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Part I.

THE KARÁVE FLAG.

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THE Karáve Flag is a document well worthy of antiquarian attention. Its provenance has already been indicated by Mr. E. W. Perera in his monograph on *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.

The flag holds within its borders a unique collection of antique emblems, many of which were highly expressive not only to the Sinhalese but to all the civilized peoples of the ancient world. Some of these symbols are now obsolete, while a few have remained current to our day. The following is an essay to trace the import of each of the symbols on the Karáve flag, and to render their collective significance as the emblems of the *Kaurava Vanse*.

(1) The Sun, Moon and Stars.

The Rajput clans of India adopted the emblems of the sun and the moon, according to their descent from the Solar or Lunar race. The sun and moon were in a special manner the emblems of the Royal house in Ceylon indicating its Kshatriya descent from the Solar and Lunar races. The Ivory Throne in the Brazen Palace at Anurádhapura was adorned with the sun in gold, the moon in silver, and the stars in pearls. The façade of the Old Palace at Kandy was adorned with the same emblems in plaster relief. The sun and moon as emblems of the Royal house of Ceylon figure almost invariably on royal inscriptions and grants. These emblems were not depicted on grants, as is sometimes supposed, as "symbols of perpetuity"—the phrase so common in grants "*as long as the sun and moon endure*," being derived from the royal emblems, not the emblems from the phrase.

The sun-and-moon flag (*ira-handa kodiya*) has long been specially associated with the Kaurava Vanse. According to one tradition, the *Ira-handa kodiya*, the *Makara kodiya*, and the *Rávaná kodiya* were presented by the king to certain Karáve chieftains who defeated a body of Mukkuvars on the coast of Puttalam.

"When Sri Prákrama Báhu Maha Raja," says an old Sinhalese account, "was reigning at Cotta, a hostile people of the name of Mukkara landed in Ceylon and got possession of Puttalam. The King Parákrama Báhu wrote to the three towns Kanchipura, Kaveri-pattanam, and Kilikare, and getting down 7,740 men defeated the Mukkara and snatched the fort of Puttalam from their hands. The names of those who led this army were Vaccha-nattu-dhevarir, Kuru-kula-nattu-dhevarir, Manikka-Thalaven, Adhi-arasa adappan, Warnesuriya adappan, Kurukula-súriya mudali," Arsa-Nilaitte Mudali, etc. (See letter by Mudaliyar F. E. Gunaratne, in the "*Ceylon Independent*," 11th April, 1921.)

The king on the same occasion granted them certain villages and domains, including Maha-vidiya, and Velle-vidiya in Negombo.

The sun-and-moon flag was also the flag of the Four Kórales. According to tradition, "when the god-king Rama proceeded from Devundara to Alutnuwara in great state, with a four-fold army like unto a festival of the gods, the flag emblazoned with the sun and moon was borne in front. Since then the Four Kórales held chief rank."

This explanation is intelligent, but hardly goes far enough. According to Dr. Paul Pieris, the people of the Four Kórales "were considered the most noble of all in Ceylon . . . Some of the families, for instance the Kiravelli, were recognized as representing the true royal stock. The martial prowess of the men of the Four Kórales was always recognized, and their *maha-kodiya*, emblazoned with the sun and moon, was allotted the place of honour in the van of the army." (*Portuguese Era* I. 316.)

We are led to suspect from this that the sun and moon emblems in the case of the Four Kórales were primarily associated with the noble birth of the inhabitants, and, if we turn to the *Kadaim-pot*, this suspicion will be confirmed. There we find that there was a district in Ceylon known as the Kuru-rata, conterminous more or less with the region of the Four Kórales, and the inhabitants of the Kuru-rata in Ceylon were believed to have come from the Kuru-rata (Delhi district) in India.

According to the *Kadaim-pot* (see Bell, *Kegalla Report*, p 2) "in ancient times . . . there came to this island from the Kuru-rata a queen, a royal prince, a rich nobleman and a learned prime minister with their retinue, and by order of King Rama dwelt in that place, called on that account Kuru-rata. In the year of our great Lord Gautama Buddha, Gaja Báhu who came from Kuru-rata settled people in that district, calling it Paranakururata"

Paranakuru is one of the divisions of the Four Kórales, and, according to Dr. Pieris, Siyané Kórale was also in former times a division of the Four Kórales. It is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that the Royal family, the men of the Four Kórales, and the Kaurava Vanse, all of whom, and who alone, authentically used the *Ira-handa Kodiya*, should be reputed to be of Kshattriya descent.

Kuru-rata is the district in India whence the Kaurava Vanse claims its ultimate origin, and, if we turn to the list of Karáve chieftains who rescued the fort of Puttalam, the names of some are sufficiently indicative of their origin. Kuru-Kula-nattu—dhevarir is one chief; Vaccha-nattu-dhevarir is another. Now Vaccha was a town in N. India, called also Kausambi, the capital of Nemi-Sakkaram, King of Hastinapura, who transferred his capital to Vaccha. Vaccha-nattu-thevagay is still the name borne by certain Karáve families of Siyané Kórale, where some of the oldest Karáve families are resident.

If we turn to those flags where the sun and moon occur in conjunction with other emblems, in Mr. E. W. Perera's exhaustive monograph on flags, we find that the Sun and Moon figure on the banners of the kings Dutu-gemunu and Mahasena, on the flags of certain ancient temples of royal foundation, such as Kataragama, on the flags of certain *dissavanis* which were at one time ruled by members of the royal family, such as the Seven Kórales (ruled by the Prince Vidiye Bandára), and Uva, which in Portuguese times at any rate, was always a royal principality, the only Prince of Uva who was not a member of the reigning house being Antonio Barretto, or Kuruvita-Rála who was apparently of the Kaurava Vanse, De Queiroz describing him as a *pescador* or fisher.

The sun and moon seem therefore to have been the most jealously guarded emblems in ancient Ceylon, those privileged to use these emblems being privileged apparently on the ground of descent rather than merit.

(2) The Pearl Umbrella.

From time immemorial the umbrella has been among Oriental peoples a symbol of dominion. What is probably the earliest representation of the Umbrella in Ceylon is described by Neville in the *Taprobanian* (Dec. 1885). He there describes a stone panel discovered by him among the ruins of a very ancient city, (which he ascribes to the primitive era of pile-dwellings), in the district of Puttalam. The panel in question represents a five-headed Nága seated beneath an umbrella, and two hands on either side holding a *chamara*.

Indian monarchs often styled themselves, "Brother of the Sun and Moon, and Lord of the Umbrella."

It is probable that in ancient times the umbrella was primarily thought of as a parasol rather a parapluie. The umbrella figures as an emblem of dominion on Assyrian reliefs and Egyptian wall-paintings. On a relief from Nineveh in the British Museum a conquering monarch sits under the parasol and receives the homage of the vanquished. On another the King sits under a parasol and directs a siege. An Etruscan sepulchre, discovered at Chiusi, depicts a lady witnessing the palaestic games, "seated beneath an umbrella, indicative of her rank and dignity." (Dennis. *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*).

The parasol (*skiadion*) often figures on Greek vases, generally in the hands of an attendant. It was used, as a token of respect, in religious processions at Athens, the daughters of the *metoics* (or resident aliens) having to hold parasols over the heads of the *Kanephoroi*, the Athenian maidens who carried the baskets of sacred bread. The use of the parasol has survived to this day in the ceremonial processions of the Catholic Church.

Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*, advises the Roman gallant to be attentive with the parasol, and it is possible that Roman *clientes* flattered their patrons with the parasol, on their way to the Forum. Whoever has seen a village-litigant in Ceylon, leading a train of *clientes*, and deferentially holding the umbrella over the head of an outstation proctor on his way from office to Court-house, will guess that the Sinhalese custom must have had a Roman analogy.

The parasol figures on the paintings at Ajanta (200 B.C.) as an emblem of royalty. It is there represented as decked with streamers and garlands of flowers, from which doubtless were derived the garlands of pearls on the "pearl umbrella," as used in Ceylon. The parasol figures also on the carvings of the stupa of Bharut, on the panels of the East gateway at Sanchi, and on the ancient Buddhist carvings of Java.

An Indian inscription of the 12th century speaks of the king's "white parasol raised on high, like a matchless second moon, overspreading the whole world." During the reign of Rájádhirája I Cholan (1018—1053 A.D.) the Pandyan combining with the Sinhalese and the Cherans, tried to throw off the Cholan yoke, but were defeated. The victor's inscription (*S. Ind. Inscriptions, III. 56*) states that he "drove down to the river Mullaiyar Sundara Pandya of great and undying fame, who lost in the stress of battle his royal white parasol, his fly-whisk of white yak's hair, and his throne." In 1844 when the Amir Abd-el-Cader was worsted by the French arms in Algeria, the loss of his parasol was the token of his defeat.

The pearl umbrella has been one of the most conspicuous emblems of royalty in Ceylon. "The white umbrella of dominion, studded with jewels and fringed with pearls, was borne aloft on a silver pole surmounting the throne," (see the *Mahávansa*, and E. W. Perera *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*.) In preparation for the arrival of the Relics, Mahinda tells Devánampiyatissa, "Go thou in the evening, mounted on thy state-elephant, bearing the white parasol" (*Mahávansa*). Just before the enshrining of the Relics, Dutthagámini is seen standing, "holding a golden casket under the white parasol" (*Mahávansa*).

"The parasol was the emblem most directly associated in the popular mind with duly constituted authority and kingly rank To bring the country 'under one parasol,' signified consolidating the government under one sovereignty." (John M. Senaveratne: *Royalty in Ancient Ceylon*).

According to Ehelepola, the pearl umbrella was in his time an emblem of royalty. It is still used by members of the Kaurava Vanse on ceremonial occasions.

It is probable that the use of pearls on the royal umbrella became *de regueur* in Ceylon, following the Pandyan precedent. The lost city of *Korkai*, once the capital of the Pandyan kings, was the centre of the pearl fishery, and is spoken of as a noted pearl emporium by Ptolemy. The prestige of the Pandyan kings was based on pearls, as that of the Sinhalese kings was based on gems. The kings of Madura until comparatively recent times styled themselves "Chiefs of Korkai."

(3) The Chamara.

The *chamara* or ceremonial fly-whisk is a royal symbol of great antiquity. A relief of Assur-bani-pal and his queen in the British Museum depicts attendants holding *chamara*. The ancient panel depicting a five-headed Naga discovered by Neville contains this emblem.

In India, the royal *chamara* were made of the white hair of the Tibetan *yak*, (see the Cholian inscription referred to above); and Barbosa (1514) describes the whisks used by the king of Ceylon as made of the "white hair of animals." Vimala Dharma I, offered a gilt-handled whisk as a royal emblem to Pinhao. A specimen of an ivory handled whisk may be seen among the ivory exhibits at the Colombo Museum. At the enshrining of the Relics, Samtusita is said to have held "the yak-tail whisk." (*Mahávansa*).

The *chamara* appears in the hands of the "daughters of the gods" attending on the higher gods, at Sanchi. It appears also on the paintings at Ajanta. Here, in addition to its use as a whisk, three *chamaras* at the end of a spear, figure as a special symbol, among the paraphernalia of war. This usage appears to have survived in the Turkish army till the 18th century. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in one of her letters describing the departure of a military expedition from Constantinople, speaks of the "pashas of three tails," and of these emblems being displayed in front of their tents as "ensigns of their power."

(4) The Chank.

The chank or conch-shell was in its origin a martial emblem. As a religious symbol it was particularly associated with Vishnu, who is declared to have used it in war. Its use as a trumpet in war is constantly spoken of in the *Mahabhárata*. Chanks as trumpets are depicted in a representation of a royal procession at Buddh-gaya on the occasion of Mahinda's mission with a branch of the bo-tree to Ceylon, carved on the East gateway at Sanchi. Father Barradas, a Jesuit missionary, mentions the use of chanks as trumpets at a Karáve wedding-procession at Moratuwa in 1613.

As an emblem of royalty, the chank figured on the royal shield, which was white, and bore this device, and was called the *sak paliha* (conch shield). "Not long after the king of the hill country raised a rebellion in the Hatara Korale, Dharma Prakrama Bahu (1505-1527) having heard of this, committed the army to his younger brother . . . and sent him to seize the hill country . . . The king of the hill country came to meet him, and in token of homage sent the pearl umbrella, the conch shield and chain of honour" (C.B.R.A.S. Journal xx, p. 187).

The chank was one of the emblems which adorned the canopy over the Ivory Throne at the Brazen Palace. It figures, with the sun and moon and the wheel of empire, on grants made by the Sinhalese Kings. It is mentioned as an emblem of royalty in Vimala Dharma's letter to Pinhao offering him a kingdom.

"Dom Joao of Candia to Simao Pinhao, King of the kingdoms below."

"Your honour will be king of the territories below, of which Raju was the lord. . . I for my part make this promise and there is no uncertainty as to my word. . . For your honour, a collar of Raju, two bracelets for each arm, all of precious stones, the honour of anklets for the feet, one pitcher and basin of gold, with a gilt palanquin; two white parasols, two white banners, a white shield, a chank, and chamara, all gilt." (Pieris, *Port, Era I*, 357).

(5) and (6) The Sword and Trident.

"The man represented on the flag as seated on an elephant is probably the chief of the tribe. . . The elephant has been associated with the caste on tombstones of the seventeenth century." (E. W. Perera *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.)

The chief bears in his right hand a sword, and in his left hand a trident. These again were emblems of royalty.

Barbosa (1514) describing a progress of the Sinhalese King, says, "when the king goes out of his palace, all his gentlemen are summoned who are in waiting. And one Brahman carries a sword and shield, and another a long gold sword in his right hand, and in his left hand a weapon which is like a *fleur de lis* (i.e. a trident). And on each side go two men with two fans, very long and round, and two others with two fans made of white tails of animals which are like horses."

The trident appears also on coins and royal inscriptions.

(7) The Torches.

The *dawalapandam* or daylight torches are still used by the Karáve people on ceremonial occasions. Barradas observes the custom ("candles lighted in the day-time"), at a Karáve wedding procession in 1613.

Barbosa speaks of the torches as part of the royal insignia, though he appears to have been under the impression that they were used only at night, having probably witnessed

a royal progress at night-time :—" And if the king goes by night, they carry four large chandeleers of iron, full of oil with many lighted wicks."

A specially interesting feature in the torches depicted on the Karáve flag is the fact that these are chandeleers with many lighted wicks, and each chandeleer carries five distinct lights. Neville (*Taprobanian*, April, 1887) makes some interesting observations on these torches with the five lights, which he saw used at a fire-passing ceremony in honour of Draupadi and the five Pandavas. The use of the caste-flag appears to have been an essential part of the ceremony, and at Chilaw, where the rite was practised in its purest form, Neville observed that the caste-flag was the *Makara* "representing the Varna-Kula."

This rite in honour of the five Pandavas was specially practised on the Coromandel Coast between Negapatam and Kurnool, (*Indian Antiquary* 1873), presumably by a people who had special traditional reasons for commemorating these heroes of the *Mahábhárata*. Contingents of Karáve soldiers reached Ceylon at different times from the Coromandel Coast, for instance, in the time of Parákrama Báhu VI., from Kanchipura, Kaveri-pattanam, and Kilikare, and there is little doubt that the ritual of the five Pandavas was introduced into Ceylon by them, the same clan-names, Varnakula, Kurukula, etc., occurring to this day among Karáve people in Ceylon, and on the Coromandel Coast, at Negapatam and elsewhere, (Thurston, "*Races of S. India*.")

With the custom of the five-wicked torch commemorating the five Pandavas, it seems pertinent to compare the Karáve custom, which was remarked by the Portuguese Jesuits at Chilaw in 1606, of having five *Patangatins* or chiefs to rule their communities (*Ceylon Antiquary*. July, 1916).

The torch (*sula*) occurs, often in conjunction with the fish, on a series of royal inscriptions in the Tissamaháráma district.

The use of the ceremonial torches was sometimes conceded by the king (e.g. on the Uggalboda *sannas* of the 15th century) to privileged individuals as a mark of high distinction.

(8) The Fans. (*Alawattam*)

The fan as an emblem of honour has a respectable antiquity. It occurs, with the whisk, on the relief of Assur-banipal and his queen referred to above. An Etruscan sarcophagus, now in a museum at Rome, holds a relief depicting a matron, with attendants on either side, one of whom holds a *hydria* on her head and a *cantharus* in her hand, another with a large fan, "exactly like the Indian fans of the present day," (Dennis. *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*).

This Etruscan use of the pitcher, beaker, and fan, calls to mind the offer of a pitcher and beaker of gold as royal emblems by a Sinhalese King, and the use of the pitcher and the fan among the emblems on the canopy over the Ivory Throne at the Brazen Palace.

A Gandhara relief, in the Lahore Museum, represents the Buddha attended by a *Vajrapani* holding a fan.

Barbosa's mention of the fans among the insignia of the king of Ceylon in 1514 has already been referred to. Pridham describes their use by the First Adigar at Kandy, the talipots, according to him being "large, triangular fans, ornamented with talc."

The use of the talipots and the lion flag were conceded by the king to a chief in the Uggalboda *sannas*, together with the use of the ceremonial torches.

(9) The Shields.

The shields depicted on the Karáve flag are white, and each bears a device in the centre. The "white discs" used at the Karáve wedding at Moratuwa in 1613, were either shields (shields in ancient Ceylon being always circular), or they were affixed to a pole and borne as maces, as represented on the Ajanta paintings. Barrados' account of the wedding is as follows:—

"The wedded pair come walking on white cloths, with which the ground is successively carpeted, and are covered above with others of the same kind, which the nearest relatives hold in their extended hands after the fashion of a canopy. The symbols that they carry are white discs, and candles lighted in the day-time, and certain shells which they keep playing on in place of bag-pipes. All these are Royal Symbols which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that being strangers they should inhabit the coasts of Ceilao, and none but they or those to whom they give leave can use them."

Apparently the wedding described here was one of the poorer class of Karáve people, the white cloth held as a canopy taking the place of the pearl umbrella.

Barrados goes on to observe, "what causes wonder in this and in other people of this kind, is, that although so wretched, miserable, and poor, they have so many points of honour, that they would rather die than go contrary to it."

