

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
CEYLON BRANCH  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,  
1924.

VOLUME XXIX.

No. 77.—Parts I, II, III. and IV.

PAPERS:

THE WORSHIP OF MURU  
VIJAYA BAHU'S INSCRIPTION AT  
EXCERPTA MALDIVI  
THE COUNCIL CHAMBER INSCRIPTION  
THE DORATIYAWA S  
NOTE ON "GEEEVING"  
THE CROOKED

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into the History, Religions, Language  
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former Inhabitants of the Island

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THE COUNCIL CHAMBER INSCRIPTIONS AT POLONNARUWA.

THE DORATIYAWA SANNASA.

NOTE ON "GREEVING'S DIARY."

THE CROOKED COMB.

NATIONAL LIBRARY SECTION,  
MUNICIPAL LIBRARY SERVICES,  
JAFFNA

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

COLOMBO:

THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES COMPANY, LTD., PRINTERS.

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1925. இப் புத்தகம்

தாரித். அ. சிவசுந்தரி D. Sc.

B. M. S. (Cev.) F. R. C. S. (Edin.) (Inf)

F. R. C. S. (Eng) F. R. C. O. G. (Gt. Br.)

அவர்களால் அன்பளிப்பு செய்யப்பட்டது



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கணிசி. அ. சிவசுந்தரி D. Sc.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

PUBLIC LIBRARY  
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February, 9th, 1924.

Present:

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

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-President.

Dr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,

Gate Mudaliyar

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

Prof. R. Marrs, M.A.

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

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera

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

Business:

1. The following vote of Condolence by the Council:  
"Resolved to place on record an expression of its appreciation of the services rendered by its late President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., in furtherance of the interests of the Society and of the objects for which it has been established, and of its keen regret at his untimely death, and to express to Lady Arunachalam and other members of the family our deep sympathy with them in their bereavement."

2. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 17th October, 1923, were read and confirmed.

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

Rev. Edward C. Dewick, Joseph Matthias de Mel;  
Subramania Ranganathan, Wilfred Gunasekara, Leslie Donald  
Charleton Hughes, Felix Charles Aloysius de Silva, Conrad  
Valentine Gunasekara, Don Adrian St. Valentine Jayawardana,  
K.C.



4. The Council decided to nominate the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., for the office of President of the Society, in place of the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A.

5. Mudaliyar Rasanayagam's paper entitled "Identification of the Port of Kalah" was tabled. It was resolved to accept the paper for reading at a meeting of the Society, the question of its publication to be considered later.

6. Mr. Bell's correspondence concerning the Maldiv Islands was tabled.

7. It was resolved to circulate the list of books suggested for purchase among the members of Council for their approval.

8. An application from the Society's peon for an increase of pay was considered, and it was resolved that his pay be increased to Rs. 22.50 a month.

9. The Council considered the question of the date and business for the next Council and General Meetings, and decided that the Annual General Meeting be held if possible on March 14.

No. 77.—1924]

PROCEEDINGS.



## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, March 13th, 1924.*

Present:

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.  
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,  
Gate Mudaliyar

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.  
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.

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

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 9th February, 1924, were read and confirmed.

2. The question of the nomination of Office-bearers for 1924—25 was considered.

3. The draft Annual Report for 1923 was read and passed.

4. The correspondence regarding the Society's account with the Colombo Apothecaries Company, was tabled. It was noted that the Company had admitted that the agreement made in 1916 was still in force and that they had offered to refund to the Society the sum of Rs. 750 in settlement of the Society's claim for overcharge on account of printing since 1916. The Honorary Secretary was authorized to accept this settlement.

5. An application from the Society's Clerk for an increase of salary was considered. It was agreed that he should be placed on a scale of Rs. 60 to Rs. 75 by annual increments at the rate of Rs. 5 a month.

6. A letter from Dr. R. L. Spittel offering to read a paper on "The Last of the Veddahs" was read and it was agreed that the proposal be accepted and that the lecture be arranged for June.



7. A letter dated 10th March, 1924, from the Acting Consul for Siam forwarding twenty-seven volumes of *Atthakathās* and *Pakaraṇas*.\* It was resolved to acknowledge the receipt of these books and to thank H. R. H. Prince Kitiyakara of Chandapuri, Siam, through the Consul for Siam for the valuable gift.

8. The date and business for the Annual General Meeting were discussed. It was decided to hold the Annual General Meeting on the 27th March, the Hon. Mr. C. Clementi to preside and the business to be as arranged previously.

\* LIST OF THE BOOKS PRESENTED TO THE R.A.S. LIBRARY  
By the Siamese Government.

- i. Visuddhi Maggassa Nāma Pakaraṇa Visessāsa, 2465, (in three parts).
- Abhidhamma Piṭaka:
- ii. Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha Pāli Athavā Abhidhammattha Vibhāvini Nāma Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha Tīkā, 2465.
- iii. Paramattha Dipanī Nāma Dhātu Kathādi Pañchappaharaṇaṭṭha Kathā, 2465.
- iv. Sammoha Vinodanī Nāma Abhidhammatṭhakathā bhanga Vannaṇā, 2465.
- v. Atṭhasālinī Nāma Abhidhammatṭhakathā Dhammasangani Vannaṇā, 2464.

Vinaya Piṭaka:

- vi. Samantapāsādikāya Nāma Vinayaṭṭhakathāya, Paṭhamo Bhāgo, 2462, (in two parts).

Sutta Piṭaka

Anguttara Nikāya:

- vii. Manoratha Pūraṇiyā Nāma Anguttara Nikāyaṭṭhakathāya, 2462, (in three parts).

Dīgha Nikāya:

- viii. Sumangala Vilāsaniyā Nāma Dīgha Nikāyaṭṭhakathāya, 2462, (in three parts).

Khuddaka Nikāya:

- ix. Saddhammapakkhetikā Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā, Paṭhamo Bhāgo, 2464, (in two parts).
- x. Paramattha Dipanī Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—Itiuttaka Vannaṇā, 2463.
- xi. Paramattha Dipanī Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—Udāna Vannaṇā, 2465.
- xii. Paramattha Jōtikā Nāma Khuddaka Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—Khuddhaka Pāṭha Vannaṇā, 2463.
- xiii. Saddhammapakāsini Nāma Paṭisambhidhāmaggaṭṭhakathā, 2465.

Majjhima Nikāya:

- xiv. Papañca Sūdaniyā Nāma Majjhima Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—2463, (in three parts).

Saṃyutta Nikāya:

- xv. Sāratthapakāsiniyā Nāma Saṃyutta Nikāyaṭṭhakathā—2463, (in three parts).

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 27th, 1924.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.  
Mr. K. W. Atukorala, Muhandiram  
Hon. Sir J. Thomson Broom, Kt.  
Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.  
Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea  
Mr. Leslie de Saram  
Mr. Felix de Silva  
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.  
Ven. F. H. de Winton  
Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi  
Mr. M. A. M. Ismail  
Mr. Albert E. Jayasinha  
Mr. R. W. Jayasingha  
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.  
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana  
Mr. N. H. Jinadāsa  
Mr. Sam. J. C. Kadirgamar  
Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

Mr. K. Kumaraswami  
Mr. L. M. Maartensz  
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere  
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.  
Mr. S. Pararajasingham  
Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera  
Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar  
Mr. A. B. Rajendra  
Dr. E. Roberts  
Mr. R. Sagarajasingham  
Mr. W. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar  
Mr. John M. Senaveratna  
Mr. C. Suppramaniam  
Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha  
Mr. K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S.  
Mr. D. D. Weerasingha, Mudaliyar  
Mr. E. B. Wikramanayaka

Business:

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 17th October, 1923, were read and confirmed.

2. On a motion proposed by Mr. John M. Senaveratna and seconded by Mudaliyar J. P. Obeyesekere, the following Office-bearers for 1924-25 were elected.

President: Hon. Mr. C. Clementi, C.M.G., *vice* the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt.; Vice-President: Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., *vice* Mr. R. G. Anthonisz; Members of Council: New Members.—Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara and Dr. R. L. Spittel, *vice* Mr. C. Rasanayagam, the Revd. Father S. G. Perera and Dr. A. Nell; Re-elected.—Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Dr. W. A. de Silva; Hony. Secretary and Hony. Treasurer (re-elected): Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.

3. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following Annual Report for 1923, which was unanimously adopted.

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1923.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their report for the year 1923.



## MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Four General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. In January, at the University College, Dr. Stella Kramrisch gave a lecture on "The Significance of Indian Art." On the 26th February, when the Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., presided at a General Meeting, and Mr. A. M. Hocart, M.A., the Archaeological Commissioner read a paper illustrated by lantern slides on "Tantrimalai." The Annual General Meeting was held in June, when His Excellency Sir William Henry Manning, G.C.M.G., Patron of the Society, presided. The Annual Report was read and Dr. W. A. de Silva read a paper entitled "Ola Manuscripts of the Ridi Vihāra." The last General Meeting for the year was held in October, with Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi in the chair. Dr. Andreas Nell read a paper on "The Captivity of Major Davie" by the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi read a note on "The Chief Executioner of Major Davie's Detachment."

## PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXVIII, No. 74, 1921, was issued early in the year. Journal Vol. XXIX, No. 75, 1922, which was in the press at the end of the year and was issued early in 1924, contained in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, the following papers and notes:—

## Papers:—

(i) The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the early Greek Writers, by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam.

(ii) Extracts relating to Ceylon from the *Historia Indiarum Orientalis* of M. Gotardus Arthus, published in 1608, translated from the Latin by Mr. J. R. Walters, C.C.S.

## Notes:—

(i) Note on an Ivory Panel in the Colombo Museum, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.

(ii) Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, by the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

(iii) *Excerpta Máldiviana*, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, retired C.C.S.

(iv) Jottings from European Museums by Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.

(v) *Conar and Alagakkónára*, by the Hon. Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

## ALU VIHÁRA EDITION OF THE BUDDHIST CLASSICS.

Papanca Súdani, the second part of the *Majjhima Nikáya* Kathá, edited by the Ven'ble L. Sri Dhammānanda Mahā Nāyaka Thero, Principal, Vidyālakāra Pirivena, Pelivagoda, the greater part of which has already been completed, will it is hoped be published in the latter part of 1924.

The Ven'ble Kahavé Ratanasāra Nāyaka Thero, Principal of Vidyodaya Pirivena, has undertaken to edit for the Society, the *Samanta Pāsādikā*, Commentary on the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the editing of which was originally entrusted to the late Sri Nānissara Nāyaka Thero. The work has already been begun and its publication will follow that of the *Papanca Súdani*, Part II. This will make the third of the series of the Buddhist Classics to be published in the *Alu Vihāra Edition*, for the

inauguration of which the Society and all who are interested in Pali are indebted to the generosity of Lord Chalmers, late Governor of Ceylon.

## MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 365 members of whom 43 are life members and 9 Honorary Members.

During the past year 26 new members were elected.

Lieut.-Col. T. G. Jayawardana, Mudaliyar Irving Gunawardana, Mr. A. B. W. Jayasekara, Revd. Sūriyagoda Sumaṅgala, Litt.B., and Mr. G. L. Rūpasingha became life members.

## DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. Jorlis Dias, G. F. Forrest, C.C.S., Advocate J. H. Vanniasinkam, the Hon. Mr. O. C. Tillekeratne, Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and Sir W. E. Davidson, K.C.M.G.

Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., late of the Ceylon Civil Service, a Vice-President and one of the Society's oldest members, and one who took a keen interest in the work of the Society, died in October. He joined the Society in 1881, and became a life member in 1888. He contributed the following papers and notes to the journal:—

- (i) The language of the Threshing-floor.
- (ii) Tamil Customs and ceremonies connected with Paddy cultivation in the Jaffna District.
- (iii) Note on the Hil-pen-kandura at Kandy.
- (iv) Buddhist Ruins near Vavuniya.
- (v) Archaeology of the Vanni.
- (vi) Place names in the Vanni.
- (vii) Portuguese Inscriptions in Ceylon.
- (viii) Notes on Delft.
- (ix) Andrews' Embassy to Kandy.
- (x) The Captivity of Major Davie.
- (xi) Capt. T. A. Anderson.

He was the joint Editor of the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* from 1916 till the time of his death.

His literary works include:

- (i) List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon.
- (ii) Manual of the Vanni Districts.
- (iii) Dutch Architecture in Ceylon.
- (iv) Dutch Furniture in Ceylon.
- (v) Ceylon in Early British Times.

Sir W. E. Davidson, K.C.M.G., retired Governor of New South Wales late of the Ceylon Civil Service, joined the Society and became a life member in 1881. He was one of the Honorary Secretaries of this Society from 1884 to 1890.

## RESIGNATION.

The following resigned their membership during the year:

The Right Revd. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., J. D. Brown, B.A., C.C.S., J. R. Walters, B.A., C.C.S., Revd. C. M. Ricketts, M.A., Revd. Medagama Goonaratana Thero, Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh, C.M.G., V.D., Revd. E. V. Freeman, and the Revd. A. S. Beaty. The names of a number of members were removed from the roll for non-payment of their subscription.



## COUNCIL.

Under Rule 20, Dr. C. A. Hewavitarna and Dr. S. C. Paul retired by seniority, Mr. F. Lewis and Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekera by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election. Drs. Paul and Hewavitarna were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by the election of Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana and the Revd. Father S. G. Perera, S.J.

## HONORARY SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka, Secretary and Librarian of the Colombo Museum was elected as one of the Honorary Secretaries and Treasurers of the Society.

## LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 198. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges:—

The American Oriental Society, New Haven; Royal Colonial Institute; Pali Text Society, London; l'École Française D'Extrême Orient, Hanoi; Royal Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo; Maha Bodhi Society, Colombo; Geological Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay; Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Anthropological Society of Bombay, and Royal Asiatic Society North China.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following: The Archaeological Survey of India; The Government of India; The Government of Ceylon; Vajirana Library, Siam; Dr. S. C. Paul, Dr. A. Nell, Mr. C. Suppramaniam and Calcutta University.

## SPECIAL LIBRARY FUND.

An appeal which was made for funds for putting the Library into a satisfactory condition has resulted in a sum of Rs. 815 being collected. The following are the subscribers:—

	Rs.	Cts.
R. Sagarajasingham	250	00
S. Pararajasingham	250	00
Sir P. Arunachalam	100	00
Hon. Sir Marcus Fernando	50	00
Dr. W. A. de Silva	50	00
Lionel de Fonseka	50	00
C. E. A. Dias	20	00
A. M. Hocart	20	00
D. Nusseruvanee	15	00
R. A. Wijayatunga	10	00

## CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

An invitation was received from the President of the Parent Society, to attend its Centenary Meetings held in July, 1923, and Messrs. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., and H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., were present at the meetings as representatives of this Society.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

The Archaeological Commissioner (Mr. A. M. Hocart) has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following interesting summary of the work done by his department in 1923.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF 1923.

Brick work claimed the attention of the Archaeological Department for the first half of the year. The King's Palace was taken in hand at Polonnaruwa. It had been hoped to present a complete picture of the site; but this ambition had to be deferred as it was found that far too many out-buildings were still buried, some of them under vast mounds of debris which should never have been dumped there at all. As there are many ruins requiring immediate attention we could not neglect them for remains which at least are safe so long as they are buried, much as we should like to show at least one completed site.

More satisfaction is therefore derived from the conservation of such a building as Western Monastery C. in Anuradhapura, for this site was excavated with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired by the late Mr. Ayrton; it would have been conserved with equal thoroughness had he not been prematurely cut off. The undertaking has been taken up where he left off and is approaching completion.

The little cave temple at Kaludiya, Mihintale, was taken in hand as its state was precarious. It has suffered a complete transformation by the mere putting back into position of the pillars and beams, and the clearing and levelling of the site round it. Here again is a tantalizing site, and I am still divided between the claims of other ruins and the temptation to present a complete little monastery by the lake with its porches and flight of steps up to the sacred rock down to the water's edge on one side and down to the hermit's cell on the other. Quite apart from the antiquarian value of the site (for it is pure Anuradhapura style uncomplicated by Polonnaruwa additions) it has artistic possibilities like few sites in Anuradhapura or Polonnaruwa.

With the funds and energy mostly absorbed by conservation it is hardly to be expected that research should yield any very striking results: it has been mostly humdrum work of piecing together little bits of information. Even with the most intensive campaign of excavation it is doubtful whether Ceylon will ever produce anything sensational: the geology, the climate, the interests and building habits of the people are all against it. The Archaeologist in Ceylon must fight his way inch by inch; it is trench warfare, not a war of movement except possibly among the ancient harbours or cosmopolitan coast towns and of these sites only one as yet is known.

A summary of the research work up to the present is published in the first number of the Ceylon Journal of Science.

## SCHEME OF transliteration OF SINHALESE AND TAMIL INTO ENGLISH.

At the request of Government a sub-committee of the Council consisting of Mr. H. W. Codrington (Chairman) Mudaliyars A. Mendis Gunasekara, W. F. Gunawardhana and C. Rasanayagam, was appointed on the 21st October, 1920, to advise as to a more satisfactory scheme of transliteration than



that at the time in operation. The sub-committee prepared a fresh scheme based on that adopted for Indian Languages by the Parent Society, and Government was advised accordingly. This scheme it is understood is likely to be adopted by Government shortly for use in all scientific and literary works issued by Government or by any Government Department.

#### GENERAL.

The Society's position has considerably improved during the year. There is now a fair balance to its credit in the bank, which will enable the Society to publish its journal with greater regularity, and it is hoped that it will soon be possible to arrange for meetings at least once every three months and for quarterly issues of the journal. The journal for 1922 has already been published and that for 1923 has been sent to the Printer so that it can now be said that the journal is at last up to date. The library is also receiving attention, although the response made to the special appeal for funds for improving the library was somewhat disappointing, it has been possible to recommence binding the various valuable periodicals, etc., received from time to time by the Society, and to fill some of the gaps in the more important series of books possessed by the Society. The collection of subscriptions from members is still a difficult matter. The Council have with regret been obliged to write off the names of a number of members whose subscription had fallen into arrears, and the outstandings have consequently been considerably reduced thereby. The Council would particularly urge members to pay their subscriptions regularly and as early in the year as possible.

#### FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 2,950.36 to the credit of the Society, at the close of the year 1923. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 4,238.44 and the expenditure was Rs. 2,253.57.

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

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

The Chairman then said: Ladies and gentlemen, before we proceed further, I wish to move the following motion:— "This Society resolves to place on record its appreciation of the services rendered to it by its late President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and of the interest which he always showed in its work, and to convey to Lady Arunachalam and the members of the family of the late Sir Ponnambalam, an expression of its sympathy with them in their bereavement." Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, ladies and gentlemen, was one of the most distinguished sons of Ceylon. He was a brilliant pupil of the Royal College, Colombo, and then graduated with honours at Cambridge. On returning to Ceylon he entered the Ceylon Civil Service. In the Ceylon Civil Service he had a distinguished career, rising to be Registrar-General and sitting both in the Legislative and Executive Councils. He was also after his retirement associated in many local political movements. It is not on these matters, however, that I wish to speak this evening but of two other things. I wish to recall what Professor Mairs recently said in another place, the fact that Sir Ponnambalam

on the 19th January, 1906, presided at a public meeting which was convened to propose the establishment in this Colony of a University. I think we must all deeply deplore the fact that Sir Ponnambalam's life was not spared for a few months longer so that he may see his object on a fair way to realization. However, I feel sure that in that University which was to be founded Sir Ponnambalam would have assigned a high place to a school of Oriental language and literature. In fact I think that in a pamphlet, which he wrote in 1906 adumbrating what he thought a University of this Colony should be, he proposed that there should be Professorships in Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese, and Tamil. No doubt, he felt strongly as I feel also, that it is as easy to study linguistic changes through Sanskrit and Pali, thence to Sinhalese, as it is from Sanskrit to Latin and thence to the modern Romance languages. Sir Ponnambalam, in the year 1887, joined this Society, became Life Member in 1902, was Vice-President of the Society from 1908 to 1914 and President from 1916 to 1924. He contributed many papers to the Society, among them the *Jñāna Vasistham* (the dialogue of Vasistha on Wisdom), the *Kandyan Provinces, Polonnaruwa Bronzes and Siva Worship and Symbolism*. His literary works included sketches of Ceylon History, the Ceylon Census in 1901, and Digest of Civil Laws. I feel that this Society ought certainly to place on record its sense of loss of a most distinguished President, and in thanking you on this, the first opportunity I have of so doing, for having honoured me by electing me to be the President of this Society, I can only say that it will be my endeavour to follow the high standard set by Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.

The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera seconded.

The motion was passed in silence, all present standing.

Mr. A. Mahadeva on rising to read the paper written by his father, replied that he desired to render on behalf of Lady Arunachalam, his family, and himself, thanks for the very kindly references they had been good enough to make to his father. The paper had been intended to be read by him and on looking through his files, he (the speaker) found it and handed it over to Mr. Collins who had kindly had it printed for the purposes of the Society.



Receipts and Payments Account of the  
**CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**  
 For the Year ended 31st December, 1923.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS		Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.			Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1922 ..		49	Charges (For Printing, etc.) ..		1,205	44
Entrance Fee ..		105	Salaries ..		856	50
Govt. Grant ..		500	Sundries ..		191	63
Life Membership Commutations ..		349	Balance in Bank ..		2,950	36
R. A. S. Library Fund ..		815				
Sundries ..		8				
Annual Subscription for 1924 Rs. 91.50						
1923 .. 1,800.25						
1922 .. 268.25						
1921 .. 120.75						
1920 .. 67.00						
1919 .. 31.00						
1918—1913 .. 82.00						
		2,460				75
	Rs.	5,203			Rs.	93

Examined and found correct,

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hony. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

298254

Receipts and Payments A/c. of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund A/c. for the Year 1923.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS		Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.			Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1922 ..		77	Fixed Deposit ..		1,200	00
			Balance in Bank ..		723	77
	Rs.					
	1,923				Rs.	77

Examined and found correct,

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hony. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund A/c. for the Year 1923.

RECEIPTS	Amount		PAYMENTS		Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.			Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1922 ..		50	Balance in Bank ..		1,009	50
	Rs.				Rs.	
	1,009				1,009	50

Examined and found correct,

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) C. H. COLLINS,

*Hony. Treasurer,*

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.



## THE WORSHIP OF MURUKA

or Skanda (the Kataragam God)

with an account of an ancient Tamil Lyric in His praise and  
Side-lights from Greek Religion and Literature

BY THE LATE

SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM, KT., M.A., CANTAB.,

*President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).\**

There is on the South-east coast of Ceylon a lonely hamlet known as Kataragama† in the heart of a forest haunted by bears, elephants and leopards and more deadly malaria. The Ceylon Government thinks of Kataragama especially twice a year when arrangements have to be made for pilgrims and precautions taken against epidemics. Hardly anyone goes there except in connection with the pilgrimage. General Brownrigg, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, visited this desolate spot in 1819 at the close of military operations in the Uva country, and seven decades later Sir Arthur Gordon (afterwards Lord Stanmore) who attended the festival in July 1889. Sportsmen are drawn to this region by the fame of its sport, but Kataragama itself is outside the pale of their curiosity. Few even of our educated classes know its venerable history and associations.

\*Printed as received.

†29 miles from Hambantota, 87 from Badulla and 10½ from nearest post town Tissamahārāma; situated on the left bank of the Menikganga, which rises in Maussagolla Estate, 13 miles from Badulla.

It was already held in high esteem in the third century before Christ, and is one of the sixteen places\* said to have been sanctified by Gautama Buddha sitting in each in meditation. The *Mahāvansa* (XIX, 54), in enumerating those who welcomed the arrival at Anuradhapura of the Sacred Bodhi-tree from Buddha-Gaya in charge of Sanghamitta, the saintly daughter of the Indian Emperor Asoka, gives the first place after the King of Ceylon to the nobles of Kājara-gāma, as Kataragama was then called. It was privileged to receive a sapling (ibid. 62) of which an alleged descendant still stands in the temple court. About a third of a mile off is the Buddhist shrine of *Kiri Vihare*, said to have been founded by King Mahānāga of Mahagama, cir. 300 B.C.

Kataragama is sacred to the God Kārttikeya, from whom it was called Kārttikeya Grāma ("City of Kārttikeya"), shortened to Kājara-gāma and then to Kataragama. The Tamils, who are the chief worshippers at the shrine, have given the name a Tamil form, Katir-kāmam, a city of divine glory and love, as if from katir, glory of light, and kāmam, love (Sk. kāma), or town or district (from Sk. Grāma). By Sinhalese and Tamils alike the God Kārttikeya is called Kandasāmi; by the Sinhalese also Kanda Kumāra (Kanda being the Tamil form of Sans. Skanda and Kumāra meaning youth), and by the Tamils Kumāra Swāmi, "the youthful god." More often the Tamils call him by the pure Tamil name Murukan, "the tender child." He is represented in legend, statuary and painting as a beautiful child or youth. The priests worship him with elaborate rites and ceremonies, the rustic with meal and blood offerings, the aboriginal Vedda invokes him also with dances in the primitive

\*See note 1 in Appendix.



manner of the woods. The philosopher meditates on him in silence, adoring him as the Supreme God, Subrahmanya,—the all pervading spirit of the universe, the Essence from which all things are evolved, by which they are sustained and into which they are involved—who in gracious pity for humanity takes form sometimes as the youthful God of Wisdom, God also of war when wicked Titans (Asuras) have to be destroyed, sometimes as the holy child Muruka, type of perennial, tender beauty, always and everywhere at the service of his devotees.

"In the face of fear," says an ancient and popular verse, "His face of comfort shows. In the fierce battle-field, with 'Fear not,' His lance shows. Think of Him once, twice He shows, to those who chant Muruka."

"A refreshing coolness is in my heart as it thinketh on Thee, peerless Muruka. My mouth quivers praising Thee, lovingly hastening Muruka, and with tears calling on Thee giver of gracious helping hand, O warrior with *Tirumurukāṟruppada*\* Thou comest, Thy Lady in Thy wake."

The scene of his birth is laid in the Himalayas. His birth and exploits are described with poetic embellishments in the Skanda Purana, an epic poem which in its present Sanskrit form dates from about the fifth century and in its Tamil version from the eighth.† "Dearest," cries a Tamil poet of the 1st century, "whom the cool blue waters of the tarn on great Himalaya's crest received from the beauteous hands of the peerless one of the five (elements, i.e., Agni, god of fire) and who in six forms by six (Naiads) nourished became one." Though born on those distant northern mountains, his home now and for over twenty centuries has been in the south and his worship prevails chiefly among the Tamils.

\* See note 2 in Appendix.

† See note 3 in Appendix.

