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THE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE MOORS  
OF CEYLON.

By AHAMADU BAWA, Esq., Proctor, S. C.

(Communicated by B. W. BAWA, Esq., Advocate.)

(Read February 26, 1888.)

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If the pun be pardoned, it may be remembered with perfect truth that matrimony among the Moors of Ceylon is merely a "matter of money"—love and courtship playing no parts as factors in the great social institution. This fact is fully accounted for by the seclusion and ignorance in which the girls are brought up, the religious restrictions upon social intercourse between the sexes, and the total subjection of the youths of the community to their parents and guardians in all that relates to matrimonial affairs.

Among the Moors overtures of marriage invariably originate with the relatives of the prospective wife, the amount available as dowry and the caste of the lady being important points to start with. As a rule, a girl is considered fit for marriage at twelve and a boy at sixteen.

considered an old maid, and a bachelor of twenty-five  
avis. But, as a consequence of the dowry system  
entire absence of anything like elopement or clan-  
e marriage, there is necessarily a very large number  
maids. The unhappy condition of these creatures,  
t education, secluded from the world and its pleasures  
lights, obliged to spend their lives within the four walls  
house sighing for the light and comparative liberty their  
fortunate sisters enjoy, may be imagined; while only  
oor can appreciate the feelings of those parents who, for  
nt of the wherewithal to furnish a dowry, lack the  
ans of emancipating their daughters from their darkness  
d drudgery. If the intelligent men of the community  
ould but reflect on the consequences of the pernicious  
wry system and the daily increasing misery its per-  
tuation entails on the masses, they would surely endeavour  
reform it. But it is to be feared that reform in this  
articular at all events is still very far off.

As I have said, among the wealthy families early mar-  
riages are the rule, and matches are often made even before  
the girls enter on their teens. In all cases where eligible  
*machchāṅkal*—i.e., cousins, or sons of mother's brother or  
father's sister—are available, preference is accorded to them  
as a matter of right. In the absence of any such, a  
young man of equal caste is fixed on, and negotiations with his  
relatives commenced. This proceeding is called *sampantam*  
*akiratu* (literally speaking, "connection"). For this pur-  
pose some notable and elderly person is entrusted with the  
task, being duly instructed as to details of dowry, &c. At an  
auspicious hour he proceeds to the house of the young man's  
parents, and commences his duties as Hymen's ambassador  
by a faithful enumeration of the advantages of an alliance  
between the respective families, enlarging upon (let us say)  
A'ysha's qualities and qualifications, her age, complexion  
and culinary skill, her ability to read the *Kurān* in  
her amiability and obedience, and concluding  
with the dowry which her father offers.



nds, gold and silver, brass and copperware (*venkala pát-tam*), household furniture (*viddu taddumuddu*), and cash (*okkam*), in all amounting to, say, five thousand rixdollars. Ahamadu Lebbe, in his turn, admitting the personal eligibility of the amiable 'A'ysha, objects to the dowry as insufficient, and urges that his son Mírá Lebbe has had better offers from other sources, drawing special attention to the utter inadequacy of the cash part of the dowry to meet the expenses of such a wedding as Mírá Lebbe should have. Satisfied with having broken the ice, the ambassador returns, and induces the lady's father to increase the sum to a more reasonable amount. Soon after a meeting is convened of the male members of Mírá Lebbe's family,—uncles, brothers, and cousins of mature age,—and the match being decided the dowry is finally settled, say, as follows :—

	Rds.
One-fourth of the garden Hiṭina-watta ...	1,000
One-fourth of the house standing thereon ...	1,000
The paddy field called Aḍḍena-kumbura ...	1,000
One hundred gold and silver jewellery ...	1,000
One hundred brass and copperware ( <i>venkala pát-tiram</i> ) ...	500
One hundred household furniture ...	500
One hundred <i>okkam</i> , or cash ...	1,000
Total...	6,000

Every item should be estimated in even numbers, and, except the item of cash, which alone goes to the bridegroom, not much importance is attached to them, nor is their value critically examined, all but the cash going to the bride. If the sum is the amount usual in the particular caste and class, there is no further haggling, and the matrimonial ambassador pays another visit to Ahamadu Lebbe. Arrived there he enumerates afresh the advantages of the match proposed, sends the above-mentioned memorandum to Mírá Lebbe, and is constantly urging his acceptance of the terms. After this a second meeting takes place at Mírá Lebbe's house, for neglect to do so would insult everybody who is anybody to either of the parents and be resented as a life-long insult. At this meeting it is decided *nem. con.* to accept the proposal, and the acceptance



is accordingly signified through the envoy to the opposite party. A short interval having elapsed, a formal deputation from the bride's family is sent to that of the bridegroom for the confirmation of the *sampantam* already informally concluded.

On an auspicious day, or rather night, agreed on by the parties, and after some light refreshment, a band of fifteen or twenty friends of the bride's family proceed to the house of the future bridegroom, where they are welcomed by his friends and accommodated with seats on the mat floor spread for the occasion with white cloths, and served with the inevitable betel. Hereupon a solemn farce is enacted. The host or head of the family addresses the visitors collectively thus: "Our estimable relatives and friends, to what good luck does my house owe this unexpected yet welcome visit at this time of night? How can I recompense the honour you have done me?" The office of spokesman is not always filled by the head of the family. If he is not gifted with eloquence, some good speaker is chosen. In reply, the spokesman on the other side says: "The sun and the moon have their forces of attraction and gravitation; the earth and all therein are happily influenced by the laws of nature: as there are affinities in nature, so there are certain affinities between men, a proper union of which, as in the case of the diamond, may produce the richest gem!" This speech is received with silent acclamation, no cheering, clapping of hands, or other noisy demonstration being considered correct. A general grin expresses the appreciation of the audience. The speaker then continues: "Considering these universal laws of affinity and attraction, is it strange that we should be drawn together by the brilliance of Ahamadu's house and his countenance? A great deal more is said in the same inflated strain, and the speaker on concluding is greeted with a grin of appreciation that reflects each wick in every lamp sixteen times. The marble-white teeth of each member of the assemblage. How much more palaver of this kind it is elicited that the

tion has come to solicit Mírâ Lebbe as a husband for 'A'yeshâ, the daughter of Hassim Marikâr, their dear friend and near relative. This time another panegyric is then passed by the host upon the virtues and merits of the bride elect, and the mutual advantages to the respective families of the proposed alliance reiterated. A *fâtihah*<sup>1</sup> is pronounced by the priest as a final ratification of the compact, but on this occasion nothing is said about the dowry. Mírâ and 'A'yeshâ are now affianced, although the ancient custom of exchanging rings, now obsolete, has not been gone through. A rich feast follows, and the party disperses in the best of humours.

From this time a periodical exchange of presents keeps the flame from dying out. If the *Muharram*, or *Hâjî runâl*, happen to intervene between betrothal and marriage, the bridegroom is expected to send sundry presents of silk *abâyas* and *king-kalf* jackets to the bride, and similar presents to her mother and sisters; which compliment the bride responds to with trays of rice and curries and all sorts of sweetmeats, in the preparation of which 'A'yeshâ is expected to have a hand.