The royal shield appears to have resembled the Karáve shield: "The royal shield was white, with the device of a conch-shell." (E. W. Perera. *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.)

De Barros speaks of the Crown Prince of Jaffna being conspicuous on a certain occasion by the white shield which he bore. (*C.B.R.A.S. Journal* Vol. XX.)

A Portuguese general had with him "as a badge of royalty" two Mudaliyars with white shields. (*C.B.R.A.S. Journal* XI. 574). The use of the white cloths, white canopy, and white shields at the Karáve wedding described above by Barrados is significant. "White was the royal colour. Its use was limited by sumptuary law to particular privileged individuals and classes." (E. W. Perera : *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*.)

(10) The Snake.

The snake on the Karáve flag has every appearance of being a full-blooded Cobra. Mr. E. W. Perera, (*Sinhalese Banners and Standards*), describes the snakes as *diya-naya* or water-snake.

A snake and a fish were included among the twenty-one emblems of an Indian King (*Gazetteer of India*, Madura District.)

Some authorities omit the snake, and include *two river fishes* among the emblems of an Indian King. (See the *Dict. of European Mission*. Pondicherry.)

Mr. E. W. Perera has apparently, either from a slight confusion of ideas or a strong sense of economic justice, transferred the river-attribute of one of the fishes to the snake.

(11) The Fish.

The fish was one of the emblems of royalty in India. Among the Hindus, the fish was regarded as a sacred animal. "One of the principal articles of the Hindu faith is that

relating to the ten *avatars* or incarnations of Vishnu. The first and earliest is called the *Matsya-avatar*, that is the incarnation of the god in the form of a fish" (Dubois : *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.*)

"The *Matsya-Purana* opens with an account of the *matsya* or fish . . . and deals with the creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders," (Dutt. *Civilization in Ancient India.*)

A people called the Matsyas figure prominently in the wars of the *Mahábhárata*, and the reigning family of Pandya claimed to be a branch of the *Matsya-vansa*; hence the origin of fish as the special emblem of the Pandyan Kings.

The Dravidian word for fish is *Min*. The Pandyan Kings of Madura took the title of *Minavan* or "He of the Fish or Fisher" The Pandyan tutelary goddess was *Minakshi*, the fish-eyed goddess (cf. the Roman goddess of wisdom, *Minerva*, and the Etruscan *Minerva*), to whom a temple was built in Ceylon by Vijaya when he married a Pandyan princess. A coin of Dévānampiyatissa, found at Tissamahárama, bears the fish, torch, and trident. The fish (often in conjunction with the torch) occurs as a royal emblem on a series of rock inscriptions in Ceylon, described and deciphered at length by Neville in the *Taprobanian*, and by Parker in *Ancient Ceylon*. On one of these inscriptions, discovered at Lower Bintenne, the fish appears to be particularly complete, being clearly drawn, according to Neville, with "pectoral and dorsal fin, tail, eye, and gill."

"The use of the royal arms," observes Neville, referring to the fish and torch emblems, "is unknown to me to occur anywhere except in grants of the paramount reigning princes." (*Taprobanian*. June 1886).

The famous Stone Lion, from Polonnaruwa, now in the Colombo Museum, which formed part of the Lion Throne at Polonnaruwa, bears an inscription stating that the throne was built for Nissanka Malla, Lankeswara or Overlord of Ceylon, and terminating with the figure of a fish, in token of paramount royalty.

(12) The Sun-Flowers.

"The sun-flower was the badge of the royal house." (E. W. Perera. *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*) The royal line belonged to the *Suriyavansa* "that royal race of the caste of the sun . . . none could inherit the empire of Ceilao except those that came directly from that caste. Of this caste came directly the princes whom the king of Cotta married to his daughter, though he was poor and without a heritage" (De Couto).

Surya (sun) occurs so frequently as a suffix in family-names. nearly exclusively the family-names of members of the Kaurava Vansa, that this suffix is at the present day practically an indication of caste. Karáve family-names ending in *Suriya* range over the alphabet from *Abesuriya* to *Wickramasuriya*.

(13) The Sprigs.

The significance of the leafed sprig on the Karáve flag is a matter for conjecture. I suggest that the sprig stands for the wreath of margosa which Pandyan warriors wore round their heads when they went to war (*Gazetteer of India: Madura District*) or, more probably, the allusion is to the tradition preserved in the *Janawansa*, that Karáve soldiers accompanied Mahinda and Sanghamitta on their mission to Ceylon with a branch of the bo-tree at Buddh-gaya.

(14) The Lotus.

The emblems on the flag appear on a ground *semé* with the lotus. "The lotus was the badge of the nation." (E. W. Perera: *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*). The lotus is without doubt the most frequent motif in Eastern decorative art. It appears unceasingly in the art of Egypt, Assyria, and India, and was adopted also by the decorative artists of Etruria and Greece. In Egyptian art it was associated with the idea of immortality, in the Buddhist art of India with the idea of miraculous birth. It has been so highly and so variously charged with significance, and so frequently used, that in time it degenerated into cant, became devoid of symbolic meaning altogether, and is employed most often purely for decorative effect.

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Here remains to be considered the collective significance of the insignia of the Kaurava Vansa in the light of the history of this people in India and in Ceylon. One of the oldest traditions is recorded in a version of the *Janavansa* (see the *Taprobanian* : April 1886).

"After time had thus passed in the 207th year after our Buddha had gone to Nirwana, at the time when Devanipiyatissa Narendraya was reigning over Lakdiva, Dharmasoka Narapati of Dambadiva sending to Sri Lankaduipa together with the victorious Maha Bodin and the prince and princess Mahinda and Sanghamitta, archers employed in bow-craft and people accustomed to fight with swords, javelins, pikes, shields and the like, who said, 'the pearl umbrellas, white canopies and chamara are our services—while the princes our kin are going it is not proper for us to stay'—forty-nine in number these also came for the Bo Mandala business... Thus because princes who attained the kingship from time to time belonged to this race and attained it, Bhuwanekha Bahu on account of the dangers that arose from foreign enemies, bringing to this Lakdiva from the city Kanchipura, ninety-five of them in number, showed them royal kindness and established them there. From that time, keeping everything that was needed, appointing the five doers of service, he protected them."

This statement in the *Janavansa* explains quite coherently the possession and use of the royal emblems by the Kaurava Vansa, confirmed as that statement is by the assertion of Barrados in 1613 that these were royal symbols "which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that, being strangers, they should inhabit the coast of Ceilao." Pridham represents the "five doers of service" as attached to the Kaurava Vansa, confirming the ancient tradition in this particular.

The *Janavansa* statement that "princes who attained the kingship from time to time belonged to this race and attained it," implies that the Karáve people are Kshatriyas, and the concession of the royal symbols by the former kings, spoken of by Barrados, implies, in my opinion, not so much a bestowal of the symbols, as permission, in view of the strict local sumptuary laws, to use in Ceylon symbols to which Karáve warriors were already entitled, identical emblems being used by kindred people in India.

I have already stated my reasons for believing that the use of the sun and moon emblems was the privilege of descent rather than the reward of merit. Neville speaks of the *Makara* as the special emblem of the Varnakula which, like the Kurukula, is merely a clan of the Kaurava Vansa, in India as in Ceylon. The probability therefore is that the *Makara* flag, too, which tradition asserts was bestowed with the sun and moon flag by the king on the tribe, was really brought over by the clan to whom it belonged.

Members of the Varnakula, and the Kurukula (a *Varnakula-thungen* and a *Kurukula-Naik*) appear to have occupied the throne of Madura as late as the 12th century A. D. (Taylor,

Indian Hist. Mss. I, 201). It would seem that as late as the 17th century Karave chieftains ruled semi-independent principalities in South India (see Hunter "*History of Indian Peoples*," for the independence of the S. Indian chiefs or nayiks of the 16th century); and some of the Karave chiefs in South India were powerful enough even in the 17th century for the kings of Ceylon to value their assistance in war.

In 1618 when the "pugnacious Carias" (Pieris: *Port: Era*) of Ceylon were harassing Chankili, King of Jaffna, the king applied for assistance to the Naique of Tanjore, who sent to his assistance one of the pugnacious Carias of India, Varna Kulatta (i.e. Varnakula Aditta), "the chief of the Carias, the most warlike race in the Naique's dominions" (De Queiroz). Two years later the same chief reappeared off the coast of Jaffna, again in a pugnacious mood, Faria Y. Sousa referring to him as the "Chem Naique, that king of the Carias who had previously come to Chankili's assistance."

In 1656 while another Varnakula Aditta, Manoel d'Anderado, one of the pugnacious Carias of Ceylon, (whose full name was Varnakula Addita Arsa Nilaitte—a name borne also by the Rowels, the Lowes, and the Tamels, Karave families of Chilaw), was guarding the pass at Kalutara with his lascoreens, for the Dutch against the King's troops, the King Rájasiṅha, on his side made overtures for assistance to one of the pugnacious Carias of India—the Patangatin of Coquille (Baldaeus). Two years later, the same Manuel D'Anderado "signalized himself before Jaffnapatam" (Baldaeus). These incidents of the 17th century symbolize in epitome the history of the Karave people in previous centuries, from the legendary days of the despatch by a Cholian King of an expedition "under a Kurukula captain" to obtain snake-gems from Ceylon for Kanakai, the bride of Kovalan, to the most recent times. From the 6th to the 8th century, when, according to the historian Dharma Kirtti, Ceylon was in the throes of civil war, three rival houses contending for the throne, each importing numbers of soldiers from S. India, Kurukula and Varnakula captains and men must have been in great demand.

By the end of the 8th century, Ceylon was full of these "Demillos" demanding the highest offices in the state, and apparently getting them, the Sinhalese being too weak to resist. In the 12th century it was a chief named Aditta, (Bell: *Kegalla Report*, p. 74), a Tamil Commander of high rank in the army, who led a great naval expedition to Burmah, when the coast of Ceylon "was like one great workshop, busied with the constant building of ships." There can be little doubt that it was Karave men who manned this expedition, the Sinhalese, though an island race, being strangely averse to sea-faring.

Two centuries later an expedition led by Karave chieftains from the Coromandel coast rescued the fort of Puttalam for the Sinhalese King. Two centuries later, on the Sinhalese King's conversion to Christianity, he appears to have relied on Karave soldiers for the security of his throne. The *pescadores* or "fishermen" are very prominent in the stirring times of the Portuguese, fighting on one side or the other, or on both by turns. One *pescador* by his "skill in war" on the royal side rose to be Prince of Uva and a regent of the kingdom. (See Baldaeus for the text of the royal patent of 1613 appointing Kuruvita-rála, Prince of Uva, a Regent, the King on his death-bed ordering all the estates of the realm to take the oath of allegiance to the two Regents till the Crown Prince came of age and "to show them the same respect as to our own person.")

A number of Karave gé names which have come down from these times indicate their owners' military occupation at this period, such as *Totahéwage*, *Guardiahéwage*, *Guardiawasan*, *Marakkalahéwage*, *Héwákodikárage*, etc.

In Dutch times, the Karáve people stubbornly remaining Catholic, were not in favour, and their honours and privileges were curtailed. But Dutch governors still instructed their lieutenants that "the Carias . . . being the most courageous, are to be employed for all purposes of war," and some descendants of the earlier chieftains, such as the Anderados, the Fonsekas, and the Rowels, continued to remain in power and prominence.

In British times there has been no fighting in Ceylon, but the Karáve people continues to give evidence of possessing what Hunter describes as "the inexhaustible vitality of the military races of India."

It will be noticed that most of the Portuguese writers (De Queiroz, Barrados, etc.) and some Sinhalese writers, speak of the Karáve people as a race. And it will be evident that the Kaurava Vanse, strictly speaking, is not so much a caste as a tribe, consisting, as we have seen, of a number of clans. Dr. Paul Pieris has drawn attention to one of the tribal characteristics of the Karáve people—its tendency, even at the present day, "to act as a corporate whole." My view of the Karáve flag is that it is a tribal flag, its royal emblems indicating the Kshatriya origin of the tribe. But if, as Mr. E. W. Perera seems to suggest, the flag is indicative of occupation on a caste basis, the only occupation indicated by the emblems on this flag is the occupation of the Kshatriyas or Warriors.



NORTHERN PROVINCE NOTES.

POPULAR CULTS OF THE JAFFNA DISTRICT.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

THE favourite god is Ganesa, generally known as Piḷḷaiyár, also called Vikinasparam, eldest son of Siva. He is beneficent and is invoked in every act of worship. He has temples in many places.

Next comes his brother Kantasámi Katragama or Subramaniam, the god of War, with his two wives, Vallinayaki and Tévanayaki. In temples dedicated to Siva, the wife of Siva, Parupati, and their children are also provided with shrines, the chief being assigned to Piḷḷaiyár and Kantasámi. Their rude brothers, Vairavar, Virupattiran and Aiyanar with their respective wives often have more humble shrines, but not in all temples of Siva. One name for Vairavar is *Chadai Ándi*, "the Hairy Beggar." He is also called *Áti* "Beginning."

Chetty caste people worship Kaṇṇakai the wife of Kovalan. She was deified for her virtue and miraculous powers. There is a well-known shrine of hers, which attracts many pilgrims at the time of her festival,¹ near Mullaittivu. In the Jaffna District she has temples at Tanakkára Kurichchi, Mukamálai (3,) and Pulopala.

There are temples of Vishnu at only four places in the Jaffna District, viz., at Punnalai, Malvil (in Pachchilapalli near Iyakachchi), Vannarponnai and Vallipuram. He is known as Perumal or Kristna. His wife Lechmi is also worshipped at these temples.

The god of the Dhoby caste is Periya Tampiraṇ or Aiyanar. He has temples at Tanakkára Kurichchi, Katkivalan and Palávattai.

The Mukkuvár people have a village near Elephant Pass called Kurnichátivu. They like the Dhobies have Aiyanar for their patron.

The Koviýár caste people worship Katta Várayár; who is perhaps the same as Muttu-Várayár who has a temple at Palávattai; the Pallar, Annamár (Annakar), who were eunuchs in charge of Vanni provinces.

The Pariahs have in special veneration as their tutelary deities these same Vanni princesses (Nachchimár) who have temples at Taḍḍuvan Koddi and at Tanakkára Kurichchi.

The Nachchimar were virgins of the Vanni, seven of whom committed suicide so as not to fall into the enemy's hands. There is a tank near Oḍḍusuḍḍáṇ in the Mullaittivu District the name of which is connected with this story. Their guards, the Annakar or Annamar, who were probably eunuchs, committed suicide with them and have also been deified. But why the Paraiyar should have appropriated the princesses and the Paḷlar their servants I do not know.

Then there is the goddess Amman or Mári Amman who has a temple at Aráli known as "Mátavin Kovil, "Temple of the Mother." The celebrated Vanni place of pilgrimage, Madu, is known to Hindus as sacred to the same goddess. The resemblance of the name "Mari"

1. There is an account of this festival in *Folklore*. Vol. VI. in an article called "Folklore from North Ceylon" contributed by the present writer.

(Amman) to that of the B. V. Mary is extraordinary. The Cathedral at Jaffna is also known as "Mítavin Kovil." There is a Mari Amman temple at Vanni Vilankulam. Tunilimadam possesses a temple of Amman.

I suppose she is the same deity that in her more sinister manifestation is worshipped as Káli. In the Madras Presidency Mari Amman is the goddess of small-pox. There is a temple at Tonḍaimañáru dedicated to Pattirakáli, i.e. "Guardian Káli," and another with the same title at Palavattai. At the former place too is another Káli temple, that of Viramá Káli, which is said to have been built by a Jaffna King, Para Rasasekara. And at Tunnalai South Káli is designated "Mutaliyaval."

The goddess of midwives is Pechchi Amman (Pechchi=petti). She is probably a deified grandmother. She has the care of women in child-birth and of newly-born infants. She has, I believe, a temple or shrine somewhere in the Peninsula. In Madras a goddess called Peddamma, "the Great Mother," is worshipped.

In addition to the goddess Pechchi Amman who has to be invoked, there is an unclean spirit, Kóli, who has to be propitiated on the fifth day after a confinement, but she has no shrine.

There are two or three temples of Hanuman (Anuman), the monkey god, who also has his quarters in all Vishnu (Kidnan) temples, of which he is the guardian as Vairavar is of temples of Siva. People are supposed to be possessed by him, and devils are exorcised with his help.

There is a temple on the island of Nayinativu which is commonly spoken of as the Snake temple, but the principal deity worshipped there is not a snake god, but a goddess, snakes holding a secondary place in the worship. Náka Tampiran is a manifestation of Siva's wife. One of Siva's ornaments, as also one of his wife's ornaments, is the cobra, but the five-headed cobra is not the vehicle of either, but of Vishnu.

While on the subject of the vehicles appropriated to the different deities, it may be stated that the vehicle of Siva is a horse or bull, that of Káli the lion or cow (Karampasi) and that of Kantasámi the peacock or *Kadumba* (a demon).

There are Náka Tampiraṅ temples also at Kopai North and Náváli.

There are a few trees and groves which Perumpatai, "The Great Army," and Muni, the hermit, are supposed to haunt. Shrines of the former are to be found at Tunilamadam and Kurinchátivu, both villages near Elephant-Pass. There is a Muni shrine on the Jaffna fort glacis, and the hermit is supposed to haunt the shades of the big banyan tree in the Fort. He has another shrine on the Nantavil road, and at Chávakachcheri he shares a grove with Birumar. The Fort glacis shrine owes its origin to men of the native regiments of Ceylon.

At Kondavil there is a "Mutaliyár" temple belonging to the carpenter caste. Here the *vél* or javelin of Kantasámi is the object of worship. How the name originated is a matter of conjecture. Possibly a Mudaliyar, as large as life but no larger, built the temple.

There is a temple, or rather a tree, at Veḍḍukáḍu dedicated to Manamperiyár, "the Great-minded" or "the Magnanimous." There is no image of this personage or abstraction, only the tree is worshipped.

No doubt there is some deification of persons going on. At Valavedditurai there is a temple dedicated to Kappal Uḍaiyavar, "The Owner of Vessels," who would certainly be revered in a place like this where there are many dhonies built and maintained for trade with the coast.