He appears to have been the primitive God of the Tamils and to have passed with them to the south from their supposed early settlements in N. India. He is now little known or esteemed in the north, where he has given way to other gods as the Vedic gods Indra, Varuna, Agni gave way to Siva, Vishnu, etc., as in Greece Uranus gave way to Kronos and he to Zeus.\* Skanda had a great vogue in the north for centuries among the Aryan, Scythian, Mongolian, Hun and other invaders who succeeded the Dravidians and intermingling with them became the ancestors of the present inhabitants. In an Upanishad of about the ninth century B.C., he is described as giving spiritual instruction to the Rishi Nārada and is identified with the great sage Sanatkumara (Chāndogya Upanishad, VII. 26 2)† The image of the God Skanda appears in the coin of King Huvishka,‡ who in the beginning of the second century of the Christian era ruled over an empire extending from the Central Himalayas and the river Jamna to Bactria and the river Oxus. In the third century the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa wrote his classic poem on the god's birth (Kumāra Sambhava, "Birth of Kumara"). In the Meghadūta (Cloud-Messenger) of the same poet the hero, an exile from home, in sending a message to his sorrowing wife, bids the cloud halt at the god's shrine on Mount Devagiri (near Ujjain).

"There change thy form and showery roses shed  
Bathed in the dews of heaven on Skanda's head,  
Son of the crescent's God, whom holy ire  
Called from the flame of all-devouring fire,  
To snatch the lord of Swarga from despair  
And timely save the trembling hosts of air."

\*There is trace of an earlier God than Uranus in the Woodpecker God Picus. See Aristophanes, Birds, 645 ct. seq.

†The instruction, extending over many pages, ends thus: "the venerable Sanatkumara showed to Nārada, after his faults had been rubbed out, the other side of darkness. They call Sanatkumara Skanda, yea Skanda they call him."

‡Vincent Smith, Early History of India, p.271.



In an interesting Sanskrit drama of the first century (attributed to King Shudraka and known as the *Mric chakatika*, "The Little Clay Cart," and in which the scene is laid in Ujjain) the god is invoked by a Brahmin burglar as the patron of his tribe,\* for he is the god of war and they are soldiers of fortune waging war against society by operations akin to mining and sapping in war. At the present day, in Bengal, he is worshipped one day in the year during the Durga puja festival and especially by those desiring offspring.

But wherever Tamil influence prevails, he is held in pre-eminent honour and dignity. The Tamils regard him as the guardian of their race, language and literature and are bound to him by special ties. He is reputed to have arrived in Lanka (Ceylon) in a remote age when it was a vast continent,—the Lemuria, perhaps, of the zoologists, stretching from Madagascar to near Australia—, and was ruled by a Titan, the terror of the celestials. In answer to their prayers the god was incarnated as the son of the Supreme God Mahādeva or Siva. Having wedded the daughter of their King Indra, he led their hosts to Lanka and destroyed the Titan† after mighty battles, his lance seeking the foe out in his hiding in the ocean. He was then granted forgiveness for his sins and was changed into a cock and a peacock‡, the former becoming the god's banner and the latter his charger. These events, with their moral significance of the expiation of sin, are yearly celebrated by festivals and fasts in Tamil lands in the month of Aippasi (October-November)

\*Note 4 in Appendix.

†Called Taraka by the Sanskrit poets, but Sūra or Sūrapatuma by the Tamils, who give the name Tāraka to a younger brother.

‡The peacock is therefore a sacred bird in India [as in Egypt and Greece]—a fact ignorance of which brings British sportsmen into collision with the people.

ending on the 6th day of the waxing moon (Skanda Shashthi). On such occasions the Tamil Kandapurānam is read and expounded with solemnity, also at times in private houses, such reading being deemed efficacious, apart from spiritual benefits, in warding off or alleviating disease and danger and bringing good fortune.

The lance, the instrument of chastisement and salvation, is understood to typify his energy of wisdom (Jnāna sakti, somewhat corresponding to the Christian *Sophia*) and is often the only symbol by which he is worshipped in the temples. In others he is represented with six faces, or aspects of his activities, and riding a peacock with his consorts Teyvayānai (Sk. Devasena) and Valli who are regarded as his energies of action and desire respectively (kriyā sakti and ichchā sakti). The former was daughter of Indra, King of the celestials and Valli was a Vedda princess whom, according to Ceylon tradition, he wooed and won at Kataragama. She shares in the worship of millions from Cashmir and Nepal to Dondra Head, and the priests (kapuralas) of Kataragama proudly claim kinship with her. He deigned, according to theologians, to set the world a pattern of married life, for the due discharge of its duties leads to God no less surely than a life of renunciation.

In the Tamil epic the poet introduces a courting scene in which occurs this appeal:—

கோடிவர் நெடுவரைக் குறவர் மாதா நீ  
ஆடிய சுனையதா யணியுஞ் சாந்தமாய்ச்  
குடிய மலர்களாய்த் தோயப் பெற்றிலேன்  
வாடினினிச்செயும் வண்ணம் யாவதே

[கந்தபுராணம்: வள்ளிய மை திருமணம்]

"Highland maid of Kurava clan, could that I were the pool in which thou bathest, the perfumed unguents thou usest, the flowers thou wearest."



It recalls Anakreon's lover:—

* ἐγὼ δ' ἔσοπτρον εἶην	ὅπως αἰεὶ βλέπῃς με
ἐγὼ χιτῶν γενοίμην	ὅπως αἰεὶ Φορῆς με
ὕδωρ θέλω γένεσθαι	ὅπως σε χρῶτα λούσω
μύρων, γύναι, γενοίμην	ὅπως ἐγὼ σ' αἰεὶ ψῶ
καὶ ταινίη δὲ μαστῶν	καὶ μάρμαρον τραχήλῳ
καὶ σάνδαλον γενοίμην	μόνον ποσὶν πάττει με.

"I would be a mirror, that you would always look at me.

I would be your dress so that you would always wear me.

I would like to be water so that I could bathe your flesh.

I would be a perfume, dear, so that I could touch you.

And I would be the riband at your breast and the pearls  
about your throat.

And I would be your sandal that I might be trodden by  
your feet."

Some of the stories of his birth and childhood seem to have travelled far west and left traces in the religion and literature of ancient Greece, as I shall show later. He is said to have issued from the frontal eye of Siva as six sparks of fire. They were received by Agni, God of fire, and cast into the Ganges from which they passed into the Himalayan lake Saravana and there were transformed into six babes. These were suckled by the six nymphs of the constellation Pleiades (Krittikā) and became one on being fondly clasped by the Goddess Uma. He has many names: the Tamil Pingala, Nigantu gives 37. Some of them are derived from the incidents I have mentioned: agni-bhū, fire-born, from the manner of his birth; Gangajā or Gangesa from the association with the Ganges, *Tam.* Kānkēsan (which gives the name to one of our Northern ports, Kankesan-turai, where his sacred image is said to have been landed

\*Perhaps I should say "Anacreontic," for most of what has come down to us as "Anacreon" are imitations that bear in the dialect, the treatment of Erōs as a frivolous fat boy, the personifications, the descriptions of works of art the marks of a later age.

I am not sure I have quoted the Greek correctly, as I have not the text with me at present.

in the 9th century);\* Saravana Bhava "born in Saravana" (a Himalayan Lake) *Tam.* Saravanamuttu, pearl of Saravana; Kārttikeya, from his foster-mothers Krittikās (the Pleiades); Skanda, the united one, because the six babes became united into one.† The more probable derivation is from the root Skand, to leap. Skanda would then mean the Leaper of his foes. He is also called Shan mukha (*Tam.* Sammukam or Arumukam) as being six faced. Being Tò ὄντως ὄν or, the one and only Reality, he is called in Tamil Kandali கண்டலி, which is explained as "Reality transcending all categories, without attachment, without form, standing alone as the Self."‡ It is as such he is adored at Kataragama, no image, form or symbol being used (see page 248 infra). Kataragama thus holds a unique place among his numerous places of worship in India and Ceylon.

The worship of Skanda has suffered no decline in Ceylon from the introduction of Buddhism 24 centuries ago. The "Kataragam god" (Kataragam Deyyō) has a shrine in every Buddhist place of worship and plays a prominent part in its ceremonials and processions. In the great annual perahera at Kandy he had always a leading place; Buddha's Tooth, now the chief feature of the procession; formed no part of it till the middle of the 18th century, when it was introduced by order of King Kirti Sri Rajasinha to humour the Buddhist monks he had imported from Siam. The town of Kalutara on the southern bank of the Kalu ganga appears to have been specially associated with the god and still retains the name Velapura, "the city of the Lancer" (the lance being his favourite weapon). The opposite bank of the town is called Dēsestra Kalutara i.e.,

\*Yalpana Vaipava Mālai (Brito, p.11).

†Note 5 in Appendix.

‡Note 6 in Appendix.



Deva Satru or the enemies of the gods. These names are perhaps relics of an unsuccessful movement to limit his jurisdiction to the southern half of the Island, the defeated opponents being pilloried by his votaries as demons. His shrines, however, are now as common north as south of the river; both among Buddhists and Hindus he is the god *par excellence*.

King Dutugemunu in the first century B.C., according to ancient tradition, rebuilt and richly endowed the temple at Kataragama as a thank-offering for the favour of the god which enabled him to march from this district against the Tamil King Elala and, after killing him in battle, recover the ancestral throne of Anuradhapura. Dutugemunu's great great grandfather Mahanāga, younger brother of Devānāmpiya Tissa, had taken refuge in Mahagama in the Southern Province and founded a dynasty there, and Anuradhapura was for 78 years (with a short break) ruled by Tamil Kings of whom Elala (205-161 B.C.) was the greatest. Dutugemunu conceived the idea of liberating the country from Elala. While his thoughts were intent on this design day and night, he was warned in a dream not to embark on the enterprise against his father's positive injunctions unless he first secured the aid of the Kataragam god. He therefore made a pilgrimage thither and underwent severe penances on the banks of the river imploring divine intervention. While thus engaged in prayer and meditation, an ascetic suddenly appeared before him inspiring such awe that the prince fainted. On recovering consciousness he saw before him the great god of war who presented him with weapons and assured him of victory. The prince made a vow that he would rebuild and endow the temple on his return and started on his expedition which ended in the defeat and death of Elāla and the recovery of the throne.

The incidents associating the Kataragama god with Dutugemunu's\* victory naturally find no place in the Buddhist Chronicle, the Mahavansa, which glorifies him as a zealous champion of Buddhism. The tradition is confirmed by a Sinhalese poem called *Kanda Upata* "Birth of Kanda" for a M.S. copy of which I am indebted to Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara. Stanzas 41 and 46† show that King Dutugemunu invoked the aid of the god and received his help and built and endowed the temple at Kataragama in fulfilment of his vow. The royal endowment was continued and enlarged by his successors and by the offerings of generations of the people and princes of Ceylon. This old and once wealthy foundation has for years been in a woeful plight, from loss of the state patronage and supervision which it enjoyed under native rule and owing to the corruption and dishonesty of the Sinhalese trustees and priests in whom under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance its administration is vested. Its extensive estates have mostly passed into other hands, the property that remains is neglected, the temple buildings are in disrepair and the daily services are precarious. The Hindu pilgrims, however, continue to flock in thousands, pouring their offerings without stint and wistfully looking forward to the day which will see the end of the scandalous administration.

\*Like most Ceylon Kings he was more of a Hindu than a Buddhist. An ancient MS. account of Ridi Vihara, which he built and endowed, states that on the occasion of its consecration he was accompanied thither by 500 Bhikkus (Buddhist monks) and 1,500 Brahmins versed in the Vedas (Paper read at the R.A.S. B. in June 1923 on "Palm Leaf MSS. in Ridi Vihara"). Throughout Ceylon History the Court religion was Hinduism and its ritual and worship largely alloyed and affected the popular Buddhism and made it very unlike the religion of Buddha.

†Quoted in note 7 in Appendix.



It is possible now to travel from Colombo comfortably by train to Matara and by motor to Hambantota and Tissamaharama. The last stage of about 11 miles beyond Tissamaharama is over a difficult forest-track and an unbridged river, the Menik ganga, which in flood-time has to be swum across there being no boats. In the thirties of last century, when good roads were scarce even in Colombo, my grandmother walked barefoot the whole way to Kataragama and back in fulfilment of a vow for the recovery from illness of her child, the future Sir Mutu Coomara Swamy. The hardships then endured are such as are yearly borne with the cheerfulness by thousands travelling on foot along the jungle tracks of the Northern, Eastern and Uva provinces and from India. Nearly all are convinced of the god's ever present grace and protection and have spiritual experiences to tell or other notable boons, recoveries from illness, help under trials and dangers, warding off of calamities. I once asked an elderly woman who had journeyed alone through the forest for days and nights if she had no fear of wild elephants and bears. She said she saw many, but none molested her. "How could they? The Lord was at my side." The verses cited on p.236 express the passionate feeling of many a pilgrim.

An old Brahmin hermit whom I knew well, Sri Kesopuri Swami, was for about three quarters of a century a revered figure at Kataragama. He had come there as a boy from a monastery in Allahabad in North India in the twenties of last century. He attached himself to the Hindu foundation (next the principal shrine) of the Teyva yānai amman temple and monastery. This institution belongs to a section of the Dasanāmi order of monks founded by the great Sankarāchārya of Sringeri Matt (Mysore). The lad after a time betook himself to the forest where he lived

alone for years, until he was sought out and restored to human society by a young monk (Surajpuri Swami by name), whom also I knew. The latter was a beautiful character, pious and learned, and with a splendid physique. He had been a cavalry officer of the Maharajah of Cashmere and, being resolved on a life of celibacy and poverty, found himself thwarted by his relatives who pressed him to marry and assume the duties of family life. Failing in their efforts, they brought the Maharaja's influence to bear upon him, whereupon he fled from home and travelled as a mendicant until he reached the great southern shrine of Rameswaram, well known to tourists and a great resort of pilgrims. There (he told me) he received a divine call to proceed to Sri Pada, the "Holy Foot," (Adam's Peak of English maps), which the Hindus revere as sacred to Siva and the Buddhists to Buddha. Here he was ordered to proceed to Kataragama, where he would find a hermit in the forest whom he was to wait upon and feed with rice. This he did and brought the hermit to the temple. He soon gave up rice or other solid food and confined himself to a little milk, hence he was known as Pāl Kuḍi Bāwa. A very saintly and picturesque figure he was, revered for his childlike simplicity and purity, spiritual insight and devotion, and much sought after for his blessings. He died in Colombo in July 1898 at a ripe old age.\* His remains were taken to Kataragama and a shrine was built over them by his votaries. His pupil Surajpuri survived him only a few months and died in November 1898.

\*He had for over a year been residing in Colombo in order to complete an elaborate trust deed in respect of the temples and lands in his charge. This deed he executed in 9th March 1898 (No. 2317, J. Cadernan N.P.) Its preamble gives the history of his long connection with the temple and the nature of the succession from of old.



The old hermit told me of a saintly woman named Balasundari who lived there. She was the eldest child of a North Indian Raja, a boon from the Kataragama God in answer to a vow that, if blessed with children, the first born would be dedicated to his service. The vow was forgotten and a stern reminder led to her being brought by the father while still a child, and left at Kataragama with a suitable retinue. She devoted herself to a spiritual life. The fame of her beauty reached the King of Kandy, who sent her offers of marriage, which she rejected. He would not be baulked and sent troops to fetch her to the palace. But, said the hermit, the God intervened and saved her. He brought the British troops to Kandy, and the king was taken prisoner and deported to Vellore in South India. This was in 1814. The lady, thus saved from the king's rough gallantry, lived to a good old age, loved and revered and died at Kataragama after installing Mangalapuri Swami who died in 1873 and was succeeded by my venerable friend Kesopuri.\*

In 1818 a rebellion broke out in the Kandyan provinces, excited by the chiefs smarting under the loss of rights and privileges guaranteed by the Kandyan Convention of 1815. The rebellion was suppressed with severity, especially in the Uva province which (as Mr. White, C.C.S., states in his *Manual of Uva*, 1893) has scarcely recovered from the effects.

It was towards the end of these military operations that General Brownrigg, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, visited Kataragama. Dr. John Davy, F.R.S., (who was on the medical staff of the army from 1816 to 1820 and on the Governor's staff during this tour)

\*See also his petition to the Government Agent, Uva, 23rd August 1897 where most of the facts are recorded. I am indebted to the Government Agent, Uva, for access to the document.

has in his "Account of Ceylon" (published 1821) described the tour in Uva and the visit to Kataragama. The Sinhalese Kapurālas were believed to be active participators in the rebellion. The custody of the principal temple was taken from them and delivered to the Hindu Monks and a military guard was left to protect them. When the guard was removed some time later, the Kapurālas resumed forcible possession of the temple. The Hindu monks, whose abbot impressed Davy greatly, continued to be in charge of the Teyvayānai amman temple and monastery. Speaking of the journey to Kataragama, Davy says (p.403); "All the way we did not see a single inhabited house or any marks of very recent cultivation, nor did we meet a single native; dwellings here and there in ruins, paddy neglected, and a human skull, that lay by the roadside under a tree to which the fatal rope was attached, gave us the history of what we saw in language that could not be mistaken." Of Kataragama itself he says: "Kataragama has been a place of considerable celebrity on account of its Dewale which attracts pilgrims not only from every part of Ceylon, but even from remote parts of the continent of India and is approached through a desert country by a track that seems to have been kept bare by the footsteps of its votaries." The God, he says, is not loved but feared, and merit was made of the hazard and difficulty through a wilderness deserted by men and infested by wild beasts and fever. From the forlorn and ruinous condition of the place Davy anticipated that in a few years the traveller would have difficulty in discovering even the site. The anticipation has not been realized though over a century has now passed, the pilgrims are in fact more numerous and zealous than ever.



Robert Knox, who in the seventeenth century spent 20 years of captivity in Ceylon, in his "Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon" published in 1681 in London, in speaking of the Eastern Coast, says: "It is as I have heard, environed with hills on the landside and by sea not convenient for ships to ride; and very sickly, which they do impute to the power of a great god which dwelleth in a town near by they call Cotteragon, standing in the road, to whom all that go to fetch salt, both small and great, must give an offering. The name and power of this god striketh such terror into the Chingalayas that those who are otherwise enemies to the King and have served both Portuguez and Dutch against him, yet would never assist either to make invasion this way." In the great Perahera at Kandy, in Knox's time, there was no Buddha's Tooth, but "Allout neur dio,\* God and maker of Heaven and Earth, and Cotteragom Deyyo and Potting† dio, these three gods that ride here in company are accounted of all the others the greatest and chiefest." Davy himself says (p. 228): "Of all the gods, the Kataragam God is the most feared..... and such is the dread of this being that I was never able to induce a native artist to draw a figure of it." This unwillingness was rather due to the fact that at Kataragam there is no figure of the god. He is not worshipped there in any image or form. A veil or curtain never raised separates the worshippers from the Holy of Holies, where according to the best information there is only a casket containing a Yantra or mystic diagram engraved on a golden tablet in which the divine power and grace are believed to reside. It

\*Alutnuwara Deiyyo, represented in the procession, according to Knox, by a painted stick.

†The Kataragam God and the Goddess Pattini.

is this casket which in the great festivals of July and November is carried in procession on the back of an elephant.\*

The history of this tablet, according to a naive tradition reported to me by Kesopuri Swami, is that a devotee from N. India Kalyānagiri by name, grieved by the god's prolonged stay in Ceylon, came to Kataragama to entreat him to return to the North. Failing to obtain audience of the god, he performed for 12 years severe penances and austerities, in the course of which a little Vedda boy and girl attached themselves to him and served him unremittingly. On one occasion when, exhausted by his austerities and depressed by his disappointment, he fell asleep, the boy woke him. The disturbed sleeper cried out in anger, "how dare you disturb my rest when you know that this is the first time I have slept for years?" The boy muttered an excuse and ran pursued by him until an islet in the river was reached when the boy transformed himself into the God Skanda. The awe-struck hermit then realised that his quondam attendants had been the God and his consort Valli. Prostrating himself before them and praying forgiveness, he begged the God to return to India. The Goddess in her turn made her appeal (மங்குலியப் பிச்சை) and begged that the god might not be parted from her. This the sage could not refuse. He abandoned the idea of the God's or his own return and settled down at Kataragama where he engraved the mystic diagram (yantra) and enshrined it there for worship in buildings constructed or restored with the help of the ruling king of Ceylon. When in due course the sage quitted his earthly body, he is believed to have changed into a

\*Cf. The mystic chest employed in the celebration of the mysteries of Dionysos.



pearl image (*mutu lingam*) and is still worshipped in an adjoining shrine under that name (*Mutulinga swami*).

His pupil and successor was Jayasingiri Swami who received Governor Brownrigg at Kataragama and is admirably described by Dr. Davy. He mentions as a special object of reverence the seat of "Kalana natha the first priest of the temple," Kalana natha being Davy's variation of Kalyāna Nātha alias Kalyāna giri. The seat is still very much as Davy described it: "The Kalana Madam is greatly respected and certainly is the chief curiosity at Kataragama; it is a large seat made of clay, raised on a platform with high sides and back, like an easy chair without legs; it is covered with leopards' skins and contained several instruments used in the performance of the temple rites; and a large fire was burning by the side of it. The room, in the middle of which it is erected, is the abode of the resident Brahmen. The Kalana Madima the brahmen said, belonged to Kalana Natha the first priest of the temple, who on account of great piety passed immediately to Heaven without experiencing death and left the seat as a sacred inheritance to his successors in the priestly office, who have used it instead of a dying bed; and it is his fervent hope that like them he may have the happiness of occupying it at once and of breathing his last in it. He said this with an air of solemnity and enthusiasm that seemed to mark sincerity and, combined with his peculiar appearance, was not a little impressive. He was a tall spare figure of a man whom a painter would choose out of a thousand for such a vocation. His beard was long and white; but his large dark eyes, which animated a thin regular visage, were still full of fire and he stood erect and firm without any of the feebleness of old age."

The Ceylon King who helped the saint Kalyānagiri in the construction of the temples is according to tradition Balasinha Raja, which I take it is equal to Bala Raja Sinha. The earliest Kings of the name Rajasinha were Raja Sinha I. (1581-1592) and Raja Sinha II (1634-1684), the patron of Robert Knox. There were four others of the name (with prefixes) from 1739 to 1815, when the dynasty came to an end. Considering the longevity of my friend Kesopuri Swami who spent 70 years of his life at Kataragama and was probably 90 at his death, that Kalyanagiri was reputed to be a much greater yogi, as also successor Jayasingeri, and that the practice of yoga is known to be favourable to health and long life, Kalyānagiri may be assigned to the time when Rajasinha II. was administering the kingdom for his father Sen rat, i.e., before 1634.

The Government Agent of Uva, Mr. Baumgartner, in his report to Government on the pilgrimage of July 1897, mentions that Taldena R.M., who had made an inventory of the temple property for the Provincial Committee found nothing in the casket, the G. A.'s authority being the R.M.'s son Taldena Kachcheri Mudaliyar who had so heard from his father. It may be that the R.M. expected to find an image and did not notice the thin golden plate on which such diagrams are engraved, or the priests may have hidden it as too holy for a layman's view. Davy speaks of the "idol being still in the jungle" (p.421) at the time of his visit in 1819, having been hidden away during those troublous times.

The earliest account of the worship of Muruka is to be found in an ancient Tamil lyric, the delight of scholars and often on the lips of others even if not fully understood. To appreciate its significance, religious, historical and literary, some idea of the early literature



of the Tamils is necessary. Ancient Tamil history has for its chief landmarks three successive literary Academies established by the Pandyan Kings of South India, who were great patrons of literature and art. In this institution were gathered together (as in the Académie Française founded by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635 and copied in other European countries) the leading literati of the time. The roll of members included royal authors of note and not a few women who were poets and philosophers. New works were submitted to the Academy for judgment and criticism and before publication received the hall mark of its approval. The Academy was the jealous guardian of the standard of literary perfection and showed little mercy to minters of base literary coinage.

The first two Academies go back to an almost mythical period and their duration is counted by millenniums. The Tamils having a good conceit of themselves and a passionate love (equalled in modern times, I think, only by the French) of their mother tongue, have assigned to it a divine origin and made their Supreme God Siva the president of the first Academy and his son Muruka or Skanda a member of the Academy and the tutelary god of the Tamil race. Both deities are represented as appearing on earth from time to time to solve literary problems that defied the Academy. The seats of the first and second Academies (old Madura and Kapādapuram), were the two first capitals of the Pandyan dynasty and are said to have been submerged by the sea.

The Pandyan Kingdom was already ancient at the beginning of the Christian era. In the 4th century B.C., Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus at the court of King Chandragupta at Pātaliputra, speaks of the country as ruled by a great queen called Pandaia. Then and for some centuries afterwards the Pandyan country

covered the greater part of the Madras Presidency and included the native states of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore, and was bounded on the North by the sacred hill of Venkadam (Tiruppati, 100 miles N. W. of Madras) and on all other sides by the sea. The southernmost point Kumari (Cape Comorin of the English maps) is called after the "Virgin" Goddess Kumari, another name of Umā or Sivakāmi, consort of Siva.

"Mother of millions of world-clusters,  
Yet Virgin by the Vedas called."

Her temple crowns the headland as it did in the time of the Greek geographer Ptolemy (140 A.D.) and earlier. He calls it *Κομαρία ἄκρον*. In the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" (cir. 80 A.D.), a manual of Roman or rather Egyptian trade with India and a record of the author's observations and experiences as merchant and supercargo, it is stated, "After this there is in the place called Komar, where there is a *βριάριον* (probably *Φρούριον* a fort or *ἱερόν* a temple) and a harbour where also people come to bathe and purify themselves. . . . it is related that a goddess was once accustomed to bathe there." The worship at the temple and the bathing in the sacred waters of the sea still continue.

At the time of the first and second Academies the land extended far south of Kumari, which was then the name not of a headland but of a river. South of it up to the sea were 49 districts whose names are given and which were intersected by a river called Pahruli. All these are said to have been swallowed by the sea. There are poems extant written before the submersion as e.g., Puraṇānūru 9, where the poet wishes his patron the Pandyan King Kudumi long life and years more numerous than the sands of the Pahruli river. Traces have been discovered of a submerged forest on this coast. Was this part of the submerged Lemurian



Continent referred to at p.238 or a later submersion? One or other of the submersions which destroyed the first and second Academies may have been identical with that recorded on the opposite coast of Ceylon in the *Mahāvansa* Ch. XXXI as having occurred in the reign of Kelani Tissa (cir. 200 B.C.), and which, according to the *Rajāvaliya*, destroyed "100,000 large towns, 970 fishers' villages and 400 villages inhabited by pearl fishers." This may be deemed an exaggeration, but the Meridian of Lanka of the Indian Astronomer, which was reputed to pass through Ravana's ancient capital in Ceylon, actually passes the Maldivé Isles, quite 400 miles from the present western limit of Ceylon. [An earlier submersion in the reign of Panduwasa (cir. 500 B.C.), is also recorded in the *Rajāvaliya*.]

Only the names of the poets of the first Academy and fragments of their works have come down to us, and one whole work of the second Academy composed in the earlier period, with extracts from a few works and the names of many others. The surviving work, the *Tolkappiyam*, is a standard work on Grammar (a term covering a much wider range than in Western languages) and supplanted the *Agastiyam*, the grammar of the first Academy. The *Tolkappiyam* still holds a position of pre-eminent authority, and is of peculiar interest to the antiquarian and historian by reason of the light it throws on the customs and institutions of ancient Tamil land. Many works of a high order of merit are extant of the third Academy, including the well-known *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar (which has been translated into many Western languages) and the poem about which I propose to speak to you, *Tirumuruk-arrup-padai*.

