JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1930.

VOLUME XXXI

No. 83—Parts I., II., III., and IV.

PAPERS:

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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 Times of Ceylon Company, Ltd., Printers.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1930.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1930.

Meetings and Papers.

Eight General Meetings were held during the year including the Annual General Meeting on the 10th May, when the Annual Report was read. The papers read at the meetings were :—

17th Jan.	Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames, by Mr. Edmund Reimers.
21st Feb.	The Art of India and Indo-China, with special references to Ceylon, illustrated with lantern slides, by Dr. V. Goloubew.
31st May.	The Alakeswara Period, reviewed by Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
23rd June.	The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura, illustrated with lantern slides, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.
21st July.	The Central School Commission between 1841-1848, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
29th Aug.	Some Place Names of Ceylon, by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

5th Sept. Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, illustrated with lantern slides, by Mr. G. Venkatachalan.

31st Oct. Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D., with special references to Ceylon, by Mr. J. C. De, M.A.

Publications.

Journal XXXI, No. 82, 1929, now in press, contains in addition to the proceedings of the meetings, the following papers and notes :—

Papers :

1. A Thousand Years before Abraham, by Dr. W. F. Bade.
2. Pre-Vijayan Legends and Traditions relating to Ceylon, by Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
3. Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.
4. Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon, by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Notes and Queries :

1. The Throne of the Kandyan Kings, by Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
2. Viyat Pat Ata Ganaya, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.
3. Notes on an ancient habitation near Kudramalai. by Mr. R. L. Brohier.
4. Two Chola Invasions of Ceylon not recorded in the Mahāvaṁsa, by Mr. S. Paranavitana.

Members.

The Society has now on its roll 7 Honorary Members, 55 Life Members and 305 Ordinary Members.

During the year the following members were elected, viz. :—The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon, C.M.G., Messrs. C. Don Amaradasa, J. F. P. Deraniyagala, W. H. G. de Zoysa, Andias Edirisingha, G. C. Edirisingha, B. W. Fernando, W. Martin Fernando, Don Cornelius Gammanpila, David Hussey, R. Kulatu Iyer, Rev. Pitadeniya Ratnapala, Messrs. Karalapillai Shanmukam, M. S. Seevaratnam, and W. von Pochhammer.

Honorary Members.

At a General Meeting held on the 31st October as provided by Rule 11 of the Rules and Regulations of this Society the following were elected as Honorary Members, viz. :—

Professor Wilhelm Geiger
Mrs. T. W. Rhys Davids.

Life Members.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., Mr. M. H. Kantawala, C.C.S., Mr. K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram, and Mr. A. E. Jayasingha became life members.

Resignations.

Messrs. A. B. Madanayaka, V. Varaha Narasingham and A. W. Winter have resigned.

Deaths.

The Council records with regret the deaths of the following Members :—

Mr. Richard Gerald Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., The Hon. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Kt., C.M.G., The Hon. Sir James Peiris, Kt., M.A., LL.M., Mr. Vivian Percival Redlich, C.C.S., the Rev. R. Sri Dhiralankara Thero, and Mr. Amadoris Mendis.

In Mr. Anthonisz the Society has lost one of its earliest, most valued and zealous members. The following papers were contributed by him :—

Resolutions and sentences of the Council of the Town of Galle, 1640-44, being translations of Vols. 1 and 2 of the Galle Dutch Records.

Memorandum regarding a Stone slab at Elie House, Mutwal.

A Dutch Educational Report.

His remarks and memoranda on papers read before the Society, which threw light on the intricacies that have puzzled the student of the history of the period in which he specialized, have been always valuable. He was Vice-President from 1920-23 and 1925-28.

Mr. Anthonisz served in various capacities in the Public Service till in view of his profound knowledge of Dutch he was placed in charge of the Archives which were found to be in a chaotic condition and which after years of labour he brought into their present state.

A report on the Records in his custody was published in 1907. His other official publications includes translations of numerous Memoirs of Dutch Governors, Commandeurs, &c.

After his retirement from the Public Service, he published in 1929 the first Volume of his History of the Dutch in Ceylon.

It is hoped that his death will not prevent the rest of his history being placed at the service of the public.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan joined the Society in 1880 and became a life member in 1894. He served on our Council from 1886-1898 and among his contributions to the Journal are the following papers :—

Remarks on Mr. Boake's paper on Tiruketisvaram.

Ethnology of the Moors of Ceylon.

He was also the author of several treatises on philosophy, religion and ethnology.

Mr. Frederick Lewis was elected a member in 1882 and was on the Council from 1919 to 1924. He contributed the following papers to the Journal, viz. :—

1. A descriptive catalogue of the more useful trees and flowering plants of the Western and Sabaragamuwa Provinces of Ceylon.

2. Notes on an Exploration in Eastern Uva and Southern Panama Pattu.
3. Notes on an Image obtained at Silavatiparvata Temple.
4. Notes on eggs and nests of Brachypternus Ceylonus and Tockus Gingalensis.
5. Notes on the nidification of Chrysophlegma Xanthoderus.
6. Notes on the microscopic characteristics of Feathers and their present analogy with a probable aboriginal form.
7. Notes on the nidification of Sturnornis Senex and Cissa Ornata.
8. Notes on the Ornithology of the Balangoda District.
9. Nuwaragala, Eastern Province.
10. Ornithological Notes taken in the Bogawantalawa District during September, 1882.
11. The lesser known hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Uva.
12. Johnston's Expedition to Kandy in 1804.
13. Note on the Ruins at Arankale, N.W.P.

In 1926 he published his memoirs in "Sixty-four years in Ceylon, Reminiscences of life and adventure."

Library.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 135.

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

The Smithsonian Institute, Washington ; The American Oriental Society, Connecticut ; The American Philological Society, Baltimore ; The Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon ; The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai ; The Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland ; The

Geological Society, London ; The Musee Guimet, Paris ; Die Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig ; The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ; The Bihar and Orissa Oriental Research Society, Bankipore ; The Director, l'Escole Francaise de Extreme-Orient, Hanoi ; The Asiatic Society, Japan ; The Siam Society, Bangkok ; The Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, Singapore.

Donations were received from the following :—

The Director-General of Archaeology, India ; The Government of Ceylon ; The University of Calcutta ; Prof. W. Geiger ; The Editor, Indian Antiquary ; The Director, Colombo Museum ; The Editor, Tamil Lexicon ; The Government Epigraphist, Madras ; Mr. Cyril Pieris ; The Editor, Buddhist Annual ; Mr. L. J. Gratiaen ; The Government Record Keeper, Colombo ; Mr. W. von Pochhammer ; The Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon ; Dr. O. Pertold ; Dr. F. D. Adams, Montreal ; Mr. L. C. Weerasooriya.

The following institutions have been added to the list of Exchanges during the year :—

Archiv Orientanli, Journal of the Czechoslavak Oriental Institute, Prague, Bohemia ; The Editor, Journal of the Burma Research Society, Burma ; Royal Geographical Society of London ; The Editor, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research Institute, London University, London ; The School of Oriental Studies, London, Finsbury Circus, E.C. ; The Asia Major, Leipzig, Germany ; The Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland.

Exchanges which were interrupted during the Great War have been resumed with the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia ; The United States Department of Agriculture, Washington ; The Field Columbian Museum, Chicago ; The Royal Society of Victoria ; The Royal Society of New South Wales ; The Anthropological Society of London ; The Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Taal Land en Volken-

kundi Van Nederlandsch Indie, Holland; The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; The Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia; and the Chief Librarian, Vajiranana National Library, Bangkok.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary informed your Council by letter dated 14th April, 1930, that the Government had under consideration the appointment of an Historical Manuscripts Commission and requested that the views of this Council be forwarded. The question was discussed at a meeting held on the 14th April and a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. Perera (Chairman), Dr. Pieris, Mr. Turner, Dr. Nell, and Dr. Malalasekera (Secretary) was appointed to report on the subject. Its report stated that such a Commission was long overdue and should be appointed at the earliest opportunity and also outlined its functions.

Your Council transmitted this report to Government and hopes to place before you in the near future the decision which is arrived at.

Council.

Dr. Andreas Nell was elected a Vice-President in place of Mr. H. W. Codrington who retired under Rule 18.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera and Mr. Edmund Reimers were elected Honorary Secretaries for the year.

Mr. Weinman was re-elected Honorary Treasurer.

The vacancies on the Council were filled by Prof. R. Marrs, The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. S. Paranavitana, P. E. P. Deraniyagala and H. W. Codrington.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1930.

The Acting Archaeological Commissioner has kindly supplied the following summary of the work done by his department in 1930 :—

Archaeological Summary.

Publications.—Vol. II, part 2, of the Ceylon Journal of Science was published during this year. In addition to the usual Archaeological and Epigraphical Summaries, this number contains three articles by Mr. Codrington and one by Mr. S. Paranavitana. The Monograph on the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy by Mr. A. M. Hocart, the late Archaeological Commissioner is going through the press.

Exploration.—No special exploration circuits were undertaken during this year : but in the course of the epigraphical and other circuits undertaken by the officers of the Department over 30 ancient sites in the North-Western, Sabaragamuwa, Central and Southern Provinces have been visited and inspected. Among the ancient monuments brought to notice during this year, special mention may be made of pre-historic dolmen at Padiyagampola near Rambukkana in the Kēgalla District. This is the first time that a monument of this class has ever been discovered in the Island. The ruins at Tantrimalai in the North-Central Province, Nātanār Kōvil and Tiriyāi in the Eastern Province, and Kaludiyapokuna in the Central Province have been surveyed with a view to proclaim these sites as Archaeological Reserves.

Epigraphical.—Seventy inscriptions, of which forty-two are new discoveries, have been copied during this year. These, however, add very little to our knowledge of the ancient history of the Island though they are not without interest linguistically and palaeographically. A slab inscription of Vijayabāhu I, unfortunately very much weatherworn, found at Gilīmalē in the Ratnapura District, is of some interest as it confirms the statement of the

Mahāvaṁsa that this village was granted by that monarch to supply alms to the pilgrims to the Sacred Foot-print on the top of the Samantakūṭa Mountain (Adam's Peak).

Two numbers of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, *i.e.*, Vol. III, parts 3 and 4 are in the press. The final proofs of part 3 have been passed, and it is expected that this number will be out very soon. Manuscript materials for another part of this publication, *i.e.*, Vol. III, part 5, containing three articles by Mr. Codrington and five by the Epigraphical Assistant have also been sent to the printers.

Conservation.—At Anuradhapura, the work on the brick built image house near the Eastern Dāgäba has been brought to a close by the erection of the fallen door jambs of the side entrance. The buildings excavated last year in the Citadel have also been conserved by pointing the brickwork and setting up the fallen doorposts and windows. The stone platform in the inner room of Building *A* was also repaired.

The Buddha image on the road from Abhayagiri Dāgäba to the Kūṭṭam Pokuna—one of the most remarkable sculptures in the old City of Anuradhapura—was hitherto lying in an insecure position. The site was excavated and the pedestal on which the image stood, of which the foundations were exposed—was restored and the image placed on it.

At Polonnaruwa, the work of conserving the Lotus Pond and the pointing of brickwork in the ruins near Niśśaṁka Malla's Audience Hall has been completed. The work at the Eastern porch of the quadrangle is nearing completion while the conservation of the interesting ruin, possibly to be identified as the Audience Hall of Parākramabāhu I, by the side of the palace, has been taken in hand. The foundations of the shrine which enclosed the colossal statues at Galvihāra have been exposed and the brickwork pointed.

THE SINHALESE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY.

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

The Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary.

1. During this year 8 books were indexed, which, added to the figures given in my previous Report, brings up the total to 591. The work of collecting material for the Dictionary from literary sources may now be considered as practically complete.

2. During this year the work of transferring words collected from books and common speech to cards for the purpose of editorial treatment was continued. The number of entries so transfered for the year was 239,183, which, added to the previous total, brings up the number to 526,390. The total number of cards arranged in alphabetical order up to December 31, 1930, is 363,806. During the last quarter of the year it was found necessary to pick up all the cards dealing with words under *A* from the materials yet unsorted in order to expedite the editorial treatment of those words. The cards so collected and arranged in order amount to 9,885.

3. The Editors have so far dealt with 6,022 entries.

4. The second part of the Saddharma-Ratnāvaliya was issued early this year, and the second part of the Dhampiyā-Aṭuva-Gāṭapadaya now going through the press will, it is hoped, be ready for publication early in 1931.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 3,172·04 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 30,131·36 and expenditure was Rs. 30,335·03.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 2,172·84 and Rs. 2,059·15 to the credit of the Society, are also annexed.

Your Council have pleasure in placing on record their appreciation of Mr. Herbert Tarrant's goodwill to the Society in having once again consented to act as its Honorary Auditor, and of the assistance which it has continued to receive from its late clerk Mr. Donald Jayaratna.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) for the Year 1930.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1929 ..			3,375	71
Govt. Grant (Sinhalese Dictionary) ..	26,250	00		
Do R.A.S., C.B.	500	00		
Entrance Fee	147	00		
Sale of Publications	76	59		
Life membership contributions ..	207	50		
			27,181	09
Sundries :—				
Miscellaneous	16	00		
Bank Int. and Commission ..	25	29		
Do Fixed Deposit	36	23		
			77	52
Annual Subscription, 1932	9	25		
1931	107	25		
1930	1,863	75		
1929	493	50		
1928	262	50		
1927-25 ..	136	50		
			2,872	75
		Rs.	33,507	07

PARTICULARS			Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Charges			2,123	60		
Salaries			1,062	00		
Honorarium to Secretary			600	00		
Chairman, S.D.N.C.			26,250	00		
					30,035	60
Sundries :—						
Postage			139	07		
Petty Cash			159	51		
Bank Charges				85		
					299	43
Balance :—						
R.A.S.,C.B. Current a/c in I.B.I.		1,841·84				
Do Library Fund		136·42				
			1,978	26		
R.A.S., C.B. Fixed Deposit			1,071	23		
Postage (since deposited)	Rs.	84·34				
Petty Cash (since deposited)	,,	38·21	122	55		
					3,172	04
				Rs.	33,507	07

Audited and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
10th February, 1931.

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

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
of the Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1930.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
ance :—				
ixed Deposit in the I.B.I. ..	1,248	00		
urrent a/c do	767	47		
nterest on the Fixed Deposit ..	43	68	2,059	15
		Rs.	2,059	15

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance :—				
Fixed Deposit in the I.B.I... ..	1,291	68		
Current A/c do	767	47	2,059	15
		Rs.	2,059	15

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
10th February, 1931.

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

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT
of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1930.

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
lance			806	55
Sales	2,022	00		
nk Interest	7	11	2,029	11
		Rs.	2,835	66

PARTICULARS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	Amount Rs.	Cts.
N. J. Cooray & Sons			654	00
Sundries			8	82
Balance in Bank	2,170	66		
Cash in hand	2	18	2,172	84
		Rs.	2,835	66

Examined and found correct :
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
10th February, 1931.

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

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 17, 1930.

Present :

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

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

Mr. J. W. de Alwis
,, W. E. Bastian
The Hon. Mr. C. E. V. S. Corea
Rev. H. V. I. S. Corea
Mr. J. C. De
,, J. S. A. Fernando
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Dr. F. A. Hayley, D.C.L.
Mr. L. A. Hayter
,, E. W. Kannangara, C.C.S.
,, H. L. de Mel
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. H. Sri Nissanka
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S., Mudaliyar
,, R. Sabanayagam
Rev. R. Siddhartha Thero
Mr. B. L. S. Silva
,, C. Wickramaratne

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

Visitors :—10 ladies and 14 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on Saturday, the 2nd November, 1929, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Paul Peiris proposed a vote of condolence on the death of Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. He said : " We have lost one of our earliest and most valued members. For forty-one years the interest which Mr. R. G. Anthonisz took in this Society never diminished. His advice in your Council was always helpful and for a term of years he was your Vice-President. His wide knowledge of the Dutch language resulted in important contributions, and not only to the Society's journal. The translations issued under his supervision from the Archives, of which he was in charge, are in the front rank of our sources of historical information. A scholar's scrupulousness perhaps tended to reduce the output. No man knew more about the community to which he belonged. In that community he took a pride which was inspiriting and intense. As intense perhaps was his personal modesty it was only those to whom his shy spirit revealed itself, who could fully appreciate its sweetness. I move that we do place on record an expression of our deep regret at the loss this Society has sustained by the death of Richard Gerald Anthonisz. "

His Excellency : You have heard the motion and I am sure you all desire to associate yourselves with it and with the appropriate terms in which it has been proposed. I take it by rising from your seats, you signify your acceptance of the motion and desire it to be recorded in the Minutes.

The vote was carried in silence all present standing.

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. Edmund Reimers, who read the following paper entitled " Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames."

SOME SINHALESE NAMES AND SURNAMES

BY

E. REIMERS

Before coming to my paper, I should like to state at the beginning that it touches only the fringe of a large and complicated subject, large, through the wealth of material available for its study in the Archives, and complicated, through the tangled mass of evidence of conflicting tastes and interests. Added to this there are the early results of the feudal settlement of the country, of new groupings after each succeeding wave of conquest from the home of feudalism, India, and later Portuguese, Dutch, and English influences. My chief sources are the Dutch Land and Hoofd Thombos of the villages in the maritime districts of the Island, companion volumes which describe each village holding under the service tenures system and give the names of the principal tenant and his family, and the so-called "School Thombos," or Parish Registers, of the villages under Dutch control, a record of marriages, school attendance, and, chiefly, baptisms into the Dutch Reformed Church which the Dutch were so anxious to promote, as being in their opinion the leavening influence for all good government. The Land and Hoofd Thombos which were generally compiled from particulars gathered at the spot, *i.e.*, at each particular holding, by native commissioners regularly appointed for the purpose, usually give the clan and "service" names of the tenants and their families, and, as a rule, the home or village names of the individuals, whilst the School Thombos contain the registered baptismal names of the parents and their families. We, therefore, very often have two different sets of names of the same people, one of them undisturbed by foreign influences or including local adaptations of

foreign names, and the other consisting of wholesale adoptions from the Portuguese and the Dutch, but retaining in common use till after the abolition of the service tenures in early British times the cognomen, or service-name, which was derived from the holding which the tenant possessed for his service and which it was therefore to his interest to maintain. The cognomen which went with the ancient tenures, which both the Portuguese and the Dutch after them considered it impolitic to disturb, is our only link with the remote past, but there are also certain communities which through some obscure cause, probably their conservatism or social isolation, have survived the clouding influences of foreign intercourse on their national life. I refer to the depressed and degraded communities of former regimes, from whose names it may be possible to recover some of the lost elements which go together to make the Sinhalese nation of today. Impressive as these witnesses of history are, it would be idle to speculate too far on the possibilities which they suggest in the absence of confirmatory detail. Their study, however, as a branch of the larger subject and with particular reference to the ancient institutions of the Sinhalese of which they are a part, would not only contribute to our knowledge of names in general and early conditions in Ceylon but would also throw much light on the prejudice and ignorance which are the bane today of our communal existence.

Local names in Ceylon as elsewhere in the world are as a rule purely descriptive. They, for the most part, indicate some local feature or commemorate some historical event. They also sometimes go back to earlier happenings which are not recorded historically but have their roots in tradition and poetical fancy. Their value for us then is to help us to reconcile seemingly conflicting data, but chiefly to suggest, as they do in Ceylon, a partnership in an older scheme of civilisation, fragments of which like the fly in the amber have been preserved to us in old Sinhalese names in the

Portuguese and Dutch records. It is chiefly to the soil that we must go for these data, the possession of which by succeeding races, from the legendary invasion of the Ramayana to the English, has left their stamp on local nomenclature by introducing new names or modifying those already in use according to their own particular fancy.

The history of personal names although having its beginnings in similar conditions is more complex. Added to the concept of possession from which the earliest names sprung, we must take into consideration the variable factor of human interest, the various communal groupings according to the ancient revenue and industrial departments of the Island, and, lastly, the service tenures on which all social conditions were based, from the Sovereign from whom all tenures depended to the humblest serf cultivating the land of his lord. In an earlier paper read before this Society, I attempted to sketch the constitution of a village in early Sinhalese times in so far as it provided for the payment of dues and the rendering of services, and regulated the mutual relations of overlord and mesne-lord and mesne-lord and tenant. These village dues and servitudes undoubtedly had their origin in a very early village system, when, it may be supposed, the people were divided into tribes and clans whose communal interests centred around a head or representative who was responsible to the Sovereign or great man of the district for the payment of the dues and the rendering of the services to which his clan as represented by himself was liable. Later, with the general centralisation of authority and the economic development of the village, these clans were again split up into families, or houses, or gé's, each of which performed its particular service and possessed the holding attached to that service, but all nicely graded in social precedence according to the accepted dignity of the service, from the proud Nanayakaraya, or noble, to the humblest "cooly,"

or serf, of the village. However, people still thought communally or in terms of the clan or family, and the patronymic as such did not exist, or only existed within the family when a branch of the family sprung from a brother or other relation of the chief tenant performed the service for which the family derived its holding, by rotation —" kara-māru, " in Sinhalese, or the shifting of the burden from one shoulder to the other—or when some member had acquired a separate interest in the family holding. These distinctions too arose directly from possession and carry us back to the *ultima fons et origo* of names in general. As we shall see later, it was directly due to European influences, chiefly to the Portuguese, that the patronymic was used separately, to the exclusion of the wāsagama or gē-name. A Sinhalese usually had two or three names, viz., the name given to him at the weaning ceremony (bat-kawāpu nama), corresponding to our Christian-name the warige-nama, wāsagama, or gē-nama, corresponding to our surname but used and written before the " Christian-name," and the Paṭabändi-nama, or honour-giving name. The bat-kawāpu nama, generally implying some natural quality, was given, as the term implies, when the child was fed with rice for the first time. The warige-nama was the clan name, either of local origin or indicating the service and, therefore, the social rank of the possessor, and the paṭabendi-nama, very often an accretion of honour-giving names as the family advanced in official status, was the name symbolical of worth or courage conferred on elevation to office. It also happened sometimes that the wasagama gave way to the paṭabendi-nama when the title conferred raised the possessor to a higher social status than that originally possessed by him. The distinction between the wasagama and the paṭabendi-nama was that the former was attached to a tenure in a particular village representing an essential village service or rank in the village dating sometimes from time immemorial and held hereditarily by

the family or clan of the tenant, and that the latter was of purely personal origin, the tendency however being to retain all the honour-giving names in the family as exemplified by the names of inordinate length which we commonly come across. The paṭabändi-nama, literally, a "frontlet-tied" name, was, according to a Dutch authority, engraved on a thin sheet of gold or other suitable material such as silver, copper, or ola, and secured round the head of the recipient by the Prime Minister or Sovereign himself. These names were taxed, and probably contributed an important item to the Island's revenue. Familiar examples are Jayasinha (victorious lion), Wijaratna (victorious gem), Jayawardhana (victory increaser), Jayasuriya (sun of victory), Abhayakoon (fearless chief), Wijesinha (conquering lion), Baṇḍāranāyaka (a courtier or a great treasurer of the kingdom), Ekanāyaka (sole or unrivalled chief), Manampery (great-hearted man), Ammerakoon (immortal chief or king of the people), Ilangakoon (king of the Island), Dissānāyaka (lord of a fourth of the world), Ameresekara (highest of the immortals), Jayalat (a conqueror), Jayatilaka (victorious head ornament), Seneviratna (gem of commanders), Rājapaksa (loyal to the King), Wijawickrama (one who through bravery brings about victory), Jayasekara (highest of the victorious), Abhayasekara (bravest of the brave), Navaratna (nine gems), Abayaratna (gem of the fearless), Tennakoon (Chief of the South), Wijakoon (victorious chief), and Wijawardana (increaser of victories). The substitution of the paṭabendi-nama for the wāsagama is the earliest example of the patronymic as distinguished from the Portuguese heritage of today, the Silvas, Fernandos, Pereras, Soysas, &c., with which we are so familiar. The village fabric generally was the iron frame which held together its component elements represented by the services necessary for its economy and general well-being, which have survived as wāsagama names of persons to the present day. We are in a great

measure indebted to the Dutch, whose 156 years' regime succeeded the Portuguese regime of 140 years (incidentally the English have been here for only 133 years), for the particulars of the ancient village constitution contained in the Thombos already referred to. The Dutch incorporated all the ancient village tenures in their registers and adapted the village services to their own advantage where that was possible, all other "useless" tenures being also retained according to a system of oppressive re-grant, the old free allotments being taxed for that purpose. We may, therefore, turn to any volume of the Thombo to recover all the elements of the village community, even dead and gone tenures being represented by the escheated holdings of the original possessors. Turning to a village of the Salpitty Korle, we find the holdings of Wahalatantrige, alias Colombetantrige, described in an early School Thombo as Gamaetige or "Dono d'Aldea" (lord of the village, classed as a Nanayakaraya or nobleman), Patirage or house of the Accountant, Pelenda Patirage or house of the Accountant who had settled there from the village of Pelenda, Gamage or house of the village factotum—a junior headman whose chief duty it was to supply cooked provisions to officials staying at the village on the King's business,—Mannannage or house of the Grain-measurer, Hewage or house of the soldier, Vitarnege or house of the Inquirer, Achcharige or house of the blacksmith, Radage or house of the washerman, Panikkige or house of the barber, &c., &c. Another village, probably a Devalagama or temple village under the Sinhalese Kings, includes the Basnayaka or lay chief of the Devala, Nanayakarayas, Gamaralas, Kanganies or subordinate military officers, Goigama and Durawa lascarins, or soldiers, of the Basnayaka, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Messengers, Potters, Dancers, a Singing-master, Washermen, Barbers, &c., &c. Some of the escheated or lapsed holdings are described as Nanayakaraya's malapalu, showing that a family of Nanayakaraya class in that village had

died out, dancers' malapalu, drummers' malapalu, and coolies' malapalu. The Dutch system of adapting the tenures to their own advantage is illustrated from an original document. "Mayoraals or Gamaralas must provide the necessary maintenance for officers on inspection duty, &c.; lascarins, or Sinhalese soldiers, are employed principally to carry letters from one post to another; Naindes are employed to transport cinnamon and timber; Dutepaimini Weddekarayas are liable to be pressed for services such as carrying goods, clearing roads, &c.; 'Fishers'—the literal translation of the earlier Portuguese 'Pescadores'—must supply fish daily for the Governor's table and help to navigate ships, make triumphal arches, recover lost anchors, &c.; Chandos, or toddy-drawers, must tap the Company's trees for toddy; Badallu, or Silversmiths, must make the gold and silver articles the Company requires; Achchari or blacksmiths, as above; Waduwo or carpenters, ditto; Chalias include cinnamon-peelers, lascarins and soldiers who accompany them, Ilandarias or messengers, and coolies; Badahellayo, or potters, must make the necessary earthenware for the resthouses and supply tiles; Anbettayo, or barbers, must shave the persons who are on duty in the country on the Company's behalf; Radauw, or washermen, must wash the Company's calicoes; Hoenno, or lime-burners, must supply lime to the Company; Porrowakarayo, or woodmen, must cut down the necessary timber for the Company; Hangeranno, or Jagereros (Jaggery caste) must make palm-sugar for the Company, &c.; Berawayo, or Drummers, are bound to attend the Elephant Hunt; Kinneru, or fine-mat makers must supply the necessary mats for the use of the Government, &c., &c.," Reference is also made to foreigners such as Chettys from Coromandel and Madura; Moors from the coast of Madura but mostly from Kailpatnam; Parawas from the coast of Madura; Shoemakers composed mostly of Moors and Malabars, or Tamils; and "Estrangeros," the floating population from

Coromandel, Malabar, &c., with no fixed domicile. These extracts indubitably show that the Dutch followed the line of least resistance and employed the classes and families of the ancient revenue departments and industries in the same or similar services. They thereby preserved the ancient village framework, and, most important for the purposes of my paper, ensured the continuity of the ancient clan and service names of the people who contributed their services and paid their dues. In the meantime nearly three centuries of foreign domination had had their influence on the names of the inhabitants of the maritime districts, due to the missionary zeal of the Portuguese and the more persistent if less enthusiastic efforts of the Dutch. The profession of the faith of the Dutch Reformed Church and a regular attendance at Church or the village "Palliya" or school were a qualification for office, and, judging by the entries in the Parish Registers, a "heathen" as he was styled by the Dutch was a rare exception. Portuguese and Dutch Christian and surnames, Portuguese chiefly, took the place of the old Sinhalese names ; the wāsagama was less regularly used ; and gradually the more westernised population drifted to their present hybrid denominations. The following examples taken from the Thombos illustrate this tendency and at the same time give an indication of the selective genius of the people—the variable human factor—both in wholesale adoptions and variations peculiar to the original clan or community. These variations and adoptions naturally vary directly with the "nearness" of the individuals concerned to the foreigner, who for the time being had acquired a dominating influence in his affairs ; but what strikes one more than the fact is the manner of the adoption, all pointing very clearly to early radical differences in dialect and temperament. We also find evidences of the imperium in imperio-parallel institutions, parallel ranks of distinct communities grafted on the parent tree when or how it is now impossible to determine. Begin-

ning with the so-called "low-castes"—the aborigines, it may be presumed, or the servile and degraded classes of the Island—the names have a distinctive classical flavour in balance, timbre, and general aesthetic value. The family is that of Sindiagé Kalloe, the Black One of the House of Sindia, Paduwa, or Serf of the Royal Villages or Gabaḍāgam. The names of his children and relations are as follows, viz., males: Aderaya (loving one), Tikira (little one), Nandoea (pleasing one), Botoea, Kiria (milky one), Kekkula (bud), Wattoewa (wealth), Sobena (beautiful one), Happua (Champak flower), Haukina, Malwarusa (shower of flowers), Sielinda (smooth one), Horatalla (pet), Rakina, Dinesa (an adaptation from the Dutch Denys), Sedera, Lattoea (God's gift), Setuwa (lucky one), Soebadara (auspicious one), Pina (meritorious one), Yasodera (bearing fame); and females: Inderie (goddess), Amadoe or Amandoe (sweet one) Kirimalie (milky flower), Sillie (little round one), Nilloe ("blue" or pretty one)—"blue" was used to describe the lotus or was applied to "hair of raven blackness"—Dinnoe (winsome one), Kekkoelie (bud), Sirimalie (little flower), Nilmalie (blue flower), Ilendoe, Ehelemalie (flower of the Ehele tree), and Kitenoe (adaptation of the Portuguese or Dutch Christina). The masculine and feminine terminations are very similar to those of the names of a family of the Nekettige or astrologer class, viz., that of Nekettige Ederia (adaptation of Dutch Adriaan) classed in the Thombo as a Drummer. The males are Nipoena (clever one), Amita (sweet one) Anthona (adaptation from Portuguese Anthonão), and Siria; the females are Sitti (little one), Doeminga, Loezia, and Minga (from the Portuguese—note the abbreviated Minga for Dominga), Goeninderie (virtuous goddess), Kalloe (black one), Punchi (little one), Dinezie (Dutch), Manikoe (? Portuguese), and Poerebelie. The following names are those of a family of one of the Demelagattera villages in the Pasdun Korle, villages, as the name implies, of captive Tamils. The Wasagama is one of the proudest in the

Thombo, viz., Lankeswerege Raphia, or Raphia (Port.) of the house of the King or Lord of Lanka, classed as a Hinnawa or washerman of the Salagama (Cinnamon-peeler) caste. The names of his family are as follows, viz., males : Obelikoewa (doubtful, but of probable Port. origin), Baba (little one), Thomena, Thomenikoewa (Dominic), Simentoewa (Port., Simao), Ederia (Dutch, Adriaan), Oepekarea (Help), Aberan (Abram), Salman (Salomon), Doema, Goenia, Abantje (little Aban or Abram—note the Dutch diminutive—je) ; females : Donie (Port., Dona), Adriana (Dutch), Antikie (Dutch, Hendrika), Babie, Mado, Makie (Dutch, Maka), and Lentje (Dutch diminutive), Babika, Babianie, Pinaderie, Soerenganie, and Pemaderie. The names of the Salagama caste show a marked European influence, due to the importance of the cinnamon industry in Portuguese and Dutch times and the nearness of that community to their European masters. Their wāsagamas are often compounded with Muni, sage, supposed to indicate their Brahmin origin, and Handi, or joiner, a term probably derived from the joining of the prepared bark into quills for packing into bales. The following are typical names of a family of this caste, viz., that of Nammuni Constantino Fernando. The males are Jacob, Siman, Dinees, Soeseuw (Joseph), Pedro, Salman, Mighiel, Dondina, Pieter, Kaluwa, Cornelis, Rabel, Seprintje, Francisco and Johannes. The females are Johanna, Susanna, Disianna, Christina, Anna, Dominga, Adrianna and Catrina. In contradistinction to these almost wholesale adoptions and adaptations are the names of the more conservative families which although they adopted European names at baptism retained their Sinhalese names in their homes and villages, the greater or lesser remoteness of the village from the Portuguese and Dutch chief stations such as Colombo and Galle being a contributory factor in the practice. The names of a Nanayakaraya, or noble, family in a fairly remote village are as follows, viz., males : Don Siman (note the " Don "),

Louis, Bartholomeus, Jannies (Johannes), Lokoe Appuhamy, Manan Appu, Adan Appu, Doeman Appu, Hattan Naide, Malhamy ; females : Appolonia, Poentje Ettena, Donna Gimarahamy, Batjohamy, Janohamy, Lokoe Ettena, Joana, Kalloe Ettena and Ran Ettena. Dutch influence is, however, pronounced in a family of similar status domiciled near Colombo, the most prominent member of which, a Maha Mudaliyar in Dutch times, styled himself Philip Philipszoon conforming to the Dutch practice although his full name, Wāsagama and Paṭabendi-nama included, was Lienege Philip Philipszoon Wijekoon Panditeratne, translated, Philip, the son of Philip, Victorious Prince, Gem of Learning, of the house of the Scribe (or Mohottiar, in this case). The names of other members of his family are Hendrik, Cornelis, Abram, Leonora, Donna Maria, Constantina, Jebel, and Ursula. The Dutch influence is even more marked in the names of the family of Louis Pieris, Proponent of the Dutch Reformed Church, whose children were named Wilhelmus, Cornelius, Geertruyda, and Jacoba. Earlier European adoptions are exemplified in the names of Don Anatto Fairfax Abesinhe, Don Anatto being Portuguese, Fairfax, probably after the famous Parliamentary General given to the original possessor by a Dutch admirer, and Abesinhe, the honour or Patabendi name given to the recipient on his attaining the rank of Mudaliyar ; Don Diogo de Astro Wijekoon, Dona Louisa de Madera Basta ; Don Constantino de Ortha Wickremeratne Amerakoon ; Don Francisco de Saa Abewickreme, named, one should like to imagine after the famous Portuguese General Constantine de Sa, Carel de Costa Basnaike Appuhamy, and the ridiculous Bastiaan Juriaan Jansz Wijepale. In marked contrast to the names read earlier, the Sinhalese names of the Goigama caste are not inflected for gender as the names of the Paduwo and others. There is also a certain amount of monotony in the familiar combinations of Loku, Medduma, and Punchi or Kuda (Major, Minor and Minimus) Appoe (gentleman), for males, and

Ettena (lady) for females, both varied by Kallu (black), Ran (golden or fair), &c. Lastly, referring to the Thombo of Ambalangoda, I should like to draw attention to the evidence of parallel institutions and parallel ranks to those of the Goigama caste referred to earlier. The Chiefs of the Karawa were the Maha Vidana (or great Vidana or Chief) corresponding to the Korala (the civil chief of a district) or the military rank of Mudaliyar ; Pattangatin, corresponding to Muhandiram, an officer wearing a sword and superior in rank to a Pattabenda who only carried a rod of office, changed by the Dutch to a cane with the V.O.C. stamped upon it. There are also several other ranks and wasagamas among the Karawo indicating their military and seafaring occupations, not merely as "fishers," such as Marakkala-ge, Hannedige, Malimige, and civil occupations such as Vidanelage, Lienege, &c., &c. The following examples are all taken from the Thombo of Ambalangoda.