There is yet another ceremony before the marriage, viz., the payment of the *chítanâṁ*, or dowry money, which is a function of importance, and takes place some months in advance of the nuptials. As has been said already, the *chítanâṁ* is the most important part of the dowry, for it all goes to the husband, and it enables him to meet the wedding expenses and to purchase the bride's *trousseau*. The wedding *trousseau*, called *kadda uḍuppáḍḍa*, literally, "to clothe and to clothe," consists of a gold neck ornament called *chítanâṁ*, a silk *camḍaya*, *rawukkai*, and jacket to match, and a duplicate set of more ordinary materials. The completion of this *chítanâṁ* is a great event in the life of the young Moor, both because it is the public announcement of the intended wedding, and because he becomes the possessor of a larger sum of money than

<sup>1</sup> The first chant.



he has probably ever owned before. On an auspicious day, after partaking of the usual *pāṭṭhōru paṇikāram*, or "milk-rice" and cakes, a party of the bride's immediate friends, to the number of about twenty, attended by the family priest or *Lebbe* and a brother or cousin of the bride carrying the *chīṭaṇappanam* of the sum agreed on with some betel leaves, a few pieces of saffron, and a couple of limes put into a silk handkerchief held by the four cousins in the right hand, proceed to the young man's house. There the party is greeted with a copious sprinkling of rose water and invited to take seats, which they do on the white carpeted floor, each according to his seniority or social position; whilst the bearer of the money places the bundle on a brass betel stand before the priest of the bridegroom's party who is a most important personage on all such occasions. After the usual chew of betel, &c., they proceed to business by the priest undoing the bundle and offering up a *fātiḥah*. This done, he solemnly hands the handkerchief and its contents to the young man, who in turn transfers it to his father or elder brother, who again passes it to the mother, by whom it is carefully locked up. They next proceed to the selection of a day for the wedding in doing which particular care is taken. The favorable months are *Zul K'ada*, *Zul Hijja*, *Rajab*; and the favorable days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Unlucky or ominous days of the Muhammadan calendar are studiously avoided, such, for instance, as the day on which Jonah was swallowed by the whale, or that on which Joseph was thrown into the pit, or the anniversary of the day on which Muhammad lost his front tooth at the battle of *Al-Jalud*. The day fixed for a date within three months from the *chīṭaṇam* night, a *fātiḥah* is again offered up by the priest, whilst the company hold up both hands in a supplicating manner, pronouncing the "amen" at the end and kissing the tips of their fingers at the conclusion. A sumptuous repast is now served to the assembled company, and the betel is again



round, and the priest gives the signal for departure by rising from his place.

From this time great activity prevails in both houses in preparation for the great event in prospect. The houses are whitewashed, *mandapams* and pandals are erected, and a tinsel throne is prepared in the bridal chamber. About ten days before the day fixed for the wedding the invitations issue. These do not take the form of the neat and elegant wedding cards so well known to us—anything more tedious and wearisome than the process adopted can hardly be imagined. The bridegroom, arrayed in his best and attended by a large party of friends, is bound to call at every house of every Moor, high or low, within the radius of several miles, and invite its inmates of both sexes in the following terms: "Who is in this house?" Some one within—often an invisible old dame—says: "Who are you?" The spokesman of the inviting party cries out in tentorian tones, "We have come to invite all the males and females inhabiting this house to the wedding of Mírá, son of Ahamadu Lebbe, of New Moor street, on the 1st of Monday, the seventeenth of this month of *Rajab*, ask all of you to give your attendance early." A single *Nallam* ("good"), is frequently the only response; in the case of intimate friends or relations quite a different reception often awaits them. In some cases a feast is prepared and partaken of, in some merely a light repast or *páthóru*, &c.; but as many of these cannot, for physical reasons, be included in the day's programme, the distribution of these privileged visits is a matter of no small difficulty. It may be imagined that a ten days' peregrination and a daily surfeit of *páthóru panikáram* sweetmeats, added to all the worry and trouble incidental to a great Moorish wedding, must be a trial of no ordinary kind; but placidly, contentedly, and even triumphantly do the guests deport themselves, for there is no variation in the case of the Moor, no alcoholic perturbation of his brain: so long as his stomach is full he is happy.

It is fashionable at the present day not to forget the "infidel" section of the bridegroom's acquaintance. On a memorable occasion, not many years ago, the Governor and many of the *élite* of society graced one of these weddings in Kandy. How they were entertained and what impressions they carried away with them are matters of history.

The whole circle of friends, patrons,—nay, even acquaintances,—has a few days appropriated to its entertainment. Two or three large square tables are loaded with every kind of sweetmeats, cakes, preserves, biscuits, sherbets, and fruit imaginable, served mostly in glass dishes and plates (the latter borrowed for the occasion, as the Moors in their daily life do not even use a tumbler for drinking). Teacups are ranged opposite each chair in one of the best rooms, or a temporary *mandapam* hung with white cloth and ornamented for the occasion, where the alien guests, as they arrive, are received and treated to the aforesaid delicacies and tea.

Let us now suppose that the wedding day has arrived. On that day takes place the great feast at the bridegroom's house, called *māppillai viddu pakatchōru*. By midday all the invited guests from far and near have arrived, and are seated themselves on the floor with legs crossed in the same fashion, shoulder to shoulder, according to caste and condition, and having their backs to the walls. As each guest arrives he is served with the indispensable betel; but when all have assembled and the rooms are full, large basins of water are placed at intervals along the lines of square tables, with a teacup floating in it, and huge brass spittoons by them, into which every guest washes first his mouth and then his hand preparatory to eating. The provender is served in trays, each tray consisting usually of a dish of ghee-rice, a fried fowl, a dish of mutton curry, a dish of beef, half a dozen vegetable curries, one or two pickles, soup, *tayir* (curdled milk), and other articles sufficient for eight or ten people. These trays are passed along by about a dozen men stationed within



length of each other in the middle of the assemblage (*kalari*), and are placed on the floor at such distances from each other as to enable about five men to form a group round each tray. When all the guests have been supplied with trays, plates are supplied for eating from, and the priest having said "*Bismillah*" ("in the name of Allah") a simultaneous attack commences, and is steadily and silently continued. All cease eating about the same time, as if by consent, and drink water, warm or cold, after which they wash their hands into the plate from which they had been eating. The *débris* is now cleared away, betel served again, the priest pronounces the usual *hah*, and the guests disperse, each saying to the bridegroom "*póyiddu várén*," literally, "I will go and come again." When all gone, the fair sex are entertained in a similar manner.

About 3 o'clock, the house being clear of visitors, a number of trays are despatched, each covered with a white cloth and carried on the head of a cooly. They are accompanied by some young male member of the bridegroom's family in gala dress, and are taken to the bride's room. There he is received with much cordiality, and is presented with a gold ring.

In the evening there is a fresh assembling of the friends and families "to do honour to the bridegroom," as they call it, that is, to give him the usual *chantóshám* to accompany him to the bride's, where the *kávin*, or marriage rites, are to be solemnised. The guests having seated themselves in order of rank and seniority, and after the chew of betel, at a propitious moment announced by the priest a move is made for the presentation of the *shám*. A scribe is improvised, and the immediate or next friends of the bridegroom head the list with the sum (say fifty rupees), then follow others with smaller sums; never less, however, than single rupees, which, at the minimum amount, make up the bulk of the donations. Thus, sometimes a thousand rupees have



been collected in addition to rings of varying value presented by the relatives.

