favour of the Kuṭṭaṅgal Vihārē, otherwise known as Vēravaḷa or Radāgoḍa Vihārē.

There are also two stone records of amnesty belonging to this reign at Alutnuvara Dēvālē in Four Korales, but in so poor a condition that the regnal year is no longer legible.

The Gaḍalādenīya epigraph already mentioned is followed immediately by one dated in 1511 A.D., which begins thus:—

1. ශ්‍රී බුද්ධ වර්ෂ 2054 සිවු පතස් වන නිකිනි අව
පැවැත්ම මෙකල (ජ)ස[ව]ර (?අප)

2. මහ රාජානාමකාණන්වහන්සේට පස්වරින්....
.....ධම්මිකීති සමාමි.....

"On the first of the waning moon of Nikini in the year of Buddha 2054. At this time to (? our) great king (Ja)ya-[vī]ra from the Five Countries Dharmakīrtti Svāmī"

The reign of Vikrama Bāhu thus ended at some date between the eighth of the waxing moon of Vesak, 2052 A.B.

(16th April, 1510 A.D.) and the first of the waning moon of Nikini, 2054 A. B. (10th August, 1511 A.D.). The king reigned at least 37 years. His accession, therefore, must be placed at the latest about 1474 or 1475. Reasons are given in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* for supposing that he came to the throne about the same time as Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI. of Kōttē, that is about 1472-3 A.D.

I. VANNIPOLA SANNASA.

සිරිසගබෝ ශ්‍රී සේනාසමමහ වික්‍රමබාහු චක්‍රවර්තී
සවාමීන්වහන්සේට විසිවන්නෙන් මතු අවුරුදු වෙසගපුර
පසලොස්වක සෙන්කඩගල මාලිගාවේ මහවැඩ උන්තුන
අදහසක් ඇතුළු දිග විසිරියෙන් පුළුල නවරියෙන් පෙනිකඩ
දෙකක් වියවා ඉක්බිති ආචාරිලොදිත්‍යයා මෙකුං පුත්
සිවනාදිත්‍යයා ඇතුළුව දෙනා ලවා ශක්‍රබ්‍රහ්මාදී නොයෙක්
දෙවියන් පිරිවරා වජ්‍රාසනාරූඪව වැඩඋන් මහ පිළිමසාමීන්
පටන් පෙනිදෙකෙහි කම්මානන නිෂ්ටාවූපසු කුමහ සනාපන
ආදීවූ ඡබ්බ විධිවිධාන කරවා වසතුබලිදී නෙතුපුජා පිරිමැසුනු
පසු ඉක්බිති ධාරාවන්කරවාගෙන මෙකියන ආචාරිසනෙතාඡ
යට හා බුඩපුජාවට ගමන්දෙන්ට උවමැනැවැති යන අදහසින්
සිදුරුවානා උඩුනුවර බද අතපනතු සේනානායක භාග්‍යෙ
වනනිපල ගම්භාග්‍යක කුඹුරු බිජු සතරමුනක්හා මෙහිබද
සතර මාසිම ඇතුළුව ගෙවතු ගසකොල වල්පිට මෙකිනැන්
මෙකියන ආචාරින්ගෙ දරු මුනුබුරු පරම්පරාවට පවතිනා
පනතට දෙවා වදලගෙහිං ඉදිරි මෙකියන පින්කමට රජ
යුවරජ සිටු සෙනෙවිරත් ඇපා මාපා ආදීවූ යම්කිසිකෙනෙ
කුන් විසින් අවුලක් උඩරණයක් කලකිකෙනෙක් ඇත්නම්
සජ්චය කාලසූත්‍රය සංඝාතය රෝරවය මහාරෝරවය නාපය
ප්‍රතාපය අවිච්ඡය යන අටමහ නරකයෙහි පැසී ගොඩ නොදක්
නාහු නම්වෙති මහබෝ පලා ගිනිනැපපාහු නම්වෙති
කාවනුවේ බත් කැවාහුනම්වෙති කවිඩාව බලොව පුත්වූ
වාහුනම්වෙති එලෙසනොව මෙකියන පින්කමට වියවුලක්
පැමිණිනැන් ඊට ඉඩනැර පලමු පනතට සරි කරවාල
කෙනෙක් ඇත්නම් වාහුමහාරාජ්‍යය නාවතිභය යාමය
තුසිතය නිමාරනය පරනිමිත වසවතීතිය කියනලද සදිව්‍ය
ලොකයෙහි දිවසැපත් වලඳු එසින් වුනව කෙතුමිනිනම් රාජ

බානියෙහි ඉපද මෙමුඛිබුදුරජානන් වහන්සේ දෑක වදුරා බන අසා බුදුසස්තෙහි මහනව රහතව අමා මහනිවන් දක්කානු නම්වෙති යනාදින් වදුරා මේ පත ලියා දෙන්නේයයි වදල මෙහෙවරින් මේ තාමුපත්තු ලියා දුන් බවට සන්ගස්සිවතා නොනාරුමහ ඉමංලිබ්බ පුඤ්ඤන මෙතොයං උපසංකම් පතිඨ හිතවා සරණෙ සුප්ප තිබාමි සාසනෙ සිසිරසතු

II. KOBBAKADUVA VIHARE SANNASA.

ත්‍රි භුවත නයන තිලක සකලඥයසාගර පාරමිතානේන භූතරත්න මඤ්චරාසේස ජනනාඤ්ඤාය අපරිමිත ජනමනුකයන ප්‍රසාද ත්‍රිසිංහලාබ්බවර නවරත්නාබ්බති ශ්‍රීමත් සිරිසගබො ශ්‍රී සේනාසමමත වික්‍රමානු චක්‍රවර්තී සාමිත්වහන්තෙජ්ව තිස්සත්වනු නිකින්නිය පුරසතවක සිදුරුවානා යටිනුවරබද අතපනතු සේනානායක භාග්‍යෙ කෙබබ්බාකඩුවෙන් ඇම ලොච්ඡව කුඹුරු බිජුවට පසමුනක් හා මෙහිබද සතර මාලම නම් නැගෙනඳුරින් මාවතහා දකනුදිගින් වෙලංගස් සිටි සුඛසින්හා බස්නාඳුර කළුගල් සිතොන් උතුරුදිගින් මුදුන් ලෙන පරකදුර ඇලින් කුඹුරු වනානින් සල්කේ කුඹුරෙ ඇලින් මාවත ඇතුළුව මෙකි සතරමාලමට ඇතුළුව ගෙවතු ගසකොල මෙකි සියලුක් ශ්‍රීමත්මෙතවරමාවෙල රත්තවලලි තෙර සාමිත්ව වටනාපස දුනකෙසෙසුකොට දෙවාවදල හෙසින් ඉදිරි මෙකියන තෙරසාමිත්තේ ශාසන පරම්පරාවට පවතිනාතෙක් මීට රජ යුවරජ සිටු සෙනෙවිරත් ඇපා මාපා ආදීවු යමිකිසිතැනකින් ගො කෝරල කරනනන් යනඑන සේවාබාලයන් ඇතාලයන් ගොන්බදදන් ඇතුළුව මෙකි සියළුතැන්වලින් අවුලක් උඹරනයක් නොකියන නොකරන ලෙසට සෙන්ගඬගල සිරිවඩින මාලිගාවේදී උභයවාසයෙ මහ සංඝයා වහන්සේ මැදෙහි වදල වෛරින් මෙ සන්ගස් දුන පත්‍රය ලියාදුන්බවට සන්ගස්සිවතා නිකිනාරුමිහ

III. GALGANE VIHARE TUDUPATA.

ශ්‍රී සබමථීවර චක්‍රවර්තීවු අප නවාගත ගෞතම සුවිඤ්ඤා ජොතමයානඤ්ඤානන්තෙජ්‍යේ ශ්‍රීබුඩවජ්ජියෙන් දෙදහස්දෙප නස්වනු වෙසගපුර අටවක් තෙන්නකොත්තාරුන් විවාරන සිදුරුවානා උඩුනුවරබද පලමු පටන් පිරිවන්සන්තකට පැවත ඉක්බිති සේන්දෙනියේ ගල්විහාරයට නියමවන මාමි

පිටියේ මැදකඹුර දෙපැලක්ගා යාලේගොඩවෙල බිත්තර
පැලගා පින්තූරග දෙපැල මුද්දිදෙනිය එකමුතු තුම් පැලක්ගා
මෙකියන බිජුතුනුමුනේ වපසරියන් ගොඩගේකලින් යාලේ
ගොඩව ගන්දුමේ බෝමළුවෙන් මෙපිටත් දබරගේකල කඩ
මුදුනේ පාරන් මෙපිටත් ඇතුළුව කුඹුරුබිජුවට තුනුමුනක්
ගා මෙතිබද ගමමුදල ගෙවතු ගහකොල වල්පිට ඇතුළුවන්න
සේන්දෙනියේ ගල්ගනේවිහාරයට වදානවන පනත බත්
වටනාපස සැලස්මට ලොකසැසන කරුණානිබාන ජනරජ
නයකිරීමෙහි ලෝකප්‍රසිද්ධව මෙකල රාජපක්‍ෂි පුරුදුව ශ්‍රී
සේනාසම්පත් වික්‍රමබාහු මහාරජපුරුවන්ගේ දන්පින් කිරි
මෙහි ඇදහිලි ඇති සභාවන්ත අදහසින් සේන්බඩනම් පුර
ප්‍රවරයෙහි සිරිවඩින මාලිගාවේ අමාපත්‍ය ගනයා පිරිවරා
වැඩසිට දානබසයෙන් සකලදික් විජය වලියරජකොඩ
පරාක්‍රමබාහු පිරිවන්සාමීන්ගේ අවැසුමුනුපුරුව බමුනු බුඩ
වභසාමීන්ලවා බුදුන් විසින් ශ්‍රීමුඛපාසියෙන් දේසනාකොට
වදලාව සුත්‍රාතිබමථිවිනය සංඛ්‍යතවු දහස්ගනන් සුත්‍රාතින්
ප්‍රතිමභිතවු සංයුත් සහිපොස්තකයලියවා පිරිමසවාගෙන මතු
කාගෙනුත් අවුල් උභරනයක් නොකියන නොකරන පනතට
සසතිරකොට සලස්වා මෙකියන බුඩවභසාමීට දානක්සේසු
කොටදිනිම් දිනිම් කියා ශ්‍රීගන්පිහිටුවා මේතාඹුපත්‍රය සිතා
වදලගෙසින් මෙකියන පින්කමට ඉදිරියේ දවස පැමිනි
රජ සුවරජ සිටු සෙනෙවිරත් ඇපා මාපා පවප්‍රධානි කෙනෙ
කුන් ගනෙත් බඳුවගියාගෙනත් ඔබබකිනත් අවුලක්
උභරනයක් කලකිකෙනෙත් ඇත්නම් සජීවය කාලසුත්‍රව
සංඝාතෝ රවුර වස්තවා මහ රවුරවතා පාකබසප්‍රතාපාවිචි
නාමකා සජීවය කාලසුත්‍රය සංඝාතය රවුරවය මහාරවුර
වය නාපය ප්‍රතාපය අවිචියයන අටමහානරකයෙහි පැසි ගොඩ
නොදක් නාහුනම්වෙති මහබෝපලා ගිනිතැපාහු නම්
වෙති සතර කරාවේ මැරුමසුන්ගේ පවුගතනාහුනම්වෙති බුදු
පසේබුදු මහා රහතුන්වගන්සේලාගේ පාත්‍රබිද සුම්බන්කරවු
වාහුනම්වෙති කාවනුවේ බත්කැවාහුනම්වෙති කවුඩාට
බලොටු පුත්වුවාහු නම්වෙති නැවත බුදුන්සිත්වදලාව
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ගනන්විනම් කප්දසංඛයකිනුත් ආහාර වස්ත්‍රාදියක්
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දවස පිකන්මහෝත්තමයන්සින් තුනුරුවන් උදෙසා දුන්නාවූ
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වරින් සන්නසි වත්තේව කලපෙරුමාඵමගැ

I. VANNIPOLA SANNASA.

On the fifteenth of the waxing moon of Vesak in the year following the twentieth of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, whereas with the sanction of His Majesty dwelling in the palace of Senkadagala, two cloths 20 cubits long and 9 cubits broad were caused to be woven and then the two craftsmen Ādityayā and his son Sivattādityayā painted thereon making a beginning with the great image (of Buddha) seated on the diamond throne surrounded by Śakra, Brahma, and divers other gods, and after the work was finished on the two cloths the six kinds of ceremonies, namely, the fixing of the water pots and the rest, were carried out and treasures and offerings made and the dedication of the eyes accomplished ; and whereas His Majesty, considering that it was necessary to give a village, having poured out water, for the pleasure of the aforesaid craftsmen and as an offering

to Buddha, was pleased to give the fields of a portion of the village Vannipala in the Atapattu corps commander's division belonging to Siduruvānā Uḍunuvara, in extent four amunams, and the residing gardens, plantations, and jungle within the four boundaries appertaining thereto, these places aforesaid, to remain in the descent of the children and grandchildren of these aforesaid craftsmen; (His Majesty) commanded that this plate should be written and given to this effect, namely: henceforth should any king, sub-king, grandee, commander-in-chief, prince, heir-apparent, or any such make any dispute or disturbance by deed or word with respect to this meritorious act he will be boiled in the eight great hells Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Saṁghāta, Raurava, Mahā Raurava, Tāpa, Pratāpa, and Avīciya, and not see the shore thereof, he will be as one who has split and warmed himself at (a fire made of) the Great Bo-tree, he will be as one who eats rice vomited, he will be as the off-spring of crow and dog. But this not being so, should anyone when a dispute arises in respect of this aforesaid meritorious act not permit this but confirm the original command, he shall enjoy divine bliss in the six worlds of the gods called Caturmmahārājika, Tāvatinśa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmāratī, and Paranirmita-vasavartti, and, departing thence, being born in the royal city Ketumatī will see king Maitrī Buddha, and having heard his preaching, put on the robes in the religion of Buddha and become a Rahat, will see the undying great Nirvāna.

In obedience to this command I, Sanhas Sivatta Naināru, (certify) that this copper plate has been written and given.

(In Pali) By this written meritorious act I draw nigh unto Maitrī; taking refuge, I am well grounded in the religion.

May there be prosperity !

II. KOBBAKADUVA VIHARE SANNASA.

On the seventh of the waxing moon of Nikini in the thirty seventh year of His Majesty the Sovereign Lord

Śrīmat Siri Saṅgabō Śrī Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu, the eye ornament of the three worlds, the ocean of all knowledge, the abode of the gems of virtue accompanied by perfection, causing happiness to the whole nation, pleasing to the eye to countless people, sovereign of Tri Simhala and Lord of the nine gems, whereas the fields of Āmbaloḷuva in extent five amunams in Kobbyākaḍuva of the Atapattu corps commander's division belonging to Siduruvānā Yaṭinuvara and the residing gardens and plantations within the four boundaries appertaining thereto (to wit):—On the East the high road, on the South the anthill on which is the *velam* tree, on the West the Kaḷugal-sinna ridge, on the North the Mudun-lena Parakaṇḍurē channel, the jungle adjoining the fields (*vanāta*), the channel of Salkē-kuṃbura field and the high road—all this aforesaid within these aforesaid four boundaries has been given (by His Majesty), being made a *dānakṣetra* for the supply of the requisites to the Elder Śrīmat Menavara Māvela Ratnavalli; (His Majesty) ordered at the Sirivarddhana Palace at Sengadagala in the midst of the Great Community of both places of residence (viz., village and forest) that in future so long as this property shall remain in the religious descent of this aforesaid Elder by no king, sub-king, grandee, commander-in-chief, prince, heir-apparent or like dignitary and by no chiefs of kōralēs, soldiers going and coming, people of the elephant stalls, cattle-keepers, by none of these aforesaid officers shall any dispute or disturbance be made by word or deed.

In accordance therewith I, Sanhas Sivatta Nayināru (certify) that this *sanhas* plate of gift has been written and given.

III. GALGANE VIHARE TUDUPATA.

Whereas on the eighth of the waxing moon of Vesak in the Buddhist year 2052 of the omniscient king our Tathāgata Gautama the illustrious sovereign lord of the Law, with the object of acquiring merit joined with belief in the making of meritorious gifts on the part of the great king Śrī Sēnāsampat Vikrama Bāhu now reigning, who is famous

in the world for pleasing the people, a treasure house of kindness to the world and the religion, His Majesty while seated surrounded by the multitude of his officers in the Sirivarddhana Palace in the city named Senkhaṇḍapura, with the desire of giving, having caused to be written the Saṃyut Saṅgipostakaya adorned with the thousand sutras called Sutra, Abhidharma and Vinaya, uttered in preaching by the mouth of Buddha, by Bamunu Buddhavaṇśa, the great nephew of the head of the Sakala dik vijaya valiya ranṣa koṇḍa Parākrama Bāhu Pirivena, he granted for the provision of requisites in rice for the furtherance of Galgānē Vihārē in Sēndeniya Māmpīṭiyē Mādakum̐bura of two pālas, Yālēgoḍa Vela-bittara of one pāla, Pin-aṅga of two pālas, Murddeniya of one amunam three pālas, this aforesaid sowing extent of three amunams (as also) out of the high land chenas for Yālēgoḍa this side of the bō-maḷuva on the village boundary and this side of the path on the top of Dabara hēn-valakaḍa, in all fields of three amunams sowing extent and the places including the village revenue, residing gardens, plantations and jungle belonging thereto, within Siduruvānā Uḍunuvara governed by Tennakkonārun, which from days of old belonged to the Pirivena and then were assigned to the rock viharē at Sēndeniya, as a permanent possession, with the provision that in future no one should make any dispute or disturbance by word or deed. And whereas he made the property a *dānakṣetra* in favour of this aforesaid Buddhavaṇśa Svāmi and contemplated (granting) this copper plate by saying “ I give, I give ” and by setting his illustrious signature thereto ;

(His Majesty) said :—Henceforth should there be anyone who makes dispute or disturbance in respect of this meritorious act aforesaid, whether among kings, sub-kings, grandees, commanders-in-chief, princes, heirs-apparent, or any of the five principal chiefs, or among kinsfolk, or any one soever, he shall be boiled in the eight great hells Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Saṃghāta, Ravuruva, Mahā Ravuruva, Tāpa, Pratāpa and Avīciya, and shall not see the shore thereof ; he shall be as one who splits and warms himself at (a fire made of) the Great Bo-tree ; he shall be as those who incur the sins of

the fish killed in the four seas ; he shall be as those who break in pieces the bowls of Buddha, Pacceka Buddhas and great Rahats ; he shall be as one who eats rice vomited ; he shall be as the offspring of crow and dog. Again Buddha has said :—Should any one take involuntarily even a stick of wood or a sweetsmelling flower or a fruit belonging to the Three Gems or even the amount of a withered leaf, he shall be as a goblin not receiving food, clothes, and the like for numberless ages. This will happen because Buddha has said that it will come about. If there be any being who furthers this meritorious act even by a measure of speech, not arriving at sorrow, because it is said : *Dāna pālanayor-maddhyeh*, because it is said that protecting a thing such as villages, fields and the like given in time past for the benefit of the Three Gems by charitable great men is better than giving, it is good to think that such an one has tried to enjoy divine bliss in the six worlds of the gods called Caturmahārājika, Tāvatiṇśa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati, and Parannermmita-vasavartti, and, having been born in the royal city Kētumatī where Maitrī Bodhisatva is born, to enjoy happiness there, and having heard the preaching from that omniscient king Maitrī and put on the robes in his religion, arriving at the Four Paths and the Four Fruits called Sōvān, Sakradāgāmī, Anāgāmī, and Arhat, to attain the unaging and undying bliss of Nervāna.