Wenaidegey Siman, Nambie, *i.e.*, Siman of the house of Naide of the Adze, Nambie (a term applied in India to the offspring of a Brahmin and a Kshattriya) ; Nilawarigey Kaloea, Berawaya, *i.e.*, Kaloea of the Clan of Nila of the Drummer Caste (note the use of "Warigey" instead of "ge") ; Kirawerelege Siman described as "Werelea" or Potter; Liennea-atjigey Daniel de Zilve, Vidana, Nanayakaraya, a descendant of Hitawakka (or Sitawaka) Tantilla, the holder of a Sannas granted by Mayadunna (Note.—Kalloemarakkalage Migel, Nanayakaraya, referred to above is also a descendant of the same person) ; Polwattege (*alias*) Setoehewage Dinees, *i.e.*, Dinees (Denys) of the Coconut-garden (*alias*) of the house of Setoe the Soldier ; Matthys Perera, Schoolmaster ; his brother's son Gurunanselage Michiel Perera, Nanayakaraya; and *his* brother Samuel Perera, Schoolmaster (Note.—The "Schoolmaster" obviously runs in the family, the wasagama being dropped from the names of those who were schoolmasters *de facto* and retained in the other case); Siekoewerelegey Donasia, Potter, *i.e.*, Donasia of the house of Siekoe the

Potter, other males of the family being Babea, Andriesa, Donappoea, Janisa, Soma, Adriansa, Joewema, Bastijema, Dania, Issema and Salantjea, and females, Adriana, Annona, Joeanna, Babie, Kiriansa, Babiana and Gebie; Pettapedige Siddia Halloe Aponsoe, *i.e.*, Siddia Halloe Aponsoe of the house of Petta the Washerman, Appoelagey Poentjenaatjera, *i.e.*, Poentjenaatjera (female) of the house of the Gentleman; Mannanahewage Joean, *i.e.*, Joean of the House of the Soldier of the house of the Grain-measurer (Note.—The double wasagama is fairly common. In this case the founder of the family was Mannannage Matthys); and Witanegey Philippoe, described as belonging to the Gamarala's class (village headman) and a descendant of Rajapakse Tantilla who was also granted a Sannas by Mayadunne Naide Jakdehigey Siman, lascarin, *i.e.*, Siman of the house of Naide the Devildancer, lascarin or native soldier; Naide Witanege Adriaan, Pannewidacarea, *i.e.*, Adriaan of the house of Naide the Vidana, Messenger; Alegia Wadugey Adriaan, *i.e.*, Adriaan of the house of Alegia the Carpenter; Kerembege Juliana, Oliya, widow of Wallembege Siman, *i.e.*, Juliana of the village Kerembe, Dancer, widow of Siman of the village Wallembe; Beregammege Juan, lascarin, *i.e.*, Juan of the village Beregamma, lascarin; Gostinjoe Waddoegey Abram, *i.e.*, Abram of the house of Augustino, Carpenter; Santiaboegey Mendrikoe, Naide, lascarin, *i.e.*, Mendriku of the house of St. Iago (the Portuguese baptismal name of his ancestor), Naide (here applied to an illegitimate son), lascarin; Nallaradagey Juanisa, *i.e.*, Juanisa the son of Nallan the Washerman (note the Tamil-Sinhalese compound); Pattebendigey Michiel de Waas, *i.e.*, Michiel de Waas of the house of the Pattebenda (officer of inferior rank to a Muhandiram); Kalloemarakkalagey Juan, *i.e.*, Juan of the house of Kallo the Sailor; Waddoemeestrigey Andries, Carpenter, *i.e.*, Andries of the house of the Master-Carpenter, Carpenter; Lokoegey Salman, Nanayakaraya, *i.e.*, Salman (Salomon) of the Great House, Nanayakaraya (of the

gentry or "official" class); Magnus Perera Weeresekera Gunaratna, Muhandiram (note the Christian—, Sur—, and Paṭabändi-names) and his brother Philippoe de Zilve Weeresekere, Kangany of the Guard, (both nephews of Lokoegey Salman) and their brother-in-law Kodipilli Patabendige Hendrik, *i.e.*, Hendrik of the house of the Patabenda the Flagbearer; the latter's nephew or sister's son Arnout de Zilve; Goeroegey Maria, *i.e.*, Maria of the house of the Teacher (here, Pallia Gurunanse or Parish Registrar); Lienneaatjige Daniel, *i.e.*, Daniel of the house of the Writer Arachchi; Igelle Lokuhewage Maaka, *i.e.*, Maaka of the house of the Senior Soldier of the village Igella; Siman de Silva, Pattangatyn, grandson of Kirakankanige Sikoe, and Kirakankanige (*alias*) Aroemakankanige Thomis, Nanayakaraya; Kodikaregey Roebel, *i.e.*, Roebel of the house of the standard-bearer; Kalloe-malimige Philippoe, *i.e.*, Philippoe of the house of Kalloe the Pilot; Pattiregey Paauloe, Nanayakaraya, Schoolmaster, *i.e.*, Paauloe of the house of the Accountant, Nanayakaraya, Schoolmaster or Village Registrar; Kalloemarakkalage Migel, Nanayakaraya, *i.e.*, Migel of the house of Kalloe the Sailor, Nanayakaraya. (Note.—The latter, although bearing the same Wasagma as the family referred to above, is distinguished by the rank of Nanayakkaraya.

Note.—Except where specially stated, all the above names belong to the Karawa Caste including the "Nambi." The Dutch spelling has been retained.

Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, while thanking Mr. Reimers for his excellent contribution which might have been more exhaustive, said that he disagreed with him in regard to the derivation and meaning of "Yasodara," which he asserted was a female name and could not be applied to a low caste man. It was derived from the Sanskrit. There were Greek names too like Philip, so that not only Dutch and Portuguese had influence on names of the Sinhalese; other races as well. He also drew attention to the similarity of names of Sinhalese like Abaran, Davith Singho, and Aron Singho, which bore a resemblance to Islamic names such as Ibrahim, Davood and Haroun-al-Raschid of the Arabian Nights. As regards finding names like Obeyesekere in Bengal, he was of opinion that they were used not as surnames but as the English Harry, Dick, John, etc. It was only in the country where the Cochins come from that they had ge-names the same as in Ceylon.

The Rev. Rambukwelle Siddhartha said that the name "Bandaranayaka" did not mean "the chief of the treasury." It meant, he said, "the leader or the chief of princes." "Bandara" was a word derived from the Tamil word "Pandaram" which was used by the Tamils as a general name or title for the Brahmin priests. The term, however, was borrowed by the Sinhalese and applied to the Sinhalese princes as an honorific title. Afterwards this became a part of the names of the princes, and so, we have in our history such names as "Rayigam Bandara," "Karalliyadde Bandara," and so on. Even our great king, Rajasinha, the First, before he was crowned king, bore the name "Tikiri Bandara."

As regards the name "Yasodara" with the long 'a' at the end, he said, that there should not be any surprise that it was a name of a male person. All those who know Sinhalese know that the names of the so-called low caste men mostly end in the long 'a.' For example, the word "Sundara" in such names as "Sundara Bandara" in the case of a high caste man, would be used as "Sundaraa" as a name of a low caste man. Similarly the names Karolis, James, and such others are used as "Karolisaa," "Jamisaa," and so on as the names of the low caste men. The name "Yasodaraa" in this place had, he said, nothing to do with the female name "Yasodhara" which is found in the Pali literature.

Dr. Paul Pieris: Mr. Reimers has given us an address which is fascinating but also tantalising. He has only touched on the fringe of a vast subject which will interest everyone in the country. He failed to mention what Knox had to say—that personal names were not used among high-class Sinhalese, for to give such names, they felt, would be to treat them like dogs. And even today among that class the members of a family are known by honorifics qualified by a term indicating their chronological sequence. He has also omitted reference to the Portuguese Thombos and the Sinhalese Lekam Mitiya, both of which constitute a veritable treasure-house of information on the subject. The speaker was glad that Mr. Reimers had correctly interpreted the term "Nanayakkara" which some local scholars have even attempted to connect with the Nagas of old. He was in error, however, in his explanation of Patangatyn; that had nothing to do with the wearing of a sword, but was the Portuguese form of the Tamil "Pattankatti" which is the same as the Sinhalese "Patabenda." Incidentally, the speaker had sent to the Colombo Museum one of the few genuine specimens of a gold *Pata Thahaduwa*. This was conferred about 1750 on a refugee from the Siyanā Korle and belongs to the Dodampe family of Sabaragamuva. The individual Portuguese names which Mr. Reimers had mentioned were of much interest, particularly that of Madera de Basto, a family now extinct and which was undoubtedly a branch of the Royal family of Jayawardhana Kotte. He might have commented at greater length on the singular paucity of Dutch names among the Sinhalese, though he did mention the best known, that of the Philipsz's. That was a clear Dutch creation, for the Maha Mudaliyar he mentioned, was the son of Don Philip, who was at the head of the important educational establishment at Kotte about 1704. The tradition of scholarship continued in that family and the Maha Mudaliyar's son, who was educated in Holland, was probably the most prominent Sinhalese scholar of Dutch times. The speaker was disappointed that the Mudaliyar had not drawn attention to the Dravidian origin of some of the names, as that of the noble family of Tennekoon, which beyond all doubt was Dravidian. As to Mr. De's inquiry regarding Indian names, the speaker suggested

that the *Mudali* names of Kanahara and Kangara, well-known among the Sinhalese, are equally well-known in North and South India respectively.

Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera said that Mr. Reimers has taken them along the pleasant byways of historical research and given them the origin and history of names culled from ancient documents, fragrant with perfumes of the past. He would associate himself with Dr. Peiris in what he said about their Vice-President, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. They owed a deep debt of gratitude to him for gathering up and preserving what was left of the Dutch Records, to Mr. Reimers for having in a short time brought before the public the importance and value of the treasures in his charge, and to the Ceylon Government for getting down an expert, Dr. Goede Molsbergen, to report upon them with a view to their publication and preservation. He hoped his (Dr. Molsbergen's) recommendations will shortly be carried out. Dr. Molsbergen has described the Ceylon Dutch Thombos (Head and Land Registers) as being unique and only to be compared to the Doomsday Book. They shed a flood of light on the economic and social condition of Ceylon in the 17th and 18th centuries and a perusal of the documents in the Archives would enable them to solve many present day problems which an insufficient knowledge of the past had baffled them. He would appeal to His Excellency the Governor who assisted them to get down the expert that he will take action to have the recommendations of Dr. Molsbergen carried into effect. He emphasised the urgent need of a Historical Manuscripts Commission like the one they had in England. A Historical Manuscripts Commission is doing good work in India. Under the aegis of Government it could undertake before it was too late the preservation of valuable historical records in temple libraries, in private possession, in public departments and in the Government Archives. Mr. Reimers has attempted to crack some of the most difficult of philological nuts and he has tackled his task most successfully.

His Excellency in concluding the proceedings said that the lecturer of the evening must feel gratified by the comments which had been made on his paper. They were as complimentary as they were deserving. The subject was really a fascinating one. He was very glad that one member of the Legislature had shown such interest in the preservation of the Island's record. He associated himself entirely with him and said that there was no doubt that many of those documents would be indecipherable if they waited much longer. Immediate steps should be taken to rescue them and have them preserved and published for the benefit of scholars in the world.

He agreed to the proposal to form a Historical Manuscripts Commission similar to the one in England which had done so much to add to the knowledge of the past.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 21, 1930.

Present :

Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-President.

Mr. A. M. Abayagunaratna
,, K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram
,, V. E. Charavanamuttu
,, J. C. De
,, J. W. de Alwis
,, F. B. de Mel
,, Leslie de Saram
,, R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, A. E. Jayasinha
,, S. J. C. Kadirgamar
,, D. S. B. Kuruppu
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. W. M'K. Martin
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. J. E. Perera
,, W. H. Perera
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
,, Edmund Reimers
,, W. A. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar
,, K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S.

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

Visitors : 9 ladies and 20 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on Friday, the 17th day of January, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman, in introducing the lecturer Dr. Victor Goloubew, said :—

Ladies and gentlemen, the subject of the lecture this evening is "The Art of India and Indo-China, with special reference to Ceylon."

I remember, ladies and gentlemen, that twenty years ago at a public dinner I had occasion to make reference to the building of the new Cathedral in Colombo, and I then made an appeal to the Bishop and Archdeacon, who were present. I appealed to them, while they were building that Cathedral, not to bring here some chilly Gothic icicle from the north, but to give us something that had warmth, that had soul, that was more in accord with the glorious sun and the glorious vegetation and the glorious scenery with which God has endowed this country. And for these twenty years we, from our hard, straight-backed chairs, have been watching with interest the growth in the country of that feeling to which I gave expression, till now we see all round us undoubted manifestations that there is a belief in the possibility of an Art of Ceylon. And that we see not in one direction; we see it in painting; we see it in music; we see it in singing; and we even see people who are training us to realise the fact that the word "dancing" has no necessary connection with West Africa.

Into this atmosphere it is that the lecturer today has come; it is our very great good fortune that a man of the position of Dr. Goloubew should be here tonight. As you know, he is a man of particular distinction. He has dealt with the Art of Ajanta, with Elephanta, and with Mahabalipuram, he has been working in Cambodia and in Annam, and today he will tell us of the Art which is to be found in the far east with special reference to the Art which is to be found in our country.

I will ask him now to address you.

Dr. Goloubew, who was received with loud applause, delivered the following lecture:—

THE ART OF INDIA AND INDO-CHINA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CEYLON

BY
VICTOR GOLOUBEW, D. PH.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, In ancient times nearly the whole Peninsula of Indo-China, with the exception perhaps of Tongking, adhered to the culture of India. The eastern part of the Peninsula, actually known as Annam, was then inhabited by a Malayo-Polynesian race, the Chams who, from the commencement of our western era, were in direct relationship with India. The conquest of that country by the Annamites in the fifteenth century brought about the disappearance of the Cham kingdom.

The western part of Indo-China was occupied by the Khmers or Cambodians, a race equally of Austro-Asiatic blood, and not of Sino-Tibetan origin, as some scholars have supposed. The Khmers still exist, and they form a native Buddhist kingdom of about eighteen hundred thousand inhabitants, under French protection.

For the earliest history of the Chams, as well as of their neighbours the Cambodians, we are indebted to the Chinese. The Tsin-Chou, or the history of the Tsin dynasty, contains a lot of information concerning a vast kingdom, Fou-nan by name, situated on the Lower Mekong and the coast of Cochin-China. This kingdom can be identified in part, at least, with the Cambodia of the present day. The Chinese chronicles tell us that this country was conquered at the beginning of the western era by a Brahmin called Kauṇḍinya. In 484 A.D., the king of Fou-nan addressed, through the Buddhist monk Śâkya Nâgasena, a petition to the Emperor of China, in the course of which he gives some most interest-

ing information concerning the religious customs observed in his country. Images of bronze were mentioned, with many heads and many arms, as well as elephants in sandal-wood and stûpas in ivory.

The most ancient inscription found in Indo-China is a Sanskrit text dating as far back as the early third or even the end of the second century. It was discovered in 1885 in a village near Nha-trang, on the coast of Southern Annam, and is known as the Vo-Canh inscription. It deals with a pious foundation instituted by a sovereign who proclaimed himself to be a descendant of a certain king Śrî-Mâra. Numerous other inscriptions have furnished detailed information on the Cham kingdom and its history. The most ancient of these are written in Sanskrit. Later on some of them are in the Cham language. Past the twelfth century, no Sanskrit inscriptions are to be found; and all are written in the indigenous idiom.

The most ancient Cambodian inscriptions actually known date from the beginning of the seventh century. Some of them are in the Khmer language, others in Sanskrit. The epigraphical monuments of Cambodia are, as a general rule, very well composed, and they have a good reputation among Sanskrit scholars. Some of them are considered to be models of calligraphy.

The art of Cambodia as well as the art of Champa have been profoundly influenced by Hindu traditions, but it would be a mistake to consider them as pure Indian ; native tendencies had the effect of giving to those arts a rather national character, and I agree entirely with my friend Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, when he says that "Indian Colonial Art" is not a good definition of the arts of Further India and Indonesia. Of course, those arts had borrowed a lot of formulas from India, but they have also their own life, their own traditions, and they have to be considered in their native development as indigenous.

I have chosen some examples of Cambodian and Cham sculptures, which will, I think, prove that the point of view of Dr. Coomaraswamy is the right one.

The first picture is that of a bronze Buddha discovered in 1911 among the ruins of Dong-Duong in Central Annam.

(Describing the picture): The figure of Buddha is upright, with the right hand lifted in the attitude of argumentation and the left hand occupied in raising the monastic robe. Although discovered in Annamite soil, this bronze does not give the impression of being of Indo-Chinese origin. In a lecture delivered at the India Society in 1922, I suggested that this statue may be of Ceylonese origin. Quite similar standing Buddhas are to be seen at Anuradhapura as well as in the Colombo Museum and especially the folds of the drapery are treated in exactly the same way as those of the sedent Buddha from Badulla. I think we may consider this most beautiful statue as a masterpiece of the fifth or sixth century modelled and chiselled in the monumental style of the marble Amarâvatî Buddhas, perhaps even as a copy in bronze of one of them. I should also say that there is a slight influence of Indo-Hellenistic art in the expressive and almost imperious attitude of the discoursing Buddha. If really this Buddha is a replica or copy of the Amarâvatî marble statues, the Indo-Hellenistic influence may be easily explained.

The fact that a work of Ceylonese origin was found in Indo-China is not in itself surprising. There was constant communication between Ceylon and the far east at the beginning of the middle ages and sometimes objects of art, particularly Buddhist images, were sent to China by pious Sinhalese kings.

(Indicating another picture): Let us now have a look at a stone image of Hari-Hara (Śiva) a work of the seventh century, one of the most perfect specimens of Cambodian art. It represents what I would call the transitional style

in which the elements borrowed from Indian plastic art are still predominant. Note specially the pose of the statue. It reminds us slightly of the pose known in Indian sculpture as the "three flexions" (tribhaṅga) although the god seems to be represented in a quite straight and hieratic attitude. Recently some other Khmer images of the same period and representing the same god have been found in Siam, and the attitude of those is the pure Indian "tribhaṅga." In the later Cambodian sculptures, and that is a most important point, there is a tendency to stiffen the pose of the divine images and to provide them with heavy, clumsy legs. The ancient Cambodian images of the first period are more elegant and better proportioned than the later ones. Here is a most perfect example. You may pay some attention to the peculiar cylindrical head-dress, not unknown to Indian art scholars. Similar head-dresses occur in the Andhra, Gupta and Pallava art, and are most probably of Iranian origin. The expression of the face is solemn, the eyes are wide open, the mouth is closed, and the lips are without a smile. The proportions of the body give an impression of refinement and elegance.

(Referring to another slide): I now draw attention to a figure of the Buddha in meditation, from the Museum of Phnom-Penh. It was found near the Bayon, one of the most magnificent temples of Angkor-Thom. The Buddha is seated on the coils of a Nâga. This arrangement is not rare in Cambodian art but there is no doubt about its Indian origin. In the Madura Museum there is a sitting Jain saint who may be considered as a plastic ancestor of all Buddhas overshadowed by the cobra hood. Another particular feature of this statue is the nakedness of the thorax. Cambodian Buddhas of the classic period are often represented without the upper dress. But we ignore the origin of this tradition which may be based on a local heretical interpretation of the Buddhist monastic rules. The plastic perfection of this sculpture strikes the eye imme-

diately. The impression is one of harmony and calm, and creates an atmosphere of complete serenity.

The smile is a characteristic feature of the classic Cambodian art (indicating the next picture), the art of the flourishing Angkor period. In French we often call it, "le sourire d'Angkor." It occurs in almost every Cambodian sculpture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even on temples adorned with human-shaped faces, like the Bayon of Angkor-Thom which we know to have been originally dedicated to the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara.

It is instructive to compare with the beautiful Buddha of the Bayon, a Buddha in meditation holding a thunderbolt (vajra) (referring to another picture) found near Banteai-Chmar in Northern Cambodia. The first difference to note is the presence here of ethnological characteristics which are absent from the former examples. The face is almost square, the nose flat, the mouth very broad, the eyes are slanting, and the eye-brows curve up to the temples. All these details can be actually noticed in many representatives of the Khmer race, and it is fair to conclude that this Buddha image is an example of purely native work.

Now this (indicating another picture) is the head of a Buddha from Angkor-Vat which is related in style to the last example, but here the features are interpreted with such a delicate touch that one might almost think it is a portrait. We have in fact here a masterpiece of Cambodian art where the chiselling of the Khmer craftsman has attained the summit of perfection.

I now turn (indicating the next picture) towards an example of the female plastic ideal of ancient Cambodia. This slide represents a range of *devatâs*, or divine female attendants on a god, (in this special case the attendants on Vishṇu). There are hundreds of these in Angkor-Vat and at many other temples of Cambodia. They repeat most exactly the features of the Indian goddesses ; the waist is slender and supple, the breasts are accentuated.

We may consider them like near cousins of the delightful frescoes of Sigiriya (referring to the slide).

I now draw your attention to a female dancer from the Museum at Tourane (indicating the next slide) in Central Annam. It is not Cambodian sculpture. It is Cham, and may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century. This lovely alto-relievo reveals the high level of plastic art which the Chams attained during their best period. Here, equally, the features are Indian, and the movement recalls, to a certain extent, the rhythm of the dancers carved at Polonnaruwa, at the beautiful Laṅkātilaka-Vihāre.

Now let me turn your attention towards architecture. The oldest Cambodian temples (referring to the next slide) reproduce the Indian brick temples of the early mediaeval period. They exhibit an undeniable resemblance with the *Śikhara*, especially in the roofing which is obtained by reduplication of similar elements.

The same type of temple occurs in the Javanese art (exhibiting another slide) for instance at Dieng. We doubt if Ceylon has ever possessed temples of that type.

Later on, during the classical Angkorian period, the high parts of the Cambodian temples affect the form of a pointed dome resembling a lotus bud. As an example, I have chosen this magnificent *prasad* of Angkor-Vat, (indicating the next slide) dating from the twelfth century.

A most characteristic feature of Cambodian architecture are the storied pyramids with central stairways on each side (referring to the next slide) and supporting stone galleries on the top. You see here the Phimeanakas, a Vaishṇava foundation of the late ninth or early tenth century, and one of the architectural gems of Imperial Angkor-Thom.

It has been believed by some scholars that the Sat Mahal Prāsāda at Polonnaruwa may be the copy or replica of a Cambodian building. I confess that I do not share this

opinion. The original plan of the building seems to have been octagonal and not quadrangular, and, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the Sat Mahal Prasada proceeds from the many-storied Indian buildings of the Buddhist period.

There is another Ceylonese building (indicating the next slide) whose shape presents some relation with old Cambodian temples. The stairway of Yāpahuwa reminds one strongly of the stairway of the storied Khmer pyramids, but this resemblance cannot be ascribed to an artistical contact between Ceylon and Indo-China.

Now let us pay a short visit to a small but most beautiful Cambodian temple (pointing to the next picture) which has been partly unearthed and freed from the jungle some years ago, in 1923 by the Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient. The temple is called Banteai Srei ; its ancient Sanskrit name was Îśvarapura (Śiva's town). This picture gives you an idea of the state in which we found the temple, hardly covered with earth and grass. Here you see the beginning of the work (indicating the next slide). This shows you the present state of the main buildings. You will now see (indicating the next slide) some details. The whole temple is covered with sculptures ; there is not an inch left without chiselling.

There is another part of the same temple (indicating the next slide) with sculptures, showing Krishṇa and Balarâma in the forest ; surrounded by the birds, snakes and other animals, all waiting for rain.

Another sculpture (referring to the next slide) represents an episode of the Râmâyaṇa, when Râvaṇa (well-known in Ceylon) tries to shake the Kailâsa.

Our last slide represents the roofing of the principal temple of Îśvarapura. You see on the top of the roofing a pûrṇaghaṭa, a symbol of welfare and happiness well-known in Ceylon.

I ask now your kind permission to exhibit to you a small bronze statue belonging to the Colombo Museum. In 1922 I was rather surprised to find among your collections a small Cambodian image. I asked Mr. A. E. Jayasinha of the Colombo Museum, and he kindly gave me some information about it. After studying it, I formed the impression that this little masterpiece of bronze casting may be ascribed to the eleventh or twelfth century. At the beginning of this short lecture I showed you a Ceylonese work of art which was brought to Annam and now I show you a Cambodian god found in Ceylon.

Chairman.—The learned lecturer mentioned in the course of his lecture, the name of another very distinguished visitor whom we have here today. I refer to Professor Finot, late Director of L'Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient. Another distinction which brings him very close to us is that he is an Honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. I am sure that we will be very glad if Professor Finot will also find it possible to address a few words to us. Till he makes up his mind to do so, there is one member of our Council who has had opportunity to visit works of this kind in Java. I refer to Mr. Reimers—and I am sure he will make a few remarks on the lecture.

Mr. E. Reimers : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, It was my privilege to visit Java last year, as representative of this Society, and to have been present at the 150th anniversary of the Royal Batavian Society. We were all taken to mid-Java to view the Archaeological remains, the work of preservation and reconstruction there at Borobodor and the various Hindu temples at Prambanam. It was my good fortune at the time to meet Prof. J. Coedēs of Bangkok and M. Paul Mus of Hanoi and it struck me that the work of preservation and reconstruction was a very bright business both in Java and Indo-China ; what impressed me was the very close co-operation between the Dutch and French authorities. For instance at Prambanam there was a stone missing from one of the temples ; it had been given some time before to the King of Siam, and by the joint efforts of Prof. J. Coedēs and the French government that stone was restored. A party of us went to mid-Java under the guidance of Dr. Van Stein Callenfels and I wondered at the enthusiasm of that man. His knowledge was unbounded. He led us round Borobodor a place containing temples similar to those in Cambodia. He was just like one of the Malays themselves, he was wearing a sarong, feet bare, his beard reaching almost to his waist, and he stood in the sun lecturing to us. The thought struck me at the time that Dr. Van Stein Callenfels' enthusiasm might overflow to Ceylon : he expressed a wish to see the remains here, and it would certainly be a great object achieved if we could prevail on Dr. Van Stein Callenfels to visit Ceylon on his way to Holland on one of the very rare occasions on which he takes a holiday.

Chairman.—As you know, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Nell in the midst of numerous preoccupations, has paid attention to Ceylon art and architecture. Probably he would like to make some remarks.

Dr. A. Nell: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I will not presume to make any observations of my own this evening on a subject that Dr. Goloubew has made peculiarly his own. I can assure you that those who consult this library will find that we in Ceylon are very greatly indebted to French archaeological workers in many fields, and more particularly to the work done by Professor Finot and Dr. Goloubew. It is a great honour to us to have them in this room this evening, and it has proved a great source of profit to students in Ceylon that they have devoted their lives to this study. I was particularly struck by the very apt way in which the learned lecturer has pointed out the link between Cambodia and Ceylon. He began with that Ceylonese image in Cambodia and fortunately he remembered that little bronze statue found in Dondra, which he has shown is a Cambodian image reproduced in Ceylon. It is a subject which we might discourse on for hours—the archaeological intercourse between the two countries, but I think it is a subject which I should not touch upon after the admirable way in which it has been brought out this evening.

Chairman: Professor Finot will now address the house.

Prof. Finot, speaking in French, expresses the keen interest he has taken in the fine works of Sinhalese art it was his good luck to meet during his delightful tour in this Island. He begged to convey his feelings of thankfulness to the scholars who had lent to him and his friend V. Goloubew such invaluable help, especially to Dr. Pieris, President of this Society, Dr. Pearson, Acting Director of the Archæological Survey, and Dr. A. Nell. He hoped that their visit will result in a closer co-operation between the scientific workers of this country and those of France and Indo-China, particularly between the Asiatic Society of Ceylon and the Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient.

Dr. Goloubew: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, You will allow me to add to my lecture some remarks which have been suggested to me.

Some scholars speak of a "Cambodian quarter" in Polonnaruwa. We have examined with attention the buildings met in Polonnaruwa; the feeling is that although they are related—and in many points of view—to the monuments of Cambodia, none of them have been sculptured by Cambodians. The frescoes at Polonnaruwa although closely related and connected with the Sigiriya frescoes, which are considered Indian—reveal to us something different from Indian paintings: especially in the colourings with predominant yellow and red tints; there is very little use of green and no use at all of blue. What I will admit quite freely is that there may have been some Mogul influence on late Sinhalese painting; nevertheless there is a well defined local Ceylonese style. It would be rather useful to continue the researches of Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, Dr. A. Nell and other learned scholars, and to reveal this interesting phase of Ceylonese art revealed by describing and publishing the frescoes of Kandy, Kelaniya and other places of Ceylon. We must not lose any time because many of these frescoes will vanish and disappear and there is great danger of restoration by pious vandals. Steps must be taken to keep with great care what has remained and to prevent further restoration which may be carried out by inexperienced artists. What is needed is scholarship and tradition. I think those elements are to be found in Ceylon and there can be done very fine work.

Chairman: Now it remains for me, ladies and gentlemen, on your behalf to tender our most hearty thanks to the lecturer of this evening. But apart from the lecture the occasion has been more than justified by one pronouncement which he made—that in the opinion of himself and of Prof. Finot the Art of Polonnaruwa is the Art of Ceylon. The importance of a pronouncement of that nature from men who among the few whose opinion is worth having, is to us of immense weight. It is to us a great inspiration; and to those of us who believe in the possibility of a Ceylon Art of the future—not an Art which is an imitation of Sigiriya, as I once pointed out, but an Art of Ceylon in the year 1930—it comes as great inspiration that we did once have an independent art of our own.

To you Sir (addressing the lecturer), it is difficult to express how deep and great our sense of obligation is. It is our good fortune that you should be interested in our country; it is a very great thing that you should come and personally inspect and judge for yourself and it is a great thing that you should with your sympathy and kindness, tell us what your views are and what are the impressions you formed. Your interest will stimulate us for many years, and the knowledge that men of your position in the world of learning, are interested in the works of our country will help the rising generation towards that self-respect and pride which we are so anxious to inculcate. In the name of the Society I thank you most heartily for the lecture you have delivered this evening.

The vote of thanks which was carried with acclamation brought the proceedlngs to a close.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Queen's House, Colombo, April 14, 1930.

Present :

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

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
„ W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. Edmund Reimers
„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

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

Business.

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 16th December, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Arising out of the Minutes—The Honorary Secretary informed the Council that :—

(*a*) A revised list of members was published in the last issue of the Journal.

(*b*) Contents of Journals, Rules and Regulations, Past and Present Office-bearers, etc., was ready for printing and was laid on the table. The President undertook to add an Introductory note to this.

(*c*) That the translation of Fernao de Queyroz Ceilao was now through the press, save for the Index.

(*d*) Mr. J. C. Jayasinha was appointed as Clerk to the Society on six months' probation.

3. The names of the following candidates elected by Circular as members were announced :—(i) C. Don Amaradasa. Recommended by P. E. Pieris, A. N. Weinman. (ii) W. Martin Fernando. Recommended by W. F. Gunawardhana, J. D. de Lanerolle. (iii) W. von Pochhammer. Recommended by Joseph Pearson, P. E. Pieris. (iv) B. W. Fernando. Recommended by A. C. G. Wijeyekoon, W. A. de Silva. (v) The Hon. Mr. B. H. Bourdillon. Recommended by P. E. Pieris, A. N. Weinman.

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana stated that Mr. K. Shanmukham, a member of the Parent Society, wished to become a member of this Society. It was agreed that Mr. Shanmukham should address the Secretary on this subject.

4. The following programme for 1930-31 was approved :—

May 10—Annual General Meeting. Paper : The Central School Commission between 1841 and 1847, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A. (Lond).

May.—Paper : The Alakesvara Period by Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.

June.—Lecture : The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura illustrated with lantern slides, Mr. S. Paranavitana.

August.—Paper : Some Place Names of Ceylon by Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle.

September.—Paper : Political Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries A.D. with special references to Ceylon, by Mr. J. C. De.

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

November.—Paper : The Culture of the Indus Valley and the Excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, by Mr. P. C. R. Jayasuriya.

1931 :—

Jany.—Paper : Notes on Some Documents of the last four Kandyan Kings, by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C.

February.—Paper : The Early Mission Schools, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A. (Lond).

5. The manuscript copy of the Journal for 1929 was laid on the table and approved for early publication.

6. Papers *re* Exchanges were laid on the table and referred for report to a sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. L. J. B. Turner, E. W. Perera and Dr. S. C. Paul.

7. Dr. P. E. Pieris proposed for the consideration of the Council the desirability of :

(*a*) Limiting the possible length of tenure of the Presidentship.

(*b*) Making resident ex-Presidents ex-officio members of Council.

(*c*) Making residence in Colombo an essential qualification in the Secretaries.

A letter on the subject from Dr. Joseph Pearson was read. After discussion, the Council approved of (*b*) but not of (*a*) and (*c*).

8. The draft Annual Report for 1929 was read and passed.

9. The Council unanimously voted an Honorarium of Rs. 600/- to Mr. A. N. Weinman as a mark of appreciation of the services rendered by him to the Society during the last year.

10. The following nominations of the Office-bearers for 1930-31 were unanimously agreed upon.

Dr. Andreas Nell to be Vice-President, *vice* Mr. H. W. Codrington retiring under Rule 18.

Mr. A. N. Weinman, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Mr. Edmund Reimers to be Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. A. N. Weinman to be Honorary Treasurer.

Prof. R. Marrs, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. S. Paranavitana, P. E. P. Deraniyagala and H. W. Codrington to fill the vacancies on the Council.

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana retiring under Rule 20 by seniority.

11. Resolved that the Annual Meeting be fixed provisionally for the 9th May, the business for the Meeting being left to the discretion of the Secretary.

12. A photograph of a painting of the signing of the Convention at Kandy in 1815 was produced by Dr. P. E. Pieris. It was agreed that this should be reproduced in the Journal, and it was suggested that an explanatory note should be added by Mr. Turner or Mr. Codrington.

13. A letter dated 14th April, 1930, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding the appointment of an Historical Manuscripts Commission was read, and a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Dr. Andreas Nell, Mr. L. J. B. Turner, Dr. P. E. Pieris and Dr. G. P. Malalasekara was appointed to report generally on the whole question. The President suggested that Mr. Perera should act as Chairman.

14. A letter dated 13th March, 1930, from Mr. Frederick Lewis inquiring whether the Society would care to have a paper by him on Ceylon Agricultural Enterprises.

Resolved that Mr. Lewis be requested to forward his Paper for the consideration of the Council.

15. Dr. Pieris on behalf of the Council conveyed an expression of its gratitude to the President for his helpful interset in the Society's work, and wished him a pleasant holiday in England.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 10, 1930.

Present :

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

Mr. R. St. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekera, M.A., Maha Mudaliyar
,, S. Paranavitana
,, H. T. Ramachandra
,, Edmund Reimers
Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*

Visitors : 2 ladies and 4 gentlemen.

Business.

1. A telegram from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government, regretting His Excellency's inability to attend the meeting was read.

2. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on Friday, the 21st February, 1930, were read and confirmed.

3. Mr. H. T. Ramachandra moved the adoption of the Annual Report for the year 1929. Mr. S. Paranavitana seconded. The motion was carried unanimously.

4. Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, Maha Mudaliyar, proposed the election of the following office-bearers for the year 1930-31 :—

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

Honorary Treasurer :
Re-elected : Mr. A. N. Weinman

Honorary Secretaries :
Re-elected : Mr. A. N. Weinman
Elected : Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph. D.
Mr. Edmund Reimers.

Mr. Edmund Reimers seconded—Carried.

5. As there was a very poor attendance on account of the floods, the reading of Mr. Gratiaen's papers on " the Central School Commission between 1841 and 1847 " was postponed for a later date, and the meeting terminated.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 31, 1930.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D. Sc., F. R. S. E., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
,, P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
,, R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.
,, W. M. Fernando
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, Irving Gunawardena, Mudaliyar
,, L. A. Hayter
Mr. V. Kandiah
,, J. D. de Lanerolle
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S.
Prof. S. R. Pasha
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. W. von Pochhammer
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
,, C. Suppramaniam
,, F. A. Tisseverasinghe

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, *Honorary Secretary.*
Visitors : 7 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on Saturday, the 10th May, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., read a note on the discovery of ancient pillars in a culvert on the Kandy Road.*

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, who read a paper entitled " The Alakesvara Period Reviewed."

4. The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor, Dr. S. C. Paul, Dr. Andreas Nell and the Chairman offered remarks.

5. Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana replied.

6. Votes of thanks to Dr. Joseph Pearson and the lecturer proposed by the Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

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* This note will appear in a later issue of the Journal. C. H. C., Hony. Secy.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 27, 1930.