At Tunnalai South is a temple dedicated to Pútu Ráyar, which means a deified giant or King of giants. The word "pútum" curiously enough, also means a dwarf. There is another temple with this dedication at Jaffna, north of Nallur temple.

The village of Taḍḍuvankoddi has a variety of shrines, viz of :

Viraputtiran

Vairavar

Karipuliyān (Kari means (1) an elephant (2) charcoal)

Nachchimár

Viraman

Pillaiyár

Sadai ((or Chadai) Vairavar (*Sadai* means "long-haired."))

Pilgrimages are enjoined by the *Puranas* and the sacred places of Kilali in the Jaffna District, Madu in the Vanni (or rather in the Mannar District) and St. Anna's in the Puttalam District attract crowds of Hindu as well as of Christian pilgrims.

There is a sacred bathing place of the Hindus at Kírimalai near Kankesanturai. It is considered sacred by them because it is a *Sankámam* or place of meeting. For along the shore are fresh-water springs and because here the water mingles with the salt-water of the sea, the meeting of the waters serves as an emblem of the Siva and the Sabti principals of God. The water too has a medicinal value.

A bath in it is deemed meritorious, especially at particular times of the year. The New Moon Day of the month of *Adi* (July-August) is one. It is in *Adi* that the sun starts on his southern course (*tadchináyagam*.) It is on this account that the people worship the sun immediately after they have bathed. This New Moon Day is besides the last day of the festival carried on at Máviḍḍapuram temple, and the god of this temple is therefore taken on this day to Kirimalai to bathe. The distance is about two miles.

Kirimalai has a tradition of its own. It was the hermitage of a sage named Naguli Muni, the "Mongoose Sage." There was a very ancient shrine at this spot dedicated to Siva, which is referred to in ancient Sanskrit classics. It was demolished by the Portuguese. The present temple was built about 40 years ago.

The Máviḍḍapuram temple shared the same fate, but was rebuilt much longer ago. The Pándiyan princess with the horse's head was cured through bathing at Kirimalai.

The images at the temple of Kandasami at Máviḍḍapuram were brought from India and landed at Kánkesenturai. Hence the name of the place. Kángesan=Subramanaya=Kantasámi.

The direct road connecting Máviḍḍapuram and Kirimalai was opened by Mr. P. A. Dyke, the Government Agent, as a result of his personally witnessing the inconvenience to which the people were put from having to walk from one place to the other.

Mention has been made of Hindu hermits. There are also Muhammedan as well as Christian and Buddhist. There is or was a Muhammedan hermit living at Kutiraimalai—the promontory so much in evidence at the Pearl Fisheries held at Marichchukadḍi. He has a mosque on the coast, visible from the sea and decorated with flags. He wanders about Musali and the Vanni. There are also Muhammedan pilgrims or fakirs. I came across one in the Central Province in 1909 who was on his way to Nagur in India. He was carrying two horned coconuts on which were strung silver figures representing hares and other objects—votive offerings to be presented there. This however is rather a digression as this paper is concerned with the cults of Jaffna and the Hindus.

It may be a subject of remark, too, that I have said nothing about the greater temples of Jaffna and the Peninsula dedicated to Siva and the principal gods. These were in fact so obvious and everyday at the time I made these slight notes that I made none about them.

Pearl Diving. When I was Superintendent of the Pearl Fishery of 1904 I had some divers timed while under water, with the following results.—

The longest time under water was 85 seconds.

The next " " " " 75 "

The third " " " " 36 "

The first man brought up 43 oysters during one dive. He was an Arab; the last a Tuticorin man.

Searching for Pearls. While engaged in this occupation squatting on the bulwark (if one may use the term) or edge of a *ballam* filled with rotten oysters in sea-water, none of the men is allowed to take his hands out of the mass for fear he should swallow a pearl. Lest a pearl should be stolen no one either is allowed to talk while opening oysters.

The Chundi Muttu. This is the mythical pearl of great price that everyone hopes to find,—the "Cock and Hen Pearl." To ascertain its value (when found) it must be flicked off the finger and thumb like a marble, but vertically instead of horizontally. A pyramid of *pagodas* piled to the height the pearl goes will give the value. (This is what I was told by a Sinhalese man at one of the Pearl Fisheries. It is of course of the genus of those some allegorical sayings which tell one to do something that is impossible if you want to obtain the impossible.)

Threshing in Punaryn. This was done on one occasion when I watched the operation by six buffaloes tied together round a stake, with the largest, oldest and most experienced animal next to the stake and the younger ones outside. A boy was driving them round and round it and he kept shouting to them what sounded to me like "*vali*" "*vali*," but which really I suppose was "*poli*," "*poli*."

"*Poli*" is a word used in connection with the threshing of paddy, by both Tamils and Sinhalese, I believe.

It is not correct, as stated sometimes in books or elsewhere, that buffaloes or cattle refrain from micturating while engaged in this work. They have been given too much credit for delicacy of feeling in this respect. As buffaloes cannot work in a hot sun, threshing is done on moon-light nights.

The Well of Puttur (Folklore)—If a stick is thrown into the well at Puttur, it will sink and come out eventually at Kirimalai.

New Rice in the Vanni. In the Vanni when the new rice is first eaten, mango leaves are tied to the roof of the *mal* or *madam*.

Palmyra Trees.—These, like the *Rambuttan*, are "male" and "female." There is a belief in Jaffna that male Palmyra trees sometimes become female. Is there any possibility of this from a scientific point of view?

Fashions in Hair.—The men of Jaffna and the Vanni before marriage wear their hair in a knot on one side of the top of the head, and the rest of the head is not shaved. After marriage, the knot is worn on to the top of the head inclining to the back—what I have heard described as "the backside of the head,"—and the rest of the head is shaved.

Custom at Cremation.—One of the customs at a cremation in Jaffna is the carrying round the pyre, by a near relative of the deceased, of a pot filled with water. It is carried round three times and at the end (or perhaps the beginning) of each circuit a hole is knocked in the pot. When the last has been made, the officiant lets the pot fall off his shoulder behind him and walks away home without looking back. (This is the ceremony as seen by myself.)

There is a custom something similar to this observed "near the Macedonian front" viz. "the breaking of a pitcher on the threshold when the funeral leaves the house." (*Daily Mail* of 27 May, 1920.)



PARÁKRAMA BÁHU THE GREAT.

THE SPYING OUT THE CONDITION OF THE UPPER PROVINCES.

BY HARRY STOREY.

THE second part of the *Mahāvansa* contains altogether 377 pages recording the reigns of 110 Kings and, of this total number of pages, no less than 147 are devoted to the history of Parákrama Báhu. No other King, either in the first part or the second part, has more than a fraction of that space devoted to his reign.

A note-worthy point in Parákrama Báhu's record is the amazing amount of detail devoted to the various wars and battles. In particular his second invasion of S. India is given in such minute detail that I am inclined to think the recording was, in the main, done by a layman and not by a priest.

I do not, however, propose to deal with the whole of Parákrama Báhu's history ; my object being, principally, to comment on his remarkable series of journeys, when he was spying out the land with a view to eventually bringing the Island "under one canopy of dominion" which was his fixed ambition.

At the time of Parákrama Báhu's birth the country was in a very unsatisfactory condition. On the death of Vijaya Báhu, who had reigned for 55 years, his sister Mittá, her three sons and her ministers, combined to keep the news from the late King's eldest son Vikrama Báhu, who was, at that time, governor of the Rohana. Moreover, they placed Vijaya Báhu's younger brother, Jaya Báhu, on the throne—a man apparently of no account through whom they intended to rule the country.

Vikrama Báhu, however, in spite of combined efforts on the part of his cousins to prevent him, fought his way through, from his capital in the Southern Province, to Polonnaruwa where he carried out the obsequies over his father's grave and then took possession of the "King's Country" which consisted, approximately, of the Northern Province, and North-Central Province.

His three cousins promptly divided the rest of the country amongst themselves—Kitti Siri Megha getting the "country of twelve thousand villages" (Giruwa Pattu) and probably Rohana as well; Siri Vallabha got "Atthasahassa," which may be Atakalan and Kolonna Kóralés; whilst Mánabharana, the eldest brother, took unto himself the "Southern District." This is not the southern part of Ceylon as assumed by the translator of the *Mahāvansa*, but, as pointed out to me by Mr. H. W. Codrington, refers to the districts south of the "King's Country" and may be identified as approximately, the North-Western Province, part of the Central Province (if not all of it), the whole of the Sabaragamuwa Province, and the Western Province.

The three brothers made another attempt to destroy Vikrama Báhu, but he defeated them and also defeated an invasion from South India. After this the three brothers and their cousin Vikrama Báhu lived peacefully for some years, each governing his own territory to suit himself—a condition that was anything but good for the country as a whole. None of these three brothers had a son at this time and the ex-king Jaya Báhu and his queen had both died.

Eventually, however, heralded by wonderful dreams and omens, a son was born to Máná-bharana's queen Ratanávali "at a lucky hour when the stars were favourable" and the birth was followed by many marvellous manifestations. The child was named Parákrama Báhu, which signified "that he would have an arm endued with strength to humble his enemies."

There seems little doubt, that, in consequence of the marvels and omens at the time of his birth, news of which would fly through the whole island, Parákrama Báhu was always regarded with a certain amount of superstitious awe by everybody. His father's cousin, Vikrama Báhu, even offered to adopt him and bring him up as his heir and successor to his kingdom, but Máná-bharana declined with thanks.

A few years later Máná-bharana died and his two brothers, Kitti Sirimegha and Siri Vallabha, "made haste each from his own country and caused the funeral rite to be performed." After this Kitti took possession of Máná-bharana's country and made over his own previous charge to Siri Vallabha in addition to what the latter already possessed. Kitti did not take up his residence at Máná-bharana's capital but at a village known as Sánkhatthali, which was probably 10-15 miles S., or S. E., or S. W. of Kurunégala.

The birth place of Parákrama Báhu is somewhat obscure. It is merely mentioned as the village "Punkhagáma" and there is no means of identifying it beyond the fact that, later, when he was in possession of his late father's kingdom, Parákrama Báhu built a large dágoa on the site thereof. There is also a statement "that the fields (in that part of the country) might yield increased harvests," Parákrama Báhu repaired the tanks "Mahágallaka" and "Tálagalla" and made anicuts in rivers issuing from the mountains such as the Deduru Oya and tributaries.

This makes it probable that Punkhagáma lay in a district N.E., N., or N.W. of Kurunégala.

On the death of his father Parákrama Báhu was sent, with his mother and sisters, to live with his uncle Siri Vallabha in the Southern Province and was brought up with great care. Vikrama Báhu eventually died after having held the "King's country" (though never anointed as king of Ceylon) for 21 years and his son Gaja Báhu succeeded him. Kitti Sirimegha and Siri Vallabha, however, at once started to invade that part of the country, but Gaja Báhu attacked each in turn before they could unite and defeated them both "and after that time the three kings lived, each in his own country, in friendship with each other."

By this time Parákrama Báhu had become a young man of ideas and strong character. He decided that he would visit the country in which he was born, so set forth with (probably) a suitable retinue and journeyed to "Sankhatthali" where he was received with open arms by his uncle Kitti Sirimegha and treated like a son. He seems to have lived with this uncle for some considerable time, but the *Mahávaṅsa* distinctly states "that he valued not even as much as grass the great loving kindness shown to him by his father" (uncle) as his mind was firmly set on getting eventual possession of the whole island.

To this end he finally left his uncle's house secretly, by night, having previously sent off his own friends and followers to meet him at a certain place known as "Piliṅvatthu," not far from the village known as "Badalatthali"—this latter place being almost certainly identifiable as the modern "Batalagoda," a few miles N. E. of Kurunégala.

On arrival he found that only a few of his adherents had come, and was very wroth; but those who had assembled lectured him seriously and pointed out that he might not fear death or punishment but other people did; that he had no wealth or property wherewith to help on his enterprise but that even then they few had stuck to him, having faith in him in spite of what his uncle might mete out to him and them in the future, but their hearts "were sore troubled, distrusting each other greatly."

Parákrama Báhu took it in good part and cheered them up, telling them he was going to do a deed that very day that would make men fear him. He then proceeded to the village Badalattal where he made an early-morning call on Sankha, the officer in charge of the northern frontier forces of that district.

Judging by the events connected with this visit, there is little doubt as to the "deed" Parákrama Báhu intended to do. He must have told his followers that Sankha would prevent their further progress when he found they had no permit from the king, and Parákrama Báhu must have warned them to be ready to act on a sign from himself. We read that the general received him with every mark of respect and, when making his obeisance, Parákrama Báhu's followers looked at their master to know if now was the time to kill the man, but Parákrama restrained them by a sign.

The general then entertained the prince alone in his house whilst he sent messengers to the king informing him of what had happened. This proceeding, becoming known to Parákrama Báhu, gave him the very pretext he was seeking, so he at once caused his followers to murder the unfortunate general. A bit of a tumult followed in which a soldier of the general's was slain, but Parákrama Báhu managed to quell all trouble and then proceeded to loot the general's property most thoroughly. In order to see what his uncle would do he stayed on some days at that place, but the old king did nothing, evidently thinking the prince would return and sue for forgiveness.

Parákrama Báhu in the meantime had so worked on the people, that, remembering his birth and the fact that the principality was originally his father's, they volunteered to march on his uncle's capital and place Parákrama Báhu on the throne, but he restrained them.

A few days later he set out on his travels again in order to go to the "village Buddhagáma which is near the rock Siridevi." On his way the villagers of "Siriyála" attempted to capture him but he beat them off.

The identification of Buddhagáma is a matter of some interest. There is a group of ruins in Matale district some 3 miles N. W. of Lenadora village (on the north road) known as "Menik-dena-Nuwara," and in these ruins Mr. H.C.P. Bell had found an inscription referring to the grant of some land to the "Buddhagama vihāre," which Mr. Bell conjectured might be the ancient name of this monastery.

There remained, however, "the rock Siridevi" to account for, but Mr. H. W. Codrington discovered that Major Forbes in his "*Eleven years in Ceylon*," when visiting the above-mentioned ruins, states that the mountain above the ruins was formerly known as "Heereedewatakande," which most effectually identifies the rock Siridevi and Menik-dena-nuwara as "Buddhagáma." Parákrama Báhu remained there for some days although the people round about made another ineffectual attempt to capture him.

Whilst at Buddhagáma he sent word to one Gokaṇṇa Nagaragiri, one of King Gaja Báhu's generals who dwelt at Kalawewa in charge of the frontier, to come and see him. The general obeyed, not knowing quite what to make of things, and was kindly received and given many presents (out of the unfortunate Sankha's loot !); but he was evidently very uneasy, knowing what had happened to Saṅkha, so, in the night, he arose and fled, as did all his followers.

By this time old Kitti Sirimegha had become alive to the seriousness of the situation; so he sent forth detachments with orders to capture the prince at all costs—altogether ten detachments set out each in charge of an officer. Parákrama Báhu, finding Buddhagáma not a very easy place in which to defend himself, moved down to "Saraggáma in the district of Mahátíla," which I have little hesitation in identifying as "Selegama" in Matale North, and the various parties sent in pursuit of him combined together and proceeded to attack him there.

This was exactly what Parákrama Báhu had intended as the attackers could only approach him by what may be now called the "Yattewatte Pass" and there he ambuscaded and utterly defeated them. He then departed from there and went to Bodhigáma, which Mr. Codrington has identified, and, I think, rightly as a village of the same name close to the modern Rattota in Matale East. He remained there a few days though again ineffectually attacked by his uncle's forces.

From there he proceeded to "the village Ranambura in the country of Laṅkáppabbata," which Mr. Codrington identifies as the present village of Ranamure in Laggala district. The prince stayed there several days to rest his men though he himself "wearied not."

By this time his uncle's men had got tired of chasing him though evidently afraid to return and report failure, so Parákrama Báhu decided to attack in his turn. He got news that the enemy were near a village known as "Khiravápi" in the "Ambavana" district, which is almost certainly Ambane district on the Ambanganga, N. E. of Matale; so he made a forced march to the place and surprised them by a night attack, thoroughly routing them with considerable slaughter.

He then proceeded to "Návágiri" where he rested. The identification of this place is uncertain but I am of opinion, that, at most of his stopping places, Parákrama Báhu put up at the local viháre in order not to inconvenience the villagers whom it would be his policy to conciliate. In this way he lodged at Buddhagama viháre, and, no doubt, did the same at Selegama and Bodhigama, whilst there are certainly the ruins of a viháre at Ranamure. That being so I am strongly inclined to identify "Návágiri" as the present ruins of a considerable monastery now known as "Nuwaragala kanda," about 12 miles south of Sigiri and clearly on his line of march towards Polonnaruwa, his next objective. At Návágiri a final but fruitless attempt was made to capture him by his uncle's forces, which, however, very nearly succeeded by reason of the cowardice of his own followers.

After this he entered a district known as "Janapada" in his cousin Gaja Báhu's Kingdom. This must have been a district some miles south of Minneriya tank, but there are no means of identification now.

By this time Gaja Báhu had heard of his approach and was greatly troubled, but, after consulting with his ministers, he sent presents to Parákrama Báhu and an invitation to visit him (Gaja Báhu) at Polonnaruwa. Parákrama accepted the invitation and the king went forth personally to meet him with great respect—even accommodating him on his own elephant, and entertaining him at his palace.

They became very friendly which the utterly unscrupulous and ungrateful Parákrama Báhu repaid by "spying out the land" most thoroughly in regular "Hun" fashion, and doing his best to find out who were friendly to the king and who were not. He made himself very friendly and affable to all, performing various acts of skill and courage during his stay, with the result that he became so popular as to excite the king's jealousy.

Becoming aware of this Parákrama Báhu decided that it was time for him to go as he considered it would not be good policy to seize that part of the kingdom then, though he had no doubt he could do it with very little trouble. He took formal leave of the king one evening saying smilingly:

"It is needful that I should go to the sub-king's country and see my father and come back hither: I must depart also this very day and that forthwith."

The king did not see the hidden meaning of the "come back hither," but, merely thinking Parákrama Báhu meant that he was returning home, bade him a pleasant farewell. Even then Parákrama Báhu did not leave openly but strolled, apparently aimlessly, through the city until night had well set in and then departed finally by moonlight. After going a few miles he rested by the tank "Khajjúraka Vaddhamána" to see if anyone had been sent in pursuit.