In obedience to this command I, Sannas Sivattēva Kala Perumālu (certify that this document has been written).

IV. VERAVALA *alias* RADAGODA VIHARE *alias* KUTTANGAL VIHARE SANNASA.

The substance of a copper Sannas granted in the year of Budha 2052 in the month of Wesak on the 8th day of the encreasing moon.

That the following lands situate in Udunuware namely Atalasa of 2 Pelas, Dessanga of 2 Pelas, the lands of 1 ammunam's extent belonged to the Wihare. Bokumbare of 5 Pelas, Bodi of 3 Pelas and the high grounds attached thereto lying within the boundaries viz : Unamuwa and

from these sides of the channel called Kahatadande Elle and of the ground Batatal Maditta within which include the paddy lands in extent of 3 ammunams together with the gardens, houses, trees, grounds and other plantations attached thereto which were formerly held under Sewooroo Paramparawa and are now assigned to Kuttangal Wihare for its improvement (to be possessed by the pupils of Bamunu Budda Wanse Samy) by the great King for the time being Srisena Samasta Wikkrama Bahoo whose fame is gone throughout the world for mercy and goodness, and who being actuated by a spirit of piety and devoted to do acts of merits and charity and being present surrounded by an assembly of a great concourse of his subjects in the Dalada Maligawa of the illustrious Town of Sengadagala have been offered to Bamunu Budda Wanse Samy the grandson of Sakaladik Wijayawaliya Rangsa konda Prakkrama Bahoo Priwansamy, for having caused the Bana Book entitled Sanyoot Sangiya to be transcribed in a manner to be approved of—that the said lands having inscribed in this copper Sannas absolutely offered as an alms to the said Budda Wansa Samy that no dispute either in word or deed shall be made by anybody.

If any subsequent Kings, Ministers, affluent person, Diwa and Gabada Nilames of the King shall dispute this offering in word or deed, they will suffer in the eight hells but these persons who shall support the same in word or deed will enjoy happiness in the celestial mansions, etc. etc., etc.

This Sannas has been inscribed under Royal Command by Sannissiwatte Kulapperumalum.

Kandy, April 3, 1834

Translated by D. Hendrik

4or 2s. 6d.

EXCERPTA MALDIVIANA.

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

No. 10.—THE PORTUGUESE AT THE MÁLDIVES.

FOREWORD.

**“Lead, O God, the Máldive Race
Along Thy Prophet’s way,
Ever staunch to Muslim Faith,
Until the Judgment Day.”***

The purpose of the present Paper is to bring into one concentrated focus all known references of any moment, or their gist, on the above subject occurring in European and Máldivian records. Such references have been made available—and that often but partially—, up to the present, only in scattered writings more or less difficult of access.

The main authorities, from the European point of view, are to be found in (a) the Portuguese Archives † and Histories relating to the East, (b) in Pyrard’s *Voyage to the East Indies*, together with notices summarised in (c) *Ceylon Sessional Paper XLIII*, 1881, and in (d), the *Hakluyt Society Pyrard*, 1888, Vol. II., *Appendices A, B*; whilst on the Oriental side the sole source of information is furnished by the “*Táríkh*,” or State Chronicle of the Máldive Sultáns, which still remains unpublished.¹

By way of comparison and contrast in the narratives, it will be most convenient to group accounts by Portuguese, French, and other Western writers, separately from the particulars derivable from the Máldive Chronicle.

* See *infra*, p. 96 for the prayer of Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru-fánu, the Máldivian national hero of the Sixteenth Century. This, old “slogan” (so to say) of the Máldive Islanders, remains undiminished in its intense fervour.

† *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* (Goa); *Livro das Monções* (Lisbon).

CONTENTS.

These fall suitably into three broad Periods.

1. FIRST PERIOD: A.C. 1500-1550.

- (1) *PORTUGUESE REFERENCES.*
- (2) *MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.*

2. SECOND PERIOD: A.C. 1550-1700.

- (3) *PORTUGUESE REFERENCES.*
- (4) *MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.*
- (5) *PORTUGUESE, &c., REFERENCES.*
- (6) *MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.*

3. THIRD PERIOD: A.C. 1700-1930.

- (7) *MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.*
- (8) *PORTUGUESE, &c., REFERENCES.*

1. FIRST PERIOD: A.C. 1500-1550.

- (1) *PORTUGUESE REFERENCES.*

A.C. 1498.

East Indian Trade.

The Portuguese first showed their flag in the East at the very close of the Fifteenth Century.

When Vasco da Gama, rounding the Cape in A.C. 1498, reached Calicut (*Kallikkóddai*), he found Oriental trade and commerce well mapped out and established.

Vessels from Further India and China bound for Aden and the Red Sea touched at Ceylon, the Máldives, or Malabar ports (Calicut in particular) before striking across the Indian Ocean, and up the Red Sea to Jeddah, or on to Suez for delivery to merchants at Cairo.

As a second route the ships made, by way of Calicut and other ports on the West Coast of India, for Cambay, and thence to Ormuz; from which great emporium, their cargoes were transported by caravan routes to Baghdad, Damascus, and ultimately to Europe.

Everywhere free trade prevailed, united with commercial security and at least rough justice.²

It was upon such inexhaustibly rich prey that the Portuguese "swooped" greedily.

A.C. 1500.

Upon the arrival of the second Portuguese Expedition to the East Indies, under P. Alvares Cabral, off Malabar in A.C. 1500, owing to "the bitter rivalry" existing between the Zamorin of Calicut and the Rája of Cochin, the latter, eager for Portuguese support, allowed them to establish a Factory.*

From Cochin, that "coign of vantage," the Portuguese first commenced—and long continued—to harry the seas of Western India, until, "by conduct not to be distinguished from common piracy, they broke up link by link, the commercial chain which had hitherto extended from Genoa and Venice to Malacca and Pekin."

The Muḥammadans—the "*Moros*" (Moors) of Portuguese writers—held most of the carrying trade at the time; and to every one of them, when seized, confiscation of goods, slavery, and even death, were meted out inexorably, albeit engaged on "lawful occasions" of immemorial Eastern commerce.

A.C. 1503.

Portuguese encounter Máldivians.

In A.C. 1503 the Máldive Islanders learnt their initial cruel lesson from Christian hands.

Four Máldive *gundras*† were sighted by Vicente Sodre,‡ off Calicut, laden with dried fish (*peixes seccos bonitos*),

* With an eye to the main chance, the Portuguese (who had already in A.C. 1502, exploited Cannanore), ready ever to play rival Rulers against one another, made very advantageous terms ere long with the Zamorin, obtaining in A.C. 1513 permission to construct a Fort at Calicut.

Goa, after its capture in A.C. 1510, supplanted Cochin (lost to the Dutch in A.C. 1663), as the Portuguese headquarters in India; though not officially recognised as such until A.C. 1530. (Logan; *Malabar Gazetteer*, 1915, 50).

† Arabic *kundura* (pl. *kanádir*). The Sinhalese still call a Máldive boat (M. *dóni*, *oḍi*) by the term *gundura*, and the Islanders *Gundura-karayó*.

‡ Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India* (Ed., 1864), I, 341-2.

coir (*cairo*), and cowry shells (*caury*),—the last then in great request in Bengal as currency. In addition, these vessels contained “great store of silks, coloured and white, and many brilliant tissues of gold, made by the Islanders themselves, from thread obtained from Moor ships which visited the Islands by bartering for salt, earthenware, rice and silver.”

The Máldivians of the *gundras* lost all their goods, which were sent to the Factory at Cannanore (*Kaṇṇanúr*)—whose Ruler, *Āli Rāja* (“Sea-King”), the Portuguese, under Vasco da Gama in A.C. 1502, had got to agree to a fixed scale of prices, whilst ensuring by the issue of passes a safe passage to all Cannanore merchants*—and were warned imperatively against further such trading; as for the Calicut Moors one-hundred (*cem*) were fettered and burnt in one of the vessels incontinently.

A.O. 1510.

“Mamalle, Lord of the Máldive Islands.”

Seven years later, in 1510, the great Alfonso d’Albuquerque, second Viceroy at Goa, peremptorily dealt with “Mamalle” (*Mammáli Marakkár*), a predominant Mápilla merchant who lived at Cannanore and was styled “Lord of the Máldive Islands” (*O Senhor das Illas de Maldina*).

The monopoly of trade with the Máldives was held by this man—the “*Saracenus quidam Mamelles nomine*” of Osorius,—under an agreement with their King,—whereby Máldive goods (dry fish, coir, cowries and fine silks) were obtained at definite prices in exchange for rice and earthenware—to such a degree that “Mamalle” virtually supplied all the coir for the use of India.†

To counteract the influence of this Moor, the Máldive Ruler sought the alliance of the Portuguese, undertaking

* Logan, *Malabar Gazetteer*, 41.

† Correa, *loc. cit.* II, 129.

to render them tribute on condition that they would compel “*Mamalle*” to renounce his pretensions.*

Albuquerque ordered “*Mamalle*” forthwith to remove his Factors, and to cease trading with the Islands, “as these belonged to the King of Portugal, who would hinder no one from trading there”; naively insisting, further, that “*Mamalle*” should in no way hamper the Portuguese if they visited the Máldives for trade purposes.

Against appeal by the Moor for retention of his monopoly, the Viceroy was obdurate, fixing the tale of annual delivery to the Portuguese, free of expenses, at one thousand (1,000) *báres* of fine, and one thousand (1,000), of coarse, coir, each *bár* to weigh four *quintales* and a half.†

“The foregoing agreement,” adds Correa, “was duly observed during the government of Alfonso d’ Albuquerque; but his successors, understanding how to profit themselves by the trade, gave it over to their servants and friends, and violated the contract. The ships and armadas sent by the Factor of the King of Portugal reduced his profit to nothing, and did much robbery and mischief at the Islands.”‡

After the departure of Albuquerque the Máldives became “the happy hunting ground” of Portuguese first-hand pirates; and equally so for those sent to capture the filibusters. §

A.C. 1517.

Portuguese obtain Factory at Mále.

Ultimately on the information given by the ex-Viceroy to the Court of Portugal regarding the Máldive Islands, and the advantages to be derived from them, Lopo Soares, Albuquerque’s successor in the Government of India, on orders from home, despatched Don Juan de Silveira in A.C. 1517 to come to terms with the King of the Máldives and to form a solid establishment in his Kingdom.

* Lafitau, *Découvertes, etc., des Portugais*, I, 552.

† Correa, *loc. cit.* II, 130.

‡ *Loc. cit.* II, 130.

§ *Loc. cit.* II, 508.

“He had been instructed to promise all that was desired, and obtained what was wished.”*

A.C. 1519.

Portuguese Garrison at Mále annihilated.

In further pursuance of this project a Flotilla was despatched to the Islands in A.C. 1519 by the Viceroy, Diogo Lopes da Sequeira, under João Gomes Cheiradinheiro. It consisted of four vessels, a *carevella* (three-masted galley-rigged barque), a *catur* (smaller vessel) and two *fustas*, (pinnaces), furnished with artillery and all necessities, and carrying one hundred and twenty men.†

After roving to harry and rob the Islanders and others according to fancy, João Gomes landed at the principal Island *Mafacalou* (Mále)³ where the King of the Islands dwelt. Settling himself on part of the Island, he fortified it well by strong palisades, with shelter inside for men and guns. The place was very strong, and adjoined deep harbourage for the Portuguese vessels, whence they used to emerge to rob what they could: on shore, much Máldive produce—coir, cloth and dry fish—was taken from the inhabitants, but paid for at the pleasure of the Portuguese.

The actions of the foreign garrison became so intolerable that the Máldivians sought urgent intervention from “*Baleacem*,” a great Moor merchant and noted corsair of Calicut; and, in his absence, successfully invoked the aid of “*Patemarcár*” (*Pata Marakkár*), another powerful Moor and Chief merchant at Cochin, who, after Portuguese seizure of some of his ships, had turned to buccaneering.

Twelve Malabar *paraos*, well manned, sailed for Mále and fell suddenly, with fire-bombs, upon the Portuguese ships lying unaware in harbour. Six *paraos* attacked

* Lafitau *loc. cit.*

† Correa, *loc. cit.* II, 568-70; Faria y Sousa, *Asia* (Stevens, 1695, I, 219).

the *fustas* and *catur*, the other six the *carevella*, speedily killing all those on board. They then assaulted the Fort, which was undefended on the seaside, and killed and wounded many: the remainder, who fled through the thickets, were slain by the Islanders in revenge for the many misdeeds committed by the Portuguese.

In this assault João Gomes and all his men were killed, the *carevella* burnt, and the other vessels seized, with all the artillery and rich booty accumulated by the Portuguese.

The King of the Islands eagerly participated in the spoil, including two large cannon (*dous tiros grossos*) which the Moors could not carry off in their *paraos*.

Thus the Máldivians regained their freedom from partial thralldom to the Portuguese; but retained it for but three decades.

During the ensuing thirty years no further assault was made by the Portuguese on Mále itself; but notices occur in their Histories of the continuance of quasi-legalised piratical raids by them among the Islands.*

A.C. 1525.

"Mamalle" captured and killed.

"*Mamalle*, the most honoured Moor in India, a titular King of the Máldives"—was chased in A.C. 1525 by Vicente Sodre with four vessels, captured, and put to death.

The fame of this noted Muslim corsair of the Sixteenth Century was such that, on Maps of even two centuries later, † it gave his name, in "the Channel of *Mamalle*" (*Canal de Mamale*), to the present day "Nine Degrees Channel" between the Lakkadives and Minicoy Island.

A.C. 1540.

In A.C. 1540 Gonzale Vaz, going to the Máldive Islands on his own account, seized a "Moor" (Máldivian) who had robbed and killed some Portuguese a few days previously.

* Correa, *loc. cit.* III, 70, 288.

† Stavorinus, *Voyages*, III, 280 (English Translation, 1798)

Gonzale Vaz took prompt revenge upon the particular Island where the Portuguese had met their death. Its Headman, was seized, put in chains, tortured and heavily mulcted before being released.*

A.C. 1545.

"Cojezemecadim" Corsair

An offer made in A.C. 1545 by the Viceroy, through Belchior da Sousa, of the title and advantages of "Lord of the Máldive Islands" to "*Pocoralle*," regedor and general factotum at Cannanore, and brother of "*Mamalle*," on condition of his effective aid in capturing the notorious and elusive Moor "*Cojezemecadim*" (*Kóya Shams-ud-din*)—the special *bête noir* of the Portuguese at the time,—came to nothing, owing to native mistrust and tergiversation. †

(2) MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.

The limelight bearing on Portuguese connection with the Islands can now be switched on appropriately to Máldivian recorded history—albeit lamentably meagre, as told in its "*Tárikh*"—covering approximately the first half of the Sixteenth Century.

"TÁRIKH" CHRONICLE.

50. 8. Kalu Muḥammad.

(A.H. 807 : A.C. 1491-2)

He (S. Íbráhím II, 49) was succeeded by Sultán Muḥammad, son of Sultán 'Umar (II, 45) Mahá Radun, son of Sultán Yúsuf (II, 38), son of Sultán Hiláli Ḥasan (I, 29).

51. 8. Yúsuf III.

(A.H. 807-8: A.C. 1491-3)

When he (S. Kalu Muḥammad) had occupied the throne for nine months, Yúsuf, the brother of Sultán

* *Loc. cit.* IV, 152.

† *Loc. cit.* IV, 421-2.

Muhammad (50), son of 'Umar (II, 45), seized the throne by force. He called himself Sultán 'Umar.

After reigning for two and a half months, he died in the year 808 of the *Hijra* era.

52. S. 'Ali IV.

(A.H. 898-900 : A.C. 1492-5)

Then 'Ali, son of Kai-Ulanná Kilége, son of Máfat Kilége, son of S. Husain (I, 31) ascended the throne.

53. S. Kalu Muhammad.

(A.H. 900-915 : A.C. 1494-1510)

After he (S. 'Ali IV, 52) had held the throne for two years and four months, Sultán Hiláli Muhammad (50), who had previously ruled for only nine months, seized the Sultánate in the *Hijra* year 900, with the assistance of *Áli Rája* of Kanṇanúr.⁴

54. S. Hasan VII.

(A.H. 915-16 : A.C. 1509-11)

When he (S. Kalu Muhammad) had reigned for fifteen years, Sultán Hasan (VII), son of Sultán Yúsuf (51), took possession of the throne.

He died in *Hijra* 915, after ruling for two years.

55. S. Shariff Ahmad.

(A.H. 916-18 : A.C. 1510-13)

Then the throne was filled by As-Sharif Ahmad of Mekka.

He died in *Hijra* 918, after reigning for two years and nine months.

56. S. 'Ali V.

(A.H. 918 : A.C. 1512-13)

Thereupon 'Ali, son of Hirratu (*Mává Kilége*) of Nelláidú (Island, Tiladummati Atol), ascended the throne.

When he had been reigning for nine months, the twice deposed Sultán Hiláli Muhammad (50, 53) went to Kanṇanúr on the Malabar Coast, and signed a Treaty with *Áli Rája*, in which he agreed to pay him yearly a substantial sum for his aid.

He (S. Muḥammad) was given a large force of soldiers, with whom he sailed for the Máldives.

But, on leaving Kaṇṇanúr Harbour, they were met by several Portuguese vessels, which prevented them from continuing their voyage, and held them as prisoners until (annual) payment of a large sum of money was agreed to.