Present :

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Vice-President, in the Chair
Dr. Paul E. Pieris, Vice-President.

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
,, K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram
Dr. W. Balendra
The Hon. Mr. C. W. Bickmore, C.C.S.
Mr. Felix R. Dias, M.A., LL.M.
,, K. C. Fernando, B.A. (Lond.)
,, W. M. Fernando
,, E. G. Gratiaen
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
Mrs. E. Hunsworth
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka
Mr. S. J. C. Kadirgamar
,, W. C. McK. Martin
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C.
Mr. W. von Pochhammer
,, W. Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar
,, J. L. C. Rodrigo, M.A.
Rev. R. Siddhartha Thero, M.A.
Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinghe, Advocate
,, D. D. Weerasingha, Mudaliyar
,, D. S. Wijemanna

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

Visitors : 7 ladies and 17 gentlemen.

Business.

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

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. S. Paranavitana, who delivered his lecture on " The Excavations in the Citadel at Anuradhapura " illustrated with lantern slides.

THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE CITADEL AT ANURĀDHAPURA

BY
S. PARANAVITANA
Epigraphical Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner.

The outlines of the ancient citadel of Anurādhapura—referred to in the chronicles as *nagara* and in inscriptions as *ätnakara* "the Inner City"—were first traced by Mr. Bell in 1893. Three years earlier, the Archaeological Survey, at the suggestion of Mr. R. W. Ievers, the then Government Agent of the North-Central Province, searched for the remains of the royal palace in the area to the north of the "Jetavanārāma"; but failed to discover ruins that could be considered as such. This failure led Mr. Bell to locate the royal enclosure or citadel at a place about 1½ miles north of the sacred Bo-tree. In his Annual Report for the year 1893, Mr. Bell says:—"Everything now points to its definite location within areas A, B, lying between the Y Road and the Outer Circular Road on the east or broadly between the Jetavanārāma ruins and the Abhayagiriya and Thūpārāma groups. A high brick *bämma*, easily discernible on the south and south-west, has been followed more or less clearly, and surveyed throughout a circuit of some three miles. This was doubtless the Royal Enclosure. Of the palace itself—unless it be the massive brick structure, once storied, still standing—no traces remain above ground."

Subsequent researches have confirmed this hypothesis of Mr. Bell. Mr. H. Parker who discusses this question, in his *Ancient Ceylon*, on the evidence of certain statements in the chronicle concerning the distance between the southern gate of the city and the sacred Bo-tree, comes to the same conclusion.

The massive brick structure referred to by Mr. Bell in the paragraph quoted above and which is known as the

Gedigē, was first noticed in 1886 by Mr. Burrows, who says that it "looks like a bit of Polonnaruwa suddenly transplanted to this capital." This was excavated in 1897 by Mr. Bell and was found to be "a rectangular recessed building constructed of brick and mortar" with an upper storey. It has been ascribed to the twelfth century; but, as will be shown in the sequel, an earlier date is more probable. Some 225 yards to the south of this Gedigē, there are the remains of an "imposing oblong building resting on 40 grand monolithic pillars." A few fathoms north of this is a small circular *pokuṇa* unfaced. On its brink a fine inscribed slab with moulded facing was found almost completely buried.

This inscription which, unfortunately, is partly defaced, has been published by Dr. Wickremasingha in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*; but, owing to its find spot being wrongly reported to him as "a few yards to the east of the Thūpārāma Dāgāba," its archaeological significance escaped his notice and was only realised by Mr. E. R. Ayrton who, with its help, identified the remains near by as those of the Temple of the Tooth. The inscription lays down certain rules regarding fields belonging to the royal palace and also mentions the granting of revenue for the upkeep of the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Fifty yards to the west of this monument there is a large stone canoe near which a few pillar stumps show above the earth. Relying on certain statements in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Mr. Ayrton conjectured that this stone trough marks the site of the Mahāpāḷī, the alms-house maintained by the Anurādhapura kings within the precincts of the royal palace. On this stone canoe, there are three short records of the tenth century which were yet undeciphered when Mr. Ayrton put forward his hypothesis. In 1927, I succeeded in deciphering these inscriptions and found that two of them referred to the place as "this Mahāpāḷī," thus confirming Mr. Ayrton's conjecture. As has been stated above, the Mahāpāḷī is described in the

chronicle as part of the royal establishment. It has also been noticed by Fa-hien who says that it was by the side of the king's palace. The decipherment of these inscriptions established, beyond doubt, the location of the royal palace suggested by Messrs. Bell, Parker and Ayrton and, therefore, I suggested to Mr. A. M. Hocart, the late Archaeological Commissioner, that excavations undertaken in this area might yield interesting results. He, too, agreed with this view and entrusted me with the conduct of these excavations. Mr. Hocart, as well as Mr. C.F. Winzer, while he was acting as Archaeological Commissioner, took a keen interest in the progress of these excavations and were always ready to offer their expert advice and guidance. Mr. P. D. Ambrose, the senior draughtsman of the Department, was supervising the work for some time and after the excavations were over, the conservation of the buildings unearthed is progressing under his immediate supervision.

The site selected for the excavations was 80 yards to the north-west of the Mahāpāḷī where a few stone pillars appeared above the ground level. Three of these pillars seemed intact and their tops were only 3 feet from the ground, thereby indicating that a good deal of digging was necessary to reach the floor level of the building. A few yards to the east of these pillars is a depression in the ground, near which can be seen two fragments of a stone lion. A few other stone pillars on the lower area of the mound had been mutilated in recent times.

Excavations at the site were continued for two seasons in 1928 and 1929. During the first season, only about 25 coolies were available for a period of little over a month and hence very little progress was made. In 1929, more coolies and funds were at our disposal, and work at the site was continued from the end of January to the beginning of June. Progress was also retarded by the necessity of removing the spoil earth to a distance of about quarter of a mile, outside the limits of the ancient citadel,

as we did not consider it desirable to dump earth in our reservations and thereby increase the labour of possible excavators in the future. During both these seasons, an area roughly measuring 140 ft. by 125 ft. was excavated and at certain places it was found necessary to dig to a depth of 10 feet from the original level to reach the foundations of the building of which the pillar tops were visible before starting work.

Remains of buildings belonging to two different periods of occupation were laid bare during the operations. Of these, the topmost stratum which was found immediately after the subsoil was removed, consisted of vestiges of ephemeral mud structures in the foundations of which fragments of the older buildings were freely used. Not a single ground plan of any of these huts could be made out with certainty and the irregular foundations of these buildings had to be demolished in order to lay bare more substantially built structures of an earlier age. In this topmost level, many old rubbish heaps consisting of potsherds of various sorts were met with but they did not yield any finds of interest. A complete cooking pot covered with a flat vessel of the type now known as *koraha* was found in this level. A copper coin of Līlāvatī was also picked up on the same stratum and with this evidence we may date these poor structures as belonging to about the fourteenth century, *i.e.*, the last days of old Anurādhapura. The occupants of these huts seem to have been workers in metal, for we found several fragments of plumbago-coated crucibles, each about 4 inches in height, one complete specimen about 10 inches in height and several masses of coagulated metal. Beads of various sorts, mostly made of clay, fragments of conchshell bangles, glass beads, clay disks and several terra-cotta rings for a well, were among the finds belonging to this stratum, besides material from the lower deposits thrown up in diggings.

The building at which the excavations were first started (Building B) was completely cleared of debris which had buried it, at places, to a depth of nearly ten feet. In ground plan, it measured 50 feet square and is erected on a brick faced plinth 2 ft. 2 in. from the ground level. This structure has suffered greatly at the hands of despoilers. Of the 40 stone pillars which originally seem to have supported the superstructure, only three, each 12 ft. 3 in. in height, and fragments of seventeen others, were in position. It cannot now be determined how many of these pillars were embedded into the walls and how many were free standing. No traces of any walls separating the ground floor into apartments could be seen. The probability is that the entire space was an open hall or a *maṇḍapa*. Doubtless, the stone pillars supported one or more upper storeys, probably of wooden construction. In the debris round about this building, bricks were found sparsely and the walls must have been constructed of clay as in the Kandyan buildings. In this, as well as in most of the ancient buildings of Anurādhapura, the principle of construction was of the wattle-and-daub type, foundations were hardly laid below ground, the stability of the structure depending on the stone pillars firmly planted on the ground, and which supported the woodwork and the clay walls. Lumps of plaster with which the walls had been coated were found in the debris.

Of the flight of steps at the main entrance to the building, facing east, only the landing slab of polished white sandstone is *in situ*. A moonstone, in a crumbling state of decay, was found several feet above its original level. This has a band of well executed elephants, horses, bulls and lions. One of the carved risers is to be seen about 10 feet from the entrance. In addition to this main entrance, there was another smaller flight of steps at the south-west corner of the edifice—a feature not noticed in any other building hitherto discovered at Anurādhapura. This flight of steps which, too, was of limestone, is in a better state of preservation;

only one of the balustrades and one riser being missing. Near the centre of the hall there was found, removed from its original position and lying at an angle with its smoothed face downwards, a rectangular moulded slab, similar to the royal *āsanas* with which we are familiar at Polonnaruwa.

This building was originally roofed with glazed tiles of various colours. Fragments of these tiles were found in large numbers in the debris round the building ; but, unfortunately, no complete specimen was forthcoming. The great majority of these tiles were of a bluish green colour, some white, a few yellow and one specimen red. Thus we have four out of the traditional five colours.

The tiles were of the typically Sinhalese pattern and only as much of them as would be visible when they are placed on the roof was glazed. Fragments of glazed tiles have been found at other buildings in Anurādhapura and also in the excavations carried out by Dr. Paul Pieris at Kantarodai in the Jaffna Peninsula. But I do not think that they have been found elsewhere in such large quantities and in various colours as in this site. Several lumps of the actual coloured glaze were also found in the debris.

A few specimens of these glazed tiles were sent to Mr. Mohd Sana Ullah, M.Sc., the Archaeological Chemist in India, and he very kindly furnished us with an analysis of the composition of the glaze. It is as follows :—

Silica	66·26%
Alumina	12·09
Ferric Oxide	0·11
Manganese Oxide	Nil
Lime	2·10
Magnesia	traces
Copper Oxide	2·33
Alkalis (chiefly Soda)	17·11 (by difference)
Total ..	100·00

He further remarks :—" The lump of glaze of the same colour is probably indentical with the material with which the potsherd is coated. The colour is due to the presence of 2·33% oxide of copper ; but in its absence a white glaze would be obtained such as can be seen on some of the specimens. The black lump is a fragment of crude glass or glaze which has a dark yellowish colour in their sections due to the presence of ferric oxide. The composition of this glaze does not exhibit any close relationship with those found in Egypt, Mesapotamia or India, and it is therefore highly probable that the glazes were prepared independently in Ceylon. It is quite conceivable that the art was originally learnt from some foreign traders and the variation in the chemical composition is due to the nature of the materials (*e.g.*, sand) which were handy locally in Ceylon."

To the south-east of the building described above, remains of another building, of quite a different type, were brought to light. The only indication of it that was noticeable before excavations started was about one foot of a stone pillar embedded into the wall of the porch. This building is of massive brick construction and, at places, the walls are preserved to the level of the window sills, four of which are still *in situ*, at a height of about 8 feet from the original ground level. The bricks used in its construction measure, on an average, 12½ in. by 6½ in. by 2½ in. and are laid in a very adhesive kind of lime mortar. Though the bricks are laid in alternate courses of stretchers and headers, the resultant bonding is not quite regular. All the bricks used in this building seem to have been specially made for it, as no fragments have been made use of as in the brick buildings at Polonnaruwa. Bricks were specially made to suit the shapes of the different mouldings and wedge-shaped ones were used for constructing arches. Among the heavy masses of masonry which were scattered outside the building, we came across a fragment of an arch constructed with wedge-shaped bricks—an interesting piece of evidence to show that the principles of

the true arch were known to the Sinhalese architects at the date of this building which, as will be shown later, is about the eighth century A.D. Though the arch was known, it does not seem to have been used for spanning any considerable spaces. The walls were covered with lime plaster which is still preserved.

In ground plan, the edifice comprises a cella 33 ft. 6 in. square with projections 20 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. on the west, south and east. On the north, the projection is lengthened to form a porch 20 ft. 6 in. by 11 ft. 3 in. Stone pillars are embedded in the walls of the porch which seems to have carried a roof constructed of timber and covered with tiles. The main building had a vaulted roof. Entrance to this building is through a flight of five plain stone steps facing north. The two balustrades and the guardstones, as well as the risers of this flight of steps, are devoid of any ornamentation. The moonstone, also plain, is of an elongated type hitherto known from only one or two other specimens. The outer wall is five feet in thickness and rises from a moulded basement 4 feet in height. It appears as if the wall was originally plain and the mouldings were added at a later date. The foundations of the buildings are of stone and are not laid to a very great depth. The interior dimensions of the porch are 13 ft. 10 in. by 7 ft. A stone doorway, only the sill of which was *in situ*, 7 ft. 4 in. broad and 3 ft. 7 in. high now fallen down, led from the porch to a circumambulatory passage 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth, which ran round the inner room, the walls of which are 2 ft. 10 in. in thickness and which measures 13 ft. square. The entrance to this inner room is also from the north through a stone doorway now fallen down. The passage was lighted by 11 stone windows, two of which at the centre of the eastern, southern and western walls are broader than the others. These broader windows on the eastern and southern walls were placed in arched niches and at the corresponding point on the western wall there is a stone staircase built into the thickness of the wall,

leading to the upper storey. Eight of the steps are still *in situ*. Within the inner room, or sanctum, is a platform or *āsana* faced with moulded slabs of stone measuring 8 ft. square and 2 ft. 7 in. high from the floor level. The moulding consists of an ovolo and ogee with a vertical face between. When the room was cleared of debris, the upper slabs of this stone platform or *āsana* were found fallen down. But all the pieces were there and were replaced in their original position with little difficulty. On the vertical slab on the northern side of this platform there were five letters, reading *uturudese*, "northside," which doubtless was a mason's mark. The stones were fitted together at the quarry and the position of each marked on them so that the masons could, at a glance, find out the relative position of each slab. It is only on this slab that the direction is given in letters. On others, symbols such as crosses, circles and squares at the ends of two consecutive slabs indicate their position. Though constituting only a mason's mark, these letters are of interest in that they supply us a date to this building. The letters, from their form, must be ascribed to the eighth century, and hence we must conclude that this building, too, dates from the same period. This discovery is of considerable archaeological interest, as very few examples of datable stone work of this type have been discovered at Anurādhapura or elsewhere in Ceylon, This building also shows that lime mortar was used as a binding material in brick construction before the Polonnaruwa period. The great majority of ancient buildings in Ceylon, in which lime mortar was used, are found at Polonnaruwa, and archaeologists generally ascribe similar buildings when found elsewhere to the same period. This building now shows us that it need not necessarily be so. In ground plan, the building just described is identical with the structure now called the Gedigē which was mentioned before. The Gedigē has its walls standing to a much greater height than the present building; but, in other respects, the latter is

better preserved. The details of the mouldings are clearly discernible in this building, whereas they are obliterated in the Geḍigē. It also has its porch and the entrance completely demolished, and we do not know whether it contained an *āsana* in the inner room. The deficiencies of the one are supplied by the other and both together give us a fairly accurate idea of a type of building of which no other examples have so far been brought to light in the island. The Geḍigē and the building we have described are both on the same level. This fact, coupled with the similarity in plan noticed above, leads us to the conclusion that both these structures are of the same date. Hitherto it has been assumed that the Geḍigē must have been built in the twelfth century ; but as our building can be dated, on the evidence of the inscription mentioned before, in the eighth century, I think the same date will have to be assigned to the other building also.

About 35 feet to the north of the flight of steps leading to this building, there are the vestiges of what appears to have been a *muragē*. Its ground plan cannot be made out clearly. The walls are constructed of bricks laid in mud and stone pillars are embedded in the brickwork. The basement of this structure, too, was moulded and the lime plaster was still visible when it was excavated. To the east and the south of the buildings described above, there are remains of an outer *prākāra* which enclosed the whole group. The lower part of this *prākāra* was built of slabs of stone placed vertically and the upper part was of brick construction.

When the main work at the site was completed, a trench was dug from the excavations to the low lying ground to the north in order to drain away rain water. In so doing, we had to dig below the level of an old street and the remains of an ancient underground drainage system were brought to light. This drain was laid across a street and consisted

of terra-cotta pipes, each about a foot in length, socketed to each other. The pipes were laid on stone slabs and seem to have been covered with brickwork. Our attempt to trace this drain pipe further was without success ; and, for obvious reasons, it was covered with earth after photographs were taken and drawings were made. So far as I know, this is the first time[1] that a discovery of this nature has been made at Anurādhapura, though terra-cotta drain pipes were found by the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera, at the site of the city of Kotte. But they were, I presume, not found in position, as in the present instance. A similar discovery was accidentally made a month later at Polonnaruwa. The rains had washed away the ground to the south-east of the Rankot Vehera near the footpath from the Northern Gate and a terra-cotta pipe was exposed to view. We had the place cleared and traced an underground drain pipe to a distance of about 8 feet. The pipes in this place were longer and broader than the Anurādhapura ones and seven of them could be traced in all. Near this drain pipe an old street can definitely be traced. An example of vertical terra-cotta pipes embedded in a brick wall so as to drain the lustral water from the upper storey of the shrine was brought to light by Mr. P. D. Ambrose in a vihāra at the Raṁsi-māligāva near the Northern Gate of Polonnaruwa. That underground drainage was common in ancient Indian cities, we know from references in Sanskrit literature, and the excavations at Mohenjo-daro in the Indus valley have brought to light the existence of a drainage system,

1. Since writing the above, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the retired Archaeological Commissioner, in a letter addressed to Dr. Pearson has informed that similar drain pipes were found in considerable numbers, in his excavations at Anurādhapura. He, however, does not seem to have attached any importance to this fact, as it has nowhere been recorded in his numerous archaeological reports. Terra-cotta drain pipes have also been found at the building known as "Rajamāligāva" in the Citadel at Polonnaruwa ; but this information, too, having not been considered worthy of a more conspicuous place than a foot-note (*A. S. C. Annual Report for 1905*, p. 5, n 3) escaped my notice.

much more in advance of the examples mentioned here, in cities dating from the third millenium before Christ.

The excavations yielded very few minor antiquities. The coin of Līlāvatī found in the upper stratum has already been mentioned. Another copper coin containing the legend which has been read as *Śrī Laṁkeśvara* or *Śrī Laṁkāvibhū* and three small copper coins, too corroded for identification, complete the list of numismatic finds at this site.

As regards pottery, the two complete specimens belonging to the fourteenth century level have already been mentioned. They belong to types of ware which are still in use among the Sinhalese people. One is a round pot used for cooking rice and the other a flat vessel with grooves inside used in washing rice. The former is known as *häliya* and the latter as *koraha* or *nāṁbiliya* in modern Sinhalese. The great majority of the potsherds unearthed in the upper stratum are of a coarse type and too fragmentary to be of much use in the study of pottery types. But a few sherds from this level as well as the small number found in the lower stratum belong to a superior texture. A small piece of egg-shell pottery and a rim of a vessel with the relief of a double *vajra* or trident may be worthy of mention here. Small fragments of china as well as glass ware were also found. Of interest was the find of two pieces of gilt pottery belonging to two different vessels. They are also too small to judge the form and the purpose of the vessels of which they were fragments. I do not know whether any such finds have previously been made in the excavations of ancient sites in Ceylon.

Of great importance for the chronology of Ceylon pottery was the discovery of two small potsherds with Brāhmī letters of the third century B.C. scratched on them. The letters on one read *liya* which may be considered to be the genitive case ending of a proper name such as *Asaliya*.

The letters on the other read *pata* which may be the old Sinhalese word derived from Sanskrit *pātra* and Pali *patta*, meaning 'vessel.' Both these fragments belonged to the same type of ceramics, the texture of which is of a superior order. The inside is black and the exterior red. Examples of the same ware were found in considerable numbers and they seemed to have belonged to a flat dish-shaped type of vessel. It should be mentioned here that both these potsherds were found in a comparatively upper stratum, only about three feet from the surface; whereas the present excavation did not reach a stratum earlier than the eighth century A.D. Therefore, we have to conclude that these potsherds were thrown up in disturbing the deposits when the ground was dug for foundations of buildings in successive ages. These also indicate that this site has been in occupation at least as early as the third century B.C. Mr. Parker, in his article contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, about his archaeological researches at Tissa-maharama, says that potsherds with Brāhmī letters were found by him at that place; but these do not seem to have been preserved.

Beads, too, were not found in any considerable numbers. The majority of them were flat circular ones made of red paste. A few examples of beads made of terra-cotta, crystal, coloured glass, ivory, jade, agate, and amethyst were also among the finds. Two beads of jade were shaped like miniature chanks. Among miscellaneous finds mention may be made of the following:—

A convex piece of crystal, about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. square with holes at two ends. This was probably a pendant.

A bone object shaped like a chessman.

A sharp pointed stylet, made of some kind of bone.

Two fragments of the leg of a small gilt copper statuette. This was found in the inner room of building A.

A copper object, two inches in height, shaped like a cup on a pedestal.

One of the most important among the finds was a thin oval plate of gold $\frac{9}{16}$ inches in diameter with the figure of a lion between two lamp stands embossed on it. It appears to have belonged either to a seal or some kind of ornament. I quote below the remarks of Mr. Codrington to whom it was sent for examination :—

" The type of an animal or object between two standing lamps is not uncommon. It appears in the Pallava coins and most commonly in the Paṇḍyan series. In this last, it is the type of the coins which apparently precede the introduction of the " Ceylon type, " but it reappeared in a modified form in a coin of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

The gold ornament shows a maned lion, sitting right, between two standing lamps, all within the bead circle. The nearest type to this is the Paṇḍyan " fish " or " fishes " type which I attribute to the period before the Chola conquest in the tenth century. The present ornament is identical save that the dynastic emblem of the Paṇḍyan fishes is replaced by the Sinhalese lion.

Provisionally, I should put this ornament as belonging to the same period (before tenth century). There is, however, a possibility in view of the thirteenth-fourteenth century Paṇḍyan coin, that it is later."

From the depth in which the gold object was found, I think that the earlier date is more likely.

The excavations themselves did not yield any evidence to determine what purpose the buildings unearthed served in their time. But in the prefatory remarks, I have brought forward evidence to show that this locality was the royal enclosure, and therefore, we may not be wrong in concluding that the buildings formed part of the Sinhalese royal establishment during the Anurādhapura days. The brick built structure excavated appears, from its plan,

more like a religious shrine than a building intended for living purposes. It is quite possible that it was one of the religious edifices which, as we learn from the chronicles, were located within the limits of the royal palace. At the same time we should not forget that the temples of gods were themselves modelled on the king's residence and the temple ritual was but a copy of that observed in the king's palace. Moreover, the king himself was a living god and, therefore, we may reasonably expect similarities between certain buildings dedicated to the king's use and the temples of the gods.

Further excavation at the site might possibly throw light on these curious buildings, and also afford us more information about the secular side of the old Sinhalese culture than we are at present in possession of.

Mr. E. W. Perera, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that they had all been very greatly impressed with Mr. Paranavitana's paper. It was not often that they had papers of the same degree of interest as the result of original research work. His identification of the palace remains of Anurādhapura from lithic record and contemporary record was exceedingly creditable. They were all keen about the work of the Archaeological Department since Mr. Bell had ceased his connection. It was Sir William Gregory who first took an interest in Ceylon antiquities, and it was Sir Arthur Gordon who created that Department of Archaeology. They had a very brilliant man in charge, Mr. Ayrton, who was unfortunately drowned in a tank in the Southern Province. The war came on and the Department was closed for some years. Mr. Hocart was then appointed but he did not remain very long. Those of them who felt that they had ruins second to none in the world were anxious that these should be conserved as relics of their civilisation. The Government which had taken some interest in the matter was keen on getting a fully qualified man from England. But it was now thought than an expert from India who had worked with that unrivalled Archaeologist Sir John Marshall was the wiser course. They had to get a man at the earliest possible opportunity because monuments were fast decaying and vandals were about. In conclusion he hoped that Mr. Paranavitana would give them another paper on the subject very soon.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka in seconding said that the lecture was of absorbing interest. Apart from its intrinsic merits it indicated the vast amount of research that had yet to be done in the ancient City of Anurādhapura. The fact that although the Citadel was discovered in the nineties, yet the exploration work upon it was begun only in 1927 showed how perfunctorily the work of the Archaeological Department had been carried on though large sums of money were annually voted for it. In fact, real Archaeological work had yet to be begun in Ceylon. Now that this work was started he hoped

that that work would be carried on continuously and systematically. He could not but congratulate Mr. Paranavitana on the success of his investigations. His discoveries incidentally disproved the theory held by some that brick buildings belonged to a later period in the history of Ceylon. The fact that such buildings existed in the 8th century was therefore very important. His own opinion was that there was a continuous and natural course of development in architectural work in Ceylon from the earliest times. He hoped that these excavations would be carried further and deeper until they reached the 3rd century buildings referred to by the lecturer. He (the speaker) agreed that these buildings were religious structures. He was, however, doubtful if the building that was exhibited in the pictures was really the old Dalada Maligawa. The lecture had whetted their curiosity very much and he hoped that the whole area would be thoroughly explored.

The Chairman, in commenting on the lecture, said that the paper by Mr. Paranavitana provided them with a very good object-lesson as to what Archaeological research was. He hoped that those of them who would be visiting Anurādhapura would make it their business to see the excavation and conservation work now being carried out in the Citadel. The nature of the work would show to what a remarkable degree the buildings had been covered. In order to get down to the foundation of the building 10 feet of earth had to be removed. It required no little courage to undertake such a piece of research which, properly speaking, should require the services of experts in four different branches of archaeology. In the circumstances Mr. Paranavitana had done remarkably well. Archaeological work of this type was beset with difficulties. Not the least important thing was to decide which sites would most profitably repay excavation. Having decided upon this the excavation work itself requires to be done with the utmost care and skill. At any stage the results might be irretrievably spoilt by ignorant and untrained workers. In exposing the building the various strata of earth removed must be examined scientifically for evidence of successive occupations of the site. In this particular case evidence was obtained to show that the site had been used in at least three different periods. Restoration work though more spectacular than the laborious process of excavation was perhaps easier. But one has to guard against over restoration as restoration should not be carried beyond the point at which with the materials at hand. A reasonable idea of the original structure could be obtained by a person of average imagination.

In the particular case before us the value of epigraphical research has been fully demonstrated, and in all cases historical evidence is of great value in assisting us not only in dating a building but also in determining its functions.

Therefore that was a fitting opportunity to call public attention to the needs of the Archaeological Department. At least they needed an archaeologist, an architect, a historian, an anthropologist and an ethnologist.

Dr. Finot had told him that in French Indo-China they had ten highly trained French Archaeologists, and four of them devoted the whole of their time to exploratory work. Not the least important branch of Archaeological research in Ceylon was the need for a complete survey of the Archaeological remains scattered throughout the Island. It was impossible to do this with the present staff.

3. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, brought the proceedings to a close.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 21, 1930.

Present :

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

Dr. W. Balendra
Mr. L. E. Blaze, B.A.
Rev. H. V. I. S. Corea
Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
,, L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
,, G. E. Harding, B.A.
,, K. Shanmukham, M.R.A.S.
,, F. A. Tisseverasinghe
,, L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
,, E. H. Vanderwall

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Dr. G. P.Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Hony. Secretaries.

Visitors : 1 lady and 6 gentlemen.

Business.

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

2. The Chairman proposed the following vote of condolence on the death of Mr. Frederick Lewis.

Resolved that the Society do place on record an expression of its deep regret at the loss it has sustained by the death of Mr. Frederick Lewis.

Dr. Nell in proposing the vote stated that for many years, as they would see from the Journal of the Society, Mr. Lewis had liberally contributed to its pages. He was a very assiduous student of Ceylon Botany, Zoology and Antiquities, and they had been very greatly indebted to him for many contributions. The distinguishing characteristic of Mr. Lewis was always the desire to be precise and accurate. The vote was passed in silence all members standing.

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, who read his paper on "The Central School Commission between 1841 and 1848."

THE CENTRAL SCHOOL COMMISSION, 1841-1848

BY

L. J. GRATIAEN, B.A.

This account of the Government schools as they existed about 85 years ago you will not expect to be either exciting or amusing. It is merely an orderly statement of facts regarding the Government schools, gathered partly from the official reports, partly from the newspapers of the period, and partly from original correspondence in the Government archives,* for permission to have access to which I have to acknowledge my debt to Government. It has been my aim to make no generalisations myself and to make no statements unsupported by evidence. This evidence and the names of authorities it has not seemed necessary to obtrude into the body of this paper, but it may be said here that the very words of the original authorities have been introduced very freely, even though the quotation marks are not always reproduced in the reading.

This paper carries us back to the day of small things, when Government spent on schools one hundredth part of what it spends now, and if anyone is inclined to think the matters treated of are petty, this may be partly conceded, yet little things may be important where greater things have resulted from them.

Before the year 1832 the schools supported by the Government of Ceylon were almost entirely vernacular

* References introduced by numbers in the footnotes to this article are to the volumes of correspondence in the archives. Few references have been made in the footnotes to the annual Government Almanac which have supplied some statistics.

schools, which were situated chiefly on the south-west coast.[1] In 1830 Lt.-Colonel Colebrooke, one of the two Commissioners whose reports mark the end of the old era and the beginning of a more liberal administration reported that these schools were inefficient, and in several cases existed only in name. He recommended that they should be abolished and that attention should be given to the teaching of English, with the aim of educating the people so that they might be fit to occupy higher situations in the service of Government. In 1832 accordingly the Government vernacular schools were closed and English schools began to be opened, generally in connection with the Anglican churches and under the superintendence of Government Chaplains. The oversight of the schools was entrusted to a School Commission composed of Archdeacon Glenie as President, a number of officials and the clergy resident in Colombo.[2]

By 1841 there were 38 Government schools in existence, with 2,003 pupils, out of an estimated population of 1,400,000, or roughly one child for every 700 of population. Of these pupils it was reported that " not a fourth part of the pupils left school with education sufficient to enable them to read or write the English language with any tolerable degree either of ease or accuracy." The result of placing the schools in the hands of the church was also otherwise regrettable. There were a number of unpleasant incidents. As one of the newspapers expressed it—

" With the clergy as usual it's war to the knife ;
A general diffusion of malice and strife."

Besides the Government schools there were schools, both in the south-west and in the north, which were opened by the agents of the four Protestant Missionary societies.

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1. For an account of these schools the writer's " Government schools in Ceylon, 1798-1832 " may be consulted.

2. An account of The first School Commission (1832-1841) is printed by the Colombo Historical Association, paper No. 11, August, 1927.

By 1848 these schools still contained four times as many children as the Government schools, but in the Sinhalese districts the missionaries devoted themselves chiefly to primary education in Sinhalese, though they had also a few English schools. In Jaffna the missions, led by the American Mission, while not neglecting Tamil paid a good deal of attention to English. The opening of English schools by Government would not therefore lead to competition in the south of the Island, but in the north rivalry was inevitable unless care and good sense were exercised.

Governor Stewart Mackenzie was anxious to improve the Government schools and also to bring the mission schools into the Government school system.

His proposals [3] were that :—

(1) Schools were to be open to children of all denominations. The basis of education was to be the Scriptures, but no exclusive tenets were to be taught, and children were to attend their parents' place of worship.

(2) Children were to be taught to read their own language before they were taught English. A Translation Committee was to prepare books for the vernacular schools.

(3) Teachers were to be trained in Normal Schools.

(4) Visiting Superintendents were to be appointed.

(5) The Commission was to contain others besides Chaplains and Civil officials.

All these reforms depended on depriving the Archdeacon and the Chaplains of control. The Secretary of State ordered that the matter should be referred to the Bishop of Madras. But the disorganised state of the Commission was notorious and the Bishop could not well object. Accordingly in March, 1841, at the very close of his government, Governor

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3. Observer, 25th Nov., 1840.—Governor's address to Council and volume B 591 (in Archives) 2nd March, 1840.

Mackenzie issued a minute dissolving the Commission, and substituting one of nine members appointed by himself.[4]

This Central School Commission was presided over by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Philip Anstruther, and consisted chiefly of representatives of the churches and missions. The first members were Rev. J. P. Horsford (Colonial Chaplain), Rev. G. J. MacVicar (Presbyterian Chaplain), Rev. C. Antonio (Roman Catholic Priest), Rev. D. J. Gogerly (Wesleyan Missionary), Rev. Joseph Bailey (Church Missionary), Mr. John Armitage (Unofficial M.L.C.), Sir A. Oliphant (Chief Justice) and Mr. P. E. Wodehouse (Government Agent, W.P.)

The appointment of a full-time Inspector of schools was found impracticable, and the Postmaster-General, Mr. George Lee, who had been Editor of Ceylon's first newspaper, the Colombo Journal, and who translated Ribeiro, was appointed Inspector and Secretary of the Commission.

Though the exclusive supervision of the Government schools was thus taken away from the Anglican clergy, there seems to have been no trouble for some years in carrying out the religious policy laid down by Governor Mackenzie, who issued a special minute[5] for the guidance of the Commission. This insisted on the two-fold duty of promoting "the religious education of such of the community as belonged to the Christian faith," and of doing nothing likely to "exclude scholars of any religious belief," or "raise religious scruples on the part of any."

The Commission managed the schools through sub-Committees and Superintendents of schools. The sub-Committees, composed generally of officials and clergy, recommended Superintendents, advised regarding masters and inspected schools.[6] The Superintendents, who were expected to visit and examine their schools frequently, were the means of communication between the Commission and

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4. Almanac, 1844.
5. Minute of 26th May, 1841, in almanac for 1844.
6. Report of School Commission for 1846.

teachers, and had to see that resolutions of the Commission and the sub-Committees were carried out. [6]

One of the first measures of the Commission was to invite each Superintendent of schools to continue in his charge. [7] Some of the Chaplains had scruples regarding doing so, and asked for aid for schools to be conducted under their exclusive management. [8] The Commission was unable to agree, but were willing, where a Chaplain retained his superintendence, "to leave the religious instruction entirely in his hands, provided only that those who professed tenets differing from the Church of England were not interfered with." [9]

It was ordered that the first hour daily in every Government school should be devoted to Religious Instruction, but masters were particularly enjoined not to require the attendance of those boys whose parents objected to their attending during that hour. [10] Very few children, we are told, absented themselves. The religious teaching was almost exclusively the reading of the Bible. [11]

Elementary Schools.

Under the new Commission the work of opening new English schools was continued, but there was no marked increase in the number of pupils. In 1841 the Government schools numbered 38, with 2,003 pupils. In 1848 there were 60 English schools, with a total attendance of 2,714. [12] This gives an average attendance of 45 for each school, but many of the outstation schools had about 25 children, with one teacher. Most of the larger schools were in Colombo, such as the Academy Model School, the Consistorial School, St.

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7. Herald, 3rd February, 1843.
8. A 1532. 11th and 15th June, 1841.
9. Resolution of August, 1841—in Report for 1846, appendix.
10. Rules of 6th July, quoted in Report for 1860.
11. Report of School Commission, 1846.
12. Almanac.

Peter's and St. Thomas', each of which generally had more than a hundred pupils. The fees charged continued to be 3d. a month, in return for which stationery was supplied free. [12]

Many of the schools opened during these years were closed when the demand was found to be insufficient. Places like Kegalle and Matale were thus tried and abandoned. Among the reasons given why there was not a greater demand for English education it is interesting to find already the statement that parents who had their children educated were ashamed to allow them to be employed in trade or manual work. [13]

There had always been far less desire among the people for schools for girls than for boys, and also far greater difficulty in obtaining qualified women teachers. [14] In spite of this the number of girls' schools rose from four in 1841 to sixteen in 1848. [12]

Very few of the schools were housed in suitable buildings, most of them being in rented houses. [11] Ventilation, Lee reported, was so imperfect, that a European could not remain even one hour in any of them without experiencing an injurious effect! The teachers, we are told, were "for the most part men reared for other professions, or who had devoted the greater part of their lives to some other employment." [15] The first Commission had not left its successor a pleasant legacy in this respect. At St. Thomas' Boys' School, for instance, it was found that the assistant masters "were so ignorant that the pupils could not be expected to derive any knowledge from them," while the master of the girls' school was completely superannuated. [16] So at Galle the master and mistress of the girls' school were "diligent and attentive,

13. Letter in Observer of 6th April, 1846.
14. Report, 1846.
15. Observer, 15th July, 1844.
16. Report of a visit of inspection, B 1532, 14th Sept., 1841.

but much could not be said for their efficiency."[17] On the other hand, at Barberyn there was a patient, hardworking and efficient teacher, who gave nine hours a day to his scholars—if that can be thought a proof of efficiency.