The author Nakkirar lived about the first century and was a member of the third Academy, which had its seat in the third Pandyan capital Madura, Ptolemy's

"royal Modoura of Pandion" and still an important religious, literary and commercial centre. It was about this time that the first recorded embassy from the East reached imperial Rome. It came from a king of this line and is referred to by a contemporary writer Strabo (cir. 19 A.D.) In opening his account of India, he laments the scantiness of his materials and the lack of intercommunication between India and Rome; so few Greeks, and those but ignorant traders incapable of any just observation, had reached the Ganges, and from India but one embassy to Augustus, namely from one King Pandion or Porus had visited Europe (Geog. Indica XV, C. I. 73 et seq.). The name Porus was apparently a reminiscence from the expedition of Alexander the Great. The embassy to Augustus Suetonius attributes to the fame of his moderation and virtue which allured Indians and Scythians to seek his alliance and that of the Roman people (Augustus, C. 21). Horace alludes to it in more than one ode. Addressing Augustus, he says

Te Cantaber non ante domabilis  
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes  
Miratur, O tutela praesens  
Italiae dominaeque Romae (Od. iv. 14.)  
"Thee Spanish tribes, unused to yield,  
Mede, Indian, Scyth that knows no home  
Acknowledge, Sword at once and Shield  
Of Italy and queenly Rome."

A similar reference is made in the Ode to Jupiter (Od. 1.12).

The *Tiru muruk arrup padai* is a poem of the third Academy and commences the anthology known as the Ten Lyrics (பத்து பாட்டு) and is in praise of the god Muruka. It belongs to a class of poems known in classic Tamil as *Arrup padai* (அருறுப் பாட்டு), literally "a guiding or conducting," from *aru*, way, and *padut*, to cause. Various kinds of this class of poem are mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*. A poet,





musician, minstrel or dancer, on his way home with gifts from a patron, would direct others to him and make it the occasion for singing his praise. Or, as in this poem, one who has received from his patron-god more precious spiritual boons tells others of his good fortune and how they too may win it.

"If, striving for the wisdom that cometh of steadfastness in righteous deeds, thou with pure heart fixed upon His feet desirest to rest there in peace, then by that sweet yearning—the fruit of ancient deed—which spurneth all things else, thou wilt here now gain thy goal" (v.v. 62-68):

is the central idea of the poem. He is regarded as in his essence formless and beyond speech and thought, but assuming forms to suit the needs of his votaries and accepting their worship in whatever form if only heartfelt. This is indeed the normal Hindu attitude in religious matters and accounts for its infinite tolerance. All religions are ways, short or long, to God. "The nameless, formless one we will call and worship by a thousand names in chant and dance," the Psalmist Mānikka-vāchakar cries, God, under whatever name or form sought, comes forward to meet the seeker and help his progress onwards through forms suitable to his development. "They who worship other gods with faith and devotion, they also worship me," it is declared in the Bhagavad Gita (IX, 21). The merit claimed for the Hindu religious system is that it provides spiritual food and help for the soul in every stage of its development; hence it is significantly called the Ladder Way (Sopāna mārga).

The God Muruka has many shrines and modes of worship. Some of them are described in this poem, which thus serves, as its name indicates, as a "Guide

to the holy Muruka." The shrines are all in Tamil land. The first shrine mentioned is Tirupparankunram, a hill about 5 miles southwest of Madura.

"He dwelleth gladly on the Hill west of the Clustered Towers—gates rid of battle, for the foe hath been crushed and the ball and doll defiantly tied to the high flag-staff are still,—faultless marts, Lakshmi's seats, streets of palaces—

"He dwelleth on the Hill where swarms of beauteous winged bees sleep on the rough stalks of lotuses in the broad stretches of muddy fields, they blow at dawn round the honey-dripping *neital* blooms and with the rising sun sing in the sweet flowers of the pool as they open their eyes" (v.v. 67-77).

The other shrines specifically named are "Alaivāi (wave-mouth v. 125), now known as Tiruchendur, a shrine on the southern coast about 36 miles from Tinnevely; Āvinankudi (v.176), now known as Palanimalai (Palni Hills), about the same distance from Dindigul and a well-known hill station; Tiru-Erakam (v.189), now called Swāmimalai, a hill about 4 miles from Kumbakonam. Each of the shrines with its appropriate incidents and associations is the subject of a little picture—making a sort of cameo or gem strung together in this poem forming a perfect whole (v.v. 1-77, 78-125, 126-176, 177-189). Three of the shrines are situated amid mountains and forests for they are dear to Muruka. One section (v.v. 190-217) describes his "Sport on the Mountains" and another (v. 218 *ad fin.*) describes him as dwelling in "Fruit-groves" and worshipped by forest tribes. The shrine of Kataragama is understood to be included in the last. The poet enumerates many other places and ways in which the god manifests himself:—festivals accompanied with goat sacrifices and frenzied dances, groves and woods, rivers and lakes, islets, road-junctions, village-meetings, the kadamba tree (*eugenia racemosa*), etc.,



and lastly wherever votaries seek him in prayer (v.v. 218-225), recalling Jesus' saying (Matth. XVIII, 20) "where two or three are assembled in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Muruka would thus appear to be a deity in whom were amalgamated many legends and traditions, many aspects of religion and modes of worship, primitive and advanced, and to embody the Hindu ideal of God immanent in all things and manifesting Himself wherever sought with love.

Muruka means tender age and beauty and is often represented as the type of perennial youth, sometimes as quite a child. There is in Vaattiswaran temple near Tanjore an exquisite figure of the child-god. He is also worshipped in the form of a six faced god, the legendary origin of which form I have already given (pp.240, 241). Verses 90-118 describe the part played by each face and each of his twelve arms and show that this form was a personification of various divine aspects and powers.

"One face spreadeth afar rays of light, perfectly lighting the world's dense darkness; one face graciously seeketh his beloved and granteth their prayers; one face watcheth over the sacrificial rites of the peaceful ones who fail not in the way of the Scriptures; one face searcheth and pleasantly expoundeth hidden meanings, illumining every quarter like the moon; one face, with wrath mind filling, equality ceasing, wipeth away his foes and celebrateth the battle-sacrifice; one face dwelleth smiling with slender waisted Vedda maid, pure-hearted Valli." He is thus worshipped as the god of wisdom by those who seek spiritual enlightenment, as the god of sacrifice and ritual by the ritualists, as the god of learning by scholars, as the giver of all boons, wordly and spiritual, to his devotees. In punishing the Titans, his divine heart (according to the commentator) seemed for the moment to deviate from the feeling

of equality towards all his creatures. But the punishment was really an expression of his fatherly love for his children. In the same way the wedding of Valli by the god was to set to mankind a pattern of family life and duty.

**Note 1.** The fifteen other sacred places are:—1. Mahiyangana (Bintenne in Uva on the right bank of the Mahaweliganga), 2. Nāgadīpa (said to be in the Northern Province), 3. Kelaniya (near Colombo), 4. Sri-pāda (Adam's Peak), 5. Divaguha (perhaps the same as Bhagava lena near Adam's Peak), 6. Dighāvapi (Nāka Vihare in Batticaloa District near Sengapadi), 7. Mutiyangana (in Badulla town), 8. Tissamahāvihāra (in Hambantota District); with the 6 following places in Anurādhapura city, 9. Mahābodhi, 10. Mirisvētiya, 11. Ruwanvṛṇisēya, 12. Thupārāma, 13. Abhayagiri, 14. Jetavana, and lastly, 15. Selacetiya at Mihintale near Anurādhapura.

**Note 2.** அஞ்ச முகத்தோன்றி லாறு முகத்தோன்றி ம  
யெஞ்ச மரிலஞ்சலென யேருன்று—நெஞ்சி  
லொருகர னினைக்கி வீருகா லுந் தோன்று  
முருகாவென் றேருதுவார் முன்  
ஒருமுருகா வென்றென் னுன் னங்குலிர வுவந்துடனே  
வருமுருகா வென்றுவாய் வெருவாரீர்பக் கையிங்கனே  
தருமுருகா வென்றுதான் புலம்பாரிற் பத் தையன் முன்னே  
சிருமுருகாற்றுப் படையுடனே வருஞ் சேவகனே

**Note 3.** The Sanskrit epic *Skanda Purana*, which is said to contain a hundred thousand stanzas, has no existence in a collective form. Fragments in shape of Sanhitas, Khandas, Mahatiuyas are found in various parts of India. The Tamil poem by Kachchiappa Swami of Kānchi is said to be based on the first six Khandas of the Sivarahasya Khandas, the first of twelve sections of the Sankara mahatiuya of the Sanskrit epic, and is a work of high literary merit, Wordsworthian in chaste simplicity of style, but with an elevation and dignity rarely attained by him.



**Note 4.** Extracts from the burglar's soliloquy "Here is a spot weakened by constant sun and sprinkling and eaten by salt petre rot. And here is a pile of dirt thrown up by a mouse. Now Heaven be praised! my venture prospers. This is the first sign of success for Skanda's sons. Now, first of all, how shall I make the breach? The blessed Bearer of the Golden Lance has prescribed four varieties of breach (here follows their description and the choice). I will make that . . . . Praise to the boon conferring God, to Skanda of immortal youth! Praise to him, the Bearer of the Golden Lance, the Brahmins God, the Pious! Praise to him, the Child of the Sun! Praise to him the teacher of magic, whose first pupil I am! for he found pleasure in me and gave me magic ointment.

With which so I anointed be,  
No watchman's eye my form shall see;  
And edged sword that falls on me  
From cruel wounds shall leave me free.  
Act. III.

**Note 5.** சரவணந்தனிற் தனது சேயாறுருத்தனையு  
மிருகரங்கனாலன் புடனெடுத்தனன் புல்வித்  
திருமுகங்கனோ ராறுபன்னி புயஞ்சேர்ந்த  
வுருவமொன்றெனச் செய்தன ஞாலக மூன்றுடையான்  
என்னைச்சத்திக ஞாயிரெலா மொடுங்குறுமெல்லை  
முந்தபோல ஞொன்றுகியே கூடியமுறைபோ  
லந்தமில்லதோர் மூவிருவடிவு மொன்றுகிக்  
கந்தனென்று பேர்பெற்றனன் கவுரிதன்குமரன்  
(கந்தபுராணம், சரவணப்படலம், 20-21).

"In Saravanai's waters her child's six forms she\* lovingly clasped with both arms and lifted and of his six beauteous faces and twice six shoulders she made one form, she, the mistress of the triple world.

"As the diverse energies of our Father, at the involution of all things, become one as before, so the twelve forms of Gauri's\* son became one and he received the name Kandan."

\*i.e., Uma, Consort of Siva and his inseparable energy, (Sakti) through whom alone He (regarded as the absolute) acts. "Joined to Sakti, Siva becomes Sakta (i.e., able to act), without her he cannot even move," sings Sankaracharya in a famous hymn.

**Note 6.** கந்தி, = ஒருபற்றுக் கோடின்றி அருவாகித் தானே  
கிற்குத் தத்துவங்கடந்த பொருள்  
(சச்சிமூர்க்குணியர்).

**Note 7.** My grandfather A. Coomara Swamy, Raja Vasal Mudaliyar, of the Governor's Gate and member of the Legislative Council on its first establishment (representing there till his death the Tamils and Muhammadans of this Island), under the orders of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief General Brownrigg, escorted the King and his queens to Colombo. (then a very arduous journey), and had charge of the arrangements for their stay here and their embarkation for India. In the year 1890 at Tanjore, in the Madras Presidency, I had the honour of being presented to the last surviving queen of Kandy. In spite of very straitened circumstances, she maintained the traditions and ceremonial of a Court. Speaking from behind a curtain, she was pleased to welcome me and to express her appreciation of services rendered to her family since their downfall. A lineal descendant of the Kings of Ceylon held till a few years ago a clerkship in the Registrar-General's department, a living testimony to the revolutions of the wheel of fortune.

6. The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera read the following note on "The Socketed Clay Piping from Kótté (Jayawardhanapura, circa 1415-1457:—

Jayawardhanapura, modern Kótté, was founded by the Minister Alakésvara during the reign of Wikrama Báhu III. (1356-1371). The contemporary "Nikáya Saṅgrahawa" states:

"He issued commands through the.....obedient and faithful Governors (*Maṇḍulikas*) in his service, and nigh unto the haven called Colombo he caused a mighty deep and broad ditch to be dug dreadful to behold, like the sides of a steep rock, right round the village Dárugráma, which was situated in the midst of a lake and protected on all sides by a never failing stream of water and he caused to be adorned



with different devices like a creation of Viswakarma the intervening spaces on the summit of the great rampart wall, which for the sake of stability had been built entirely of stone from the base of the ditch up to the coping on the wall. Thus he built a famous fortress called 'Abhinawa Jayawardhana,' well fortified with *idangini*, *pulimukham* (Tiger faces), *bhūmiantattu*, *aṭṭāla* (towers) and *vattavētti* in which were constructed at intervals. He caused to be built on the summit of the great wall of the city for the protection of its four sides four separate holy places dedicated to each of the four respective god-kings who protect the four quarters of Laṅkā, Kihireli Upulwan, Samanboksā, Vibhishana and Kanda Kumāra and he commanded that the temple services and festivals should be maintained without intermission with every description of music, such as the music of the drum and pipe and with dancing and singing. Having filled it with all manner of riches, he peopled the city with a great multitude."

This city became the seat of Government under Bhuvaneka Báhu V. and Wijaya Báhu VI. who was captured by the Chinese under Ching Ho, and it rose to the highest pitch of greatness under Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. (1415-1467) the last great monarch of a united Laṅkā. From a bare fortress it was converted into a magnificent capital with stone baths and cisterns, spacious streets and fine edifices. Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX. received here the Portuguese Ambassadors (c. 1505) and it continued to be the capital till c. 1560, when the Portuguese dismantled the fortress, demolished the Daḷadā Māligāwa and removed the last King Dom João Dharmapāla (1540-1597) to Colombo. Since then the City rapidly fell into decay, the tropical jungle grew space, and Elephant Kraals were held in the neighbourhood by the Dutch in the XVIIth century.

Later, the City was re-occupied and became an important religious and educational centre under the Dutch, which it continued to be under the British by

its selection by the early Missionaries as the seat of their Educational Establishment which was the fore-runner of the Colombo Academy (Royal College.)

Since the place became repopulated a consistent course of vandalism destroyed what Portuguese and Dutch invaders had spared, and there is scarce one stone left upon another to mark the site where the mighty Parākrama held Court. In an article originally contributed to the "Observer" many years ago the writer stated. "The pickaxe of a villager now and again throws up a clay pipe belonging to the system of underground pipes for supplying water to the City, and no sooner it is thrown up than it is broken. If effective steps are not taken to check this vandalism, there will, in a short time, be nothing left from which, as I have said before, even to trace the ground plan of the old Capital, much less to judge of the style of architecture or the way that the pipes had been laid." ("Observer," 9th November, 1900.)

The pipes of baked clay produced to-day were found in a gentle gradient a few feet underground leading down at right angles from the principal thoroughfare of the ancient City. They rested upon small pieces of granite and were fitted to each other, having at intervals a piece of grooved clay piping different from the others, a specimen of which is laid on the table. The whole track was not laid bare for obvious reasons. The sites of temples and public buildings are now private property, and you strike against these pipes in the most unlikely places. I am not aware of a discovery of a similar character in any other part of the Island. A survey plan of Kótté has been made recently by Mr. MacCarthy at the instance of the Colombo Sanitary Board in which the ancient sites are marked. If the plan could be further amplified by locating the trail of the pipes wherever known it may help us to determine whether they were laid merely for drainage purposes or for the supply of water to the houses as well.

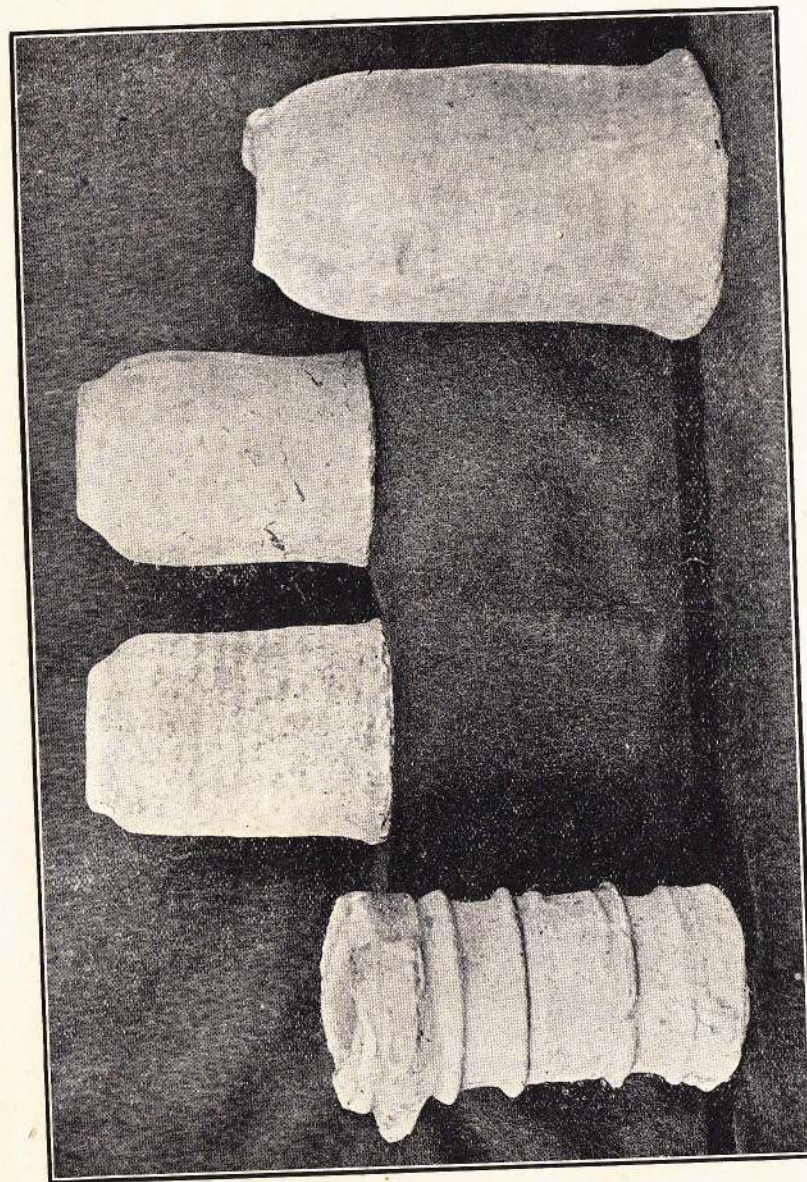


The following extract from Lethaby's *Architecture*, p. 77, proves that clay piping of the kind under consideration was a feature not unknown to Antiquity.

"Greek legend seemed to point to Crete as being an important centre of the Pre Homeric Age. In 1900 Sir Arthur Evans bought land on the site of Knossos, where he soon excavated a complex of buildings which has proved to be a vast palace—almost certainly the "Labyrinth of Minos." Here were halls with columns of wood larger above than below (a quite reasonable thing in framed construction, like the "legs" of a modern table), a portico with a double row of six pillars, wide stairs rising in many flights, and bath-rooms. The chambers had plastered walls painted with scenes or ornament, and sometimes modelled in low relief before painting, and many of the walls had dadoes of gypsum (alabaster) slabs. Evidence was found for windows. There was walling of fine masonry and of rubble set in clay, also of crude bricks, and some burnt brick has been found. The floors were paved or covered with hand plaster. (That of a hall at Tiryns was painted with fish on a blue ground.) The streets were paved and had built drains, and socketed pipes for drainage or water supply have also been found."

7. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, seconded by Dr. Paul moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Mahadeva and to the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.

8. Mr. C. H. Collins proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.



SOCKETED CLAY PIPES FROM KOTTE (JAYAWARDANAPURA.)



## GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, July 15th, 1924.*

## Present:

The Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President in the Chair.	
Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, Kt.	Mr. K. Kumaraswami
Mr. W. H. Biddell	Mr. L. M. Maartensz
Mr. R. A. Cader	Mr. T. R. Mitchell
Mr. P. M. Aloysius Corea	Mr. S. A. Pakeman
Mr. Dadabhoy Nusseruvanjee	Mr. E. Reimers
Revd. J. P. de Pinto	Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn,
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton	B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. Thomas Gracie	Dr. R. L. Spittel, F.R.C.S.
Mr. M. A. M. Ismail	Mr. C. Suppramaniam
Mr. Albert E. Jayasinha	Mr. F. A. Tissavarasingha
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe	Mr. D. D. Weerasingha,
Mr. C. E. Jones, B.A., C.C.S.	Mudaliyar.

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

Visitors: 11 ladies and 13 gentlemen.

*Business:*

1. Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 27th March, 1924, were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.
3. Dr. R. L. Spittel delivered a lecture entitled "The Last of the Veddahs" illustrated by lantern slides.
4. Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, seconded by the Hon. Mr. W. T. Southorn, moved votes of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chair.



## VIJAYA BÁHU'S INSCRIPTION AT POLONNARUWA


By C. RASANÁYAGAM MUDALIYAR, C. C. S.

This is the only well preserved Tamil inscription in the Island. A clear and distinct photograph of the inscription is published with Mr. Bell's archæological report of 1911. For want of Grantha characters the Government Printer has substituted certain fantastic symbols, so that the Tamil rendering of the inscription published with the report is neither correct nor readable. The translation too is not quite correct, and hence the necessity to have this inscription published again, with two renderings one in Tamil with the Grantha characters inserted in Sinhalese, and the other in Roman characters following the method adopted by Government for the system of transliteration. An English translation is appended with notes.

The first five lines are in Sanscrit and are almost wholly written in Grantha characters. These lines were deciphered by the Hon'ble Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and translated by Rambukwelle Siddhartha Thero.

The remaining lines are in Tamil but interspersed with Sanscrit words and Grantha characters, as was the custom in South India in early days. Between the 7th and the 15th centuries the Brahman influence in Tamil countries was so predominant that a knowledge of Sanscrit became very essential for the purpose of literacy. The kings too having come under the influence of the Brahmans gave the greatest encouragement to the study of Sanscrit, so much so that original compositions in Tamil were neglected and translations of Sanscrit works became very popular.

The influence of Sanscrit over Tamil was also due to the Jains whose original literature was altogether in Sanscrit. Since their advent to South India and the consequent conversion of the people to Jainism, many a Tamil work was written by their monks, which led to the introduction of a large number of Sanscrit words into the Tamil language and to the promiscuous use of the Grantha characters. They also introduced a new system of script, which is a mixture of Tamil and Grantha characters, in their prose writings and called it "Manipravālam" (a string of pearls and corals). This inscription is written in the Manipravālam style. The Tamil influence in Ceylon during the 86 years preceding the accession of Vijaya Báhu, under the rule of the Chóla kings must have been so permeating that when Vijaya Báhu became king his environments and surroundings would have been practically Tamil. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the Vélaikkára army composed altogether of Tamils, should have caused the inscription to be inscribed in Tamil and in the Manipravālam style.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The sign for the vowel *ai* (æ) in animated consonants is represented by double *kombus* one placed over the other thus . The sign for *i* long as represented by a loop at the end of the curves placed over the letters, and that for *e* and *o* long similarly represented in *kombus* are absent. These letters should be read long or short according to the context. The *pulli* which denotes a consonant is used indifferently, some letters being inscribed with the *pulli* and some without. There are also a few spelling peculiarities and mistakes. *Tuvivattu* for *dvipattu* (l: 6), *saturi* for *catturu* or *satruñ* (l: 7), *aiñpattayyañdu* for *aimpattaiyañdu* (l: 13), *Uttorula* (l: 19) and *Uturula* (l: 26) for *Uttarola* (Mhv: chap: lvii, v: 20), *múlai* for *múlai* (ll: 19 & 26), *óro* for *órór* (ll: 33 & 34), and



*tórikku* for *tórukku* (1: 47) are some notable instances. The transcription in Roman characters gives the correct reading.

According to this inscription the Vélaikkára army undertook to protect and maintain the shrine of the Tooth Relic caused to be built by king Vijaya Báhu. The term Vélaikkára appears not to have been properly understood. Mudaliyar Wijesinha the translator of the Mahāvamsa thought that they were a body of mercenary soldiers (Mhv: p: 123, foot note), and this unwarranted interpretation has misled even the Madras Epigraphist. (S.I.I., vol: ii, pt: v & M.E.R., for 1912). The late Mr. T. A. Gopinath Row, Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State, has, in a learned article contributed to the Sen Tamil (vol: xvi, pp.134-143), by references quoted from Tamil works and inscriptions, cleared the ground for the elucidation of the term. From time immemorial it was a custom in India and perhaps in Ceylon too, for loyal and faithful servants who failed to carry out the orders of their king or of their master, to kill themselves, and it was not uncommon for kings to have soldiers who took the oath that they would do away with their lives if any misfortune befell the king. These loyal servants and soldiers considered themselves equal to the chaste wife who committed *sati* on her husband's funeral pyre. These were called Vélaikkáras. The acts of self-sacrifice committed by these Vélaikkáras are known not only from Tamil classics but also from inscriptions and sculpture. In the picture of a panel published in the Epigraphia Indica (vol: vi, p.41) which contains the representation of a dying monarch, will be seen an officer of his, who is standing by ready to plunge his knife into his vitals as soon as the king expires. There is a Tamil inscription at Sri Rangam in which the oath taken by a Kaikola servant that he would die with his master and that if he failed, he would give his wife to the Pariahs and take his own mother to wife, is

inscribed. It will be seen from the nature of the oath, that he considered the shame of his wife and of his mother greater than his own life. Vows by soldiers to give up their lives for the victory of their king in battle and the accomplishment of such vows before the temples of *Káli* or *Pidári* were not uncommon in those days. The custom is known as *vañcinam* in Tamil classics (see Tolkáppiyam—Poruḷadikáram) and as *Harikari* in Japan. The fact that General Oyama committed *harikari* on hearing of the death of the Emperor a few years ago is well-known. The Vélaikkáras of Vijaya Báhu though composed of different castes had, perhaps taken the oath that they would die for their king. The statement in line 36 of the inscription that they would protect the temple of the Tooth Relic even at the risk of their lives, and the words in lines 45 and 46 (*mátantirattukkup-piḷaitta paḍaip-pakaiyan*) “he who offends against the Mátantra” (by not keeping his oath) “and thus becomes an enemy of the army”—an offence which is considered equal to one of the graver sins—clearly show their determination, and that they did not value their lives more than their oath. That such custom was not new to Ceylon would be known from the fact that during the reign of Séna II., when prince Mahinda, fighting against the forces of the Pándyan king, unable to bear the ignominy of defeat cut off his own head in the field of battle, a large number of his faithful soldiers followed his example. The minister of Jétthatissa while describing to the latter's queen how his master killed himself in the field of battle, cut his own throat and died (Mhv: chap: xlv, vv: 112-117). Thus it will be seen that the Vélaikkára army was not composed of mercenaries but of men who had taken the oath to fight and die for their king and were prepared to do so. It is reasonable to suppose that the Vélaikkára army first served under the Chóla Viceroy reigning in Ceylon, before they took service under



Vijaya Báhu. Adhi Rájéndra, the son of Vira Rájéndra the Chóla king, was the last Viceroy in Ceylon, and his inscriptions have been found at Polonnaruwa. On the death of Vira Rájéndra in 1070 A.D. Adhi Rájéndra appears to have gone up to the Chóla capital to claim the kingdom that was his by right, but found a new claimant in the person of Rájéndra the Eastern Chalukya king and grandson of Rájéndra Chóla I. In spite of the assistance rendered by Vikramaditya VI., the Western Chalukya king who was married to his sister, Adhi Rájéndra was defeated and killed by Rájéndra who ascended the Chóla throne under the name of Kulóttunga. As Adhi Rájéndra and Kulóttunga were busy over their own affairs and as Kulóttunga was for several years after his accession engaged in fighting the Western Chalukyas, Ceylon was altogether neglected by the Chólas, and Vijaya Báhu must have had an easy walk over to the throne of Ceylon. Although the evacuation of Ceylon by the Chólas took place with the departure of Adhi Rájéndra in the 15th year of Vijaya Báhu's reign, as stated in the Mahávaṃsa, yet it is difficult to believe that the Chólas were defeated and driven away by Vijaya Báhu. The Vélaikkára army that remained in Ceylon expecting the return of their king must have become the soldiers of Vijaya Báhu and sworn allegiance to him either on hearing of the death of Adhi Rájéndra or to escape the alternative of being decimated by Vijaya Báhu. That the Chóla viceroys in Ceylon were the earlier masters of the Vélaikkára army is borne out by the fact that when in the thirtieth year of his reign Vijaya Báhu requested them to join an expedition against the Chólas, the (the Vélaikkáras) refused and rebelled (Mhv., lx., 36-44).