On this being guaranteed, they were released by the Portuguese; who then accompanied them to the Islands. Both fleets anchored in Mále Harbour; and (forcibly) secured the throne for this said Sultán Muḥammad.⁵

The combat was fought in *Hijra* 919.

57. S. Kaḷu Muḥammad.

(A.H. 919-35 ; A.C. 1513-14).

Annual Tribute to Āli Rāja.

After he recovered the throne the Sultán, in accordance with his compact, began to pay yearly the amount agreed upon.

This Tribute was continued by the Sultáns who succeeded him, until the reign of Sultán Ībráhīm Iskandar (I, A.C. 1648-87), son of Sultán Muḥammad 'Imad-ud-dín (I, A.C. 1620).

The Sultán (Ībráhīm Iskandar I), deeming that such payment to two foreign nations was made through ignorance, and was humiliating to Máldivians, enjoined on his son and his successors—and, indeed, all future Rulers (of the Máldive Islands—not to continue this Tribute, which was forbidden by their Religion and would bring a curse on their country.*

Sultán (Kaḷu) Muḥammad was a selfish, heartless, and deceitful tyrant, who had no love for his subjects, caring for them not at all, but ruling with an iron hand.

When he had resumed the throne, this Sultán imagined that he would have a long and peaceful reign. He gave no thought to the hidden future, or deemed that, when on his death-bed, there would be no one to help him.

Verily not long was it before the Messenger of Death appeared before him, and summoned him from the pomp and glory of his throne. His useless, emaciated body was consigned to the earth to rot. Persons avoided even the mention of his name. "For God, it is not difficult to do whatsoever seemeth good unto Him."

* See *infra*, p. 109.

This Sultán's (full) reign lasted thirty years and nine months, covering the three periods of his occupation of the throne.

His death occurred in *Hijra* 935.

58. S. Hasan Shirází VIII.

(A.H. 935-55 : A.O. 1528-1549)

He was succeeded by his son, Hasan (VIII), born to a woman whom his father had brought as a concubine from Shiráz in Persia. For this reason, Hasan assumed the title of "As-Sultán Hasan As-Shirází."

He died in *Hijra* 955, after reigning for 21 years.

59. S. Muhammad

(A.H. 955-57 : A.O. 1548-51)

Then Muhammad, son of the half-brother of the Sultán last mentioned (Hasan VIII, 58), ascended the throne. His father was 'Umar Máfat Kilége, son of Sultán Kalu Muhammad (50, 53, 57), son of Sultán 'Umar (45), son of Sultán Yúsuf (38), son of Sultán Hiláli Hasan (29).

2. SECOND PERIOD: A.O. 1550-1700

(3) PORTUGUESE, &c., REFERENCES.

The opening of the second half of the Sixteenth Century was to usher in at the Máldives perhaps the greatest revolution that has marred their fitful history—a *débâcle* culminating in the flight from the Islands of the last Sultán, caitiff, fracticide and apostate alike, of the Hiláli Dynasty which had occupied the throne, with little intermission, for more than a century and a half.

Let François Pyrard de Laval (one of the survivors of the ill-fated French ship "Corbin" wrecked on the Group in A.C. 1602, and captive at Mále for five years) tell, in his own intriguing fashion, the story—as he learnt it on the spot less than fifty years afterwards—of the abandonment of his Kingdom by Sultán Hasan (IX)—that brother-slayer and renegade, "inspired of God"—to find refuge at Cochin, and baptism there as a Christian; followed

by some account of the *bouleversement* which shortly ensued, and continued during the Portuguese occupation of the Islands for fifteen years and upwards from A.C. 1558* :—

FRANÇOIS PYRARD DE LAVAL.

S. Hasan IX.

Titular Christian King.

About fifty years before this time the King of these Islands (S. Hasan IX), who was of noble and ancient lineage, seeing that he was but ill-obeyed, and was unable to withstand a formidable rival who wished to depose him, was inspired of God with a resolve to quit all.

He departed secretly with his wife and some of his family, without saying a word of his destination to anyone, and went straight to Cochin ; where he became a Christian, along with his wife and some of his followers ; sending back such as would not be baptized.

For this cause his rival, who was his near relative, was at once accepted as King. The name of the latter was *Haly* ('Ali) of the other *Assan* (Hasan). †

This former King, then, when he became a Christian at Cochin wrote word to all his subjects that they should become Christians and pay him their wonted tribute ; otherwise he would come and see to it with a large army of Portuguese, who had promised him their aid.

The new King and the Máldive people made answer that they would no longer acknowledge him ; that if aught was due to him he might come and get it ; and that if he preferred to be a Christian he should remain where he was—as for them, they would sooner die than change their faith. ‡

Hearing this, he asked the aid of the Viceroy of the Indies at Goa ; who promised it ; but on terms that he should not go in person, as it was feared that he would not agree with his people, or might bring the Portuguese into difficulties.

* Pyrard, *Voyage* (Hak. Soc., 1887, I, 244-51).

† S. 'Ali VI married 'Aishá Kabáfánu, daughter, by Burakí Rani, of S. Kalu Muhammad ; S. Hasan IX was the latter's grandson through S. Hasan Shirázi VIII.

‡ The strict Muslim penalties for apostacy, originally enforceable—death to the man ; for the woman incarceration—no longer rule generally.

The Portuguese armed force set out, but was not able to effect anything, losing a galley with three ships, and a goodly number of men ; and so were constrained to retire.

S. 'Ali VI.

Portuguese Capture Mále.

The following year they returned with a stronger force and better pilots, and the new King went out bravely to meet them, though he knew himself lost ; he might perhaps have escaped but he preferred to die in battle rather than to retreat with shame.*

He was vanquished and put to death, and the Portuguese made themselves masters of Mále ; where they built a Fortress, and thence sallied forth to compel the submission of the other Islands, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword.

Interregnum.

Then they assembled all the Chiefs of the Islands and told them they desired to leave them at peace, and not to constrain them in any way, nor to change their religion, if only they would pay the (titular) King his dues.

These terms being accepted, they left one of the Island Chiefs to govern, and to remain always at Mále with the Portuguese Commandant ; on terms that he should take no political measure but after consulting the Portuguese and the Island Chiefs, and that all the trade should be in the hands of the Portuguese alone.

The Governor appointed by the Portuguese to rule under them as Viceroy was a Lord, a native of the Islands and of their religion ; but he did everything in the name of the Christian King who lived in Portuguese territory.†

In this way the Portuguese ruled the Islands in peace for the space of ten years ; during which time the father of this King (presently reigning, Sultán Íbráhím III) and his (the former's) brother were *Catibes* (Khaṭīb), 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.

* Fleeing in battle before the face of Infidels is classed among the seventeen *Kabira* or "great sins" of Islám. As the reward of those who fall fighting against Idolaters, Paradise is promised (*Qurán*, *Sura*, xlvii, 4-7).

† Regarding the birth, upbringing, and base character of this Portuguese Muslim, see *Monograph on the Máldives*, p. 27. § and *Journal C.A.S.*, 1929, xxxi, 82. p. 413.

On the contrary, they rebelled and levied a force of men and galleys for war, and retired to the *Atollon* (Atol) *Ouadou* (Huvadú) otherwise *Souadou*, at the Southern extremity of the Islands, where the Portuguese dared not follow them, nor cross the *Candou* (M. *Kadu*) or Channel, of the said *Atollon*; so that neither this *Atollon* and the Islands belonging thereto, nor any to the South of that Channel were ever subject to the Portuguese.

These two brothers then built a strong Fort;* and being distant about eighty leagues from Mále, where the Portuguese were, 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 lasted for eight years, at the end of which arrived four galleys of Malabar corsairs for the purpose of war and pillage, as was their wont. The two brothers accosted them, and agreed with them to make war upon the Portuguese on terms of half the booty.

Máldivians retake Mále.

So one day, getting word that the Captain of the Fortress and Island of Mále was gone to Cochin with a goodly number of Portuguese soldiers, they could not miss the opportunity, and resolved to attack the Fortress: which project they carried out so well, that one night they surprised it by escalade, and made themselves masters of the place, putting to death upwards of three hundred men that were within, and taking prisoner the Native Governor who was set there by the Portuguese.†

The place being taken and sacked, the Malabars, having got their agreed share of the spoil, were going home, leaving the two brothers masters of the town; but they, jealous to see so much of the riches of the Islands being carried off, resolved to attack the Malabars. This they did, and, after a long engagement, at length were left victorious, and got both the booty and the galleys, sending the men back to the Malabar coast; and thus repaid with treachery the good service they had of them.

* No known remains of any Fort exist in Huvadú (Suvadiva) penultimate Atol to the South. Probably Pyrard meant the old Fort on Hitadú Island of Addu, the Southernmost Atol, ruins of which are still to be seen. See *Mónograph on the Máldives*, pp. 118, 121, 140.

† The "*Tárikh*" says he was killed. See *infra*, p. 120.

In this manner the two brothers became Kings of the Islands, and equally shared the throne without any quarrel between them.* They were both men of great valour, and were acknowledged as such by the people.

As for the Portuguese, they were indignant at the rebuff they had received at the Máldives, and were resolved to avenge it; so the next year they sent an army to the Islands, and carried on the war for a long time; but the two Kings defeated all their forces. This war lasted three years.

These Kings were very powerful, and possessed two Fortresses, that of Mále, and the other at the Atoll of *Souadou*, or *Ouadou*, in an Island called *Game*.†

At length both parties considered that it would be for the good of the country and of trade to come to some sort of understanding, rather than to continue this war to a doubtful issue.

Treaty between Portuguese and Máldivians.

Accordingly, they made a Treaty, with these conditions, viz., that the Máldive Kings and their people should be left in peace to possess the Islands in like manner as their predecessors, save that they should give a certain pension to their Christian King, his successors and heirs, to be rendered at Cochin, but without acknowledging him in any other way: on the other hand, the Mahometan Kings at the Islands should not be allowed to take the title and name of King‡ though they were to be absolute in all things, but only that of Prince, Duke, or the like; also, that those two (brothers) only should be entitled to this name, in their language *Quilague* (*M. Kilége*), and that they should be responsible for the payment of the pension of the Christian King; who, on his part, was allowed to have a Factor there.

Furthermore, all natives of the Máldives desiring to traffic with other countries, were bound to take a passport from the Portuguese; as were all the other Indians that were at peace with them.

* Pyrard would seem to be wrong in speaking of an actual Duumvirate. The "*Tárikh*" merely states that, after his election as Sultán, Muhammad Bodu Takurufánu allotted "very responsible duties" to his brother and gave him the high title "*Ranna Badéri Kilégefánu*."

† See *supra*, p. 89.

‡ *Brutum fulmen*. Every Máldive Ruler continued to style himself "*Sultán*" (Arabio) and "*Mahá Radun*" (Máldivian).

Such were the terms of this Peace, which has endured to the present day (A.C. 1619).

(4) *MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.*

The important events recorded by Pyrard, on the strength of oral tradition, appear set down by the compiler of the "*Táríkh*" with an unsophisticated charm, not free of that quaint romance and fervent religious tone so marked throughout this valuable, if strangely uneven, Muslim Chronicle.

"TÁRÍKH" CHRONICLE.

60. S. Hasan IX.

(A.H. 957 : A.O. 1550)

When he (S. Muḥammad, 59) had reigned for two years and four months, his brother Ḥasan seized the throne, after murdering him.

Having ruled for two years and five months, he determined to change his religion, and proclaimed his intention publicly in the 959 year of the *Hijra*.

Titular Christian King.

He then departed for Cochin, where he embraced the Infidels' Faith, and even adopted their mode of dress.

After residing there for two years, he went to Goa; where, some time afterwards, he married a Christian lady of good birth, by whom he had several children.

61. S. Abu Bakr II.

(A.H. 962 : A.C. 1554-56)

At the Máldives Abu Bakr (II), son of Íbráhím Fáriná Kilégefánu, * ascended the throne after a while. The name of his mother was Sanfá Diyo.

He reigned for four months, and died a martyr's death in *Hijra* 962.

62. S. 'Ali VI.

(A.H. 965 : A.C. 1557-58)

He was succeeded by 'Ali (VI), son of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, Prime Minister. His mother's name was Sitti Kabádi Kilége of Feridú (Island, Ari Atol).

* More than probably the Chief of that name who aided "Buraki Rani" to secure the throne for "Kaḷu Muḥammad," by the murder of her brother, Sultán 'Ali V. See *infra*, p. 119, Note 5.

Ten months later he was killed in battle with the Christians.

Know the origin of this war.

The Sultán Hasan, who had become a Christian, desiring to convert the Máldivian Ministers and Chiefs, sent a Portuguese vessel to bring them to Cochin.

On arrival at Mále, the Captain of the vessel informed the Ministers, etc., that he had come there to remove them to Cochin at the request of their Sultán. The inhabitants held a meeting, and decided not to go, or obey the orders of their infidel Ruler. Then they fought the invaders, killing all of them, and seized their goods.

Those who took part in the fighting against these invaders were the aforesaid Sultáns Abu Bakr (II) and 'Ali (VI) with their supporters. All this took place before they came to the throne.

Again those (the Portuguese) at Cochin sent a fresh force, which also was defeated, and all slain by the Máldivians, who seized the ship with its entire cargo and arms.

For the third time, a force, fully armed, was conveyed in a great fleet to Mále, under the command of Captain Andiri Andiri.* Sultán 'Ali had then been on the throne for two months and fifteen days.

Portuguese Capture Mále : A.C. 1558.

The enemy landed one night on the West beach of Mále with their cannon. Thereupon Sultán 'Ali accompanied by his soldiers, armed with swords, lances, bows and arrows, sallied forth to oppose the invaders. The Sultán, bearing sword and shield, marched at the head of his soldiers. He had gone as far as the *Íd Mosque*† when he found that the soldiers had all deserted him, with the exception of the Prime Minister and his personal attendant—the only two that remained with him. Then these three warriors, facing the enemy, charged them with the courage of lions. The foe astounded at their bravery ceased advancing, and, terror-stricken, began to fire on them from a distance, until they had killed all three.⁶

Then, without much resistance, they (the Portuguese) seized the Kingdom.

* See *supra*, p. 88.

† The *Ídu Miskit* at Mále is situated at the Western extremity of *Máfannu Avaru* (Ward): The Sultán visits it for worship, in full State, on *Íd-ul-Fitr*, the annual Muslim "Lesser Festival."

Sultán 'Ali died in *Hijra* 965, at the end of the month Sh'abán, and Andiri Andiri ascended the throne.*

God knoweth better than we (men) what happened at that time.

Interregnum.

(A.H. 965-81 : A.C. 1558-73)

After seizing the Kingdom, Andiri Andiri declared himself Sultán of the Máldives.* He sent Christians to the different Atols to act as Headmen.

Thereafter, the invaders, strengthening their position, ruled for several years. They were a treacherous, cruel and iniquitous people. The sea ran red with Muslim blood. Property was seized publicly, and the people harshly treated. (The Muslim) Religion was persecuted during their rule, causing the Máldive people great sorrow. Pious persons were put to death ; looting and destruction became of common occurrence.

Then God took compassion on His people and decreed that they should be freed from the yoke of these foreigners. One of His servants, named Muḥammad Khaṭīb, son of Husain Khaṭīb Takurufánu of Utímu (Island, Tiladummati Átol), was inspired by God to fight against them. He was a brave and powerful man, styled Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu, a name now famous—

“ O God, grant us strength to preserve this Shrine,
“ making it always redolent of scent and fragrance of
“ sweet-smelling flowers.
“ We pray God that He will keep our swords ever ready.

God inspired him (Muḥammad Khaṭīb) to fight with these Infidels in order that the Máldives might be freed from tyrants, and the enemies of Islám destroyed ; that peace might be spread amongst the inhabitants, the “ fire of injustice extinguished,” and the power of the Infidels be crushed.

This keen-sighted and wise personage Muḥammad Takurufánu, thus firmly resolved, earnestly prayed God to grant him the strength and will to accomplish what he planned. He took counsel with his brothers 'Ali Khaṭīb Takurufánu, and Hasan Khaṭīb Takurufánu, who agreed to join him.

* This assertion of the chronicler is not borne out by Pyrand.

Getting together swords, guns, lances, bows and arrows, and accompanied by only a few friends, but trusting in God, they (the three brothers) ventured out on this great emprise. For the purpose they built a very fast-sailing vessel* which they loaded with arms, food and clothing, and set sail for Maluku (Minicoy Island); where they placed their families for safety.

Maluku belonged to *Āli Rāja* of Kaṇṇanūr.

When these men landed at Maluku they met two sage Máldivians named *Hájí 'Ali* and *Hájí Hasan*, brothers, who had been on pilgrimage to Mekka and Medína. These two men were masters of fence and javelin usage. They had gone the *Hajj* before the Christians invaded the Máldives.

Muḥammad Khaṭīb acquainted them of the conquest of the Máldives by the Christians, of the cruel treatment of Máldivians, and of the plan to wage war against the Christians; whereupon they consented to unite with him. Unanimously they elected Muḥammad Khaṭīb as leader, and swore by God that these Idolators and enemies of Islám, should be once for all exterminated, and their heads severed from their bodies; that they (the conspirators) would not desist until they had achieved their object; and that they would abide by the orders of Muḥammad Khaṭīb Takurufánu, and never desert him.

Then they offered prayers to God, inspired with courage by two verses of the *Qurán* :—

“How often, by God’s will, hath a small number
“vanquished a numerous host. God is with the
“patient.”

“Then We gave punishment to those who were guilty :
“To help Believers (Muslims) is ever incumbent on Us.”

Guerilla Warfare.

Thereafter they started warfare, and began to kill the Christians wherever they found them. They would land at an Island at night, and after killing the Christians, load their vessels with provisions and water, and depart early in the morning by sea. During daytime they concealed their vessels from the enemy; when night fell, they acted as before.⁷

* For the tradition connected with this famous Máldivian vessel, “*Kaḷu Offumi*” *Oḍi*, see C. A. S. Journal, XXXI, 82, pp. 403, 412.

Albeit 'Ali Khaṭīb died the death of a martyr, the remaining (banded) four, in no wise disheartened, carried on the struggle successfully with renewed courage, under God's constant aid, until but few of their enemies were left alive.

When the Christians found their numbers dwindling, the remnant went to Mále, where they began to keep watch on the movements of this warrior band; which would approach Mále, sailing round it without finding a site to land, because the Island was so well guarded, sentinels being posted round the whole fortifications. They (the conspirators), therefore, left Mále for a while.

The Christians at Mále, thinking that they would never return, relaxed their watchfulness.

Meanwhile the band of Máldivians went to Kaṇṇanúr, and obtained from *Áli Rája* a sufficient force of soldiers; with which they returned to Mále on the very day, on which the Infidels had decided to command all the Islanders to become Christians and worship their idols, under threat of death on refusal.