Most of the teachers were paid between £48 and £68 a year. It was the "anxious desire of the Commission to render the situation of Government school masters such, that the best qualified persons might be induced to enter this branch of the public service, and having entered, to find themselves comfortable and respected."[11] It was therefore provided that when the number of pupils in a school was in excess of 100, and 25 of them had reached a satisfactory standard in the three Rs, the master's salary would be raised to £100.[17] Accordingly three teachers of elementary schools were in 1847 paid as much as £100.[18]

Central and Normal Schools.

The Commission early decided that the education given in the schools was not practical, and that schools were needed which should teach such subjects as mensuration, surveying, navigation, drawing and chemistry.[19] They therefore opened three superior "Central Schools," "on the improved system of education"[20] under trained teachers from the Normal Seminary at Glasgow, which had been begun in 1836, the first institution in Britain for the training of teachers.

The first Central School was opened at Colombo in August, 1843, under William Knighton, who wrote a History of Ceylon, and "Forest Life in Ceylon." He began his school with 40 boys, whose attainments he found to be various, but on the whole an honour to the institutions from which they came.[17]

Soon after he began work, a class of twelve normal students which had been begun at the Academy in 1842

17. Report, 1845.
18. Report, 1848.
19. Report, 1842.
20. Observer, 18th July, 1844.

was transferred to him. These students worked with the highest class of the school, and taught under supervision. They had each an allowance of £10 a year, and the course lasted three years.[21] As the other Central schools were opened, similar normal classes were attached to them.

Knighton thus explains the new methods of teaching now introduced by him. "Two students are employed weekly in delivering training lessons or lectures to the entire body of pupils, by means of ellipses and questions mixed, as pursued in the Normal Seminary of Glasgow, By means of these almost every subject may be impressed. clearly and accurately, upon the minds of the pupils."[17] Certainly the elliptical method was deeply impressed upon teaching in Ceylon.

The next Central and Normal school was opened at Galle, under Mr. J. Millar. In October, 1844, there were 93 pupils, and four normal students.[17] The discipline was admirable, and "Mr. Millar evidently spared no pains to stimulate his pupils, whose appearance and manner were respectable in the extreme." Here the Inspector noted the very simple method adopted of the boys holding up their hands when ready to answer.[14]

The third school was started at Kandy by Mr. Murdoch, afterwards famous as the first agent of the Christian Literature Society.

There were doubts about opening the school at Kandy, as education in English was not appreciated by the Kandyans, who were not ambitious of Government employment, and it was reported that the people would not pay the school fees or buy school books, but these predictions were not fulfilled.[17]

In 1846 there were 34 boys in the Central school, and 6 normal students. Though there was much less outward

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21. Report, 1845, 1846.

appearance of progress here than in the other schools, there was a greater degree of attention paid to all without favour or exception. [14]

The three Central schools gave great satisfaction. It was reported that the pupils were assuming a degree of energy and acquiring a love of study and regularity which an untrained teacher rarely imparted. At Galle there was in all the Government schools a show of discipline and improvement which might easily be traced to the influence of the Central school.[17] Even more important was the success of those normal students who left the Colombo school and took charge of schools at out-stations. These were able to prepare their pupils for the senior school, where they at once readily fell into the system ; and when a trained master was transferred his successor, educated in the same school, did not throw back his scholars for a while. [17]

The Colombo school was unfortunate. It soon lost Knighton, who left Ceylon for Bengal in 1846, whereupon the normal students returned to the Academy. [14] Mr. Crank of the Academy, who succeeded Knighton, soon left, and the school was then entrusted to Rev. Dr. Kessen, the Wesleyan Missionary, who was reported to be more or less familiar with 14 languages, and whose "talents as a teacher were well-known." [22]

The barracks where the school was held being required by the military [23] the school was moved to "the lower part of an old building, the residence of a missionary, bordering on one of the noisiest streets," where it had "one long crowded and dirty room." There was no playground, and the children were on the street during the intervals. [24]

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22. Monthly Literary Register, 1884.
23. 1892, 26th January, 1847. "Nearly 170 boys thrown loose from their education."
24. Observer, 13th July, 1848.

Superior Girls' Schools.

While thus opening Central schools for the boys the Commission did not forget the girls. Before 1843 the best education for girls available in Colombo cost from 15 shillings to £1 a month at a private day school under the charge of Miss Giberne at Mutwal.[25] But in 1843 the Commission opened two girls' schools in Colombo, with a monthly fee of 1*s.* 6*d.* and under English Principals "initiated into the improved system of instruction taught at the Borough Road, and possessed of a missionary spirit." The establishment of these schools, the Female Seminary and the Consistorial Girls' school, was "the commencement of female education, which can hardly be said to have previously existed in Colombo."[26]

In June, 1844, both schools were publicly examined, and prizes offered by the Commission were distributed. The examination of the Seminary "elicited the decided approbation of the visitors. The young ladies read well, answered scripture questions and enquiries as to the meanings of words very readily. Their needlework was at once bought by the ladies in attendance." At the Consistorial school the examination was conducted by Miss Wells, whose system others could not be conversant with. The children all joined in singing cheerful songs, and "all seemed lively and interested."[27] Next year the pupils had increased in numbers, and at their examination gave proofs of great progress."[25] The salaries of the Principals were accordingly increased as a sign of approbation.[28]

So successful were these schools that similar ones were opened at Galle and Matara, but both these had soon to be closed.

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25. Report, 1845.
26. Observer, 18th July, 1844.
27. Observer, June, 1844
28. 1746. 2nd Nov., 1844.

The Academy.

The apex of the Government school system was the Academy, founded by Rev. Joseph Marsh as a private school and refounded as a Government school in 1836. Mr. Marsh died in 1839, and the Principal from 1842 was the redoubtable Dr. Barcroft Boake, as pugnacious a cleric as ever came out of Ireland. His chief assistant was Mr. Brooke Bailey. In 1841 there were 103 boys in the Academy itself and its lower school, which was called the Model School but was conducted in a cadjan shed.[29] The fees were 8 Rds. a month in the upper school and 4 in the lower. One of the first acts of the Commission was to reduce the fees by half.[30] The numbers in the Model School quickly rose[31] to 277, while the upper school had 61 boys in 1844. There were, however, bitter complaints from the school that the doors had been thrown open to a promiscuous crowd,[30] and the relations between Boake and the School Commission were never cordial.

Aided Schools.

The next innovation by the Commission was with regard to aid for Mission schools. Governor Mackenzie had specially stated in his Minute[32] that the Commission was at liberty to grant aid to private schools, on full right of inspection and examination being allowed. A plan was now adopted[33] by which some "Ministers' schools" were supported by Government, the minister being sole Superintendent of his school and appointing and dismissing teachers with the concurrence of the Commission. Salaries were regulated as in Government schools.

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29. Young Ceylon, May, 1850.
30. Reports, 1841, '45, '46.
31. Examiner, 15th July, 1846.
32. Minute of 26th May, 1841, in almanac for 1844.
33. 18th September, 1843.

In the south the Missionaries, especially the Wesleyans, who were most affected, thought English "a very imperfect medium of instruction" [34] and were not much interested in the scheme. The Wesleyan Boys' and Girls' schools at Colpetty, Galle and Trincomalee and a Baptist school at Grand Pass did however figure for some years among the Government schools. [35]

But it was in Jaffna, where the Missionaries were keen on English education, that the system of aid to Mission schools really took root. There the first Commission had started an English and four vernacular schools. These were not satisfactory and were closed in 1842 and others opened under new masters. [36] There was difficulty in providing for efficient superintendence, and danger of interference with the Mission schools. [37] The Government schools were therefore discontinued, [38] and grants were made instead to the Missions in Jaffna. [39] The American Mission received £200 a year and the Church Mission and the Wesleyans £150 each, "to be expended, in addition to the amounts already devoted by those Missions, in the diffusion of English education," "on condition of their extending their schools, either their English schools, or if their vernacular schools, then their girls' schools, to the extent that the grant made to them would permit." [40] In 1847 there were 30 Jaffna grant schools with 1,466 pupils. The work of superintendence was actively performed, and thus the object of the Commission was attained. [40]

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34. Rev. Spence Hardy in Observer, 6th December, 1837, and Friend, April, 1839.
35. Almanacs.
36. Report of School Commission, 1843.
37. Observer, July, 1844.
38. In 1844. Reports for 1844, 1845.
39. 1746. 29th February, 1844. Resolution of School Commission and Examiner, 12th August, 1846.
40. Reports of School Commission, 1845, 1846.

Similar arrangements were next made for Chaplains who refused to superintend Government schools. Rev. S. Owen Glenie at Trincomalee opened two small schools, which he conducted "not as rivals but as useful adjuncts to the Government schools," and grants were made to enable him to open three more.[38] It was arranged that if a Chaplain raised a quarter of the expenses of his school by subscriptions or fees, made monthly returns, taught up to a minimum standard, kept within the Commission's scale of salaries, and allowed inspection, he should have entire freedom in appointments and dismissals of staff and fixing of fees, and three-fourths of the school expenses should be borne by Government.[41] In addition to Glenie's schools two Chaplain's Girls' schools were opened in 1847; one at Jaffna under Rev. Arndt; and the other at Kandy under Rev. Von Dadelzen.[42] This experiment, however, did not last long.

Vernacular Schools.

Another innovation of these years was the decision to open Government vernacular schools. After 1832 the policy of Government had been to have English schools and leave vernacular education to the Missions. Governor Mackenzie was anxious that the beginning of education should be in the vernacular, but the Secretary of State, Lord John Russell, refused to sanction expenditure for such a purpose.[43] The former policy was therefore continued for a while, but it was found that many of the scholars, especially in the village schools, could not benefit by the instruction they received unless it was combined with Sinhalese.[44] After a time masters were allowed to use Sinhalese as an aid in teaching,[41] and in September, 1843,

41. Report for 1846.
42. 1892. 20th, 22nd April, 1847.
43. Report of Committee of Legislative Council, 1867.
44. Report for 1849-1850, and 1846.

the Commission resolved that where necessary an elementary school should be supplied with the means of giving instruction in Sinhalese, so that "the children might be able to read with accuracy their own language, prior to commencing the study of English." [41] In order to encourage this primary vernacular education it was made entirely free, no fee being charged until a pupil began to study English. [45]

One reason why Government objected to establishing vernacular schools was that the Missions were able to conduct schools more efficiently and economically, so much more vigilant and influential was the superintendence of the Missionaries than that of such persons as Government could call to its aid. [46] The Missions, however, had not the funds to extend their work. In 1845 Rev. Gogerly wrote to the Colonial Secretary pointing this out. Nineteen children out of twenty he declared were receiving no education at all. He suggested that as a first step Government should open a normal school for Sinhalese masters. It could be decided later whether Government should open schools or the Missions continue the work. [47] It was resolved that the matter was of the greatest importance. A supplementary grant was voted, and by the first of June the Native Normal Institution was opened with twenty students. [48]

The Rector was Rev. Kessen, and the Institution was housed near the Pettah Wesleyan Chapel. The course was for two years, and from 1846 there were two classes of twenty men each, and what was "perhaps an entirely novel feature" there were ten women students. [48] The subjects of study were the Bible, Reading, Writing,

45. 1892. Circular of May, 1846.
46. Barrow's Ceylon Past and Present, p. 164.
47. 1746, 5th and 13th May, 18th June, 1845. Report for 1845.
48. 1746. 23rd May, 1845.

Geography, History, Arithmetic, Elements of Science, and a very little Geometry. This last subject was taught that the masters, being able to measure land, might be more useful in the villages.

At the end of 1845 there was a public examination in the presence of the Governor.[49] It began at eleven o'clock. The Bishop, Dr. MacVicar and Mr. Lee examined the students and the result was declared to be "extremely creditable." Mr. Lee particularly noted the penmanship and the "almost incredible readiness" with which sums in addition and reduction were worked. A second examination was held in December, 1846,[50] and a third in June, 1847.[51] At the latter the Governor and the Colonial Secretary and a large assembly were present. The walls were covered with paintings and drawings, the work of the students. The Governor spoke of the advancement of the pupils in this branch in very flattering terms, and generally in high praise of what he saw.

In 1847 Government vernacular schools were begun. The Commission took over some schools from the Missions, and began others for some of the teachers trained at the Normal Institution.[52] The other trained teachers were "awarded" to Ministers' schools,[53] which seem ultimately to have been taken over entirely by the Commission. The attendance at these schools varied from 16 to 54.

Once the Commission had decided seriously to treat Sinhalese "not merely as a step to English, but as a permanent channel for acquiring information,"[41] it was necessary to set about obtaining the necessary books, for

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49. Examiner, 28th January, 1846, and Report for 1846.
50. Times, 11th December, 1846; Examiner, 30th December, 1846.
51. Examiner, 9th and 17th June, 1847.
52. Report of S.C. for 1847.
53. B 701, minute of 24th July, 1847, Examiner, 13th September, 1847.

there was an "almost entire absence of all books in the native language adapted for instruction ; [54] "little or nothing in the native literature fit to be introduced into a good school." [41] At the Normal Seminary at first the Principal and the Headmaster translated for their pupils the lessons absolutely necessary, and in other things had to content themselves with verbal explanations. [55]

A Committee was therefore appointed in 1845 to select works for translation, and thus form "a new literature, commencing from its very rudiments," the actual translation being done by a paid translator. [56] But the printing was delayed, and by 1850 there were still no Arithmetic, no History and no Geography books available in Sinhalese. [55]

The Commission.

One matter in which the Commission was open to criticism was the inspection of schools. The Observer declared that the Inspector was not practically acquainted with school routine or method and described his inspection as being "of a most superficial character, consisting merely of a hasty glance into the interior of a few schools in the Central and Western Provinces : a glance only cast on them once a year." [57] This was exaggerated, and the Herald thought it was superfluous to praise Lee's activity and zeal, [58] but as the Inspector was not only Secretary of the Commission but also Postmaster-General, at a time when the duties of the post office were increasing,

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54. Report for 1845.
55. Report for 1849-50.
56. A Spelling book and a First Reading book by Mr. Gogerly, a School Sinhalese-English Dictionary, and large Sinhalese Alphabets were published in 1847. Mr. Haslam prepared an Arithmetic with Ceylon examples, and a first book in English and Sinhalese. Mr. Kessen translated a Geography of Asia, and a suitable Geometry, while Mr. Brooke Bailey prepared books in History and Geography. (Reprt for 1846-47).
57. Observer, 15th July, 1844.
58. Herald, 31st March, 1843.

the Commission had at last to represent that his other duties made it impossible that the inspection of schools should be attended to properly.[59] Government was urged to separate the offices of Secretary and Inspector. It decided to relieve Mr. Lee of both offices, to which it appointed Mr. Brooke Bailey.[59] The Commission protested. They thought Mr. Bailey better qualified for the post of Inspector than any other person on the spot, but they wanted the two posts to be separated, and Mr. Lee to continue as Secretary.[59] The separation of duties was allowed, but Government appointed as Secretary a member of the Commission, Rev. John MacVicar, D.D.,[60] the Scotch Chaplain, "a brawny old mathematician who combined poetry with metaphysics,"[61] and who was the first Vice-President of this Society.

We see, therefore, that between 1841 and 1847 the plans of Governor Stewart Mackenzie were gradually realised. A representative Commission was working harmoniously; teachers were being trained; schools were inspected by a full-time Inspector; arrangements were made for children to begin their education in the vernacular; a Translation Committee was appointed; the Native Normal Institution was laying a foundation for vernacular education; superior schools had been opened, and a system of grants-in-aid established.

The results of all this were full of promise. English had now come to be in universal use among the Burghers, among whom it was rapidly superseding all other languages.[62] The people in all parts of the Island were awaking to the advantages which education brings with it. Contrary to the general opinion, which was that national apathy

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59. 1746. 2nd and 9th September, 1845.
60. 1746. 18th and 23rd September, 1845.
61. Life of Lorenz in "Forty Years in a Crown Colony."
62. Times, 3rd November, 1845.

presented a bar to the success of any educational system, the local Times declared that there was not a people more alive to the superiority which mental cultivation confers.[63]

In 1848 there were 60 Government English schools open with an attendance of 2,714; four of these were superior schools for boys and three superior schools for girls. There were two Normal Classes for English teachers, a Normal Institution for Sinhalese teachers, and 24 new Sinhalese schools with about 800 pupils, while in Jaffna there were 28 grant schools with 1,049 pupils.

There was, however, another side to this picture of progress; and that was the financial. The expenditure on schools rose steadily, and though the number of pupils rose too, the average cost per pupil rather rose than fell, since the superior schools were under qualified imported teachers, who could not be got on next to nothing. Progress had to be paid for, but no attempt had been made to secure that a fair share of the payment came from those who benefitted. Almost the whole cost fell on Government. The total expenditure on schools rose from £2,999 in 1841 to £11,415 in 1847,[64] an increase of almost 300 per cent., while (if we take the Jaffna grant schools into account) the increase in attendance was only 120 per cent.

For some years after 1841 the membership of the School Commission continued almost unaltered, and members worked harmoniously together.[65] But in 1845 changes began which soon turned it almost into a new body. On the departure of Mr. Anstruther in that year, Bishop Chapman, lately appointed first Anglican Bishop of Colombo, was offered and accepted the Presidency.[66] Other new

63. Times, 18th July, 3rd December, 1846.
64. Figures in Report, 1862-3.
65. Herald, 3rd February, 1845.
66. 1746. 14th November, 1845.

members in 1846 and 1847 were Rev. J. D. Palm (Presbyterian Minister), Rev. A. Renaud (R.C.Priest), Mr. G. Crabbe (M.L.C.), Mr. W. C. Gibson (Acting Auditor-General), Rev. H. D. Gordon (C.M.S.), J. MacCarthy (Auditor-General), and Sir J. E. Tennent (Colonial Secretary).

Anstruther's position as Colonial Secretary and President of the Commission had helped the Government and the Commission to see eye to eye. But with the Bishop as President the position was different. Difficulties were bound to arise regarding the administration of a Government department by a semi-independent body.

A crisis was precipitated by Rev. Kessen, Principal of the Central school and the Native Normal Institution, who applied direct to the Governor for a vacant post in the Academy, to which he was appointed.[67] It was explained to the Governor that appointments lay with the Commission. He said he was unaware of it and disapproved it, and issued a minute stating that the administration of funds, the appointment of masters, and all proceedings of the Commission which involved an expenditure of money would be subject to his approval, and all appointments carrying salaries over £100 per annum would be made in the first instance by him.[68] Upon this Bishop Chapman resigned the Presidency,[69] and Tennent took his place.[70]

One of the first acts of the Commission after the change was the revoking of the arrangements regarding assistance to Chaplains' and Ministers' schools. Such schools as continued under the Commission now became wholly Government schools.[71]

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67. Examiner, 8th September, 1847.
68. B 701, in Report dated 14th August, 1847.
69. August, 1847.
70. 3701. 13th August, 1847.
71. 731. 1st January, 1848, 1892, 28th December, 1847. Report of School Commission, 1848.

The religious differences which it had been hoped to heal with the appointment of the Bishop as President now broke out afresh.[72] Anglican Chaplains refused to serve on the Board. They also objected to the Scotch Chaplain, Dr. MacVicar, being Secretary. In order "to quiet the sectarian jealousies which disturbed the proceedings" of the Commission, Dr. MacVicar "made a voluntary surrender of his office for the maintenance of Christian peace," and was replaced by a layman, as "less likely to excite religious jealousies out of doors, or to attract the suspicions of sectarian influences."[73] The new Secretary was Mr. J. Fraser, keeper of the Government Records.[74]

Meanwhile Ceylon was passing through difficult times. 1847 was marked by a commercial panic in England. In Ceylon, coffee planting suffered a severe set-back, and the Island's revenue was seriously affected. The next year when revolutions broke out in Europe, there was a Kandyan rising, followed by martial law. It was necessary that the axe should be applied.

In September, 1848, Government, with the "strongest confidence in the zeal, devotion and judgment" of the School Commission, informed it that for the ensuing year the vote for schools would be cut down from £10,684 to £6,000, and asked for a scheme of retrenchment.[75] A Committee was appointed which produced a scheme to run the schools "on a reduced scale of expense with greater efficiency." We shall not now enquire how they achieved this aim. It is enough to note that in January, 1849, reorganisation took place and a new chapter began in the story of the schools.

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72. B 729. 1st, 3rd and 27th January, 1848. 21st February, 14th April, 1848.

73. A 1968, 22nd May, 1848, 13th and 20th April, 1848.

74. Mr. Fraser drew £50 of the Secretary's salary, Dr. McVicar drawing the rest in consideration of his voluntary surrender of the post.

75. 732. 20th September, 1848. Report 47-8.

Mr. G. E. Harding, B.D., B.A., said that Mr. Gratiaen was thorough in all that he undertook, and the short paper he had read to them that evening was exceedingly interesting.

He had thrown great light upon one of the earlier phases of educational activity in the British period.

In some respects the views held by important people of those days were similar to those of the leading educationists of to-day. notably in emphasizing the importance of early education being given in the vernacular.

Here, however, they were only reverting to the ideas enunciated by the great Comenius in the 17th century, who in his "Great Didactic" maintained that up to the age of twelve the teaching of other languages should be in the mother-tongue, and that direct instruction in the mother-tongue should precede all other instruction.

Mr. Gratiaen had shown that in the period under review there had been difficulties to solve even as now, though of course not of the same type.

He had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Gratiaen for his illuminating paper.

The Chairman in conveying the thanks of the Society to Mr. Gratiaen reminded him of the expectations expressed by some of the speakers and hoped Mr. Gratiaen would favour them again with papers on the history of educational efforts in Ceylon.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 29th, 1930.

Present :

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

Mr. A. M. Abeyagunaratna.
,, J. D. de Lanerolle.
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva.
Mr. S. B. Dias.
,, G. C. Edirisingha, B.A.
,, J. S. A. Fernando.
,, Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
Mr. L. A. Hayter.
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.L.C.
Mr. Jacob Moonasingha.
,, Walter Samarasingha, Atapattu Mudaliyar.
,, Charles Wickramaratna.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara and Mr. Edmund Reimers,

Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : 12 gentlemen.

Business :

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

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle, who read the following paper on "Place Names of Ceylon."

PLACE NAMES OF CEYLON

BY

JULIUS D. DE LANEROLLE

The place names of a country are necessarily bound up with its history and language. Old forms of words, which in later periods, have gone out of use, and words, of which the real significance is lost, are often found preserved in place names. A systematic study of them is therefore greatly helpful in the elucidation of numerous historical as well as linguistic questions. In Ceylon, however, very little seems to have been done by way of a systematic and scientific study of place names. The importance of such a study may not be sufficiently realised until and unless a few interesting names are thoroughly examined and the results viewed in the light of history and language. It is for that reason that I venture to place before the members of this learned Society some of the results I have been able to obtain from the investigations which I have carried on for some time. I do not, however, claim my investigations to be quite exhaustive ; some of my conclusions, too, may be regarded as tentative for the present. The main object of my paper, today, is to stimulate the interest of our scholars in this very important subject, which, to my mind, is badly neglected.

The one thing that impressed me most in the course of my enquiries is that a comprehensive survey of the place names of Ceylon—if systematically done—ought to add a wealth of information to our present knowledge of the history and the languages of Ceylon. Until such a survey is done it is exceedingly difficult to treat the subject in all its aspects.

The names of which the original significance is lost may be considered as the most interesting to the philologist and to the historian. When the original meaning of a name is forgotten, one of two things happens : either the meaning of a homonym is given to it, or, when a homonym is not available, the meaning of the word nearest to it in complexion is applied to it. Owing to this process, the original significance of many an important name is rendered unintelligible ; several historical names have got most fanciful legends grown round them ; and the identification of some places are made well-nigh impossible. Consequently, some statements in the history of Ceylon are without a proper background.

Out of a considerable number of place names which I have examined, I propose to discuss in this paper six typical ones. I proceed with them one by one :

Paḷā-Bat-Gala

This is a resting place of pilgrims along the route to Adam's Peak. It is a well-known spot. But the original significance of its name is now forgotten. When we examine this name it would be necessary first to find out the meaning of *paḷā-bat*, the first two parts of the compound ; the third—*gala*—presents no difficulty. The word *paḷā-bat* occurs in the Sinhalese Ummagga-Jātaka [1] (Kuruṇāgala period —14th Century). Mudaliyar A. M. Guṇasēkara translates it as " potherbs and cooked rice." [2] In all the editions of the Sinhalese Ummagga-Jātaka which I have seen, the word *paḷā* of this compound (*paḷā-bat*) is found spelt with a dental *l*, which, apparently, Guṇasēkara has taken to be correct. *Palā* (with a dental *l*) is the Sinhalese derivative of Pāli *palāśa* (Skr. *palāśa*) a leaf or leaves, foliage ; but the source of what occurs in *paḷā-bat* is entirely different. The Pāli word in the Jātakaṭṭhakathā corresponding to

1. Simon de Silva, *Sinh. Ummagga-Jātaka* (1899), p. 97-17.
2. A. M. Guṇasēkara, *Sinhalese Grammar*, p. 474-17.

paḷā-bat in the Sinh. Ummagga-Jātaka is *puṭa-bhatta*, [1] which means (*puṭa* a tube or bag—*bhatta* food) 'bag-food,' 'food carried in a bag or knapsack.' In general application it implies viaticum or food for a journey. Hence *paḷā-bat-muḷak* (*paḷā-bat* viaticum—*muḷak* a knapsack) a knapsack of viaticum, in the Sinh. Ummagga-Jātaka. [1] There can be little doubt that this word *paḷā* is etymologically connected with Pāli *puṭaka*. (For further instances of *u* > *a*, cf *purāṇa* > *paraṇa* old, *khura* > *kara* a razor). Baṭuvantuḍāve gives its meaning as *patra-puṭa*, [2] a bag or knapsack made of leaf; and, it may be remarked that even in modern times, viaticum is, as a rule, packed by villagers in the spathe of an areca-nut leaf formed into a *puṭa* a sort of a knapsack. The word *muḷa* found in the compound *paḷā-bat-muḷak* may be considered as another form derived from Pāli *puṭa*. Its Tamil equivalent is *puḷäi* a tube or pipe. *Puṭa-bhatta* in the Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa [3] is rendered as *bat-muḷak* in the Eḷu Attanagalu Vaṃsa. [4]

The Sinhalese word *paḷā-bat* meaning viaticum is not found in the modern language. Hence, apparently, the meaning of **palā-bat* (with a dental *l*) attributed to it by Guṇasēkara. There is, however, no doubt that at the time when Paḷā-bat-gala came to be mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, it was in use. At least, the author of the Mahāvaṃsa was aware of its significance. He calls it Puṭa-bhatta-silā [5] (=a viaticum rock) : the rock where pilgrims stopped a while, unpacked their knapsacks and took a meal before they resumed their journey. This word clearly shows how the Pāli form of a Sinhalese place name still preserves its original significance, while the Sinhalese name itself has lost it.

1. Fausböll, *Jātaka* Text, Vol. vi. p. 397-*30*.
2. Baṭuvantuḍāve, *Ruvanmala* (1892), p. 76.
3. James D'Alwis, *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* (1887) Ch. viii, 1.
4. James D'Alwis, *Eḷu Attanagalu-Vaṃse* (1887), p. 93.
5. *Mv.* lxxxiv, v. 24.

Koḷaṁba

Koḷaṁba (Anglicised 'Colombo') is the name of the modern Capital of Ceylon. This is a word with an interesting history behind it. Originally, it was not a Proper Noun and meant any port, ferry, harbour or haven. The Sidat-Saṅgarā (Daṁbadeṇi period—13th Century) calls it an indigenous term.[1] The first information as to its meaning is found in the oldest commentary to the Sidat-Saṅgarā,[2] written, perhaps, by the same author. The Ruvanmala (Kōṭṭe period—15th Century) gives it as a synonym for *toṭa* and *toṭu*, a ferry, port or haven.[3] The author of the Ruvanmala himself uses it in a passage in that sense.[4] After the Kōṭṭe period, nowhere is it found to have been used as a synonym for *toṭa* or *toṭu*. The word *koḷaṁba*, meaning ferry, etc., does not occur in Pāli and Skr., either in the same, or in a variant form. Nor does it appear to exist in Tamil. Therefore, the author of the Sidat-Saṅgarā is probably justified in calling it an indigenous term—indigenous, in the sense, that it is a Ceylon-born word, coming to Sinhalese from a language of the aborigines. The stem form of this *koḷaṁba* seems to be *kōḷ*, found also in modern Indian vernaculars. For instance, Tulu has *kolli* a bay, Malayāḷam *kollāi* a breach in a bank, Marāthī *kōḷ*, a creek or inlet, Hindī *kōḷ*, a creek or bay. In the Saddharma Ratnāvaliya (Daṁbadeṇi period—13th Century) occurs a word *kōḷ-baḍa*,[5] which is still found in use in the North-Central Province. It signifies the space occupied by an indent—a breach—in the bank of a river or tank. To my mind, both these words, *kōḷ-baḍa* and *koḷaṁba*, have the same meaning. Within the space of a ferry, water is naturally shallow, and, at a distance from it, deeper. Even today,

1. Śrī Dharmārāma, *Sidat-Saṅgarā* (1913), p. 16.
2. *Sidat-Saṅgarāvē Purāṇa Sanne*, Colombo Ed. (1915), p. 4.
3. Vijayasēkara, *Ruvanmala* (1914), v. 141.
4. *ibid* v. 1. "*mulu sat-vaga set koḷaṁba'l'e mahatmā*" that Great One who conveyed all beings to the haven of peace.
5. D. B. Jayatilaka, *Saddharma Ratnāvaliya* (1930), p.48-3.

the area outside a ferry where water is deeper than within it is called *diyaṁba* ; and, in the days of old, there seems to have been a word of similar complexion to denote the area of shallow waters within a ferry, too. That word, I am inclined to believe, is none other than the now forgotten *koḷaṁba*. Apparently, it meant not merely the area of shallow waters within a ferry, but also a ferry or port itself. The Tamil equivalent of *kōḷ* or *koḷaṁba* is *kuḍā*. Cf. Kal-kuḍā (= a rocky bay) in the Eastern Province. Father Gnāna Prakāsar connects Tamil *kuḍā* with an " original word-type " **kuḷ*, which, according to his theory,[1] shows an affinity with *kōḷ*, although the form *kōḷ* itself is not found in Tamil.

In course of time the general term *koḷaṁba* came to be fixed as the name of the principal port on the western coast of Ceylon. Of this process, there are numerous other instances, such as, *mōdara* ' a mouth of a river '—now a village near the mouth of Kälaṇi-Gaṅga ; *maha-mōdara* ' the principal mouth of a river '—now a village near the mouth of Giṃ-Gaṅga. In what paticular period the general term *koḷaṁba* was fixed as a Proper Noun—as the name of the modern Capital of Ceylon—it is difficult to say. It is in the writings of the 14th Century that its first mention is found. Both Wang-Ta-Yuan[2] and Ibn Batuta[3] have spoken of this port in their Travels. The earliest record of it in any Sinhalese work is to be found in the Tisara-Sandēsa (Gampoḷa-period—end of the 14th Century).[4] The Mahāvaṃsa mentions it at a very late period : in the 94th Chapter and after.[5] The Kalyāṇī Inscription (15th Century) speaks of a natural lake by the

1. For particulars read Father Gnāna Prakāsar's *Rough Sketch of the treatment of a Specimen Word* (1929)—Reprinted from the Jaffna Catholic Guardian.
2. *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xxviii, pp. 32, 35.
3. Ibn Batuta, *Travels*, Ed. S. Lee (1829), p. 191.
4. *Tisara Sandēsa*, v. 90.
5. *Mv.* xciv, v. 1 ; xcv, vv. 4, 15.

name of *kaḷambu*.[1] According to the Mahāvaṃsa there has been a village called *koḷambahālaka* or *koḷambālaka* near Anurādhapura in the second Century B.C.[2]. This, I venture to think, marks an early stage of the general term getting to be fixed as a Proper Noun.

There is a Sinhalese word *koḷom* meaning a tree (nauclea cordifolia) "with orange coloured fragrant blossoms" and derived from Pāli *kadamba*. This word is often found confused by modern scholars with *koḷaṁba* in trying to trace the origin of the latter.[3] *Kadamba-Nadī* of the Mahāvaṃsa,[4] otherwise known as *Koḷom-Oya*, is now called *Malvatu-Oya* (= the *oya* of the flower gardens).

Koḷonnāva

The Nikāya Saṅgraha (Gampoḷa period—14th Century) speaks of a lake not far from the port of Colombo.[5] The Kalyāṇī Inscription not only mentions that there was a natural lake where an Upasampadā ceremony was held under the patronage of the King of Kōṭṭe, but also states that that lake was called *Kaḷambu*.[1] Apparently, both these works refer to the same lake, a natural[6] reservoir for the back-waters of the Kälaṇi-Gaṅga. It was probably known as 'the lake of Koḷaṁba' as indicated by the passage *kaḷambunāme mahājātassare* in the Kalyāṇī Inscription.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, xxii (1893), p. 239. "*kalambunāme mahājātassare.*"
2. *Mv.*, xxv, v. 80 ; xxxiii, v. 42.
3. Śrī Dharmārāma, *Sidat-Saṅgarā* (1913), p. 17.
4. *Mv.*, vii, v. 43.
5. *Nikāya Saṅgraha* (1907), p. 22-35.
6. Father S. G. Perera, S. J., is of the opinion that the lake of Colombo was not a natural one but that it was artificially made by the Portuguese. His authority is a Portuguese record, which, in itself, is far from satisfactory regarding the information it supplies on the point. He has apparently overlooked this reference in the Kalyāṇī Inscription. We have, therefore, no reason to disregard the definite statement in a pre-Portuguese record that the lake of Colombo was a natural sheet of water. The Portuguese record in question probably refers to some development scheme carried on by the Portuguese for the protection of their city.—Father S. G. Perera, S.J., *City of Colombo*, in Paper No. 8 issued by the Ceylon Historical Association, p.13.

The Sinhalese word *koḷonnāva* (*koḷon-(n)-āva*) which is now applied to a suburb of Colombo also means precisely the same. Cf. *luṇāva,* 'a salt lake,' a township in the Western Province. My belief is that *koḷonnāva* was originally the Sinhalese name by which the lake mentioned in the Kalyāṇī Inscription and the Nikāya Saṅgraha was popularly known, and latterly also applied to the suburb. In this way the word *koḷaṁba* shows an interesting process of evolution. First it was a general term. Then it was fixed as the name of a port, and again as the name of a whole city. Latterly, the port or the city gave its name to the lake that was near it. Lastly, the lake gave its name to the village that sprang up near it.

Mahaväli-Gaṅga

Mahaväli-Gaṅga is the modern name of the longest river in Ceylon. It is generally rendered as 'The Great Sandy River' (=*maha* great—*väli* sand—*gaṅga* river). The Pālified form is *mahāvālukagaṅgā* or °*nadī*. It would be interesting to enquire why of all the rivers in Ceylon this alone is called a "sandy" river. However, a careful examination of the term shows that the idea of "sand" is simply a recent development. In the Mahāvaṃsa the form *mahāvālukagaṅgā* is found for the first time in the 71st Chapter.[1] In the earlier Chapters the river is referred to as *mahāgaṅgā* or *gaṅgā*.[2] *Mahā-gaṅgā* means 'The Great River,' and *gaṅgā* 'The River.' This is another instance where a general term is fixed as a Proper Noun. The word *mahāgaṇgā* given in the Mahāvaṃsa is obviously the Pālified form of some Sinhalese word that was in popular use; and there can be little doubt that that word was *maha-väli*, which, the later authors, not knowing its original significance, rendered as *mahā-vāluka* or °*vālika*. So, the word *väli* seems to have had lost its meaning 'river,' during the period when

1. *Mv.*, lxxi, v. 17.
2. *Mv.*, x, vv. 44, 57, 58; xxxviii, v. 41.

the 71st Chapter of the Mahāvaṃsa was written, when people thought that *väli* meant nothing other than sand. It would be interesting to note that the word *väli-viṭa* 'high-land bordering a river or stream' still preserves the meaning 'river' of *väli*. Cf. *ō-viṭa* high-land bordering an *oya*; *vā̄-viṭa* highland bordering a *väva*; *pokuṇu-viṭa* high-land bordering a *pokuṇa*; *väli-maḍa* (for *väli-baḍa* or °*boḍa*) the land that adjoins a river. This word *väli*, meaning a river, may be compared, for its etymological relations, with Pāli and Skr. *vāri* 'water' and Tamil *vellam* 'a flood or inundation.'