I think I have been able to identify this tank. In chapter LXXIX. V. 57 Parákrama Báhu is stated to have caused a channel to be cut from Giritella tank to the above tank, and a modern irrigation map shows that a channel existed from Giritella to an abandoned tank some 3 miles west of Topáwewa (Polonnaruwa) known as Maradankadawela. This seems to me a perfectly satisfactory identification as we know the king's palace lay practically at the south end of the city, so that Parákrama Báhu, in strolling through the city, must have travelled north until clear of Topáwewa and would then strike westward on his journey.

By this time he had evidently picked up some of his followers, for they are mentioned as doing a bit of a bolt soon after this when they met a bear which Parákrama Báhu slew with his sword. They then "crossed Silákhanda," which may well be the range of hills running due north from the Matale foothills to Kanthalay known now as Sudukande or Kónduruwáwe hills.

From there they passed through a village (unidentified) named Opanámika, finally reaching "Mangalaba" where the bulk of Parákrama Báhu's followers had evidently assembled to meet him. "Mangalaba" would be worth finding as it figures largely in the later fighting. Mr. Codrington modernizes the name as "Makuleba" and told me a Minneriya man informed him that a place so named existed between Kónduruwáwe (on the Yodi Ela south of Minneriya 10-12 miles) and a former hamlet known as Puwakgaha-ulpota some 15 miles further south.

Being at Polonnaruwa lately, and in the neighbourhood of Kotawela (about 8 miles S. of Polonnaruwa, on the Ambanganga), I enquired about Makuleba from the old arachchi. He recognized the name at once but said that the place was all gone to jungle and would be almost impossible to find. However, we know now its position to within a very few miles as it must have been on or near the Yodi Ela (Elahera channel). "Mangalaba" was evidently a "gamey" place, for Parákrama Báhu and his followers stayed there some days enjoying deer-stalking and other pastimes.

It had now come to the knowledge of his old uncle Kitti Sirimegha that Parákrama Báhu had got out of Gaja Báhu's country alive and unhurt and the old man was overjoyed thereat, so much so that he sent letters of greeting and gifts to him by the hands of several leading men. Parákrama Báhu was very pleased and accompanied them as far as "Saraggáma" where he was met by a large assembly headed by several chiefs. This seems to have aroused his suspicion, for he put them off with various excuses as to going with them "at the moment the stars are favourable," but his followers got so frightened at the large assembly of king's men that they, one and all, bolted.

By this time Parákrama Báhu's mother, Ratanávali, had got news of what was going on; so she hastened north to see her brother-in-law in an attempt to put matters right, and satisfied herself that Kitti's regard for Parákrama Báhu was genuine. She then journeyed to "Saraggáma," took council with the chiefs, argued with her son and finally persuaded him to come back to his uncle who received him with open arms and proclaimed him as his heir and successor on the plea that he was getting old and would want a near relative to perform the last rites over him.

Here, I think, I must leave Parákrama Báhu. His uncle died soon after his return and he came into his own inheritance as was meet and right. From there, after putting his principality in order, he formulated, and carried out later, his great series of wars for the bringing of all Ceylon under one canopy of dominion—a subject on which volumes could be written.



SOME ANCIENT PLANTS AND TREES OF CEYLON.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

THE following notes represent an effort solely to deal for the first time with the plants and trees and creepers to which we find allusion made in the *Mahāvansa* (Chapters I. to XXXVII); in other words, to determine, so far as is possible at this day, what exactly are the Sinhalese names for the Pali references to the ancient Flora of Ceylon as appearing in our oldest and most reliable historical chronicle.

In the Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa*,¹ as well as in Professor Geiger's English translation,² not a few of the Pali terms for plants reappear without any effort at translation. These require identification; not a few others are so vaguely or so inaccurately translated as to call for revision, and, in one instance at least, Geiger gives an absolutely wrong name for a particular tree.

In these circumstances the present enquiry may not prove uninteresting nor wholly useless. In one or two cases more definite information is wanted, and the writer will be grateful to any reader who can supply it.

The Pali (P) name is given first, followed in each case by the Sinhalese (S), Latin (L) and English (E) equivalents, wherever such are known. After these come quotations from the *Mahāvansa* showing the context in which each term occurs.

* * * * *

To "trees" in general the *Mahāvansa* makes reference in the following passages, viz : VI. 15; VII. 6. 28; X. 8.10; XIV. 18 and XXIV. 38. It speaks of "fruit trees" and "flowering trees" at XI. 2 and "vine fruits" at XXXV. 6. and "healing herbs" at XI. 32, while flowers there were "of many kinds, of manifold colours" (XI. 12). But mention by name, of particular plants and trees, occurs only in connection with the following* :—

(P). ÁDÁRI

(S). **Hiya-vel :**

(L) ?

(E) ?

"At that time (Devánampiyatissa, 307 B.C.) the place of the thúpa was covered with flowering kadamba-plants and *ádári*-creepers" (XVII. 31).

"*Ádári*," (for which Geiger refers to the Sanskrit names of plants, "*ádára*" and "*ádáribimbi*"), is rendered in the Sinhalese text by "*Hiya-vel*," (also known as *hi-vel*). But this latter does not occur in Dr. Willis' *Revised Catalogue of the Flowering Plants*

* The *Pújāvaliya* (pp. 20-22) states of King Mahá Dáthika Mahá Nāga (A. D. 9-21) that he "caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurádhapura . . . and planted gardens containing," among other trees, the following which do not occur at all in the *Mahāvansa*, viz :—

(S) *Nā*. (T) *Naka*. (L) *Mesua ferrea*. (E) Iron-wood.
(S) *Domba* (T) *Punnai*. (L) *Calophyllum Inophyllum*.
(L) *Kiripalu*. (L) *Buchanania latifolia*.

1. Translated under the orders of the Ceylon Government by the late Ven H. Siri Sumangala, High Priest, and the late Don Andris de Silva Batuwantudāwa, Pandit, and edited by M. Siri Nānissara, High Priest, Colombo, 1912.

2. Published by the Pali Text Society, London, 1912.

and Ferns of Ceylon, native and introduced ; and I cannot say what its Tamil, Latin and English equivalents are. Nor is *ádári* to be found in Childers³ who usually gives the Botanical term for each plant.

(P). AKKHO.

(S). **Bulu.**(L) *Terminalia Belerica* :(E) **Myrobalans.**

"In the mountain-region called Koṭṭa, at the time of the famine called the *Akkhakháyika* famine . . ." (XXXII. 29).

This was a famine during which the nuts called *akkha* (*Bulu* in Sinhalese) were eaten. These nuts at other times were (and are) used as dice.

The Sanskrit name for *Bulu* is *Vibhitaka* and the Tamil, *Tanti*.

(P). AMBO.

(S). **Amba.**(L) *Mangifera indica* :(E). **Mango.**

(a) Note the "subtle question" asked of Devánampiyatissa by Mahinda :

"What name does this tree bear, O king?"

"This tree is called a mango."

"Is there yet another mango beside this?"

"There are many mango trees."

"And are there yet other trees besides this mango and the other mangoes?"

"There are many trees, sir; but those are trees that are not mangoes."

"And are there, beside the other mangoes and those trees which are not mangoes, yet other trees?"

"There is this mango-tree, sir."

"Thou hast a shrewd wit, O ruler of men!" (XIV. 17-19).

(b) Again, we are told of Devánampiyatissa :

"A ripe mango tree, ⁴ excellent in colour, fragrance and taste and of large size, did the gardener offer to the king, and the king offered the splendid fruit to the thera (Mahinda) When the thera was seated the king gave him the mango-fruit. When the thera had eaten it he gave the kernel to the king to plant. The king himself planted it there and over it, that it might grow, the thera washed his hands. In that same moment a shoot sprouted forth from the kernel and grew little by little to a tall tree bearing leaves and fruit. When those who were present with the king beheld this miracle, they stood there doing homage to the thera, their hair raising on end with amazement." (XV.38-44).

(c) "King Devánampiyatissa's second brother, the vice-regent named Mahánága, was dear to his brother. The king's consort, that foolish woman, coveted the kingship for her own son and ever nursed the wish to slay the vice-regent, and while he was making the tank called Taraccha she sent him a mango-fruit which she had poisoned and laid uppermost among other mango-fruits. Her little son, who had gone with the vice-regent, ate the mango-fruit, when the dish was uncovered, and died therefrom." (XXII.2-5).

(P). ASANO.

(S). **Piyá (Asana.)**(L) *Terminalia Alata Tomentosa* :

(E) ?

Of Ummáda-phussadeva, one of Duṭṭhagámini's giants, we are told that he could shoot an arrow, not only through a waggon laden with sand and a hundred skins bound one upon another, but also through "a slab of *asana* . . . wood eight inches thick" (XXIII. 87.)

The Sinhalese text gives *Piyá* which, however, does not occur in Willis (*op. cit.*)

The *Piyá* or *Piyala*, according to Clough (*Sinh.-Eng. Dictionary*), is the *Buchanania latifolia*, the Tamil name for which is *Moreda* and the Sanskrit *Piala* or *Tapasa-priya* ("dear to hermits.")

3. *Pali Dictionary*.

4. This is a mistake. What the gardener offered was, not a tree but a ripe mango fruit.

But the Sinhalese name for the tree referred to in the text is the same as the Pali and Sanskrit, viz *Asana*, which in Tamil is called *maruta-maram*, the astringent powdered bark of which mixed with oil is used to remove apthae, according to Dr. John Attygalle (*Sinhalese Materia Medica*, p 74.)

(P) **BODHI.**

(S) **Bo :** (L) *Ficus religiosa :* (E) **Bo-tree.**

[There is scarcely a page of the *Mahāvansa* which makes no reference, directly or indirectly, to the *Bo*, either to the sacred tree of Anurádhapura or to others planted elsewhere in the Island. To quote all the references would be practically to quote the whole book, which exigencies of space forbid. The reader is referred to the chronicle itself.]

(P). **CAMPAKO.**

(S). **Sapu :** (L) *Michelia Champaka :* (E) **Champak.**

“When the thera (Mahinda) went thither they brought the king (Devánampiyatissa) eight baskets of *campaka*-flowers. The king offered the *campaka*-flowers to the thera and the thera did homage to the spot with the *campaka*-flowers.”

According to the *Pújávaliya* (p 20) King Mahá Dáthika Mahá Nága (A.D. 9-21) “caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurádhapura...and planted gardens containing (among other trees) *sapu*.....”

The *champak* was apparently in the olden days as much in demand as the jasmine for religious purposes.

The garlands of which we read so much in history were almost always made of *champak* flowers.

The *Val-sapu* (*Michelia nilagirica*) is indigenous to Ceylon.

(P). **DUKÚLAM.**

(S) **Dúl (As-vel.)** (L) *Anodendron paniculatum:* (E) ?

“Above their heads were pitchers five cubits high, filled with fragrant oil, with wicks made of *dukúla* fibres continually alight ” (XXX. 94).

The *dúl* or *duhul* is also called *asvel*.

(P) **GANTHI (BANDHUJÍVA.)**

(S) **Banduvada** (L) *Pentapetes phoenicea:* (E) ?

“And they set out for the land of the Northern Kurus and brought from thence six massive fat-coloured stones measuring eighty cubits in length and breadth, bright as the sun, eight inches thick and like to *ganṭhi* blossoms ” (XXX. 58-9).

The *Mahāvansa Tiká* explains “*ganṭhi-puppha* ” by “*bandhujívaka-puppha* ” which, according to *Sanskrit Wörterbuch von Böhtlingk und Roth* (7 vols, St. Petersburg, 1855-1875, s.v. “*bandhujíva* ”) is the *Pentapetes phoenicea* (hat eine schöne rote Blume...),

Willis (*op. cit.*) gives the Latin name but not the Sinhalese nor the English equivalent.

Ven M. Siri Nánissara, High Priest, who, in his revised Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa*, describes the flowers as “*bolgeṭapup*,” tells me that they are in all likelihood “*vada-mal*.” Neither of these latter is to be found in Willis’ *Catalogue*.

But Dr. John Attygalle (*Sinhalese Materia Medica*, p 28) says:—

“There is some confusion with regard to the Sinhalese names of *Pentapetes phoenicea* and *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*. I have heard many call the latter *Baduwada* (බදුවද). The author of Clough’s *Dictionary* gives බදුවද (*Baduwada*) and බදුළුකහ (*Bada-ela-kaha*) as names for *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*, shoe-flower or *Sapattu-mal*. This is wrong. *Pentapetes*

phoenicea and *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis* are two different plants. *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis* is *Wadamal* (වදමල්) or *Sapattu-mal* (සපත්තුමල්), and its Sanskrit names are *Rudrapushpan*, *Japapushpan* and *Sivapushpan*.

"*Pentapetes phoenicea* is *Banduwada* (බදුවද), not *Baduwada* (බදුවද), and its Sanskrit names are *Bandhuka*, *Bandhujiva* and *Raktaka*. The confusion has arisen probably in not observing the difference between the Sinhalese names, *Baduwada* (බදුවද) and *Banduwada* (බදුවද), for Clough gives බදු (*Bandu*) rightly enough for the Sinhalese name of *Pentapetes phoenicea* and yet he says *Bandhuka* and *Bandhujiva* are the names of shoe-flower. The *Saraswati Nigandu* however gives the two plants separately with their respective synonyms, and *Bandhuka* and *Bandhujiva* are the names of *Banduwada* (බදුවද) and not of *Baduwada* (බදුවද)."

(P) **IMBARA.**

(S) **Imburu ? :** (L) ? (E) ?
Of Gothaimbara, the giant, we read :

"Once when they had gone forth and were clearing the forest to lay out a bean-field, they left his share and came back and told him. Then forthwith he started out, and when he had torn up the trees called *imbara* and had levelled the ground, he came and told them" (XXIII. 52).

"*Imbara*" does not appear in Childers (*op. cit.*), and "*Imburu*," which is the name given in the Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa*, is unknown in Willis' work.

(P) **JĀTI.**

(S) **Désaman.** (L) *Jasminum grandiflorum :* (E) **Jasmine.**

(a) In connection with the acceptance of the Mahāvihāra, we are told that King Devānampiyatissa "offered jasmine blossoms to the thera" (Mahinda) who scattered handfuls of them at various spots (XV. 27 ff).

(b) And in connection with the beginning of the great Thúpa it is said that "when jasmine-flowers had been offered on that spot an earthquake came to pass" (XXIX. 61).

(c) Again, Duṭṭhagāmini, upon undertaking the making of the relic-chamber, "had three pitchers with jasmine-blossoms placed in the courtyard of the sacred Bodhi tree" (XXX. 27).

(d) Jasmine flowers were most *en evidence* at religious offerings and ceremonies. The demand for them was apparently so great in King Bhātikābhaya's time that we are told of him that, "doing away with the tax appointed for himself he planted *sumana* and *ujjuka* flowers over a yojana of land round the city" (XXXIV. 40). *Sumana* and *ujjuka* are two varieties of jasmine.

The *Pūjāvaliya* (p 20) tells us of King Mahādāthika Mahā Nāga (A.D. 9-21) that "he caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurādhapura without any contributions from the people, and planted gardens containing (among other trees) *sinidda* (large-flowered jasmine), *bolidda* (double jasmine), *désaman*."

The common garden *Pichcha*, also called *Geṭa-pichcha* (*Jasminum Sambac*),—*Varshiki* in Sanskrit—is what is known in English as *Arabian Jasmine*.

The oil prepared from the *Désaman* was, and is, the favourite perfume of the East.

(P) **JAMBU.**

(S). **Jambu (Damba):** (L) *Eugenia Jambos :* (E) **Rose-apple.**

"From time to time the king (Samghatissa), with the women of the royal household and the ministers, used to go to Pācínadīpaka⁵ to eat *jambu*-fruits, Vexed by his coming the people dwelling in Pācínadīpa poisoned the fruit of the *jambu*-tree from which the king was to eat. When he had eaten the *jambu*-fruits he died forthwith even there." (XXXVI. 70-2).

The Sinhalese text gives both *damba* and *jambu*, the former being the Elu form of the latter.

5. Pācínadīpaka means "East-Island." The *Tika* says; *Mahatitthapattane parato samuddamajjhe sambhūtam Pācínadīpam agamāsi*, which would make out Pācínadīpa to be an island between the north point of Ceylon and the Indian continent.

It is commonly assumed that the *Eugenia Jambolana* is the Sinhalese *Jambu*.⁶ But this is not so. *Mahá-dan* or *Mádan* (Tamil, *Peru-nával*, *Nával*) is the Sinhalese name for the *Jambolana*.

Clough has *Jambosa vulgaris* for the Sinhalese *jambu*.

(P) KADAMBA.

(S) ? **Hinguru-vel :** (L). *Nauclea Kadamba :* (E). ?

(a) "At that time (Devánampiyatissa, 307 B.C.) the place of the thúpa was covered with flowering *kadamba* plants" (XVII. 31).

(b) "The king's state-elephant that was used to wander about at will liked to stay on one side of the city in a cool grotto, on the border of a *kadamba*-flower-thicket...." (XIX. 73.6)

(c) "He (Duṭṭhagámini) marched to Mahelanagara that had a triple trench and was surrounded by an undergrowth of *kadamba* flowers" (XXV. 48).

(d) "This fair woman (Somadeví) alighted from the car at this spot and.. concealed herself in a thicket of flowering *kadambas*" (XXXIII. 85).

(e) "When one day in a thicket of flowering *kadambas* she (Subharája's daughter) saw an ascetic who was in the seventh day of the state of *nirodha*, she, the wise maiden, gave him the food." (XXXV. 104).

(6) The king (Gajabáhukagámini) founded the Mátu-vihára on the place of the thicket of flowering *kadambas*, in honour of his mother" (XXXV. 116),

It is difficult to say what exactly is the Sinhalese name of the tree or creeper referred to in the text above.

Hinguru-vel is the name given in the Sinhalese translation of the *Mahávansa* (and the context certainly indicates a creeper), but it does not appear in Willis' *Catalogue*, which, however, makes mention of a *Nauclea Zeylanica*.