As the last regnal year of king Vijaya Báhu is mentioned in the inscription, the record must have been made in the year 1109, A.D. a short time before

his death. The protection of these Relics was not, however long left in the hands of the Vélaikkára army, as in a short time Vikrama Báhu, who deposed Jaya Báhu the successor of Vijaya Báhu, began to oppress the Buddhist priesthood and demolished their temples, so that the priests were obliged to remove the Bowl and Tooth Relics and conceal them somewhere in the Ruhunu district.

### TEXT OF INSCRIPTION

1. கலங்கித்ரிகு லோயாந்தீன டந்தொது கலனம் யுடேடிவ
2. கௌகிபொகாரீதீந் திரிசீயாடிவாது நாவருடேடிவ
3. ந் பூரணைபூரவெலேககமா ம கமோ[பிதா]ந்நடிபிவ
4. நபகிவன டேவாடயாந்வேலேககமா மவ்வாநயா
5. நநிநிவருமகலபகலேயிவீ நலொ வ்வாச
6. திரேகாவிவத்த பூயிவெனது ககவாருவி
7. நவழிவந்த அநெக ஓவிதநிசீயம்பண்ணி அநரா
8. பெருமபுகரு வ்வாசநரக்கிசு கெண்டிச
9. ஂகிவெனததால் திருமுடிமுடி அருமணத்தில் தி
10. னறும் சங்கததாரை அழைப்பித்து மூன்று நிகாய
11. ததயெனவீபண்ணுவித்து மூன்றுதலா காரம
12. மூன்று நிகாயததகரு குடித்து டெனரீ பிவித்தால
13. கருபத்தயயாண்டு இலங்கை முழுதம ஒருகுடை நிழ
14. மறித்தி ருவிராசீயு செயதருளி எழுபத்தமுபாண்டு திருந
15. க்ஷுது செயுத்தின கொகிவென வெவிவீரான வதுவகிநி
16. கள் திரிசீயவாது டேவாதுவரகல் தெசென விரத்தா
17. கரு நியொகித்துப்புலநரியான தீசீயாரீப்புரத்து எடுப்
18. பித்த முலகாரமாய அகயகிரீலொ விராதது கரு
19. யதநமான உத்தொருமுனையில் முவுலகருக்கு கிகாமணி
20. யாகிய டேடிபாதுவாதுவிதி தெவாகருக்கு நிராவாசகலவ
21. மானபூரிவிகேகததகரு மங்கல குமமான சூட்டாண்டு
22. தொறுநிருநயக மொகும்பண்ணி அருசனநிறுகும்
23. கண்ணலருசெயயும்மெனலொ கிலெய வ்வ
24. டேவாகரு கலகுவியான டேடிபுப்பெரும்பளனி உங்க
25. ள்ரகயாகவெண்டுமென்று ககலொகாதுவெ கில
26. வாரகவிசுநரான ருசீயுருவதுருமுனையில் வாரிணிமு



27. லலந்தொகைத் திரா ராசாஸாநாதரெடுங்கூட எழுந்தருளியி  
28. ருந்த எங்களை அழைத்து அருளிச்செய்தமையில மாதந்திரத்  
29. தொங்கூடி எங்களுக்கு முநாளைக்களாயுள்ள வளஞ்செய்யரையும் எ  
30. ன்களொடுங்கூடி வருந்நகரத்தா ருளிட்டாரையுங்கூட்டி மூன்று  
31. கைத்திருவென்கைகாறம் டுஜூ யப்பெரும்பள்ளியென்று  
32. திருநாமஞ்சாததி எங்கனதமாய எங்கள் காவலாய நிற்க  
33. வெண்டுமென்று அறங்காவலுக்கு படைப்படையால் ஒரொ  
34. செவகரையும் ஒரொ வெலிலிலும இட்டுக்குடுத்த இப்  
35. பள்ளி நொக்கின ஊராகனும் பரிவாரமும் பண்டாரமும் அங்  
36. யம்புக்காரையும் பட்டுங்கெட்டுங் காகக்ககடவொமாக  
37. வும் அழிவுபட்டடங்குழிவுசோர்ந்தும் எங்கள் அரவ  
38. யமுள்ளதனையு மெஞ்ஞான்று மிதுக்கு வெண்டிவனவெ  
39. ல்லாஞ்செய்வொமாகவும் பண்ணின இந்ந வந்நெடுவெட்டி  
40. டிநாவரை நிறபதாக கையவினவெறநிசெம்பி னுங்கல்லி  
41. னும் வெட்டுவித்துக்குடுத்தொ வலங்கை இடங்கை சி  
42. றுதநம்பினனாகனனும் வடுகாமயையாளர் பரிவாரக்  
43. கொந்தம் பலகலையும் உன்னிட்டிருவென்கைகாற  
44. ரொம இப்படி திறம்புனாஹ திறம்பசசொலலுவாஹ  
45. ம திறம்பசசமதிப்பாஹ மாதந்திரத்துக்குப்பிழைத்த  
46. படைப்பகையந் புகழ்வொ பாந்கஞ்செய்தாஹம் தெவா  
47. பூதாமாதவததொரிக்குக்குத்தன கொள்ளும் கொடும  
48. பாவியும் ஐவெட்டிஹைர் தநங்களுக்குப் பிழைத்தா  
49. னும் புகுந்நகம் புகுவாந் X X X X அறமறவறகையென்கிடு
1. Śvasti śrīḥ :—Laṅkāyān Jina danta dhātu bhavanāṇ ya  
Déva  
2. Śénádhīpo kārshīt Śrī Vijayādi Báhu nṛvarā désā-  
3. t Pulastehpure Vēlaikkāra śamā (pit) an tada pita  
4. ta paryānta dévalāyān Vēlaikkāra budhá nisā-  
5. ntu nitarā má kalpa śandher bhuvi; namó Buddhāya.  
6. Śrī Laṅkā dvīpattu Śuryya vaṇṣattu Aikshváku vi-  
7. n valī vanta anéka śatruṇī jayam paṇṇi Anurā-  
8. dhapuram pukku Buddha Śāsana rakshikka vēṇḍi Sa-  
9. ṅgha niyógattāl tirumuḍi súḍi Arumanattil ni-  
10. nṛum caṅkattārai ālaippittu múnṛu nikāya-  
11. ttu Saṅgha suddhi paṇṇuvittu múnṛu tulābhāram  
12. múnṛu nikāyattukku kuḍuttu daṣa rāja dharmattāl

13. aiṇṇattaiyaṇḍu ilaṅkai mūlutum orukudai niḷa-  
14. rrit-tiruviráyaṇ-ceytaruḷi eḷupattu múvaṇḍu tiru na-  
15. kshatraṇ-celuttiṇa kò Śrī Saṅgha Bódhi varmarāṇa  
cakravarti-  
16. kaḷ Śrī Vijaya Báhu Dévar nuvarakal té[va] Senavirattar-  
17. kku niyókittup-Pulanariyaṇa Vijayarájapurattu eḍup-  
18. pitta múlasthānamákiya Abhayagiri mahá viháratu  
agra-  
19. yatanamáṇa Uttoruḷa múlaiyil múvulakukkuṇ-cikāmaṇi  
20. yákiya Daladá pátra dhātu svámi tévarkaḷukku nitya  
vāsa bhavana-  
21. māṇa pratamābhishékattukku maṅkala grahamāṇa  
áttāṇḍu-  
22. tórun tiru nayana móksham paṇṇi aṇcaṇa niṇukkum  
23. kaṇṇálaṇ-ceyyum maṅgala mahá silāmaya Buddha  
24. Dévarkku gandhakúṭiyaṇa Daladáyap-perumpalli uṇka-  
25. ḷ rakshayaḷa véṇḍumenṇu sakala sāstrágama sílá-  
26. cāra sampannarāṇa Rāja Guru Uturuḷa múlaiyil  
vyáriṇi Mú  
27. galan mahá sthāvīrar rájamátyaroḍuṇ-kúḍa eḷuntaruḷiyi-  
28. runtū eṇkaḷai alaṭtu aruḷiceytamaiyil mātantirat-  
29. tōṇ-kúḍi eṇkaḷukku mútataikaḷáyulla vaḷaṇceyaraiyum e-  
30. ṇkalóḍu kúḍi varuṇ nakarattāruḷittāraiyaṇ-kúṭṭi  
mūṇṇu-  
31. kaittiruvēlaikkāraṇ Daladáyap-perumpalli yeṇṇu  
32. tirunāmaṇcātti eṇkaḷ aṇamāy eṇkaḷ kávalāy niṇka  
33. véṇḍumenṇu aṇaṅkávalukku paḍaip-paḍaiyál óró [r]  
34. cévakaraiyum óró [r] véli nilamum iṭṭukkuduttu ip-  
35. palli nókkiṇa úrkaḷum parivāramum paṇḍāramum abha-  
36. yam pukkāraiyaṇ paṭṭuṇ-ketṭuṇ-kákkakkāḍavómāka-  
37. vum aḷivu paṭṭaḍaṅkaḷaḷivu córntum eṇkaḷ anava-  
38. ya-mullatanaiyu-meṇṇāṇṇu-mitukku véṇḍuvaṇa ve-  
39. llāṇ-ceyvómākavum paṇṇiṇa inta vyavastai candrá-  
40. ditya varai nirpatākak-kaiyviṇá verriḷ-cempiluṇ-kalli-  
41. lum veṭṭuvittuk-kuduttóm Valaṅkai Iḍaṅkai Ci-  
42. ruṭaṇam Piḷḷaikaḷṭaṇam Vaḍukar Malaiyāḷar Parivāra-  
43. kontam Palakalaṇaiyaṇ ulliṭṭa tiru-Vēlaikkāra-



44. róm ippaḍi tīrampuvāṇum tīrampaccolluvāṇu-
45. m tīrampaccammatippāṇum mātantirattukkuppilaitta
46. paḍaippakaiyan pañca mahā pātakañ -ceytāṇum tévar
47. pūtar mātavattōrukkuk-kuḍuttāṇa koḷḷum koḍum
48. pāviyūm Buddha Dhamma Sangha ratnañkaḷukkup-  
pilaittā-
49. ṇum pukun-narakam pukuvān × × × × aṇa maṇavaṇka.  
Śvasti Śrīḥ.

### Translation

Śvasti Śrīḥ :—May the Vélaikkáras always look after, for the good of the world, the Tooth Relic temple which was built by Déva Sénadhipa, at the command of the king Śrī Vijaya Báhu at Pulastipura in Laṇkā, and the Déváles belonging to it which were built by the Vélaikkáras. Buddha's name be praised !

The King Śrī Sangha Bódhi Varman or Śrī Vijaya Báhu Dévar, Emperor of the prosperous island of Laṇkā, a descendant of Aikshváku of the Solar dynasty, after defeating many an enemy and entering Anurádhapura, wore the crown with the approval of the priesthood (Sangha) for the purpose of protecting the Buddhist religion. He invited priests from Pegu (Aramaṇa), caused the priesthood of the three Nikáyas to be purified, presented thrice his own weight in gold to the three Nikáyas, and by (practising) the ten royal virtues, reigned over the whole of Laṇkā for fifty-five years under the shade of one umbrella, and celebrated seventy three birthdays. He directed Nuvaragiri Déva Senavirattar to erect at Pulanari or Vijaya Rájapuram the Daḷadáya Perumpalli (maha viháre of the Tooth Relic) as a permanent receptacle for Daḷadá Pátra Dhátu Svámi Dévarkaḷ (the Alms Bowl and the Tooth Relics), the crest gems of the three worlds, whose original chief place of deposit was Uṭtoruḷa Múlai in Abhayagiri mahā viháre, and as a prosperous edifice for the first anointment of, and as a Gandhakūṭi for, the handsome large image of Buddha Dévar,

in whose honour are annually celebrated the festivals of the ceremony of opening the eyes and painting them with black paste.

The high priest Múgalan, the Rája Guru learned in all the Śāstras and Ágamas and perfect in the practice of all the virtues, residing at Uṭuraḷa Múlai, and the ministers of the king having met together, sent for us and directed us to accept the custody (of the Shrine). We (the members) of the Mátantra having met together, having invited the Valaṇceyar who are our elders, and having assembled those including the city members (nakarattár) who usually join us (in our deliberations), have given the name of Múnṛukai Tiruvélaikkáran Daḷadáya Perumpalli (the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Vélaikkára army of three divisions) (to the shrine), and have appointed one servant out of, and dedicated one *véli* of land on behalf of, each regiment, so that it may be (considered) our charity institution and under our protection. We shall also protect the villages, servants, and revenues of, and those who take sanctuary in, this shrine, although thereby we may suffer and die. We shall repair all damages and shall always do everything necessary for (the maintenance of) this (shrine) as long as we exist as a body.

We the Tiru Vélaikkáras consisting of Valaṅkai (right-hand), Iḍaṅkai (left-hand), Ciṛutaṇam, Pillaikaḷtaṇam (princes), Vaḍukar (Canarese), Malayalese, Parivárakkontam (Temple retinue) and Palakalaṇai (nondescripts) have made this declaration inscribing the same on prepared copper (plates) and stone, so that it may endure as long as the sun and moon do last.

He who contravenes this declaration, or he who induces another to contravene, or he who is guilty of complicity in such contravention shall enter the hell intended for him who offends against the Mátantra and thus becomes an enemy of the army, for him who commits the five graver sins, for the cruel sinner who misappropriates the property donated to



the gods, spirits (Bhútas) and the priesthood, and for him who has offended against the three gems Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Forget not charity. Śvastí Śrīḥ.

### Notes

“*Súryya Vaṇṣattu Aikshváku*”:—This appears to be a clear imitation of the practice of some of the Indian royal dynasties who too had no more right than the Ceylon kings to such a distinction. The Pallava kings in many of their inscriptions traced their descent to the Solar dynasty, and the Chólas who came to power after them did the same. The practice of tracing their origin to the Solar or the Lunar dynasties perhaps originated with the South Indian and the Ceylon kings at a time when Brahmin influence was high among them, and later on it became so common that the kings themselves believed in their semi-divine origin.

The king of Ceylon who was the first to receive the honour of being called a scion of the Okkáka race, which is the same as the Aikshváku dynasty, by the author of the Mahávaṇsa, was Mahá Nága who came to the throne in 561 A. D., and the earliest to trace the same descent in inscriptions was Dappula V. (940 A. D.), to whom are ascribed the inscriptions found at Elléveva Pansala and at Eṭaviragolleṇa being Nos. 116 and 117 in Müller's list.

Vijaya Báhu himself said to be of the Aikshváku dynasty according to the inscription was the grandson of Mahinda V., the son of Mahinda IV., whose dynasty as well as that of some others who preceded him are not mentioned in the Mahávaṇsa as belonging to the Okkáka race, but the Mihintale tablets of Mahinda IV. claim that origin to the king.

The words “*Súryya Vaṇṣattu Aikshvákuvin vaḷi vanta*” are placed so close to “*anéka satruñ*,” that one is tempted to take them together and translate the expression into “many enemy (kings) born in the lineage of Aikshváku of the Solar race,” and identify the “enemy kings” as the Chóla kings defeated by Vijaya Báhu. But it is not so. Vijaya Báhu, if at all, defeated one Chóla king and not many, and it is more than probable that the words were intended not to represent the lineage of his enemies, but that of Vijaya Báhu himself.

“*Varman*”:—Another Indian name-ending common among the Chólas and the Pallavas.

“*Arumaṇa*”:—The country of Rámañña otherwise known as Pegu. According to Rájávali, when Vijaya Báhu came to the throne after driving the Chólas from Ceylon, there was not a single Buddhist priest in the Island, so that priests had to be brought from Burma for the purpose of ordaining others to the priesthood.

“*Tulábhāram*”:—A common ceremony among the Hindus by which they offer their weight in gold or silver as an offering to the gods. Many such instances are mentioned in the medieval Tamil inscriptions of South India and in some Sīhalese inscriptions too. Following the example of the Hindu kings, Vijaya Báhu and a few others presented their weight in gold to the three Nikáyas. The tulábhāra ceremony still exists among the Hindus and rich men going on pilgrimage to Rámésvaram or to other holy shrines present their weight in silver to the temple in fulfilment of previous vows.

“*The ten royal virtues*” are:—1. *dānam*-almsgiving, 2. *śīlam*-observance of the precepts, 3. *pariccaga*-generosity, 4. *akkódha*-freedom from wrath, 5. *avihimsa*-mercy, 6. *khanti*-forbearance, 7. *ajjavam*-rectitude, 8. *maddavam*-mildness, 9. *tapa*-selfmortification, and 10. *aviridhana*-freedom from enmity.

“*Tirunakshatram*”:—The sacred natal asterism. The literal meaning of the expression “*tirunakshtrañ—celuttina*” is “having passed 73 natal asterisms”; cf. Chóla inscription in the temple of Konerirajapuram (151A of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III. p., 186).

“*Nuvarakul*”:—The Tamil form of Nuvaragiri, the Sīhalese “*giri*” and the Tamil “*kal*” being synonymous. This General Nuvaragiri was presumably of the same family as Nagaragiri mentioned as one of the valiant generals of Parákrama Báhu the Great (Mah. LXXVI, 5, 60).

“*Pulanari*”:—A colloquial form of Polonnaruva or Pulastipuram.

“*Vijayarajapuram*”:—A new name given to Polonnaruva in honour of Vijaya Báhu. The same name appears in one of the inscriptions of Gaja Báhu II. It was called Jananāthapuram by the Chólas and Kālingapuram by Niṣṣaṅka Malla.

“*Palli*”:—A word used by the Tamils to represent all places of worship except Hindu temples. It was specially used for Buddhist and Jain temples, and the same is now



applied to Muhammedan mosques. The use of the word is still retained in "paḷikkūḍam" (a school) denoting that schools were in early times attached to temples.

"*Daḷadā Pātra Dhātu Svāmi Tēvar*":—Note the divine appellation given to the "Tooth and Bowl Relics."

"*Agrayatanam*":—A place of importance and prominence. Agra = chief; Yatana = place, dwelling.

"*Uttorūḷa*":—The Tooth Relic appears to have been enshrined at Uttorūḷa Mūlai presumably a shrine in the northern court yard of Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anuradhapura. To this was attached the Uttaraḷa monastery built and endowed by Mānavamma and described in Mah. LVII, 5. 20. Mānavamma's brother was the first high priest of this monastery and Mūgalan mentioned in this inscription may have been one of his successors in office. The Tooth Relic according to this inscription was removed from Uttorūḷa Mūlai and deposited in the new temple built by Vijaya Bāhu not only for the purpose of enshrining the same but also for the inauguration of the large stone image of Buddha, in honour of which an annual festival of "Tirunayana mōksham" appears to have been conducted.

"*Añcaṇa niṟukkum*":—A queer expression for "añcaṇam eḷuta" or "añcaṇam tiṭṭa." Perhaps a specified weight of collyrium was used for the purpose, or the word "niṟukkum" may be a mistake for "niṟuttum."

"*Gandhakūṭi*":—"Secluded room" where Buddha lives. A private chamber devoted to Buddha's use was called Gandhakūṭi, but especially the room he always occupied at Śrāvastī (Childers).

"*Vyāriṇi*":—An obscure word. Mr. Codrington thinks that it is an error for "vihariṇi" "taking pleasure": this is from the root "vihṛ"—"to walk for pleasure, spend time, live" and therefore "to reside". His suggestion appears to be correct and the word is translated into "residing at."

"*Mātantra*":—The administrative and advisory assembly of the Vēlaikkāra army.

"*Valaṇṇeyar*":—Pensioned soldiers who by their age, though not taking part in active operations, were yet useful advisers to the assembly. Valaṇṇeyar is a Malayāla and as used in the Kadayam Plates of Vīra Raghava Chakravartī of Travancore, means 'trace.' Valaṇṇeyar were therefore leading merchants of the city.

"*Mutātaikāl*":—Literally "ancestors."

"*Nakarattār*":—Merchants of the city, but here used in the sense "those of the merchants who were members of the big assembly." The Council of the Nāṭṭukōṭṭai Chetty merchants is called a "Nakaram" and the members "Nakarattār."

"*Mūnṟukai*":—The three divisions of the army.

"*Vyavasthai*":—Orders, decrees, or declarations.

"*Kaiyviṇā verri*":—Rather an obscure expression; literally "made plain by manual art," and the word "prepared" is therefore used in the translation.

"*Valaṅkai, Idaṅkai*":—Regiments composed of men of the 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' castes. There is a tradition that the agricultural castes were called 'right-hand' and the artisan castes 'left-hand' from the position they took in the presence of a Chōḷa King, before whom they appeared for a settlement of a dispute. Mr. M. Srinivāsa Aiyangār, M.A., however, thinks that the division arose during the reign of the Chōḷa King Rājārāja I., when he "marshalled his extensive armies into two great divisions, the one consisting of those men who had won for him victories in all his foreign campaigns, and the other composed of new soldiers from the Pāṇḍya, the Telugu and the Canarese countries, who had formerly fought against him from his enemies' camp. The former, recruited chiefly from the Vēdan, Nāṭṭāman, Malayamān and Paraiah castes, he called the 'right-hand' army, while the latter, made up of the Paḷḷar, Paḷlis, Madegas and Bēdar (Canarese hunters) was called the 'left-hand' army" (see his "Tamil Studies on the History of the Tamil People"). The words 'valṇkaiyar' and 'valaṅkulattār' are used as an honorific appellation for the Paraiahs. There were right-hand and left-hand ministers in the Court of China.

"*Cirutaṇam*":—Men of secondary rank. Men of higher rank were called "perundaṇam" or "perundaram" in South Indian inscriptions.

"*Pillai*" was the word then used for "princes," but is now used for a class of Vellālas.

"*Paḍaippakaiyan*":—A traitor to the army was considered to have committed a sin similar to the five graver or heinous sins (pañca mahā pātakam).

"*Pañca mahā pātakam*":—The five graver sins are murder (கொலை), theft (கொள்), taking intoxicants (கஞ்ச), lust (காமம்) and disrespect to the teacher or guru (குருநிந்தை).



## CIRCULARS.

Decisions arrived at on the papers circulated on the 13th and 30th August, 1924, on the following subjects:—

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

J. P. de Fonseka, B.A.; Peter de Silva, B.A.; Hon. A. Mahadeva, B.A.; John W. de Alwis; K. D. Lewis; H. T. Ramachandra; A. N. Weinman; Miss S. V. Parker, and K. W. de A. Wijayasinha.

2. Mr. A. N. Weinman, Secretary and Librarian, Colombo Museum was elected Co-Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Society for 1924-25.

3. Decided that the charges for printing proposed by the Colombo Apothecaries Co., be adopted for the present and that they be informed that their terms are accepted.

4. Resolved that the papers from Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara on the subject of an Etymological Dictionary of Sinhalese forwarded by the Hon. the Director of Education, for favour of Council's advice, be kept back for consideration by a Sub-Committee of the Council.

5. Decided that the request of Mr. W. D. de Zoysa made by letter dated 4th August, 1924, regarding the arrears of subscription be not granted.

6. Letter from Mr. F. Lewis about a map from Ptolemy was circulated for information.

7. A letter dated 25th August, 1924, from the Honorary Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, forwarding a copy of general prospectus of the Conference, was circulated for information.

8. Resolved that Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam be authorized to reprint his papers entitled (a) The Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna and the Early Greek Writers (b) the Identification of the Port of Kalah.

## GENERAL MEETING.

*Ceylon University College, November 26th, 1924.*

## Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.	
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S. (Edin.), Vice-President.	
Muhandiram K. W. Atukorala,	Mr. C. L. Perera.
Miss N. C. Carter.	The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. J. W. de Alwis.	Mr. R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.
Rev. J. P. de Pinto, B.D.	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra.
Mr. Leslie de Saram.	Mr. E. Reimers
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.	Mr. Walter Samarasingha,
Mr. Thomas Gracie.	Atapattu Mudaliyar.
Rev. P. L. Jansz.	Dr. R. L. Spittel, F.R.C.S.
Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana.	Mr. C. Suppramaniam.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe	Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
Prof. R. Marrs, M.A.	C.C.S.
Mr. S. Pararajasingham.	The Hon. Mr. W. E. Wait,
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.	M.A., C.C.S.

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

Visitors: 9 ladies, Members of the University College, and  
Ceylon Geographical Association.

## Business:

1. Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 15th July, 1924, were read and confirmed.
2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Dr. F. D. Adams, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.R. Geol.S., Vice-Principal, McGill University, Montreal.
3. Dr. Adams delivered his lecture on the "Geological History of Ceylon."
4. A vote of thanks to Dr. Adams for his lecture proposed by Prof. R. Marrs, was carried with acclamation.



## COUNCIL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, December 4th, 1924.*

## Present :

The Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., President in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.A. (Edin.), Vice-President.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka,	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,	Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
Gate Mudaliyar,	C.C.S.
Prof. R. Marrs, M.A.	Mr. F. Lewis, (visitor).

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

Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.

*Business :*

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 13th March, 1924, and the decisions arrived at on the papers circulated on the 13th and 30th August, 1924, were read and confirmed.