While this is going on in the hall or principal room in the house, a very different scene takes place within. The bridegroom, who is seldom present at the giving of the *chantóshán* is supposed to be at his toilet. To the due performance of the bath is essential, in the course of which the cosmetics used are some burnt lime, ground saffron, and *mí* poonac, saffron being only used by extreme reformers, and being regarded far from an improvement on the *mí* poonac as a purification. Under a white canopy held over his head by four admiring friends, and escorted by a dozen or more others of all his own age, the bridegroom is conducted to the new tub (a tub, being a modern innovation, is quite out of question), the attendants keeping up a continual chorus of "olu" "olu." What this means I do not know, unless it represents the *wuzu*, or lesser ablution, which a man must perform before entering a mosque, beginning to wash his face or even touching the *Kurán*.<sup>1</sup> Arrived at the bath, the happy man sits on a chair, while his friends souse him with many chatties of cold water poured over his shoulders and crown, and rub him heartily with the lime, saffron and poonac. Having returned to the house, his ablutions completed, he is seated in a chair and arrayed in his most gorgeous attire. A resplendent turban tastefully decorated round the *Moorish cap* surmounts his head, a pair of loose silk pantaloons swathes his limbs, fastened at the waist by a rich sash or belt, a flowing silk or satin *ankā* reaching to the knees over a snow white cambric shirt and a pair of slippers completes the costume. The man's neck is encircled by numerous gold chains (*padakkankal* (chains made of gold pieces about the size of a shilling), so that his chest is one mass of glittering metal, this, too, though Muhammadan men are strictly pro-

*O'u*, Tamil, *wuzu* Arabic, "the washing of face, head, before every time of prayer"—the "lesser ablution," as distinguished from the *ghuel*, or "greater ablution."—B., *Hon. Sec.*

rom wearing any gold, even a ring on the finger. Thus attired gloriously, the bridegroom sits smiling and receiving presents and congratulations from his friends, till the time for departure arrives.

At the proper juncture the priest pronounces a *fâtihah*, to which all present respond by the usual "amen"; and a start is made with a flourish of tom-toms, cymbals, and flutes, under brilliant display of fireworks, blue lights, and pendant lamps. The bridegroom sits in an open carriage if the bride's house is distant, otherwise he goes on foot attended by two boys dressed up for the occasion, one on either side with fans in their hands; and an immense concourse of relatives, friends, and of the "villagers" to the number of several hundreds, the cynosure of all eyes. On the way, if the procession passes the residence of particular friends, the bridegroom receives by way of an ovation, and much sprinkling of rose-water. On approaching the bride's house a halt is made at some distance, the remainder of the road being covered with *chadai*, or white cloth, for the party to walk on. Numerous *allathés* greet him every few yards. The *allathés* consist of three plates: one containing saffron water, one containing milk, one betel and small copper coins, carried by men having at their head a relative of the bride, who comes with the rose-water sprinkler. Having sprinkled the bridegroom and his immediate attendants, by whom the compliment is forthwith returned, the two first-men's plates are waived round the bridegroom's head three times in succession; he spits into the plates at the end of each performance, when the betel and coppers are thrown over his head, producing a scramble among the poor. The ceremony is repeated at intervals frequent in proportion to the number of male friends of the bride's family, the first, and not the least, being the bride's father or brother, and the head of the family, as the case may be. Arrived at the bride's house and before entering it, a boy, generally a brother of the bridegroom, washes the feet of the bridegroom with rose-water, for which he is rewarded with a ring. He then leads the



bridegroom by the hand to the *kávin kalari*, where he takes his seat on his haunches before the priest. The attendant multitude take their seats, and are served with betel and spittoons, as before described, whereupon *kaḍuttam* is drawn out in the following form :—

On the 30th day of the month *Zul Hijja*, in the year the *Hijrat* 1299, being the 11th day of November, 18 on the occasion of the marriage of Mírā Lebbe, son of Ahamadu Lebbe, of New Moor street, with 'A'yeshā, daughter of Hassim Marikár, for the *magar* of 100 *kalangi* of red Egyptian gold, by the *váli* of the bride's father, Mahallam Seka Ismail Lebbe Hájjar, priest, the dowry agreed upon is 10,000 rds., viz. 1,000 rds. in cash, &c.

(Signed) MÍRĀ LEBBE, Bridegroom.

(Signed) HASSIM MARIKÁR, Bride's father.

Witnesses: 1 ———, Priest.  
2 ———  
3 ———

This *kaḍuttam* is the only written record of the marriage; it is signed and witnessed by the parties, the priest, and two responsible witnesses, and taken charge of by the priest, in whose custody it remains thereafter, exposed to all the perils to which such documents are liable in the hands of irresponsible and unscrupulous men. The expediency, however, with which this document is executed, the custom observed, though not required by any Muhammadan or otherwise, is only another proof of the absurd conservatism of the Moors.

The next function, in the usual order of things, is the *magar*. The priest takes the bridegroom's right hand in his right hand, and repeats a formula in Arabic three times in succession, at the end of each addresses the bridegroom thus: "Ahamadu Lebbe, son of Ahamadu Lebbe, willing to take 'A'yeshā, daughter of Hassim Marikár, as your wife, for the *magar* of 100 *kalangi* of red Egyptian gold?" To which Mírā answers in the affirmative. The priest pronounces an Arabic formula, after which he, with two witnesses



the bridal chamber, and similarly addresses the bride, substituting the word "husband" for "wife." To this she is expected to answer audibly; but in her shyness she refuses to do anything of the kind, some elderly relative saying "yes" for her; and the party returns to *kaṭari*. The eldest then utters a final *fātihah* by way of benediction, and this terminates the *kāvin*.

After the conclusion of this ceremony, the bridegroom is conducted to the bridal chamber by her father or brother, and the ceremony of tying the *tāli* takes place. Gorgeously dressed in *king-kalf* silk and satin, and loaded with gold from head to foot, surrounded by a crowd of old dames chewing and spitting, exhausted by heat and fatigue, the poor bride is seated in her *arakaddil*, or "tinsel throne," more like an ornate statue than a living bride in her hymeneal glory. There is a sudden stir, every woman hitherto bareheaded suddenly displaying her ornaments for the admiration of her companions, now promptly covers her head and (partially) her face with the corner of her *cambāya*; while the sisters or nearest female relatives of the bridegroom hand the *tāli*. The bridegroom is expected to clasp the *tāli* round his bride's throat, but probably finding it difficult to get near enough to her, his awkward attempt may fail but for the help at the critical moment of the ceremony referred to above, who adjusts the sacred *tāli*: which is to be removed during the lifetime of the spouses. This is the *kaddu*, "knot," or "tying." The *uḍuppāḍḍu* yet remains.

The *tāli* being tied, the bridegroom is expected to clasp (the *uḍuppāḍḍu*) the bride. For this purpose the relative nearest to the bridegroom a silk *cambāya* to put round the waist of the bride. She is made to stand up *nolens volens* (whether *volens* or *nolens*), and the bridegroom attempts to encompass her with the garment, but in most cases has to resort to the aid of his relatives. All this time the bride neither sees nor hears, and after the ceremony the bridegroom, sitting on the floor near by, has his first look at his future life-partner.

The position is embarrassing for him, as all eyes, mostly critical, many disparaging, are fixed on him, and the accompanying comments are not always inaudible.

While the bridegroom is paying this hymeneal penalty to the practices of his people, his friends are enjoying themselves elsewhere. In Moorish circles every breakfast and dinner is an exact copy of the other—the same dishes, the same arrangement, the same drinks (hot and cold water, the same “*saláms*” and “*àlekams*.”<sup>1</sup>

The feast for the males over, the poor females take their turn. They likewise arrange themselves in the order of their castes, and otherwise go through precisely the same routine, except that no *chantóshám* is expected of or given them. While, however, no male condescends to carry help for the little ones any of the sweetmeats served, the spouses do not hesitate to share that part of the content of the tray among themselves for the purpose. At about 12 P.M. or later they depart, and then the bridegroom dines for the first time in the bride's house, with a few of his relatives. It is not till perhaps 2 A.M. that he retires to the bridal chamber.