That very night the (Mále) Islanders held a meeting at which they agreed to die in their Faith. They assembled in the house of the *Qází* Abu Bakr, son of Don Kurali Faḍiyáru Takurufánu, son of Sharaf-ud-dín Ismá'il Fámudéri Faḍiyáru Takurufánu; and vowed not to obey Andiri Andiri's command to embrace his religion, but to fight to the death against those sent to compel them. They then collected knives, swords, lances, bows and arrows, and even clubs, and prepared to meet their enemies.

Then Muḥammad Khaṭīb made a vow that, if they succeeded in retaking Mále from the Christians, he would recite the *Mawlud** to the Prophet every year near the Shrine of Shaikh Yúsuf of Tabríz.

Máldivians retake Mále: A. C. 1573.

The same night, after offering prayers to the Omniscient God, when two-thirds of the night had passed, Muḥammad Khaṭīb Takurufánu anchored off Mále, and landed when the Christians were making merry with song and carousal.⁸

* *Mawlud*. The ceremonies and service on the anniversary of the Prophet's birth.

The real, or suppositions, *Ziyárat* Shrine (*Medu Miskit*) of Shaikh Yúsuf of Tabríz, the Apostle of Islám to the Máldives in mid-Twelfth Century, stands on the South side of Henvéru Mái Magu street opposite to *Hukuru Miskit*, Mále's Chief Mosque.

Andiri Andiri's supporters then emerged and began to fire on the Muslims, who returned the fire. The fusilade of the Christians was unavailing but the Muslim's fire began to take effect. The fighting continued until God weakened the Christians, and they offered to surrender. Many had already died, and the survivors were mortally wounded.

The calamity, fear and sorrow, which they (the Portuguese) suffered, were sympathised in neither by Heaven nor Earth, which wept not for them. Their rule and power proved as transcient as sunbeams. Their name was detested by the people, and their might had departed for ever.

They had been masters of the Máldives for seventeen years.

This famous combat was fought, and won, in *Hijra* 981 on the 1st day of the month Rabi-ul-Awwál by Muḥammad Khaṭīb Takurufánu, the Great (who uttered this prayer):—

“May God the All-knowing keep them (Máldivians) ever in the True Religion of His gracious Prophet.”*

63. S. Gházi Muḥammad Bodu Takurufánu

(A.H. 981-93 : A.C. 1573-85)

There was rejoicing then in all parts of the Máldive Islands; and, by the Grace of God, the Sultánate fell to Muḥammad Khaṭīb Takurufánu, the Great.

“God giveth power to whomsoever He pleaseth.
“Of His creatures some He raiseth to high place;
“others doth He beggar.
“Heaven and Earth are subject unto God's rule, for
“God is Almighty.”

The long-suffering Muslims, their faces radiating happiness, assembled before the Great Takurufánu, who came to meet them, his broad brow bright with light sufficient to fill the four corners of the world. They kissed his hands and offered prayers that his rule might long continue. He, in turn, offered prayers for the prosperity and health of his subjects.

They (the Islanders) then took the oath of allegiance to him as Sultán.

* The Arabic (transcript) runs:—*Va da'u il-Allah-is-samí 'l. 'Alím an yasbita hum fi Dín-il-Qavím va millat in-Nabí-il Karím.* For rough adapted “slogan” in English, see *sapra*, p. 76.

After he acquired the throne, he built a Palace, made regulations for the Government of the country, and reduced all into order.

Upon his younger brother Ḥasan Khaṭīb was bestowed the title of *Raṇṇa Baḍéri Kilégefānu* with very responsible duties.

(5) PORTUGUESE, &c., REFERENCES.

Of the Revolution at the Máldives in A.C. 1550, and its immediate aftermath, Bartoli, a Jesuit Historian, has written :—

S. Ḥasan IX.

“There sprang up, I know not why, between the Máldivians and their Lord, a youth of twenty years (S. Ḥasan IX), discord and war; and he, finding himself unable to stand the force of the 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), instructed him as far as needful, and solemnly baptised him.”*

Regarding the subsequent fate of the exiled Sultān Ḥasan IX, and the titular Máldivian Royalties of his family during the century succeeding the Mále Revolution, Portuguese archives at Lisbon and Goa, supplemented by other authorities, afford casual glimpses—mostly of the abject mercenary side—of these *rois en peintre*.

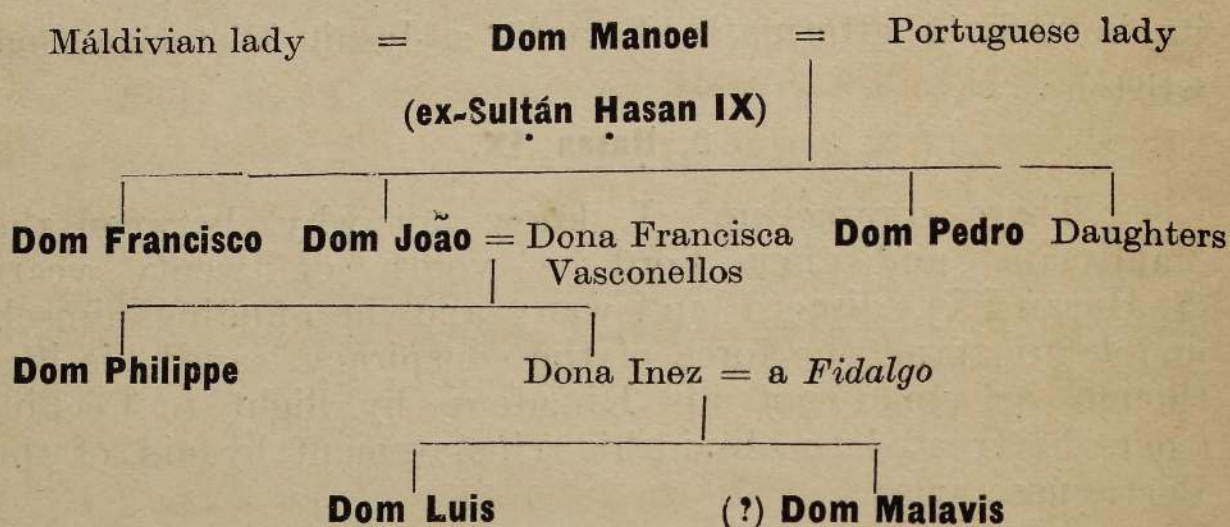
Abandoning, after three years' abortive effort, all attempts to force a Christian King upon the Islanders, since their recapture of Mále in A.C. 1573, the Portuguese resorted to utilising Treaty claims of the banished family as justification for extracting needful supplies of produce (chiefly coir) for their own needs.

On their part, the individual Princes eked out petty lives, wholly inglorious and at times sinking to lowest depths of moral turpitude, as half-caste pensioners in an alien land.

* *Asia* III, 201-2. The Sultān's conversion is attributed by other writers to Padre Antonia Heredia (or Eredia.)

The sorry account, condensed and co-ordinated below, of "*Dom Manoel*," ex-Máldive Sultán Hasan IX, and his ill-starred progeny living in India until extinguished finally in A.C. 1655, appears for the most part in *Hakluyt Society Pyrard, II, Appendix B*.

TITULAR MÁLDIVIAN CHRISTIAN KINGS.



Dom Manoel.

Dom Manoel's Máldivian wife became a professing Christian at Cochin; but he also married a young Portuguese lady of much virtue and noble blood.

His family comprised three sons, (who adopted the Portuguese names Dom Francisco, Dom João, and Dom Pedro), besides one daughter at least.

In regard to his virtual tribute to Portugal, Don Manoel was treated not unfairly.

"As for the Christian King, "says Pyrard," he gave a third part of his revenue to the King of Portugal. This revenue consists of cowries and coir, which is rope made of the coco-tree.

"They (the Máldive Kings) send every year at their own expense four ships, of a hundred and fifty tons burthen each, laden with it; that is at the risk of the Máldivians until the ships get beyond the Banks at the (Northern) end of the Islands—beyond that point, the risk is with the Christian King."*

* Pyrard, *loc. cit.* I, 250-51.

Dom Manoel was, however, permitted to exercise occasionally "sovereign rights," in addition to the extent of granting, at Cochin, "Letters Patent" to Portuguese exploiters of "voyages" (privilege of trade in the East to a private vessel) on their own account, subject to confirmation by the Viceroy at Goa.*

But repeated appeals made by him to the King of Portugal for reinstatement on the Máldive throne were studiously ignored. "Ever hoping to regain his own, Dom Manoel lived and grew old in privacy at Cochin; and finally died in great affliction about A.C. 1583, when fifty years old and upwards."

His widowed Queen was granted proper provision for herself and her daughter.

Dom Francisco.

Of the sons, Dom Francisco, the eldest, who had sailed for Europe with a returning Portuguese fleet, met a violent death in a brawl, A.C. 1581 at Lisbon; where he had gone to make representations at Court concerning the petitions of his father.

Dom João.

The titular sovereignty thus passed to Dom João. This Prince proved a thorn in the side of the Portuguese, as testified by the Royal Despatches:—

"I am informed by you that the King of the Islands," wrote the King of Spain (Philip II)† to the Viceroy (Despatch, February 6th, 1589), "that the King of the Islands has married a sister of Antonio Teixeira de Macedo, against your opinion.

"Owing to his excesses and misconduct in the married state, I think it well done on your part not to have delivered my Letter to him; and that you ought to

* *Arch. Port. Or. Fasc. V, No. 350.*

† Philip II. of Spain annexed Portugal in A.C. 1581. Seven years later (A.C. 1588) he made the disastrous attempt to conquer England with the Great Armada.

endeavour to train this King, who, as you know, is very young, in all the affairs of my service; and also in those which will be serviceable to himself in order that he may know how to govern well."

Request made by Dom João for assurance of 200 *cruzados* increase to his wife's pension, out of the Máldivian revenue accruing to him, was met by semi-refusal.

"I deem it undesirable to yield to his request," runs the Despatch of March 8th, 1589, "without information from you as to his present conduct."

Dom João and his younger brother Dom Pedro seem to have paid no heed to Royal admonitions. For, two years later, a stern Despatch of January 12th, 1591, whilst waiving deserved death penalty closes with the definite order for their solitary incarceration:—

"I approve that execution be suspended on the King and his brother, although their misdeeds merit natural death; but I ordain that they be kept in prison separately, and securely, until my further pleasure be known."

But the pension of the King's wife was increased from 500 to 700 *pardaos* a year.

The two Princes were held in pseudo-honorary confinement for ten years at Goa, where they had been transferred. They constantly clamoured for freedom and permission to return to Cochin; but all appeals availed nothing, and they remained, by orders from Spain, under the immediate surveillance of the Viceroy—"the misdeeds committed by the brothers when at Cochin having been so outrageous, and so scandalised the whole of India, that it were better not to speak of them."

There is an unfortunate hiatus in the Royal Despatches between A.C. 1598-1606.

Dom Philippe.

The death of Dom João occurred during the Vice-Royaltyship of Ayres de Saldaña, A. C. 1601-04.

Pyrard was at Mále when Dom Adrian de Gouveia went there, about A.C. 1605-06, as Portuguese Ambassador of the exiled King Dom Philippe,* a boy of thirteen, son and successor of Dom João.

In A.C. 1606 Dom Philippe complained to the King of Spain that the revenues from the Islands had dwindled to 5,000 from 18,000 *xeraphins* in the time of his grandfather Dom Manoel and his father Dom João, owing to the negligence of the Viceroys.

He begged that he be granted :—(a) A salaried honorary office in order to maintain his position ; (b) a suitable pension, with other assets for his staff, ; and (c), as virtual dowry to his sister Dona Inez, that her projected husband be made “ Captain ” for three years of one of the Portuguese Fortresses ; concluding, characteristically, with the modest requests that (d) orders be given that no Captain, *Vedor da Fazenda*, or other official, of Cochin or elsewhere in Malabar (under pain of chastisement and suspension from office) be permitted to enquire into the merchandise brought from the Islands by his vessels ; and (e) that the Viceroy should equip an armada to bring the Islands into greater obedience, that so he (Don Filippe) might acquire a greater revenue—otherwise that he be excused from further payment of tribute under the Treaty.

To this “ nothing venture, nothing have ” petition the King (Philip III) yielded concessions ; but not till three years later (Despatch, November 4th, 1609) :—

(a), (b) To Dom Philippe was granted one habit of Christ, and therewith a pension of 150 *pardaos* payable from Ceylon sources ; (c) his sister Dona Inez might be married to a *Fidalgo* of standing and appointable to the “ Captaincy ” of a Canara Fortress ; (d) in regard to revenue, the *Vedor da Fazenda* at Cochin would be directed to take, from

* See *infra*, p. 106.

the Máldive consignments brought over, only so much coir as was needed for the public service; (e) *Áli Rája* (*Adarraja*) of Kaṇṇanúr was to be warned not to meddle with the Máldive Islands and Dom Philippe's property; and (f) finally, the pension of the Queen-Mother, Dona Francisca, might be raised from 700 *pardaos* to 1,000 a year, but without the grant of a "voyage."

The not illiberal, if dilatory, terms accorded by the European Monarch did not satisfy the young Prince and his mother; who persisted in pressing for further concessions.

Again the King, some two years later (Despatch, March 28th, 1612), exercised a certain generosity:—

(a) Dom Philippe's allowance was increased to 200 *milreis*; (b) the Fortress of Daman, instead of Canara, was granted for three years to the husband of Dona Inez; (c) the pension of Dona Francisca might be paid in silk; (d) further pressure would be put upon the Rája of Kaṇṇanúr not to interfere; also (e) a reliable Agent would be sent to the *de facto* Máldive Ruler threatening him with invasion, in failure of better fulfilment of the Treaty; and (f), lastly, the officials of Malabar would be debarred from issuing trade passports to the Máldives on their own account.

Interesting side-lights are cast on Dom Philippe by a few Europeans then in India.

(I) FRANÇOIS PYRARD DE LAVAL.

Pyrard, who became acquainted with him and his mother whilst at Goa (A.C. 1608-10), after the Frenchman's deliverance from captivity at the Máldives, records:—

"I have seen at Goa the grandson of that Christian King Dom Manoel, aged fifteen years, with his Portuguese mother. He is named Dom Philippe. The Portuguese gave him the title of Majesty calling him 'King of the

Máldives,' and honour and respect him greatly. The King of Spain gives a pension both to him and to his mother.

"They were lodged near the Jesuits' College, in a very handsome house.

"The little King has a suit against his uncle Dom Paulo (Pedro) who resides at Cochin, and is married there; for that he also calls himself 'King of the Máldives.'

"This uncle is married to a *Metice* (half-caste) lady, nobly born and vastly rich, who maintains him in comfort; for without her he has only his pension from the King, which is small, and very often—indeed usually—but badly paid."*

(II) PIETRO DELLE VALLE.

The next notice of Dom Philippe, as far as known, is found in the discursive Letters of the Roman Traveller, Pietro della Valle.

In describing the Feast of St. John the Baptist, which he witnessed at Goa in A.C. 1623, he writes:—

"I went to see the sight in the Street of St. Paul, at the house of one whom they call the 'King of the *Máldiva* or *Máladiva* Islands.'

"Of these Islands an ancestor of this man was actually King; but being driven from his country by his own people, he betook him to the Portuguese, and became a Christian, in the hope of getting back to his own country and regaining it with their aid. But the Portuguese taking no steps in his behalf, he and his descendants remained thenceforth deprived of their Kingdom and with the empty title alone, which, the Portuguese, having formed connections with them, still preserve to them; and, since a number of merchant vessels come from these Islands to the Portuguese ports, they compel them to pay a little tribute, as it were, to their legitimate Lord, who thus (albeit the Harbour Officials, through whom the transaction is necessarily conducted, appropriate more than one-half) draws at the present day about 3,000 *crowns*, and therewith supports himself."†

* Pyrard, *loc. cit.* II, 293-4.

† *Viaggi*, Pt. 3, Letter iii. (English ed., II, 606).

Portuguese Attack on Mále: A.C. 1631 (or 1632).

So pressingly did Dom Philippe continue to pester the Government of Spain for active support towards securing full, and more punctual, payment of his Máldive revenues, that in A.C. 1631 or 1632 the Viceroy was ordered by the Spanish King (Philip III) to send an Expedition to the Islands.

Fifteen ships, under the command of Domingos Ferreyra Belliago, Chief Captain of Canara, sailed direct for Mále.

“ But the King of the Máldives was advised of the coming of the Armada, and when it arrived he was well fortified ; The only entrance to the Island (Mále) was blocked with ships ; and it was more impossible to enter by any other way, because the whole Island is encircled by rocks and reefs, as may be seen by the (accompanying) Plan, with the mode of the Fortification.

“ For some days the said Armada fired upon it (Mále) with cannon, and then seeing it was impossible to force an entrance, and that the time spent was all wasted, returned to Goa.” *

(III) PHILIPPUS A SANCTÁ TRINITATE.

The only other mention of Dom Philippe so far forthcoming is made by Philippus a Sanctâ Trinitate, Carmelite monk, who was at Goa, A.C. 1631-1639, and often interviewed him :—

“ He was of a middling colour, that is somewhat dark and tanned, after the black skin of his father, with some of the whiteness of his mother.

“ It was arranged that he should come to Europe with me, for he believed that by his presence he could obtain of the King of Spain what he failed to get by letters, seeing, as he saw, that either the commands were not efficacious or that he was mocked in India.

“ As only some of the Islands persevered in acknowledging his sovereignty he had not much revenue.

* *Ressende*, Sloane MS 197, fol. 377, See *infra*, p. 107.

“He died while yet young and unmarried, leaving as his successor (to the titular sovereignty of the Islands) a nephew on his sister’s side; though his father’s brother (Don Pedro), in reliance upon the laws and customs of the Máldive Kingdom and the acceptance by the people * claimed the throne as rightfully his in a lawsuit still pending. †

(IV) FRANCISCO DE SOUSA.

The pitiable end of this ill-fated family of exiled Máldive Kings is given by Franciso de Sousa :—

“The last King of the Máldives was Dom Luis de Sousa, ‡ who on the 22nd October, 1653, attempted with other *Fidalgos*, (gentry) to depose the Viceroy, Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos. For this cause he was imprisoned at Mormugao until the 10th November, A.C. 1655, in the Viceroyalty of Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveyra, Conde de Sarzedas; and for the same cause was sent a prisoner to Portugal in the ship “Nossa S. de Grava,” in the year A.C. 1656.

“The ship, dismasted in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope, put back to Mozambique, but, before reaching port, the King was dead.