Giri-Dīpa

The mention of Giri-dīpa is found only in one connexion in the chronicles of Ceylon, and that is, regarding the driving away of the Yakkhas from (?) Ceylon by the Buddha. The Mahāvaṃsa says that the Master brought Giri-dīpa near to the Yakkhas and, when they settled there, he retransported it to its former place.[1] The word *dīpa* is generally rendered as "an island"; and, therefore, Giri-dīpa is supposed to be an island, too. Prof. Geiger does not, however, think that it was an island. He says, the notion underlying the statement in the Mahāvaṃsa may be that the Yakkhas were driven back to the highlands (*giri*) in the interior of the country.[2] As Geiger himself observes it is in comparatively recent times that the word *dīpa* (Skr. *dvīpa*) came to mean an island. Originally, it meant a tract of land bounded by sheets of water on either side (=*dvi* two—*ap* water). Therefore it need not be necessarily thought that Giri-dīpa where the Yakkhas were driven to was an island. Geiger's suggestion that they were driven to a region of Ceylon itself is quite reasonable. But his surmise that that region was the highland may be further examined, for, he himself is not able to say anything definitely as regards the

1. *Mv.*, i, vv. 30, 31.
2. Geiger, *The Mahāvaṃsa* Translation, p. 4, n. 4.

geographical position of that district. The Mahāvaṃsa, after mentioning Giri-dīpa, speaks of a Giri-janapada 'a province called Giri,' the native place of Goṭhaimbara and Velusumana.[1] This Giri-janapada is generally identified with Rohaṇa, which is also known as Giri-vā or Giru-vā. Nundo Lāl Dey points out that in Indian toponymics *dvīpa* or *dīpa* is often changed into *vā*[2]: Kaṭa-dvīpa (in Bengal) is now called Kaṭ-vā.[3] In the same way it is not unreasonable to think that *giri-vā* is merely a changed form of *giri-dvīpa*. Then, however, the question may be asked why the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, who had occasion to mention both these names, did not recognize the one as indentical with the other. The answer is simple. As regards Giri-dvīpa he comes in contact with it when he deals with a pre-Vijayan event. He is obviously one of those who held the Yakkhas to be demons—not men. Naturally, therefore, his impression would be that the Yakkhas were driven not to any particular part of Ceylon itself, which was to be made safe for men to live in, but to some place outside; and, accordingly, he would take Giri-dīpa connected with the Yakkhas to be an island outside Ceylon. At the same time, the author of the Mahāvaṃsa had to deal with Giri-vā, well-known to him as a district of Ceylon, which he rendered, very rightly, as Giri-janapada. Thus it would be interesting to note that the so-called island where the Yakkhas were driven to by the Buddha can be reasonably identified with Rohaṇa, a part of which is still called Giri-vā or Giru-vā. Besides etymological relations, there seem to exist other circumstances which tend to justify this identification. It is obvious that *giri-dīpa* is not a general term: it has all the characteristics of an established name of some place or other. As such, it would not have been used in a general sense—such as to mean "highlands," as suggested by Geiger. Therefore, a Giri-

1. *Mv.*, xxiii, vv. 49, 68.
2. Nundo Lāl Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, Second Edition (1927), p. i.
3. *ibid*, p. 96.

dīpa, whether it was an island or something else—something known by that name—did exist. But, towards the highlands from the scene of the event (*i.e.*, Bintänna), there is hardly any place whose name can be compared with Giridīpa, whereas, Giri-vā, the adjoining district on the south, affords practically everything that is necessary for a satisfactory comparison.

As regards the meaning of *giri* in Giri-vā, the current belief is that a mountain or mountain range is meant by it. Hence, also, perhaps Geiger's suggestion. Giri-vā is, nevertheless, one of the least mountainous parts of Ceylon. On the other hand, there is a rendering of *giri-vā* as *giri-pāda* 'foot of a mountain or mountain range,' indicating that the district extends from the foot of a mountain range in the up-country. There seems to be yet another belief, and that is, that Giripāda is so-called because it extends on all directions from the foot of Mul-*giri*-gala, the well-known rock near Taṃgalla.[1] Here it may be remarked that *mul-giri-gala* has also another form *mū-kiri-gala*. Whatever that may be, if the rendering of *vā* as *pāda* in this instance is correct, it is difficult to believe that the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, in the 5th Century, would have committed a mistake by rendering it as *janapada*.

In Giri-vā, even to-day, we come across, besides Mū-*kiri*-gala, place names like Kirama and Kiriṅdi-Gaṅga. Kiriṅdi-Gaṅga is given in Pāli as *karinda-nadī*.[2] That *kiriṅdi* is rendered here as *karinda* may or may not be of any etymological significance. But one thing is clear: the author of the Mahāvaṃsa, who is responsible for this rendering, did not recognize the Sinhalese word *kiriṅdi* as having in this place its popular meaning 'tares.' He rendered it into Pāli as *karinda*; and, what meaning he attributed to it it is difficult to say. There is, however, a word *karin* in both Skr. and

1. This information is supplied to me by Gate-Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.
2. *Mv.*, xxxii, v. 14.

Pāli meaning 'elephant,' and its Sinhalese derivative is *kiri*.[1] To my mind, the *giri* of our *giri-vā* is very likely a variation of this *kiri* 'an elephant.' In Sinhalese *k* is often found softened into *g*. *Cf.*, for instance, *kīra* > *girā*, 'a parrot.' On the other hand, an original form *giri* meaning an elephant, too, does not seem to be altogether impossible. The Skr. word *gaja* 'an elephant' comes from a root *garj* to roar, thunder or growl; and the Sinhalese verb corresponding to it is *goravanavā* or *guguranavā*. It would be worth enquiring if a word *giri* meaning elephant could not have been formed out of the root of *gorav-a-navā* or *gugur-a-navā* in Sinhalese in the same way as *gaja* was formed out of the root *garj* in Skr. It would further be interesting to find out, in this connexion, the origin of the words *giri-mekhalā* and *nālā-giri*—both, well-known as names of elephants. My belief is that the district Giri-vā takes its name from the elephants whose abode it seems to have been from very early times;[2] and thus, it would be interesting to note that Giri-dīpa mentioned in connexion with the driving away of the Yakkhas can be reasonably identified with Giri-vā (or Giru-vā) which appears

1. Vijayasekara, *Ruvanmala* (1914) v. 341.

2. Even to-day there are wild elephants in this part of the country. From very remote ages Ceylon has been noted for its elephants. Pliny, Dionysius and others are said to have spoken highly of the good breed of Ceylon elephants (Pridham, *Ceylon*, iv. p. 709). The elephants engaged in Persian wars, the wars of Pyrrhus, the Punic wars and others, are all said to have been procured from Ceylon, from whence they were shipped to the Persian Gulf or to various ports on the Red Sea by the Phoenicians (*ibid*, p. 710, n.1). Ptolemy also speaks of wild elephants in Ceylon, and their feeding grounds towards the sea. (S. M. Śāstrī, *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (1927), pp. 247, 249). From the earliest known times Ceylon seems to have been engaged in breeding elephants and exporting them to other countries. The Mayūra Sandēsa (Gampoḷa period—early 15th Century) says that at Mātara, in the country of Rohaṇa, there were a royal stable of elephants (Ed. W. F. Guṇawardhana (1928) v. 92), and, not far from Mātara, a forest teeming with elephants (*ibid*, v. 107). This is ample evidence to show that Rohaṇa has been a regular breeding ground for elephants. Under the Dutch and the early British Rules, too, Southern Province is said to have been the chief centre of great elephant hunts (Pridham, *Ceylon*, iv, p. 712). Even in our own times, the elephants entrapped at Panāmurē are those that migrate there from Rohaṇa.

to have been so called because it has been the home of elephants (*kiri* or *giri*) in Ceylon.

Kusṭarajā-Gala

The well-known rock at Väligama with an ancient sculpture is now called Kusṭarajā-gala (=the rock of the leper king). Connected with it is a tradition, of which Mr. Bennett gives a fairly long account as it was related to him by the "Head Priest of Karangodde Vihare in Saffregam." [1] It says that a Sinhalese king, afflicted with a cutaneous disease, got himself cured by eating coconut; and to commemorate the event the image was carved and named after him by his men. The figure is claimed to represent this king. Before this event, coconut is said to have been unknown in Ceylon as an edible nut; and credit is therefore given to that leper king for discovering it as an article of food. There is also a belief that this king did not belong to Ceylon but had come here from a foreign country owing to his disease. [2] Whatever the story, the figure at Väligama does not represent a human being; iconographically it can be identified with a particular deity. [3] Therefore, the supposition that it is the likeness of a king whether of Ceylon or of any other country has evidently no foundation. Mr. W. A. de Silva thinks that the name *kusṭarajā* is "nothing more than *kusirāja*, the titular deity of coconut in Travancore." [4] In support of this opinion he says that "one of the first coconut plantations during the time of the Sinhalese kings was made at Weligama." [4] Apparently, he believes that coconut was first introduced to Väligama—if not to Ceylon—from Travancore. The implication is that, with the coconut, the so-called deity Kusirāja was also introduced, whose name, in course of time, came to be transformed into

1. Bennett, *Ceylon and Its Capabilities* (1843), pp. 331ff.
2. S. Paraṇavitāna, *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sect. G, Vol. ii. pt. i., p. 49.
3. Vide infra (p. . . .)
4. *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xxviii, 72 (1919), p. 86.

Kusṭarajā. Whatever was the origin of Kusirāja in Travancore, it is difficult, in the first place, to believe that coconut was ever introduced to Ceylon from the Indian Continent, and, secondly, to suppose that coconut was not in popular use as an article of food in Ceylon before the earliest known coconut plantation at Väligama. There is no gainsaying the fact that coconut is essentially an oceanic plant. It is found nearly in all the islands in the Indian Ocean. When it first appeared in any particular island it is impossible to say. Its introduction from island to island requires no human agency. [1] Whether, on the other hand, Travancore itself got its first coconut from Ceylon, we are, of course, not able to say; but, for one thing, we learn from Portuguese sources that Ceylon has been exporting coconuts to South India until so recently as the time when the Portuguese first landed in Ceylon. [2] When these exportations had begun we are unable to find out owing to the silence of our historians in regard to Ceylon's foreign trade connexions. What Mr. de Silva refers to as "one of the first coconut plantations at Weligama" is apparently the one noticed by John Ferguson. [3] It is for the first time mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa, where it is said that Aggabodhi I (6th Century) dedicated a coconut plantation, three yojanas in extent, to Kurunda Vihāra. [4] In the words of Ferguson himself "this is doubtless the very first record of the formation of a regular coconut plantation in Ceylon." [3] It is the first *record* indeed; but the statement by no means conveys the idea that it was one of the earliest *plantations*, regular or otherwise. The Mahāvaṃsa itself speaks of coconut trees in Rohaṇa during the 2nd Century B.C. It is said that Goṭhaimbara, at the age of sixteen, while in his village, smote the stems of palmyrah and coconut trees with a club and levelled them to the

1. Ferguson, *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xix 57 (1906), pp. 50ff.
2. Ferguson, *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*) xix, 57 (1906), p. 56.
3. *ibid*, p. 50
4. *Mv.*, xlii, vv. 15, 16.

ground.[1] At the Vijita-pura battle he killed the *Damilas* by striking them with a coconut palm.[2] Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is said to have treated the men engaged in the great work of building the Ruvanmäli with the water of the young coconut (*kurumbā*)[3] Some writers seem to have been under the impression that although coconut was known in Ceylon during early times, yet its edible properties were then unknown. Sir J. E. Tennent, for one, says without any hesitation that "although it is sometimes spoken of in the Mahāvaṃsa, no allusion is ever made to it as an article of diet or an element in the preparation of food."[4] The explanation, however, is not far to seek. The coconut is a tree which cannot thrive by itself: it has to be cultivated. Nowhere is it known to grow wild.[5] The very fact that it is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa as any other common tree found in a village shows that people in Ceylon have been planting coconuts at that period. If they did plant the coconut, then there is no doubt that they planted it for its dietary use. Therefore, why its edible properties were not mentioned is clear: they were too well-known to be mentioned. Moreover, Tennent has obviously overlooked the statement that men in Ceylon were at least used to drink the water of the young coconut in the 2nd Century B.C.[3] In these circumstances, the theory, that the popularity of coconut in Ceylon is not older than the image at Väligama, is of no use for the solution of the problems regarding Kusṭarajā or Kusṭarajā-gala.

The figure at Väligama is obviously of a Bodhisatta; both Paraṇavitāna and Nell are satisfied that it is the likeness of Avalokiteśvara—of the Mahāyāna.[6] There is no reason whatsoever to reject this view; nor is it unreasonable to

1. *Mv.*, xxiii, vv. 58, 59.
2. *Mv.*, xxv, v. 46.
3. *Thūpavaṃsa*—Sinh., Colombo (1929), p. 132.
4. Tennent, *Ceylon*, i. p. 436.
5. Ferguson, *J.R.A.S.* (*C.B.*), xix, 57 (1906), pp. 50ff.
6. S. Paraṇavitāna, *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sect. G., Vol ii, pt. i, p. 49.

disregard the suggestion that it represents a deity named Kusirāja from Travancore. Once it is established that the image is of a Mahāyāna Bodhisatta, it becomes quite easy to fix its earliest possible age. According to history, the first appearance of any form of Mahāyānism in Ceylon took place in the 3rd Century A.D., during the reign of Vohāraka Tissa [1]; and, at all events, our sculpture could not have been made before that date. In the Mahāvaṃsa, the last act of Aggabodhi I is mentioned as the building of a monastery called Nīla-geha-pariccheda. It was dedicated to an elder by the name of Jotipāla who lived under the protection of the Viceroy of Rohaṇa. [2] Evidently, the situation of the monastery was also somewhere in Rohaṇa; it would therefore be useful for our discussion to find out more particulars about it. The Slab Inscription No. 1 of Mahinda IV mentions a *nil-pahā* 'a blue edifice,' in which there was an image of a Bodhisatta. [3] Wickremasinghe, who edited that Inscription, compares the name *nil-pahā* (Pāli *nīla-pāsāda*) with *nīla-gēha-pariccheda*. [4] In the Inscription, *nil-pahā* is given side by side with *viluvana-vehera* (Pāli *Veluvana-Vihāra*) built by Aggabodhi II and dedicated to the Sāgali Order. Mahinda IV gilded the image in the nil-pahā and rebuilt the viluvana-vehera. [3] Here, I am inclined to suggest that these two, viz., Nil-pahā and Nilageha-pariccheda, are identical. If this identification is correct, then the image in question may be considered as the only survival of that temple to-day. There is, however, one point which it would be necessary to clear. The Mahāvaṃsa does not say to which sect belonged Jotipāla to whom Nilageha-pariccheda was dedicated. But the Chronicle does not make it a secret that the Viceroy, under whose protection Jotipāla lived, and who probably carried on the building operations

1. *Mv.* xxxvi, v. 41. See Geiger *Mv. Translation*, p. 69, n. 7.
2. *ibid* xlii, vv. 35-39.
3. *Ep. Z.*, Vol. i. p. 222. 22
4. *Ep. Z.*, Vol. i. p. 228, n. 2.

of Nīlageha-pariccheda under the direction of Aggabodhi I, was a patron of the Sāgali Order.[1] And Sāgali Order was one that upheld the Mahāyānic cults in Ceylon. Not long after the building was completed the king expired, and the Viceroy came to the throne. The new king, compared with his predecessor, was rather young, and was therefore called by a special name by the people. The Mahāvaṃsa definitely states that the name so given to him was "Khudda(rāja)"[2] and, on more than one occasion, he is referred to as Khudda-rāja (=the young or small king) in the Mahāvaṃsa.[3] This term *khudda* is clearly the classical Pāli form of whatever the Sinhâlese word that was in popular use. The modern Sinhalese equivalent of P. *khudda* is *kuḍā*. Khudda-Nāga stands for Kuḍā-Nāga, and is often found used as Kuḍḍa-Nāga.[4] In Pāli, *kuḍḍa* is only a variation of *khudda*. The following forms are found in works like Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Jātakaṭṭhakathā, Saddhammopāyana and Suttanipātaṭṭha-kathā:—*khudda-rāja*, *khuddaka-rāja*, *kuḍḍa-rāja*, *kuṭṭa-rāja*. Of these, the form *kuṭṭa* seems to obtain both in Sinhalese and Pāli indifferently. For the use of *kuṭṭa* in Sinhalese, see in the Îripinniyāva and Raṁbāva pillar inscriptions *kuṭṭā seneviradā*,[5] where *kuṭṭā* stands for Pāli *kuṭṭaka*. Accordingly, it is possible that the special name by which Aggabodhi II was popularly known was *kuṭṭa-rajī* or *kuṭṭa-rājā*. The Mahāvaṃsa recorded its correct interpretation as *khudda-rāja* 'the young king,' while in common parlance, in course of time, its real significance was forgotten. It is a natural phenomenon in Proper Nouns that, when the original significance of a name is lost, a new meaning is given to it by people. In this instance, there does not seem to have been any difficulty in finding a new meaning. The Sinhalese

1. °*Mv.*, xlii, v. 43.
2. *ibid*, v. 40.
3. *ibid*, xliv, v. 2.
4. See e.g. *Rājāvaliya* (1923), p. 47.
5. *Ep. Z.*, Vol. i, pp. 168, 174, where Wickremasinghe reads it as *kuṭṭhā*.

derivative of Pāli *kuṭṭha* (Skr. *kuṣṭha*) 'leprosy' also happens to be *kuṭṭa*, which was evidently confused with *kuṭṭa* meaning 'young or small.' In common speech *kuṭṭa* (=leprosy) has another form, viz., *kusṭa* or *kuṣṭa*,[1] both used indifferently when the intended meaning is leprosy. In this way, I am inclined to think that the word *kuṭṭa-rajā*, which originally meant 'a young king,' came in later periods to be interpreted as 'a leper king'—what was originally known as the young king's rock (*kuṭṭarajā-gala*[2] came latterly to be called the leper king's rock (*kusṭarajā-gala*). It is difficult to say when exactly the word *kuṭṭa* lost its meaning 'young or small.' Whenever it happened, it is clear that for several centuries the real significance of an important name has thus been concealed behind a fanciful legend.[3]

Mr. W. Samarasinghe (Atapattu Mudaliyar) remarked that some years back a former Secretary of the Society, Mr. C. H. Collins, had endeavoured to gather material for a Gazetteer of the Island and had sought the co-operation of the Chief Headmen to that end. Apparently the compilation of that work had been interfered with but he yet hoped that it would be resumed and carried through. For his part he had gathered in that connection many useful particulars relating to the various villages of Alutkuru Korale South. In interpreting the meaning of such terms as Muturajawela, the Pamunugam, Tarakuliya, Dandugama, Kindigoda, and so on, he happened to unearth a Royal establishment of old forgotten times. Piecing together the traditions which had still survived, he found no difficulty in identifying the Muturajawela with Muttu Rajah, a brother-in-law of Magha of Anuradhapura, who led the third and the most terrible of the Tamil invasions of Ceylon. The field had most probably been asweddumized or been appropriated by this sub-King. The Pamunugam which surrounded the field were apparently appurtenances of the Royal establishment. The seat of the ruler now known as Dandugama was then known as Kindigoda, the latter name still surviving as the name of a small hamlet. He found also the name of Séraman associated with the field and the village of Wattala. It was a name referred to in connection with the landing of "Devol Deiyo." Tradition referred to Séraman as being the successor of Muturajah as ruler of the Province. Various other matters of historical interest were disclosed in examining the meaning of other place names, but he had not the time to deal with any further examples. He could not, however, conclude

1. These are half Sinhalized forms.
2. So called because the building operations on that rock were carried on by him as suggested above.
3. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka draws my attention to a passage in the Saddharmālaṅkāra. Ed. 1924 (p. 398) which speaks of a district called *Kuḍḍarajja-danavva*.

without commenting on the derivation of the Giruwaya to which the learned lecturer had made reference. In the beginning of the last century, a scholar of great eminence named Thomas Samarasekara Mohandiram, a native of Giruwa Pattu, had in his poem "Gangarohana" described his birth place as being in the Janapadaya known as Giri-pada. Giripada meant the foot of the hill range as it actually was. His familiarity with the subject and his great scholarship invested his opinion on the point with much authority and he (the speaker) failed to see sufficient justification for rejecting it.

The Chairman expressed his appreciation of the scholarly manner in which the lecturer had dealt with his subject. The day, he hoped, would soon arrive when it would no longer be possible for local philologists to trace Nanayakkaraya to a *Naga* origin. The identification of the Kusta Raja image with the Bodhisatva was not new : the speaker had mentioned that in a publication twenty-two years before, but the credit for it was due to an eminent scholar, the late Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala. When the lecturer connected the Giruwas with elephants, he was perhaps not aware that sixteen centuries ago Ptolemy had placed the feeding grounds of the elephants in the Giruwas. That was more useful than a quotation from Pridham, for the Carthaginians certainly did not use Ceylon elephants as suggested. Mr. Neville, one speaker said, had proved that the Sinhalese "blue" is the English "white"; but when a building is described as blue, may it not be that the building really was blue, and tiled with the blue enamelled tiles which have been found at Kantarodai, Tissamaharama and Anuradhapura ? He agreed with Mr. Jayatilaka that their Society might take in hand a systematic investigation of place names : but this investigation should, to start with, be confined to a limited area which the Society could easily control. He understood from the Atapattu Mudaliyar that he and several of his brother-officers had some years ago collected and recorded much relevant information. He hoped that that information would not be lost but would be placed at their disposal. He expressed his satisfaction, in thanking the lecturer on behalf of the Society, that a younger group was fast rising up well qualified and willing to help forward the objects for which that Society had been established.

4. Mr. de Lanerolle replied.

5. A vote of thanks to the lecturer proposed by the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva and seconded by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka brought the proceedings to a close.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 5, 1930.

Present :

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

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
Dr. W. Balendra
Mr. A. M. Caldera, B.A.
,, S. Paranavitana
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar
Mr. C. Rasanayagam, Mudaliyar,
,, K. Shanmukham, M.R.A.S.
,, F. A. Tisseveresinghe
,, Charles Wickramaratna

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D., *Honorary Secretary.*

Visitors : 6 ladies and 11 gentlemen.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 29th August, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. G. Venkatachalam, who delivered his lecture on " Some Aspects of Indian Architecture," illustrated with lantern slides.

3. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris and seconded by the Chairman, brought the proceedings to a close.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Queen's House, Colombo, October 27, 1930.

Present :

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

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.
Dr. Andreas Nell, M.R.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
,, S. Paranavitana
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka
The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
Prof. R. Maris, C.I.E.
Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.
Dr. G. P. Malalalasekara, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. Edmund Reimers.

Business :

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 14th April, 1930. were read and confirmed.

2. Arising from the minutes, and on the recommendation of the Honorary Secretary, it was resolved that Mr. J. C. Jayasinha's probation be extended by a further period of three months.

3. The names of the following candidates elected by circular were announced :—(i) William Henry Gregory de Zoysa. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, W. F. Gunawardhana, (ii) Geo. Chas. Edirisingha, B.A. Recommended by A. N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (iii) Ramaswami Kulathu Iyer. Recommended by T. R. Sanjivi, M.B. Medagama. (iv) Justin Ferdinandus Pieris Deraniyagala, B. A. Recommended by P. E. Pieris, Aubrey N. Weinman. (v) David Hussey, Recommended by Aubrey N. Weinman, A. E. Jayasinha. (vi) Andias Edirisingha. Recommended by W.F. Gunawardhana, J.D. de Lanerolle. (vii) Michael Samuel Seevaratnam. Recommended by R. C. Proctor, V. Kandiah. (viii) Don Cornelius Gammanpila. Recommended by H. Gunaratna, P. de S. Kularatna. (ix) Rev. Pitadeniye Ratanapala Bhikkhu. Recommended by H. Gunaratna, P. de S. Kularatna.

4. A letter from Dr. G. C. Mendis regarding the publication of a new edition of the Dipavamsa and offering his services for the work, referred to the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, for observations by the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, was considered.

Resolved to inform the Colonial Secretary that the Council was of opinion that the work should await the publication of the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā. It was also decided that the Society should in the meanwhile acquire a copy of the manuscript in Cambodian characters said to be in the Royal Library in Cambodia and that Dr. Malalasekara should make inquiries as to what other manuscripts were available for collation.

5. A letter from the Secretary, Reception Committee of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, requesting the Society to

nominate representatives to attend the meetings was considered. As Dr. Nell had already arranged to be in Patna attending the All-India Congress of Orientalists, he assented to represent the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, at the Conference.

6. A letter from the Acting Director of Education forwarding a copy of a letter from Prof. Walter Wüst, M.A., Ph.D., applying for a grant of £150 from the Ceylon Government towards the publication of a volume of essays for presentation to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger was laid on the table for the opinion of the Council.

It was decided to suggest to the Director of Education that the following particulars about the proposed publication be obtained from Prof. Wüst :—

(*a*) Whether it was to be sold and at what price ;
(*b*) Whether any other subscriptions had been obtained.

While the Council were very much in sympathy with the project, on the present state of Ceylon's finances, they did not feel they could recommend that Government should subscribe as much as £150, but when a reply to the above questions was obtained they would be in a better position to advise.

7. A letter from Dr. P. E. Pieris, Vice-President, regarding the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary was laid on the table and, in the absence of Dr. Pieris, the resolution standing in his name was moved by Mr. A. N. Weinman. Resolved that the Chairman of the Dictionary Managing Committee be asked to furnish the Council with a memorandum on the lines indicated by Dr. Pieris.

8. A proposal to elect Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and Mrs. Rhys Davids as honorary members for life of this Society, under Rule 11 at the next General Meeting by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, and seconded by Mr. Edmund Reimers, was carried unanimously.

9. A letter from Dr. G. P. Malalasekara suggesting that the extended Mahawansa be issued as the next volume of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund, and offering to see the work through the press was considered.

10. A report from the Historical Manuscripts Committee was laid on the table.

Decided that the report be accepted with the deletion of para 3, clause *c*, "That the appointment of the members of the Commission be for a limited period," and that the report be forwarded to Government with reference to letter dated 14th April, 1930, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

11. Read a letter from the Colombo Apothecaries Co. regarding a reduction in the charge for printing the Society's journal. Decided that estimates be called for and submitted to the Council for consideration before the next journal was handed over for printing.

12. A paper entitled "The Alakesvara Period" by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam and a note on "Sinhalese Chronology of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D." by Mudaliyar H. E. Amarasekara were referred to a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Messrs. H. W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana for report.

13. Resolved (*a*) that the following papers be printed in the journal in due course :—

(1) Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames by Mr. Edmund Reimers.

(2) Art of India and Indo-China with special reference to Ceylon by Dr. Victor Goloubew, D.Ph.

(3) The Central School Commission, 1841-1848, by Mr. L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.

(*b*) That the question as to whether the following be printed in the journal be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Messrs. H. W. Codrington and S. Paranavitana :—

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

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

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

(*c*) It was decided that Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana's paper on "The Alakesvara Period Reviewed" should not be printed.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 31, 1930.

Present :

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

Mr. C. Don Amaradasa
" K. W. Y. Atukorala, Muhandiram
" W. H. Biddell
" L. J. Gratiaen, B.A.
Rev. H. V. I. S. Corea, B.A., B.D.
Mr. J. D. de Lanerolle
" J. C. De, M.A.
" P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.
" Felix R. Dias, M.A., LL.M.
" G. C. Edirisingha, B.A.
" G. F. Perera
Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Mudaliyar
" P. T. P. Gunawardhana
" A. E. Jayasinha
" E. W. Kannangara, B.A., C.C.S.
Dr. G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph.D.
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, M.A., J.P., U.P.M., Maha Mudaliyar
" S. Paranavitana
" W. Von Pochchammer
" C. Rasanayagam, Mudaliyar C.C.S. (retired)
Rev. R. Siddhartha, M.A.

Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, M.A., Ph.D., *Hony. Secretary.*

Visitors : 1 lady and 12 gentlemen.

Business.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 5th day of September, 1930, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. P. E. Pieris proposed the election of Prof. Wilhelm Geiger and Mrs. Rhys Davids as honorary members for life under rule 11 and Dr. Joseph Pearson seconded. The resolution was carried unanimously.

3. Dr. Pieris drew the attention of Members to two exhibits which were on the table.

The first was—

An engraving of the Portrait of Ove Giedde, who commanded the Danish expedition to Ceylon in 1620 (see Journal, Vol. XXX—Article : " The Danes in Ceylon "), from the original by A. Vuchter, at the Royal Art Gallery at Christiansborg. This was obtained through the kindness of Mr. Anton F. Bruun, M. Sc., of Copenhagen.

A Tamil copper plate grant in favour of a Brahman, named Ramenaden, from the Batticaloa District, received from Mr. Walter Allegasegaram, and dated in the year 1615 (Saka)—Wednesday, the full moon day on which there was an eclipse (of the moon), the asterism being Visāka the 19th day of the month of Sittirai.

On the 27th of November, 1788, before the Land Court of Batticaloa, the Brahmin Ayya Swamie sued Conselia, Chief Pedi of Sampanturai, in respect of the land mentioned in the Sannas, and which he said was his wife's inheritance. Subsequently on the 22nd

January, 1816, in an action brought by Ayya Swamie's son Ramasamy, he was quieted in the possession of the same field. The sitting Magistrate who dealt with the case was James Bagnett.

Dr. Pieris expressed the hope that Mr. Paranavitana would write a critical note on the grant for publication in the Journal.

4. Dr. Joseph Pearson read a note on the "Throne of the Kings of Kandy." (See Vol. XXXI, No. 82, page 380).

5. Dr. Pearson informed the meeting that a bust of the late Dr. E. F. Kelaart, M.D., F.L.S., F.G.S., had been presented to the Museum by the descendants of the late Dr. Kelaart and gave a brief sketch of Dr. Kelaart's work as a naturalist.

6. The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Mr. J. C. De, M.A., who read a paper on "Life in Eastern Asia during the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth centuries A.D. with special reference to Ceylon."

7. A vote of thanks to Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. J. C. De, proposed by the Chairman and a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris were carried with acclamation.

THE EARLIEST DUTCH VISITS TO CEYLON.

By Donald Ferguson.

Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 81, p. 379.

THE SOUTH-EAST COAST OF CEYLON.

Remarkable Hills and Other Landmarks.

(From Imray's "Indian Ocean Pilot," pp. 893-4, 897-8).

The south-east coast of Ceylon between Dorava [1] and Julius Nave [2] points, a space of 30 miles, trends nearly N.E. and S.W., with ranges of high mountains inland, often obscured, however, by the hazy state of the atmosphere, said to be peculiar to this part of the island, particularly during the south-west monsoon.

Near the coast inside the line of the Basses, are several hills of remarkable form, which from their position are admirable landmarks, during daylight and fine weather, for navigating in the vicinity of the Basses.

The shore is comparatively low and barren, fringed with a belt of sand, but without any marked salient features; the points are generally rounded and sandy, rising to elevations of about 100 feet. Off the pitch of all the points are rocky patches, extending in some cases a quarter of a mile. Along the whole line of coast the surf breaks heavily on the beach, the first roller rising at the average distance of a cable from the shore.

1. Dorawa is between Mágama and Kirinda.
2. This name is found on some of the olden maps of Ceylon: I do not know the origin. Judging by the distance named, apparently Mahagajabuwa, just south of the Kumbukkan-áru, is intended.

Kattregamme Hill.—The most prominent land seen when approaching the Basses from the westward is the Kattregamme range of hills, the nearest and highest of which is 7 or 8 miles from the sea. These hills are sometimes conspicuous both from eastward and westward, when others nearer the sea are hardly discernible. Their summit presents an irregular ridge, the north-east peak of which is the highest, being 1,972 feet [3] above the sea.

Elephant Hill, the next height to the eastward, is conspicuous as it stands alone on the low land near the shore, and bears a remarkable resemblance to the animal from which it is named. It is two miles from the beach and bare of trees on its summit, which is 480 feet above the sea.

Little Elephant Hill, in shape resembling a hay cock, stands on the extreme point forming the western horn of Elephant bay. It is 105 feet high, and from it Elephant hill bears N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. distant two miles.

* * * *

Nipple Hill, farther inland than the other hills, bears from Elephant hill N. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. distant about 9 miles. Rendered conspicuous by its superior elevation, 903 feet above the sea, which places it as if above, this peak is also distinguished by a flattened summit, with two lumps (one at each end) in a direction about W.S.W. and E.N.E., from which it derives its name ; the western of these nipples is the higher. This hill may also be known by a remarkable cone W.S.W. from it, which is generally distinguishable, but more so when viewed from eastward, although it is only 520 feet above the sea.

Chimney Hill, next in succession eastward, is of much service to a vessel for ascertaining her position in reference to the Basses. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the nearest beach, 445 feet [4] above the sea, and very conspicuous,

3. The height of Kataragama Peak is actually 1,395 feet.
4. The heights given for this and the foregoing hills I cannot verify.

being the highest part of a low range, which takes an east and west direction; it appears to be separated from the western part of the range, and derives its name from its resemblance to a chimney. From the Great Basses it is not easily seen, being in fact sometimes entirely concealed by the haze which generally hangs over the land, especially during the south-west monsoon.

* * * *

From Julius Nave point the coast trends N.N.E. nearly 20 miles to Appretotte point [5] in about lat. 6° 47′ N., long. 81° 50′ 45″ E., and then 15 miles N. ⅔ E. to Shanghe-man-kande [6] point, in lat. 7° 2′ 10″ N., long. 81° 53′ E., the most eastern projection of Ceylon. On the south side of Appretotte point is the mouth of Naveloor river [7]; and, on the north side, that of the Chadewakke. [8]

At about 3 miles north of it is Abrookgam [9] bay, of which nothing is known further than that it is the outlet of a stream [10] of no great magnitude that flows through the country around Lion peak. [11] The land hereabouts is named Aganis [12] in old charts. It is low, with sandy hillocks near the shore. In the interior, at about 12 miles from the sea, and W. N. W. from Appretotte point, there is an isolated hill 821 feet high, which appears peaked when viewed from eastward, but notched when seen from southward; hence it is known as the Saddle hill. Lion peak, 956 feet high, [13] is also conspicuous from the offing; it is 20 miles from the nearest shore, and readily recognised by its form, that of a lion *couchant*. Westminster Abbey,

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5. Gónáduwa. On "Appretotte," see G 3, note 59.
6. Sangamakanda.
7. The Nával-áru.
8. The Chedawak-áru, or Heda-oya.
9. See G 2, note 58.
10. The Arukgam-áru, or Karanda-oya.
11. See further on.
12. See G 2, note 59.
13. I cannot verify the heights given for this and the preceding hill.

a table mountain 1,258 feet high,[14] and a few miles farther in the interior than Lion peak, will be distinguished without difficulty, as it has on its north end a large square knob resembling a turret. Aganis peak,[15] nearly midway between Westminster Abbey and the coast, is 767 feet high, and from seaward is in line with that mountain on the bearings of W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. These comprise the most prominent landmarks in the interior of the south-eastern part of Ceylon, south of lat. 7° 10′ N., then after some miles follow the Friar's Hood (Wallingbehella) in lat. 7° 26$\frac{1}{2}$′ N., long. 81° 28$\frac{1}{4}$′ E., a mountain 1,563 feet high[16] and about 20 miles from the sea, which, from the circumstance that it leans over to the left, resembles a friar's hood when bearing to the S. W., but a pyramid when to the N.W. Southward from this a short distance, is another mountain of less height, and somewhat like it, which is known as the False Friar's Hood. The Kettle-bottom, 1,190 feet high, is a round conical hill in lat. 7° 32′ N., long. 81° 13$\frac{1}{4}$′ E., it is 16 miles from Friar's Hood on the bearing of W.N.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. The Sugar-loaf, 24 miles northward from Friar's Hood and 14 miles from the sea, is 532 feet high.[17] Farther in the interior, on the bearing of W. $\frac{2}{3}$ N., is the Gunner's Quoin, having an estimated height of 1,320 feet.[18] And, a few miles more to the northward, but nearer the sea, are two smaller mountains, known as the Baron's Cap and the Small Quoin, of which the latter is nearest the coast. The Baron's Cap is 473 feet high,[19] 11 miles from the shore, and nearly midway between Batticaloa river and Trincomalie bay.