Early next morning the married sisters and female cousins or nearest female relations of the bridegroom visit the bride's chamber and prepare her for the bath. Shortly afterwards the newly-married couple are conducted under a canopy, this time held aloft by fairer fingers, and with the same chorus of “*olu*” “*olu*,” sitting side by side, are bathed. No males are permitted to be present. The bath over, a morning repast, consisting of milk-rice, cakes, and plantain is served. The happy couple are seated on the floor, surrounded by the female friends of the two families, and the ceremony of mutual feeding takes place. The bride, helping himself to a quantity of “milk-rice,” mixes it with some sugar, mashed plantain, and more milk, in his

<sup>1</sup> The usual Muslim salutation is “*as salámu 'alekam*,” “the God be with you.”—B., *Hon. Sec.*



and conveys three handfuls to the bride's mouth. This she is made to swallow, whether she wills or not; she in her turn must return the compliment in a precisely similar manner. This concludes the series of ceremonies, and the happy couple are left to themselves till the third day. On that day the bridegroom is expected to go out for the first time market- to buy *madi-máñkáy* ("waist mango"). He returns home in the afternoon with four or five cooly-loads of all kinds of fruits, vegetables, and presents for the bride, her mother, and her friends, the presents usually assuming the form of *cambáyas* (cloths). On this night the bridegroom's family is invited to dinner at the bride's house, and the next night she and her family are similarly entertained at the bridegroom's. From this time feasts at intervals take place at the houses of mutual friends over a period of some months. The happy couple live in *bína*,<sup>1</sup> at least until the first child is born, but a part of the house has been given in dowry, the best room appropriated to them.

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, at the bride's parents' house.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

## THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE "MOORS" OF CEYLON.

By the Hon. P. RAMANÁTHAN.

(*Read April 26, 1888.*)



THAT section of our community which is principally among our European settlers by name of "Moors" number, according to last Census, about 185,000 souls. They are Muhammadans. In the Sinhalese districts occupy themselves with petty trade of all kinds, as pedlar and boutique (small shop) keepers. The poorer classes are mostly boatmen, fishermen, and coolies. In the Tamil provinces they pursue agriculture and fishing. In physical features they closely resemble the Tamils, and as to language they speak, it is Tamil, even in purely Sinhalese districts. I propose in this Paper to consider the nationality of this community.

In ancient Roman history the name of Mauri frequently occurs as the inhabitants of Mauritania,<sup>1</sup> the western country of North Africa, washed by the Atlantic on the west and the Mediterranean on the north. They were an idolatrous, and illiterate race, and for many years resisted the religion and power of the successors of Muhammad. When they became converts to the new faith (698-709) their great ambition was to learn the language and affect the manners of the Arabs. In the words of the Arabs they were "proud to adopt the language, name, and customs."

<sup>1</sup> Known to the Greeks as Maurusia, and in later days by the Portuguese as Máruecos, and to the French as Marocco. In English it is Márocco, and less correctly Morocco.



Arabs.”<sup>1</sup> The natives of Mauritania and of the regions extending eastwards to the Euphrates were known to the Greeks and Romans also by the name of Saracens. It is matter of history how this

“Countless multitude,  
Syrian, Moor, Saracen, fresh renegade,  
Persian and Copt and Tartar in one bond  
Of erring faith conjoined—strong in the youth  
And heat of zeal—a dreadful brotherhood,”

overran Spain and attempted to conquer Europe north of the Pyrennees, and how their fate was decided by the dreadful battle fought on the plains of Tours.<sup>2</sup> When the Portuguese navigated the eastern seas in the fifteenth century, and found Muhammadans along the western shores of India and Ceylon, they gave them the name of *Moros*, which in English is “Moors.”<sup>3</sup> In India that name is no longer used to denote Muhammadans; but in Ceylon we continue to use it in a loose way, as if our information will not permit us to speak definitely, or to identify the nationality of this people. I believe that the honorific *Marakar* or *Marikar*, which appears so often appended to a Muhammadan name both in South India and Ceylon, is a relic of Portuguese official language in a Tamil garb. It means “a man of Márocco,”

<sup>1</sup> *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, VI., p. 353 (Dr. Smith's ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Harris, who accompanied the British mission to Morocco last year (1887), gives a vivid account of the present condition of the Moors in the pages of the *Illustrated London News*, from which I quote as follows:—“The Moors, like all other dynasties, have risen and fallen, and though their fall was not as the fall of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, or Rome, yet it was to themselves as disastrous as any, for though they were not exterminated, they had to fly back to their wild African soil, where year by year they are sinking deeper into ignorance and bigotry. They have lost their activity, these Moors of to-day. Instead of leading his soldiers to battle, their Sultan sits in splendid halls, passing his life in indolence, save when, now and again on the march from one capital to another, he deigns to chastise some erring tribe with fire and sword. The Moors, whose ancestors once conquered in almost every war they undertook, sit and sigh and sing quaint ballads to Granada, their mountain home in the Sierra Nevada, and weep now and again over the keys of the houses which their ancestors possessed in Spain.” (Sept. 24, 1887.)

<sup>3</sup> So Hindús were called by them *Gentios*, in English “Gentoos.” This word, too, has disappeared in India.

the final *ar* in *márahkar* being the epicene particle in Tamil denoting respect.<sup>1</sup>

In the Census Report of 1881 will be found a statement showing the distribution of the population of Ceylon according to religion and nationality. The total number of Muhammadans is given as 197,775, under the following "nationalities":—

Europeans	...	...	1
Eurasians	...	...	4
Sinhalese	...	...	71
Tamils	...	...	715
Malays	...	...	8,857
Moormen	...	...	184,536
Others	...	...	3,591

Those who are classed as "others" include Afghans, 130; Arabs, 450; Dekkanese, 3; Hindústání, 164; Javanese, 3; Patháni, 1,210; Tulukkar (Turks), 128, &c. We have fairly clear ideas of the nationality of these Muhammadans: but what is the nationality of the "Moormen"?

The Registrar-General and other Commissioners appointed for the taking of the Census are not primarily responsible for the term "Moor" representing a nationality in Ceylon. As I have said, our Portuguese conquerors applied the term to this community, not because that was the name it went by in its own circle or among its neighbours, but because, like the Moors of North Africa, its religion was Muhammadan. The political successors of the Portuguese—I mean the Dutch—took over the word and used it in a loose way to denote a class of people whose lingual and social characteristics they did not comprehend for several decades, either absolutely or relatively to the races which inhabit Ceylon and India. In the closing years of their rule, however, they were

<sup>1</sup> I do not see my way to deriving the word from the Arabic *markáb*, "a ship," because the Tamil personal noun formed from it would be *markáb-káran* or *markáb-ál*, not *marikar*. In Sinhalese, a Moor is commonly known as *marakkaláha*, the *tandal* or head of a boat (cf. *gan-váhe*, "chief of a village"), and *marakkaláha* cannot be evolved from *markáb-áhe*, but is descended almost letter for letter from the Tamil word *marakkalam*, "a wooden vessel."