It was resolved unanimously that Mr. H. W. Codrington be elected an Honorary Secretary and Treasurer in place of Mr. C. H. Collins who is shortly proceeding to Europe on leave.

3. Papers *re* Etymological Dictionary of Sinhalese were laid on the table.

It was resolved that a Committee of the Council consisting of Prof. Robert Marrs (Chairman), Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Rev. Suriyagoda Suman-gala Sthavira and Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, be appointed to advise the Council whether a Dictionary such as is proposed is desirable and, if so, on what lines it should be written.

4. A copy of a map forwarded with letter dated 14th June, 1924, by Mr. F. Lewis was laid on the table.

Mr. Lewis who was present stated how he discovered the map. It was decided that the map should be sent to the Colonial Secretary with a request that copies be reproduced by the Survey Department and Mr. Collins was asked to compare the map with maps in the British Museum.

5. Letter dated 25th August, 1924, from the Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference 1924, Madras, was read.

It was decided to reply regretting that it was not possible for this Society to be represented, and to ask for a copy of the proceedings of the conference.

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

- (a) G. Francis Perera,
- (b) A. H. Sundar Raman, M.A.,
- (c) E. B. Wickramanayaka (Jr.), B.A.

## EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

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

## No. 3. "DIVES AKURU" GRAVESTONE EPITAPHS

MÁLE has been the Capital of the Máldive Islands ("Divehi Rájje"), and the residence of its Sultáns, continuously since the Twelfth Century at least, and in all probability for centuries earlier.

In this Twentieth Century the first, and most persistent, impression left on the European visitor to Mále is not unlikely to be that this much over-populated central Island,<sup>1</sup> which rules the Archipelago, is, in great degree, "a city of the dead."

The appalling redundancy of graveyards which meet the eye, almost at every turn, induces reflections inevitably tinged with a sadness that is but half counter-vailed by that partial heart's ease offered so pathetically by the poet:—

They've a way of whispering to me—fellow-wight who yet abide—

In the muted, measured note

Of a ripple under archways, or a lone cave's stillicide:

"No more need we corn and clothing, feel of old terrestrial stress.

Chill detraction stirs no sigh;

Fear of death has even bygone us: death gave all that we possess"

Into "Sultán's Islandi"—an area, roughly one mile in length, East and West, by half a mile across,—there are crowded at this day no less than twenty-nine Mosques; to the majority of which are attached burial-grounds bristling, all too noticeably, with a veritable forest of stumps,—not live wood but dead stone,—mostly ranged in closest array. No "green graves of sires" these: just stark stiff coral slabs grey, grim and repelling.



It is not unsafe to aver that, during the lapse of the centuries through which Mále's little world has continued to "spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change" since the Island was first occupied, there can scarcely be six feet of Máldive earth (with the exception of the Palace Enclosure and the sites of the more revered Mosques and *Ziyárats*) but have at one period or another held the dead laid "beneath the Churchyard's stone."<sup>2</sup>

No secret is made at Mále now-a-days of the alarming fact that, for some time past, it has been found necessary to make urgently needed room, by clearing away the coral gravestones, (those easily friable monuments of the dead,) and levelling the ground in former, and even some existing, cemeteries, in order to receive fresh occupants; or, as frequently, to put "God's acre" so reclaimed to prosaic mundane use in better housing the living and carrying out desirable Civic improvements.<sup>3</sup>

This charge does not apply to the more important graveyards adjoining the chief Mosques and other shrines, viz: the *Medu Ziyárat* (traditional burial place of Shaikh Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín of Tabríz, Apostle of Islám to the Máldives); the *Hukuru Miskit*, or "Friday Mosque," (where most Sultáns and lesser Royalties are interred, besides specially honoured subjects); *Danna Muḥammad Rasgefánu Miskit*; *Biharózu Miskit*<sup>4</sup> (the resting place of the great Máldivian hero, Sultán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu); and certain others.

But in the case of the majority of Mosques at Mále, imperative demands on available space—dwindling seriously year by year,—whether for further interments or Municipal requirements, have inevitably forced the Government to assert its right to oust even the dead, after due efflux of years, on irresistible grounds of expediency.

### Gravestones

At the Máldives gravestones front South, in accordance with strict requirement of Muḥammadan sepulture.

In their shape they follow one unvarying design. All alike are elongated slabs, usually from two to four feet in height, with breadth proportionate.<sup>5</sup> According to Muslim custom, those used for females are rounded at the top; in the case of men the stones taper finally in ogee curve terminating in a point, giving to these slabs the appearance of long shields reversed.

Carved from a close form of madrepore (*M. hirigá*),<sup>6</sup> the better finished head-stones usually exhibit a tall central arched panel, to which the margins of the slabs serve as plain broad framing edged inwardly by neat beading. The panel itself is bordered by a narrow inner frame, slightly ovolo in section, also plain, encircling the inscription, which is often cut between partitions divided horizontally by beaded fasciæ; the whole being so counter-sunk as to leave the letters—if of *Dives Akuru* or *Arabic* character, but not *Tána* which is incised—standing out in mezzo-relievo.

Only head-stones—and but one side of these—bear the engraved record.

The raised outside border, ordinarily left quite bare, is not infrequently covered with beautiful arabesques, which can occupy both flanks of the panel as well as top and bottom of the writing.

The face of the footstone, and the back of both, may be similarly treated.

Coral-stone lends itself admirably to infinite delicacy of involved sculpture; and the Máldivians have brought the delicate art of ornamental lithic chiselling to a very high level, owing to extraordinary skill in manipulation. The chasteness, wondrous variety, and



exquisite technique displayed by the stone-masons of these little known Islands have always proved a source of pure delight to lovers of choice artistic work carried, as it is here to a marvellous pitch of perfection when displayed in endless profusion of geometrical and floreated detail of stone carving.

In this respect the chisellers in madrepora are matched only by the unique lacquer workers in their many-sided productions.<sup>7</sup>

### Epitaphs

The legend, or epitaph, cut on gravestones at the Máldive Islands is worded either in the Máldivian language (with "*Hijra*" and title of the Muslim month always, and name of the deceased most frequently, in Arabic); or entirely in Arabic.

Where Máldivian is employed, the script used is now invariably the comparatively modern "*Tána*" writing (originally formed from a combination of Máldivian and Arabic numerals, with admixture of a few needed Arabic letters), which has wholly supplanted the archaic "*Dives Akuru*" for a long time past.

Even as far back as the commencement of the 18th Century at least only a small proportion of gravestone inscriptions was cut in this rounded character; itself a distinct modification of the oldest known *aksharas*, the "*Evéla Akuru*" of Máldive *Lómáfánu*, or copper-plate grants by Royalty, which have such close affinities with Sinhalese lithic inscriptions of the 10th to 12th Centuries.<sup>8</sup>

Probably not more than thirty gravestones and other slab records survive at Mále in *Dives Akuru*.<sup>9</sup>

The use of this medieval script for burial epitaphs, for *Fatkoḷu* (Royal grants on parchment or paper), and for Government Orders has quite died out, almost *pari passu* with the fast disappearing acquaintance with its very alphabet.

In the whole of Mále Island at this day the number of persons possessing an intelligent knowledge of the *Dives Akuru* character, and capable of reading it in all its variants and combinations—especially as crowded into these mortuary records—can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This lamentable falling off in epigraphical knowledge has led recently to more than one wholly unexpected—and not greatly relished—discovery, the result of purely fortuitous circumstances.<sup>10</sup>

### "Dives Akuru"

All that had been published prior to 1900 regarding that older form of Máldivian script, the *Dives Akuru*, which gradually gave place more and more from the 17th and 18th Centuries to the *Tána* (sometimes called *Gabuli Tána*) alphabet now in universal use at the Máldives, is contained in (i) a short reference, found in the "*Memoir*" compiled by Naval Lieutenants Young and Christopher (*Transactions, Geographical Society, Bombay* 1836-8) to "the most ancient character, called by the natives the *Devehi Hakuru*;" and (ii) the valuable, but incomplete, delineation (18 letters only) of the Alphabet communicated to Dr. Wilson by the latter officer (*Journal R.A.S.* 1841, pp.42-76), and reproduced by Mr. (now Sir) Albert Gray (*Journal R.A.S.* n.s. X, 1878).

In 1919 the Ceylon Asiatic Society issued in its *Journal* (Vol. XXVII, Extra Number, 1919), with the author's permission, an English Translation by Mrs. C. Willis (revised by Mr. John Harward, President of the Society) of Professor Wilhelm Geiger's scholarly "*Maldivische Studien*, I, II." (1900-1902).

Professor Geiger's "Linguistic Studies" dwell almost exclusively on the Máldivian language; but in his Paper (Plate I) are given two professed lists of the *Dives Akuru* character, side by side with the *Tána*



alphabet (*Maldivische Alphabete*), taken from a century-old Vocabulary (*Bibliotheca Leydeniana*) now in the India Library, London.<sup>11</sup>

To Professor Geiger's full and valuable "Studies" (*loc. cit.* pp. 1—102) the present writer, as Honorary Secretary of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, had the fortunate privilege of being able to add four *Appendices*. In the third of these (C) he dealt with "The Old and Modern Máldivian Alphabets."

In illustration of the *Dives Akuru* Alphabet, Mr. Bell supplied a Table (Plates VI, VII) in which are set out "the basal forms—twenty-six (26) in all, inclusive of the *sukun* as nasal and reduplicator—(a) of the letters ("vowel consonants") commencing with H and ending at Y and the *sukun*; (b) some variants; supplemented by (c) the five initial vowels, short and long, and (d) their medial signs; with the addition of (e) the consonant H, as modified by all its vowel inflections, as well as (f) a few compound letters.

The *aksharas* were given both in (i) the purer form ruling in the Southern Atols, and (ii) as now modified at Mále. Short specimens (iii) of the *Dives Akuru* writing, by modern hands, were also offered (Plates VII, IX).

No further light on the *Dives Akuru* script has been afforded since 1919, excepting one gravestone photograph, merely intended to illustrate the peculiar form of the script. (*Bell, Sessional Paper, X, 1921, Plate IX, 14*).

#### Gravestones A, B, C, D, E

For the present Paper four gravestones with *Dives Akuru* epitaphs, cut in sunk relief, have been selected, as fairly typical, from those photographed at Mále in 1920 and 1922.

These display marked characteristics of the true form of this old alphabet as in vogue from about the

middle, or late, Seventeenth Century to the end of the Eighteenth. To their archæological interest as illustrating a type of epigraphy virtually obsolete, they add incidentally material information of historical value confirming the *Tárikh* and lesser Chronicles of the Máldive Islands.

The quartette (B, C, D, E) of *Dives Akuru* records is preceded by one old gravestone (A) in *Arabic*, extreme contrast justifying such insertion.

This Arabic inscription (A), dated A. H. 1103 (A.C. 1692, from the graveyard of Baṇḍára Miskit, is given on Plate I, to left of two in *Dives Akuru*—(B) a single record dated A. H. 1141 (A. C. 1729), which immediately adjoins (A) at the same Mosque; and (C) one of four from Dolidán Miskit, dated A.H. 1114 (A.C. 1702).

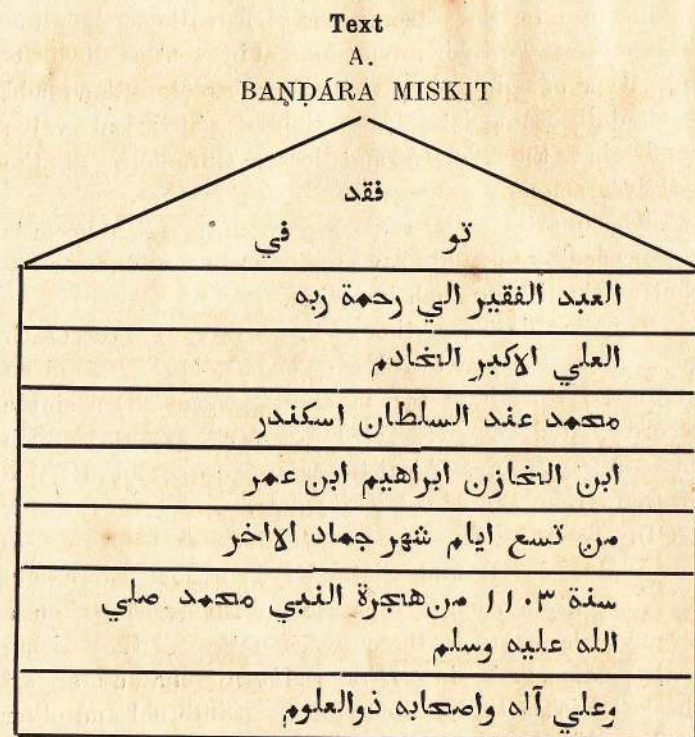
Plate II (D) and Plate III (E) from Etere-koḷu Miskit contain each a separate epigraph—shown on a larger scale owing to the crowded nature of the writing—also chiselled in *Dives Akuru* characters. Of these (D) is partially dated; but from internal and other evidence their age can be arrived at very approximately.

The *aksharas* of slab (E) are quite unique in the elaboration expended on them by a strange conceit of the stone mason, who skilfully grooved each letter—a *tour de force* that does not make for simplicity in decipherment.

The orthography of these *Dives Akuru* inscriptions is distinctly erratic. The use of variant forms of single letters (e.g., KA, MA, LE) and of compounds (BVA, FRA, SRI, SVA, TRI) side by side with simple vowel-consonants may be noticed; implying that such "vagaries" were countenanced in a script never thoroughly standardised.

Transcripts of the Texts of the five inscriptions reproduced on Plates I, II, III, are followed by Translations, full Glossary, Genealogical Table, and Notes.





## Transcript

(1) FAKAD TUVUFFIYA (2) AL-'ABDUL FAKĪR ILĀ RAHMAT RABBIHI (3) AL-'ALI AL-AKBAR AL-KHĀDIM (4) MUḤAMMAD 'INDA SULTĀN ISKANDAR (5) IBN AL-KHĀZIN IBRĀHĪM IBN 'UMAR (6) MIN TIS'I AYYĀM SHAHAR JAMĀD-AL-ĀKHIR (7) SANAT 1103 MIN ḤIJRAT-İN NABĪ MUḤAMMAD SALLALLĀHU 'ALAIHI VA SALLAM (8) VA ALĀ ĀLIHI VA AS-SHĀBIHI ZAV IL 'ULUM

## Translation

Verily Muḥammad, son of Ibrāhīm son of 'Umar, attendant on (*lit. near*) Sultān Iskandar (Ibrāhīm I: A.C. 1648-87), slave of God Most High, Most Great, who sought (*lit. beggar for*) (His) mercy, died on the 9th day of (*lit. nine days from*) Jamād al Ākhir in the year 1103 (A.C. 1692) of the *Ḥijra* of our (*lit. the*) Prophet.

To him (the Prophet) may God show mercy and blessing, and to his learned relations and friends.

## Transcript

B.	C.
BAṆDĀRA MISKIT (A.H. 1141)	DOLIDÁN MISKIT (A.H. 1114)
1. ḤIJRAIN	1. ḤIJRAIN
2. EKU	2. HÁ HÁI ES-
3. SÁSTURA	3. SATÉKA SAUDA
4. EKU SA-	
5. TÉKA SÁ-	4. VÍ AHARU
6. LIS (EV)-	5. JAMĀD-AL-AWWAL
7. VANA AHA-	6. BÁVÍS VÍ
8. RU SH'ĀBĀN	7. HÓMA DU-
7, 8. FANARA	8. VAHU AL-VAZÍR
9. VÍ HONIHIRU	9. HĀJĪ ḤUSAIN
10. DU	10. HANDE-
11. TAKANDÚ A-	11. IGIRI KALÉGE
12. LI BAḌÉ-	
13. RI TAKU-	12. DÍ SANFÁ-
13, 14. RUFÁ-	13. I BÍFĀNU
14. NAṘA	
15. MÁRANDÚ	14. FURAUTTA VÍ
16. ĀMINÁ	15. KAMU HADÁN
17. KABULÓ-	
16. GE	
18. BAḌUN	
19. UFAN AISÁ	
20. A BÍFÁ-	
21. NU NIAUVÍ	
22. KAMU HADÁN	

## Translation

## B.

Be it remembered that 'Aishá Bífānu, daughter of (*lit. born in the womb of*) Márandú Āminá Kabuló and (*lit. to*) Takandú 'Ali Baḍéri Takurufānu,<sup>12</sup> expired on Monday the 15th (day) of Sh'āban (month) in the year 1141<sup>13</sup> of the *Ḥijra* era, (A.C. 1729).

## C.

Be it remembered that Sanfá Bífānu, daughter of the Vazír Hāji Ḥusain Hadégiri,<sup>14</sup> passed away on the 22nd day of (the month) Jamād-al-Awwal in the year 1114 of the *Ḥijra* era (A.C. 1702).



## Transcript

D.

ETERE-KOĻU MISKIT  
(Undated)

1. SWAS-
2. TÍ SIRIMA-
3. TA MAHÁ SI-
4. RI KULA SADA IRA
5. SIÁKA SÁ-
6. STURA A-
7. UDA KÍRITI KA-
8. TTRI BVANA MAHÁ
9. RADUNEVÍ 'UMAR MA-
10. FAHA
11. KILAGE DIA (FRA)-
12. SÚTÁVE NUFAN  
MUHAMMAD
13. AS-SULTÁN 'IMÁD-
14. UD-DÍN RADUNA (R)
15. BÁRAŖU FAT-
16. TUMA KILAGE KI-
17. HUNUFAN MARIAN
18. KABÁDI KILA-
19. GE 'UMAR FOĻU AŖU  
TIRÍ-
20. S AHARU VÍ
21. RAMAZÁN
22. MAHU SAUDA
23. DU HATARU VA-
24. NA SA'AT FURAU-
25. TTAVÍ
25. HADÁN KAMU

## Translation

D.

Be it remembered that Mariyam Kabádi Kilage, daughter (*lit.* born in the womb) of Fátumá Kilage of Báraru (island) to the King, Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín,<sup>15</sup> a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, endowed with beauty, of the great glorious race of the Moon and Sun, accomplished in arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, begotten by 'Umar Máfat Kilage, passed away on the 14th day, fourth hour, of the month of Ramazán at the full age of thirty-eight years.

E.

Be it remembered that (Sanfá) Rendi Kabáfánu,<sup>16</sup> born to the Great King, a Kshatriya, Sultán Ibráhím Iskandar, endowed with beauty, of the great glorious race (of the Moon and Sun), rich in gold and great elephants, strong as a lion, famed like the nine gems, accomplished (in arts and sciences), a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, passed away on.....

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E.

ETERE-KOĻU MISKIT.  
(Undated)

1. SWAS-
2. TÍ SIRIMA-
3. TA MAHÁ
4. SRÍ KULA RAN MÍ-
5. BA DA-
6. NÁLA VÍRA SI-
7. NGA NAVARANNA KI-
8. RTI AUDÁ-
9. NA KATTRI BVA (NA)
10. MAHÁ RADUN
11. AS-SULTÁN
12. IBRÁHÍM ISKAN-  
DAR
13. KATTRI MAHÁ RA-
14. DUNAŖA DI-
15. AFURA-
- 15, 16. SÚTÁ-
16. VE NUFA-
17. N
18. RENDI KABÁ-
19. FÁNU FURAUTTA
20. VÍ KAMU HADÁN

## Glossary

Maldivian	Sinhalese. Etc.	English
Aharu ... ..	avrudu	year
Aru ... ..	aṭa	eight
* Auda, audána ...		
Baḍun ... ..	baḍin	in womb
Bávis ... ..	visi deka	twenty-two
Bvana, bovana ...	bhuvana	world, universe
* Danála .. ...		
Dí ... ..	dú	daughter
† Diafurasútá-ve ...		
Du, duvahu ... ..	dá, davasa	day
Eku, es, ev ... ..	eka, ek	one
Fanara ... ..	P. pañchadasa	fifteen
Fánu ... ..	vahansé	honorific affix
† Fra, fura,-utta,-uttara		
FoĻu ... ..	pirí	full
Ge ... ..	gé	genitive case, family
Há, hái ... ..	dáha	thousand
§ Hadán ... ..		
Hataru ... ..	hatara	four
Hóma ... ..	Sādu(dá)	Monday
Honihiru ... ..	Senasurá(dá)	Saturday
Ira ... ..	Ira	Sun
Kamu ... ..	kama	deed. fact.
* Kattri, Kattiri ...		
Kihunufan ... ..	kusen upan	born in womb
* Kírti, Kíriti ...		
Kula ... ..	kula	race
Mahá ... ..	maha	great
Mahu ... ..	masa	month



## Glossary—contd.

Maldivian	Sinhalese, Etc.	English
* Míba ... ..	má ibba	great elephants
* Nava-ranna ... ..	—	—
† Niauví ... ..	niyatvi	expired
Nufan ... ..	nipan	born
Radun ... ..	Raja	King
* Ran ... ..	ran	gold
Sada ... ..	sānda	Moon
Sa'at ... ..	Arabic	hour
Sális ... ..	sálisha	forty
Sástura ... ..	sahasra	thousand
* Sástura ... ..	—	—
Satéka ... ..	sata	hundred
Sauda ... ..	P. chatudasa	fourteen
* Siáka ... ..	—	—
Singa ... ..	siṅha	lion
Srí, sirí ... ..	srí, sirí	glorious
* Sirímata ... ..	—	—
* Svasti, Suvasti ... ..	—	—
Tirís ... ..	tis	thirty
Ufan ... ..	upan	born
'Umar ... ..	Arabic	age
Vana, ví ... ..	vana, vi	being
Víra ... ..	víra	strong

\* Note 17

† Note 18

‡ Note 19

§ Note 20

## Notes

1. MÁLE inhabitants:—Census 1921: males 3,359; females 2,768; total 6,127.

Even in the 12th Century, at the Máldives "*Anberia*" (modern *Hemvéru*, chief "ward" of Mále) "where king and queen reside" was "peopled with a great number of inhabitants" (Edrisi).

2. Not long ago Hojudú-nevi-ge Ismá'il Dídí (erstwhile Annual Ambassador to Ceylon on six occasions, and now the invaluable *Míru Baharu* (*Amír al Bahr*), or Master Attendant, &c., at Mále), given a new residential site, found it productive of numerous long-forgotten graves, yielding human remains evidently once interred in a recognised cemetery.

3. The most recent Municipal action of note in this respect has been the carrying out of extensive improvements at the East side of the Island; when the fine Esplanade and some new roads were formed.

In 1922 Mr. Bell was readily permitted to select for the Colombo Museum any specimens of gravestone ornamentation he desired from a large heap of broken burial-slabs piled ready to be thrown into the sea.

4. See "Plan of Mále" (Sess. Pap. XV, 1921). *Medu Ziyárat*, *Hukuru Miskit*, *Danna Muhammad Rasgefánu Miskit*, are on Henvéru Mái Magu; *Biharózu Miskit* on Rad-di-bá Magu.

5. The very few gravestones of exceptional size, or unorthodox shape, noticeable anywhere at the Máldives, only prove the rule.

The two largest seen by the writer mark graves of female relatives of Sultán Hasan X at Hitadú Island, Aqđú Atol; where that nominal ruler, never allowed to reign, died in banishment in A.C. 1758.

A rounded "freak" stone occurs at the *Hukuru Miskit*, Kolufuri Island, Muluku Atol.

6. Máldivians divide the madreporo of their Atols into three main classes: *hiri-gá*, *veli-gá*, *rat-gá*, the two latter being coral-sandstone (*hiri* "white;" *veli* "sand," *rat* "red," *gá* "stone.")

7. "The delightful lacquer-work industry of the Máldive Islands is said to be steadily declining. None is now executed apparently, except for Royalty and the



Nobles. The gradual disappearance of this unique Máldivian art seems inevitable, unless it can be specially fostered by local and foreign encouragement.

"Anxious to see the actual *modus operandi*, Aḥmad Dídí sent the only available worker at Málé to my residence with a half-completed lacquered vase of wood, already lathe-turned and coloured a rich black with bright red borders. Simply standing before me, holding the vase in his left hand, the artificer, with marvellous deftness, ran first one, then the other, of a couple of sharp-edged tools, not unlike short fine chisels, round the face of the black portions, gradually evolving therefrom exquisite foliated tracery by cutting down to the pale yellow base coating of lacquer which underlies the black. The man worked rapidly, and with no pattern as guide or other adventitious aid, the arabesque design assuming intricate shape with machine-like accuracy." (Bell, Diary, February 17th, 1920: Sess. Pap. XV, 1921 p. 61).

8. At this day a few copper-plate grants (*M. lómáfánu*; *S. tamba sannas*) in "*Evéla Akuru*" issued by Máldive Rulers are still extant on the Group.

The most interesting is that (like all examined, unfortunately incomplete) granted by Sultána Rehendi (Khadíjah), daughter of S.'Umar Vira Jalál-ud-dín, in the 16th year of her reign, A. H. 758 (A. C. 1356). This is being published.

9. All the *Dives Akuru* gravestone epitaphs at Málé, so far as found, were copied by the Archaeological Expedition of 1922; from *Hukuru Miskit* 10, *Etere-koḷu Miskit* 6, *Dolidán Miskit* 4, *Galolu Á Miskit* 2, *Bandára Miskit* 1, or twenty-three (23) altogether.

Copies were also made of the only two other inscriptions in *Dives Akuru*; the longest cut on the West wall inside the Portico Entrance to *Hukuru Miskit*, the other on the revetment of *Boḍu Veyo* (bathing tank) adjoining the Hemvéru Maizán-gé.

10. To aid Mr. Bell in epigraphical research the Máldive Government courteously put at his disposal the services of Ḥusain Takurufánu, (Khatíb of Hitadú, Addú Atol,) then at Málé, whose sound knowledge of *Dives Akuru* script is unquestioned.

Among copies made of gravestone records by this intelligent Khatíb were two which opened—not too pleasantly—the eyes of the authorities responsible for the *laissez faire* manner in which old monuments of the dead are taken for granted, unverified, at Málé.

(i). At Etere-koḷu Miskit, (adjoining the Palace precincts on the N. W.,) close to the Mosque structure stand three slabs, all classed as "gravestones," within their own half-walled enclosure. Until copied by Ḥusain Khatíb, these "graves" had been religiously tended as the presumed resting place of Sultán Shujáyi Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I (A.C. 1620-48), and two of his wives or near female relations.

The first slab (that on the extreme left) proved to be no gravestone at all. It bears merely a variant of three inscriptions, very similarly incised; two on the lintel of the *Hittan Doru*, or Chief Entrance to the Palace, and the third on that of the *Ídu Miskit Doru* gateway through the S. W. wall of the Fort.

These record the capture of Málé in A. C. 1752 by Malabars, the deportation of Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín III, the nominal regency of his daughter Áminá Raṇi Kilagefánu, and the administration of the realm by Ḥasan Manikufánu, raised later to the *Masnad* as S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín (A. C. 1759-67).

The middle slab (Plate II, D.) belongs to Mariyan Kabá, a daughter of S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I.

The third (Plate III, E.) is the gravestone of Sanfá Rendi Kabá, one of the five daughters of S. Íbráhím Iskandar II.