“He left no legitimate successor; and named the King of Portugal as his heir to the Eleven Thousand Islands.” §

(6) MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCES.

The only notices of contact with the Portuguese during this period occurring in Máldivian Chronicles relate to the two hostile Expeditions against the Máldives, despatched respectively, in (i) A.C. 1631 (or 1632), during the course of the reign of Sultán Muḥammad ’Imád-ud-dín I (A.C. 1620-48), and that (ii)—the last effort of the Portuguese, already losing their hold in the East, to conquer the Islands—which his son Sultán

* “The *Laws and Customs* of the Máldive Islands,” together with the definite “*Acceptance by the People*,” still stand as the absolute recognised *Lex Scripta* and *Inscripta* governing the *Right of Succession*, &c., to the Máldive Throne. See Papers connected with the First, and Second, Accession of the present Sultán, Muḥammad Shams-ud-din III, in 1893 and 1903 (*Máldive Islands*, Part I).

† Latin Ed., 1649, 98; French Ed., 1652, 226.

‡ Probably son of Dona Inez, sister of Don Philippe, see *infra*

§ Franciso de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, C.D., 67.

Íbráhím Iskandar I (A.C. 1648-87) had to meet in A.C. 1650, very shortly after mounting the throne.

Although not mentioned in the "*Tárikh*," Pyrard's account, as that of a personal witness at Mále itself, *circa* A.C. 1606 of the Embassy sent to Sulṭán Íbráhím III by the titular boy King of the Máldives, may not unfitly find insertion here. A semi-Máldivian record, of historic interest, it throws additional light on the contemptible character of the Máldive Ruler of the day, who ere long met a deservedly tragic death at the hands of Malabar Mápillas. *

FRANÇOIS PYRARD DE LAVAL.

S. Íbráhím III : A.C. 1585-1609.

Portuguese Embassy to Mále : A.C. 1606 *circa*.

"About a year before we left the Máldives, there came to the King (Sulṭán Ibrahím III) an Ambassador from the Christian King of these Islands, who lived at Goa; of whom I have already spoken. This Ambassador was a Portuguese, and told me he had been at Rochelle in France. He was about fifty years of age, and was named Dom Adrien de Gouia. He came in considerable state, accompanied by some other Portuguese and Christian Indians.

"The subject of his visit was a certain dispute which existed between that young Christian King and his uncle, Dom Paulo (Dom Pedro), who resided at Cochin, the latter wanting to take part of the tribute coming to the said King.

"A suit was pending about it in the Parliament at Goa for a long time, during which this Dom Paulo enjoyed the receipt of it—for, under the Treaty of Peace, the Máldivians were not obliged to pay the tribute elsewhere than at Cochin, where the uncle was.

"At length, the Parliament of Goa having ordained that the Christian King, Dom Philippe, should have of the Máldive King and all the Chiefs of the country a certificate to the effect that they recognized him as the King, he therefore sent this Embassy with a quantity of presents.

"But the Máldive King took but little notice of it, and the Ambassador waited there for two months without getting an audience; such was the pride and haughtiness of this

* See Journal C.A.S., 1930 : XXXI, 83, pp. 561, 565.

King in a matter wherein he perceived no gain for himself ; and when he was got to do business with them, his demeanour was exceeding proud. In fine, it was four months ere the Ambassador got his despatch ; which was granted, when he asked it, with offerings of the rarest gifts, as well from his master as from himself.”*

Of the assaults on Mále made during the first half of the Seventeenth Century, the “*Tárikh*” alludes to (i) the first, and more formidable, with not unjustifiable pride, accompanied, *more Máldivico*, by pious Muslim comments ; whilst (ii) the second attack is dismissed in contemptuously incisive words, spiced with some diverting braggardism.

“TÁRÍKH” CHRONICLE.

S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I : A.C. 1620-48.

Portuguese Attack on Mále : A.C. 1631, circa.

In the fifth year of his reign, A.H. 1034, a Portuguese named “*Balayágu*” came to the Máldives with a large fleet, fully manned and armed, to attack Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I, A.H. 1029-58).

Then the Sultán, summoning his Vazirs and soldiers, obtained from them an oath to fight against the Portuguese fearlessly without fleeing ; thus inspiring them with courage. His *Qází*, Muḥammad Fadiyáru Takurufánu, son of Ḥasan Naibu Takurufánu of Mídú (Island, Aḍḍu Atol), also encouraged them.

At the time there were neither Fort walls nor Bastions ; nor many cannon. They (the Islanders) had only five guns, † yet did not they display any signs of cowardice during the fight.

The Portuguese commenced to fire the cannon mounted on their vessels ; but God protected the inhabitants against the bombardment. The cannon shots fired from the Mále Forts hit both vessels and men of the enemy.

God filled the hearts of the foe with fear, so that they fled from Mále terror-stricken. The people of Mále ceased not firing until the enemy fled.

* Pyrard, *loc. cit.* I, 293-4.

† *Ressende*, with exaggeration not unexpected, shows thirteen canon, seven unmounted, and six simultaneously firing on the ships, from rough ramps and a central Bastion, where three flags fly (Plate III).

In the course of their flight the Portuguese burned the Mosque in Viligili Island. They returned to Goa wholly disheartened.

Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín and his subjects obtained the victory over their enemy; albeit they had fewer cannon and soldiers than the foe.

God gave them the victory: to God that is no hard matter; for hath He not said in the *Qurán*:—"He, the Mighty and the Merciful, helpeth whom He pleaseth."

This battle took place in *Hijra* 1034.

Thereafter, to supplement the Palace fortifications, he (the Sultán) built a Bastion provided with embrasures and called "*Boḍu Kóṭṭe*." He also built other Bastions in different parts of Mále, and, between every two (curtain), walls entrances and crenelles so as to prevent a foreign foe from invading the Island.*

Then he constructed a (partially) encircling Breakwater, leaving only gaps sufficient to allow passage to *dónis* and *oḍis*. This breakwater is to be seen at this day.

Thus did he make of Mále a Fortress very strongly defended.

Further, he equipped a large vessel and sent it to Achin to procure some big cannon: it brought to Mále fourteen bronze guns.

Subsequently, by the grace of God, this Sultán recovered from ships wrecked in different parts of his dominions a large number of cannon. For as soon as vessels are wrecked, they are deserted by those on board; who make for the Malabar Coast of India in small boats, taking only money and light articles and abandoning their cannon and other goods. It was in this way that Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín acquired a large quantity of cannon and other property.

S. Ibráhim Iskandar I: A.C. 1648-87.

Portuguese Attack on Mále: A.C. 1650.

In the second year† of his reign Dom Laviz and Dom Malaviz came in ships to attack the Máldives. They were brothers and reported to be the two sons of the daughter of

* Twelve Bastions in all at this day; two completely demolished; others virtually abandoned. The *Boḍu Kóṭṭe* (main Bastion), and *Ñána Buruzu*, alone mount guns—but of very limited, if any, effectiveness.

† The *Tárikh* gives "9th year, A.H. 1059," wrongly.

Sultán Hiláli Hasan (IX), who became an Infidel and went to Goa.*

Information being brought to Sultán Iskandar of the advent of these brothers, with several vessels fully armed, the Sultán bethought him of fighting them; and summoned to the Palace his three half-brothers† and the Ministers. After consulting them he decided to oppose the invaders.

When the Muslims (Máldivians) began to fire on these Infidels, God granted them the victory over their enemy. Don Malaviz was killed in the attack, his brother Don Laviz wounded, and several of those who accompanied them were also killed. The few survivors withdrew their Fleet without accomplishing their object, and sailed away.

This great and famous battle was fought in the *Hijra* era year 1059.

These people (the Portuguese) had not the courage to come again to (attack) the Máldives.

After this episode the (Tribute) payment was stopped that had been made since the reign of Sultán Hiláli (Kaļu) Muḥammad grandfather of the Sultán who became an Infidel and went to Goa.

Sultán Iskandar having gained this victory no longer paid the stipulated sums of money, either to the Portuguese or *Áli Rája* of Kaṇṇanúr.‡

This Sultán (Iskandar Íbráhím I) made the Máldives independent, and himself became a great ruler.

3. THIRD PERIOD : A.C. 1700-1930.

From the first, the three objects of the Portuguese in the East were "Conquest, Commerce and Conversion"; and for all three their central position on the Malabar Coast served them well.

Between A.C. 1500 and 1600 they enjoyed the monopoly of Oriental Trade; but towards the close of the Sixteenth Century decadence was setting in and they could

* Sons of Dona Inez, grand-daughter of ex-Sultán Hasan IX.

† Muḥammad *Doriméná*, Hasan *Fáriná*, and a third unnamed; sons of Queen 'Aishá Kabáfánu by S. Husain II, *Fámudéri Kilégefánu*. She subsequently married S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I, to whom she bore S. Iskandar Íbráhím I. Her first husband had been the despicable Sultán Íbráhím III, well-known to Pyrard.

‡ See *supra*, p. 85.

scarcely hold their own against native enemies. The State itself derived little gain from trade profits, while it had to bear continuously great strain in men and money for needs of the East.

Portugal had been incorporated with Spain in A.C. 1581 by Philip II after the battle of Alcantara; and the conditions during the "Sixty Years Captivity" (A.C. 1581-1640) under three Spanish Sovereigns, Philip II, III, IV, were not wholly ended until the coronation of João IV of Braganza as King of Portugal in A.C. 1640, followed forty years later, by the Spanish renouncement of claim in A.C. 1683; finally breaking an unhappy coalescence which had ever inured to the disadvantage of the Portuguese.

At many parts of the world the English, French and, in particular, the Dutch had begun to harass Portuguese trade, and seize their possessions.

Before the end of the Seventeenth Century the Dutch (who had gradually established Factories on the Continent of India, in Ceylon, Sumatra, and the Moluccas (as well as on the Persian Gulf and Red Sea), ruled without rival, and gradually expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions.

The further history of the Portuguese in India is a distressing chronicle of pride, poverty and misfortune. Pressed by native Rulers upon the land, on the sea they gave way to more vigorous European enterprise.*

Little wonder, therefore, that the humble and isolated Máldive Islands escaped further hostile attention from the Portuguese after A.C. 1650, falling, as they were, steadily from supreme power in the Orient.

With delightful naiveté the Máldivian Chronicler, writing not many years later, says that after the last Portuguese

* Encyclopaedia Britannica; Imperial Gazetteer of India, II, 451.

ineffectual bombardment of Mále in A.C. 1650 “these people dared not to come again to attack the Máldives.”

But that sullen hatred and dread of this persistent Infidel enemy still continued to exercise the minds of the Islanders, is borne out forcibly by an Arabic Inscription carved in A.H. 1087—nearly forty years after the later attack—on a Bastion in Mále Fort, which frankly sets out that the express purpose of its erection was to serve as “a bulwark to repel the accursed *Faráangi*.” *

Time is a mighty soother : before the lapse of a further century from A.C. 1650, all open rancour at least had melted between these once bitterest of foes, so long bent on internecine struggle at every encounter.

(7.) MÁLDIVIAN REFERENCE.

8. Íbráhim Iskandar II : A.C. 1721-50.

Portuguese Missives from the Sultán.

How friendly—superficially at least—had become mutual relations, a side-light, as interesting as unexpected, was furnished by the discovery among the Colombo Archives in the Eighties of last century of three Missives from the reigning Máldive Sultán (Íbráhim Iskandar II, A.C. 1723-1750), sent under his Royal Seal and Signature, to the Dutch Governors at Colombo (A. Moll with Council, and Dedrick Van Domburgh, respectively) in A.C. 1723 and 1734, 1735.

These Letters, strange as it may seem, were indicted—of all foreigners—by Portuguese scribes—, in all probability, Captains, &c., of vessels trading to Mále.

The unique Missives relate mainly to the reciprocal trade (rice and spices *versus* cowries) between the Dutch in Ceylon and the Máldive Islands.

Indirectly they bring out the proverbial mercenary spirit of the Hollanders, and the disgusted acquiescence of

* See *infra*, p. 124. A century earlier the Portuguese poet Camoens, (*Luciads* I, 99), had, for his part, paid all Muslimáns as hearty a compliment—“the malignant crew who follow the base Mahomet” (*malina gente que segue o torpe Mafamede*).

the Máldive Sultán, forced to accept, with very obvious reluctance, the unconscionable bargains made by a fresh European race too powerful to resist—grinding terms which may possibly have driven the Máldivian Ruler to fraternise with the Portuguese, quondam deadly foe of the Islanders.*

With this sole minor piece of evidence so far brought to light in proof of amicable intercourse, nominal at any rate if not more, between Máldivians and Portuguese, the curtain falls on all further known relations for still another century—to be lifted again but once more, and that under unwonted—and in one sense happy—circumstances, viz., on the occasion of the Portuguese Merchantman “Prazer e Alegria” being wrecked on the Máldive Islands in A.C. 1844.

(8.) *PORTUGUESE, &c., REFERENCES.*

S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín IV: A.C. 1835-1882.

Wreck of “Prazer e Alegria” on the Máldives: A.C. 1844.

The account of the disaster, and its satisfactory sequel, puts *finis* to the long chapter of checquered history, opening with ruthless emphasis in A.C. 1503, and closing four centuries and upwards later with “the Star of Peace” risen brightly upon two alien races, each worshipping one and the same God under differing lights, for whom finally

“Grim-visaged War has smooth'd his wrinkled front.”

The wreck of the “Prazer e Alegria” in A.C. 1844, has been the last occasion on which Portuguese and Máldivians have come into touch at the Islands.

The following details, somewhat curtailed, of the disaster are taken from a translation of the statement made to the English Commandant at Galle by Major Manuel Guides de

* A cyclone, which struck the Northern Máldive Atols in October, 1733, overwhelmed many Islands, with great loss of inhabitants and boats. The heavy calamity was bowed to by the Máldive Ruler with Muslim resignation (*Mas em tudu consolo com vertrade de Deus*).

Quinhones,* who sailed from Portugal in charge of a large body of Convicts and “Relief” of Officers and others:—

“I have to communicate events connected with the wreck of the Merchant Ship ‘Prazer e Alegria.’

“Freighted in Lisbon, on account of the Portuguese Government, to convey to Goa eighty-four (84) Convicts, and five (5) Lieutenants (one, A. J. de Soyza Alvia, belonging to the Army in Portugal, with his wife), two First Sergeants, a Writer (A. J. de Silva Milheirio) of the Custom House of Mozambique, and myself, as Major and Governor of Bahía de Lorenzo Marques, with my wife and three children.

“We left Lisbon on November 8th, 1843, and reached the Cape of Good Hope without other mishap than the death from scurvy of twenty-nine (29) Convicts.

“On March 16th, 1844, between 8 and 9 in the morning we discovered, to leeward, seven Islands, all in a line, and one Island ahead. The Captain told us that they were the Máldives. He continued on the same course, the current then running three miles an hour towards land. At half past one o’clock in the afternoon, the boatswain inquired of the Captain whether he wished to tack; but was directed to continue on the same course.

“At about 4 o’clock in the evening the ship was so near land that we could see the people distinctly; and it was then that a little boat manned by blacks, and with an English Jack fixed at the poop, came off from one of the Islands. Approaching the ship one of the Moors pointed towards a channel which lies between three or four Islands. The Captain hailed the Moors, and told them to come on board; but seeing the Convicts they immediately departed through fear, lowering the Jack.

“Thus we were committed to the current, which every moment drove us much nearer land, and upon a reef of coral which lies opposite the second Island. The night was dark, and there was lightning; the breakers dashed incessantly on the sides of the ship, forcing her more and more on to the reef; at length the rudder broke, and the ship rested; but a large leak was sprung. All of us worked the pumps, but it was impossible to reduce the water.

* The original Statement in Portuguese of Major de Quihones and the Sultán’s Missive to the Ceylon Government on the subject, are not forthcoming.

“At about 11 o'clock the cock-boat was let down; in which work we had laboured a good deal, as she had been much obstructed by the rigging. The Captain ordered the sailors to take soundings all round: they found the depth was seven (7) fathoms, and cast a small anchor. Upon this we all hauled on the cable, with a view to save the ship: in this manner were we engaged until daybreak, expecting every moment to become victims.

“The morning of the 18th saw us surrounded by reef shelves. The Captain having had the cock-boat manned despatched it towards the channel above mentioned. It finally landed on the third Island, which was some two leagues distant.

“The cock-boat having returned to the ship all the passengers and crew were saved.

“This Island is called *Muli** and is ruled by a Moor named Íbráhím, who is under subjection to the Sultán. The place near which we were wrecked is called *Muli Faļu*.

“On the following day, the Captain despatched the cock-boat, the long boat, and a hired *katamaran* in order to procure more provisions, if possible; but all the three boats were sunk by the billows. The Convicts (who had been rowing), and a sailor, were drowned; the rest, with much difficulty saved their lives by swimming.

“Having remained five days on the Island of *Muli* the ship-wrecked survivors one hundred and four (104) in number went on to ‘King’s Island,’ where the Sultán resides. We were kindly received, and provided with a house and such food as could be had in the country.†

“The Sultán‡ promised to have us conveyed, in his own vessels, to Goa, after one month, it being impossible for him to do so earlier.

* It is difficult to fix this Island’s position in the absence of any clue to Latitude or Longitude, or the name of the particular Atol to which it belongs. There is a *Muli* Island in *Mulaku Atol*, but it lies on the Eastern reef, whilst the Portuguese Transport should ordinarily have encountered the Máldives from the West, voyaging round the Cape of Good Hope.

† For amplest confirmation regarding the never-failing humanity, and kindly treatment, displayed by the Máldive Islanders for centuries past towards all those ship-wrecked on their danger-haunted Atols, see *The Máldive Islands* (Sessional Paper, XLIII, 1881, pp. 127-131); Journal C. A. S., 1923, XXIX, 76, pp. 206-214.

‡ S. Muhammad ’Imád-ud-dín IV, grandfather of Muhammad Shams-ud-dín III, the Sultán now on the throne.

“But having been informed by the Foreign Traders staying in the Island that in the beginning of May the sickness called ‘Intermittent Fever’* prevails there, the Captain hired two *Katamarans* for 1,700 English Company’s Rupees, to be paid at Goa. He conveyed thither ninety-three (93) persons in all, namely four (4) Lieutenants, a detachment of the Naval Battalion (consisting of one (1) Second Sergeant, two (2) Corporals and twenty-two (22) soldiers), the Ships Company, and the Convicts.

“It was impossible for me to proceed in the *Katamarans* as my eldest son was very sick of the fever. I, therefore, determined to stay at the Máldives, and remained there up to April 11th; when, with my family, I left in the Merchant Brig ‘Fath-ul-Rahmán’; and on the morning of the 15th arrived at Point de Galle.