convinced that the "Moors" of Ceylon were, in the main, Tamil Muhammadans.<sup>1</sup> But before the discovery could stamp itself on official documents and pass current in official lips, the English had arrived and found a world of work to do in supplying the material and moral wants of the country, without the leisure for entering upon ethnological questions. Their first Census of which we have any returns, and which was ordered in 1824, was therefore necessarily erroneous in classification, if not enumeration. The old term "Moors" was retained, as also I may say the old term "Malabárs"<sup>2</sup> for Tamils, who knew not that word even in dreams, as they say. The second Census taken in 1871, and the third and the last taken in 1881, eliminated "Malabárs" but retained "Moors," evidently because the Commissioners and other European officials have lacked the time or the opportunity for studying that community. By a similar misapprehension the "Kandyans" were thought to be different from the Siphalese even as late as 1866.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Valentyn*, ch. XV., p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Caldwell says:—"The Portuguese arrived first on the western coast of India, and naturally called the language they found spoken on that coast by the name by which the coast itself had long been called by their Arab predecessors, viz., *Malabár*. Sailing from Malabár on voyages of exploration, they made their acquaintance with various places on the eastern or Coromandel coast, and also on the coast of Ceylon, and finding the language spoken by the fishing and sea-faring classes on the eastern coast similar to that spoken on the western, they came to the conclusion that it was identical with it, and called it, in consequence, by the same name, viz., *Malabár*, a name which has survived to our own day amongst the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians. The better educated members of those classes have long learned to call the language of the Malabár coast by its proper name, Malayálam, and the language of the eastern coast Tamil."—*Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd., p. 11 (2nd edition, 1875).

<sup>3</sup> In his *Gazetteer*, p. 115, Casie Chetty (writing in 1831) said:—"The vast difference which the Kandyans exhibit in their customs as well as in their style of dress has led almost all European writers to treat them as a distinct race of people." And the Government Agent of the North-Western Province said, in 1866, that the population of his Province consisted of "Kandyans, Siphalese, Moors, Malabars, and Mukkuwas." (Sessional Papers of the Legislative Council, 1866, p. 217.) He ought to have said "Siphalese and Tamils," for the last three classes are Tamil.

It is noteworthy that in the Report of the Census of British India for 1881 there are no returns relating to nationality, but language is taken as equipollent to it. Surgeon-General E. Balfour, who is considered an authority on the sociology of Southern India, also uses language for nationality, as for instance in the following passage :—"The Haiderabad State has been formed from portions of four great nationalities the Canarese, the Mahratta, the Telegu, and the Gond. The number speaking the Gond language is not recorded, but out of a population of 9,845,594 the Telegu language is spoken by 4,279,108, the Mahratta by 3,147,746, and the Canarese by 1,238,519," &c.<sup>1</sup> Webster defines nationality to be "a race or people determined by common language and character and not by political bias or divisions." Professor Max Müller narrows this definition as follows :—"If there is one safe exponent of national character it is language. Take away," says he, "the language of a people and you destroy at once that powerful chain of tradition in thought and sentiment which holds all the generations of the same race together—if we may use an unpleasant simile—like the chain of a gang of galley slaves. These slaves, we are told, very soon fall into the same pace without being aware that their movements depend altogether on the movements of those who walk before them. It is nearly the same with us. We imagine we are altogether free in our thoughts, original and independent, and we are not aware that our thoughts are manacled and fettered by language, and that, without knowing and without perceiving it, we have to keep pace with those who walked before us thousands and thousands of years ago. Language alone binds people together and keeps them distinct from others who speak different tongues. In ancient times particularly 'language and nations' meant the same thing; and even with us our real ancestors are those whose language we speak, the fathers of our thoughts, the mothers of our hopes and fears. Blood, bones, hair, and colour are mere accidents.

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in the Indian Census Report for 1881, vol. I., p. 201.



utterly unfit to serve as principles of scientific classification for that great family of living beings, the essential characteristics of which are thought and speech, not fibrine, serum, or colouring matter, or whatever else enters into the composition of blood.”<sup>1</sup> Of a similar opinion is Sir William Hunter, as may be seen from the following passage, which, by the way, is *à propos* to the subject discussed in this paper :—“Many storms of conquest (besides the Brahmanical and Buddhist invasions) have since swept over the land (Madras Presidency), and a few colonies of Mughal and Mahratta origin are to be found here and there. But the indelible evidence of language proves that the ethnical character of the population has remained stable under all their influences, and that the Madras Hindú, Muhammadan, Jain, and Christian are of the same Dravidian stock.”<sup>2</sup>

If therefore we take language as the test of nationality, the Moors of Ceylon, who speak as their vernacular the Tamil, must be adjudged Tamils. But as some ethnologists, like Dr. Tylor, maintain that language of itself affords only partial evidence of race,<sup>3</sup> I shall dive a little deeper and prove that the conclusion I have arrived at is supported as much by the history of the Moors (so far as it may be ascertained) as by their social customs and physical features.

Those returned in the Census of 1881 as “Moors” are to

<sup>1</sup> *Chips from a German Workshop*, III., p. 265 (“Cornish Antiquities”).

<sup>2</sup> *Gazetteer of India*, s. v. “Madras Presidency.”

<sup>3</sup> See article “Anthropology” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, p. 119.

Speaking of the *political* significance attached in modern days to linguistic affinities, Sir Henry Maine says :—“If you examine the bases proposed for common nationality before the new knowledge growing out of the study of Sanskrit had been popularised in Europe, you will find them extremely unlike those which are now advocated, and even passionately advocated, in parts of the Continent. For the most part the older bases theoretically suggested were common history—common, prolonged subjection to the same sovereign, common institutions, common religion, sometimes a common language, but then a common vernacular language. That people not necessarily understanding one another’s tongue should be grouped together *politically* on the ground of linguistic affinities

be found in every part of the Island. Their distribution according to number is as follows :—

In the District of Batticaloa	...	27,000
In the City of Colombo	...	23,600
In the District of Kandy	...	22,000
Do. Kalutara	...	12,800
Do. Puttalam	...	12,500
Do. Galle	...	11,000
Do. Kurunégala	...	9,400
Do. Nuwarakalaviya	...	7,300
Do. Mannár	...	6,600
Do. Badulla	...	6,000
Do. Mátalé	...	5,900
Do. Trincomalee	...	5,700
Do. Kégalla	...	5,000
Do. Má tara	...	5,000
Do. Colombo	...	4,300
Do. Jaffna	...	2,600
Do. Negombo	...	2,500
Do. Ratnapura	...	1,500
Do. Nuwara Eliya	...	1,400
Do. Hambantota	...	1,200
Do. Vavuniya-Világkulam	...	700
Do. Mullaittivu	...	400

This community, numbering (as I have said) nearly 185,000 souls, includes those who are commonly known in our Law Courts as “Ceylon Moormen” and “Coast Moormen.” The former class represents (as I shall show<sup>1</sup>) the earliest settlers

assumed to prove community of descent, is quite a new idea. Nevertheless, we owe to it, at all events in part, the vast development of German nationality: and we certainly owe to it the pretensions of the Russian Empire to at least a presidency over all Slavonic communities.”—*Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 210 (3rd edition).

As regards the relation between Tamils and Moors, it is not a question of “linguistic affinities,” but a “common vernacular language.”

Dr. Tylor admits that, “as a rule, language at least proves some proportion of ancestry—affords at least partial evidence of race.” (Page 120, art. “Anthropology.”)