But was Childers correct in identifying the Pali *kadamba* with *Nauclea Kadamba*? Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana, in his *Medicinal Plants of Ceylon* (p 472), says that the *kadamba* is the *Anthocephalus Kadamba* which is the *Embul-bakmi* of the Sinhalese (Tamil *Vellai-kadampa*, Sanskrit, *Dhara Kadamba*). Now, Dr. John Attygalle (in his *Sinhalese Materia Medica*, p. 91) says that another name for *Embul-bakmi* is *Kolon* which in Willis' *Catalogue* is the *Adina cordifolia* (in Tamil *Manchal-kadampa*, *Raja-murunkai*, in Sanskrit *Haliprivya*), a tree sacred to Kali or Parvati, the consort of Siva, and called also *Sisu-pála*, "children protecting."

And to make the "confusion worse confounded," Clough, who identifies the *piyá-gaha* with the *Sarcocephalus cordatus*, gives the latter name (with the alternative of *Nauclea coadunata*) to the *Bakmi* too (Tamil *Vammi*.)

Willis (*op. cit.*) also mentions the *Stephegyne parvifolia* and identifies it with the Tamil *Chelampai* or *Nir-kadampa*.

Now, what is really the local equivalent for the Pali *Kadamba*? Is it the *Nir-kadampa* of the Tamils, or the *Bakmi*, or *Embul-bakmi*, or *Kolon* or *Hinguru-vel* of the Sinhalese? Or may it be Willis' *Nauclea Zeylanica* which still remains to be given its Sinhalese name?

It might be added that the *Abhidhánappadipiká*—which has *Piyako* and *Nípo* (Childers calls it "a species of Asoka tree") as synonyms for *Kadambo*—gives the Sinhalese name as *Kolom* which is the *Adina cordifolia*.

(P) KAKUDHA.

(S) **Kumbuk :** (L). *Terminalia Arjuna (glabra) :* (E). ?

"At that time (Devánampiyatissa, 307 B.C.) there was within the enclosure of the royal park a little pond called the *Kakudha-pond*; at its upper end, on the brink of the water, was a level spot fitting for the thúpa" (XV. 52-3).

6. Vide Father Le Goe's *Introduction to Tropical Botany or Chapters of Nature Study*, p 150.

If by "*Kakudha*" is meant the *Kumbuk* tree—the Sinhalese text does not help us on the point—then it is easy to understand how the pond referred to above derived its name. To this day, among the Sinhalese, wells are sunk usually at the foot of a *kumbuk* tree which is said to make the water cool and limpid.

According to Childers, Dr. John Attygalle and Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana, the *kumbuk* is the *Terminalia Arjuna*, but in Willis' *Catalogue* it is described as *Terminalia glabra*, the Tamil for which is *Marutu*. Another Tamil name for it is *Vellai maruda maram*,

In regard to *kakudhaphala* (descriptive of a certain kind of pearl) at *Mahāvansa* XI. 14—which Childers renders by "kabubha fruit" and Geiger by "kakudha fruit-pearl"—the *Pūjāvaliya* (p. 3) translates it correctly thus, viz, "pearls resembling the fruit of the *kubuk* (*Terminalia glabra*)."

(P) KANGU.

(S). **Tanasāl :** (L) *Setaria italica* : (E). **Italian Millet.**

"A goodly dish of sour millet-gruel was gotten for five great theras who had overcome the *āsavas*, and offered to them with a believing heart" (XXXII. 30).

"When the one of those five theras, the thera Malayamahādeva, who received the sour millet-gruel, had given thereof to nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumanakūta-mountain, he ate of it himself" (XXXII. 49-50).

Tanasāl or *Tanahāl* is the *Setaria italica* (Willis, Clough, Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana), but Dr. John Attygalle (*op. cit.*) identifies it with the *Setaria intermedia* which, according to Willis, is a variety of the same plant. Clough has *Panicum Italicum* for *kangu*.

(P) KAPITTHA.

(S). **Divul :** (L). *Feronia elephantum* : (E). **Wood-apple, Elephant-apple.**

In connection with the beginning of the great Thūpa we are told that "with resin of the *Kapittha*-tree dissolved in sweetened water, the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick" (XXIX. 11-2).

Kapittha is the Sinhalese *Divul*, commonly but mistakenly called *Dimbul* which, however, is another name for the *Udumbara* or *Aṭṭikkā* tree.

The Tamil name for the *Divul* is *Vīla*, *Vīlatti* which Dr. John Attygalle calls *Nilavilam*. Willis gives another Tamil name for it, viz, *Mayaladikkuruntu*, but this is the *Cadaba trifoliata*.

(P) KETAKI.

(S). **Mūdu-keyiya :** (L). *Pandanus Odoratissimus* : (E). **Screw-pine.**

"The King (Vattagāmini), glad at heart, recording it upon a *ketaka*-leaf, allotted lands to his vihára (Kupikkala-vihāra of the thera Mahātissa) for the use of the brotherhood" (XXXIII. 50).

As Professor Geiger rightly observes, royal donations were, as a rule, recorded on copper plates or might be on silver and gold plates.

Another name for the *Mūdu-keyiya*, according to Clough, is *Veṭa-keyiya*, the Tamil for which is *Talai*. Dr. Gabriel Gunawardana has *Mūdu-veṭa-keyiya*.

According to the *Pūjāvaliya* (p 20) King Mahādāthika Mahā Nāga (A.D. 9-21) "caused parks to be made at every four *gav* on the four sides of Anurādhapura....and planted gardens containing (among other trees) *dunuké* (*Pandanus foetidus*) and *veṭaké* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*).

(P) KHARAPATTA.

(S) ? **Sevana-mediya :** (L). *Ficus asperrima :* (E). **Furniture-leaf.**

“ And he (Saddhá Tissa) had a chatta made of bamboo-reeds by plaiters of reeds and on the upper vediká a sun and moon of *kharapatta*.” (XXXII. 5).

The Ven M. Siri Nánissara, High Priest, tells me that the Pali *Kharapatta* (which, by the way, does not occur in Childers) is the Sinhalese *Sevana-mediya* (*Ficus asperrima*), called *Furniture-leaf* in English.

(P) KUMBHANDAKA.

(S) **Komadu, (Mas-komadu) :** (L) *Citrullus vulgaris :* (E) **Water-melon.**

“ King Ámandiya, filling the almsbowls with the fruit, called ‘flesh melons’... ; because he had filled the almsbowls with them he received the name Ámandagámani” (XXXV. 7-8).

The Pali text has “*mamsakumbhaṇḍakam*” for what is here described as “flesh melons.” According to *Abhidh.* 1030, “*kumbhandaka*” is a creeping-plant which the late High Priest Subhúti identified as the Sinhalese “*puhul*” (*pumpkin-gourd*) and which is rendered in the Sinhalese text as “*komadu*.” Geiger considers “*mamsak*” to be a particular variety; and, since the text connects the king’s name with it, “*ámanda*,” which elsewhere means the “castor-oil plant,” would appear to be a synonym of the above-mentioned. But High Priest Subhúti’s identification, referred to above, can scarcely be correct. For we have a distinct word in Pali for *puhul*, viz *Kusumánda* (Sanskrit *Kushmánda*) which is the *Cucurbita Pepo*, called in English *Pumpkin* or *Vegetable marrow*. Clough has *Cucurbita Pepo* for *Labu-geḍiya* !

The Pali *Kumbhandaka* is obviously the *Citrullus vulgaris*, which is called *komadu* in Sinhalese and *Water-melon* in English (Sanskrit : *Tarambuja*, Tamil : *Pitcha-pullum*). The *Mamsa-kumbhandaka* here is a variety of the *komadu*, viz *mas-komadu*.

Another variety of the *Komadu* is *Citrullus Colocynthis*, Sinhalese *Yak-komadu*, Sanskrit *Indravaruni Vishala*, Tamil *Tumatti*, *Peykomatti*.

(P) LÁBU (ALÁBU).

(S). **Labu (Diya-labu) :** (L). *Lagenaria vulgaris* (E). **Pumpkin, Bottle gourd, Calabash Cucumber.**

There is no specific mention of this plant. The only reference to it occurs in connection with the battle between Prince Pandukábhaya and his uncles and the “pyramid of skulls” which the Prince’s men raised after the battle. “’Tis like a heap of gourds” said the Prince, “and therefore they named the place Lábugámaka” (X. 72).

The Pali *Lábu* or *Alábu* is the *Diya-labu* of the Sinhalese, Tamil *Shorakai* (Willis has *Churai*) and called in English by the names of *Pumpkin*, *Bottle gourd* and *Calabash Cucumber*.

(P). MADHUKO.

(S). **Mi :** (L) *Bassia Longifolia :* (E) ?

The offerings for the great Thúpa included *inter alia* “many lamps with stuff-wicks in *madhuka-oil*” (XXXIV. 56).

Geiger in a note describes this as “oil pressed from the seeds of the *Bassia Latifolia*.” But this is a mistake. It is not the *Bassia Latifolia* (Sinhalese *Bú-mi*) but the *Bassia Longifolia* Sinhalese : *Mi*, Tamil : *Iluppai*) which is used in the preparation of the oil.

In India, in the olden days as now, *Mi* flowers, seeds and oil are used as food. And it is from *Mi* flowers that the modern Bengalee distils the spirit called *Mahva*, *Madhavi* or *Madhvasava* which is as popular in Bengal as arrack is in Ceylon.

(P) MUCALINDO.

(S). ? *Ela-midella* : (L) *Barringtonia acutangula* : (E) ?

"When he (Sirinága) had restored the wall round about the great Bodhi tree, then did this king also build in the sand-court of the temple of the great Bodhi-tree, to the south of the *Mucela* tree, the beautiful Hamsavatta and a great pavilion besides." (XXXVI. 56).

The Pali *Mucela* is the Sinhalese *Ela-midella*, Sanskrit *Hijia* or *Hijjala*, *Saniúdra-phalá*, Tamil *Kadapum*. The Tamil form of the name given by Willis (*op. cit.*) is *Adampu*.

(P) NÁLIKERO.

(S). *Pol* : (L) *Cocos nucifera* : (E) *Coconut*.

Theraputtábhaya, another of king Duṭṭhagámini's paladins, had (we are told), when he was sixteen years old, been given by his father a club 38 inches round and 16 cubits long, with which "when he smote the stems of coco-palms he felled them" (XXIII. 58-9).

And the weapon which Goṭhaimbara wields in battle against the Tamils is "a coco-palm" (XXV. 46).

The *Nálikero* is the familiar *Coconut*, Sanskrit *Nárikela*, Tamil *Tenha*, *Tenna-maram* (Willis *Tennai*.)

(P) NIGRODHO.

(S). *Maha Nuga* : (L) *Ficus benghalensis* : (E) *Banyan-tree*.

It was "at the foot of a banyan tree" (*nigrodhamúlasim*) that Princess Suvannapáli offered food in a golden bowl to Prince Pandukábhaya and "took *banyan*-leaves to entertain the rest of the people with food" (X. 35-6).

The only other reference to a Banyan-tree is that of Kassapa, the Buddha before Gautama. This is described as having been planted near about the present Ruvanveli-Séya dágaba at a period of time in the hoary past when this Island bore the name of Maṇḍadípa. At that time, we are also told, the capital of the Island was named Visála, the Mahámegha grove was called Maháságara, and the name of the King of the region was Jayanta (XV. 125-152).

The *Nigrodho* is not merely the *nuga* but the *Maha Nuga*, in Tamil *Al* (*Ala*).

PADUMÁNI or POKKHARAM. (Lotus.)

(See remarks under "Uppala.")

(P) PANASO.

(S). *Kos* (*Varaka*) : (L) *Artocarpus integrifolia* : (E) *Jak*.

An Anurádhapura merchant, on his way to Malaya "in order to bring ginger and so forth," halts near the Ambatṭhakola-cave. "As he saw here a branch of a *Kos* (*Varaka*) tree, bearing one single fruit as large as a water-pitcher, and dragged down by the weight of the fruit, he cut the fruit which was lying on a stone away from the stalk with his knife." (XXVIII. 23-4).

Geiger, misled apparently by Childers (see *Pali Dictionary*), makes the mistake of translating "*Panaso*" by "bread-fruit tree" (*Artocarpus incisa*). Childers renders "*Panaso*" by "Jack or bread-fruit tree." But the two are distinct varieties.

That the fruit referred to in the *Mahāvansa* text is the *Kos* or *Varaka* (and not the "bread-fruit" or *raṭa-del*) is obvious even from the context. "Fruit as large as a water-pitcher," "the weight of the fruit," "the juice" and the filling of the bowls "with the kernels" (*panasamiñjāhi*) indicate only too clearly that the fruit was a *varaka* or rather *peṇi-varaka-gediya*, not "bread-fruit." The *Kos* is in Sanskrit *Panasa*, in Tamil *Pila*.

(P) PICULO.

(S). **Imbul (Himbul) :** (L) *Eriodendron anfractuosum* : (E) **Silk-cotton tree.**

There is only one reference to this tree :

"The noble king (Devánampiyatissa) offered jasmine-blossoms to the thera (Mahinda), and the thera went to the royal dwelling and scattered eight handfuls of blossoms about the *picula*-tree standing on the south side of it" (XV. 27).

The *Picula* according to Childers is the Tamarisk tree which, by the way, does not figure in Willis' *Catalogue*. Geiger identifies it with the *Tamarix Indica*. Clough (*op. cit*) under "*Pichchilá*" has the following :—

Silk cotton tree—*Eriodendron anfractuosum*.

Large timber tree—*Dalbergia sisu*.

Esculent root.....—*Alocasia indica*.

Pot herb.....—*Basella rubra* and *lucida*.

Indian tamarisk...—*Tamarix indica*.

Childers, too, under "*Pichchilá*," names the silk-cotton tree.

The Sinhalese translation of the *Mahāvansa* gives *imbul* (*himbul*) for the Pali *picula*, and *imbul*, called also *pulun-imbul*, is the Sinhalese name for the white silk-cotton tree *Eriodendron anfractuosum* (Sanskrit, *Salmali*; Tamil, *Illanku*).

I have assumed therefore that *Picula* is to be identified, not with the Tamarisk tree (*Tamarix indica*), but with the *Imbul* (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*).

It must be added, however, that the *Pújávaliya* in this connection has *pulila* for the *picula* of the *Mahāvansa*. *Pulila* (Sanskrit *Kakodumbara*) is *Ficus Arnottiana*, the *Kavudu-Bo* or *Kaputu-Bo* of the Sinhalese.

For the *Kákodumbarika* Childers gives "the opposite-leaved fig-tree, *Ficus Oppositifolia*," which is not mentioned in Willis' *Catalogue*.

(P) PÚGO.

(S). **Puvak :** (L) *Areca Catechu* : (E) **Arecanut Palm.**

"Subhadeva...loosened the earth round about an *areca palm*, with the shaft of his spear, as he walked round the tree, and when he had made it thus to hold but feebly by the roots, he struck it down with his arm." (XXXVI. 47).

Puvak in Sanskrit is *Guvaka*, *Puga*, and in Tamil, *Pakku*. Willis gives the Tamil name as *Kamukai*.

(P) SÁLA.

(S) **Hal, (Sal) :** (L). *Shorea Robusta* : (E) **Saul tree.**

"When he (Devánampiyatissa) had built a beautiful hall (for the great Bodhi tree) adorned in manifold ways, and there on the first day of the bright half of the month Kattika had caused the great Bodhi-tree to be placed on the east side of the foot of a beautiful and great *sála* tree, he allotted to it day by day many offerings" (XVIII. 64-5).

The *Shorea Robusta*, which Clough describes as a "superior kind of the *hal* tree," is not mentioned by Trimen as growing in Ceylon. Its local representative, i.e. the Ceylon *hal*, is what is known as *Vateria Acuminata*.

According to Dr. John Attygalle (*op. cit.*), Piney tallow tree is called *Hal* by the Sinhalese and *Vellai Kungiliyam* by the Tamils and *Dupada* by the old Sanskrit writers. The bark, cut into small pieces, is put into toddy pots to prevent fermentation instead of the pots being limed, which is generally done where *Hal* bark is not available.

The gum resin of *Shorea Robusta* is the Rosin of commerce and *Ral* of Hindu writers.

Clough gives *Sála-kalyáni* for the *Shorea* which is called in Sanskrit *Sála*, *Asvakarna*, and in Tamil *Kungiliyam*.

(P) SATTAPANNA.

(S). **Ruk-attana :** (L) *Alstonia scholaris :* (E) ?

"As he (thera Mahásiva), leaning against a great *Sattapanna* tree, saw those women . . ." (XXX. 47).

The *Sattapanna* is the *Ruk-attana* of the Sinhalese, called in Sanskrit *Saptaparni* and in Tamil *Ezhilaip-palai*. Willis gives the Tamil name as *Elilaippalai*.

(P) SINGIVERAM.

(S). **Hinguru (Inguru) :** (L) *Zingiber officinale :* (E) **Ginger.**

"A merchant from the city (Anurádhapura), taking many waggons with him, in order to bring *ginger* and so forth from Maláya, had set out for Maláya (XXVIII. 21).

The *Inguru* is called in Sanskrit *Mahaushadha*, *Sunthi*, and in Tamil *Shukku*. The Tamil name for it given by Willis is *Inji*,

(P) SIRÍSO.

(S). **Mára or Súriyamára :** (L) *Albizzia Lebbek* or *odoratissima :* (E) ?

"Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi-tree, the *Sirisa*, with her, the bhikkhuní Rucánandá shall come hither with other bhikkhunís" (XV. 78).

"Then the Sambuddha went northwards from this place, and sitting in the beautiful *Sirisa-málaka* (acacia enclosure) the Tathágata preached the true doctrine to the people" (XV. 84-5).

Both Childers and Geiger incorrectly call this the *Acacia Sirisa* which, by the way, is not to be found in Willis' *Catalogue*.

The Pali and Sanskrit *Sirisa* is either the *Albizzia Lebbek* (Sinhalese *Mára*, Tamil *Kona*, *Vakai*) or the *Albizzia odoratissima* (Sinhalese *súriya-mára* or *huriyi*, Tamil *Ponnai-murunkai*), probably the former.

The Sinhalese translation of the *Mahávansa* gives *mahari-ruka* (*mára*) which is the *Albizzia Lebbek*. It ought to be stated, however, that *Adenantha Pavonina*, ordinarily called *madatiya* in Sinhalese, is also called *mahari* (Tamil *Anaikuntumani*.)