(ii). Of the specially revered graves, (walled in by themselves on the South-West) within the extensive cemetery attached to *Hukuru Miskit*, there is but one of which the head-stone shows the deceased's epitaph in *Dives Akuru*.

This slab—by some extraordinary laches, difficult to justify—had been, as far as present memory goes back, always deemed to mark Sultán Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín's grave; and, as that of the founder of the reigning Dynasty and hero of the mid 18th Century, had been specially honoured to date by his Royal descendants, one or other of whom recited *Fáthiha* there every Friday at the close of *Jum'a*, or midday Muslim service.

Ḥusain Takurufánu's reading of the epitaph on this stone showed it to record in reality the death, not of the Sultán but, of his half-brother, 'Alí Raṇṇa Baḍéri Kilagefánu who died, sixteen years later, in A. H. 1196.

The mere occurrence on the slabs at Etere-koḷu Miskit and *Hukuru Miskit* respectively of the names of Sultáns Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I, Íbráhím Iskandar II, and Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dín in *Arabic* writing, and the almost



universal ignorance of the *Dives Akuru* character prevailing at Mále, had led the authorities blindly to accept current tradition as to the identity of the graves, without deeming it necessary to verify the records.

The Khatíb's discovery was at first disbelieved—even resented—until the present Acting Kází, Husain Dídí Bandára Naib (one of the few remaining *Dives Akuru* scholars at Mále) personally examined the stones and satisfied himself regarding their true contents.

The real grave of Sultán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I is still unknown; that of S. Hasan 'Izz-ud-dín was, after much search, traced (by a brass tablet in Arabic clearly recording his death on Ramazán 2nd, A. H. 1180 = A. C. 1767) to the same *Ziyárat*, or roofed tomb, which contains the body of S. Muḥammad Muhuy-ud-dín-ul-Ádil (A.C. 1693).

11. Given in Columns I, II of Geiger's Table on his Plate I, and reproduced in C. A. S. Journal (*loc. cit.* 1919, Plate I). The Professor, with no experience of Oriental wile, believed these quaint alphabets (albeit he admits, "widely different from the *Divehi Akuru*") to be "archaic variations of the modern alphabet (*ib.* p. 25)."

This supposition 'Abdul Hamid Dídí Effendí, Máldivian Government Representative, rebutted effectively: "The letters (Plate V) cannot, of course, be called *Dives Akuru*. They were pure inventions of Hasan-bin-Ádam of Himítí" (*ib.* p. 159); who, in writing the Máldive Vocabulary, no doubt laid himself out deliberately to invent, from the *Tána* of his day, spurious alphabets to foist on to the erudite, but gullible, Dr. John Leyden.

12. *Takandú 'Ali Baḍéri Takurufánu*. The *Tárikh* styles him *Doriméná Takurufánu*.

Sultán Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín, when Sháh Bandar and Acting Regent, conspired (A. C. 1701) successfully with him, and his own step-father Hasan Hakurá Takurufánu of Fasmandú, to oust his cousin, the boy Sultán Hasan X, son of S. 'Ali VII.

Three years afterwards he himself lost the throne to S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín Muzaffar II.

13. The letters (line 6) following *sális* = 40 are cut too small for indisputable deciphering; but would seem to be either *ev.* = 1, or *av.* = 8; the former by choice.

14. *Háji Husain Hadégiri*. Quite probably the "Hadégiri Manikufánu," who was a half-brother of S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín.

15. S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I. (A. C. 1620-48). Great grandson of 'Ali Khatíb, brother of S. Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu (A. C. 1573-85) and Hasan Raṇṇa Baḍéri Kilagefánu who recaptured Mále from the Portuguese.

This Sultán's father 'Umar Máfat Kilage, was not of noble birth, and lies traditionally under the stigma of having begotten him in the contemptible rôle of "*Medufiri*".

To enable Máldivians thrice divorced to remarry, "vile and abject beings" says Pyrard "are found who, for a money consideration contract a marriage with the women for a few days. By this means the letter of the law is obeyed; and three months after, the former pair are married afresh. The highest ladies in the land are constrained to go through the same business in like case. These middlemen are called *Medu piry*, as who should say 'middle husband'; they are held in great contempt even of the common people, as infamous creatures without honour or conscience. It is a grievous slander even to be called *Medu piry*." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, 1887, I, p. 154).

S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín doubtless espoused both Fátumá Kilage of Báraru (Tiladummatí Atol) and 'Aishá Bíbí Kamaná, the widow of his two predecessors on the throne, S. Íbráhím III (A. C. 1585-1608) and S. Husain II (A. C. 1608-20).

By Queen 'Aishá he had the illustrious son who succeeded him as S. Iskandar Íbráhím I (A. C. 1648-87).

16. *Rendi Kabá*. Sanfá Rendi, fifth child of S. Íbráhím Iskandar II (A. C. 1721-50) married her first-cousin-once-removed, Doriméná Manikufánu, son of her great uncle Hóli Hasan Hakurá Manikufánu brother of her grandmother Mává Kilage.

Their daughter Don Bínage Dídí, married Sultán Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-dín (A. C. 1774-78.)

17. *Máldivian "birudas"*. Word for word meanings:—

D. "Hail! (*Svastí, Suvastí*); endowed with beauty (*sirimata*); of the great glorious race (*mahá sirí kula*) of the Moon and Sun (*Sada Ira*); in arts and sciences (*siáka sást-ura*) accomplished (*auda*); of unsullied fame (*kírtti, kírittí*); a Kshatriya (*Kattiri*); Mighty Monarch of the Universe (*Bvana, Bovana, Mahá Rudun*); who is (*ví*)."

E. "Hail! (*Svastí, Suvastí*); endowed with beauty (*sirimata*); of the great glorious race (*mahá sirí kula*) (of the Moon and Sun); rich (*danála*) in gold (*ran*) and great elephants (*míba*); powerful (as a) lion (*vira singa*); famed (like)



the nine gems (*navaranna kirtti*, *kírtti*); accomplished (*audána*) (in arts and sciences); a Kshatriya (*Kattri*, *Kattiri*); great Monarch of the Universe (*Bvana*, *Bovana*, *Mahá Radun*)."

With few exceptions, from the Muhammadan Conversion in A. H. 548 (A. C. 1153-4) onwards, the *Tárikh* and Lists of Máldive Rulers record the *birudas*, or honorific epithets, attached to each Sultán or Sultána.

Variants occur in extant Missives from the Sultáns to the Dutch Government during the Eighteenth Century.

Since the British occupation of Ceylon the epithets have been curtailed to half a dozen words, *Kula sundura Kattiri Bovana Mahá Radun* "Great Ruler of the Universe, a Kshatriya of pure race."

For explanations of *birudas*, mostly similar to the above, appearing in S. Hasan Núr-ud-dín's Missive of A. C. 1795 see Bell, Sess. Pap. 1882. pp. 79-80; C. A. S. Journal 1919, Extra Number, pp. 173-9.

18. \**Diáfurasútá-ve* "begotten." Sometimes used with *nufan* "born." Cf. Sinhalese *dáva* ("begotten,") *prasútáva* ("delivered,") *nipan* ("born.")

19 As frequently in Latin, English, and other languages, the bald Máldivian word for "died" (*M. maruvejje*) is softened on gravestones by the use of terms approximating to well-known pregnant synonyms so familiar in Europe.

(a) *Niau-vi* (Sín. *niyat-venava*) "extinguished," "expired;"

(b) *Avahára-vi* (so too in Sinhalese) "(life) abandoned."

(c) *Filirá-midi* (Sín. *pratirupayen midi*); "released from the image (i. e. body)." Cf. English "shuffle off this mortal coil;" "who pass away, from this our world of flesh set free."

(d) *Furauttara-vi* (Sín. *purayen uturanavi*) "coming out of (the city, house, i. e. body)," "crossing," "landing." Cf. English "cross the bar;" "now upon the further shore lands the voyager at last."

\* For valuable suggestions in regard to the connection with Sinhalese of the Máldivian mortuary terms, the writer gratefully records his real obligation to that sound, modest scholar Abraham Mendis Gunasékara Mudaliyar, late of the Ceylon Government Educational Department.

20. *Kamu hadán*. "Remember the fact (that)." *Hadán* = Sín. *sandahan* (*veṇḍa*) "remember."

The Sinhalese Inscription (not mortuary) at Kérágala, Ceylon ends in an equivalent periphrasis, "*datuva yaha-patayi*."

By ellipse of "Remember"—the Latin "*Memento*"—the commonest English expression on gravestones has degenerated into the curt cold "Here lies." (*Hic jacet*).

Our forbears showed more reverence for their dead:—

(a) "*Mementote Dne Isabelle Le De Spenser comitess de Warrewic.....obiit Anno Dni. MCCCCXXIX*"

(Memorial to Isabel, Countess of Warwick, 15th Century; Tewkesbury Abbey)

(b) "Stay, passenger, why goest thou by so fast, Read, if thou can't, whom envious death hath plast Within this monument, Shakespeare, with whom Quick Nature died.....obiit Ano. Doi. 1616. Aetatis 53, Die 23 Ap."

(Memorial to William Shakespeare; Stratford-on-Avon.)

21. See Bell, Sessional Paper XV, 1921 pp. 17-22, 74, for summarised account of some Máldive Rulers.

22. *'Aishá Bt Kamaná*. This lady was eighth in direct descent from *'Ali Rasgefánu* (S. 'Ali VI), killed defending his Capital against the Portuguese who captured Mále in A. C. 1558. His daughter Kuḍa Kamaná married Hasan Raṇṇa Kilagefánu, younger brother of S. Muhammad Boḍu Takurufánu with whom he was associated in finally expelling the Portuguese from the Máldives in A. C. 1573.

23. *S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín*. Connected with the Diyamigilí Dynasty doubly: (i) his Prime Minister, Muhammad Doriméná Takurufánu (who succeeded him as S. Muhammad 'Imád-ud-dín Muzaffar II) being his mother's aunt's son (M. *mámage boḍu daitáge dari*), i. e. mother's cousin, or his own first-cousin-once-removed; and (ii) *'Aishá*, chief queen of S. Íbráhím Iskandar II, his half-niece.

S. Íbráhím Muzhir-ud-dín's stormy fortunes are touched on in Sess. Pap. *loc cit.* pp. 17-18.

24. *S. Íbráhím Iskandar II*. Died in A. C. 1750, at the age of 42, after a peaceful and prosperous reign of 29 years.

Thereafter ill-luck persistently dogged the Dynasty for many a year.



(i) S. Ībrāhīm Iskandar's only brother (S. Mukarram Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn III) was captured by an Expedition sent by Ali Rāja of Kannannūr in A. C. 1752, and deported first to India and finally to Maliku (Minicoy), where he died, in 1757.

(ii) S. Ībrāhīm's only son, seized and carried off with his uncle the Sultān and three Ministers, managed to escape; and getting back to Māle in A. C. 1763, succeeded to the throne as S. Muḥammad Ghiyās-ud-dīn on the death of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn, in 1767.

In 1773 he went the *Hajj*; but on his return the following year was not allowed to land, and murdered.

(iii) His son, Ībrāhīm Kalāfānu, died in 1829 at Fua Mulaku, to which far distant isolated Island he had been banished by the heirs of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn.

(iv) Of S. Ībrāhīm Iskandar's other children by 'Aishā Kabā, five daughters, three died in exile.

(a) Āminā, the eldest, married the Vazir 'Ali Shāh Bandar. Owing to trouble arising with Monsieur Le Termellier, Commander of the French *Corps de Garde* stationed at Māle from 1754-9 (Sess. Pap. XLIII, 1881 pp. 33, 45), she was banished but escaped; captured, was again banished; and a third time, after the Sultān, her brother, sailed for Arabia.

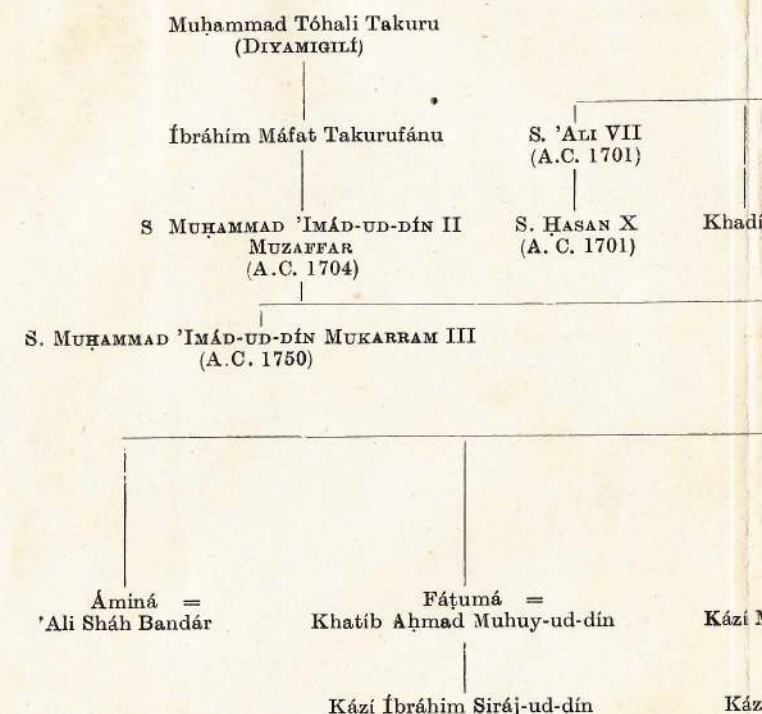
(b) The second daughter, Fāṭumā, had as husband Aḥmad Muhuy-ud-dīn Khatīb, who with his brother Muḥammad Shams-ud-dīn, the Kāzī, played traitor to their Sultān in 1752; each promptly paying the penalty at the hands of the Malabar invaders.

Ībrāhīm Sirāj-ud-dīn, Fāṭumā's son, thrice Kāzī but banished at intervals, carried on the *Tārīkh*, or Chronicle of the Māldive Sultāns, (begun by his grandfather Kāzī Ḥasan Tāj-ud-dīn and continued by Kāzī Muḥammad Muhibb-ud-dīn) from A. C. 1761 to 1821.

(c) *Mariyam*, the third daughter, was wife of Kāzī Muḥammad Shams-ud-dīn who betrayed S. Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn Mukarram III to the Malabars.

Their son, Ībrāhīm Bahā-ud-dīn, was appointed Kāzī for a while; then banished by S. Muḥammad Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

(d), (e) Sanfā Rendi and 'Aishā Kabā, fourth and fifth daughters, alone seem to have avoided the ill-fortune of their uncle, brother, sisters and nephew; both marrying well, and dying at Māle before the close of the 18th Century.

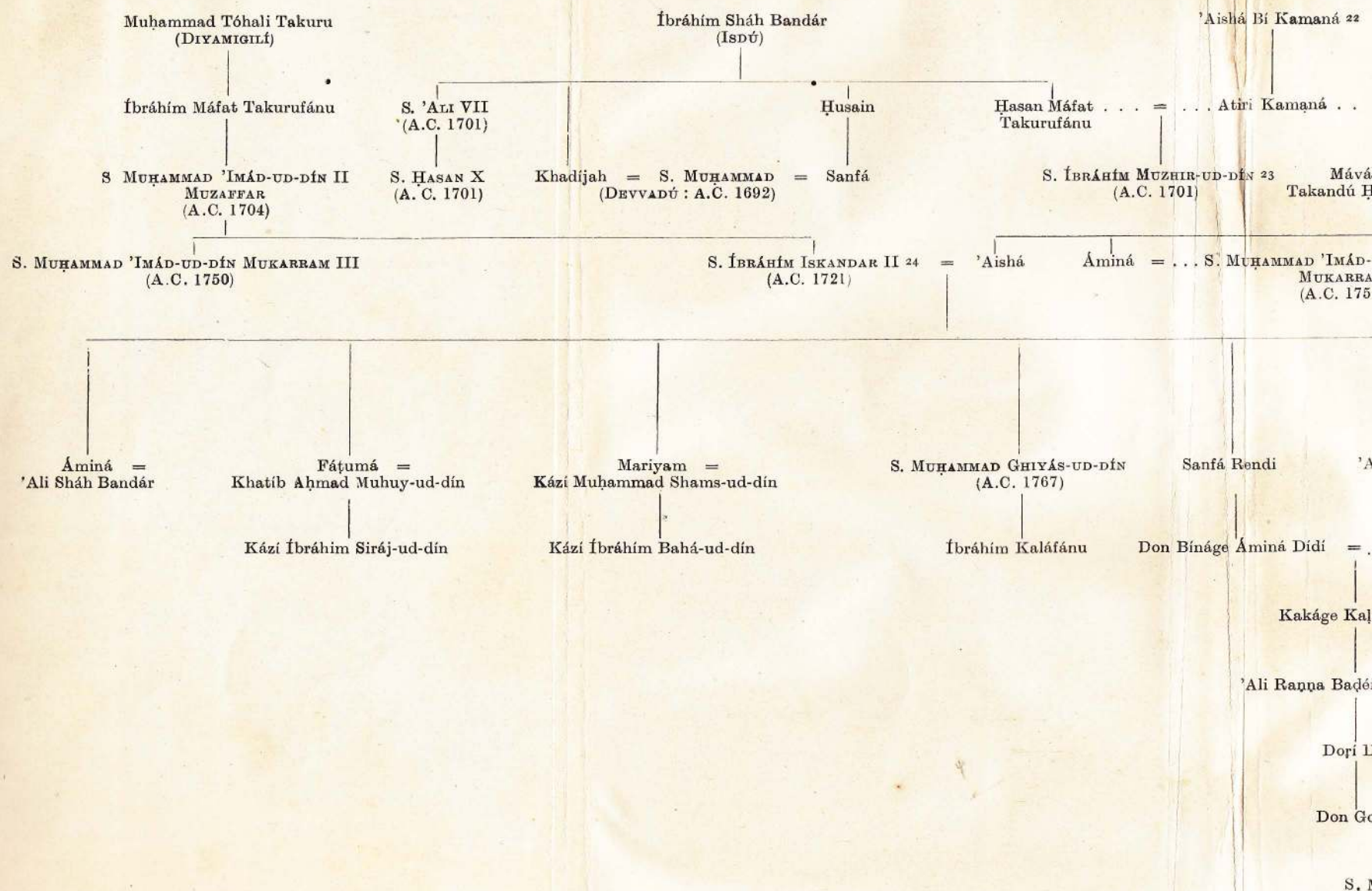




# MÁLDIVE S

DEVVADÚ, ISDÚ, D

DYNAST





# OLDIVE SULTANS:

Ú, ISDÚ, DIYAMIGILÍ, HURÁ

DYNASTIES. 21

Aishá Bī Kamaná 22

Atir Kamaná . . = . . Fasmandú Hasan Hakurá Manikufánu

UD-DÍN 23 Mává Kilage =  
Takandú Hasan Hakurá

Hóli Hasan Hakurá Takurufánu

Hóli Husain Veláná Takurufánu

S. MUHAMMAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN III 25 = Mariyam  
MUKARRAM  
(A.C. 1750)

Don Maraduru Faḍi Kalégefánu  
(HURÁ)

Kaká 'Ali Máfat Takurufánu =  
Boḍugalu Boḍu Fátumáfánu 26

Husain Daharada Kalégefánu

Íbráhim Eduru Takurufánu 27

Muhammad Fámudéri Manikufánu 28

fá Rendi

'Aishá

ÁMINÁ RANÍ KILAGEFÁNU  
(A.C. 1752)

Boḍugalu Áminá = S. HASAN 'IZZ-UD-DÍN  
Boḍu Didi (A.C. 1759)

Husain Boḍu Doriméná 28  
Kilagefánu

'Ali Rappa Baḍéri Kilagefánu

Áge Áminá Didi = . . . S. MUHAMMAD MU'IZZ-UD-DÍN  
(A.C. 1774)

S. HASAN NÚR-UD-DÍN 29  
(A.C. 1778)

S. MUHAMMAD SHAMS-UD-DÍN II  
(A.C. 1773)

Kakáge Kalu Gomá

S. MUHAMMAD MU'IN-UD-DÍN I  
(A.C. 1799)

'Ali Rappa Baḍéri Kilagefánu

S. MUHAMMAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN IV  
(A.C. 1835)

Dorí Didi

Don Gomá . . . = . . . . . S. ÍBRÁHÍM NÚR-UD-DÍN  
(A.C. 1882; 1888)

Hasan 'Izz-ud-dín

S. MUHAMMAD SHAMS-UD-DÍN III  
(A.C. 1893; 1903)

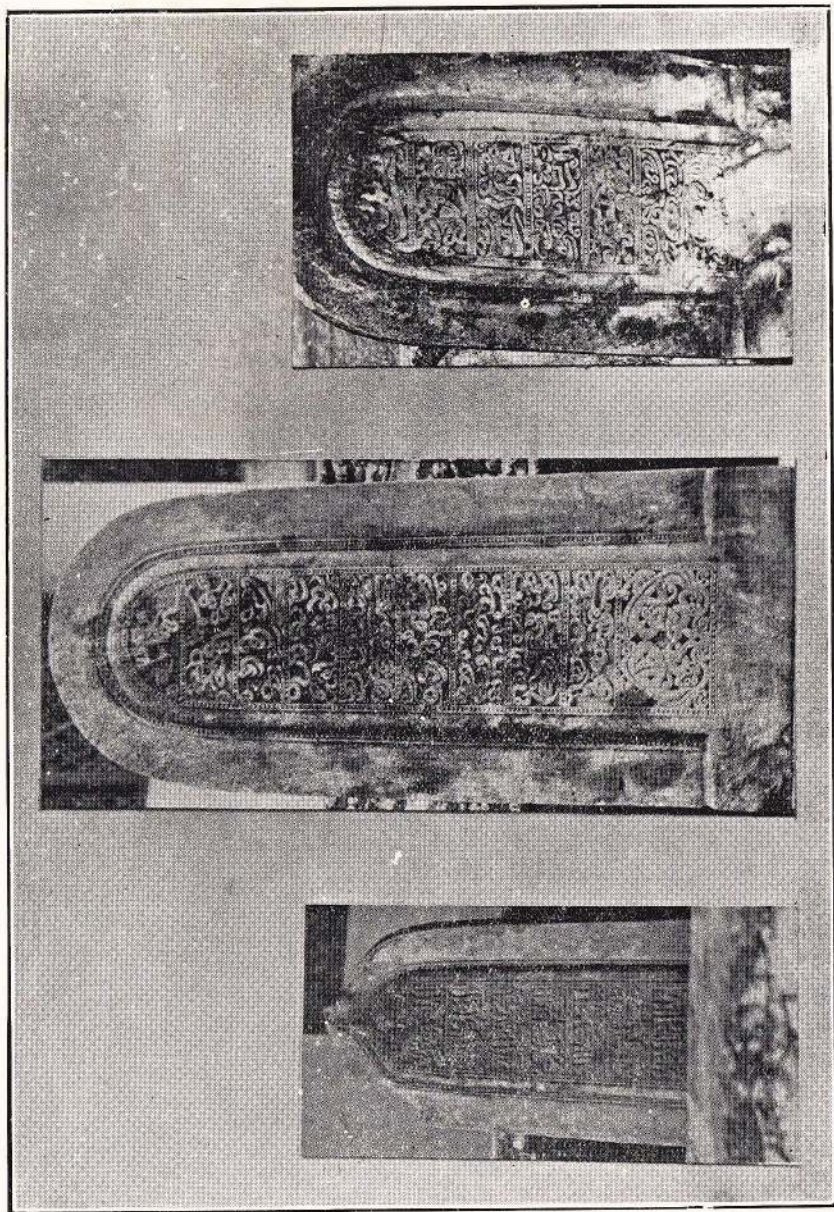
S. MUHAMMAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN V  
(A.C. 1892)

S. MUHAMMAD MU'IN-UD-DÍN II  
(A.C. 1886)

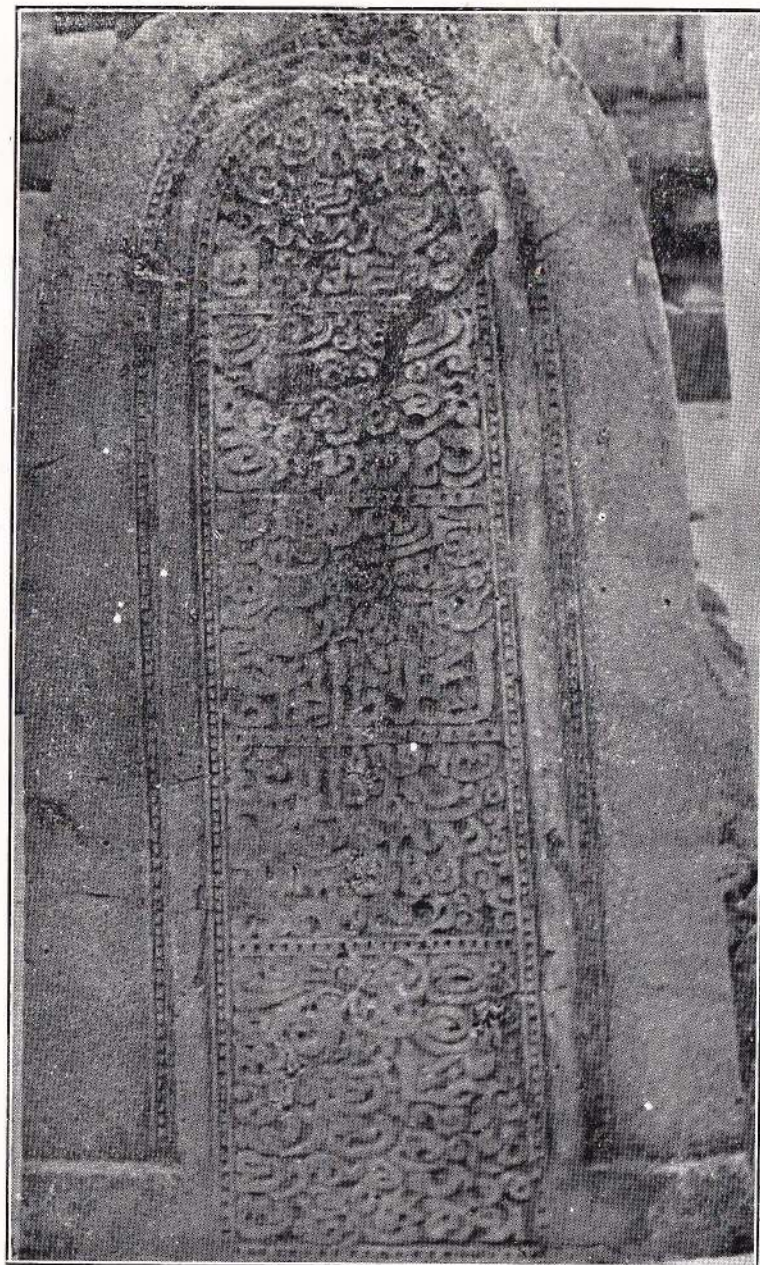
S. MUHAMMAD 'IMÁD-UD-DÍN VI  
(A.C. 1893)



BANDÁRA MISKIT : DOLIDÁN MISKIT.