By tracing the history, that is, the descent of the Moors, I confirm the evidence afforded by the language used by them. And I still further strengthen my conclusion by showing that their social customs and physical features are in the main Tamil.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 255.



who have lived in this country for several generations. The latter class represents those who have arrived from either the coast or the inner districts of South India for purposes of trade, and who intend to return to their homes. Hence the distinction which the "Ceylon Moor" draws between himself and the "Coast Moor" when he calls himself *Chónahan* and his co-religionist from South India *Chammánkáran*, a compound word made up perhaps of the Malay *sampan*, "boat," and Tamil *káran*, "man."<sup>1</sup> The Sipaiese being aware that not only the "Coast Moors" but also the "Ceylon Moors" came from abroad in sailing vessels, call them indiscriminately *Marakkaláha*, derived obviously from the Tamil word *maram* "wood," and *kalam* "vessel." As to the respective numbers of these two classes, it was estimated in 1886 (on the evidence of several Muhammadan gentlemen) by the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council which was appointed to consider and report upon the Muhammadan Marriage Registration Ordinance, that fully one-third of the "Moors" along the maritime country from Kalpiṭiya to Mátara are "Coast Moors," and I have good reason for saying that much more than one-half of the "Moors" in the northern, eastern, and inland districts are also "Coast Moors." It may therefore be concluded that the 185,000 Moors in the Island are divisible almost equally between "Ceylon Moors" and "Coast Moors." The English in South India call the Muhammadans from whom our *Chammánkáran* are drawn *Lebbes* or *Lubbays*, most probably because *Lebbe* is a common ending to their names.<sup>2</sup> The "Lebbes" call themselves, and are called

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<sup>1</sup> In Crawford's *Malay Dictionary*, *jung* is given for "a large native vessel," *prau* for "a boat," and *sampan* for "a small boat." For "a vessel of European build and form" he gives *kappal*, which is of course Tamil. If *Chamman-káran* is not to be derived from *sampan*, is it too much to derive it from *chámán*, "things," "wares," in which case it would literally mean "a dealer in wares, a pedlar"? Cf. *Chammánkófu*, the name commonly given for Bankshall street in Colombo; *Hambantófa*, in the Southern Province; *Chamman-turai*, in the Batticaloa District.

<sup>2</sup> I have not been able to ascertain whence the word *lebbe* or *lubbay* is derived. Freytag, in his *Arabic-Latin Dictionary*, gives *labib* (pl. *alibba*)

by the Tamils, *Chónahar*, on which term I shall comment hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

In order to appreciate the relations (social, lingual, and physical) which the "Coast Moors" bear to the "Ceylon Moors," and which both bear to the rest of the Muhammadans in India, we have to remember a few facts brought to light by the Census of 1881. Of the fifty millions of Muhammadans on that peninsula, Bengal claims 21,800,000 (or 31 per cent. of the Hindús); Punjáb 11,700,000 (or 51 per cent.); the North-Western Provinces and Oude 6,300,000 (or 14 per cent.); the Bombay Presidency 3,700,000 (or 18 per cent.); the Madras Presidency 1,900,000 (or 6 per cent.); Assam 1,300,000 (or 27 per cent.); the State of Haiderabad 930,000 (or 9 per cent.); Rajaputana 860,000 (or 9 per cent.); and Central India 510,000 (or 6 per cent.). It will thus be seen that Islám is as strong in North India, where Hindústání is the ruling language, as it is weak in the Madras Presidency, where Tamil is the ruling language. It is also certain that more than 50 per cent. of the Muhammadans of this Presidency are found in the districts of the extreme south, namely, Tinneveli, Madura, Malabar, and Tanjore,<sup>2</sup> and that while

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as meaning "intelligent, prudent" (literally, "having a heart," *lub*), and *lubbaika* as meaning "here I am, I am your servant," &c. He further says that in the *Ilamasa*, p. 789, *lubbay* is used as a noun, whether substantive or proper he does not mention. Perhaps *lubbay*, when affixed to a name, means "a *pandit*, a learned man."

The "Moors" say it means "priest," but the religion of Muhammad does not admit of priests, as we understand it. It recognises *imám*, the leader at prayers; and a *khatib*, the preacher. A *maulavi* is a teacher, and *muazzin* is a crier who summons the congregation to prayers.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> The Muhammadans in the Madras Presidency are distributed as follows in its twenty districts:—

Malabar	...	652,000	North Arcot	...	82,000
Madura	...	141,000	Karnual	...	82,000
Tanjore	...	112,000	Bellary	...	70,000
Cuddappah	...	98,000	Nellur	...	61,500
Tinneveli	...	90,000	Salem	...	51,000
Kistna	...	87,000	South Arcot	...	49,000
South Kanara	...	83,000	Godaveri	...	39,000



nearly all the Muhammadans of Malabar are *Mápiḷlas*, nearly all the Muhammadans in Tinneveli, Madura, and Tanjore are *Lubbays*. The figures, in round numbers, are these :—Of the 1,935,000 Muhammadans, 515,000 are Lubbays (speaking the Tamil language); 496,000 are *Mápiḷlas* (speaking the Malaiyálam language); and the rest are Shaiks, Sayyids, Patháns, and Mughals (speaking mostly the Hindústání language).<sup>1</sup>

Hindústání, as is well known, is a language of modern creation, being the camp language of the motley crowd of Mughals, Patháns, Persians, and Turks, and Punjábis, Hindís, Urdús, and other native inhabitants of India, who formed the soldiers and camp followers of the Muhammadan conquerors. The Hindústání-speaking Muhammadans of the present day in India are partly the descendants of this heterogenous body through Indian mothers. The wave of Islám, it is well to bear in mind, entered through the Punjáb, gathered strength all along the North-Western Provinces, Oude, and Bengal, and only feebly touched the Madras Presidency. As to the date of the conversion and the manner in which it took place in the Punjáb, the following remarks of Mr. Ibbetson are valuable, as they throw some light into the course of conversion among the Tamil and Malaiyálam-speaking Muhammadans. Speaking of the Western Punjáb, Mr. Ibbetson<sup>2</sup> says:—“*Farishta* puts the conversion of the Afghan mountaineers of our frontier and of the Gakkhars of the Rawalpindi division at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and it is certain that the latter were still Hindús when they assassinated Mohammed Ghori in A.D. 1206.” Of the Eastern Punjáb he remarks:—“The people of these districts very generally refer their change of faith to the reign of Aurangzeb (1658–1707), and it is probable

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Coimbatour	...	38,000	Vizagapatam	...	21,000
Trichnopoly	...	34,000	Ganjam	...	6,000
Chengalput	...	25,000	Nilgiris	...	3,500

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City of Madras, 50,000

<sup>1</sup> See Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v. “*Madras Presidency*” and “*Malabar*.”

<sup>2</sup> See Report of the Census of British India, vol. III., p. xix.

that the tradition very nearly expresses the truth. Under the Afghan dynasties, while the great provincial governors were always Muhammadans, the local administration would appear to have been in a great measure left in the hands of Hindú chiefs who paid tribute and owed allegiance to the Sultán of Delhi. It is tolerably certain that little attempt was made at proselytising under the free-thinking Akbar. It would appear, however, that during his reign and those of his immediate successors the character of the administration changed considerably—a more direct and centralised control being substituted for an almost purely feudal system. The change gave the people Musalmán governors in the place of Hindús, and must have greatly facilitated the systematic persecution of the infidel which was instituted by Aurangzeb, by far the most fanatical and bigoted, and probably the first who was a bigot, among the emperors of Delhi. The local traditions tell us that in many cases the ancestor of the present Musalmán branch of a village community adopted Islám in order to save the land of the village from confiscation.” And he continues :—“In the eastern portion of the Punjáb the faith of Islám in anything like its original purity was till quite lately to be found only among the Saiyads, Patháns, Arabs, and other Musalmáns of foreign origin, who were for the most part settled in towns. The so-called Musalmáns of the villages were Musalmáns in little but name. They practised circumcision, repeated the *kalimah*, or Muhammadan profession of faith, and worshipped the village deities. But after the mutiny (1857) a great revival took place. Muhammadan priests travelled far and wide through the country, preaching the true faith and calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices. And now almost every village in which Musalmáns own any considerable portion has its mosque, often a dome only, while all the grosser and more open idolatries have been discontinued. But the villager of the East is still a very bad Musalmán. A peasant saying his prayers in the field is a sight almost unknown, the fasts are almost universally



disregarded, and there is still a very large admixture of Hindú practice." This quotation, while showing that the Musalmán religion was introduced into the Western Punjáb in the thirteenth and into the Eastern Punjáb in the seventeenth century, serves also to show that even in the premier province of Islám, the highway of all Muhammadan conquerors, its votaries are mostly converts from the Hindú races, which occupy that part of the country, without an appreciable admixture of blood with that of the foreigners. It further shows that favouring times and a succession of a few but zealous missionaries may effect in less than five, indeed two, centuries the conversion of hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of people, for the Punjáb has nearly twelve millions of Muhammadans against nearly ten millions of Hindús.