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14. The correct height of Westminster Abbey Hill is 1,830 feet.
15. I cannot identify this.
16. The true height of Friar's Hood is 2,148 feet.
17. I cannot verify the heights of this and the preceding hill.
18. The actual height is 1,736 feet.
19. The real height of the Baron's Cap is 691 feet, and that of the Small Quoin is 524 feet.

From Shangheman-kande point the coast sweeps round to the N. $\frac{3}{4}$ W., and at 13 miles we meet with the Singare-topu-aar,[20] a barred river, southward of which at a place called Tricoll,[21] there is a pagoda, in a grove of cocoa-nut trees. Between the point and the river, several small streams enter the sea by very shallow mouths. It then trends N. by W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. 30 miles to Batticaloa river. All the land is low near the sea, and there are numerous plantations of cocoa-nut trees in proximity to the shore, besides a few villages. Near Batticaloa the coast is very low.

20. I do not know what name this represents. From the distance given, apparently the Tampodai backwater is meant.

21. Tirukkóvil (see D 2, note 101).

EXCERPTA MÁLDIVIANA.

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

No. 9.—LÓMÁFÁNU.[1]

FOREWORD.

Lómáfánu, or *Málófánu*[2], is the Máldivian term equivalent to Sanskṛit *Ṣásanaṇ* and Siṇhalese *Sannasa*; signifying a Royal Grant inscribed upon one or more Copper, or other metal, Plates.

Prior to 1922 the existence at the Máldives of any such Deeds was unknown to the outside world; though the fact of their long-established use throughout the Continent of India and Ceylon argued strongly in favour of ultimate discovery of similar *Farmán* Plates in the Máldive Islands, so closely connected, since the dim past, with Southern India and this Island.

Patient investigation, during the stay at Mále in 1922 of the Archæological Expedition, elicited ultimately the belated admission that a few Copper-Plate Grants did exist here and there; but that these, being inscribed in a character for the most part more archaic even than "*Divehi Akuru*," or "*Dives Akuru*" "Island Letters"—its evolutionary derivative, and later form of Máldivian script,—were practically indecipherable by any one on the Group at the present day.

Ultimately, four sets of inscribed Copper-Plates (all incomplete, and one badly injured by fire) were produced, and placed in the hands of the writer for possible decipherment.

Even a cursory examination of the Plates revealed at once the most striking resemblance, *mutatis mutandis*, of

the writing upon them—termed broadly by the Islanders "*Evéla Akuru*" or "Ancient Letters"—with mediæval Siṇhalese letters found on pillar, slab, and rock inscriptions in Ceylon. This similarity proved, generally so marked in its close affinity as to be quite unmistakable to one long familiar with the Epigraphical Records of this Island.

Careful study of the Plates on the spot resulted in much of the Text of those which survive, wholly or partially undamaged, being Transcribed with considerable certainty; and, as regards Translation, in a "prentice-hand" effort (most generously aided by Máldivian scholars to the best of their own knowledge) not, it is hoped, altogether unsuccessful, to convert into English tentatively,—so far as the deficient Plates have permitted,—the Text of at least one, the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* of Mále,[3] the oldest known Grant extant in "*Dives Akuru*" as distinct from their earlier form conveniently styled "*Evéla Akuru.*"

MÁLDIVIAN LÓMÁFÁNU.

The few *Lómáfánu* (single Plates excepted) existing at the Máldive Islands at this day may be listed chronologically, as follows :—

No.	PROVENANCE.	DATE.	SCRIPT.
1	Haddummatí Atol: No. 1	A.M. 582 (A.C. 1195-96)[4]	*Evéla Akuru*
2	Mále: Etere-kolu	A.M. 583 (A.C. 1196-97)[4]	*do*
3	Haddummatí Atol: No. 2	A.H. 636 *cir.* (A.C. 1238-39)[5]	*do*
4	Mále: Boḍu-galu Miskit	A.H. 758 (A.C. 1356-57)	*Dives Akuru*

What has survived entire loss, or irreparable injury, in those fuller *Lómáfánu* is being dealt with provisionally elsewhere[3]; albeit of necessity with unavoidable inadequateness, naturally due to the limited knowledge of Máldivian Epigraphy and Linguistics by a comparative tyro.

Similarly, with no little diffidence, the present Paper is offered here ; confining itself merely to three "singleton" *Lómáfánu* Plates—stragglers, so to say, from their respective folds, the complete Grants, to which each once belonged.

In an *Appendix* an attempt is made, partially at least, to differentiate and compare the respective types and forms of the "*Dives Akuru*" Alphabet as appearing in the three *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 2, 3.

With this semi-apology, for a venture not easy, by a pioneer ploughman of a lonely furrow in a fallow field, too long neglected, this Paper is frankly offered for the kindly criticism of scholars, interested in Oriental languages.

(1) LÓMÁFÁNU: NO. 1.

(*Plate I.*)

This solitary Copper-Plate, measuring 11½ in. by 2¼ in. by 1/32 in., is pierced to left, by a circular hole, for affixing to other like Plates with a metal ring; and is quite bare of any form of border, plain or ornamental.

On each side there are five (5) lines of writing (leaving virtually no margin) in the Máldivian language, with two Arabic interpolated quotations. The Plate shows no numbering.

It is in the possession of Mr. E. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí, Máldivian Government Representative at Colombo, who kindly loaned it for the present purpose.

As to its true provenance nothing definite seems to be known. Mr. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí believed that more of the Plates which once formed the whole *Lómáfánu* Copper-Plate Grant were to be found at Mále ; but every possible enquiry has failed to bring even a second Plate of the series to light.

This is to be regretted the more as the execution of the single Plate, here reproduced photographically, speaks

to exceptional care in its inscribed calligraphy ; whilst the verbal style of its contents points to an original document of much scholarly value, when complete.

Towards fixing the period when this isolated *Lómáfánu* was issued, very fortunately important clues are provided by :—

(i) The approximate form of script ; (ii) the very noticeable similarity in recurring phraseology ; and (iii) valuable historical evidence, presented both in the *Boḍu-galu Miskit* Copper-Plate Grant which has luckily survived in some fullness to this day, and drawn from elsewhere.

(i) Script.

The formation of the engraved characters exhibited by *Lómáfánu* No. 1 much resembles that of the *Lómáfánu* belonging to the *Boḍu-galu Miskit* (Mosque) at Mále.

This Grant,—by an Arabic colophon (in this case prefixed), which bears also the Seal of her father Sulṭán Jalál-ud-dín—is dated *Anno Hijrae* 758 (A.C. 1356–57), or, as given in the body of the Document, the sixteenth regnal year, of the Máldivian Queen, Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah; who ruled altogether for twenty-nine years, spread over three periods according to the "*Táríkh*" Chronicle, viz., A.H. 748–64 (first), A.H. 765–75 (second), A.H. 778–81 (third).[6]

(ii) Bodu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu.

In (*a*) the text of *Lómáfánu* No. 1, and (*b*) that of the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*, are found sentences of absolutely synonymous intent—almost *verbatim* replicas in part—which invoke alternatively blessing, or curse, upon Royalty, Officials, and other persons who uphold, or nullify, the Grant.

A sentence from each *Lómáfánu* may suffice to bear out the close likeness in this respect :—

(*a*) *Lómáfánu : No. 1.*

Text.

(*Obverse : Lines 1-4*).

Mi Hinna Hinna amme tibya meve siṭṭá-kaḷa Muslimán Rahakun Ráda-Ras Kalamidi Raṇi-bihou Faṭamá-Valya Devi

Fradáni Kangati ehen míhaku vyas Muslimunaṛ heu-hiti míhunaṛ vihai nuva-fahi Darmma vaní koṛu.

Translation.

"(Every) Muslim—(whether) King, Royal Prince, Queen, High-born Noble-man, High-born Noble-lady, Chief Minister, Trusty Personage, or other person—minded to preserve this *Hinna*, as a *Hinna* permanently, will assuredly receive nine-fold blessing (*nuva-fahi Darmma*) that falleth rightly upon persons minded to do good to Muslims."

(*b*) *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu.*

Text.

(*Plate Ḍ, No. 9 ; Obverse, Lines 1–4*).

Mi Darmya Darmya amme tibya demeve siṭṭá-kaḷa Muslimán kule Muslimán Rahakun Raṇi-bihev Ráda Kumaru Faṭamá Devi Mahá Mantri karṇṇa Kangatyakin vata me Rasúlai ekhen Swargga vadunai koṛu.

Translation.

"(Every one of) Muslim sect—(whether) King, Queen, Royal Prince, High-born Noble, High-born Lady, he who serves as Chief Minister, or (one of) the body of Trusty Personages—minded to preserve this Benefice (*Darmya*), as a Benefice permanently, will verily attain Heaven (as) with the Prophet (Muḥammad).

(iii) Historical Evidence.

That the High Post of *Henevi Ras Kiṇage* (or *Kilage*) —the very patent equivalent of the Siṇhalese *Senevi-rada* (*P. Sénápati Rája*, "Commander-in-Chief")—existed from early days among the State Officials at the Máldives may be taken for granted readily.

(*a*) *Haddummati Lómáfánu : No. 2,*

(*b*) *Ibn Batuta.*

The first references to—or, rather, adumbrations of—the title so far known are furnished by (*a*) the inclusion of

Fehendu-vange Hadi Umari Seneviraṛ ("the General, 'Umar the Ḥáji, of Fehendú Island Family") among the Chiefs who attested *Lómáfánu* Haddummati No. 2, granted by "*Śrí Ráarádesvara MaháRadala*" ("*Táríkh*," No. 7, Sulṭán unnamed; A. C. 1232-57) in his sixth regnal year; and (*b*) Ibn Baṭúṭa's denomination of the first Máldivian King converted to Islám as *Aḥmad Shanurázaḥ*.

(*c*) *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*.

By mid-Fourteenth Century the definite adoption of the title is firmly vouched for by ample testimony.

Besides the distinct mention of "*Kilaki*, Grand Vazír and Lieutenant to the Sulṭána[7]", by the Maghribín Traveller Ibn Baṭúṭa (at the Máldives A.C. 1343–44), in the list he gives of Máldivian State Officials at the time, (*c*) the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* (Plate T, No. 4; Reverse, line 5) specifically alludes to a "*Kakai Mabárak Henevi Ras Kilage*" ("the illustrious Commander-in-Chief, of the Kaká Family"); or, as the Arabic colophon styles him with Oriental bombast, "the erudite Great Vazír, the beneficent, the revered, the illustrious Sharáf-ud-dín Mabárak Shanurázah, who ordered the erection of the blessed Mosque"—the present day *Boḍu-galu Miskit* at Mále.

(*d*) *Rádavali*.

Further valuable confirmation is provided by (*d*) the Máldivian "*Rádavali*." This History calls Queen Khadíjah's second husband,—who (*teste* the "*Táríkh*") usurped the throne for three years, A.H. 775–78—"*'Abd-Allah* (I) *Henevi Ras Kilage*"; and applies the same title to his son.[8]

Upon all the above evidence (i), (ii), (iii) it may be deemed not unreasonable to attribute the Copper-Plate Grant, of which *Lómáfánu* No. 1 formed but one Plate, to Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah herself, the bestower of the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*; and to identify her first husband *Muḥammad-ul-Jamíl* (who, the "*Táríkh*" states, ousted her from the *Masnad*, but was murdered after one year's rule, A.H. 764–65, as

Sulṭán Jamál-ud-dín) with the "*Muḥammad Henevi Ras Kiṇage*" of *Lómáfánu* No. 1.

Date of Issue.

If this supposition be correct, the date of the Grant cannot be put later than December, A.C. 1344; for Ibn Baṭúṭa has recorded that "the Vazír Jamál-ud-dín" died in the month of Sh'abán, A.H. 745, and that "the Vazír 'Abd-Allah" then married the Sulṭána.[9]

Contents.

The purport of this *Lómáfánu*—so far as disclosed—is the permanent detachment, on behalf of the ruling Sovereign (unnamed on this solitary Plate), by the Council of State and other personages headed by the Prime Minister, *Muḥammad Henevi Ras Kiṇage*, Commander-in-Chief—of a *Hinna* (delimited area of land) for some set purpose; not definitely ascertainable owing to the absence of other Plates but, in all probability, the endowment by Religious Oblation in *Waqf* of some Mosque.

"In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is Charity."

Several such Beneficiary Deeds vouchsafed by Máldivian Muslim Rulers, between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries, are still in existence mostly written on Paper (*Fat-koḷu*): to these should, with little doubt, be added the few (specified above) inscribed on Copper-Plates (*Lómáfánu*) dating back at least to the end of the Twelfth Century.

These Deeds (like similar dedicatory *Sannas* and *Tuḍapat* granted not infrequently by Ceylon Buddhist Kings) concluded, by way of hoped-for potential safeguard, with some form of pious imprecation, more or less stern and bitter, against transgressors; but—in the case of Máldivian Muslim dedications always, and with Buddhist grants occasionally—such malisons were softened down by assurance of countervailing blessing accruing to upholders of the Royal benefactions.

LÓMÁFÁNU : NO. 1.

TRANSCRIPT : WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

1. DOSHAṆÁṚE[10] ANYÁ VAṬṬAINE KRANIMENI
The iniquitous those wrong-doing (who have) committed

LÁNAT LIBENÍ KOṚU *QÁL ALLÁHU TA'ÁLÁ ALÁ*
curse must receive Said God Most High " Know(ye)

LA'ANAT A-
the curse

2. *-LLÁHU 'ALA 'L-ZÁLIMÍN* MI HINNA[11]
of God (is) upon the unjust This Hinna

HINNE-AMME TIBYAMEVE SIṬṬÁKAḶA MUSLIMÁN
as a Hinna (to) continue (who is) minded Muslim

RAHAKUN RÁDA-RAS KALAMIDI[12] RAṆI-
King Royal Prince Queen

3. BIHOU FAṬAMÁ-VALYA DEVI FRADÁNI[13]
High-born man High-born lady Chief Minister

KANGATI[14] EHEN MÍHAKU VYAS
Trusty personages (or) other person if there be

MUSLIMUNAṚ HE-
to Muslims well-

4. U-HITI MÍHUNAṚ VIHAI NUVA-FAHI DARMMA
minded persons due nine-fold blessing

VANÍ-KOṚU *QÁL AN-NABÍ SALLALLÁHU*
(will) assuredly fall Said the Prophet the Blessing of God

'ALAI HI VA SALÁM LÁ'YU MINU
(be) upon him and Peace " Not one of you

AḤADUKUM ḤATTA YU-ḤIBBU LI
(is) believer (in God) until he loves his

AKHIHI
brother (in Faith)

5. *MÁ YU-ḤIBBU LI NAFSIHI*
as much as he loves (his) own self"

MI MERUMUN MUHAMMAD HENEVI RAS-
This in conformity with Muḥammad Henevi King

KIṆAGE- [15] ÁI and FANṢA the Five FRADÁNI Chief Ministers KANGATI Trusty personages

FAKÍ the learned FAḌYÁRU [16] Faḍiyáru DETA given.

Reverse.

1. FÁTRÁ the feet DAṚAṚ beneath LIE written VASSAIDIN published MI this

MÁ- Great FANU [17] Deed RASGE - the King ÁI and RAS-GEVÍ (has) ended rule

FASDÁKU after BUDAULA- the Government

2. DU FUṚṚUMÁI continues HINNA— (the) Hinna VE existing NU-GEVI without alteration

TIBENI-VE (to) remain HINNA (a) Hinna VI being BINEIN in the conditions KOMME any

EKYAI one

3. UVAI (by) cancelling NAHAI breaking BAUHATTAI (and) appropriating KRAMEVE (to) act

SIṬṬÁKAḶA minded MUSULIMÁN Muslim RAHAKU King RÁDA-KUMARU Crown Prince KALA— Prince

MIDI RAṆÍ- Queen

4. BIHOU FAṬAMÁ-VALYA High-born man DEVI High-born lady FRADÁNÍ Chief Minister

KAMUGATI Trusty personages EHEN (or) other MÍHAKU person VYAS if there be MUHAMMAD Muḥammad

KÍ named

5. FETÁNBRAGE [18] of the Prophet ṢARÍATU [19] Religious Law TIBI (what) is MAGAṚ according to

NU-ḶI without preserving SUNNÁFATI (by) destroying AHUVA perversely

KAḶAINAṚ (upon) those who act VÁHURI (will) ensue HAIDU tribulation. [20]

TRANSLATION.

Upon the iniquitous who commit wrong-doing the curse (of God) is bound to fall. The Almighty God has declared :—" Know (ye) the curse of God is upon the unjust."

(Every) Muslim—(whether) King, Royal Prince, Queen, High-born man, High-born lady, Chief Minister, Trusty Personage, or other person—minded to preserve this *Hinna* as a *Hinna* permanently, will assuredly receive nine-fold blessing which falleth rightly upon persons minded to do good to Muslims.

The Prophet (May the Blessing and Peace of God be upon him) said :—" None of you is a True Believer (in God) until he showeth as great love to his fellow (-religionist) as to himself."

In accordance with this (precept of the Prophet), this *Málófánu* (for the *Hinna*), granted by (*lit.* at the feet of) Muḥammad *Henevi Ras Kiṇage*, and (with the concurrence of) the Five Chief Ministers, Trusty Personages, (and) the learned *Faḍiyáru* (Qází), was written and promulgated.

(By its stipulation, even) after the death (*lit.* cessation of Rule) of the King, so long as the Government continues (to last), the *Hinna* is to remain a *Hinna* unalterably.

Should any Muslim—(whether) King, Crown Prince, Prince, Queen, High-born man, High-born lady, Chief Minister, Trusty Personage, or other person—be minded to cancel, break, or appropriate (aught) in (conflict with) any of the conditions (affecting this Deed), he will incur the penalties of those who act perversely by not maintaining, (but) rendering nugatory, the Religious Laws (*Shari'at*) of the Prophet (Muḥammad).

NOTES.

1. Excerpta Máldiviana No. 9.—The present Paper could not have seen the light but for the invaluable—and in great degree indispensable—aid most kindly rendered the writer by Máldivian friends.

To E. Aḥmad Dídí Effendí, *Doriménά Kilégefánu*, Private Secretary to H.H. the Sulṭán, to Mr. E. 'Abdul Hamíd Dídí, Máldivian Representative at Colombo, to A. Muḥammad Amín Dídí, son of the former, and to the present *Faḍiyáru* (Qází) M. Ḥusain Dídí Saláh-ud-dín, just meed of sincerest thanks is frankly due, for consenting, in all generosity, to revise the writer's tentative efforts at translation of the "*Dives Akuru*" Texts as transcribed and furnished to them by him.

For the suggested date periods of the Grants, and other observations offered in the Foreword, the writer must himself accept full personal responsibility; no less than for all matter in the *Appendix* bearing on the form of script displayed by the three *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 2, 3 respectively; as well as for the condensed shape into which the running Translations have been finally cast; and finally for the Notes.

2. Lómáfánu.—This term, and its partial metathesis *Málófánu*, as applied to Máldivian Copper-Plate Grants may find derivation in:—*Lómá* = Sanskrit, Páli, *lohamáya*, Siṇhalese *lómuwá*, "metal-made," "copper"; *fánu* = Páli *panna*, Sanskrit *paṇa*, Siṇhalese *pan* "leaf."

3. "The Máldive Islands: *Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy.*"

4. Lómáfánu: Haddummati, No. 1: Male.—The dating of these two Grants—a startlingly anomalous and intriguing fact of historical interest and importance, in view of the universal adoption of the *Hijra* era by races who have once adopted the Muslim creed—is thus plainly recorded:—

Text.

Śrímat Gaḍanáditya Má Rasun (*eka rádya viṇa da*) *tin-vana* (*setari-vana*) *avirodun Srí Muhammadi Fetánbarin* (*dunie videlai*) *Swargga vaḍaigata fás-shatta bay-ási* (*te-ási*) *avirodun.*

Translation.

"In the third (fourth) year of the glorious Great King Gaḍanáditiya, (when the kingdom was unified), (being) the 582nd (583rd) year since the illustrious Prophet Muḥammad (having illumined the world) attained Heaven."

That the Máldivians should have followed, up to nearly the end of the Twelfth Century at least, the system of *Buddhist Chronology*—by dating their own era, not from the *migration* (*Hijra*) of the Prophet from Mekka to Medína on July 16th, A.C. 622, but from the *death* of Muḥammad, which did not occur until ten years later, *viz.*, on June 9th, A.C. 632; as do the Buddhists in reckoning the *Buddha Varsha* from the *Parinirvánaya* of the Buddha in B.C. 544—goes far to show the firm hold that *Buddhism* had secured over the Islanders, and the dilatory change in this respect from the Buddhist cult to Islám, despite Muḥammadanism being stringently enforced, as the State Religion, from the date of the Muslim Conversion in A.C. 1153.

The A.H. date 588 is given in the "*Táríkh*" for the accession of *Sulṭán* (*No. 4*) *Dinei Kalaminjá*, who from his *biruda* is identifiable as "*Śrímat Gaḍanáditya Mahá Rasun*" of the Haddummatí No. 1, and Mále *Lómáfánu*. It is more than likely that this date was equated by

the compiler of the State Chronicle, Qází Sheikh Ḥáji Ḥasan Táj-ud-dín, for the *Anno Hijrae* era with the *Anno Muhammadi* date of that Ruler's accession deducible from the two *Lómáfánu*, viz., A.M. 580, covering the difference of ten years.

5. Lómáfánu: Haddummati, No. 2.—Whether the strange—perhaps unique—"*Anno Muḥammadi*" dating for the Muslim era continued to be employed during the Thirteenth Century, the incomplete *Lómáfánu* of Sulṭán Ráarádésvara—the only existing source of information available so far—leave unsettled. The surviving Plates of that Grant nowhere refer to the Muslim year in any form.

Certain it is, however, that a century later the "*Anno Hijrae*" system had taken definite root at the Máldives; for the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* issued by Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah is expressly dated, as recorded in its colophon, in A.H. 758 (A.C. 1356-57).

6. Máldivian Dates. These dates are those of the "*Táríkh*," which the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* shows to be out by seven or eight years. Queen Khadíjah was on the throne when Ibn Baṭúṭa spent about eighteen months (A.H. 743-44, A.C. 1343-44) at Mále; and this fact fits in well with the sixteenth year of the Sulṭána's reign falling to A.H. 758 (A.C. 1356-57), placing her first accession in A.H. 742, or a year prior to Ibn Baṭúṭa's arrival.

7. Journal C.A.S., Extra No., 1882: "Ibn Baṭuṭa in the Máldives and Ceylon," page 18.

8. The Máldive Islands: *Sessional Paper* XV, 1921, p. 65.

9. Journal C.A.S., *loc. cit.* p. 36.

10. Doshanáre.—The Mále experts are unable to explain this word, and would connect it with the previous Plate, which is among those missing; but as a very natural derivative from the Siṅhalese *dósha*, "fault", "wrong," the word, as taken to mean "iniquitous" aptly suits the context.

11. Hinna.—A boundary-fixed area, planted or unplanted, belonging either to the Government, to a private individual, or to a family. The Government may bestow the income of a *Hinna* upon a Mosque, &c., or lease it out to any one.

12. Kalamidi.—This title appears in the "*Táríkh*" and "*Rádavali*" Chronicles under the form *Kalaminjá*. It has been explained as signifying "Royal on both sides" (*cf.* Siṅ. *De-oṭunu meḍa* in Dimbulágala Inscription, Ceylon, *Ceylon Antiquary, III, p. 7*).

13. Fradáni.—*Cf.* Sin. *Pradhána*. The Kandyan Court Ministers, in an *óla* Missive, addressed to the Dutch Council at Colombo in A.C. 1726, style themselves "*Mahá Wásala Pradhánivú Raḍuḷuvaru*" (*Ceylon Antiquary*, 1915, Vol. I., pp. 118-23); In a *Sannasa* granted six years before they figure as *Siyalu Paňcha Pradhání Amáptavú*. The term *Paňcha Pradhâni* occurs in the Hendeniya *Sannasa* (B.V. 2052) of Vikrama Báhu, Kandy, two centuries earlier.

It is not possible to particularise the "Chief Ministers" here grouped as a body of "five" (*Faṇsa Fradáni*). Ibn Baṭúṭa gives the titles of eight, including the *Kilaki*, in office in A.C. 1343-44. The confusion is added to by Pyrard's list (A. C. 1619) of Máldivian dignities, nine in number, at the commencement of the Sixteenth Century; and from the

mention (A.C. 1835-36) of six "Vazírs" by Young and Christopher of the Indian Navy—making it certain that the State Offices, and their respective status, have been altered from time to time (See *Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, I, pp. 209-15).

14. Kangati : Kamugati.—"Many other dignities there are of divers degree which the King grants" (*Pyrard, loc. cit.* p. 214).

Influential men, of respectable social standing, might hold lesser minor offices, mostly honorary. Among these "*Kangati nam*" (*Kangati* titles) were in former days several which have seemingly quite died out, *e.g.*, *Dánná*, *Fenná*, *Kánná*, *Kaulanná*, *Méná*, *Oliginá*, *Hirahamádi*, *Aruvatehi*, *Wata Baḍéri*, &c. A few still survive, such as *Gaḍahamádi*, *Raṇahamádi*, &c.

15. Kinage.—This term has now been superceded by the form *Kilége* with *fánu* (Sin. *vahanse*) honorific attached, *i.e.*, *Kilége-fánu*.

Pyrard supports Ibn Baṭúṭa in attributing special importance to the title:—"The *Quilague*, whom we might call the King's Lieutenant-General; because next to the King, and in his absence, he is the most powerful in the Government of the State, and without his authority nothing is done. So, if the King wills to do, observe, or execute anything, he is the first to be deputed and receive his commands" (*Pyrard, l. c.* pp. 209-11).

In the course of the Nineteenth Century the title "*Kilégefánu*," once held by the highest Minister only, has been extended gradually to six possible recipients—if all be in office at one time—of whom the *Doṛiméná Kilégefánu* ranks highest at the present day.

These half dozen *Kilégefànu* Chiefs are :—

1. *Doṛiméná Kilégefánu*
2. *Raṇṇa Baḍéri Kilégefánu*
3. *Fáṛiná Kilégefánu*
4. *Fámudéri* (or *Fámuladéri*) *Kilégefánu*
5. *Máfat Kilégefánu*
6. *Dahará* (or *Daharada*) *Kilégefánu.*

Until quite recently they, with the *Qází*, formed *Is Majilis*, or Chief Council of State (*Raskamuge*) of the Máldive Kingdom.

To the fact that in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries *Fáṛiná Kilége* stood first in rank, next below the Sulṭán himself, Máldivian history would appear to point. Thus the following Princes, among others, are specifically styled "*Fáṛiná*" in the State Chronicle ("*Táríkh*"), and other documents :—Sulṭán 'Ali V (*Dombulá Fáṛiná*); Sulṭán Ibráhím III, son of Sulṭán Muḥammad Bodu Takurufánu; Ḥasan Fáriná, half brother of Sulṭán Ibráhím Iskandar I; 'Ali Fáriná, afterwards Sulṭán Muḥammad Mukarram 'Imád-ud-dín III; and Sulṭán Muḥammad Shams-ud-dín II.

16. Fadiyáru.—The Máldivian term (pronounced *Faňḍiyáru*) for the Arabic *Qází*.

If *Lómáfánu* No. 1 belongs rightly to Sulṭána Rehendi Khadíjah, and to the years A.H. 743-44, the particular "learned *Faḍiyáru*" mentioned therein must have been either (*a*) Qází Ísá of Yemen (*Ísá al Yamaní*), or (*b*) Ibn Baṭúṭa himself; who—if he is to be believed—was "constrained" to supplant that Qází (to whom the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* also alludes), on account of his judicial venality (*Journal C.A.S.*, Extra No., 1872).

17. Má-fánu.—See Note 2 *supra*.

18. Fetánbara.—*Paighámbar* (Persian); which covers both *Rasúl* and *Nabí* (Arabic).

19. Sariatu.—Arabic. *Shari'at.*—"The Laws of Islám."

20. Imprecation.—Two hundred years earlier (A.C. 1133) in an Island Kingdom, separated from the Máldives by thousands of miles, a Christian Sovereign had "granted and confirmed" a "Charter" to "the Church of St. Bartholamew, and to the poor of the Hospital," akin, in its closing adjuration, to that recorded on *Lómáfánu* issued by an Oriental Ruler professing the creed of Islám.

Here are the stirring words of the English document:—"And let all the people of the whole Kingdom know, that I (Henry I, King of the English) will maintain and defend this place even as my Crown; and if any one shall presume in anything to contradict this Our Royal privilege, he, and all and everything that belongs to him, shall come into the King's power. All these things I have granted for ever, for the love of God and the welfare of myself and my heirs, and for the souls of my ancestors.

"Therefore, I adjure all my heirs and successors in the name of the Holy Trinity, that they maintain and defend this Sacred Place by Royal authority and that they grant and confirm the liberties by me granted to it."

But most striking it is to find the Máldivian Muslim objurgation virtually reproduced (save for the more vivid Buddhist penalties in substitution) in a Siṇhalese *Sannasa* (Hendeṇiya) emanating from a Kandyan King in the Sixteenth Century (A. C. 1509-10):—"*Raja Yuva Raja Siṭu Senevirat Ẹpá Mápá Pañcha Pradháni kenekungen wat obakiṅ wat avulak uḍaranayak kala kî kenek ẹt nam, &c., ...*"

(2) LÓMÁFÁNU: NO. 2.

(*Plate II.*)

This single leaf of a Copper-Plate Grant (now as a whole, it is feared, irretrievably lost), is in safe custody at Mále. Weathering has marred a photograph doing full justice.

It was discovered by the writer strung on the same ring as the six surviving Plates (covers excluded) of *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*; and, from its less perfect finish, automatically dubbed itself an interloper.

As with *Lómáfánu* No. 1, no fellow to this Plate is known.

In dimensions it measures 10 1/3 in. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.: it is, therefore, slightly shorter than *Lómáfánu* No. 1, but half

an inch wider. The ring-hole is on the right side of the Plate; which is exceptional.

The Obverse has six lines, as against but five on the Reverse. The script falls short of the clear cut perfection of characters noticeable on *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1 and 3.

Date of Issue.

Neither its date, nor the name of the Sulṭán by whose order *Lómáfánu* No. 2 was issued, appear on the Plate; which seems to bear, as Máldivian Numbers, *S* (8) and *Ḍ* (9) for its front and back.[1] It may be placed provisionally in chronological order between *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1 and 3.

Contents.

The object of the Document was manifestly the bestowal of a Grant on a Mosque, under *Waqf* conditions, as in the case of *Lómáfánu* No. 1.

What is lost, regrettable as it is, in entire absence of knowledge, or even hint, regarding the identity of the particular Ruler on the throne at the date of its execution, or that of any of his Ministers—in contrast to the suggestive information to be gleaned from *Lómáfánu* No. 1—is, however, in no small measure, compensated by two other prominent points in the Text of this unique Plate.

These are centered in :—

(i) The appellation "*Lakká*" (*Lanká*)—still in dispute by Orientalists as far as relates to Ceylon—applied to the Máldives.

(ii) The claim to "*Janman*," or proprietary birth-right, in Landed property on the Islands, asserted almost unequivocally by the Sulṭán reigning at the time of the issue of *Lómáfánu* No. 2, and apparently acquiesced in without demur by his State Officers and subjects;—such vital right, both in regard to Land Produce and Treasury Funds, being now-a-days absolutely denied *de jure* to the Sulṭáns by the *Lex Inscripta* of the Máldive Islands.

(i) "Lakká," (*Laṇká*)

In his closely reasoned Paper ("The Indian Historical Quarterly," Vol. II, No. 2, 1926) Mr. V. H. Vader deals concisely with the situation of "The *Laṇká* of Rávaṇa described in Válmiki's *Rámáyaṇa*."

Tacitly dismissing the unwisely proposed (*a*) Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, (*b*) Assam, and (*c*) Central India, sites, as all quite unsustainable, he proceeds to tilt vigorously at (*d*) "the almost axiomatic theory that Ceylon was *Laṇká* and *Laṇká* is Ceylon," so persistently urged by many Oriental Scholars.

Upon "more weighty and reliable evidence collected from ancient Sanskṛit literature," Mr. Vader propounds this theory :— "*Laṇká* was the Capital of the big Island known as *Rákshasa Dvípa*, in the midst of the Southern Ocean, and on the Equator or middle part of the Earth."

The question is discussed fully, authorities being quoted to show that "*Siṇhala Dvípa*," or Ceylon, and "*Laṇká*" were separate kingdoms ; for several reasons clearly set out.

Mr. Vader finally sums up the case for his thesis thus :—

"The present Máldives cover up the same position which once was covered by the *Rákshasa Dvípa*. It extended from 6° North latitude down to 1° South of the Equator lengthwise, while its breadth was from 73½° to 76° West longitude.

"Even the geologists maintain that before the Fourth Millennium B.C. there existed a big Continent in the Indian Ocean. Its extent lay, from the South of Africa, Eastward towards the South of America, to the South of India. In course of time the big Continent became immersed in the waters, and what portions we have now—such as *Malaya Dvípa*, Sychelles, Rodrigues, Chagos, Mauritius, Madagascar, Jáva, Sumátra, Borneo, Ascension, Falkland, Graham, West Antarctica, etc.—are nothing but the mountain tops or plateaus of the old big Continent.

"The *Malaya Dvípa*, or Máldives, is the site of the *Rákshasa Dvípa* of Rávaṇa with its capital *Laṇká Purí*."

Leaving aside the moot point whether Ceylon was, or was not, rightly known as "*Laṇká*" among other names, *e.g.*, *Siṇhala Dvípa*, *Támpraparṇa* (*Taprobane*), the existence of an alternative "*Lakká*," or "*Laṇká*," situated to the South-West of Ceylon, is startlingly supported by intrinsic evidence contained in surviving Máldivian *Lómáfánu*.

The employment in *Lómáfanu* No. 2 of the term "*Lakká*," as synonymous with "*Divehi Rájje*" of a later period, to denominate "the Maldive Realm," finds valuable collateral support in the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu* (Plate T, No. 3, Obverse, line 3); in which distinct reference is made to more than one "*Lakká*"—"*Aahi Lakká Mahi Lakká, Laṇká* the "Far" (*lit.* "There") and the "Near" (*lit.* "Here").

These terms may cover the Lakkadive, and Máldive, Island Groups—unless (not impossibly) "*Aahi Lakká*" denoted Ceylon itself.

A further curious point—may be purely accidental, but nathless not to be ignored even if a strange coincidence only—in connection with "*Laṇká Purí*" as the presumed Capital of Rávaṇa's "*Rakshasa Dvípa*," is the actual existence of an island at the present day (humble, and uninhabited, but dedicated in *Waqf* to a Mosque), now written and pronounced "*Lankan-furi*," which lies on the Eastern reef of North Mále Atol.

(ii) Sulṭáns' "Janman" Right.

"For many centuries past, and possibly from early days, the form of Government which has ruled at the Máldives has been, to a considerable degree, that of a Constitutional Monarchy.

'Broad based upon (the) people's will,
And compassed by the inviolate sea.'

"The Sulṭáns of the Máldive Islands (from the date of the Muḥammadan Conversion in mid-Twelfth Century,

A.C. 1153) would seem to have held the throne virtually at the will of the Chieftains and people; who have not failed to enforce their power at times by effective Revolution—brought about of late years peaceably, but not infrequently in former days by measures more or less violent and tragic.[2]

"Tenure of land at the Máldives conforms in some points to the Málayáli Fiscal system in vogue for centuries in Malabar, as well as on the Islands off the West coast of India, viz., the Lakkadive Group, including Minicoy (*Maliku*); which latter Island belonged to the Máldive Rulers up to the Sixteenth Century *circa*.