D.



25. *S. Muḥammad 'Imād-ud-dīn Mukarram III.* Styled 'Ali Fāriná before his accession. Married in turn Áminá and Mariyam, younger sisters of 'Aishá, his brother's wife.

Mariyam bore him the daughter *Áminá Raṇi Kilagefánu*, whom the Máldivians, after her father's deportation, elected nominal Regent; whilst placing the administration in the hands of a Council of Ministers with Ḥasan Manikufánu (subsequently S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn) as head.

26. *Boḍugalu Fāṭumáfánu.* In the person of this lady, the Kakáge family of Mále claim descent from Sulṭán Abu Bakr in the eighth degree.

27. *Íbráhīm Eduru Takurufánu.* The old Prime Minister at this day, A. Ḥájí Íbráhīm Dídí, Boḍu Doriméná Kilagefánu,\* with his sons (also high officials) Aḥmad Dídí, Kuḍa Doriméná Kilagefánu, 'Abdul Majid Dídí, Boḍu Baḍéri Manikufánu, and 'Abdul Hamid Dídí Effendí, Máldivian Government Representative in Ceylon, trace their descent from Íbráhīm Eduru Takurufánu, one of the sons of Don Maraduru Faḍi Kalégefánu of Hurá; through Boḍu Muridú Takurufánu, Ḥusain, Aḥmad, and 'Ali Dídís—the three latter, like Íbráhīm Dídí himself, Chief Ministers honoured with the highest title, *Doriméná Kilagefánu* (Bell, Sess. Pap. XV 1921, p. 67).

28. *Muḥammad Vazír Fámudéri Manikufánu.* Father of S. Ḥasan 'Izz-ud-dīn. With his son Ḥusain, taken captive when their Sulṭán was deported to India (A. C. 1752).

The Vazír died there; but Ḥusain returned to the Islands, and became *Boḍu Doriméná Kilagefánu*.

S. Muḥammad Shams-ud-dīn II was the latter's son.

29. *S. Ḥasan Nūr-ud-dīn.* Twice went on pilgrimage to Mekka; first in A. C. 1788, and again in 1799.

Unable to get away on the second occasion, owing to persistent harassment by the *Shariḥ*, the Sulṭán died in Arabia of small-pox.

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\*Died March 31st 1925, at the age of 80, whilst this Paper was in the press. Ibrahim Didi had for years justly acquired the appellation of "the Grand Old Man of the Máldives" owing to his marked ability and sterling qualities, always devoted to the real interests of his country.



# THE COUNCIL CHAMBER INSCRIPTIONS AT POLONNARUWA

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

From the inscriptions on the pillars of the Polonnaruwa "Council Chamber" we learn that on the king's right hand there sat the:—

(1) Yuvaraja siṭiṇe Māpānvanhanse,

(2) Ēpāvarun,

(3) Seneviradun,

(4) Pradhānayan,

(5) Potvarun eṭṭu-vu kayasthayan;

and on his left opposite (3), (4) and (5) the:—

(6) Asampanḍi (අසමපන්ඩ) bhāraka māṇḍalikavarun,

(7) Chaurāsivarun, and

(8) Kaḍagosthayehi eṭṭavun.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell has translated (6) and (7) by "Elders of the Council" and "Sheriffs" (Arch. Survey, 1900, p.9, in Sessional Paper XLV—1904), renderings which do not seem very satisfactory.

In the account in Mahāvamsa, Cap. LXIX, of the reorganisation of the Sub-king's Country<sup>1</sup> by Parākrama Bāhu before his accession to the throne, mention is made of 12 māṇḍalīkas or governors of provinces and 84 sāmāntas or rulers of smaller districts. I therefore surmise that the chiefs in group (6) held the same office in the kingdom as those of the same title in the Sub-king's Country: in other words they corresponded with the later disānāyakas or disawas. And further that the chaurāsivarun of group (7) are to be equated with the "84" sāmāntas, chaurāsi being the Hindustani word for that number, and are the later raṭanāyakas.

The presence of this foreign word in Ceylon will be considered later. Meanwhile it will be observed that our interpretation at once reconciles the offices as witnessed to by our inscriptions with those given in the Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya and the Nikāya Saṅgraha. Thus:—

Inscriptions	Daḷadā Pūjāvaliya and Nikāya Saṅgraha
Yuvaraja or Māpā	Māpā
Ēpāvarun	Ēpā
Seneviradun	Senevirat
Pradhānayan	Adhikāra
Potvarun eṭṭu-vu	
Kayasthayan	Mahalēnā
Māṇḍalikavarun	Mahareṭinā
Chaurāsivarun	Anunā
Kaḍagosthayehi	
eṭṭavun	Siṭunā.

In the two works mentioned the first four dignities are given as "Adhikāra Senevirat Ēpā Māpā" in the ascending order, the Senevirat and the Māpā usually having been Adhikāra and Ēpā previously. The *potvarun* must have included officials such as the Bhaṇḍārapotthaki (Bāṇḍarapote), the Jīvitapotthaki (? Divelpote) and the Mudalipote, presumably subordinates of the Mahalē.<sup>2</sup> The number "84" for the chiefs of small districts both in the kingdom and in the Sub-king's Country calls for explanation. It may well be a traditional number; or more probably Parākrama Bāhu modelled his principality on the kingdom, or rather on the King's Country. But *chaurāsi* is the name of a group of 84 villages, the modern pargana or taluk, in the United Provinces and in parts of the Panjab (Land Systems of British India, B. H. Baden-Powell, 1892, I., p.179).



We have found already a seeming Hindustani word in *chaurási*. Another similar expression appears in *asampāṇḍi*, which hitherto has received no attention. This apparently is in Tamil guise the Persian-Hindustani *jama'bandi*, a common term, now in use even as far south as Travancore, for the determination of the amount of land-revenue due for a year or specified period from a village or other unit. In the North-West Provinces it has the meaning of "annual village rent-roll." Our inscription No. 6, therefore, may be rendered "the chiefs of provinces in charge of the land-revenue assessment." The presence of North Indian words may be due to Kalinga influence: the use of unusual forms such as *pradhānayan* and *kayasthayan* for the familiar *adhikāra* and *mahalé* may be noted. But the presence of a Persian-Hindustani revenue term at this early date in Ceylon demands further investigation.

### Notes

1. *Máyā-raṭa*, from *Mahayā-raṭa*, cf. *épā mahayā siri vinde* of the Mihintale Tablets and other inscriptions.

2. *Bhaṇḍārapotthaki*, Mhv. LXXII, 229, and "Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon," No. 158; *Jivitapoththaki*, Mhv. LXX, 174, 318; LXXIV, 89; *Mudali*—or *Mundali*—*pote*, *Waharakgoḍa Inscr.*, Report on the Kegalla District, p.82.

### THE DORATIYAWA SANNASA<sup>1</sup>

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. AND D. P. D. MIRIHILLE

This palm leaf document is an heirloom in the Doratiyawé family of Doratiyāwa in the Tiragandahayé Kóralé of Weḍawili Hatpattu in Seven Kóralés. It exists in two copies, the first (a) registered on December 9, 1873, under number 5362, which has been photographed by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, and the second (b), a copy made on March 13, 1878, on which date the first was already broken. The present edition is based on the photograph kindly put at the disposal of the first named writer by Mr. Bell.

The ola professes to record a grant of land at Doratiyāwa by King Niṣṣaṅka Malla, who reigned at Poḷonnaruwa circa A.D. 1187-1196. The script is modern with the exception of the occasional use of the form of *න* appearing in the sixteenth century Meḍagoda sannasa (Report on the Kegalla District, p. 97) and the cognate form of *ණ*. It is certain that it is not a modern forgery, such documents differing from ours at every point. Internal evidence is strong that it is a copy, and that the original of (a) was based on a still earlier document, possibly dating from the twelfth century itself. Considerations of the script of this period confirm this view. Thus *ද* is confused with *ඳ*, *න* with *ඳ*, *ස* with *ඛ*, *ප* with *ච*, as evidenced in *පොඳ, පඛනා, මසපච, පාසා, යුවරජපා* and *නාපුර නාචන්*. The correct form of most of these words can be seen in the published records of Niṣṣaṅka Malla. The substitution of *න* for *ණ* as in *ආනාසන්චිනි* is accounted for by the form of *ණ* already mentioned.

1. This paper was written early in 1923 and before the publication of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II., part 5.



The introductory portion of the sannasa occurs also in the Devanagala inscription of Parākrama Báhu I. (Report on the Kegalla District, p. 75) and in the unpublished Ambagamuwa record of Vijaya Báhu. Our translation is based on that of Messrs. Bell and B. Gunasekara Mudaliyar of the first mentioned inscription and on that of Mr. Wickremasinghe of other documents. We have varied, however, the rendering of certain passages:—

I. Mr. Wickremasinghe has taken *yona* in the phrase අනමෙහෙසුන් වූ ලක්දිව් පොළොයොන පරපුරෙන් හිමි as derived from Skt. *iśāna* "lord." He gives an alternative interpretation of the word as "maiden" (Skt. *yuvan*, "young"), but is of the opinion that a difficulty arises from the form *yohon* occurring at Devanagala, and from the use of *yona* in the Galpota inscription of Nissañka Malla (Epigraphia Zeylanica, I., pp. 26, 27, 248). He bases the translation "lords" on the employment of *mehesana* in the same place in certain other documents, and explains the initial consonant of *yona* by combination with the *poḷo*, which, it should be observed, is not the case in the Galpota inscription.

The following are the variants:—

- i. ලක්දිව් පොළො මෙහෙසන පරපුරෙන් හිමි
- ii. අනමෙහෙසුන් වූ ලක්දිව් පොළොයොන් (යොන, යෝන, යොහොන්, නවයොන) පරපුරෙන් හිමි
- iii. නමන් යොන පරපුරෙන් හිමි ලක්දිව් රජකරනු මැනවයි ලක්දිව් කුලජෙටු මහරජුන් අයදමෙන්

It seems impossible to explain *nava-yona*, which normally means "young maiden," by derivation from Skt. *iśāna*. The objection to *yohon* disappears if we take all the variants of ii. as coming, not from Skt. *yuvan*, but from Skt. *yoshaná*, "maiden," and, if *mehesana* is feminine, which is possible on the analogy of *rejana*, Skt. *rājīnī*, we get one idea running through i. and ii. Thus:—

i. Lord by lineal succession of (his) queen, the soil of the Island of Lañká.

ii. Lord by lineal succession of (his) maiden (spouse), the soil of the Island of Lañká, chief queen unto the Kshatriya princes.

This rendering is not incompatible with Vessagiriya slab inscription No. 2 (Ep. Zeyl. I., p. '31): ලක් පොළො මෙහෙසනව් නලාවික් බෙසු "who was like unto a *tilaka* mark to the queen, the soil of Lañká," a phrase clearly of the same meaning as සිව්ලක් දිව්විනලාවික් වූ of the Meḍirigiriya record (Ep. Zeyl. II., No. 6).

There remains the Galpota inscription. We may consider *yona* as derived from Skt. *yauna*, "matrimonial alliance," "relationship by marriage," a correct description of Nissañka Malla's title to the crown, in which case as in that of the derivation from Skt. *iśāna* නමන්, "his," is not required. Or we can take the word in its usual sense of "maiden" and translate: At the invitation of the king his elder kinsman to rule over the Island of Lañká, being lord by lineal succession of his maiden (spouse). This seems preferable and all the passages thus refer to the conception of the realm as the spouse of the king, expressed in the resolution of Parākrama Báhu II: "The damsel Lañká shall I make mine, yea even wholly mine, and give her not to another" (Mhv. LXXXII, 5), given more clearly in the Pūjāvaliya: "I will not allow the lady Lañká to be taken by any one else, I will make her my wife (පතිනී)."²

2. A similar idea is seen in the following Sanskrit verse, sometimes found in grants of lands to temples:

Ekaiva bhagīnī loke sarveśam api bhū-bhujām  
na bhogyā na kara-grāhyā dānodattā vasundharā.

"Earth granted as a (religious) gift is the only sister of sovereign kings (*lit.* possessors of the earth) in the world; she is not to be possessed, her hand is not to be taken in marriage."

Note the double meaning of *kara-grāhyā*, "hand is not to be taken (in marriage)" and "tax is not to be recovered."



II. The phrase at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3 on side A of our document appears also in the (a) Ambagamuwa and (b) Devanagala records, i. being Mr. Bell's reading and ii. the eye copy made by the Archaeological Survey:—

(a i) සහ වුටුනු රජබරන කිරන වු පරපුර තුල නල

(a ii) සහ වුටුනු රජබරන කිරන වු පරපුර තුල නල

(b i) සහ වොටුනු රජබරන කිරන වුදු රුදු තුල නල

(b ii) සහ වොටුනු රජබරන කිරන වුදු රුදු තුල නල

D. සහ වොටුනු රජබරන කිරන වුදු දුභ තුල නල

(a i) අරතු බාන × කපතුර මෙන්

(a ii) අරතු [මා or] බානතු කපතුර මෙන්

(b i) අරතු ඉතුනු කපතුර මෙන්

(b ii) අරතු මාතුනු කපතුර මෙන්

D. අර කපතුර මෙන්

In (a ii) ම and බ are constantly confused. In (b) the three words between තුල and කපතුරමෙන් are now illegible on the rock, and so cannot be checked; the preceding letters as given in (b i) are correct.

The sentence has been translated in the Kegalla Report:—"who glitters in the resplendence of his crown and royal apparel; (who has acquired world wide fame... ..) like a wish-conferring tree to those of righteous intent."

The expression තලඅර occurs in the opening sentence of Vessagiriya slab inscription No. 1: මගුල් සිහසුන් රක්කල් තලඅර, "having ascended his auspicious lion-throne which was like unto a rock of safety" (Ep. Zeyl. I., p. 27). In the document under discussion, however, the presence of තුල is reminiscent of the *tulābhāra* ceremony, so frequently mentioned by Nissāṅka Malla. As depicted in the Galpota inscription the king arrayed in his crown and royal ornaments and accompanied by his queens and children "mounted the scale-pans," and "caused showers of *navaratna* to fall, and afforded relief to the helpless and the distressed—

such as monks, brahmins, the blind, the crippled, dwarfs, and hunchbacks, who had come from various quarters" (Ep. Zeyl. II., p. 118). The expression නවරත්නදාන වම් here employed is exactly parallel with the රුවන්දන් වතුරන් of our document, and further the phrase [දෙසෙ]නොසල මුඵ දිළිඳුන් සිත්පුර, which occurs almost word for word in the text, is found in connection with the *tulābhāra* ceremony in the Dambulla inscription (Ep. Zeyl. I., No. 9, line 18). We are inclined, therefore, to take the whole sentence from සහ වොටුනු to පබනාභානි with reference to this method of largess and to translate *tula-tala* by "scale-pans" (cf. *hem-tala*, "gold trays.")

Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara has been good enough to call our attention to the occurrence of වුදු or වුදු (? Skt. *vyāpta*) in verses 29, 161, 162, and 146 of the Kavsiḷumiṇa: it is rendered in the old paraphrase by Skt. *dighda*, "anointed," "smeared." The phrase දවමිනි රසවුදු in verse 29 closely resembles our කිරනවුදු. In verse 146 වුදු is followed by රුදු, which is paraphrased by Skt. *mahat*, "great," "excellent" "abounding in (riches)." This probably is the sense of රුදු in our sannasa, though it is possible that there may be an allusion to its other meaning of "Kuvera," the god of riches.

The part of the sannasa covered by lines 4 and 5 of side A has a general resemblance to the corresponding portion of Gaja Bāhu II.'s Kapuru Veḍu Oya inscription (Journal, XXVI, No. 71, part 1). On this analogy the unintelligible හතුන්දානෙ දෙර should conceal the name of the capital, but it is difficult to make පුලසනි පුරයෙහි or කාලිග (රජ) පුරයෙහි fit in with the number of the existing letters. The name of a palace would suit, and such actually occurs in the much later Kudumirisa inscription. It is suggested very tentatively that the original read මහරජගෙදෙර in view of the confusion



between ට and ඩ in A, lines 1 and 2, and between න් and ඩ in B, line 1; further, the twelfth century ජ is not unlike the modern ද. The expression රජකෙදර is found in Epigraphia Zeylanica, I., 19, line 4, and in the Ambagamuwa record, line 17.<sup>3</sup>

The word නිකාය occurring among the royal names can hardly represent anything but ටෙකෙයර which holds the same position elsewhere. The restoration හැමැත්ති in lieu of අමනනන් is justified by the Kapuru Veḍu Oya inscription.

Of the persons present at the granting of the land the two queens Subhadrá and Kalyāṇa are well known as also the heir apparent Vira Báhu. Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi Tāvurunávan was Niṣṣaṅka Malla's general and is mentioned in the Galpota and other inscriptions (Ep. Zeyl. II., 17, B, line 15; II., 27 and 29). According to the Pújávaliya Vira Báhu, who succeeded his father, was put to death by Tāvuru Senevirat, clearly this general. It seems probable that "Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi" was a title or office similar to the "Vikramasiṅha" of the late Kotté period. Thus, on the deposition of Coḍaganga, Lílávati was anointed by the chief minister Lak Vijaya Singu Kit Senevi (Abhayavēwa pillar inscription, A.I.C., 157), while, for his services in securing the crown for Sáhasa Malla, Laṅkādhikára Lolupelá-kūlu Dúttēvi Ábónávan was created Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi Ábónávan (Sáhasa Malla's Poḷonnaruwa inscription, A.I.C., 156).

Our document mentions two members of the Lolupelá-kūlu family: the Adhikára Kitalnávan and the grantee Laṅká Adhikára Lokenávan. The last named is

3. Under the reign of Kitsirimevan the Pújávaliya has: රජ දළදා ..... නුන්දෙදරටබා. This is translated by B. Gunasekara: "carried it to the palace." The corresponding word in the Daladá Sirita is රජකෙට.

known from the Ruwanvelli Dágaba slab inscription (Ep. Zeyl. II, No. 13) as the officer of Niṣṣaṅka Malla who in that king's fourth year restored Ruwanvelli Séya, was ordered to repair the Mirisaviṭi and other dágabas, and was given "unlimited wealth and hundreds of yálas of paddy." He had been Arakménávan, an office given to prince Jutindhara for the duty of protecting the Bo-tree festival (Pújávaliya, cap. XXXIV; Siṅhala Bódhivaṇṣaya, ed. 1911, p. 194), but was now made Adhikára, a rendering of අධිකර කොට (loc. cit. line 30) in view of his official standing in our sannasa preferable to that of Wickremasinghe. It is tempting to connect the present grant with the restoration of Ruwanvelli Séya and to read සැය for පාය in B, line 1; traces of uncertainty seem to exist in the formation of පා in our text, but විජය seems out of place as an epithet of a dágaba.

Other members of the family also are known. Laṅkādhikára Budalnávan is stated in Sáhasa Malla's record to have been the friend of his general Dúttēvi Ábónávan already mentioned. The general who ruled by means of Kalyāṇavatí is called in the Pújávaliya Elalu Ábó Senevirat and in the Mahávaṇsa Áyasmanta. If he is identical with Dúttēvi Ábónávan, who in the Sanskrit part of Sáhasa Malla's inscription is styled "Áyushmat prtanápati," the Lolupelá-kūlu family must be the same as or at least a branch of the Khandhávára family (Mhv. LXXX, 38). To this Kandavuru-kula belonged Toṭagamuwé Śrī Rahula (Parevi Sandēṣaya, 208; Śeḷaḷihini Sandēṣaya, 111), who according to the Vṛta Ratnákara Pañcika was of the Maurya race. The connection with royalty would account for the title "Laṅkātilaka Mahá Devī" conferred on the mother of Dúttēvi Ábónávan by Sáhasa Malla.<sup>4</sup>

4. In Epigraphia Zeylanica, II., pp. 219. ff., the name is read as Lolupelá-kūlu Dúttēvi Ábónávan.



With the use of *koḷu* for *kuḷu* may be compared the name Sivalkoḷu in the inscriptions of Vikrama Báhu III.

Of the Toṭadanavu family two chiefs are mentioned in our text, Sātánávan and Suvanávan. In the Galpota inscription occurs an Adhikára Toṭadanavu Mandnávan and in that of Kalyánavatí (Journal, 1882, pp. 181, 182) Devalnávan or Devanávan, *béná* of Bandárapote Pirivatu-bim Vijayáyánnávan. Mr. Wickremasinghe was inclined to identify this Devanávan with Devádhikári of Mahávaṇsa, LXXX, 38 (Ep. Zeyl. II., p. 100). The similarity of *ṇa* and *na* and the use of *ṇa* in our document for the twelfth century *ṇa* possibly may point to the identity of our Sātánávan with Mandnávan, but the name Sātá is known (Ep. Zeyl. II., No. 6, p. 31).

The Chief of the Council, Gaja Báhunávan, is not known from other records. The office held by this chief is mentioned in the Nikáya Saṅgraha as is also that of Daham-pasak-ná. Our Daham-bas-hári possibly may be this latter, as the final *ṇa*, if written as in the first lines of our sannasa, might well have been misread as *ṣ* and a probable confusion between *ṇ* and *ṇ* is noticed below. We have translated the title, however, taking *ṇa* as derived from Skt. *cárin*. In text (a) *ṇa* has been altered to *ṇa*.

The family name of the chief Kalánávan usually appears as Kiling-gam-Kilingu (Ep. Zeyl. I., p. 56; II., No. 10) and occasionally as Maha Kiling-gam-Kilingu (*ib.* II., No. 12, p. 68). The nature of this chief's duties is not clear. The subject of *ṇa* obviously is the king; hence the translation of the parallel sentence in the Kapuru Veḍu Oya inscription of Gaja Báhu is in error. The word appears in:—

Ep. Zeyl. I., p. 49. පිටිමෙන් ලද්දන් සතුන් සැමැතින් දක්වා  
දුන් අපිප්පරණ සතර් දෙනෙකුහා

*Ibid.* p. 187. මෙ පැවසෙති දැකකමම් දක්වා සක්මන ඇමැති  
සහල්නාවන්

where it is translated by Wickremasinghe by “introduced” and “installed” respectively. It is suggested that here its meaning is “pointed out,” “designated.” As the Gaja Báhu inscription gives the names of the chiefs who went to the spot to set up the stone, as well as that of the officer corresponding to Kalánávan, it may be presumed that the duty of this last was that of seeing that the royal orders were carried out.

It is unfortunate that the name of the district, in which Doratīyāwa was situated, is lost; it seems likely that it was called after Kurunégala or Ratkerauwa, more probably the former. The ancient name of Kurunégala seems to have been Vénaru, still surviving as the designation of a tank near the town limits, presumably the Vápi-nagara of the Mahávaṇsa (LVIII, 43). The last two letters of *සුදකාරිකාවනා*, under which the name is concealed, almost certainly in the light of the twelfth century script should be read as *බඳ*, the modern *බද*. If this be so, the letters immediately preceding this word should mean “country” or “district,” and it is proposed tentatively to restore *කාවි* as *කුමිස* “district,” the old form of *ඳ* being corrupted into the *elapilla* and the original *ispilla* combined with *ඳ* to make *ඳි*. The last two letters of the remainder suggest *නකර*; this form in lieu of *නර* or *නුර* is found in tenth century inscriptions (Ep. Zeyl. I., No. 4, line 7).

The boundaries of Doratīyāwa cannot be identified except in the case of Mánelvaluva, now Máneloluwa. It is possible that “Govipala” is a misreading for “Gompala,” that is the modern Kompola, which is in the required direction.

The form *කරනුමන* appears in the Daḷadā Sirita as a variant for the usual *කරනුමන* found in the Kapuru Veḍu Oya inscription.



The witnessing of our document by the four royal personages is of interest. In later sannas only one witness, a minister, is usually found, and at a more recent period even he disappears. Private deeds, however, were witnessed to the end of the Kandyan rule almost in the same form as our sannasa. Nissaṅka Malla's royal style must be the Sanskrit form of "Kalingu Lakindu" appearing in Epigraphia Zeylanica, II., No. 14, line 23.

In conclusion it may be presumed that our original was written on palm leaf and so anterior in date to the policy of Nissaṅka Malla thus recorded:—

"Considering that grants in favour of those who rendered services in various capacities conformable to his wishes should last as long as Sun and Moon endure, he did not [as heretofore] have them written on *tal-pat* (palm-leaves) which were liable to be destroyed by white ants, rats, and the like, but had such grants engraved on (copper) plates, and so established the practice which had not been in vogue beforetimes in Lanka" (Ep. Zeyl. II., No. 27; cf., *ib.* No. 21).

### TEXT

(Letters in square brackets indicate erasures.)