The Islám of the Mápillas in South India has an almost similar but earlier history. The tradition among them, as reported in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*,<sup>1</sup> is that in A.C. 844 an Arab ship, or *bagala*, was wrecked on the island of Cháliyam formed by the Beypúr and Kadelundi rivers, and that the local Hindú ruler, whose policy was to foster trade, received kindly the thirteen Arabs who were saved, and granted them lands, whereupon other Muhammadans arrived, together with a few enthusiastic missionaries. The Mápillas, says the same authority, are Malaiyálam converts to Islám from various castes. "A sea-faring life, trade with Arabia, and Arab missionaries, led to extensive conversion among the Malabar fishing races. At one time, after the European nations appeared in Eastern seas, conversion was largely promoted by the Zamorin of Calicut, with a view to procure seamen to defend the towns on the coast."<sup>2</sup> The reason of the conversion is correctly given in the following passage:—"Hindús found an easy refuge from their own stringent caste laws, which debarred them from sea-faring pursuits, in the open arms of Islám."<sup>3</sup> Quilon was the principal port of Malabar

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VI., p. 247, and vol. II., p. 330 (1st edition).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IX., p. 23 (2nd edition).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. VI., p. 247 (1st edition).

which attracted traders from Arabia from the earliest times, but the Mápíllas, previous to the seventh century, saw nothing in their tenets or practices worthy of acceptance or imitation, for, like themselves, the foreigners were idolatrous and exclusive. Indeed, up to the ninth century the Mápíllas do not appear to have come in contact with Muhammadans. As already stated, it was only since A.C. 844 that the Arab Muhammadans who were wrecked at Cháliyam, and the missionaries who followed them, were able to offer to intending proselytes freedom from the trammels of caste, assurances of esteem, and protection and the privilege of messing together at the same board. From that time forward Quilon, called *Kollám* by the natives, and Calicut (properly *Kóñi Kóddai*, "cockfort")<sup>1</sup> opened up to their inhabitants adventurous careers on the sea, through which alone in those days a competency was possible to those who held no lands of their own. The people had also the example of their Rája, Chérumán Perumál,<sup>2</sup> who espoused the new religion, and, giving up kingdom and family, retired to Mekka. The converts, high and low, though devoted to Islám, adhere more or less to the present day to their own native customs and speak the Malaiyálam language.

Some centuries later we observe another town full of Muhammadans risen into importance on the south-eastern sea-board of the Tamil country, some five and twenty miles below the modern Tuticorin. Its name was *Káyal-paddanam*, or "the town Káyal," which is of special interest to us, because not only has it been the principal city of the Lebbes, but the

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<sup>1</sup> But see *Hobson Jobson*, "Quilon."

<sup>2</sup> He was a Tamil, and Viceroy of the Pándiyan king for the country along the western coast of India, from Cape Comorin to Gókarna in the South Canara District. In his day the people of Malaiyálam were Tamils, who so loved Chérumán that he had no difficulty in proclaiming his own independence. The work entitled *Keralólipatti* refers to his times. See also Mr. Logan's *Manual of Malabar*, published recently, and believed to be a work of high authority, the author having been Collector of the District for many years.



tradition there—and indeed in Ceylon—is, that a colony therefrom settled at Bérúwala, near Kalutara, which is admittedly one of the earliest centres, if not the very earliest centre, of Islám in the Island. In 1290 the condition of this town is described as follows by Marco Polo :—"Cail is a great and noble city and belongs to Ashar, the eldest of the five brother kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis (an island in the Persian Gulf), and from Aden and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Caldwell, commenting on this passage, says :—"Káyal stood originally on or near the sea-beach, but it is now about a mile and a half inland, the sand carried down by the river (Tamraparni, on which it stands) having silted up the ancient harbour and formed a waste sandy tract between the sea and the town. It has now shrunk into a petty village." Consequent upon the desertion of the sea, another town had to be founded, which bears the same name, Káyal. Dr. Caldwell observes that it is admitted by its inhabitants that the name of *Káyal-paddanam* has been given to it as a reminiscence of the older city, and that its original name was *Chónakar-paddanam*, or "the town of the Chónakar," which, I have said, is the name applied by the Tamils to the Mápillas, Lebbes, and Moors, and assumed by these communities to distinguish themselves from the other religionists of Tamil India.

It appears to me that Káyal contains the keystone of the history of the Tamil Muhammadans, just as Quilon and Calicut contain that of the Malaiyálam Muhammadans. The tradition in Káyal is, that a few missionaries or teachers from Cairo landed there and made it their headquarters in the early part of the ninth century. In fact, it is said that Káyal,

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Yule's translation, vol. II., p. 357.

or Cail, is only another form of Cairo, properly Kahira.<sup>1</sup> The simplicity of the new creed, especially at a time when the masses knew not whether to follow the Saivite sages or their opponents, the Vishṇuite Acháriyas, was so attractively preached that great numbers of Tamils of various castes were converted. Negapatam, Nágur, Atirámpet, and Kīlakkarai soon became other centres of proselytism. In the tenth century the Chóla dynasty overthrew the neighbouring sister kingdoms of the Chéra and Páṇḍiya,<sup>2</sup> and reigned paramount from the vicinity of Madras to Cape Comorin. It was doubtless subsequent to this period that the Tamil Muhammadans of South India became known as the "Chóliya Muhammadans," or more commonly *Chóliyar*, or people of the Tamil country called *Chóla-désam*. To this day the Hindústání Muhammadan speaks of his southern co-religionist as "Chóliya," for, save as to religion, the vast majority of the Chóliyar are Tamils in point of language, general appearance, and social customs, and for the following reason.

The men of Cairo, who are said to have originally settled at Káyal, could not have been very many: including priests and laymen, the proportion which they bore to the annually increasing number of native converts must have naturally diminished in an inverse ratio. In the course of a century, after the arrival of the foreigners at that town, it is perhaps too much to suppose that they could have represented even five per cent. of the proselytes. There are at the present day 164,000 Christians among the Siphalese and 82,000 among the Tamils, against 422 missionaries and ministers,

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps there is some truth in this tradition, seeing that in the marriage contract or *kaduttam* (properly *kaditam*, Tamil for "a paper") the *mohr* is always stipulated to be paid in "Egyptian gold." The same currency is referred to in the Ceylon *kaditam*.