“We took seven days to get from the Island of *Muli* to the ‘King’s Island,’ sailing only by day, and staying the night at seven small Islands.

‘The King’s Island, (Mále), which is superior to all, is (according to the information of the inhabitants), a little more or less than two miles in length and one in breadth.

“It is furnished with artillery, but badly fortified.

“In the Harbour were riding at anchor nineteen (19) Merchant Brigs, four (4) from Chittagong and the others of Moors.”

All those who reached Ceylon, among whom were two ladies and three children, after proceeding to Colombo from Galle, were duly provided with food and lodging and liberal advances (amounting to some Rs. 7,000) by the Ceylon Administration; and ultimately given free passage to Bombay in the Mail Boat ‘Seaforth.’

In thanking Sir C. Campbell, then Governor of Ceylon, for the ready British hospitality extended to the Portuguese castaways, the Governor of Goa, Jose Ferreira Pestana, wrote on June 10th, 1844:—

“I have informed Her Majesty, my August Mistress (Queen Dona Maria II), of the great kindness shown by

* The dread “Máldive Fever” (M. *Mále huma*), which inevitably seizes all Europeans who sojourn at Mále for any length of time. See *Ceylon Sessional Paper*, XLIII, 1881, p. 8: *Monograph on the Máldive Islands*, p. 7, †.

Your Excellency to Portuguese subjects; and, on Her Majesty's behalf, I desire to thank Your Excellency for the ready hospitality given to them. They will never forget the extreme kindness they met from Your Excellency, as well as from the inhabitants of Colombo and Galle.

"I profit by this occasion to present to Your Excellency my sincere protestation of friendship and high consideration."

NOTES.

1. *Tárikh*.—The original manuscript of the "*Tárikh*," or "Chronicle of the Sultáns of the Máldive Islands," up to that date, is said to have perished in the conflagration of the Royal Palace, when Mále was sacked and Mukarram Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III, the Sultán then reigning, deported by the Expedition despatched by *Áli Rája* of Kaṇṇanúr in A.H. 1166 (A.D. 1752).

Entered in a "ledger-form" volume, the existing copy—examined by the writer in A.C. 1920 and 1922—contains 132 leaves (water-marked for the year 1820), all but 15 of which bear writing covering space $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Its language and character are Arabic. Written in excellent script, the headings, important names, etc., are emphasised by being recorded in red ink.

The "*Tárikh*" consists of three separate Parts* :—

Part I: A homalectic treatise of hortatory advice (drawn from the *Qurán*, etc.) to Rulers of the World;

Part II: Starting with the Biblical Adam, passes, in rapid sweep, on to the Prophet Muḥammad, his four successors, and subsequent Khalífas, down to Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad al-Muqtafí, who died in A.H. 555 (A.C. 1160);

Part III: The "*Tárikh*" proper. It embraces wholly, or in part, the reigns of seventy-six (76) Rulers belonging to at least six Dynasties.

This History extends from the twelfth regnal year (A.H. 548 : A.C. 1153-4) of Sultán Muḥammad ul-Ádil to the twenty-third year (A.H. 1237 : A.C. 1821-22) of Sultán Muḥammad Mu'in-ud-dín I, great-grandfather of the present Sultán, Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín III, —a period of nearly 670 years in all.

The composition of the "*Tárikh*" was undertaken successively by three erudite members of one family—father, nephew and grandson—each, in due course, *Qázi* of the Máldive Islands.

Shaikh Hájí Hasan Táj-ud-dín, *Qázi*, the first Chronicler, brought the "*Tárikh*" manuscript up to A.H. 1137 (A.D. 1724-25).

It was carried on to A.H. 1174 (A.D. 1760-61) by Hájí Muḥammad Muhibb-ud-dín, Shaikh-ul-Islám, *Qázi*, son of Hasan Táj-ud-dín's brother, Husain Afif-ud-dín, *Baṇḍára Naibu*.

* An English Translation is contemplated by competent Arabic scholars at Mále, in collaboration with the present learned *Qazi* of the Máldive Islands, M. Husain Dídí Saraf-ud-dín.

From this date until the year A.H. 1237 (A.D. 1821-22)—or by Muslim lunar reckoning exactly a century from the conclusion of Hasan Táj-ud-dín's instalment—the "*Tárikh*" was continued by Íbráhím Siráj-ud-dín, Qází, son and nephew respectively of the dastardly betrayers of their Sovereign in A.H. 1166 (A.C. 1752), viz., Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín, Qází, and his brother Aḥmad Muḥí-ud-dín, Chief Khaṭīb of Mále, whose father was Hasan Táj-ud-dín Qází.

2. East Indian Trade : Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Calicut.

"*Calicut* is a perfectly secure harbour," writes the traveller 'Abd-ur-Razak (*circa* A.C. 1442), "which, like that of *Ormuz*, brings together merchants from every city and from every country. In it are found abundance of precious articles, especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, or Zanguebar.

"It contains a considerable number of Mussulmáns, who are constant residents.

"Security and justice are so firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants unload there (considerable cargoes), and unhesitatingly send (them) into the markets and bazárs, without thinking of any necessity of checking the amount, or of keeping watch over the goods.

"At Calicut every ship, whatever place it may come from, or wherever it may be bound, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels, and has no trouble of any kind to put up with." (*India in the Fifteenth Century*).

Ormuz.

Of *Ormuz* 'Abd-ur-Razak (*loc. cit.*) says:—"It has not its equal on the surface of the globe. Merchants of Egypt, Syria, Turkistan, China, Java, Pegu, Bengal, the Máldives, Malabar, Cambay, and Zanguebar, from all countries resort hither; and, in exchange for the commodities they bring, they can, without trouble or difficulty, obtain all that they desire. Bargains are made either by money or by exchange.

"Persons of all religions, and even idolators, are found here; and no injustice is permitted towards any person whatever."

Máldive Islands.

Writing in A.C. 1619 Pyrard (*Loc. cit.* I, 236—42) particularises the special items of trade at the Máldive Islands:—

"There is a great trade at the *Máldives*, and they are much frequented for their commodities. You see merchants from all quarters, as Malabar men from Barcelor, Onor, Bacalor, Cananor, Calecut, Tananor, Cochin, Coilam, Cael; Guzeratis from Cambaye, Surat, and Chaul; Arabs, Persians, men of Bengal, St Thomas, and Masulipatam, Ceylon, and Sumatra, who bring goods in demand there, and take away what the Máldives produce in abundance.

"First, of the *Coco* tree, which grows naturally at the Islands without any cultivation, they make many sorts of goods in demand with the foreigners; for instance, cordage, with which all the vessels of the Indies are equipped; the coco fruit, which is carried in such quantity to the coasts of Arabic and Malabar and throughout India, that more

than a hundred ships are laden with it every year, as well as with the oil and honey of the same tree ; and the leaves which serve for sails : but the greatest trade is in cordage.

“There is another kind of wealth at the Máldives, viz., certain little shells (*Couries*), containing a little animal, large as the tip of the little finger, and quite white, polished, and bright They call them *Boly*, and export to all parts an infinite quantity, in such wise that in one year I have seen thirty or forty whole ships loaded with them without other cargo.

“All go to Bengal, for there only is there a demand for a large quantity at high prices. The people of Bengal use them for ordinary money All the merchants from other places in India take a large quantity to carry to Bengal, where they are always in demand ; for they are produced nowhere but at the Máldives

“The Máldives have also an infinite abundance of *Fish* of all kinds ; they also sell a large quantity, both cooked and dried, to foreigners.

“This commodity is in great demand in all parts of India, notably in Sumatra, whither whole shiploads are carried.

“*Tortoise-shell*, called *Cambe* (*M. kahambu*) is much valued in the Indies. It is found at the Máldives, and is largely traded in

“The people of the Máldives likewise make a good traffic in *Rush Mats* (*M. kuna*) of perfect smoothness, which they make very prettily of divers colours, adorning them with patterns and figures so neatly that nothing can be nicer. The Portuguese and Indians alike prize them, so that there is much trade in them.

“Thus also with *Cloth of Cotton and Silk*, which is brought to them raw, and by them worked up

“So the Máldives are frequented from all quarters for their commodities, inasmuch as they possess so many things that foreigners prize and require

“I have heard it said by the Islanders that the trade and prosperity of the Islands were never so great as when the Portuguese governed there.”

3. Mafacalou.—The modern *Mále*, or “Sultán’s Island”; from the complex *Mahal* “Palace” + *Diva* “Island,” *Mále* has given its appellation to the entire Máldive Archipelago.

Thus Ibn Baṭūṭa (Fourteenth Century) has :—“*Dhibat-al-Mahal*,” with “the principal Island *Mahal*, the province after which all the Islands are called.”

Barbosa (Sixteenth Century) writes :—“The King, a Moor, resides at *Mahaldiu*.

Pyrard (early Seventeenth Century) explains more fully :—“*L’ isle principale, comme j’ay dit, s’appelle Male, qui donne le nom a tout le reste des autres : car le mot de Dives signifie un nombre de petites isles amassees ;*” and elsewhere : “Ce Royayme en leur langage, s’appelle *Malerague*, Royaume de *Male*, et des sutres peuples de l’ Inde il s’appelle *Male-divar*, et les peuples *Dives*.”

Mafacalou may stand, as part for the whole, not improbably for the modern *Máfannu* (*Avaru*), or Western Ward of *Mále*, + “*koḷu*” (honorific suffix) ; for Al-Ídrísí’s (Twelfth Century) gives similarly *Amberia* (modern *Hemveru Avaru*, the Eastern Ward), “where the King and Queen resided.”

4. Āli Rāja.—In consequence of his interference in A.C. 1549-50 on behalf of the Lakkadive Islanders oppressed by the Portuguese, the Kolastiri, or Chirakkal, Rāja was enabled to establish his authority over all those Islands.

Subsequently he transferred them, in *jaghir* with the honorary title of *Rāja*, upon "*Āli Rāja*," or "*Ādi Rāja*," ("Sea-King") the Head of the Máppilla community of Cannanore (*Kaṇṇanūr*), in return for stipulated *peshkash* of 6,000 *fanam* a year.

This status persisted until the invasion of Malabar by Haidar 'Ali of Mysore in the Eighteenth Century; when the Cannanore family, taking advantage of the gradual dismemberment of the Chirakkal territories, asserted its own independence, and became the seat of a Muḥammadan State (Logan, Malabar, 1915; Ellis, *Short Account of the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy*, 1924).

Regarding the *Āli Rāja* of his day, Pyrard (*loc. cit.* II, 324) writes:—"This King of *Cannanore* is very wealthy, and very powerful; for his subjects are numerous. He is called "*Ali Ragea*," and is a Muḥammadan. Owning many vessels he is strong on the sea, and for the purpose of trade in India has many Agents and Factories.

"The Lakkadive Islands ("*Les Isles de Diuandurou*") as well as some thirty of the Máldives belong to him.

"The Portuguese are at peace with him, and are allowed to occupy a small Fort in Cannanore. The other Kings of India, however, do not style the Ruler of Cannanore "King," asserting that his title has accrued by force alone."

Cannanore was stormed by the British in A.C. 1791, and the Lakkadive Islands (including Minicoy subject to that State) sequestered by the Indian Government. Ultimately, during the Nineteenth Century liberal concessions were granted; and an equitable division of those Islands between the Cannanore Ruler and the British Crown now obtains.

The "*Tārīkh*" testifies that the Máldive Islands (ever coveted by the Cannanore *Āli Rājas* and *Bíbís*) have been not infrequently attacked by these Malabar Máppillas. On two occasions (A.C. 1607 and A.C. 1752), Mále itself was captured temporarily, and the respective ruling Sultáns killed or deported to India.

5. S. 'Ali V.—The legend of the intrigues of "*Buraki Raṇi*," the infamous elder sister of Sultán 'Ali V (56), ending with the deliberate murder of her brother, is of tragic interest, and doubtless rests on a substratum of truth.

Buraki Raṇi claimed the throne, but her younger brother "*Dom-bulá Fāriná Kilége*" was appointed Sultán (as 'Ali V). Their aunt, younger sister of S. Abu Bakr (39), was mother of "*Raddebá Magu Kaḷu Muḥammad Manikufánu*" (afterwards S. Kaḷu Muḥammad, 50, 53, 57). Kaḷu Muḥammad wished to marry Buraki Raṇi, but his mother opposed; and he was banished by S. 'Ali to Wádú Island in Huvadú Atol.

The Sultán permitted his sister Buraki Raṇi to follow, accompanied by Kaḷu Íbráhím of Gáfaru Island, who had served the family since childhood. Instead of making for Huvadú Atol, they sailed to Achin; and thence back to Goa.

The Portuguese being promised share in the Máldive revenues, Buraki Raṇi was escorted by a Portuguese armed vessel to Gáfaru

Island. From there Kaļu Ībráhím was sent to Mále to bring about, (with the connivance of his step-father Huludeli Don Yúsuf, the Sultán's sword-bearer), the murder of her brother, Sultán 'Ali, was inveigled into leaving the Palace, attacked, ham-strung, and left to die.

Buraki Rañi then seized the throne by the aid of her Portuguese allies, recalled Kaļu Muḥammad from exile, and married him. He thus resumed the Sultánate for the third time.

Later he banished Buraki Rañi to Tiladummatí Atol, and married Shírázī Fátuma Kamaná, by whom he had the son Ḥasan VIII, (58), who succeeded him on the throne.

6. Death of S. 'Ali VI.—"Some of the inhabitants who saw their Ruler and the two others lying dead on the battle-field, buried them where found, and enclosed the spot with a rubble wall. Some time afterwards, the water of the lagoon surrounded the site.

"Since their death, all the Sultáns, from that date up to this day, have visited their graves, and prayed for their souls" (*Tárikh*).

A small causeway now connects the *Ziyárat* islet with Mále Island. The Religious Ceremony held at the site annually on Ramazán 24th, which is attended by Máldivians from the Sultán downwards, is styled "*Máfannu (Avaru) Boḍu Hiti*" (See *C. A. S. Journal*, 1928, XXXI, 81).

7. Death of 'Ali Khaṭīb.—"In this way they had carried on for some time, when one night 'Ali Khaṭīb Takurufánu remained in his own house till daybreak. The others having departed before dawn without noticing his absence, 'Ali Khaṭīb and his wife hid in a house in one of the Islands; but the Christians (Portuguese) had wind of it, dragged him forth, and decapitated him.

"Thereafter they sent his head to Andiri Andiri (at Mále) and cast his body away. It was buried by some of the Muslims of that Island; while the head was recovered from Andiri Andiri, after much entreaty by the inhabitants of Mále, and buried in an Island hard by, called Fonadú" (*Tárikh*).

8. Death of Andiri Andiri.—"He (Muḥammad Takurufánu) approached the house which Captain Andiri Andiri occupied, and found him seated facing the door, with his attendants standing round. All were in the light thrown by a lamp suspended from the roof. Then Muḥammad Khaṭīb Takurufánu took careful aim, fired at, and wounded Andiri Andiri; who, after returning the fire in the direction from which he was shot, fell to the ground. After firing Muḥammad Khaṭīb had taken cover behind a coconut tree; thus escaping." (*Tárikh*).

PLATES.

Plate I.

Mále ("Sultán's Island.")—Reduced from larger photograph (See *Monograph on the Máldive Islands*). View taken in A.C. 1922 from H.M.S. "Comus" Cruiser, anchored off Mále in North Mále Atol Lagoon.

Bodu Kótté Buruzu, the largest Bastion of the fortifications, stands out, with other buildings, white against dark background of trees. Directly behind this Bastion, within the Fort Wall, lies the grassy Northern Esplanade in front of the "Palace Enclosure" (M. *Etere-kolu*).

Plate II.

Mále.—Reduced photograph of Survey Plan, (as lithographed 80 feet to an inch), of Mále Island, made by Islanders under orders of the Máldivian Government in A.C. 1922. (See *Loc cit*).

The Plan, admirably executed, is in considerable detail, showing the sites of the Palace, the Fort Bastions, Esplanades, Streets, Mosques, Tanks and Chief Residences.

Plate III.

Portuguese Attack on Mále : A.C. 1631 circa.—Photographic reduction of Ressende's Sketch Plan. (See *Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, II, 996-07).

Seemingly the only defences then existing, from East to West, or left to right, were three make-shift ramps—converted later into the Bastions (*Buruzu*), *Oikolu*, *Náne*, *Ranjehi*, with the *Bodu Kótté Buruzu* and its annexe on the West, and a further ramp where *Á Buruzu* Bastion now stands. From these bulwarks six cannon are shown returning the fire of the Portuguese Fleet, and seven more guns lie together unlimbered.

The fifteen vessels engaged in the bombardment are depicted as drawn up in three lines—six, five and four from front to back.

The sole entrance into the Inner Harbour through the Breakwater, marked, is the modern central passage (M. *kadimma*). At this day there are five other lesser entrances (M. *neru*).

A "horse-shoe" moat would appear to surround the Palace precincts; which are triangularly shaped with base

facing North. The modern "Palace Enclosure" (M. *Etere-kolu*) is quadrangular.

The five outermost islands at the top of the Sketch Plan and its photograph, represent some of those (e.g. *Farukolu-furi*, *Furanna-furi*, *Lankan-furi*, *Himma-furi*, *Hurá*) lying along the Eastern reef of North Mále Atol; the three at bottom (*Guli-furi*, *Girávaru*, and possibly *Wabbin-faru*) stand on the Western reef; the four islands to right (South) of Mále Island are doubtless intended for *Finolu*, *Embadú*, *Wádú* and *Velessara*, of South Mále Atol; the four to left (North) nearest to Mále in the lagoon probably denote the Islands *Hulule*, *Fonadú*, *Dunidú* and *Madiri Viligili*; the remaining two, with others—mere outlines—further back, should signify some of the central islands, e.g., *Bados* (*Bođu* and *Kuđa*), *Fédú*, *Baros*, *Ihura*, *Ára*, *Tulágiri*).

Plate IV.

Portuguese Cannon.—This gun, lying unmounted at the *Bođu Buruzu* Western annexe, very closely resembles that dredged from the bed of the Colombo Harbour in 1888, which is now in the Colombo Museum.*

It measures, over all, 8 ft. 3 in. in length, with circumference at muzzle 2 ft. 3½ in.; the bore is 7 in.

Besides astragal bands and other mouldings at the mouth and other points, there are emblazoned on the top of the cannon, in relief, the Portuguese Royal Arms—Crown, surmounting Shield with quincunx "inescutcheons," each bearing "bezants five"†—footed by "Armillary Sphere" or lined Orb, besides additional designs and ornamentation. Rings for hoisting are affixed.