(P) TÁLA

(S) **Tal :** (L) *Borassus flabelliformis :* (E) **Palmyra palm.**

When Prince Pandukábhaya encountered the horse-faced yakkhini named Cetiya-ganga (X. 59).

Note also "the *Palmyra-palm* (shrine) of the Demon of Maladies (X. 89) in the same Pandukábhaya's time.

The justice of King Elára's rule is illustrated, *inter alia*, by the reference to a snake that had "devoured the young of a bird upon a *palm-tree*" (XXI. 19).

The giant Mahásona's bodily strength is illustrated by the manner in which "at the time when he was seven years old he tore up young *palms*" and "when he was ten years..... tore up great *palm-trees*." (XXIII. 46).

Similarly the giant Theraputtábhaya shows his strength when, with his club, 38 inches round and 16 cubits long, "he smote the stems of *palmyra-palms* and felled them" (XXIII. 59).

In the battle of Vijita-nagara the weapon of attack and defence which the giant Mahásona uses is "a *palmyra palm*" (XXV. 46).

The *Tal* is called in Sanskrit *Tala* and in Tamil *Panai-maram*.

(P) **TAMBÚLAM.**

(S) **Bulat :**

(L) *Piper Betle :*

(E) **Betel pepper.**

"And the wife, to guard Vasabha carefully who went with him, put *betel* into his hand but without powdered chalk (Sinh. *hunu*). Now when the commander, at the gate of the palace, saw the *betel* without chalk, he sent him back for chalk" (XXXV. 62-3).

This is the first, and only, reference in the *Mahávansa* to the practice of betel-chewing among the Sinhalese—a practice which is thus proved to be at least 1,800 years old in this country.

The Sanskrit name for *Bulat* is *Tambúlan* and the Tamil *Vettilai*.

(P) **TILO.**

(S) **Tel-tala :**

(L) *Sesamum Indicum :*

(E) **Gingelly.**

"With resin of the *kapittha-tree*, dissolved in sweetened water, the lord of chariots laid over the stones a sheet of copper eight inches thick, and over this, with arsenic dissolved in *sesamum-oil*, he laid a sheet of silver seven inches thick" (XXIX. 12).

The offerings for the great Thúpa included *inter alia* "many lamps with stuff-wicks in *madhuka-oil* and *sesamum-oil* besides" (XXXIV. 56).

Yama, King of Death, is said to have created the *sesamum* seed which is symbolic of immortality. The oil is used in connection with various Hindu and Sinhalese ceremonies and on festive occasions.

Scholars seem to think that the very word *Taila* (Sanskrit for "oil") was probably derived from *Tila*. It would therefore seem that *sesamum* oil was the first oil extracted by the Hindus of old.

The Tamil name for the *sesamum* is *Ellu*, or *Ella* as Willis gives it.

(P) **UDUMBARA.**

(S) **Attikká :**

(L) *Ficus Glomerata :*

(E) ?

"Bringing the south branch of my Bodhi tree, the *udumbara* with her, the bhikkhuní Kantakánandá shall come hither with other bhikkhunís" (XV. 112).

Of Ummáda-phussadeva, the greatest Sinhalese marksman of ancient times, it is recorded *inter alia* that "a slab of....*udumbara-wood* sixteen inches thick....he shot through with the arrow (XXIII. 87).

The Coronation-Chair of Sinhalese (as well as Indian) Kings had to be of this *attikká* or *udumbara* wood. For the origin of this custom, see my notes elsewhere.

7. That is, to Vishnu. The allusion is to the colour of the blue lotus (*uppala*).

The *Ficus Glomerata* (Sanskrit *udumbra*, Tamil *atti*) has three Sinhalese names, viz., *Udumbara* (same as Pali), *Attikká*, and *Dimbul* which is commonly but mistakenly used in reference to the *Divul* (wood-apple).

The Sinhalese translation of the *Mahávansa* has "*dimbul*" which, being in reference to the *udumbara*, is quite correct.

(P) UMMÁ.

(S) **Diya-meraliya :** (L) *Monschoria hastaefolia :* (E) **Flax.**

"In a northerly direction from the city, at a distance of seven yojanas, in a cave opening on the Pelivápikagáma-tank, above on the sand, four splendid gems had formed in size like to a small mill-stone, in colour like *flax* flowers, radiantly beautiful." (XXVIII. 39-40)

The Sinhalese text of the *Mahávansa* translates *Ummá* by *Diya-merali* which is another name for the *Diya-beraliya* or *Diya-habarala* (*Monochoria hastaefolia*).

(P) UPPALAM.

(S) **Nelum :** (L) *Nelumbium speciosum :* (E) **Lotus, Sacred Bean.**

(a) "When the lord of gods heard the words of the Tathágata, he from respect handed over the guardianship of Lanká to the god who is in colour like the *lotus*." (VII. 5).

(b) "When the man saw the pond and the woman-hermit sitting there, he bathed there and drank and taking young shoots of *lotuses* and water in *lotus*-leaves he came forth again" (VII. 12).

(c) "*Lotus*-flowers of the five colours blossomed all around" (XIX. 18).

(d) "She (Dutthagámini's mother) longed to adorn herself with garlands of unfaded *lotus*-blossoms brought from the *lotus*-marshes of Anurádhapura" (XXII. 46-7).

(e) "When he (Velusumana) saw that this man trusted him, he, the fearless one, laid *lotus*-flowers and his sword down on the shore of the Kadamba-river early in the morning; and when he had led the horse out and had mounted it and had grasped the *lotus*-blossoms and the sword, he made himself known . . ." (XXII. 53-4).

(f) "When he (Suránimma) had seen the whole city and had bought perfumes in the bazaar, had gone forth again by the north gate and had brought *lotus* blossoms from the *lotus* field, he sought out the brahman . . ." (XXIII. 29-30).

(g) "Gay with various gems were the *lotus*-flowers on the *vedikás* *lotus*-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there . . ." (XXVII. 27.34.)

(h) "The figures of sun, moon and stars and different *lotus*-flowers, made of jewels, were fastened to the canopy devas with *lotus*-blossoms and so forth in their hands" (XXX. 68.92.)

(i) "He (Bhátikábhaya) had a net of coral prepared and cast over the *cetiya*, and when he had commanded them to fasten in the meshes thereof *lotus*-flowers of gold large as waggon-wheels, and to hang clusters of pearls on these that reached to the *lotus*-flower beneath, he worshipped the Great Thupa with this offering" (XXXIV. 47-8).

(j) And the other offerings for the great Thupa included "*lotus*-flowers arrayed in minium that lay ankle-deep in the courtyard of the *cetiya*, where they had poured it molten . . . ; *lotus*-flowers that were fastened in the holes of matings, spread on fragrant earth, wherewith the whole courtyard of the *cetiya* was filled." (XXXIV. 53-4).

The references at VII. 12 ; XIX. 18 ; XXVII. 27.34 ; XXX. 68.92 and XXXIV. 47-8 are to the *nelum* (*Nelumbium speciosum*) and the others to the *upul*, which is also called *mánel* (*Nymphœa stellata*).

Dr. Trimen in his work on the *Flora of Ceylon* and Dr. Willis in his *Revised Catalogue of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Ceylon* describe only the three following plants of the order

NYMPHAEACEAE

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 (S) Olu, Et-olu : | (L) <i>Nymphaea Lotus :</i> | (E) Water-lily, Egyptian Lotus. |
| 2 (S) Manel, Upul : | (L) <i>Nymphaea stellata :</i> | (E) Water-lily. |
| 3 (S) Nelum | (L) <i>Nelumbium speciosum ;</i> | (E) Lotus, Sacred Bean. |

No. 1. *Nymphaea Lotus* or *Nymphaea Pubescens* (Sanskrit *Kumudu*, Tamil *Ampal*) is common *Olu* or *Et-ólu* found in almost all the streams, ponds and tanks in the Low-country and up to an elevation of 1,000 feet.

No. 2. *Nymphaea stellata*, (Sanskrit *Nilótpala*) is the less common *mánel* or *upul*, i.e. the blue lotus.

No. 3. *Nelumbium speciosum* (Sinhalese *Nelum*, *Padma*, *Padmini*, *Piyuma*, *Siya-pat* ; Sanskrit *Padma*, *Kamala* ; Tamil *Tamarai*) was, and is, not only the most important and the most largely used medicinally, but also the chief classical plant of the Hindus and the Sinhalese. It was called *Lotus* by the Europeans in the East and *Egyptian Lotus* by the ancient Greeks.

The *Nelumbium*, which has been the theme of poets and other writers of all ages, is thus described in Dutt's *Hindu Materia Medica* :—

“ These beautiful aquatic plants had attracted the attention of the ancient Hindus from a very remote period, and obtained a place in their religious ceremonies and mythological fables ; hence they are described in great detail by Sanskrit writers.

“ The flowers of *Nelumbium speciosum*, called *Padma* or *Kamala*, are sacred to Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The white variety of this plant is called *Pundarika*, the red *Kokanáda* and the blue *Indívára*. The entire plant including root, stem and flower is called *Padmini*. The torus or receptacle for the seed is called *Karnikára*, and the honey formed in the flowers, *Makaranda*. The filaments round the base of the receptacle pass by the name of *Kinjalka* and the leaf-stalk by that of *Mrinála*.”

The *Sarasvati Nighantu* mentions several varieties of *Nelum* with a number of synonyms for each :

Nelum : *Mahótpala*, *Kamala*, *Padma*.

Hela-nelum : *Pundaríka*, *Sítámbuja*.

Ratu-Pul : *Raktótpala*, *Kókanada*.

Nilu-Pul : *Nilótpala*, *Indívára*.

The Hindus liken the world at the creation to a Lotus floating on water, and it is emblematic of the heavens. Brahma is supposed to sleep on a bed of Lotus six months of the year and to watch the other six months, in allusion to the seasons, Brahma standing for the sun.

The Lotus is the national flower of Ceylon and the Sinhalese.

(P) VELU.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| (S) Maskara (colloq. Una-gaha) | (L) <i>Bambusa vulgaris :</i> | (E) Bamboo. |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|

“ At the foot of the Cháta-mountain there grew up three *bamboo*-stems, in girth even as a waggon-pole. One of them, ‘ the creeper-stem,’ shone like silver ; on this might be seen delightful creepers gleaming with a golden colour. But one was the ‘ flower-stem,’ on this again might be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full bloom. And last, one was the ‘ bird-stem ’ whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of many kinds, and of many colours, as if living.” (XI. 10-13).

Saddhátissa “ had a chatta made of *bamboo*-reeds by plaiters of reeds ” (XXXII. 5).

Maskara, colloquially *una-gaha*, is the Sinhalese name for the *Bambusa vulgaris* which in Sanskrit is called *Vansa* or *Venu*.

APPENDIX A.
Pali Names Alphabetically Arranged

Pali	Sinhalese.	Tamil.	Sanskrit.	Latin,	English.
Ádári	Hiya-vel }	Tanti	Ádára	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>	Myrobalans
Akkho	Hi-vel }	? Mánga	Vibhitaka	<i>Mangifera indica</i>	Mango
Ambo	Bulu	Maruta-maram	Asana	<i>Terminalia Alata Tomentosa</i>	Bo-tree
Asano	Amba	Arachu	Champaka	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>	Champak
Bodhi	Asana (? Piyá)	Chanpang	Arkayallabha	<i>Michelia champaka</i>	
Campako	Bo	Nágapu	Jambu (Rájaphala)	<i>Anodendron paniculatum</i>	
Dukúlam	Sapu		Játi	<i>Pentapetes phoenicea</i>	
Ganthe (Bandhujiva)	Dúl (Asvél)		Arjuna	<i>Eugenia Jambos</i>	Rose-apple
Imbara	Banduwada			<i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i>	Jasmine
Jambu	Imburu			? <i>Nauclea Kadamba</i>	
Játi	Jambu	Marutu		<i>Terminalia Arjuna (glabra)</i>	Myrobalans
Kadamba	Désaman	Vila (Vilatti)		<i>Setaria italica</i>	Italian millet
Kakudha	? Hinguru-vel			<i>Feronia elephantum</i>	Wood-apple, Elephant apple
Kangu	Kumbuk				
Kapittha	Tanahál				
	Divul				
Ketaka	Múdu(veṭa) keyiya	Talai		<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>	Screw-pine
Kharapatta	? Sevana-mediya	Pitcha-pullum	Tarambuja	<i>Ficus asperima</i>	Furniture leaf
Kumbhandaka	Komadu, Mas-komadu	Shorakai	Alábu	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>	Water-melon
Lábu (Alábu)	Diya-labu	Iluppai	Madhuka	<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>	Pumpkin, gourd
Madhuko	Mi	Kadapum (Adampu)	Hijia (Hijjala)	<i>Bassia Longifolia</i>	
Mucalindo	Ela-midella	Tenna-maram	Narikela	<i>Barringtonia acutangula</i>	
Nálíkero	Pol	Al	Nyagrodha (Vata)	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	Coconut
Nigrodho	Maha nuga	Pila	Panasa	<i>Ficus benghalensis</i>	Banyan
Panaso	Kos (Varaka)	Illanku	Salmali	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>	Jak
Picula	Imbul (Himbul)	Pakku, Kamukai	Guvaka, Puga	<i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>	Silk-cotton
Púgo	Puvak	Kungiliyam	Sala, Asvakarna	<i>Areca Catechu</i>	Arecanut Palm
Sála	Hal (SaI)	Elilaippalai	Saptaparni	<i>Shorea Robusta</i>	Saul tree
Sattapanna	Ruk-attana	Inji, Shukku	Mahaushadha	<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	
Singiveram	Inguru	Kona, Vakai	{ Siriso	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	Ginger
Siriso	Mára	Ponnaimurunkai }	{ Sirisa	<i>Albizia odoratissima</i>	
	Súriya-mára }	Panai-maram	Tala	<i>Borassus flabelliformis</i>	Palmyra-palm
	Tal	Vettilai	Tambúlan	<i>Piper Betle</i>	Betel pepper
Tála	Bulat	Ellu (Ella)	Tila	<i>Sesamum Indicum</i>	Gingelly
Tambúlam	Tel-tala	Atti	Udumbra	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>	
Tilo	Aṭṭiká, Dimbul			<i>Monochoria hastaeifolia</i>	
Udumbara	Diya-meraliya }			<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>	Lotus, Sacred Bean
Ummá	Diya-habarala		Nilótpala	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>	Bamboo
Uppalam	Mánel (Upul)		Vansa, Venu		
Velu	Maskara (Una)				

APPENDIX B.

Sinhalese Names Alphabetically Arranged.

Amba	<i>Mangifera indica</i>
Asana	<i>Terminalia Alata Tomentosa</i>
Asvel (Dúl)	<i>Anodendron paniculatum</i>
Attikká (Dimbul)	<i>Ficus Glomerata</i>
Banduvada	<i>Pentapetes phoenicea</i>
Bó	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>
Bulat	<i>Piper Betle</i>
Bulu	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>
Deşaman	<i>Jasminum grandiflorum</i>
Dimbul	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>
Divul	<i>Feronia elephantum</i>
Diya-habarala	<i>Monochoria hastaefolia</i>
Diya-labu	<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i>
Diya-meraliya	<i>Monochoria hastaefolia</i>
Dúl (Asvel)	<i>Anodendron paniculatum</i>
Ela-midella	<i>Barringtonia acutangula</i>
Habarala	(see " Diya-habarala ")
Hal (Sal)	<i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>
Himbul	? <i>Nauclea Kadamba</i>
Hinguru-vel	?
Hiya (Hi)-vel	<i>Eriodendron anfractuosum</i>
Imburu	?
Inguru	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>
Jambu	<i>Eugenia Jambos</i>
Keyiya	(see " Múdu-keyiya ")
Komadu (Mas-komadu)	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>
Kos (Varaka)	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>
Kumbuk	<i>Terminalia glabra (Arjuna)</i>
Labu	(see " Diya-labu ")
Maha Nuga	<i>Ficus benghalensis</i>
Mánel (Upul)	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
Mára	<i>Albizzia Lebbek</i>
Maskara (Una)	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>
Mas-komadu	(see " Komadu ")
Međiya	(see " Sevana-međiya ")
Meraliya	(see " Diya-meraliya ")
Mí	<i>Bassia Longifolia</i>
Midella	(see " Ela-midella ")
Múdu-keyiya	<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>
Nuga	(see " Maha Nuga ")
Piyá	(see " Asana ")
Pol	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>
Puvak	<i>Areca Catechu</i>
Ruk-attana	<i>Alstonia Scholaris</i>
Sal (Hal)	<i>Shorea Robusta</i>
Sapu	<i>Michelia Champaka</i>
Sevana-Međiya	<i>Ficus asperrima</i>
Súriya-Mára	<i>Albizzia odoratissima</i>
Tal	<i>Borassus jlabelliformis</i>
Tanahál	<i>Setaria italica</i>
Tel-tala	<i>Sesamum Indicum</i>
Una (Maskara)	<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i>
Upul (Mánel)	<i>Nymphaea stellata</i>
Varaka (Kos)	<i>Artocarpus integrifolia</i>

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON,

(*Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

Continued from Vol. VI, Page 197).

14-3-14 : Cycled from Matara to Dondra, saw finish of work and cycled on to Dikwela Rest House.

15-3-14 ; Went back to Baberende at 109½ mile on Hunudeniya Road, app. 1 m. Vihāre : old name

KURUMBUREPURNĀRĀMA VIHĀRE.

A gold drum (*ran kurumbure*) is said to have been buried here as a treasure. Only the Vihāre premises are known as Kurumbere. It is called *Brahma-cōla Vihāre* in the *Saddharmālakāra*. There was originally a Bo-tree, *dāgaba*, and old *pansala*, now gone. New *pansalas* put up 150 years ago and restoration made by Denatapitiye Sangharakkhita High Priest of Low-country. His *sohon*¹ is here, also that of his guru High Priest of Lalpi Vihāre, Kandaboda Pattu.

It is said that a certain Rahat² living here was once thirsty and, meeting a woman, she offered a water-pot. He drank it all. Her husband, seeing it empty, told her to go back and bring back the water from the Rahat. She returned and found a spring (*bibula*) bubbling out of the ground ; it is now called Udupitiya Bibula and the *vila* (stream) Uduvila.