Text A1. සිරිවත් අජරයන් ලෙනකුත් ගුනමුරුතුරන් මුද්දමදිවුහා  
Text සිරිවත් අජරියන් ලෙනකුත් ගුණමුරුතුරන් මුරදමදිවුහි  
emended අත්කැත් කුලවාහල් කල මකාවස් රජපරපුරෙන් බටකැත්  
අත්කැත් කුලපාමිලි කළ මකාවස් රජපරපුරෙන් බටකැත්  
මසබනට අගමමෙහෙසුන්ට ලක්දිවු පොදෙයොන පරපුරෙන්  
මසබනට අගමමෙහෙසුන්ට ලක්දිවු පොළොයොන පරපුරෙන්  
භාමිතුමා සරනානියරසින් අන්රජමුදුන් බිසොවු සහ තෙදින්  
තිමිතුමා සරණනියරසින් අන්රජමුදුන් බිසොස්වු සහ තෙදින්  
2. තිරපලකෙහන් මෙහෙසුරු දළදුජන් උවිදු රජපිරිනින් සුරඤ්ඤ  
තිරපලකෙහින් මෙහෙසුරු දළදුසින් උවිඳු රජපිරිනින් සුරඤ්ඤ  
පමනා දෙතින් දිනිසිරි සත්සෙතින් කිත්සිරි[ත්]රු පැනසිරිත්  
පමඤ්ඤ දෙතින් දිනිසුරු සත්සෙතින් කිත්සිරි පැනසිරිත්

- සුරගුරු සොමිගුනෙන් නිසසුරු රුසිරිත් කදජ කුරුසිරිත්  
සුරගුරු සොමිගුනෙන් නිසසුරු රුසිරිත් කදජ කුරුසිරිත්  
බොහොසත් දිඳු සහ වොටුනු රජබරන නිර  
බොහොසත් දිඳු සහ වොටුනු රජබරන නිර
3. නවුදු දුආතුල නල[ක]අර කපතුරුමෙන් නොමි නන්රුවන්  
ණවුදු රුදුතුල නල අර කපතුරුමෙන් නොමි නන්රුවන්  
දන්[ල] වතුරෙන් නන් දෙසෙනොසොල මුර් දිවිදු සිත්සසුරු  
දන් වතුරෙන් නන් දෙසෙනොස ල මුර් දිවිඳු සිත්සසුරු  
පුරමින් මුදුලෙවුතිපනල යසපබනා ඇති අනා සත්විතින්  
පුරමින් මුර්ලෙවුතිපනල යසපබඤ ඇති අණ සත්විතින්  
ති[න]ගංබ මල්ල නිසකා[ක]ර් කා කාලිග පරකුමබානු  
නිසංක මල (ලංකෙසවර) කාලිග පරකුමබානු  
වකුචතිති  
වකුචතිති
4. න්වහන්සේ හා තුන්දුගෙ[3]දුර අභමෙක මසපයට [ස] පාසා  
න්වහන්සේ (මහරජ) ගෙ දුර අභමෙක මසපයට වැඩ  
සහ [ම] මවුනු රජබරනින් සැදි අගබිසො සුභදු මහාදෙවින්  
සහ වොටුනු රජබරනින් සැදි අගබිසො සුභදු මහාදෙවින්  
වහන්සේහා ක[ල්]ලානා මහාදෙවින් [ප] වහන්සේහා යුව  
වහන්සේහා කලාණ මහාදෙවින් වහන්සේහා යුව  
රජ පා සිවි උරෙසිදු මිරබානුමාපානාන් වහන්සේ  
රජ වැ සිවි උරෙසිදු මිරබානුමාපානාන් වහන්සේ
5. හාලක් විජයසිඟු සෙනාමි නාපුරනාවන්හා අඛිකාරලොලු  
හාලක් විජයසිඟු සෙනාමි නාපුරනාවන්හා අඛිකාරලොලු  
පාලු කොර් කිතල් නාවන් හා අඛිකාරනොටදනුටු සානානාවන්  
පැලාකොර් කිතල් නාවන් හා අඛිකාරනොටදනුටු සානානාවන්  
හා අඛිකාර නොටදනවි සුවනාවන් හා සභාපති නායක  
හා අඛිකාර නොටදනවු සුවනාවන් හා සභාපති නායක  
දහම්බස් හා<sup>4</sup> ගජබානුනාවන් ඇතුලුනු ඇමැතිගණපිරිවර  
දහම්බස් හා<sup>4</sup> ගජබානුනාවන් ඇතුරුටු ඇමැතිගණපිරිවර
- B 1. ඇමානන[නන්]ත් මා කලමනා රජසුර විවාර වෘවසාවදුල  
හැමැනන් හි මා කලමනා රජසුර විවාර වෘවසාවදුල  
[න]තැන ලංකා අඛිකාර ලොලු පැලාකොර් ලොකෙනාවන්  
තැන ලංකා අඛිකාර ලොලු පැලාකොර් ලොකෙනාවන්  
විජයග්‍රී මහා පාය කැරවුදස්කමට පමුනුකොට බිඳුවට  
විජයග්‍රී මහා පාය කැරවුදස්කමට පමුණුකොට බිඳුවට  
තුන්සාලක් දෙන්නෙයයි වදල සෙසින් කිලිගු මහ කිලිග[කල]  
තුන්සාලක් දෙන්නෙයයි වදල සෙසින් කිලිගු මහ කිලිග  
වර කලානාවන් දකා  
වර කලානාවන් දක්වා



2. වදල සෙසින් මායාරජයේ ආවු සුදුකරී කාසිපනා දෙරවියායෙ වදල සෙසින් මායාරජයේ ආවු සුදුකරී කාසිපනා දෙරවියාවෙ පැදුන් දිගින් මානෙල්වලුව හා දෙරවියාව තිම්මා සිටිය පැදුම් දිගින් මානෙල්වලුව හා දෙරවියාව තිම්මා සිටිය සැටිය [ව] හා දකුණු දිගින් තිනවලුගොඩව හා දෙරවියාවට සැටියට හා දකුණු දිගින් තිනවලුගොඩව හා දෙරවියාවට තිම්මා සිටියසැටියට හා පැදුදිගින් ගොම්පලව හා දෙරවියාවට තිම්මා සිටියසැටියට හා පැදුදිගින් ගොම්පලව හා දෙරවියාවට තිම්මා එනව [නා] සිටිය හා තිම්මා සිටිය සැටියට හා
3. උතුරු දිගින් මිනිලැවැට හා දෙරවියාවට තිම්මා එනව සැටිය උතුරු දිගින් මිනිලැවැට හා දෙරවියාවට තිම්මා සිටිය සැටිය [ව] තිම් මේ අනුරෙහි ආවු දෙරවියායෙ මුල්බිඳුවට සතරයාල ව තිම් මේ අනුරෙහි ආවු දෙරවියාවෙ මුල්බිඳුවට සතරයාල සතර මුනෙතින් මෙකුත්තට අය වැලඳුමට සිටිමුල් බිඳුවට සතර මුනෙතින් මෙකුත්තට අය වැලඳුමට සිටිමුල් බිඳුවට එක්යාල සතරමුනක් හැර පමුණු ලී මුල්බිඳුවට තුන්යාලයි එක්යාල සතරමුනක් හැර පමුණු දී මුල්බිඳුවට තුන්යාලයි රජකුල කැමි රජකුල කැමි
4. යන් යමා කෙනකුත් බාදු [ම] අනාය [ක]නා කරනුව යන් (සම්දරු) කෙනකුත් බාදු අනාය නො කරනුව හා දලද පාත්‍ර බානුවත්තන්සේට තෙල්දී වලද [නා]නුව හා ශ්‍රී හා දලද පාත්‍ර බානුවත්තන්සේට තෙල්දී වලද [නා]නුව හා ශ්‍රී කාලිග ලංකෙතිසෙයා දතනම් අගබියො සුභද්‍රා නා කාලිග ලංකෙතිසෙයා දන්නම් අගබියො සුභද්‍රා මහාදෙවිමිමා දතනම් කලසාන මහා දෙවිමි[ම]හ දතනම් මහාදෙවිමිහ දන්නම් කලසාන මහා දෙවිමිහ දන්නම් යුවරජ [ග] වසිටි උර සිංදු වීරබාහු යුවරජ වැසිටි උරෙහිදු වීරබාහු
5. මාපානාමිහ දතනම් මාපානාමිහ දන්නම්

- (1) The Medagoda Sannasa form of න.  
 (2) The cognate form of න.  
 (3) රු over ර.  
 (4) හා apparently over හැ.  
 (5) මෙ apparently over මා.  
 (6) apparently rep̄ha over ම.  
 (7) ර over හු.

## TRANSLITERATION

- A 1. Sirivat ajarayat lenakut guna-mulun uturat mulu Dambadivuhá an  
 Sirivat apiriyat lev-ikut guna-mulin uturat mulu Dambadivuhi an  
 Ket kula váhal kala Oká-vas raja parapuren baṭa Ket osabanaṭa aga-  
 Ket kula páмили kála Oká-vas raja parapuren baṭa Ket osabanaṭa aga-  
 mehesun-vu Lak-divu pode-yona parapuren hámi-tumá saraná-niya rasin an  
 mehesun-vú Lak-divu poḷo-yona parapuren himi-tumá sarana-niya resin an  
 raja mudun bissevu saha-tedin  
 raja mudun bisesvú sáha-tedin
2. Hiru palakehan Mehesuru daḷadéjan Uvindu raja-piritin Suraṇu pamaná-  
 Hiru peḷakemin Mehesuru daḷadépin Uvindu raja-viritin Surindu pabanda-  
 denin Dinisuru sat-setin Kit-Siri rá peṇa-sarin Surugurá somi-gunen Nisayurá  
 denen Dinisuru sat-setin Kit-Siri peṇa-sarin Suruguru somi-gunen Nisayuru  
 rú-sarin Kandaja kuḷunu-sarin Bohosat dinú saha-voṭunu raja-barana kira-  
 rú-sarin Kandap kuḷupu-sarin Bohosat dinú saha-voṭunu raja-barana kira-
3. na vudu du e tula-tala ará kapaturu-men nomí nan ruvan dan vatu-  
 na vudu rudu tula-tala ará kapturu-men nomin nan ruvan dan vatu-  
 ren nan desen osola mulu divindu sit-sayuru puramin mulu levuhi patala  
 ren nan desen osala mulu diḷindu sit-sayuru puramin mulu levuhi patala  
 yasa pabaná eti aná-sakvitin Niṣaṣaṇkha Malla Nishkáḷuká Káḷinga  
 yasa-pabanda eti aṇa-sakvitin Niṣṣaṇka Malla (Laṇkeṣvara) Káḷinga  
 Parákrama Báhu Cakravartti-  
 Parákrama Báhu Cakravartti-
4. nvahansé hátundá-ge-dora abhisheka-masapayaṭa pásá saha-voṭunu  
 nvahansé (maharaja-ge-dora) abhisheka-maṇḍapayaṭa veḍe saha-voṭunu  
 raja-baranin sēdi aga-biso Subhadrá Mahádevinvahansé há Kalyáná Mahá-  
 raja-baranin sēdi aga-biso Subhadrá Mahádevinvahansé há Kalyāṇa Mahá-  
 devinvahansé há yuvaraja-pá siṭi ureyi dá Vira Báhu Mápánánvahansé  
 devinvahansé há yuvaraja-ve siṭi urehi dá Vira Báhu Mápánanvahansé
5. há Lak Vijaya Sigu Senávi Tápuranávan há Adhikára Lolupáḷu-koḷu  
 há Lak Vijaya Singu Senevi Távurunávan há Adhikára Lolupelá-kuḷu  
 Kitalnávan há Adhikára Toṭadanuvu Sātánávan há Adhikára Toṭadanav  
 Kitalnávan há Adhikára Toṭadanavu Sātánávan há Adhikára Toṭadanavu  
 Suvanávan há Sabhāpati-nāyaka daham-bas-hári Gaja Báhunávan eṭuluḥu  
 Suvanávan há Sabhāpati-nāyaka daham-bas-heri Gaja Báhunávan eṭulu-vú  
 eṇeti-gaṇa pirivará  
 eṇeti-gaṇa pirivará
- B 1. eṇya tanat má kalamaná rájadhura vicára vyavasthá vadála teṇa  
 héme tanhi má kalamaná rájadhura vicára vyavasthá vadála teṇa  
 Laṇká Adhikára Lolupelá-koḷu Lokenávan Vijaya Śrī Mahá-páya keravú  
 Laṇká Adhikára Lolupelá-kuḷu Lokenávan Vijaya Śrī Mahá-páya keravú  
 daskamaṭa pamunu koṭa bijuvaṭa tun-yalak denneyayi vadála-seyin Ki-  
 daskamaṭa pamunu koṭe bijuvaṭa tun-yalak denneyayi vadála-seyin Ki-  
 lingu-maha-Kilinga vara Kalánávan dakvá  
 lingu-maha-Kilinga vara Kalánávan dakvá



2. vadāla-seyin Māyā-rajayē ávú Sudākarikādi panā Doratīyāye pedun  
vadāla-seyin Māyā-rajayē ávú Sudākarikādi panā Doratīyāvé pedum  
digin Mānelvaluva há Doratīyāta him-vá siṭiya seṭiya há dakuṇu digin  
digin Mānelvaluva há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve siṭiya seṭiyāṭa há dakuṇu digin  
Hinavalugodaṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-va siṭiya seṭiyāṭa há pela din  
Hinavalugodaṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve siṭiya seṭiyāṭa há pela digin  
Govipalaṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-va enava siṭiya há  
Govipalaṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve siṭiya seṭiyāṭa há
3. uturu digin Minileveṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve enava seṭiya him mé  
uturu digin Minileveṭa há Doratīyāvaṭa him-ve siṭiya seṭiyāṭa him mé  
aturehi ávú Doratīyāye mul bijuvaṭa satara-yāla sataramunekin mekuṇṭa  
aturehi ávú Doratīyāvé mul bijuvaṭa satara-yāla sataramunekin mekuṇṭa  
aya-veladumaṭa siṭi mul bijuvaṭa ek-yāla sataramunak hera pamunu li mul  
aya-velandumaṭa siṭi mul bijuvaṭa ek-yāla sataramunak hera pamunu di mul  
bijuvaṭa tun-yālayi raja-kula-kēmi-  
bijuvaṭa tun-yālayi raja-kula-kēmi-
4. yan yammā kenakun bādā anyāya no-karanuva há Daladā-Pātra-dhā-  
yan (samdaru) kenekun bādā anyāya no-karanuva há Daladā-Pātra-dhā-  
tunvahansēta tel di valadanuva há Śri Kāliṅga Laṅkenindonā dattam Aga-  
tunvahansēta tel di valandanuva há Śri Kāliṅga Laṅkendramha dannam Aga-  
biso Subhadranā Mahādevimmā dattam Kalyāna Mahādevimha dattam  
biso Subhadrá Mahādevimha dannam Kalyāna Mahādevimha dannam  
yuvaraja-va siṭi urayin dá Vira Báhu  
yuvaraja-ve siṭi urehi dá Vira Báhu
5. Māpānāmha dattam.  
Māpānāmha dannam.

### Translation

Lord by lineal succession of the maiden (spouse)  
the soil of the Island Laṅkā, chief queen unto the  
Kshatriya princes descended from the royal line of the  
Okkāka race, which, abounding in an assemblage [multi-  
tude] of benignant, boundless, and transcendental  
virtues, has caused the other Kshatriya dynasties of the  
whole of Jambudvīpa to render it homage; I, who have  
anointed the heads of other kings with the effulgence of  
the nails of my feet; who in great glory have surpassed  
the Sun, in might Maheśvara [Śiva], in invincibility  
Upendra [Viṣṇu], in kingly conduct Surendra [Śakra],  
in inexhaustible wealth Dhaneśvara [Kuvera], in (be-  
stowing) happiness to all beings Kīrti-Śri [Lakṣmī], in  
profound wisdom the Teacher of the gods [Bṛhaspati],

in gentleness the Moon, in beauty Kandarpa [Anaiṅga], in  
riches of benevolence the Bodhisatva; and who,  
having mounted the scale-pans abounding in [riches],  
bathed in the radiance of the crown and royal ornaments,  
have acquired world-wide fame unbroken by filling the  
ocean of the hearts of all poor men who flock from  
divers quarters with a flood of gifts of many (and) divers  
gems like a wish-conferring tree; the Overlord, Niṣṣaṅka  
Malla (Laṅkeśvara) Kāliṅga Parākrama Báhu Cakra-  
vartī, having entered the Anointing Hall at the gate of  
(the Royal Palace), adorned with the crown and royal  
ornaments and accompanied by the Chief Queen Subhadrá  
Mahá Devī, Kalyāna Mahá Devī, the sub-king my own  
son Vira Báhu the Mápá, Lak Vijaya Siṅgu Senevi  
Tāvurunāvan, Adhikára Lolupelá-kuḷu Kitānavan,  
Adhikára Toṭadanavu Sātānāvan, Adhikára Toṭadanavu  
Suvanāvan, the Chief of the Council Gaja Báhunāvan,  
walking in the path of the Law, and a multitude of other  
courtiers, was enquiring into such business of State as  
pleased me in every place and was vouchsafing edicts.

(At that time) I was pleased to grant three *yālas*  
sowing extent as heritable land for the service rendered  
by Laṅkā Adhikára Lolupelá-kuḷu Lokenāvan in building  
the (palace) Vijaya Śrī Mahá-pāya, and was so pleased,  
designating Kiliṅgu-maha-Kiliṅga vara Kalānāvan [as  
the officer for executing the grant].

Accordingly there have been given as heritable land  
three *yālas* sowing extent out of the four *yālas* and four  
*amuṇas* sowing extent of Sudākarikāḍipaná Doratīyāva  
in the Māyā kingdom, the boundaries (of this village)  
being: on the East, Mānelvaluva; on the South, Hīrava-  
lugoḍa; on the West, Govipala; and on the North, Mini-  
leṭa; that is, exclusive of the one *yāla* and four *amuṇas*,  
the revenue of which is (already) enjoyed by this



(grantee), to be held, without disturbance on the part of servants of the Royal Household or any chief, on payment of oil to the Tooth and Bowl Relics.

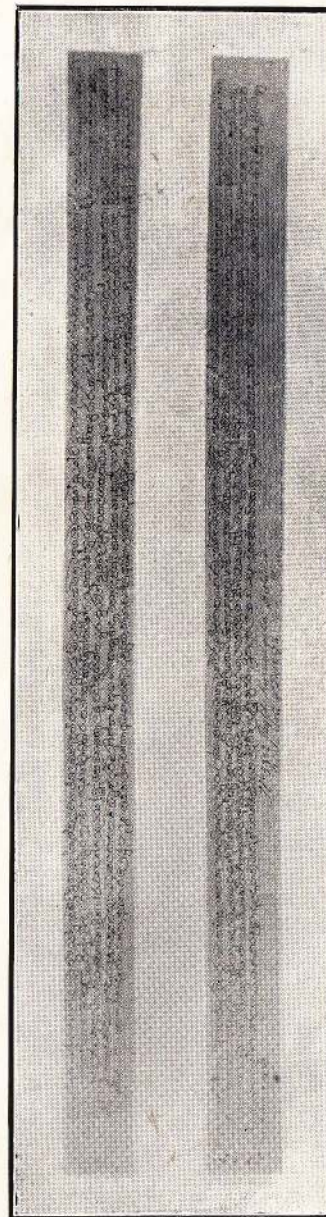
I, Śrī Kālinga Laṅkendra, know this.

I, the Chief Queen, Subhadrā Mahā Devī, know this.

I, Kalyāṇa Mahā Devī, know this.

I, the Sub-king, (His Majesty's) own son, Vīrā Bāhu the Māpā, know this.

THE DORATIYAWA SANNASA.



By Kind Permission of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.



## NOTES AND QUERIES

## NOTE ON "GREEVING'S DIARY."

BY D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

P. 323, line 6. For "massacre at Kandy of the garrison under the command" read:—  
Miss Methley has relied on documents at the  
Record

appeared in the Society's journal with the title "Greeving's Diary."† It is indeed very interesting from different points of view. It is interesting as containing the evidence of an eye-witness to many of the events which it narrates. It is especially interesting for the light it throws on the circumstances which extenuated Major Davie's conduct on the occasion.

In a recent article which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*,‡ Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., (retired), referring to Greeving's Diary remarks that "it has never been printed (though it is quoted in the

\* Paper read before the Royal Historical Society on 11th April, 1918. See its Transactions, 4th series, Vol. I, pp.92-128, for 1919.

† C.A.S.J., Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Pts. III. and IV., pp.166-180.

‡ Vol. IV., Pt. IV., p.179.

அன்பளிப்பு

இப் புத்தகம்

கருநிதி. அ. சிவசுந்தரம் D. Sc.  
B. M. S. (Cey.) F. R. C. S. (Edin) (Irn)  
F. R. C. S. (Eng.) F. R. C. O. G. (Gt. Br)  
அவர்களால் அன்பளிப்பு செய்யப்பட்டது



## NOTES AND QUERIES

## NOTE ON "GREEVING'S DIARY."

BY D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

Miss V. M. Methley, F.R.H.S., of Clifton, Bristol, has contributed to Ceylon history a chapter, on which authentic evidence has hitherto been fragmentary—"The Ceylon Expedition of 1803."\* For the chief sources of the information on which her paper is based, massacre at Kandy of the garrison under the command Office, transferred there from the Colonial Office and the War Office. One of these is a minute account of the massacre at Kandy of the garrison under the command of Major Adam Davie, given by a Dutch Sub-Assistant Surgeon named Greeving, who managed to escape by hiding in a dry well. This account has recently appeared in the Society's Journal with the title "Greeving's Diary."† It is indeed very interesting from different points of view. It is interesting as containing the evidence of an eye-witness to many of the events which it narrates. It is especially interesting for the light it throws on the circumstances which extenuated Major Davie's conduct on the occasion.

In a recent article which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*,‡ Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S., (retired), referring to Greeving's Diary remarks that "it has never been printed (though it is quoted in the

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அன்பளிப்பு

இப் புத்தகம்

கனாநிதி. அ. சிவசுந்தரம்



"Illustrated London News" for 17th August, 1850\*), and is practically unknown in Ceylon."† It is a pleasing duty to record here that this is by no means the case. I find that the Diary has been printed. I believe for the first time, in the *Colombo Observer*. It appears in Vol. XIV, No. 97, page 4, of Saturday the 18th November, 1848, under the heading "Massacre of Davie's Detachment," purporting it to be a true translation from the Dutch by J. G. Kriekenbeek,‡ the First Assistant Translator to Government. Therefore I suggest that the quotations appearing in the "Illustrated London News" above referred to are from no other source than this. Be that as it may, it seems rather strange that Sir Emerson Tennent who, we apprehend, was about this time collecting materials for his history of the island—the best of the kind that has ever been published—has failed to take cognizance of the existence of a document containing much relevant information. It may nevertheless be surmised that the historians who make some vague references to this "Assistant Surgeon" never knew his name, as it has nowhere transpired in their writings. We shall illustrate this. Cordiner states that "Captain Humphreys laying hold of the arm of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon of the Malay Regiment, a native of Colombo, found means to roll down with him, from the height where they were standing, to the hollow into which the dead bodies were thrown. They contrived to conceal themselves for several days. The latter escaped to Colombo in the September following."§ We do not know upon whose authority this statement is made, as the

\* Lewis' *Tombstones and Monuments*, p.430, gives the date as "17th August, 1853."

† Miss Methley, too, says "that it has certainly never been published, and rarely, if ever, even quoted to any useful extent."—R.H.S., Tr., Vol. I., p.117.

‡ He was also an Advocate. He died in 1826.—See J. D. B. Union, Vol. V., pt. IV., p.71.

§ Vol. II., p.214.

Assistant Surgeon did not in fact reach Colombo until May 1804.\* If he had come down to Colombo in September the authorities would have had an account of the whole event, the want of which was greatly deplored. For Cordiner says "as no English Officer who was present at the fall of Kandy has yet appeared to give an account of the causes which led to it, and the subsequent disasters, they are still involved in much obscurity."† Philalethes in his history mentions that Humphreys with an "Assistant Surgeon" escaped from the massacre by rolling down into a ravine and that, being discovered by a Malay Corporal, they were taken before the king, who ordered them to be confined separately.‡ This is founded upon the authority of an article in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1805, page 14. Major Forbes also says that an "Assistant Surgeon" escaped from the massacre.§ All these writers have failed to give his name, and it is certain that the delay of forty-four years which had occurred in the publication of his diary has not been noticed by later writers on Ceylon.

It is here necessary to advert to a few differences I have been able to observe in the accounts. On page 168, line 29 of the *Journal* No. 71, after the word "Kandians," there seems to be an omission of a paragraph, which is to be regretted, as it helps to settle a vexed point, viz., the fate of Lieutenant Blackeney. It runs thus:—

"The 24th June when we delivered battle to the Sinhalese, Doctor Holloway received a slight wound in the left hand which to dress, I (Greeving) was sent for. I found it not dangerous and on being dressed that gentleman took again the firelock in hand and as before fired at the Kandians. Mr. Blekkie (query for Blackeney?) received two wounds from the Kandians one under the right arm on the side of

\* R.H.S., Tr., Vol. I., p.118.

† Vol. II, p.220.

‡ P.165.

§ *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, Vol. I., p.38.



the breast and the other in the left thigh, which latter he received from behind and the ball passed through. When we departed from the Battery in the afternoon we put Mr. Blekkie (Blackeney?) in a dooly which we caused to be borne by 4 Lascars because that gentleman was unable to make use his right foot, but on all the whites being killed by the Kandians, that gentleman was also drawn by Kaffirs out of the palanquin and struck on the head."

In the Colombo *Observer* the first diary entry (19th June, 1803) reads as follows:—

"From the Malay Regiment deserted to the Kandians the Drum Major Oedien and 7 privates, viz., 1st Tamby Java, 2nd Theran, 3rd Sangiea, 4th Ismail Boegies, 5th Carum, 6th and 7th are unknown to me."

The names of some of the officers are given in a fanciful way in the *Observer*, e.g., "Colonel Berry" for Colonel Bailie, "Gupill" for Goupill, "Captain Anvill" for Captain Humphreys, "Zanthome" for Fanthome.

As regards the veracity of Greeving's narrative, Miss Methley observes that "his professional position would give him far better opportunities than native servants and private soldiers to watch the course of events, just as his education would qualify him the better to set them down."\* It is well therefore to notice here one or two points which would appear to correct the other conflicting accounts. The number of the wounded and sick men murdered in hospital at Kandy is put down by Sir Robert Brownrigg twelve years after the *mêlée* as 'one hundred and fifty.'† Major Beaver 'who belonged to the 19th Regiment, and who was much employed at this period in different capacities,' says that the number killed in hospital was about 149.‡ Then we have the express declaration of Cordiner, Marshall, &c., who state that it was 'one hundred and twenty.' These statements seem to be inconsistent with the account of Greeving where it is

\* R.H.S., Tr., Vol. I., p.118.

† Official Declaration of the Settlement of Kandyan Provinces.—Marshall, p.270.

‡ United Service Journal, 1829, pt. II., p.709.

put down as "one Lieutenant of the 19th Regiment, European soldiers, about 46 or 48, 9 European gunners, 23 Malays and 17 Moorish gunners."\*

The data furnished by the different accounts as to the number of European Officers at Watambuluwa also deserve consideration. In the Government *Gazette* of the 13th of July, 1803, the names of sixteen† Officers are given. The number therein specified represented the entire number of British Officers in the auxiliary force at Kandy, and according to the 'last return,' which was certainly before any engagement took place. In the fullest and most impartial account of Marshall the number of European Officers is given as fourteen. This number cannot be depended upon as it appears to have been made up by reducing the two killed‡ from the sixteen Officers mentioned in the 'last return.' All accounts indicate that at this time the British camp was in the greatest possible distress and misery. Endemic fever prevailed to a fearful extent, carrying away five or six men a day; the camp was straitened for provisions and was embarrassed by rains and wind. Under such circumstances, that the number was gradually reduced may be easily believed. To what extent, it can only be judged from the very significant fact that in the details given by Assistant Surgeon Greeving of the *débâcle* on 26th June, 1803, no other names have transpired except those of Major Adam Davie, Captains Rumley and Humphreys, Lieutenant Blackeney, Ensigns Barry, Fanthome, and Goupill, Garrison Surgeon Holloway and two Officers of the 19th Regiment whose names are not mentioned by Greeving.

\* R.A.S.J., No. 71, p.170.

† Miss Methley names 'eighteen,' including Dutch Assistant Surgeon Greeving.

‡ Marshall, p.119.



## THE CROOKED COMB

By H. W. C.

Mr. A. Alvis in Vol. VI, part II, of the *Ceylon Antiquary* has referred to the tradition that the comb worn in the Low-Country was "introduced into Ceylon about the 18th Century by some Malay Prince who was deported from Java."

As far as I am aware there is no mention of the comb in the 16th and 17th centuries. The following extract from Raffles' *History of Java* (London, 1830), Vol. I, p.99, would tend to confirm the Javanese origin of this ornament though the mode of wearing it seems to be somewhat different:—

"Neither men nor women cut their hair, but allow it to grow to its natural length; in this they differ from the *Maláys* and *Búgis*, who always wear it short. The men, except on particular occasions, gather it up on the crown of the head, twist it round, and fasten it by means of a semi-circular tortoise-shell comb fixed in front."