* Not improbably one of the cannon of the unfortunate Portuguese ship, commanded by Francisco Pereira, which foundered in a storm within Colombo Harbour, A.C. 1613 *circa*. The two other Portuguese vessels of three returning from Negapatam, were also both lost. but elsewhere. (*Bocarro*).

† See Plate (*Archaeological Survey, Ceylon Sessional Paper*, XIX, 1892, pp. 30, 31) figuring the slab discovered at Menikkaḍawara.

Camoens (*Luciads*, III, 53, 54) describes the Portuguese Royal Arms heraldically in verse. "On every cinque a cinque is shown"; and that "the thirty silvers wherewith God was sold . . . be fully told, counteth for two the one that central lies." (Burton).

Possibly this cannon may be even one of the pair abandoned to the Máldivians four centuries ago by their Malabar allies, after the recapture of Mále from the Portuguese in A.C. 1519. (See *supra*, p. 82).

Plate V.

“Á Buruzu” Bastion.—View of the exterior from the Breakwater (M. *tori*), which divides the Inner Harbour from the Lagoon on the North.

This semi-circular Bastion, the first to South-West from *Bodu Kótté Buruzu*, tapers at base 65 ft. 8 ins., with radial axis 81 ft. 6 ins. There are remains of eleven embrasures, more or less perfect; but no guns.

Ressende's Sketch Plan, and the Arabic record (Plate VI) may well imply that this Bastion was not built until after the later Portuguese attack on Mále of A.C. 1650.

Plate VI.

Arabic Inscription.—The photograph shows an Arabic record, in Kufic character,—taken as being dated A.H. 1087 (A.C. 1688-87)—carved on madreporé slabs forming the inner face of *Á Buruzu* Bastion where it projects furthest forward.

There are two lines of high-relief characters, stretching 10 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 ins., in a counter-sunk panel, within oblong framing of guilloché embellishment.

The record relates to the construction, or rebuilding, of this Bastion by order of Sultán Íbráhím Iskandar I (A.C. 1648-87), son of Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I. But the *Hijra* date is rather obscure. If A.H. 1087 be the correct calculation (as worked out by Muslim experts) the inscription was cut between A.C. 1686, March, and A.C. 1687, February, the latter the last year of Sultán Íbráhím Iskandar's reign.

Text.

المباركة المنصورة المركام لدفع فرائع الملاعين
 امر باتخاذ هذا الخيال المطار *
 السلطان ابن السلطان محمد الصور مرا سع
 سنت من هجرة سيد المواسط الغازي ابراهيم اسكندر

Transcript.

1. *Al-mubáarakat ul-mansúrat al-Markám lidafa'i Faráangi al-mala'in amara bití kházi hazal khimal al-matár.*

2. *As-Sultán ibn as-Sultán Muḥammad as-Súr Marási'a sanat min Hijrat saydat al-ma-vá-si-m-tá al-Gházi Íbráhím Iskandar.*

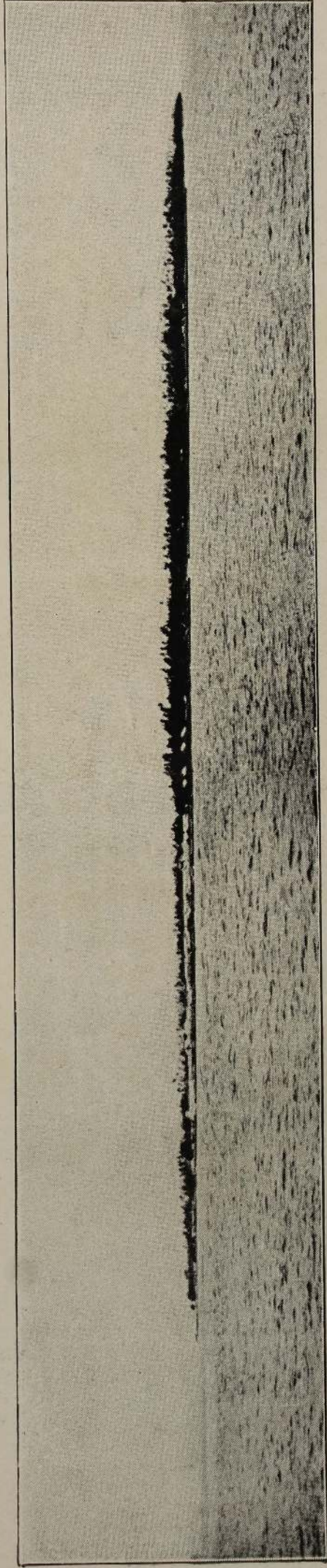
Translation.

"The Gházi Íbráhím Iskandar, the Sultán, son of the Sultán Muḥammad as-Súr Marási'a, ordered this blessed victorious bulwark, (called) "*Markám*," to be built as a defence to repel the accursed *Faráangi* (Portuguese), in the *Hijra* year 1087 (*al-ma-vá-si-m-tá*.) *

* Calculated apparently thus : $l = 30$; $m = 40$; $v = 6$; $á = 1$; $s = 60$; $m = 40$; $t = 9$; $á = 1$; total = strictly 187, but taken as = 1,000 (one thousand) + 87 (eighty-seven), or 1087 in all.

MÁLE

Plate I.



Male Island : View from Lagoon, North : A.C. 1922.

MÁLÉ

REDUCED FROM A SURVEY PLAN 80 FT TO ONE INCH
MADE BY THE

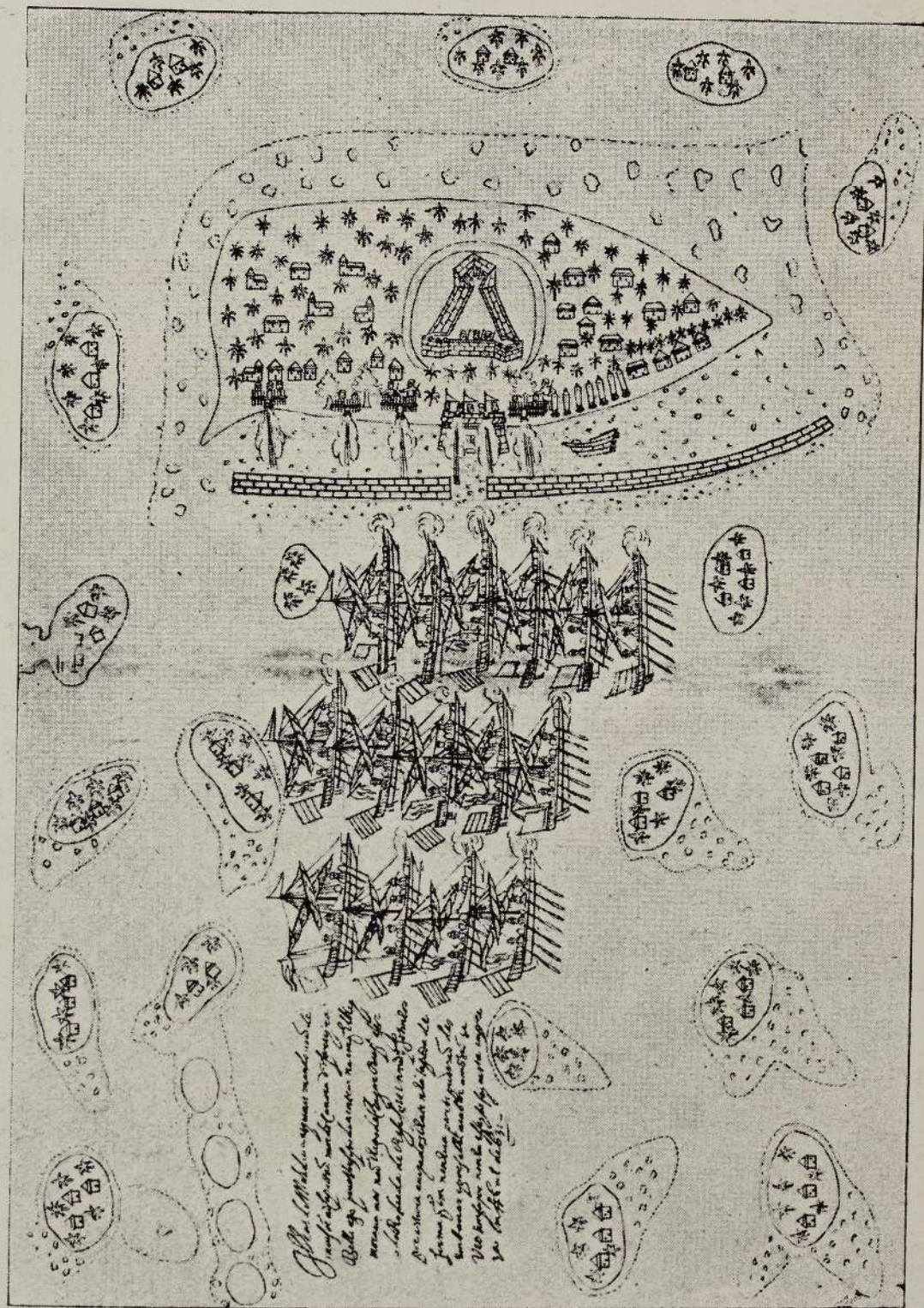
MÁLDIVIAN GOVERNMENT

Scale 320 Ft. to one inch (approx.)

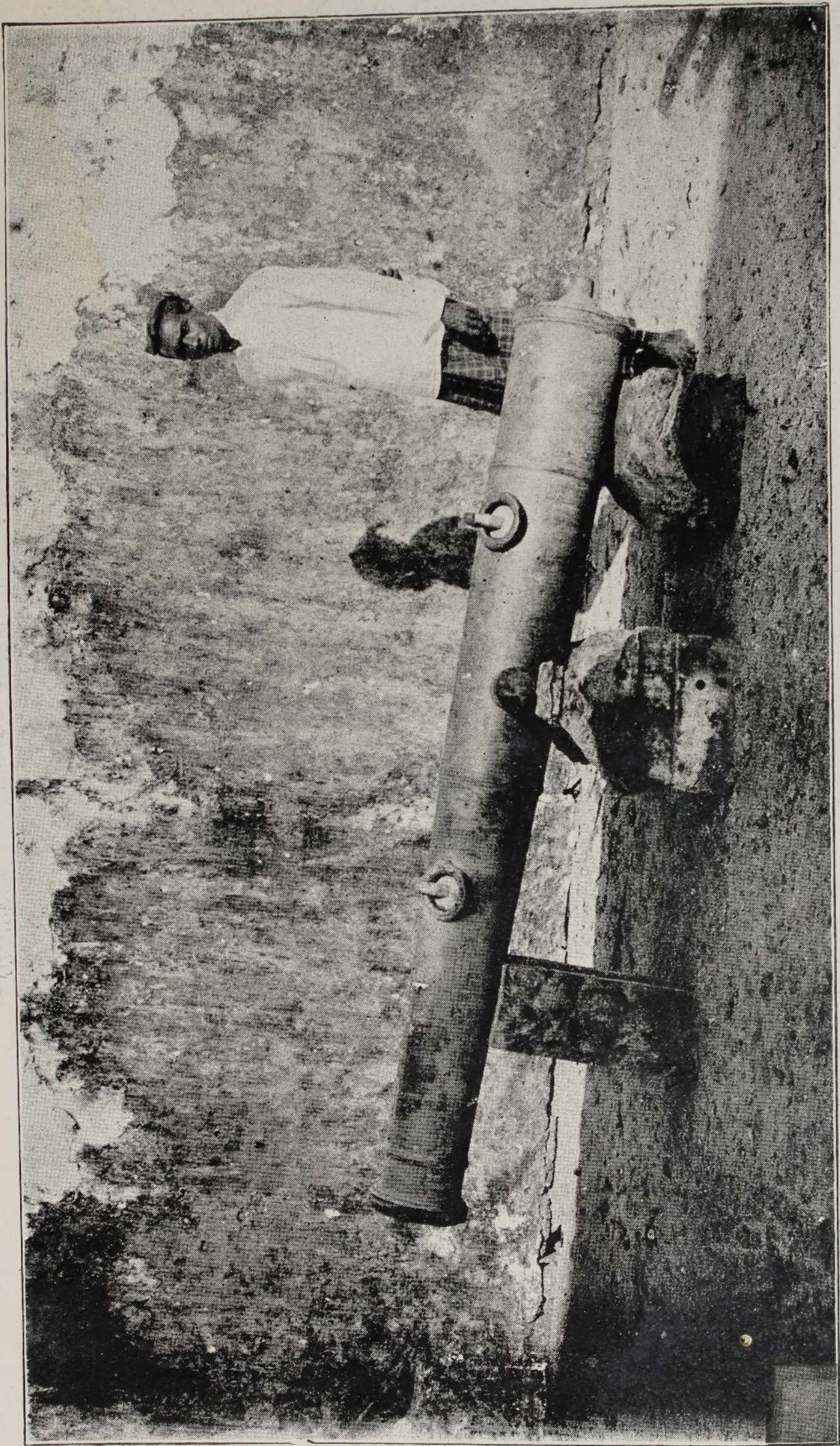


Maldivian names transcribed into English and area figures marked by
M. C. P. S. (English & Maldivian) 1922

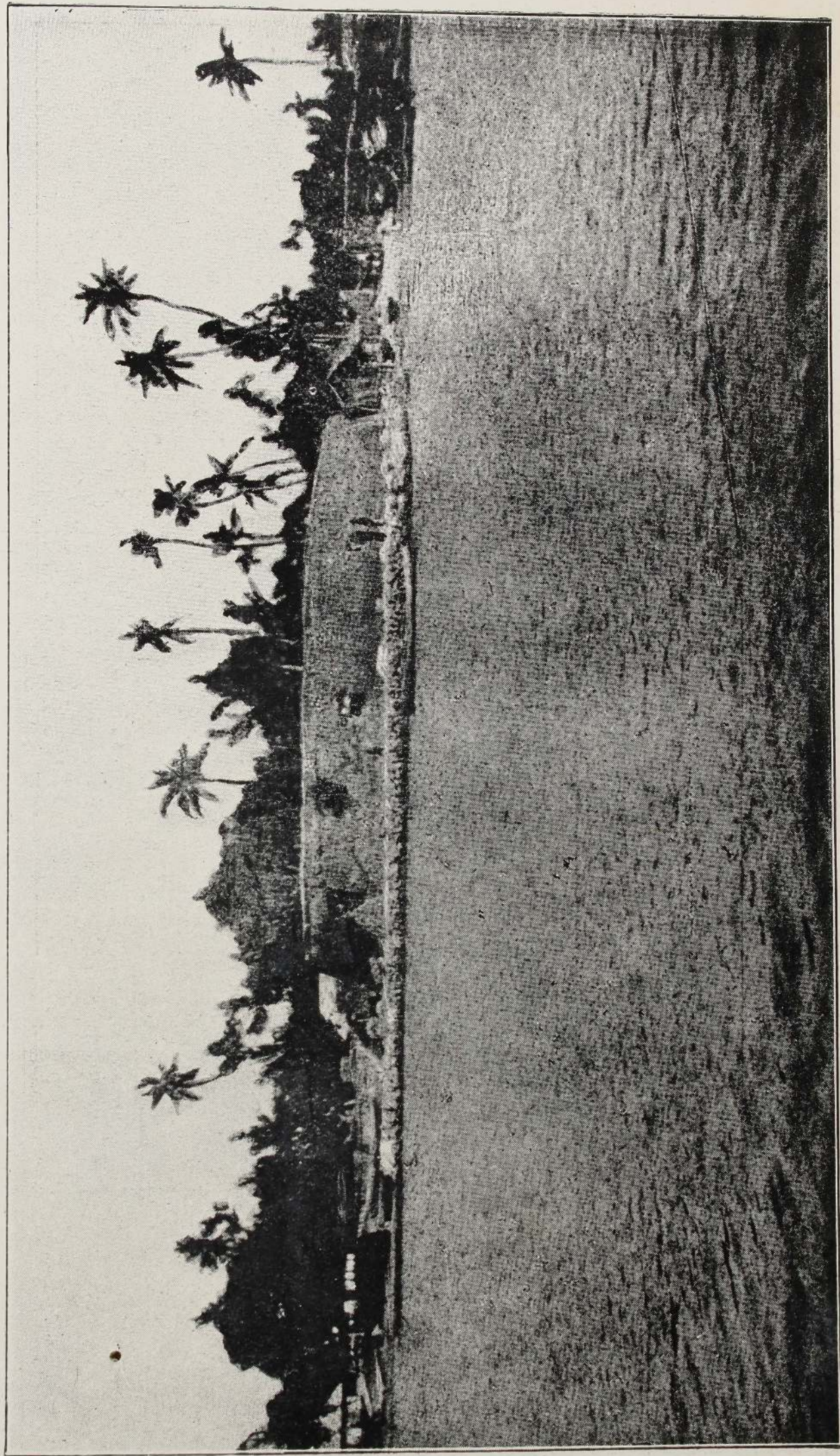
Printed by the Government of Maldives, Male



Portuguese Attack on Malé: A.C. 1631 circa.



Portuguese Cannon at Mále.



“Á Buruzu” Bastion : from Breakwater, North : A.C. 1922.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes of Historical and Antiquarian Interest
(Province of Uva)

1. WITHURU-POLA DÉWÁLÉ

BY

R. L. BROHIER, F.R.G.S.

Withuru-pola Déwálé was at one time famous although very little of its remarkable story is known at present. Local tradition connects the name with a legend.

In the "dark and backward abysm of time," a holy sanyasi who was meditating at the spot saw a hand rise out of a morass, bearing a crystal goblet. Although conscious that the vision was of divine origin he was prompted by curiosity to venture nearer. To his surprise the hand vanished as quickly as it had appeared, and awe-struck, he beheld seven conches successively thrown up by a spring of crystal clear water which gushed out of the very spot.

Apart from affording origin to the name Withuru-pola, it is believed that it was this supernatural circumstance which led to the erection of a déwálé nearby and which, moreover, accounts for the presence of the spring.

With so much of its story known, it was obvious that a personal inspection of the site would hold out something more of interest to the historian and the antiquary. The following particulars were gleaned in the course of a visit not long ago.

This historic déwálé is situated in the village of Gawar-ammana in the Udapalata Korale of the Udukinda Division, Province of Uva. It is perhaps best located by reference to its position below the craggy heights of Hakgala.

To reach the spot one is compelled to cover a mile and a half of the bridle track which—beginning near the 59th milestone on the Nuwara Eliya-Badulla Road, links up Fort Mc Donald.