"The "*Janman*," or proprietary birth-right, claim to *Paṇḍáram* lands and monopoly of all produce, so long maintained over the Lakkadives by the Rájas, and Bíbís, of Kaṇṇanúr, was finally inhibited (with certain concessions to meet all prescriptive allegations) by the British Government of India.

"*Per contra*, for their part, the Sulṭáns of the Máldive Islands have never, *as of right*, established exclusive "*Janman*" claims of possession to land, or produce, of any Islands in their Dominion as distinct from, and independent of, the *Baṇḍára* or Government right.

"The soil of *Divehi Rájje*, ('The Island Kingdom,') is vested in the Government (M. *Baṇḍára*) inalienably. Land can neither be seized *de jure* by the Sulṭáns, under pretence of "*Janman*" right; nor conveyed by them *suâ sponte*, either to Máldivian subjects (Mále Island furnishing the sole partial exception) or to Foreigners.

"The Máldive Sulṭáns, in short, were never absolute personal owners of either the soil, or the produce, whether in (*a*) the whole, or (*b*) certain Islands, or (*c*) parts of Islands, of the Máldive Archipelago.

"Despite, however, the well-established Máldivian Unwritten Law, viz., that the Sulṭáns are not unconditioned

proprietors of the land, Máldivian history discloses, beyond question, that taking advantage of the weakness of their Governments, or of the flexible disposition of their subjects, Sulṭáns have, on occasions, acting with high-handed and unjustifiable assertion of "*Janman*" right, alienated Islands for their own interests or that of favourities, besides reserving Islands in their names for *Waqf* benefit of Mosques.

"Islands thus irregularly transferred by one Sulṭán were generally allowed to remain uninterruptedly *in statu quo* by his successors, on grounds of expediency, or as convenient precedent for justifying plausible similar action at will to their personal advantage." [3]

LÓMÁFÁNU : NO. 2

TRANSCRIPT : WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

1. BÁRA RAṚ NAGAI DEMAVE : MI
Twelve Islands selected given this

BAHÁI MI EMME VERI-TAKUN HITAṚA DURO-
saying these all Officials to the mind rich

2. AKAI HAMA BÁRA RAṚ BÁRA
sufficient twelve Islands from twelve

ATOḶUN NU-FENI MUḶI LAKKÁIN BÁRA
Atols not finding from the whole of Lakka twelve

RAṚ DE-
Islands

3. MÁVE BUṆEGEN : UTTARAIN NEKURANDU-AI :
given saying from the North Nekurendú and

KALAIDU-AI : LANDUV-A-
Kalaidú and Landú

4. I : IGURAIDU-AI : KÁṚIDU-AI : HUḶULE-AI : ELA-AI :
and Iguraidú and Káṛidú and Huḷule and Ela and

KAṆI-
Kaṇi-

5. (MÍ)DU-AI : FOṆADU DE TUḌI-AI : MADIRI
Mídú and of Fonadú two portions and Madiri

VILIGILLI-(A)I :	NELENDU-AI					
Viligili and	Nelendú and					
6.	MÁI	RASGE	TUḌI	AVAHÁRA		
	ma and	Royal	portion	private		
TUḌI	MI	DE	TUḌIAṚ	VANAHAI	HI-	
portion	to these	two	portions	what exists	Hi-	

Reverse.

1. TADU	MÁMENDU	GAḌAI	MI	BÁRA	NAGARU	
tadu	Mámendú	reservation	these	twelve	(Island) villages	
DA(NÁ)RU	MACHCHAṚ	VANNA	EMME	TA-		
Mosque	upon	being	all	things		
2. KETAI :	MI	RADUNGE	AMILLA	UKAS	MATÍN	
	this	King's	own	property	out of	
SIRI	SÁSTRA	FAṆA	MI	HAṆE	FÁ-	
glorious	sciences	plate	this	narrow	notification	
3. ḶA	KOṚU	MI	BÁRA	NAGARU	HINNA	
	having made	these	twelve	(Island) villages	Hinna	
KURAVVAI-GENFI	KAMÁI :	MI	BÁRA	RAṚA		
caused to make	the fact	These	twelve	Islands		
RAS	BO-					
Royal	Cowries					
4. LI	RAHURÁ :	GOI-MAS :	*QALAM*	GOVI-BAI :		
	Toddy Tax	Fish Tax	*Qalam*	Cultivators Tax		
FÁLABBA	MI	VERÍ-NAṚ	ME	TIBIMAṚ	MI	
Tree Tax	to these	people	this	belonging	These	
5. NAGARUKU	SAMUDDURE	FUṚI	HIKUNAS	MI		
(Island) villages	in the sea	islet	dried up	this		
RAṚ	MACHCHAṚ	ME	TIBENA	HUṚI	KAMÁI	
Island	upon	this	belongs	is	the fact	

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . should be selected and given.

Upon this statement, as the twelve Islands from the (above specified) Atols did not appear to be sufficiently productive in the opinion of all these (State) Officials, (they)

declared that twelve Islands should be given from the whole Máldive Kingdom (*Muḷi Lakká*).

(Accordingly) the following Islands were selected from Northwards,[4] (viz.):—Nekurendú (Tiladummatí Atol), Kalaidú (South Miladummaḍulu Atol), Landú (South Miladummaḍulu Atol), Iguraidú (North Máḷosmaḍulu Atol), Káṛidú, Huḷule (North Mále Atol), Ela (Koḷumaḍulu Atol), Kaṇi Mídu (Nilande Atol), two portions of Fonadú (North Mále Atol), Madiri Viligili[5] (North Mále Atol), Nelandú (North Nilande Atol),.....(including) the Royal portion, and private portion, with what (produce) exists (therein), as well as, (in Haddummati Atol), a reserved portion of Hitadú and Mamendú Islands—everything in these (above) twelve Islands (*lit.* villages) being (bestowed in *Waqf*) upon the Mosque.

(His Majesty), having caused these twelve Islands, (drawn) from the King's own property, to be constituted a *Hinna*, proclaimed the fact by this glorious, scholarly *Málófánu* (*lit.* narrow Plate).[6]

From these twelve Islands (the taxes)[7] *Ras-boli*, *Rahurà*, *Goi-mas*, *Qalam*, *Govi-bai*, *Fálabba*, were allotted to these persons (as custodians for the upkeep of the Mosque).

(Further), it is decreed (*lit.* is the fact) that an eyot (*fuṛi*) which has emerged (*lit.* dried up) from the sea[8] at any one of these Islands (*lit.* at this village)—this (too) belongs to this Island.

NOTES.

1. Máldivian Numeration. In old Documents this ran thus :— *M* (1), *F* (2), *D* (3), *T* (4), *L* (5), *G* (6), *N* (7), *S* (8), *D* (9).

2. The Máldive Islands : *Sessional Paper XV, 1921.*

3. The Máldive Islands : *Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy.*

4. Islands. The sequence of the Islands starts from the Northernmost Atol (Tiladummatí), but at once becomes irregular.

5. Madiri Viligilli. " Rowed across from Mále to Viligili Island. It is occupied by *Rá-veri* (Toddy Drawers), under their own Headman. The houses are poor and few, surrounded by coconut and breadfruit

trees. Most of the Island is under dense sea-board jungle, interspersed with sporadic coconuts .....

"The Mosque, about a quarter of a mile from the dwellings, is a building of no merit, covered by galvanized sheeting, half walled, half wooden-barred, having but one doorway. There are stepping-stones from the square ablution-tank (*hauz*) to the Mosque entrance to save feet pollution.

"With men and boys, the women here came out to be photographed, near their houses. In Mále, the latter 'run like hares,' if approached camera in hand.

"This Island lives well up to its name *Madiri Viligili*." Mosquitoes (M. *madiri*) abominably aggressive: by contrast, Mále is very free of these pests." (*Diary, May 2, 1922*).

6. Sultáns' "Janman" Right. By Mále authorities the sentence from *Má Radunge amilla* (Reverse: line 2) to *fáḷa koṛu* (line 3) in the Text, is considered "very complicated, and its meaning not at all clear." They, however, frankly admit that "either the Sulṭán of the day must have proclaimed that he reserved these Islands for the Mosque as of indefeasible right; or that he asserted forcibly and wrongfully such personal claim, and autocratically proclaimed the fact."

7. Taxes: *Rasboli*. Royal Cowries, *i.e.*, Cowries paid as Poll-Tax (*Váru*); *Rahurá*: Toddy (unfermented) Tax; *Goi-Mas*: Fish Tax; *Qalam*: Tax Collector's Fee (*lit.* "pen-fee"); *Govi-Bai*: Cultivation Tax; *Fálabba*: Tree Tax. For *Fálabba* see *Journal C.A.S.*, XXXI, 82, 1929, pp. 414-15.

8. Island Erosion. "They (the natives) observe the Atols to be washing away: in some, coconut trees are standing in the sea; elsewhere, the black soil of the Island is discernible thirty feet from the beach at low-water. The South-East side of an Island in Fádiffulu Atol is entirely gone, and marked only by a tree in the water. Some Islands are said to have disappeared entirely, *e.g.*, Wádú in Miladummaḍulu Atol, now a rocky shoal but once an Island.

"It is, however, acknowledged that reefs have risen from the water, and gradually formed Islands. The inhabitants of Mále remember the outer edge of a circular reef in their harbour which had two fathoms in the shoalest part, but is now dry at low water" (*Moresby*, "*Report on the Maldives*," 1835, *circa*).

LÓMÁFÁNU: NO. 3.

(*Plates III, IV.*)

The left half of a broken Copper-Plate, which must once have formed portion of an important *Lómáfánu*, was presented to the writer in 1922 by Hoḷudú-nevige Ḥáji Ismá'il Didi,[1] for many years past, the *Míru Baharu* (Arabic, *Amír-al-Baḥr*), or Harbour Master at Mále. It has no claimant, and is said to have been found *perdu* somewhere at Mále among other "unconsidered trifles."

The fragmentary Plate measures roughly about 7 in. horizontally by 3 in. in regular breadth.

As most customary, the Plate is pierced near the left side, and bears the first portion of five lines on Obverse and Reverse face alike.

Its script is beautifully engraved, the characters being boldly incised, and clear beyond poss bility of confusion.

Contents.

By extraordinary good luck, though but half of the Plate is available—the Máldivian numbering, *Ṇ* (7) and *S* (8) on Obverse and Reverse respectively, fixing this as the fourth in order of the original set—so much of the Text as is forthcoming contains definite historical particulars, (besides veiled suggestions, partly divulged, partly shadowed), which enable the period of the *Lómáfánu's* execution, and the identity of the Royal Grantor, to be deduced with virtual certainty.

Succinctly stated these clues (i), (ii), (iii) are as follows :—

(i) Al-Gházi Ibráhīm Fáriná.

"The Great King Íbráhím Fáṛiṇá, the Ghází," (at the present day spoken of at Mále by tradition, and in song, as "*Íbráhím Kaláfánu*)," is styled precisely, as on this half Plate, "*Al-Ghází Íbráhím Fáṛiṇá*" in an old *Fat-koḷu* (Paper Grant) in which Haññna Mídú Island of Ari Atol figures conspicuously.

This *Fat-koḷu* opens with a reference to the circumstances attending the tragic death, by spear thrust, of Al-Gházi Sulṭán Íbráhím (III) son of Al-Gházi Muḥammad Boḍu Takura martyred (*shahid vejje*) on Wednesday, the 28th of Shawwàl, A. H. 1017, when fighting against the evil-minded Malabars (*Hóḷín*) who had descended upon Mále in fourteen vessels (*Gurábu*) ; the Muslim burial, and the erection of a stone-built tomb (*Ziyárat*) to the slain Sulṭán at Haññna Mídu; and the appointment of its care-

takers; together with mention of the names of the two wives, 'Aishá Bíbí Kamaná and Nazarat Kamaná, who had accompanied the Sulṭán on his flight.[2]

(ii) Length of Reign.

The "*Táríkh*" and "*Rádavali*" Chronicles agree with the *Lómáfánu* in allotting a period of twenty-four (24) years and two (2) months to the reign of Sulṭán Íbráhím (III, A.C. 1585–1609), son of Sulṭán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu (A.C. 1573–85).

(iii) Succession to the Throne.

From the same Histories is gained the further information that, after one intervening reign—that of Sulṭán Ḥusain (II) Fámudéri Kilégefánu (A.C. 1609–20)—the throne passed to Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I), A.C. 1620–48, whose parentage is given.[3]

This Ruler, the nearest living relative to the deceased Sulṭán Íbráhim (III), was his great-nephew, in as much as Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín's great-grandfather 'Ali Khaṭíb—"*Al-Ghází* Ali Katíbu Takura" of *Lómáfánu* No. 3—and Sulṭán M. Boḍu Takurufánu were half-brothers.

Enough is left on the broken Plate (albeit but the last syllable "*ná*") to identify "Áminá Mává Kilage" as the mother of the "male child" (*furaddináda*) "Muḥammad Kalaminjá"[3] of the "*Rádavali*" history; besides affording the strongest presumption that her own mother's name Mariyam Kabádi Kilage, (as occurring in the "*Táríkh*"), filled the missing part of line 4 (Obverse); and that the latter lady was a daughter (*dí*) of "Ali Katíbu Takura" mentioned in the first part of the same line.

Date of Issue.

The issue of *Lómáfánu* No. 3 (to which the partial Plate belonged) may, therefore, fairly be assigned to Sulṭán Muḥammad Shuj'ai 'Imád-ud-dín (I), commonly known as "*Boḍu Rasgefánu*," who reigned from A.C. 1620–1648.

By collation with existing *Fat-koḷu* of Sulṭān Iskandar Íbráhím I (A.C. 1648–87), son of Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imad-ud-dín I, gaps in the text have been partially filled with confidence ; in addition to other *lacunae* closed up by the supplementary information drawn from the Chronicles.

(3) LÓMÁFÁNU : NO. 3

TRANSCRIPT : WORD FOR WORD TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

1. MAHÁ RADUNE VANA *AL-GHÁZÍ* ÍBRÁHÍMU
   Great King being the Ghází Íbráhím

FÁṚINÁI [. . . . . SA]
Fáṛiná

2. -UVÍS AVERUDU DVI MÁSÁIN REDALI
   twenty-four years two months reigned
   [. . . . . .]

KURAV [VAI . . . . SHAHID VEJJE SATÁRA AVERUDU]
having martyr become seventeen years

3. DAHA MÁSÁIN MI LÓKA MEDUN
   ten months this world from midst

BAIBAA[. . . . . .]
departed

4. EB-BAFAI *AL-GHÁZÍ* ALI KATÍBU TAKURAGE
   one-father the Ghází 'Ali Khaṭíb Takura's

DÍ : [MARIAN KABÁDI KILAGE DÍ
daughter Mariyam Kabádi Kilége's daughter

KABÁ ÁMI-]
Kabá

5. NÁ MÁVÁ KILAGE KIHUNU : FURADINNÁDA
   Áminá Mává Kilége born to male child

[. . . . . SVA].

Reverse.

1. -STI SRÍMATA MAHÁ SRÍ
   Hail! Endowed with beauty great glorious

KULA SUNDURA SÁIKA SÁSTURA [AUDÁNA . . . .
race pure all sciences [accomplished . . . . .]
. . . . . .]

2. FURA UTTARA KATTIRI BUVANA MAHÁ
pre-eminent noble Kahatriya Universe Great

RADUN[4] EKU RÁJJE FURAGAḶA [UDDAḶA KOṚU
King (as) one Kingdom all the Islands embellishing

KELA AḌḌÚ MI DE-]
Kéla (Island) Aḍḍú (Atol) these two

3. MEDU[5] EKAṆU ONNAMI KOṚU : ANEKANER
between one together having made (to) any other

NETÍ KOṚU[. . . . . MI DEHAIN BAA]
denying this country fear

4. NIRUBÁ KOṚU : BARI KUSHA MI
without fear having made weight wisdom this

AMATTAVI KOṚU : FURA MÁ[6] [LE . . . . . .
exclusive having made Ancient Male
. . . . . .]

5. MI DARUṆI MATÍ SARUMÁṆA BINÁ
this fertile area upon cleared ground

KURAVVAIGEN SAVÁLA [. . . . . .]
getting worked famed

TRANSLATION.

When the Great King Ībráhím Fáṛiná, the Ghází,..... had reigned for four and twenty years and two months, [and after seventeen years and] ten months [had elapsed since, as a martyr, he had] departed from this world, (there succeeded to the throne) a male child [begotten by 'Umar Máfat Kilége, and born to Kabá Ámi]ná Mává Kilége [daughter of Mariyam Kabádi Kilége, who was a] daughter of 'Ali Khaṭíb Takura, the Ghází, half-brother [of the Sulṭán Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu, the Ghází].

Hail ! the Great Ruler of the Universe—a pre-eminent noble Kshatriya.....(learned in) all sciences, (descended from) the great glorious pure race, endowed with beauty—

having embellished as one Kingdom all the Islands [between Kéla and Aḍḍú Atol] making it his own domain, and that of no other (Ruler), banished fear from this country, freeing it from alarm.

Having (thus), with weighty wisdom, established exclusive (Sovereignty), (His Majesty) caused ground, cleared in a fertile area, to be cultivated at Ancient Mále,.....the famed.....

NOTES.

1. H. Ismá'il Dídí. The erstwhile sprightly young Ambassador to Ceylon in the Eighties of last Century. He has gone on the *Hajj* Pilgrimage, thrice since; and is one of the State Officials most trusted at this day.

His all-round efficiency, and knowledge of Siṇhalese, coupled with a happy temperament, rendered his services invaluable as cicerone to the Archaeological Commission of 1922.

2. Haññá Mídu Fat-kolu. The full passage in the Text runs:—

Hijrain eku sástura satára vana averudu *Shawwál* máhu Buda arávis duvahu *Al-Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takurar* fut *Al-Ghází Ibráhím* Fáriná Kilage faivánái *hasad* verikamu Hólinge dolos-de Gurábu ais mi Kinage faivánái mi uren haguráma koru mi uren elli lónsiakun mi Kinage gaikolu gehi *shahid* vejje hidu mi Kinage Ziyárat aigen Haññá Míduvar gos Ziyárat mi raru Miskit dorun Binkor kiavvai mi Kinage Ziyáratu gau-gassavai mi kankama kemi míhen kuravvaifá tibe mi Kinage faiván daru de Abi-Kabalun kamu tibi *'Aishá* Bibí Kamanái *Nasarat* Kamanái.

Pyrard (who was held prisoner at Mále at the time) has left interesting details of the tragic, but justly deserved, death of Sulṭán Ibráhím of evil memory, and its sequel. The following is an extract:—

"The eight Galleys that were bidden to go after the King came up with him and to close quarters; whereupon the King, attempting to defend himself, was slain by a pike-thrust, followed by sword-cuts; his wives were taken prisoners, and his nephew was drowned.

"No harm, however, was done to the wives, save that they lost all their trinkets, which were seized by the soldiers and mariners, these being the most dangerous fellows at pillage: these mariners are called *Maucois* (Mukkavar).

"The cause of the taking and death of the King was that there was no wind, but the greatest calm possible; and that the enemy's Galleys were better for rowing than those of the King, which were only good for sailing, and of no use for oars. Had there been but a little wind they could not have caught him; but his ill-fortune cast him into this fate, which he fully merited for the great cruelties he had used. His hour was come, and for my part I hold that it was by the mercy of God he was thus slain." (*Hak. Soc. Pyrard*, Vol. I, page 314).

3. "Rádavali." The account in the "*Rádavali*," short as it is, of the reigns of the four successive Sulṭáns, Muḥammad Boḍu Takuru-

fánu (A. C. 1573-85), Ibráhím (III) (A. C. 1585-1609), Ḥusain (II) Fámudéri Kilégefánu (A. C. 1609-20), and Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I) (A. C. 1620-48), makes matters clearer :—

8. *Muḥammad Boḍu Takurufánu.*

Text.

Mi Radunge (*'Ali* Kalaminjá) Kafirunái toli *shahid* vejje fahu MG aharu MM mas foir Utímu *Ḥusain Khaṭíb* Kalogeṛ diafurasútáve *Áminá* Dio kihunufan *Al-Ghází Muḥammad* Boḍu Takuraṛ : Suvastì Sirí Kavunsarádítta Buvana Mahá Radunever. Mi Kalá raskan kuḷa aharu MM mas G.

Translation.

"When MG (16) years and MM (11) months had elapsed since this King (S. 'Ali VI) was slain by the Infidels, and became a martyr, Muḥammad Boḍu Takura, the Ghází, begotten by Ḥusain Khaṭíb of Utímu (Island) and born to Áminá Devi, (was elected Ruler).

"(His title, as proclaimed, was) :—Suvastí Sirí Kavunsarádítta Buvana Mahá Radun.

This King (lit. Personage) reigned MM (11) years G (6) months.

8. *Ibráhim (III).*

Text.

Mi Radunaṛ me (*Al-Ghází Muḥammad Boḍu Takura*) diafurasútáve Bauraru *Fáṭumá* Dio kihunufan *Al-Ghází Ibráhím* Kalaminjáṛ : Sirí Sandu Suvaru-gai Loka Mahá Radunever. Mi Radunge raskan kula aharu FT mas F. Mi Radunge *shahid* vi *Hijrain* 1017 vana aharu.

Translation.

"(Then succeeded) Ibráhím Kalaminjá, the Ghází, begotten by this last King (Muḥammad Boḍu Takura), and born to Fáṭumá Devi of Bára Island (Tiladummati Atol).

"(His title, as proclaimed, was :—Sirí Sandu Suvaru-gai Lóka Mahá Radun.

"This King reigned FT (24) years F (2) months, and became a martyr in A.H. 1017 (A.C. 1609)."

8. *Ḥusain (II) Fámudéri Kllégefánu.*

Text.

Mi fahu Fámudéri Kilagefánu niyauvi *Hijurain* 1029 vana aharu.

Translation.

"After this, Ḥusain Fámudéri Kilégefánu (reigned, and) died in the *Hijra* year 1029 (A.C. 1620).

8. *Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I).*

Text.

Mi Radunge (*Al-Ghází Ibráhim*) *shahid* vejje MṆ aharu MO diha mas vejje imaṛ fahu furaddináda *'Umar* Máfahaṛ Kinagoṛ dia-

furasútáve nufan *Kabá Áminá* Mává Kinage kihunufan Muḥammad Kalamiñjár: Suvastí Sirí Kula Sundura Audána Kíriti Kattiri Buvana Mahá Radunever. Mi Kalá raskan kula aharu FD mas F.

Mi Boḍu Rasgefánu avahára ví aharu *Hijrain* 1058.

Translation.

"When MN (17) years and MO (10) months had expired since this King (Íbráhím III) was slain by the Malabars, and became a martyr, Muḥammad Kalaminjá, male child, begotten by 'Umar Máfat Kilége, and born to Kabá Áminá Mává Kilége (came to the Throne).

"(He was proclaimed as):—Suvastí Sirí Kula Sundura Audána Kíriti Kattiri Buvana Mahá Radun. This King reigned FD (23) years F (2) months.

This (King styled) Boḍu Rasgefánu expired in A.H. 1058 (A.C. 1648)."

4. S. Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín (I). His epithets are limited by the "*Táríkh*" to :—Sirí Kula Sundura Kattiri Buvana Mahá Radun.

To distinguish them, Sulṭans M. 'Imád-ud-din I, M. 'Imád-ud-dín II, and M. 'Imád-ud-dín III are conveniently styled by the respective epithets Shuj'ai, Muzaffar and Mukarram.

Sultans' *birudas* are given full rein in *Lómáfánu*, *Fat-koḷu*, and State Missives to Dutch Governors of Ceylon.

5. Kéla : Addu. In *Fat-koḷu* granted in A.H. 1063 (Gan Island, Aḍḍú Atol) and A.H. 1074 by Sulṭán Iskandar Íbráhím (A.C. 1648-87), son of Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I, the Máldivian Ruler asserts right to exclusive sway from Kela Island in Tiladummatí Atol, the Northernmost of the Máldive Group. to Aḍḍú Atol, at the extreme South.

But in another *Fat-koḷu* of Hitadú Island (Haddummatí Atol) dated A.H. 1074 (A.C. 1665-66) the claim boldly and bombastically runs from Maliku (Minicoy) Island—raided by the Máldivians in this reign, but not held long—to Aḍḍú Atol (*Eku Rájje furagala uddala koṛu Malik-Aḍḍu mi de meḍu ekuṇu onnavi koṛu anekaku nan neti koṛu*).

Minicoy (originally Máldivian) had long been added to their Lakkadive Islands acquisition by the Rájas of Kaṇṇanúr.

6. Mále. Several important structural improvements at Mále are attributed by the "*Táríkh*" to Sulṭán Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín I.

He constructed the Fort (still standing, and repaired in great part) with bastions (*Buruzu*), joined up by curtain-walls, and many embrasures and convenient gateways; besides mounting extra guns obtained from Achin.

Further, he built a Breakwater to shelter Máldivian craft : this Inner Harbour is in existence and kept dredged at the present day.

Previously, the same Sulṭán had rebuilt the Palace Enclosure, (*Etere-koḷa*) and surrounded it with a Moat; which was not completely filled in until the close of the Nineteenth Century.

APPENDIX.

Origin of the "Dives Akuru."

The obvious affinity of the "*Divehi Akuru*" or "*Dives Akuru*" writing—a kinship disclosed *a fortiori* in its older form, dubbed for the nonce "*Evéla Akuru*" "Ancient Letters" —to the mediaeval Siṇhalese of Ceylon, combined with a like element of Tuḷu, or, possibly, of an older Grantha type, *Árya Eḻuttu* (Tuḷu-Malayálam) prevalent in the Malabar Districts of Southern India, indicate convincingly its almost certain origin ; and strongly suggests the former inclusion in the Alphabet of a fuller list of characters covering aspirates.

So far as it survives at the present day, the "*Dives Akuru*" alphabet has been manifestly made to fall into line, as far as practicable with the simpler modern Syllabary based on Persi-Arabic characters, known as the *Tána* Alphabet.

Evidence is still not, and perhaps may never be, forthcoming as to the full original extent of the "*Evéla-Dives Akuru*" as compared with Sanskṛit and other Indian alphabets; but the existence, to this day, at the Máldives of Grants on Copper-Plates, styled "*Lómáfánu*," of a date as early as the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries, has at least proved that the complement of letters still retained then, in addition to its aspirate form DH, the dental D side, together with the regular use of the palatal sibilant Ṣ,—both almost abandoned by the Fourteenth Century.

Syllabary.

A duplicate syllabary, in two parallel lines, of the "*Dives Akuru*" Alphabet, as formerly current at (1) Mále (Central Atol) and (2) Aḍḍu (Southernmost Atol) of the Máldive Islands, was supplied by the writer to Journal, Ceylon Asiatic Society : Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919.

On two Plates (VI, VII) are there set out, as Type 1 (Mále) and Type 2 (Aḍḍu) :—

(*a*) Basic form of *aksharas* (consonants with inherent vowel A)—twenty-five (25) in all—, besides the *sukun*

symbol; (*b*) some variants; (*c*) a few compound letters; (*d*) the five (5) vowels, short and long; and (*e*) the respective vowel-signs.

To the above was added tentatively, summarised explanation of the Alphabet's general usage.

The opportunity afforded in 1922 of studying at Mále itself lithic Inscriptions, and *Fat-koḷu* (Royal Grants on Paper) issued by Máldive Sulṭáns in "*Dives Akuru*" characters, has necessitated certain desirable amendments (doubtless still capable of further improvement) to that preliminary sketch.

These appear in the statement given below :—

Alphabet.

The Consonants and Vowels which constituted the full "*Dives Akuru*" Alphabet, (now in usage but rarely) may be, grouped, broadly, according to phonotic values, as follows :—

CONSONANTS								VOWELS	
Divisions	Surd		Sonant					Sonant	
	Tenues (Hard)	Sibilant	Mediae (Soft)	Nasals.	Liquids.	Sibilant.	Aspirate.	Short	Long
1. Gutturals ..	K	—	G		—	—	H	A	Á
2. Palatals ..	C	Ṣ	J	Ñ	Y	—	—	I	Í
3. Cerebrals ..	Ṭ	SH	Ḍ	Ṇ	ṚḶ	—	—	—	—
4 Dentals ..	T	S	D	N	RL	Z	—	—	—
5. Labials ..	P	—	B	M	—	—	—	U	Ú
6. Gutturo-Palatals ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	E	É
7. Gutturo-Labials ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	O	Ô
8. Dento-Labials ..	F	—	V	—	—	—	—	—	—

Consonants.

"*Dives Akuru*" consonants, like those of Sanskṛit, Siṇhalese, and other Indian cognate alphabets, are in reality "vowel-consonants," *i.e.*, each basal *akshara* includes the short vowel A, unless superceded by insertion of other vowel-signs, or the vowel-eliminating *sukun*.

As with Siṇhalese, etc., the addition of these symbols in no way affects the shape of Máldivian *aksharas*, beyond the modification due to such inflexions.

Vowels.

In "Type 1" (Mále), distinct forms are used, both as Initials and Medials, for the vowels A, I, U, E, O, in accordance with the Sanskṛit-Siṇhalese canon; whilst those of "Type 2" (Southern Atols) are merely derivatives, sign-modified, of the Máldive consonant transcribed as A.

Dipthongs AI, AU, EU, OU, are made up from the vowel-consonant with the respective additional vowel attached.

In "*Evéla Akuru*" (older form of "*Dives Akuru*") the doubled *Kombuva* symbol—as in Siṇhalese—stood for AI.

Vowel-Signs.

A. Á.

Short A, as stated, is inherent in every *akshara*, or "vowel-consonant"; unless the latter be bereft of its vowel by the *sukun* eliminator.

For long Á, the Máldive sign exactly resembles the Siṇhalese *Ḷapilla* symbol; written detached to right of the consonant.

I. Í.

Short I has three symbolic forms:—

(i) Placed above consonants, like Siṇhalese *Ispilla*.

(ii) Modified *Ispilla*; differing only from Siṇhalese *Ḷapilla* (long Á symbol) in being united to the consonant on its right.

In form (i) long Í is differentiated by a knot ; in form (ii) by curl, or kink.

(iii) I, Í, signs are, in the third form carried almost round the consonant from right to left, in combination with R symbol—conforming exactly to the Siṇhalese complex known as *Uttara rakáráṇṣaya*.

U. Ú.

Four symbols are utilised for U :—

In the first two forms short U follows the Siṇhalese *Pápilla* usage, *i.e.*, Form (i), long narrow loop to left ; Form (ii), curl to right ; both written below the consonant ;

Form (iii) shows a small loop united to the consonant's right arm inside ;

Form (iv) closely resembles the *sukun* symbol.

Long Ú, in form (ii) adopts a small stroke cutting the curling *Pápilla*.

E. É.

E is represented :—

(i) Earlier, by a small helix, like the Siṇhalese *Kombuwa* symbol, preceding its appropriate consonant.

(ii) Later, by tiny circle, or oval, bisected horizontally in lieu of the helix—a slovenly devolution.

O. Ó.

For O the above derivative E symbols of the Siṇhalese *Kombuwa* serve, when followed by consonants inflected with the *Ęlapilla* sign.

Sukun.

The *Sukun*—an undulating stroke drawn diagonally upwards to right above the *akshara*—has three uses :—

(i) Medial : Reduplicator of succeeding cosonant.

(ii) Final : Equivalent of certain silent *aksharas*.

(iii) Final : Vowel-eliminator, or "stop," to consonants —possibly an attempted combination of the two kinds of Siṇhalese *al* mark.

LÓMÁFÁNU NOS. 1, 2, 3: EPIGRAPHY.

It remains to offer some comments on an epigraphical analysis of the three *Lómáfánu* under review.

Consonants.

A.

The Siṇhalese medieval type of A is noticeable in "*Evéla Akuru*" *Lómáfánu* (Mále; Haddummatí) as existing side by side with the later Máldivian "*Dives Akuru*" form found in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 2, 3.

A solitary spreading variant of this older type occurs (See C.A.S. Journal, Extra No., 1919, Plate VI) in *Lómáfánu* No. 1 (Obverse, line 1, *anyá*); in this respect assimilating to the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*, which furnishes four or five examples.

D.

The Siṇhalese DH, or aspirated form of dental D, had virtually ousted the unaspirated letter by mid-Fourteenth Century.

Once only is the unaspirated D found in this trio of Plates, and that in *Lómáfánu* No. 1 (Obverse, line 5, *Fradáni*): in its congener, the *Boḍu-galu Miskit Lómáfánu*, the simple D is equally scarce, occurring but thrice on the six surviving Plates.

In Copper-Plate Grants engraved in the "*Evéla Akuru*" of the Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries, both the aspirated and unaspirated forms of dental D are employed at will (*e.g.*, *Dabudu*, *Dabudhu*, *Dhabudu*), for the modernised *Da(m̃)bidú* Island, Haddummatí Atol; proving the steady "passing" of ordinary D.

K.

Though not figuring either in the "*Evéla Akuru*" Plates, or in "*Dives Akuru*" *Lómáfánu* even up to the first half of the Seventeenth Century, it may not be inapposite to note the sudden introduction of a freak form of the

letter K resembling a bold figure "3" (See C.A.S. Journal *l.c.*, Plate VI) into an Inscription and *Fat-koḷu* of the latter part of the same Century.

M.

Two types of M are to be seen in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 2, 3 :—

(i) Large : (*hama*, L. 2 ; *máhá*, L. 3); descendant of the medieval Siṇhalese M.

(ii) Small : (*mi*, L. 2 ; *Ibráhímu*, L. 3) ; more frequently used than the large (i) type.

Lómáfánu No. 1, and *Boḍu-galu* Miskit *Lómáfánu* use a medium size of type (i).

N.

Regarding Nasals four points stand out :—

(i) Dental N is occasionally given duplicated value, in monogrammatic form,—as, indeed, are Ṭ (*vaṭṭai*, L. 1); T (*bau-hattai*, L. 1 ; *uttura*, L. 3) ;—by a small curl at its bottom (*vanna*, L. 2 ; *onnami*, L. 3).

Full dental N, appears as terminal, with the *sukun*.

(ii) The form of "stop," rising from single looped back of the letter, is employed in *Lómáfánu* No. 1 alone (*merumun*, *ehen*).

(iii) This florid modification of the vertical Siṇhalese *al* symbol will be noticed to have degenerated further in the later *Lómáfánu* Nos. 2, 3, by the entire letter N being transmogrified into two loops attached to the *sukun* (*verí-takun*, L. 2 ; *kihun*, L. 3).

(iv) A diminutive vermiform symbol, somewhat like tiny F of the modern Máldivian *Tána* Alphabet,—a tailed evolution seemingly of the Siṇhalese *anusváraya*, or *binduva*, attached to the head of the consonent—is freely used ; as :—

(*a*) Half, or full, nasal medial (*Kangati*, L. 1 ; *passim*, L. 2).

(*b*) Final full N (*uttarain*, L. 2 ; *másain*, L. 3).

The same symbol may also be employed to duplicate consonants, with no nasal influence, (*Lakká, samuddre*, L. 2 ; *Rájje*, L. 3).

Ṭ. Ṛ.

Cerebrals Ṭ and Ṛ are both manifest derivatives of the Siṇhalese lingual surd Ṭ.

This Ṛ is met with frequently single, (*koṛu*, L. 1, 2 ; *raṛa*, L. 2 ; *Fáṛinai*, L. 3) ; and once double (*fuṛṛurai*, L. 1).

Ṭ. appears in a few words, both singly (*Faṭamá*, L. 1) and doubled (*vaṭṭai, siṭṭákala*, L. 1).

R.

The ordinary R is at times replaced by two symbols, each clearly of Siṇhalese birth, and largely utilised in that script.

(i) *Réphaya* : (*Darmma*, L.1)

(ii) *Uttara rakáráṇṣaya* : (*passim*, L. 1, 2, 3).

Ṣ.

By the Sixteenth Century palatal Ṣ, found twice (Obverse, line 5, *fanṣa* ; Reverse, line 5, *ṣariatu*) in *Lómáfánu* No. 1, had seemingly quite dropped out of employment.

In "*Evéla Akuru*" *Lómáfánu* it already appears linked up at choice with dental S (*e.g.*, *fassima, faṣṣima*).

Y.

The Siṇhalese *Yaṇṣaya* symbol, as adopted, is resorted to in *Lómáfánu* 1 (*tibya* ; *Valya*).