Maliya Deva Rahat went to India and brought back four gold Buddhas and gave them to Kotmale Passulpiti Vihāre (said to be an inscription here) in the time of Walagam Bāhu. They were then distributed to Kotmale Vihāre, Didenipota Vihāre, Mādamula Vihāre (N. of Kandy) and one here.

High Priest Walpitigama Sangharakkhita Ratnapāla. Malwatte. One shoulder.

The *Rasavāhini* mentions the village and Bibulu drop.

They think Dutthagāmini built the *dāgaba*.

They have only traditions (*mukha paramparāva*).

The *pilima-ge* of the gold Buddha is two-storied. In the room below sleeps a priest as guard. Above on a table in a wooden cupboard is the gold Buddha (1' 6½" to top of *sirisa* and 1' 3" from knee to knee). He sits on a bronze stand with a bronze *makara toraṇa* of splendid work. *Dhyāna mudra*.

1. Monument built over his remains.

2. It is difficult to say where Mr. Ayrton found this Pali form. Geiger's edition of the Pali text has *Nakulanagarakannikāyam* and Hardy's copy from the Cambodian *Māhāvansa* MS has *Nakulanagare tasmim Kannikajanapade vare*. Sumangala and Batuwantudave's editions, however, has *Nakulanagarakkhāyam* which still differs from Mr. Ayrton's.

On S. wall of Vihāre is a raised standing Buddha.

On W. " " " seated "

On S. of doorway " " standing Vishnu

On N. " " " " Kattragam.

Painted over N. doorway is Buddha seated and Māra's legions.

Painted on each side of N. doorway are (on W.) Agore, a terrible demon, and Sujawataka (on E.) It is said that a wicked man passing through the door would drop dead (self and assistant got through safely). Over E. door is painted Maitreya.

Kattragam has peacock + naga in mouth as *vāhana*. Left hand holds a cock on two fingers. Right hand palm out open.

Two old pillars used as boundaries of channel &c. in the fields.

Cycled on to Tangalla Rest House in the afternoon.

On the way to Tangalle passed through

NAKULUGAMUWA,

a large village on the side of a big inlet, the Maweli Kalappu, in Giruwa Pattu. This is probably the later capital of this district in 14th century, Maha Nāgakula of the *Mahāvansa*.

Mahāvansa XXIII 77: Under Duttagamini (in Rohana): "In the district of *Nakulanaga* in the village of Mahisadonika there lived Abhaya's last son, named Deva, endowed with great strength." (The Pali says *Nakalanagarakkhāsam*.)¹

Mah: LVIII. 39. Vijaya Báhu was in Rohana whilst Cola ruled North Ceylon. And Vijaya Báhu 'went up by degrees and abode in the city called *Mahánágakula*' and abode there getting an army against Cola.

Mah: LX. 57. Vijaya Báhu appoints a son to rule over all Rohana and he makes *Mahánágakula* his seat in the South.

Mah: LXI. After death of Vijaya Báhu, Mánábhara, the sub-king of Jaya Báhu, conquers the S. country, puts Kirttisrimégha in charge of the Dvādasasahassaka Ratta (Giruwá Pattu) "and commanded him to dwell there, whereupon Kirttisrimégha went thither and dwelt in the city of *Mahánágasula*."

Mah: LXIII. 4: Sirivallabha goes to *Mahánágakula* and rules there.

Mah: LXXV. 21: Parákrama Báhu sends an army to Southern Province "and commanded them that they should make the city of *Mahánágakula*, wherein the former kings had dwelt, the chief city of the country; and they got ready a great army and departed, eager for the fight."

It is noteworthy that the General on reaching Digháli (Dikwella) turned North to subdue that country before attacking *Mahánágakula* where the opposing General was.

Later, "according to the commands of our master we have taken *Mahánágakula*." The place is mentioned throughout this chapter.

Mah: XXXIII. 37: "A young Brahman named Tissa, in Rohana, in the city (that was the seat) of his clan."

Geiger says: "I read '*Kulanagare*' and understand by this Mahágama, the town from which the dynasty of Duṭṭhagāmini came.

The Pali has: *Nakulagare*.

I see in both these the *Nakulanaga* or *Mahanagakula* = *Nakulagamuwa*.

The readings are as follows:

Geiger XXXIII. 37. Pali.

Rohaṇe kulanagare eko bráhmaṇaceṭako.

Tisso náma

Geiger gives as another reading *Nakulanagare*.

Sumangala and Batuwantudave : Pali XXXIII. 37.

Rohana nakulanagare eko bráhmaṇaceṭako

Tiso náma

Turnour (p. 135) : "A certain brahman, prince of the city of *Nakula* in *Róhana*. . . ."

The prince is corrected by Wijesinghe to "youth."

But cf. Muller (p. 51. No. 99) where he identifies *Mahalanagara* of the *Mah.* p. 142 with Nayinnawella Viháre 1½ m. s. of Bibile, on strength of an old inscription giving the name Nakala Viháre.

But present Sinhalese name is Muhunnaru, or Múnaru (cf. *Mah.* 68, 48.)

16-3-14 : Went to the remains of

GIRIBANDU VIHÁRE,

between Tangalle Gaol (Dutch Fort) and the sea.

There is now left only a raised (6 ft.) platform of earth in the centre of which a small Bo-tree has been planted. It is said that Mr. Campbell excavated here and handed over some objects to the Kudá Viháre priests. But it is only the *Maluwa* of the *Dágaba* that remains.

In an *Ola Sannas* dated 24 Feb., 1774 (Registered, Tangalle 1060/11-9-69), now in the possession of Polammáruwe Piyaratana of Vanavása Kudá Viháre, Tangalle, the date of the building of the *dágaba* is given as 240 Saka (= 318 A. D.) by King Mini-Kimhe (K. S. Méghavanna ?) The *Ola* describes the *dágaba* as 120 cubits in circumference and 60 cubits in height and adds that repairs done to it at a later period cost 5793 *patagás* (This is a *Sannas* granted by the Governor of Tangalle, a Dutch official.)

Further at the Kudá Viháre is copy of a long petition on *ola* addressed by the monks of Giribandu to the Wásala Mahá Dissáwe of Tangalle saying that in 1774 the Dissáwe had given a *Sannas* defining their land, and that they had given permission to the Dutch to erect tents on this land, how the Dutch soldiers were worrying them and they asked for a grant of land somewhere else, and the return of the 5793 pieces of silver which they had spent on the Viháre in the last 7 years. Apparently they left the place and it was levelled by the Dutch, who thus secured a better view across the harbour for their fort.

On the day when this petition was sent in it was exactly 2,300 years since Mini Kimhe had founded the Viháre.

Giribandu is supposed to be the *Girikandu Viháre* of the *Mahávansa* (ch. LX. V. 61), the *Pújávaliya* and *Culabodhivamsaya*, p. 36. Went to

GALGODA VIHARE

on the Danketiya road.

Small uninteresting Viháre on two platforms cut in side of hill. On the top of the hill to the west is Veheragodella, now a trig. station. Nothing to be seen, a few scraps of brick.

Went to

RANKOT MALU DÁGABA.

2m. along Danketiya Road. High Priest appointed 1891. Sumangala Therunnanse, Malwatta, one shoulder. No inscriptions ; supposed to be very old. Dágaba restored 55 years ago. There are some short stone pillars near the Vihára.

At present the images are only 3 copper and one wooden Buddhas, app. 1' 6" high in a cupboard in the priest's house.

Went to the

VANAVÁSA KUDÁ VIHÁRE (Polommáruwa.)

The Dágaba and the 2 Bo-trees are said to have been built by Devánampiya Tissa.

Several old *olas* with Dutch grants (see Girikanda Viháre). The priest is H. P. of several Viháres. The present High Priest of Adam's Peak came from here.

The priest Piyaratana says that he found many things in the small mound by the *dágaba*, but he only produced a green *karandúwa*, which has certainly been dug up, an ivory which he said had been dug up and cleaned, and a bronze ; but whether these are from Girikanda Vehera or here he is uncertain. Also produced numerous bronze Buddhas said to have been dug up. He seemed very suspicious and disinclined to show them.

17-3-14 : Plan made and photos taken of the Vanavása Kudá Viháre ; the priest says it is mentioned in *Mahávansa* and *Culabodhivansa* (?)

18-3-14. Went to Matara in afternoon. went on to Galle.

19-3-14. To Anurádhapura.

20-3-14. }
24-3-14. } At Anurádhapura
25-3-14. }

26-3-14. To Topavewa

27-3-14. At „

28-3-14. To Anurádhapura

29-3-14. To Matara . . . To Tangalla, carts to Katuwana.

30-3-14. To Walasmulla for breakfast (bicycle, good road, metalled). On at 2-30 p.m. to Katuwana (10m). past carts still going at 3 p.m. 4 p.m. from K. Very bad road, sandy in parts and ungravelled. Reached K. at 5 p.m. Small G. A's bungalow, no furniture. Carts arrived at 6. p.m.

(To be Continued.)

Notes & Queries.

GLIMPSES OF CEYLON IN DUTCH TIMES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired),

THERE appeared in the December (1920) number of *Blackwood's Magazine* a paper by Lieut.-General Sir J. Spencer Ewart, K.C.B., giving an account of the career of a Colonel Edward Hamilton who was in the service of the East India Company from 1755 to 1776. This account is based on a memoir dictated by the Colonel to his wife in 1814.

In this memoir he mentions two involuntary visits paid by him to Ceylon, the first to Galle in 1755 and the second to Colombo about twelve years later. Of the first of these some details are given which have an interest for us in Ceylon; the second is merely mentioned as an episode that occurred on one of his voyages. What a pity that the Colonel did not keep a diary, and had to rely solely on his memory; the most trivial incidents or descriptions in connection with these two flying visits would have been a welcome addition to our knowledge of Ceylon in Dutch times.

The following is a verbatim extract from the memoir kindly sent to me by Sir Spencer Ewart. It is rather fuller than the passage relating to the 1755 episode given in *Blackwood*—

“When near Ceylon in the *Salisbury* we experienced a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which so shattered our foremast that Captain Knowles made signals of distress, which were answered by another signal from Admiral Watson to make for the nearest port,—which was Point de Galle. We procured a Dutch pilot, but he positively refused to conduct us into the harbour without a previous order from the Dutch Governor. There was no time for that ceremony, so the Captain ordered a rope about the pilot's neck; by that means obliging him to save us. The Dutch seeing our motions fired upon us, which was immediately returned by our taking aim at the Flag Staff upon the Fort, to such good purpose that one of our balls reached the room where the Governor and other officers were at dinner. The flag disappeared and one of our officers was ordered to go ashore, but again the dilemma regarding language occurred and again I was nominated ambassador and was again fortunate that everything we desired was granted and all the officers were invited to a Ball in the evening, where I met with some very pretty ladies, as fond of dancing as myself.”

By “the Governor” is doubtless meant the Commandeur of Galle. Who he was I am unable just now to say, but Mr. R. G. Anthonisz can supply the information. Colonel Hamilton was at this time 22 years of age and a midshipman in the Navy. He had been brought up in Switzerland which accounts for his knowledge of other languages than his own. He probably knew French and German. He joined the East-India Company soon after his arrival in India. The *Cumberland* was on her voyage to Bombay and had called at Madeira (where perhaps he had acted as “ambassador”) and Madagascar. In the Madras Presidency he made

the acquaintance of Mrs. Draper-Sterne's "Eliza," who was very good to him. Her husband was Secretary of the Presidency. Hamilton's regiment was the Bombay European Regiment, in later times the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Captain Knowles, as Sir Spencer Ewart remarks, was certainly "a man of action."

The other episode is very briefly referred to. It happened on his voyage from Bombay to Calcutta *circa* 1767. "During that voyage I was nearly cast away upon the Island of Ceylon, got into Columba and went through more perils between the Island and the Main. Unfortunately he does not tell us what he did or saw at "Columba," nor the name of the ship nor of the Captain, nor what the perils were that he escaped. One can only again regret that the Colonel did not keep a diary.

ANCIENT RUINS AT KUBUKKANDANA.¹

By W. T. SOUTHORN, C.C.S.

19-3-14: I had come here to see the ancient ruins on the rock at Kubukkandana² and they proved most interesting, being still practically untouched, and give one an idea of what Anurádhapura was before it was cleared. The ruins seem to be those of some three *Dágabas* with the *Pansalas* attached to them. No doubt they have been visited and described before, but I could not hear locally of any visit by Europeans since Mr Moysey's day until a Matale planter visited them last year.

As you ascend the rock you come to the ruins of a *Dágaba* on the right, and to the left is a fine *Gal-ge* with Drip-ledge—now obviously used as a place for drying the meat of illicitly shot game. There are several cut stones lying about near the cave and a broken image of Buddha carved in a very friable stone. Leaving the cave on the right one reaches a flight of steps cut in the rock and, just beyond that, the remains of a *Dágaba* with some very rough stone pillars.

Close to this is a long inscription cut in much weathered stone—about 9 feet long by 2 feet 6 inches broad. Immediately beyond are bricks and cut stones. On this mound too were a *Mutuporuwa* and the foundations of a wall running N.E.—S.W. to a building which appears to have had four rows of pillars with four in each row—possibly more. Several pillars are still standing. To the East there are many bricks—two uncarved moonstones and other remains.

Returning to the main rock I ascended the rock steps which run N. E. from close by the inscription to what I presume was a fair-sized *Dágaba* in ruins on the top. Just beyond the *Dágaba* was a pool with a carved cobra, also a newer looking *Dágaba*, obviously rifled at some period but with a portion of fine brick moulding remaining in existence. There was another small pool near the edge of the plateau. The rock is curiously almost half surrounded by a semi-circle of similar but smaller rocks. My guides knew of no ruins on them.

1. This note represents an extract from the Diary of W. T. Southorn Esq., C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Matale, for 19th March, 1914.

2. Kubukkandana is situated in Matale East about 3 miles west of the Mahaweliganga.

CURIOUS PAPERS.

BY S. G. P.

DURING the Uva Rebellion of 1817-18, when the British troops were scouring the country in pursuit of rebels, Lieut. Tulloch came upon the family of the "Arch Rebel" Keppitipola "in a jungle near Narangamme" on 16 October, 1818. His mother, wife, two sons, and a brother were taken with the "baggage" of Keppitipola, who was himself taken and executed a month later. In the baggage were "several curious papers," "among them

1. The Treaty of Alliance proposed by Mr. Robert Andrews to the King of Kandy.
2. A letter from the French Admiral Suffrein, and
3. The original letter from Lord Macartney sent from Madras by Mr. Hugh Boyd and dated October 13, 1781." *Ceylon Gazette*, 24, October, 1818.

Keppitipola had other things also besides papers. He had the deposed King's crown and sword and wearing apparel; and his brother-in-law-Ehelépolá "handed over to the English the late King's crown, sword, and wearing apparel which he found concealed in the possession of Keppitipola Dissava and a villager." (Pohath-Kehelpannala, *Ehalapola*, p. 34.)

Does any body know whether these "curious papers" are still extant? Such interesting documents falling into the hands of a British officer on a military expedition are, if anything, likely to be preserved; unless perhaps some high official with a historical turn of mind took them with him for a keepsake on retirement or presented them to the British Museum. Such a case "involving the honour of a whilom Chief Justice and a Colonial Secretary" is on record. (Cf. *Journal C.B.R.A.S.* 62, pp 260, 271). Have these curious papers suffered a like fate? If they did they are sure to be better preserved than by the local Government, and certainly more accessible.

The Treaty of Alliance referred to is probably the one signed at Fort St. George and brought back by Andrews, on his second journey, to be signed by the King of Kandy. It is given in Andrews' *Journal* recently published (*Journal C.B.R.A.S.* 70, pt. 3, pp. 115-117.)

The letter of Suffrein has, I think, never come to light.¹ But the letter of Lord Macartney has been preserved by the Dutch. Among the Dutch Records of the Government was found a copy of this letter along with a Dutch translation. Mr. H.C.P. Bell published it in the *Ceylon Literary Register* IV, pp. 132-3. It was there supposed "probable that on the capture of Mr. Boyd by the French these papers fell into the hands of the Dutch Government." (*ib.* p. 125). But Boyd was captured on the high seas. A packet, which he threw overboard, was rescued by the Frenchman, and sent to Amsterdam (*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799). The Diaries of both Boyd and Andrews are now published, the latter so far back as 1799. A French *Ambassade de M. Hughes Boyd* (Paris, 1803) was published from a German translation, to a second hand copy of which we might here give a free advertisement: "*Boyd H. Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ceylon, M. histor-statistischen Nachrichten v. dieser Insel u. dem Leben des Verfass, hrsg. v, L. D. Campbell. Aus d. Engl. Hamburg 1802*" 2 m. Katalog 490, No. 396, Hiersemann, Leipzig. 1921.

1. The circumstances that led to the French and English correspondence with the King of Kandy are well known. See *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, V. 180 and sqq.

GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL¹

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired).

MAJOR M. L. Ferrar, late 19th Regiment, Editor of the *Green Howards' Gazette*, has kindly furnished me with some further information about General Hay Macdowall. He writes:—
 “He is shown in the Army List for 1786 as the Major and 2nd in Command of the 2nd Battalion, 42nd Foot, the date of his appointment being 24 March, 1784. The regiment was then serving in the East Indies. In the quotation on page 182 it is said he commanded the detachment of the 42nd and 78th. As he then would be senior Captain of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, this is only natural, his being promoted two years later Major in the same Regiment. The 78th never had anything to do with the 42nd. They are mixed up continually with the 72nd and were joined together as the Seaforth Highlanders in 1831. . . . Sir Thomas Maitland was in the 78th.

“This 2nd Battalion of the 42nd was embodied at Perth on 21st March, 1780, as the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, and in 1786 was constituted a separate corps as the 73rd Foot, being the third, or more correctly, the fourth corps to succeed to that number. Its predecessors were (1) a 2nd Battalion of the 34th Foot raised in 1756 and soon after formed into the 73rd, which after a few years service in Ireland was disbanded at the peace of 1763. Then for a brief space (2) the 116th (Invalids), one of the several Invalid Corps raised during the latter part of the Seven Years War, figured as the 73rd (Invalids). It was soon reduced. Then came (3) the Highland Corps, known afterwards as the Highland Light Infantry, raised as the 73rd in 1777, which bore the number until 1786 when it became the 71st. This 73rd raised in 1780 reverted to its old position as 2nd Battalion of the 42nd in July, 1881, when the Territorial Scheme came into force.”