The spring to which reference has been made is located in the pocket of a paddy field. Three roughly hewn stone pillars, with probably a fourth which lies embedded, point to some sort of covering in days gone by. Nothing else commemorates its traditional reputation. Near it there is a long abandoned *án-pitiya*.

The *déwálé*, virtually abandoned and crumbling to ruin, stands in a wooded patch on the slopes of a hill, adjoining the paddy field.

The *temenos* appears to have been partially enclosed by a rough stone wall. It is entered by a gate-way flanked by two undressed stone pillars. There are traces of a flight of stone steps leading up to this entrance from the paddy field.

The building consists of a *dig-gé*, or anteroom, and a *máligáwa*, or sanctum. It is bare of any sculpture and plain in design. The tiled roof, supported at one period by wooden pillars, has fallen in. A small section has, however, been propped up over a corner of the *máligáwa*, and affords scant protection to the *ábharana*, or insignia. The whole presents a woeful picture of neglect. A scheme to re-build it was apparently afoot, judging from the stone, clay, and a door frame lying about.

I was fortunate to be accompanied on my visit by the Ratémahatmayá of Udukinda and several Gámarálás. The traditional history of this reputed *déwálé* gleaned from the more garrulous persons in the company is as follows:—

Its “ odour of age and sanctity ” is closely interwoven with the legend of the crystal goblet. In consequence it is dedicated to the *dévatáva*, or demi-god Māṇik Baṇḍâra—the spirit of gem pits. I was not able to gather why this particular godling was propitiated in the Uva Province. While Withuru-pola *déwálé* was accepted as the oldest and

principal shrine over which Māṇik Baṇḍāra presided, there are, I was told, thirty-two other shrines dedicated to him in Uva.

Tradition goes on to tell that crowds of votaries flocked to this shrine in the past, invoking the god to give relief from ailments caused by demon influence with which they supposed themselves to be afflicted. But the best story attesting to its reputation—redolent of a quaint simplicity while yet possibly not without a measure of truth—is that which associates this shrine with Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṅha, the last of the kings of Kandy.

It would appear that for several months this king had suffered much from a boil on his ring-finger. Despite all the application of medicinal herbs he was not rid of the malady. Consequently, feeling sure that it had been inflicted by demons, he set about to propitiate the gods and godlings at several déwálés. However, in spite of the earnest incantations of the Kapurālas, no relief seemed to have been vouchsafed in response.

While such a state of things was causing no little uneasiness to the king, the great national festival ushering in the Perahera came round. From one of the Chiefs of Uva who had journeyed to the capital to participate in the pomp and parade associated with the festival, Raja Sinha heard of the reputation of Withuru-pola Déwálé. Summoning the chief Kapurāla to his palace he enjoined him to invoke the divine power of the presiding deity. Vowing that should he be cured he would make other endowments, he sent as a preliminary offering the ring which usually adorned the affected finger.

Shortly afterwards, to the surprise of many of his courtiers who had little faith in the power of Māṇik Baṇḍāra to effect a permanent cure, the king's finger healed. In fulfilment of his vow, this monarch is said to have made, as thank-offerings to the déwálé, insignia studded with precious stones and a chair peculiarly designed for the exclusive use of the deity.

Precisely how or when this shrine fell on bad times must be left to speculation. Maybe, it affords an example of

the stern methods of repression resorted to in the year 1818. Taking stock of the character of its soil, its climate and its people, a writer, perhaps not inaptly, adduces that partly due to this cause Uva has been "the most backward, the most stagnant, of any portion of Ceylon."

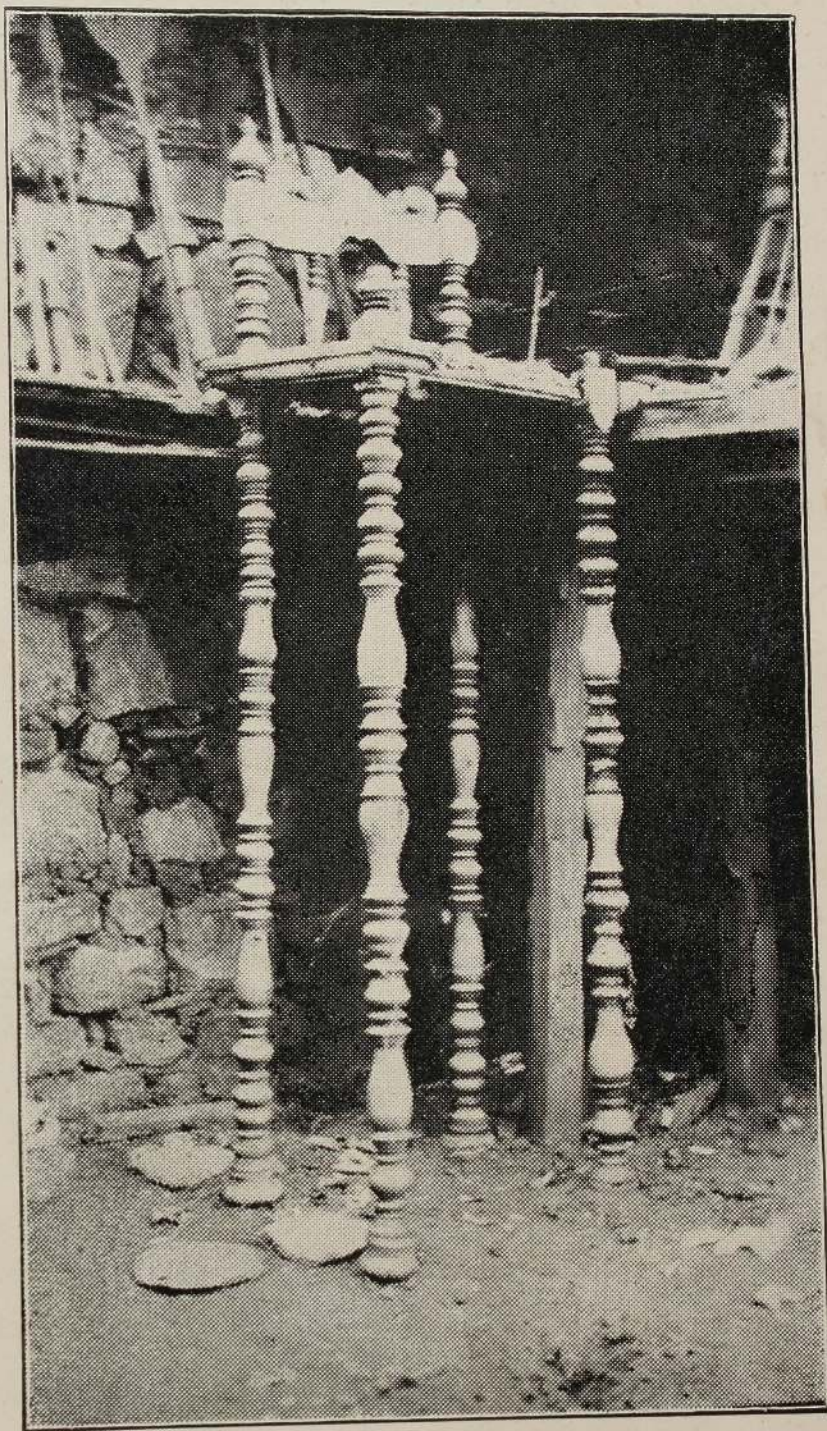
Nevertheless, whatever might be attributed as the cause, the regular services conducted at this shrine by the Kapurālas would appear to have been neglected. Vandals gradually removed the precious endowments and offerings made to the deity—if tradition tells truly, not without quick retribution following on such sacrilege. A superstitious reverence and veneration, or it may be a wholesome fear of the wrath of the neglected deity, kept villagers and votaries away from the spot. The jungle relentlessly encroached. Damp and decay completed the work of destruction.

A chair, identified traditionally as the gift of Sri Vikrama Rāja Siṅha, a motley collection of spears, bill-hooks and arrows, are all that remains.

The illustration conveys a fair idea of this unique chair. It is in the last stages of decay and pieces of it were put together before it was photographed. It is 3 feet 10 inches in height from the ground to the seat, and 12 inches from the seat to the lower edge of the ornamental back-rest. The seat is approximately 16 inches wide and 17 inches deep. There were apparently two arm-rests. The wood appeared to be Suriya (*Thespesia Populnea*), and showed traces of having been lacquered much in the same fashion as the chairs turned out in the village Angulumaduwa, near Tangalle, at the present day.

One of the seven conches which is alleged to have mysteriously gushed out when the spring started to function, was for many years used during the ceremonies conducted at the shrine. This, I am told, was carried away by a former Kapurāla, while the other six are precious possessions of other shrines in Uva dedicated to Māṇik Bandāra. Only *irrdiya* (divine inspiration), so the villagers declare, can help in tracing them to-day.

A SEAT OF THE GODS



This unique relic of the past is traditionally identified as the gift of Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha, to the presiding deity of the Withuru-pola Déwale.

I am indebted to Dr. Pearson, Director of the Colombo Museum and Acting Archæological Commissioner, for the following observations which he has been kind enough to afford me, on the photograph illustrating this contribution.

“It is, of course, not a chair in the proper sense of the term,” he writes, “and would be a meaningless piece of furniture were it not for your explanation”

“ The photograph does not show the back of the chair clearly, but it is obvious that the style of the chair is not strictly related to any of the European styles which were introduced into Ceylon in the 17th and 18th centuries.”

“ The turned spindles of the legs and back are very similar to the samples found in Kandyan windows. ”

“ All that can be said is that it is of Kandyan workmanship and the back resembles to some extent European chair-backs of the early 17th century, though this chair may not have been made till the 18th century.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

TALES FROM SOME EASTERN JUNGLES. By K. W. S. Mitchell. Published by Cecil Palmer : 49, Chandos Street, London, W.C. 2, pp. 276. With 32 tinted colour photographs. 1928. *Price 15s.*

This is a book that breathes the very atmosphere of the jungle. The coloured photographs, so aptly descriptive of the letterpress, and obviously obtained with great trouble, are the triumph of the work.

Mr. Mitchell has spent his life in the forests of Ceylon with eyes open, ears alert and mind attuned to Nature's ways. These intimate stories and vivid pictures could only have come from one who observed meticulously and felt deeply. He gives us his experiences in a manner quite out of the ordinary. He brings the jungle and its creatures, both animal and human, close to us. It is his sympathy with the human forest dwellers and his close knowledge of them that adds much to the charm and appeal of the book.

Here are thrills, poignant episodes and quiet raptures in plenty. The attractive loveliness and the fierce strife of the forest are touched in with a deft hand. The timorous humped deer, the fell slayers such as the leopard and crocodile, the lordly, care-free elephant browsing where he will—they are all here in episodical setting.

Take this annotation to an eloquent photograph of grouped animals at a drinking place : "In spite of the deer being fully occupied with drinking, it would be extremely difficult for an enemy to approach them, for heads are constantly being raised and sharp eyes scan the jungle, whilst ears turn in all directions unceasingly."

The author sometimes identifies himself so inseparably with the creatures he describes, that he obtains an unreal effect. In the "Autobiography of a deer," for instance he makes the animal say : "Man has the power of deductive reasoning, whereas we simply have reasoning power and instinct. There is just a fine dividing line between deductive reasoning and simple reasoning.....The Creator made the difference." That is surely the brain of man talking through the mouth of the deer.

But, apart from such exceptional blemishes, the book is a triumphant epitome of an useful observant life spent in the jungle.

Mr. Mitchell has placed Ceylon under a great debt of gratitude for interpreting so sympathetically and attractively the denizens of its remote jungles.

R. L. SPITTEL.

CEYLON. By Friedrich M. Trautz, in German, 106 pp., with 128 full page illustrations and map, published by Georg Müller, Munich. 1926.

This book forms one of a series of monographs, edited by Karl Döhring, dealing with Indian civilization. The author in his preface modestly disclaims any intention to write a scientific or exhaustive treatise on Ceylon, "one of the most beautiful and best known Islands

in the world." He states his object as being to write an introductory account giving his impressions and observations for the benefit of the "generally interested reader."

The book is by no means a guide to Ceylon in the general sense. The author has nothing to say of Colombo, the Railway and road system is scarcely mentioned. The rubber industry is dismissed in about two words, and the tea in a page or so. As regards the Government of the country and political matters the interest of the author in such matters is shown by the curious statement that recently Ceylon, the Seychelles, the Andamans, the Malay Peninsula and Mauritius have been united into one Government with its seat—Mauritius!

This strange statement, however, must not be regarded as typical of the book, for the greater part is well and accurately written. The author dwells on those matters which interest him most—he has much to say of the Veddas and Rodiyas, and he gives a long summary mainly from the Mahawamsa of the history of the Sinhalese. He has interesting chapters on the natural beauty of the country, its animal and plant life and the diversity of its peoples. He has not much to say on the subject of Buddhism. In a short chapter on Arts and Handicrafts he states that Ceylon Art is essentially Indian. The last chapter is in some ways the best—a description of masks, and devil dancers and games.

The great feature of the book is the 128 illustrations. These are really excellent, and the book will thoroughly repay perusal if for these pictures alone.

C. H. C.

UNTER TROPISCHER SONNE, WANDERUNGEN, STUDIEN, BEGNUNGEN
IN CEYLON UND JAVA. By Wilhelm Geiger, 231 pp., illus.
Kurt Schroeder, Bonn.

Dr. Geiger visited Ceylon in the winter of the year 1925 and the summer of 1926 in connection with the work which had been entrusted to him by the Ceylon Government of editing and translating the Mahawamsa. The present book is a description of his visit. Dr. Geiger was accompanied by his wife, and the book contains a very pleasantly written account of all he saw and did. The book is no dry-as-dust treatise such as one might have expected from a Professor of philological studies, but an exceedingly human and delightfully written description of peoples, customs and places, as only such a keenly observant, able and sympathetic student of humanity as Dr. Geiger is could have written. Dr. Geiger in his preface makes it clear that his visit had more in it than the mere acquisition of technical details. He felt that he wanted to be in the country, to meet its peoples, to visit all parts of the Island, including the "ruined cities" but not excluding the more settled parts, and his visit to Java was mainly to see the magnificent Buddhist monuments there, to help to a better understanding of those in Ceylon.

Dr. Geiger starts with a chatty description of Colombo, and especially of the changes which had occurred since his last visit. He then describes journeys through Ratnapura and the South East to Mulgirigala—the Rohana Country. Further travels to the Hill Country, and to Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Sigiri, etc., are described in succeeding chapters, and the last chapter contains an account of his visit to Java, where he and his wife were visitors "for pleasure" and not official visitors as in Ceylon.

C. H. C.

HOW TAMIL WAS BUILT UP. A work in Tamil by Rev. S. Gnanapragasar, O.M.I., published by the United Trading Co., Chunnagam, Ceylon, and printed at The St. Joseph's Catholic Press, Jaffna.

This is one of several small treatises in which the author has given the fruits of his research in the wide and unexplored field of Tamil Etymology. Although Bishop Cauldwell, in his Comparative Tamil Grammar, has treated on certain aspects of Tamil Etymology, Father Gnanapragasar is the pioneer to work on the roots of Tamil words both scientifically and exhaustively. The scientific system is his own discovery and it appears that he tumbled on to it accidentally, like most of the discoveries in the field of science. The fundamental fact that the earliest Tamil words were built on sounds based on spatial relation of things in general is the important discovery he has made. Words are said to be of primary and of secondary nature. The primary words built up on the basic idea of spatial relation were all monosyllables, although an enunciative final vowel or a formative consonant was added to them for facility of pronunciation. These primary words appear to have been formed on the demonstrative vowels a, u, i, and e which in their original sense are concerned with the position of things in space relatively, namely, a for nearness, u for remoteness, i for being beneath and e for being above. Tamil grammarians beginning with Tholkappiyar have asserted that the earliest sounds a, i and u are demonstrative and e interrogative, but the author states that e is both interrogative and demonstrative and gives examples of its use for expressing things above or act of rising above.

From the primary words came the secondary and the author professes to give the rules governing the formation of the secondary words. Among others are mentioned the lengthening and modification of basic vowels, the introduction of initial consonants, the reduplication of the formative and euphonic nunnation or the interchange of sounds of similar origin. By these devices the original idea conveyed by the word is emphasized and it thus becomes a new word conveying a different meaning. These and other laws are said to have been discovered by scrupulously following the inductive method in tracing the evolution of words step by step with the aid of the earliest written records of the language, of which copious works are found in Tamil. An exposition of the methods followed and the results obtained illustrated by abundant examples, can be seen in this work.

For the purpose of giving concrete instances of his theory the author deals with the fundamental idea in 9 chapters treating on (1) the existence of word groups coined from cognate roots for the purpose of expressing a new idea or object from the inherent nature of the idea or the object, (2) different formations of sound according to spatial relation, (3) primitive roots formed of spatial vowels and formative consonants, with copious quotations from ancient Tamil Classics, (4) secondary roots giving the laws governing their formation, (5) the multiplication of word forms according to pregnant meanings with a refutation of systems advanced by others, (6) pronouns, suffixes denoting gender, plural signs and Interrogatives and Relatives, (7) nominal suffixes, suffixes of verbal nouns as forms of certain primitive words, signs of declension and words which became such signs, (8) particles denoting tense and a comparison of the Tamil Future Tense with that of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, and (9) Infinitive, Benedictive and Negative forms. The last and the 10th chapter deals with Tamil roots in Indo-Germanic languages. It was not the intention of the author to say that the Indo-European languages were derived from Tamil, as erroneously supposed by some after reading his

earlier works, but he emphasizes the fact that those languages too were formed in the same manner as Tamil and from similar original roots. In a large number of words of the Indo-European languages, the roots being similar to Tamil roots, the conclusion that they were also formed from spatial relation like the Tamil, from the idea which existed in the minds of primitive men who at one time lived in the same locality, cannot be resisted.

The theory put forward by Father Gnanapragasar appears to be quite sound. It is a pity that the discovery was not made before the Tamil Lexicon Committee of Madras began their deliberations. Then the Committee would have carefully considered Father Gnanapragasar's scheme, and if acceptable, would have given the derivation of each word, the primitive meaning it carried and the history of the word's modifications and changes. It was not to be. The present Madras Lexicon is not, in that respect, as good as Winslow's Dictionary.

Father Gnanapragasar, therefore, proposes to compile a Comparative Tamil Lexicon, which is expected to be of great use for the study of Dravidian and Indo-European languages. The knowledge of several languages, both Eastern and Western, which he possesses, will no doubt entitle him to be one of the fittest persons in the Island for the monumental task he has undertaken.

C. R.