Conjunct Consonants.

(i) *Entire Letters.*

BV, *b(u)vana*, L. 3.
CHCH, *machcha*, L. 2.
DV. *dvi*, L. 3.
KL, *k(u)la*, L. 3.
KSH, *k(u)sha*, L. 3.
MM, *komme*, L. 1.
NB, *Fetánbrage*, L. 1.
ṚṚ, *fuṛṛurai*, L. 1.
SD, *fasdáku*, L. 1.
SG, *Rasge*, L. 1.
SK, *Ras Kiṇage*, L. 1.
SL, *Muslimán*, L. 1.
SS, *vassaidin*, L. 3.
ST, *Svasti*, L. 3.

NN, *hinna*, L. 1.
NR, *Rahakun Ráda*, L. 1.
STR, *sástra*, L. 3.
SV, *Svasti*, L. 3.
TT, *uttarain*, L. 2 ; *amattavi*, L. 3.

(2) *Entire Letter and Symbol.*

BB, *fálabba*, L. 2.
BR, *Fetánbrage*, L. 1 ; *Ibráhimu*, L. 3.
DD, *samudd(u)re*, L. 2.
FR, *f(a)ragala*, L. 2 ; *f(u)radinnáda*, L. 3.
JJ, *Rájje*, L. 3.
KR, *Tak(u)rage*, L. 3.
LL, *Viligilli*, L. 2.
MM, Muhammad, L. 1.
MM, amme, L. 1.
NB, medun baibai, L. 3.
NDR, sund(u)ra, L. 3.
NE, *Radun eku*, L.
NF, *genfi*, L. 2.
NG, *Kangati*, L. 1 ; *Radunge*, L. 2.
NM, *másainmi*, L. 3.
NN, *hinna*, L. 1 ; *vanna*, L. 2.
NR, *Muslimán Rahaku*, L.1; *másain Redali*, L. 3.
NṢ, *fanṣa*, L. 1.
NS, *matin siri*, L. 2 ; *kuravvaigen savála*, L. 3.
ṬṬ, vaṭṭai, L. 1.
TT, bauhattai, L. 1 ; uttura, L. 3.
TTR, Kat(ti)ri

Vowels.

A.

Types 1, 2.—(i) Initial : *anyá* (spreading variant), *ahuva*, L. 1 ; *akai*, L. 2 ; *averudu*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *Kiṇage-ai*, L. 1 ; *nagai*, L. 2 ; *Fáṛinai*, L. 3.

Á.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

I.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : *nil* ; (ii) Medial : *vaṭṭai*, L. 1.
Type 2.—(i) Initial : *Iguraidu*, L. 2 ; *Iburáhímu*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *nagai*, L. 2 ; *Fáṛinai*, L. 3.

Í.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

U.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : *uwai*, L. 1 ; (ii) Medial : *nil.*

Type 2.—(i) Initial : *uttara*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *budauludu*, L. 1 ; *sauvís*, L. 3.

Ú.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

E.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : *ehen*, L. 1 ; Medial : *lie*, L. 1.

Type 2.—(i) Initial : *emme*, L. 1, 2 ; *ela*, L. 2; *eb-bafai*, L. 3 ; (ii) Medial : *passim.*

É.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

O.

Type 1.—(i) Initial : Medial. *Nil.*

Type 2.—(i) Initial : *onnami*, L. 3 ; Medial : *nil.*

Ó.

Types 1, 2.—Initial : Medial. *Nil*

Vowel-Signs.

A.

Inherent in every basic consonant, forming one syllable.

Á.

Like Siṇhalese *Ḷelapilla* symbol; following *akshara* to right detached (*passim*).

I. Í.

Form 1.—Like Siṇhalese *Ḷspilla* symbol ; above letter :—(*a*) Short : *passim* (L. 1) ; *nil* (L. 2, 3) ; (*b*) Long : *Rasgeví*, (L. 1).

Form 2.—Like Siṇhalese *Ḷelapilla* symbol ; but attached to side of letter :—(*a*) Short : *vihai* (L. 1) ; *mi* (L. 2) ; *Iburáhímu*, (L. 3) ; (*b*) Long : *Iburáhímu* (L. 3).

U.

Form 1.—Like Siṇhalese *Pápilla* ; loop to left at bottom of letter : (*koṛu*, L. 1).

Form 2.—Like Siṇhalese *Pápilla* ; right curl at bottom of letter : (*Ráhaku*, L. 1) ; *nufeni*, L. 2).

Form 3.—Small loop inside right limb of letter : (*buṇegen*, L. 2 ; *Iburáhímu*, L. 3).

Form 4.—*Sukun*-shaped up-stroke to right above letter : *míhaku* (L. 1) ; *verí-takun* (L. 2) ; *Radunai* (L. 3).

Ú.

Forms 1, 2, 3, 4.—*Nil.*

E.

Form 1.—Like Siṇhalese *Kombuwa* symbol, but diminutive : precedes *akshara* (*passim*, L. 1).

Form 2.—Small round, or oval, symbol, bisected horizontally ; similarly placed (*passim*, L. 2, 3).

É.

Forms 1, 2.—*Nil.*

O.

Forms 1, 2.—*Kombuwa*-shaped like E, but with the addition of *Ḷapilla* symbol attached to the following *akshara*.

Ó.

Forms 1, 2.—*Nil.*

Sukun.

The *sukun* possesses triple power :—

(i) Medial : Reduplicator doubling succeeding consonant (*amme*, L. 1).

(ii) Final : Equivalent of silent *akshara* Ṛ (*míhunar*, *daṛaṛ*, *magaṛ*, L 1).

(iii) Final : Vowel-eliminator to consonant (*lánat*, *Ras*, *merumun*, L. 1).

Calligraphy.

A final word regarding the execution of these *Lómáfánu*.

Lómáfánu No. 1.—It would not be easy for an engraver to improve generally on the finish of this Plate—its horizontal regularity of line, and the perfect delieation of the neatly incised writing, whether *Arabic* or " *Dives Akuru.*"

Save for the omission, and subsequent insertion, of three letters, the graphology of this Plate is up to the standard of the best examples of Siṇhalese Copper *Sannas*.

Lómáfánu No. 3.—This half-plate *Lómáfánu* displays equal precision in the work of the engraver's tool, and the sharpness of the bold script. It is quite free of any carver's errors.

Lómáfánu No. 2.—Obviously *Lómáfánu* No. 2 falls somewhat behind the skilled execution, so strikingly displayed in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 1, 3.

The crowding of a sixth line on to the Obverse, the omission of an *akshara* in *Mídu* and *Danáru*, the hardly parallel lineal spacing, added to more shallowly engraved writing, stamp it as the handiwork of a less efficient worker.

The two short vertical lines (reminiscent of Sanskrit and other Indian inscriptions), found in *Lómáfánu* Nos. 2, 3, and represented by *colons* in the transcript, would seem intended to serve the same purpose as the horizontal Siṇhalese *Kuñḍali*, or pause symbol.

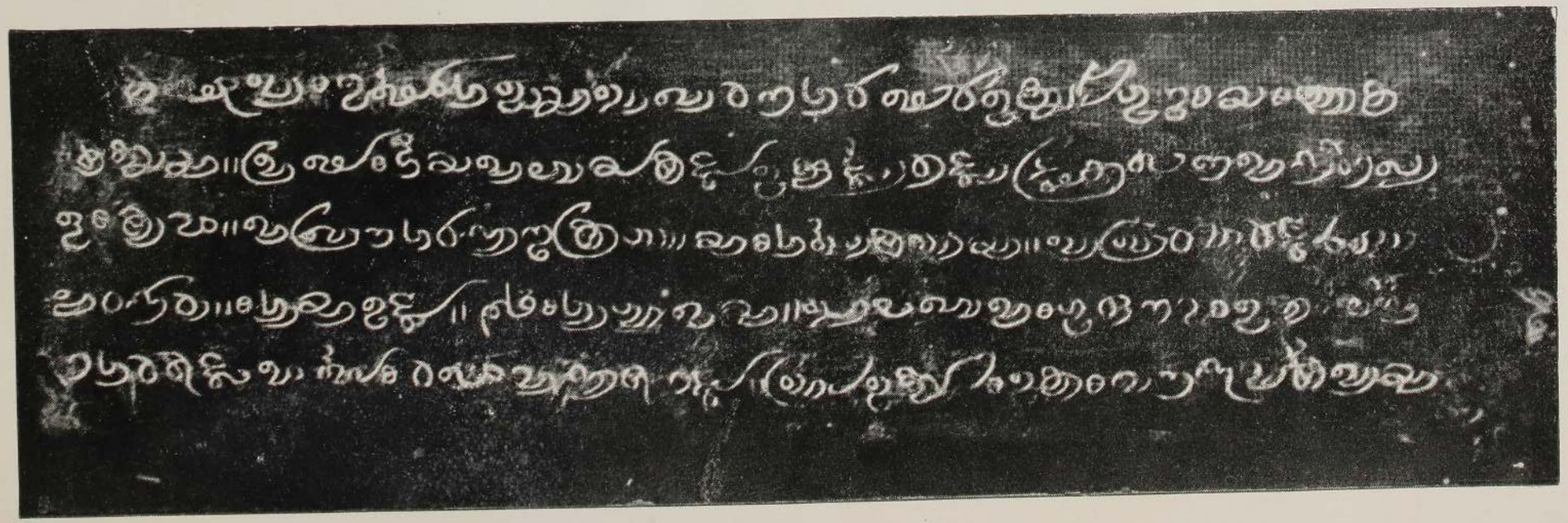
A

B

Lómáfánu No: 1.
Scale: Half size, *circa*.

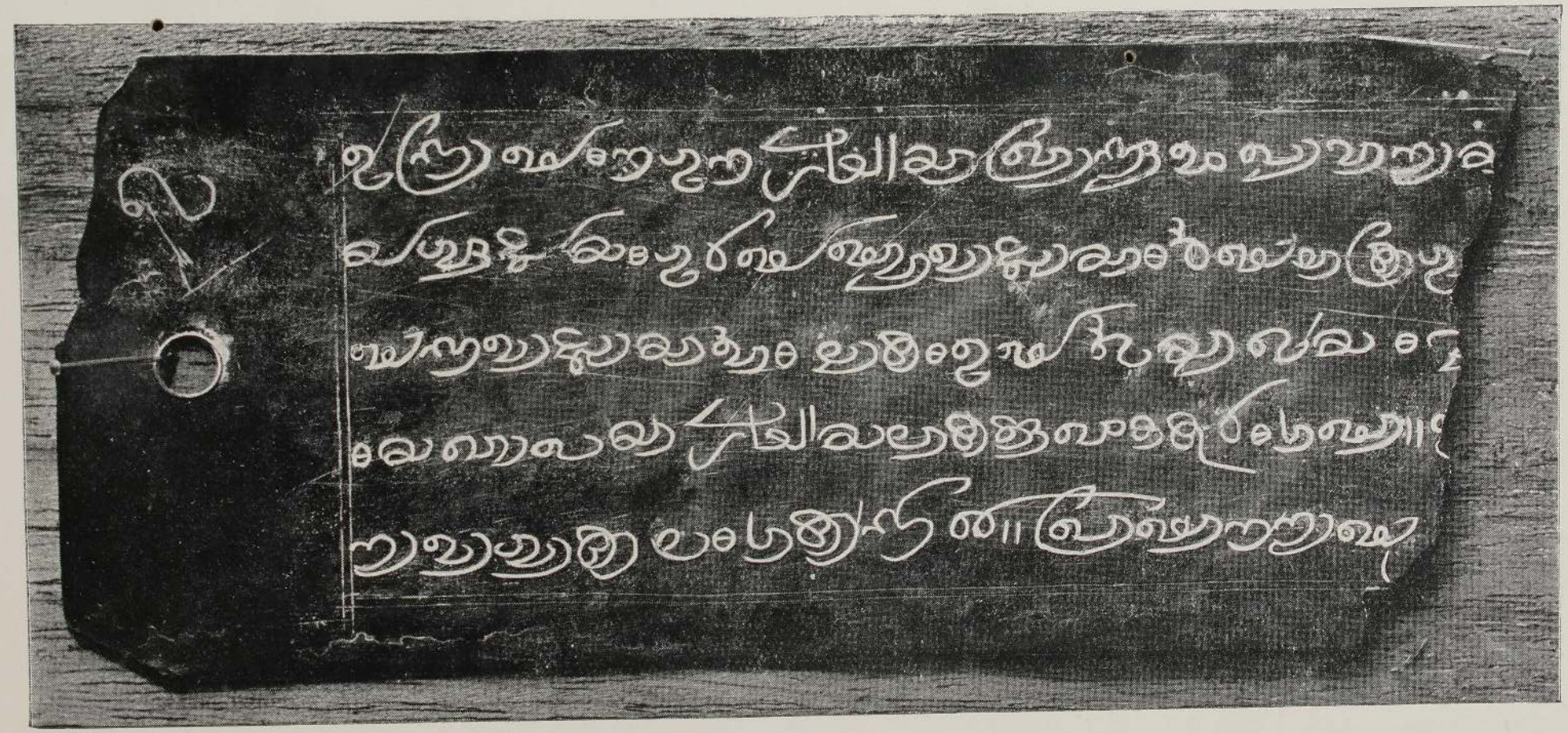
A

B



Lómáfánu No: 2.

A



Lómáfánu No: 3.
Scale : Five-sixths.

B

Lómáfánu No: 3.
Scale : Five-sixths.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Kirtti Sri Meghavarna II.

By

Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana.

The first research-worker in the field of Ceylon History in modern times was the Honourable George Turnour of the Ceylon Civil Service who, in addition to his other labours in this field, compiled a Chronological Table of the Kings of Ceylon. In that Table, King Kirtti Sri Meghavarna II appears as having reigned nineteen years. This had been accepted as correct chronology, until in the Seventies of the last century, during the administration of the Island by Sir William Gregory, a collated and revised edition of the Mahawansa in its original Pali was made at the instance of the Government by the joint labour of the two most outstanding oriental scholars of the day—the Venerable High Priest H. Sri Sumangala and Pandit Batuwantudawe. Their recension appeared in 1877, and in that recension the nineteen years' duration of this King's reign had taken the shape of nineteen days, thus making a complete disturbance in Turnour's chronology from that point onward. Since its appearance, this emendation has been accepted without question.

Recently that part of the Mahawansa in which this reign appears, has been again collated and revised, also at the instance of the Ceylon Government, and been published by the Pali Text Society. In this edition too, the reading is nineteen days. And very recently, a new Chronological Table of the Kings of Ceylon, prepared by a celebrated scholar, Dr. D. M. De Z. Wickramasinha, appeared in the Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III, Part I. In that Table too,

the period of nineteen days has been preferred to the other, after consideration.

So it would seem that if numbers counted on the two sides of the question—for heads do count now-a-days—the solitary opinion of Turnour ought to go over-board, and the combined opinion of the later scholars ought to stand. But I venture to think that to pin our faith in numbers in a matter of science is not a correct attitude. Moreover, Turnour was himself not an ordinary light, but a majestic beacon in his day. It therefore seems proper and in the interest of science that men who can bring an independent judgment to bear on such questions should examine this case for themselves and try to find on which side of this yawning gulf the truth lies. And this note is intended to rouse interest in that direction.

As admitted history we find that Meghavarna II was the grandson of Silākāla, in whose reign a desparado by the name of Mahānāga had betaken himself to the forest as a robber. During a time of famine he gave a square meal to a famishing magician, who, reading his future, foretold that in his old age he will be King of Ceylon and reign for three years before returning to mother earth and to dust. As a preliminary step, he was told to quit his life of free-booter and to take service under the King of the day—Silākāla. Following the advice he became the King's tax-collector in the Province of Ruhuṇa ; and so exceedingly well did he do his work, and showed such a large increase in the revenue that the King was highly pleased, and promoted him to be General Commandant of this Province at the head of a force of foreign levies of Wadugas. But the man had his eye fixed on his own goal, and seducing the force under him from its loyalty to the King, he soon made himself master of his Province. The King died sometime after, and his second son usurping the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother, was able to hold it only six months,

when defeated in single combat, he committed suicide. The rightful heir, Moggallāna then ascended the throne, and died after a reign of twenty years. He was succeeded by his son Meghavarna II, and it is with his reign that the present question is concerned.

Meghavarna was apparently young when he came to the throne, with a queen-mother who took the reigns of government into her hands and began to mismanage everything. Favouritism began to shew itself, good and able ministers had to give way to sycophants, and soon matters began to drift towards chaos. The court became a centre of corruption, and from the court, the evil began to spread to the Provinces. And gradually the government became so unsettled that it became practically synonymous with the stronger preying upon the weaker. And then the country was ripe for general revolt and revolution. This climax, it is plain, could not have been reached within a few days, weeks, or months, but must have taken several years. But when it did come, Mahānāga, always watchful for his chance, saw that his time for action had come, too. So he marched forth, probably with his Wadugas behind him, on the capital, and putting the King to death, himself sat on the throne Dr. Wickramasinha is disposed to think that this could not have happened in the 19th year of the King's reign, because, says he, Mahānāge (the bandit) had already outlived three sovereigns, and presumably could not have lived eighteen (or nineteen) years longer, to strike. I cannot see the force of his reasoning. Whether the magician's prophesy was a fact, or, as is more probable, a later invention after a fact, its appearance in the story goes to shew that the bandit was really old when he took on the purple, and this is further borne out by the fact that he was able to survive the strain of its duties only three years. And what was the total length of reign of the three predecessors of his victim ? Silākāla 13 years ; Dāpulu 6 months, Moggallāna 20 years—in all 33½ years. Now supposing Mahānāga was, say, thirty

years old when he was having his free license as a bandit, will it be too long for him to survive 33½ years from thence, and then again, say, 18½ years more before getting to be a very old man, to occupy a throne with but only three years more to his grave ? For then he would have been 82 years old, which could scarcely be too much longevity for a man who had led the hardy life of a robber.

Thus then Dr. Wickramasinha's difficulty vanishes on examination, and no valid reason remains for his considered opinion in favour of the nineteen days. On the other hand, the examination discloses that nineteen years, as given by Turnour, should be accepted as the correct date. But how stands the case on the other side of the question. If nineteen days is spurious reading, how did it come about ? To answer this question, we have to look into the original manuscripts. The passage relevant to the question, is, according to the recensions, as follows :—

"Rajjaṃ gahētuṃ kālōti—sīgham āgamma Rōhānā
Ekūna vīsē divasē—mārayitvā mahīpatiṃ"
(Saying to himself "It is time to take the kingdom, he hurried from Ruhuṇa, and on the nineteenth day, having caused the King to be slain," &c.)

Here the material words are "ēkūna vīsē divasē," "on the nineteenth day" ; and of those the one word of importance in the question is "divasē" "on the day." The manuscripts are far from unanimous in favour of this word. One manuscript in my possession has "dissē," a word without a meaning, and obviously a copyists' blunder for some other word with a meaning—a some other word having two "S'S" at the end quickened by the vowel 'ē'. Such a word would be vassē ("in the year") ; but unfortunately some other copyist in times later, who saw that "dissē" had no meaning and should be corrected, applied the correction, according to the best of his judgment, to the end of the word, so that the word may read divasē, which has the merit at any rate

of not being gibberish. So that his emendation now runs in one line of manuscripts. But there is a third line of manuscripts with yet another lection which definitely confirms the conclusion I have already indicated as being on the side of reason and common sense, from a reading of history. That lection is "Ekūna vīsē vassaṃhī" (see footnote in Geiger's edition), which means "in the nineteenth year."

Yet the reading of "nineteen days" has been given out to the world by several eminent savants both European and local. It seems time that a caveat should be entered; and this note is intended to be that caveat. The correct reading clearly seems to be "ēkūna vīsē vassē" "in the nineteenth year."

The Invasion of Ceylon by Muslims.

BY

MUDALIYAR R. C. PROCTOR.

The disputed succession to the throne of Maravarmen Kulasekera provided the occasion for Malik Kafur for the invasion of the Pandya country. He swept the country down to Rameswaram and, on his return, took the King of Madura as captive leaving behind his garrison at Madura. Epigraphical evidence, in the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastrical, establishes that the date of this invasion was 1326-27 A.D.[1]

Hoysala Vira Balala III, according to an inscription, claims to have turned out the Muhamadans from Madura about the year 1342 and he erected a pillar of victory at the beginning of the bridge at Rameswaram (*Setu Mulai Jayastamba*).

In his book "The Portuguese of Ceylon," Vol. I, page 447, note 15, Dr. Pieris refers to the tradition gathered by

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1. Epi. Report for 1916, §33, Inscription No. 18 of 1899 at Tirupputkuli.

Queiroz that in the reign of Buveneka Bahu I, a body of Muhamadans, led by one Cader Shah, invaded Ceylon and waged war. The invaders were "defeated" but a number of them were allowed to settle down in Ceylon and perform the duties and enjoy the privileges and rights which appertained to the Karava community.

On the basis of the date given in *Sarasothimalai*, the invasion took place in 1341 A.D.

About two years after, Ariya Chakravarti invaded Yapahu and carried away the sacred tooth relic and treasures found there. Probably there were Muslims in his army. We find today the country comprised in the mediaeval principality of Yapahu dotted with Muslim Colonies.

In 1344 A.D. Ibn Batuta meets Ariya Chakravarti, who tells him that he (Ariya) was an ally of a Muhamadan power in South India.

The coins of the Ariya Chakravartis exhibit on the obverse in addition to their own ensign—the bull—the crescent also, suggestive of the alliance.

A palm leaf manuscript in the Canarese language, entitled *Paradara Sodera Ramane Kathe*, now in the Oriental Library at Bangalore, describes a defeat of the armies of *Suratan of Delhi* (Sultan of Delhi) who, the author says, "had established custom houses in *Singala* and had fearlessly planned a campaign against Lanka."

Alampundi plate (its date is 1383 A.D.) records that Virapaksa, son of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara royalty, having conquered Tundiri (Jingi) Chola, Pandya and the *Sihalays* (Ceylon) presented precious stones and other jewels to his father.

During the short period the Muhamadans exercised authority in the maritime parts of Ceylon, they appear to have lent themselves as soldiers to the princes of Ceylon and also to have paid some attention to the propagation of their faith.

On the arrival of the Portuguese, the influence of the Muslims on the coast towns began to decline.

An examination of some of the *gé* names of families inhabiting the port-towns on the west coast should lead to interesting results.

A native of Panadure who appeared before the Assize Court held at Kalutara in 1928 bore the name *Yonmerenne* Simanhewage *Assan* Silva.

Antiquities discovered in a Culvert on the Kandy Road.

BY

J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.

The "Ceylon Daily News" of 23rd May, 1930, contained a paragraph recording the discovery, by a reporter of that paper, of some old stone pillars in a culvert near the sixth mile post on the Colombo-Kandy road. I visited the spot accompanied by Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant, and later Mr. Paranavitana revisited the place, and made a careful examination of the pillars. He has furnished me with the following note.

"The culvert in question consists of three piers in the construction of which these ancient stones had been utilized. Some of the stones were embedded in the masonry and no accurate description of the antiquities is possible in their present condition. However, as far as could be observed, there were 32 pillars and 10 slabs besides various architectural fragments, such as mouldings, steps, etc. Of the pillars, 13 were plain square ones; eleven belonged to a type which is square at the base, octagonal in the middle and square again at the top, with no ornamentation. A third type, of which eight examples were found, was ornamented and was on the whole of a more elegant workmanship than the second type.

A Tamil inscription was found on one of the pillars. It consisted of nine lines, of which the last one was com-

pletely, and the 6th and 7th partly, worn. My reading of this inscription is as follows :—

1. Śrī Viśayavāhu
2. dēvarku ā [ṇ] ḍu 11
3. vadukku edirāvadu
4. Vaigāśi 10 teydi
5. Kandaśśuvāmi kō-
6. -vilukku Ā .. ..
7. śu ta .. .. .. rā
8. yaṇ kal tūṇ
9. . . . . .

Translation :—The 10th day of the month of Vaigāsi in the year opposite the 11th year of Śrī Viśayavāhudevar. The stone pillar [given] to the temple of Kandaśśuvāmi by Ā .. suta .. .. rāyaṇ.

The Vijayabāhu of this inscription may be identified, on palaeographical grounds, with the seventh of that name whose reign, according to Codrington, extended from 1509 to 1521. The regnal year as well as the day of the month are doubtful ; the figures in both cases being not very distinctly visible. The name of the person who gave this pillar to the temple is not completely preserved ; all that we can say is that it ended in *rāyaṇ*. He was probably a South Indian. As this inscription proves, these pillars and probably the other stones, too, belonged to a temple dedicated to Kandasvāmy, the most popular of the deities worshipped by the Tamils of Ceylon.

The inscription does not help us in the location of the temple. Nor do the villagers have any authentic tradition about the place from which these stones were removed by the builders of the Kandy road. However, one villager stated that they were brought from a place named Galēdaṇḍa about two miles from Dippiṭigoḍa and that ancient remains can still be seen at that place. In order to find out whether this tradition is reliable, the place was visited and remains

were found of what appears to have been an ancient stone bridge. The name *Galēdaṇḍa* itself means "stone bridge" and the villagers say that traces of an ancient road can be found in the villages of Pamuṇuvila and Mākola to the north-east of Galēdaṇḍa. Interesting as this discovery is, there is hardly any proof to show that the carved pillars which we are concerned with at present were brought from Galēdaṇḍa."

Iron and Chank Rings on New-born Babes.

BY

Rev. Father S. Gnana Prakasar, o.m.i.

There is a wide-spread custom, among the Tamils of north Ceylon, of tying to the wrist of new-born babes an iron and a chank ring, or in some cases, an iron ring alone. Christians do not conform to this superstition, although occasionally a Minister finds a child bearing these rings and has to get them removed before baptism. When questioned as to the meaning of this custom, intelligent parents say that the iron ring is meant for warding off the assaults of evil spirits which hover round the lying-in chamber. No satisfactory reason is given for the use of the chank ring.

The traditional abhorrence for iron manifested by all preternatural beings, is found depicted in the myths of every country in the world. The much-dreaded Jinn are believed to travel in the whirlwind of sand and the Arabs shout Iron, Iron, as they pass. The old European practice of employing knives, tongs, sickles or scissors as a protection against the mischievous fairies is alluded to by Herrick thus :

Let the superstitious wife
Near the child's heart lay a knife :
Point be up and haft be down,
(While she gossips in the towne) ;
This 'mong other mystic charms
Keeps the sleeping child from harms. [1]

1. See *The Month* for June, 1929, from which many of the above details are drawn.

Fire is another effective protection against evil spirits. It is the usual practice in the Tamil land to keep a lamp, filled with margosa oil, burning all night before the child, till the day on which the midwife performs certain ceremonies for propitiating Kotti, the dwarf demon who is believed always to be bent on harming it. It is said that the margosa oil is preferred for the coolness of the light it gives. But I am inclined to think that this particular oil was originally used as an additional charm against demons, which are supposed to be averse to the margosa tree. "The use of fire as a protection against the raids of the trolls is widespread. In the Western Islands fire is carried round the lying-in women before they are churched, and in Mecklenburg a naked light burning in the room is deemed sufficient protection for the child. To simulate fire, in Sweden, the swaddling-wrap is often bright red in colour, and in Scotland a seven-knotted cord, suspended round the child's neck, is of a vivid scarlet.....The dragons and cacodemons that threatened Zoroaster at his birth were repelled by fire."

Corresponding to the ancient European belief that children were liable to be stolen by the fairies, we also find, among the illiterate folk, the fear that their little ones might be abducted by the malignant spirits. Recently I met a young mother who, in the midst of a conversation, avowed that her one year old babe was once carried away and left in a palmyra grove. When questioned as to the manner in which this was done, she replied: The child had crawled to where I found it, no doubt led by the demon!

Going back to the rings attached as amulets, it would be interesting to learn the origin of the one made out of chank. Is there any connexion, again, between the word *fay*, the original form of fairie and the Tamil *pey*, the name for demon? The supposed origin of fay from the Latin *fata* is not very convincing.

Jaffna Coins.

BY

MUDALIYAR C. RASANAYAGAM, C.C.S. (Retd.)

Of the coins issued by the Ariya kings of Jaffna, only a few copper coins have yet been found and among them about 20 different issues have been identified by Rev. S. Gnanapragasar, O.M.I. Generally, on the obverse is delineated a grotesque human figure with a head, two arms, bare body, a flowing robe and two legs. One hand holds a flower in the posture of smelling it and the other hand holds some sort of a weapon. A *trisula* or a lamp is also depicted under the left arm. A similar representation is also found in the Chōḷa and Polonnaruwa coins. There is no doubt that it is a symbolical representation but its meaning has not yet been correctly or even sufficiently explained.

On the reverse are a couchant bull in the centre, the crescent moon with a dot above it, three dots in a triangular form on a side, and other dots below the bull, all enclosed in a semicircular line in certain issues, and the legend Sētu in Tamil characters below the base of the semicircular design. This symbolical representation has both a religious and a philosophical meaning.

The couchant bull is the representation of Siva and Sakti, a combination of Purusha and Prakriti—and the resultant Universe or Cosmos which is sometimes represented by the Swan (Hangsah) in North India. This is yet another representation of the mantric sound Aum. Over the Aum is the sign of Chandra Bindu or Nāda and Bindu shown as a crescent moon with a dot or a point over it. In some of the old pictorial representations of Aum or Ōngkāra, Nāda and Bindu are represented by a crescent and dot. Nāda and Bindu are found in all Bīja mantras which are shown with Bindu above and Nāda below, for this is the form of Chandra Bindu. Nāda and Bindu are states of Sakti, "in

which the germ of action (Kriya Sakti), so to speak, increasingly sprouts with a view to manifestation producing a state of compactness of energy and readiness to create." Nāda and Bindu are two of the many aspects of THAT which in India is called the Mother or Great Power (Mahā Sakti). This is both the efficient and material cause of the Cosmos which is its body. Nāda is the mantric name of that Power which gathers itself together as Bindu to create the universe and which Bindu, in so creating, differentiates into a trinity of Energies which are symbolised by A.U.M. Nāda and Bindu thus represent the *Turiya* state immediately before the manifestation of the Universe in which animate life exists in the three conditions of dreamless sleep, dream and waking.

The three dots or *Tribindu* constitute the great triangle of World-Desire. They are the three Saktis, Ichchā, Gnāna and Kriya from which the three *guṇas* Sattva, Rajas and Tamas develop. They are also sometimes made to represent the Sun, Moon and Fire. From them the Trimurtis Rudra, Brahma and Vishnu and the three dēvis Raudri, Sarasvati and Vāma issued.

Thus Paramēswara assumes for the created, successively, the triple aspects of Sakti, Nāda Bindu and Tribindu, thereby completing by this differentiation of Sakti the sevenfold causal sound forms of the Praṇava or the Ōngkāra.

Sētu is the holy shrine of Rāmēswaram.

The symbol on the reverse of the Jaffna coin is, therefore, the anthropomorphic representation of the creation of the Universe and Paramēswara, the creator, whose holy shrine is at Rāmēswaram which was then within the kingdom of Jaffna.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

TAMIL LEXICON.

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As many as ten *nigaṇḍus* or metrical word-books have been in existence, since long, for the Tamil language. But the credit of compiling the first Tamil Dictionary in alphabetical order belongs to the famous Italian missionary, Father Joseph Constantius Beschi, S.J. (1680-1747), who worked in the equally famous "Madura Mission" in the 18th century. The *Caturakarāti*, or fourfold Dictionary of Beschi was printed, for the first time, in 1824, and was soon followed by what is known as the Jaffna Dictionary published by the American Mission of Jaffna in 1842, furnishing a larger collection of words than the first attempt of Beschi. Since then there have been issued nearly a dozen other large Tamil Dictionaries, among which C. W. Cathiravelpillai's Tamil-Tamil dictionary, Winslow's Tamil-English dictionary and the Tamil-French dictionary by two missionary Fathers of Pondichery rank as the best, each in its own way. The late Mr. Cathiravelpillai of Jaffna, a foremost Tamil scholar in his day, was the first lexicographer to cite classical quotations for all the senses of Tamil words. Winslow's dictionary is noted for its methodic treatment of words and its many illustrations from the ordinary speech of the Tamil people, while the Tamil-French dictionary contains a greater variety of examples drawn especially from the literary dialect, though in the matter of orderly arrangement of words it is inferior to Winslow.

The Lexicon now before us evidently proposes to combine the qualities of all its three scholarly predecessors, adding not a few new words that have come to light by the recent publication of a number of old classical works of the *Sangam* period. It is of the Tamil-English variety, and abounds with very apt quotations on the whole. A special feature is the juxtaposition of Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu forms of Tamil words where they exist. Copious illustrations for almost all the senses of words are given. Diacritical marks in printing make the reading of transliterated Sanskrit and other words extremely easy and the types and get-up of the book are excellent. Nothing less was expected from an enterprise lavishly subsidised by the Indian Government and put in charge of an eminent body of men.

I said nothing less was expected, but I should, in fairness to a work of this kind, add, that certainly something *more* was expected from the labours of so many scholars extending over a decade. The scientific value of a dictionary, as now understood, is gauged by its etymological treatment. But the Lexicon under review can in no way be qualified as an etymological dictionary of the Tamil language. The compilers do not profess to have studied the principles of Tamil etymology. They confine their attention, broadly speaking, to the tracing of Tamil words to Sanskrit and other Indian languages—and this often with a vengeance ; for I am afraid they hold the view that when a Tamil form resembles a Sanskrit form, the latter is necessarily

the original for the former. Thus, the Tamil word *tōṇi*, a boat, is derived by them from the Sanskrit *droṇi*, doubtless on the erroneous principle just referred to. The Tamil word is regularly derived from a secondary root *tōḷ* "to hollow out" and stands as a member of a cluster of derivatives such as *tōṇḍi*, an earthen pot, *toḷḷam*, a raft, etc. On the other hand, the Sanskrit *droṇi* has no convincing etymology to show. A knowledge of the principle of an adventitious trill under certain circumstances will incline one to think that, in this case, the Sanskrit, rather, was derived from the Tamil. To give only one more instance, among scores, of the sanskritising obsession of the compilers, the word *tōḷ*, the shoulder, is derived by them from the Sanskrit *dos*, the forearm. Now the Tamil word is known to come from the secondary *toḍu*, to connect, and hangs together with at least a dozen other derivatives among which *toḍai*, another connecting limb, the thigh, is one. The Sanskrit *dos*, becoming *dor* in compounds, on the other hand, stands alone and without an etymology. We have rather to go to Tamil for its explanation. By the side of this sanskritising tendency everywhere displayed, it is amusing to see that the compilers have given a number of truly foreign words as Tamil. *Tompu*, for example, is not a Tamil word in the sense of "public register" but, of course, represents the Portuguese Tombo.

No attempt has been made, I repeat, to trace Tamil words to their roots because a study of the principles of Tamil etymology—its phonology and semantics—was not included in the programme of our lexicographers. They do indeed make a show, occasionally, of deriving one word from another, but this is of the most obvious kind, *e.g.*, saying that *nakai*, laughter, is from *naku*, to laugh. But how *naku* comes to mean "to laugh" we are not told. The root-meaning was not ascertained; hence the illogical order in which the following senses of this word are given (1) to laugh, smile; (2) to rejoice; (3) to bloom as a flower; (4) to open or expand, etc. As a matter of fact, the last sense, here given, of *naku*, happens to be its first one. This word is a secondary root (originally *nakku*, to touch lightly) and is derived from the primitive *ahhu*, to contract. It acquired the opposite sense of "expanding" by a well-known semantic process. From "expanding" came, in due order, the senses of opening, blooming, smiling, laughing and rejoicing. This case is typical of hundreds of words whose senses the Lexicon scatters about pell-mell to the confusion of the student, who wonders how a word can have so many senses utterly unconnected with one another.

One more observation to be made is with regard to the presenting of compounds as separate words, whereby the volume is made unnecessarily bulky and unwieldy. For example, over seventy-five words having *naḍu*, middle, as their first member are printed like separate words in the same bold type as the chief word. They take nearly five pages, whereas, had they been arranged alphabetically, and in smaller type, under the word *naḍu* as Winslow does, the space would have been reduced at least by half.

These remarks are by no means intended to detract from the general usefulness of an excellent work which I heartily commend to all students of Tamil.

S. G. P.