The Rev. F. Penny informs me that “the commercial firm of Macdowall and Co. was founded by one of the family. The firm used to keep in order the tomb of General Macdowall (1834) in the St. Mary's Burial Ground at Fort St. George, when I was Garrison Chaplain, and probably do so still.” (The General Macdowall here referred to is the son of General Hay Macdowall who was with his father in Ceylon as A.D.C.)

In Dodwell and Miles's *List of Madras Army Officers* “Lieutenant Colonel Francis Capper” is stated to have been “lost in the *Lady Jane Dundas*” in 1809, and as General Hay Macdowall and he in all probability would have arranged to voyage in the same East Indiaman, I think it likely now that the former's ship was the *Lady Jane Dundas* and not the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*. The date of the wreck of both vessels is given in the same book as “14th March, 1809.”

Other officers lost were—

In the *Lady Jane Dundas* Second Lieutenant John Brookesbank.
 Lieutenant G. Bradley.
 Engineers.
 Captain George Bellingham.

1. (*Ceylon Antiquary*. Vol. V, pp. 180-8 Vol. VI, pp I-6.)

In the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*. Lieutenant Henry David.
 Lieutenant James Duff.
 Lieutenant Isaac Manders.
 Lieutenant John Dalzell.
 2nd Lieutenant James Fell.
 Captain George Wilson.
 Captain Thomas Young.

With reference to note 19 on page 182, the spelling used by the family at the present day and in the Army List of 1786 is "Macdowall," which seems conclusive.

"FORT MACDOWALL" at Matale was called after General Hay Macdowall, but the name of the place is almost forgotten as is the name of the General.

This same note, by the by, supplies information which serves to correct my surmise on page 2 of Vol. V. of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, that Macdowall was fifteen years of age when he joined the Army. Cunat (see note 2 on page 180) says that he was 26 when at Trincomalee in 1782. This makes his age when appointed to an Ensigncy seventeen, and 1756 the year of his birth 1756. So that he was 54 at the time of his death. He was never "Sir Hay Macdowall."

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the interest and value of "S. G. P."s paper on "French Expeditions against Trincomalee."

Major-Gen. A. Macdowall.—In my paper on General Hay Macdowall in Vol. VI. Part I. of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, I spoke of Captain, afterwards Major General, A. Macdowall as being the son of General Hay Macdowall, and I suppose I must have seen him referred to somewhere as such either in Percival or Cordiner or some other book or record dealing with the earliest period of British rule.

But it seems that this cannot have been the case if the following is the younger General's record according to Buckland's *Indian Biography* (abridged.)

Lieut. General Sir Andrew Macdowall. Entered the East India Company's service, Madras Establishment, 1783; at the siege and capture of Pondicherry, 1783, and the reduction of many of Tippoo's forts; served in the defence of the Raja of Travancore's lines, 1789; in the force under Cornwallis and Medows at Seringapatam, 1791-2; at Malavilla and capture of Seringapatam, 1799; in the defence of the ceded country, 1801-3; commanded a brigade under Sir T. Haslop at Mahidpur in 1817; commanded a detachment in Khandesh and took many forts, 1818; C.B.; K.C.B., 1831; died 31st May, 1835.

As General Hay Macdowall was born in 1756, and if General Andrew Macdowall was, say, 14 when he joined the E.I.C. Army in 1783, he was born in 1769, when the former was only 13. It is however possible that the General whose record is given above was another A. Macdowall and not the Captain A Macdowall who was with General Hay Macdowall on his embassy to Kandy in 1800. The alternative is that this General Andrew was a brother and not the son of General Hay Macdowall.

It should be noted in this connection that the record allows the possibility of his having been in Ceylon in 1800—between the capture of Seringapatam and his service in "the ceded country" 1801-3.

Buckland, I think, erroneously gives the year of his death as "1835" instead of 1834.

It is much to be wished that some Indian correspondent of the *Ceylon Antiquary* would enlighten us on these points. Is it anywhere definitely stated that A. was the son of Hay or is it a hallucination on my part? I have no means just now of referring to the books mentioned.

CAPTAIN CHAMPION.

By T. PETCH.

IN manuscript notes on the history of botany in Ceylon, compiled by Trimen, there are the following entries :

Champion, Captain J.G. 95th Regiment : killed at Inkermann, 1854 ; in Ceylon 1838-1847 ; to Hongkong in 1847 ; in Hongkong 1847-50.

"Rough notes on Ceylon scenery and observations on the Banyan tree," Hooker's *Journal of Botany*, III (1841), p. 282.

"Remarks on the state of botany in Ceylon." 1844. Dated 29 May, 1843. Appended to Ondaatje's first Report on the Royal Botanic Garden for 1843.

Letter to the Colonial Secretary on Moon's herbarium, dated 5 June 1844, added to Gardner's Report on the Royal Botanic Garden, May-August, 1844, appendix III.

First lived at Kandy, then at Galle. Botanised with Gardner about Galle in Dec. 1844. Gave a "small but valuable collection" of Ceylon plants to the herbarium in Ondaatje's time. Sent to Wight between 600 and 700 species from the interior and Galle. *Championia Gardn.*

Boulger in his historical account of Ceylon botany gives the name as J. G. Champion, no doubt following Trimen. No initials are given in the paper, "Remarks on the present state of botany in Ceylon," published in 1844. But in Hooker's *London Journal of Botany* (1841), the author of "Rough notes on Ceylon scenery" which was written in 1839, is said to be Captain William Champion ; and Sir W. J. Hooker, the editor, prefaced the article with "The following notes on Ceylon scenery and vegetation were made during our friend's very brief stay in that most interesting island." Hooker, therefore, wrote as if Champion had already left Ceylon.

Were these two Captains Champion in Ceylon between 1838 and 1844 ? The letter of 1844 to the Colonial Secretary is signed J. G. Champion, and the same initials are given in the Biographical Index of British and Irish Botanists.



BOOKS ON CEYLON.

THE EDITOR,

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

SIR,

WITH reference to "Biblio's" communication on the above subject and your note thereon, appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI, Part III, p. 159, I have much pleasure in forwarding herewith for publication in the Journal a list of books omitted by "Biblio."

Yours truly,

D. P. E. HETTIARACHCHI.

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THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Pt. IV, Page 241.)

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE CONDITION OF THOSE RESIDING IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Government of Madras.—Political Department.

READ again G.O. dated 20th March, 1893, No. 156, Political.

Abstract.—Communicating to the Government Agent, Tanjore, and the Collectors of North Arcot and Madura, for report, letter from the Ceylon Government requesting to be furnished with certain information desired by Lord Ripon regarding Kandyan Pensioners.

READ also the following papers :—

From J. HEWETSON, Esq., Acting Collector of North Arcot, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Kávérippákkam, 5th June, 1893, No. 550-In.

With reference to G. O. No. 156, Political, dated 20th March, 1893, I have the honour to report as follows :—

2. At present there are only two Kandyan pensioners in this district, one named Doraisami Raja and the other **Venkatasami Raja**. The former is the grandson of Kandasami Raja and grand-nephew of Muthusami Raja, and is in receipt of a monthly pension of Rs. 26-8-8, sanctioned in G. O. No. 665, Political, dated 6th October, 1858. He is now aged about sixty years. He possesses dry lands about four cawnies in Kondama Nayadu Poliem of Naraganti zemindari. He has no house of his own, the one in which he is now living having been obtained on mortgage on payment of Rs. 150. The mortgage deed is in the name of his fourth son. He is not well off, and his income is not sufficient to meet the demands of his large family. He has

1st son, Venugopal Raja, aged about 40 years.	
2nd son, Kandasami Raja,	32 "
3rd son, Venkatasami Raja	30 "
4th son, Ramaiya Raja,	11 "

four sons, whose names are given in the margin. The first and fourth are living with their father at Greampet in Chittoor. The former, being a sickly man remains idle at home. He has got a son named Baja Raja and two daughters. Baja Raja and the

fourth son, No. 4 Ramaiya Raja, are reading in the third class in the Local Fund School at Chittoor. The former is reported to be regular in attendance, but the latter is not. Both of

them are, however, said to be intelligent. The second son, Kandasami Raja, leads an idle life in Mysore, receiving a monthly allowance of Rs. 3 from his father. None of these is reported to be fit to hold appointments under Government.

3. As regards the other pensioner, Venkatasami Raja, he is the third son of the first-named pensioner Doraisami Raja. He has been adopted by the late Kandyan pensioner Venkatasubbarayulu Raja. He is in receipt of a monthly pension of Rs. 36-6-6, sanctioned in G. O. No. 632, dated 29th September, 1875. He has been residing at Narasingarayanipet of Naraganti zemindari for the last two years. He possesses about 14 cawnies of land, dry and wet, in the villages of Atmakúru and Kondamanayanipolliem and derives an income of about Rs. 120 per annum, exclusive of Government kist. Besides these, he owns two thatched houses at Narasingarayanipet worth about Rs. 50. He knows English, Telugu, and Tamil, and is leading a quiet life. He has three sons, aged about 10, 8, and 1 year respectively. The first two are reading in the Narasingarayanipet Local Fund School.

4. Besides these two pensioners, there is one Govindarajulu. He is the son of one Mulla, a servant of the ex-king of Kandy, and as such is in receipt of a monthly stipend of Rs. 6-10-8, sanctioned in G.O. No. 377, dated 8th October, 1872. He owns also some lands, measuring 1.36 acre, in Satupolliem village in Vellore. He has two sons and a daughter; the elder son, aged about 5 years, is reading in a village school.

From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Acting Government Agent, Tanjore, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Vallam, 2nd July, 1893, No. 5.

With reference to G. O. dated 20th March, 1893, No. 156, Political, I have the honour to enclose a statement affording information regarding the existing number of Kandyan pensioners residing in the Tanjore district, with particulars regarding their families.

2. The Auditor-General's list No. 1. of 1871 shows that there were then in this district 29 pensioners (20 males and 9 females). The number of wives, children, and dependents, so far as stated, was 88, but this was obviously only a fraction of the total.

3. No. 8, Doraisami Raja, is now in Madura, and draws his pension there. Savitri Devi's name is twice entered—*vide* Nos. 7 and 31. No. 27, Kuppamal, is no longer traceable, and is presumably deceased. Nos. 26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, and 46 commuted their pensions, and I have not been able to trace them. I could no doubt do so if more time be allowed and if any inquiry be deemed expedient. Deducting the above 13, there remain 16. Eight of these are still alive and drawing their pensions, and eight have been succeeded by their heirs. The identity of these 16 will be apparent on a reference to the enclosed statement. No. 29 in list II. of the Auditor-General was transferred to list No. I. Six new names have come on the list by transfer from other districts, bringing up the present total to 23.

4. Of the 23 existing pensioners, 12 males and 7 females reside in Tanjore town, 1 male in Tiruválúr, and 3 males in Negapatam.

5. The description of the miserable condition of the pensioners as depicted in 1871 can be in no way softened at the present date. Their circumstances (with two exceptions) have undergone no change for the better, while in the case of 11 families their allowances have been reduced by one-half or two thirds. The two exceptions above referred to are the following:—

Venkatasami Raja, No. 20 on the Auditor-General's list, is practising as a first-Grade Pleader at Negapatam, and is assessed to income tax on an income of Rs. 1,200. He is an elected

Municipal Councillor and an Honorary Magistrate. He has a large family, and is heavily burdened by dependents and debts.

Tayasimmala (properly Tyâgasimhala Raja), No. 6 in the Auditor-General's list, holds the office of Sub-Registrar—a post that brings him in about Rs. 95 a month. He is overwhelmed in debt and would be bankrupt but for the wise forbearance of his creditors. This gentleman was educated at St. Peter's College, Tanjore, at the cost of the Ceylon Government, and is now 37 years of age. In response to his appeal for the liquidation of his debts, the Ceylon Government has recently sanctioned the appointment of a tutor on Rs. 30 for his three small sons—*Vide* correspondence ending with G.O. dated 1st June, 1893, No. 345.

The other adult members of the pensioned families have neither the desire nor the ability to discover a means of livelihood, and although the younger members have had good educational opportunities at St. Peter's College, Tanjore, and the Wesleyan Mission College, Negapatam, I regret to say that there is not one of them who has yet succeeded in qualifying himself by examination for Government employment. Their attendance at school is generally irregular and their progress unsatisfactory. They would say, I suppose, that it is ill studying on an empty stomach, and that chill penury repressed their noble rage and froze the genial current of the soul. The younger members are quite unfit for the long hours of clerical drudgery that fall to the lot of the clerks in our Taluk, Divisional, and Huzur Offices, and in the Revenue Department there are no sinecures left where incompetence can be tolerated, nor am I able to point to any of them whose bodily strength, industry, and force of character give promise of making up for a want of book-learning. Of those at school, several are of tender years, and may develop talents which are as yet hidden.

6. As to their amalgamating with the general population, I see little prospect of it. They profess to belong to the Kshatriya caste, and do not intermarry beyond the limits of their own circle.

7. It is not, as I understand, necessary to refer in this report to the numerous individuals specified in the Auditor-General's list No. II. who were allowed to commute their pensions. I will merely say that most of them are living as hangers-on upon the pensioners, whose distress is aggravated by the necessity (real or supposed) of supporting them. So far as I have been able to ascertain, only four of them have found work of a sort—one is a copyist in the Negapatam Sea Customs Office, one is a painter, and one a fitter's cooly in the railway workshops, Negapatam, and the fourth is a railway cooly.

8. I am unable to suggest any way of improving the condition of these unhappy people other than the obvious one of increasing their pecuniary allowances.

From the Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to the Government of Madras, dated Colombo, 21st June, 1893.

Education of Children of the Kandyan Pensioners.

ADVERTING to your letter, Political Mis. No. 258, of the 1st May, 1893, on the above subject, I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon to state that his attention having been directed to the question of the education of these children, His Excellency will be glad that they should, if this be feasible, be provided with a better education His Excellency

would wish that they should be given every educational advantage possible for people of their class to obtain within reason, and I am to state that any additional cost which His Excellency the Governor of Madras in Council considers to be properly incurred for this purpose will be gladly defrayed.

From H. M. WINTERBOTHAM, Esq., Acting Collector and Government Agent, Tanjore, to the
CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Vallam, 6th August, 1893, No. 36.

WITH reference to the endorsement from Government dated 5th July, 1893, No. 1,173, I have the honour to state that a list of the children of the Kandyan pensioners who are of a school-going age—*i.e.*, between the ages of 6 and 19—was submitted to Government with my letter dated 6th July, 1893, No. 5. It will be seen from this list that there are in all 19 boys, of whom 11 are in Tanjore, 3 in Tiruválúr, and 5 in Negapatam. Of the 11 lads in Tanjore, I have personally seen and talked to 8. I have already reported in my letter quoted above the unsatisfactory state of their educational progress. For their irregular attendance they assign various reasons: *e.g.* (1) the distance of the college from their homes—they cannot walk and have no carriage; (2) the interval of one hour in the middle of the day does not admit of their returning home for food—they thus lose their dinner; (3) they have not enough to eat and have no proper clothes; (4) bad health. All of these excuses are more or less plausible. I have talked over the matter with the Rev. W. H. Blake, Principal of the College, but have not been able to devise any means of promoting their education. The college offers them as good tuition and training as can be reasonably required, and the difficulties that stand in their way all ultimately spring from the poverty of their parents or guardians, want of industry, or natural inaptitude.

2. As regards the three children at Tiruválúr, the Government of Ceylon recently sanctioned the entertainment of a tutor* on Rs. 30 a month; but here again there are difficulties in the way which I did not foresee. Their father, M.R.Ry. P. Tyagasimhala Raja, has represented to me that he has not even a vacant pial where the children and the tutor can sit, and he urges the difficulty of one man attending to three boys of such different ages that each requires quite a separate course of study. He greatly prefers that his sons should continue to attend the high school at Tiruválúr, and desires that they should receive the help of a tutor in preparing their lessons at home. For this he requires a schoolroom, a certain amount of furniture, and a lamp. I think probably the best arrangement would be to allow the boys to continue to attend the high school and to engage one of the teachers of the high school to act as private tutor to the boys out of school hours. Rs. 15 would be an ample remuneration, and Rs. 15 would thus remain available for renting a suitable schoolroom, furnishing it, and meeting school fees and sundry expenses. I should be glad if Government would sanction this arrangement as an experiment.

3. The boys at Negapatam are the sons and grandsons of M.R.Ry. Venkatasami Raja, referred to in paragraph 5 of my letter dated 6th July, 1893, No. 5. Their father has a good income, and the Wesleyan College offers as good an education as they could desire. They do not take advantage of their opportunities, and I see no way in which any additional facilities can be afforded them.

* *Vide* G.O. dated 1st June 1883, No. 345.

From J. STURROCK, Esq., Acting Government Agent, Tanjore, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Vallam, 9th October, 1893, No. 76.

WITH reference to Government memorandum No. 1,720, dated 27th September, 1893, I have the honour to state that the Auditor-General's list referred to in my predecessor's letter No. 5, dated 2nd July, 1893, is the "amended list" received with G. O. No. 449, dated 17th December, 1872.

2. The enclosures of the memorandum under reference are returned.

From T. W. RAWLINS, Esq., Accountant-General, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, dated Fort St. George, 16th October, 1893, No. I.A.D., 683.

WITH reference to your memorandum No. 1,721, dated the 27th September, 1893, I have the honour to state that the Collectors' letters referred to contain the names of all the Kandyan pensioners who draw their pensions in this Presidency.

2. I might add that the pensioner Doraisami Raja, referred to in paragraph 2 of the letter from the Collector of North Arcot, died on 28th May, 1893,

ORDER dated 14th November, 1893, No. 763, Political :—

The Ceylon Government will be addressed.

[Here enter No. 764, dated 14th November, 1893.]

(True extract.)

J. FREDERICK PRICE,

Chief Secretary.