<sup>2</sup> These three Tamil kingdoms occupied the whole of South India. The Chóla kings originally reigned north of the Kaveri, having for their capital a city near the site of the modern Trichnopoly. The capital city of the Páṇḍiyans was Madura, and that of the Chéras, Karúr, in the district of Koimbatúr.



of whom only 110 are Europeans.<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of accounting for all this conversion, is it necessary to assume that the European ministers, or their predecessors in office, intermarried with the classes they had been converting? It might be said that the European clergy have either led a life of celibacy or come to the scene of their labours with their wives, and that the Egyptians and Arabs were situated differently. It is true that the latter had the sea-borne trade in their hands in the East previous to the advent of the Europeans, and were to be seen in almost every port of importance in India and Ceylon, but what evidence is there that, abandoning finally their own homes and their love of sea-faring life, they settled for good in South India or Ceylon in vast numbers? The mistake consists in assuming that a great proportion of the Africans, Arabians, and Persians who navigated the Indian Ocean made new homes for themselves on these shores, as if the pressure of population in their old homes was too severely felt, or the advantages of the self-imposed banishment outweighed the sorrows of parting from their country, family, and early associations. The truth, therefore, appears to be that only a small proportion of these traders domiciled themselves in South India and Ceylon, and that whatever changes have been wrought in the manners and customs of the native converts are due as much to contact with the passing traders as to the more permanent example and teaching of the smaller knot of resident foreigners. See, for instance, what vast changes have come over non-Christian Tamils and Singhalese by mere association, in the course of business, with a handful of Europeans! But change of manners and customs does not indicate change of blood. Considering that not much more than 100 Europeans have laboured in the cause of Christianity at any given period in the Island, and have made as many as 250,000 converts during three centuries, it may be concluded that the Egyptians and Arabs who settled at Káyal could not have infused

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<sup>1</sup> Ceylon Census for 1881.

their blood among the converts to so great an extent as to materially alter their character. Small as this fusion of blood must have been in the first instance, it would grow weaker and weaker as each generation of descendants got further and further removed from the original Arab or Egyptian ancestor. Hence it is that the Chóliyas continue to be in point of language, features, physique, and social customs still Tamils in all respects except religion.

In a paper read by Sir William Hunter<sup>1</sup> before the Society of Arts on the *Religions of India*, he refuted the idea that "Islám in India is that of a conquering creed which set up powerful dynasties, who in their turn converted, more or less by force, the races under their sway," and pointed out that the part of Northern India which is most strongly Muhammadan is the part most remote from the great centres of Muhammadan rule. "The explanation is," he said, "that in Northern India Islám found itself hemmed in by strongly organised forms of Hindúism of a high type, on which it could make but slight impression. Indeed, Hindúism here re-acted so powerfully on Islám that the greatest of the Mughal sovereigns, Akbar, formally renounced the creed of the Prophet and promulgated a new religion for the empire constructed out of the rival faiths." He then described the process of conversion as follows: the Muhammadan missionaries and adventurers penetrated into outlying districts far removed from the influence of the higher forms of Hindúism, and preached there to the masses who were socially of low standing. And he continues:—"To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and low-caste tillers of the soil, whom Hindúism had barely admitted within its pale, Islám came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the governing race; its missionaries were men of zeal, who brought the Gospel of the unity of God and the equality of man in its sight to a despised and neglected population.

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<sup>1</sup> On February 24, 1888.



The initiatory rite rendered relapse impossible, and made the proselyte and his posterity true believers for ever."

In the early part of this Paper<sup>1</sup> I said that about one-half of the number of those whom the Ceylon Census returned as Moors were "Coast Moors," that is, "Chóliyas," or, as the English call them, "Lubbays." In the District of Batticaloa, which is the premier district of Islám in the Island, the Muhammadans call themselves "Sóni," or "Chóni," which appears to be only another form of Chóli. Indeed, Mr. Pybus, who was accredited in 1762 by the Government of Madras to the court of the King of Kandy, speaks of the inhabitants of the Eastern Province, where he landed, as "Choliyars and Malabars." He evidently believed that *all* those whom we call Moors were "Chóliya," for he says:—"Such trade as the Island affords (exclusive, I mean, of what the Dutch reserve to themselves) is carried on by Choliyars, of whom there are great numbers at all the principal settlements belonging to the Dutch and along the sea-coast; many at Candia and others interspersed in villages in different parts of the country."<sup>2</sup>

We are now in a position to deal with the question whether the "Ceylon Moors" have a history different from that of the "Chóliyas" ("Lebbes," "Coast Moors") which I have just outlined. In the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* Sir Alexander Johnston says:—"The first Muhammadans who settled in Ceylon were, according to the tradition which prevails among their descendants, a portion of those Arabs of the house of Hashim who were driven from Arabia in the early part of the eighth century by the tyranny of the Caliph Abd-al-melek Ben Merwan, and who, proceeding from the Euphrates southward, made settlements in the Concan, in the southern parts of the peninsula of India, on the Island of Ceylon, and at Malacca. The division of them which came to Ceylon formed eight considerable settlements

<sup>1</sup> See p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> *Mission to the King of Kandy*, pp. 36 and 41.

along the north-east, north, and western coasts of that Island, viz., one at Trincomalee, one at Jaffna, one at Mantota and Mannár, one at Coodramalé, one at Puttalam, one at Colombo, one at Barbaryn, and one at Point-de-Galle.”<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to conceive an array of *bagalas* sailing together in those early ages for over two thousand miles on the fitful Indian Ocean, and making for the different ports above-mentioned in different parts of the Island, as if there were agents in those places appointed to receive the unfortunate men. But a grander difficulty exists. The Arab exiles were, or were not, accompanied by their wives and daughters. If they were so accompanied and settled with them in purely Sinhalese districts like Kalutara and Galle, why did they abandon both the Arabic and Sinhalese and take to the Tamil? Or, if they came to Ceylon without their women and took Sinhalese wives, why has the same survival of the Tamil language occurred? It is impossible to accept this version of wholesale Arab colonisation. It is too elaborate and inexplicable. But the crowning absurdity of the tradition remains yet to be mentioned. Hashim, the son of Abdul Manif, was the father of Abdul Muttalib, who was the father of Abdullah, and grandfather of Muhammad the Prophet. In so great veneration is the memory of Hashim held by the Arabs, that among them the family of Muhammad are called Hashimites, as Mr. Keene says in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*: consequently, the Ceylon Moors would all be Sayyids!—which they are not, and do not profess to be, being only Sunnis of the Sháfá’í sect. Sir Emerson Tennent discredits the story for other reasons. He observes:—“The Moors, who were the informants of Sir Alexander Johnston, probably spoke on the equivocal authority of the *Tohfut-ul mujahideen*, which is generally, but erroneously, described as a narrative of the settlement of the Muhammadans in Malabar. Its second chapter gives an account of the manner in which the Muhammadan religion was first propagated

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 538.



there, and states that its earliest apostles were a Sheik and his companions who touched at Cranganore about A.C. 822, when on their journey as pilgrims to the sacred footprint on Adam's Peak."<sup>1</sup> The tradition reported by Sir Alexander Johnston may be a wild exaggeration of that mentioned in the *Tohfut-ul Mujahidin*, or of that which prevails among the Mápiḷlas, to the effect that their conversion was due to the Arab mariners who were wrecked off Beypur in A.C. 844. At any rate, there is a tradition in Ceylon, which is referred to by Casie Chetty<sup>2</sup> (and, so far as the circumstances, but not the years, are concerned, is not at all improbable), that the ancestors of the "Ceylon Moors" formed their first settlement in Káyal-paḍḍanam in the ninth century, and that many years afterwards, in the 402nd year of the Hijra, corresponding to A.C. 1024, a colony from that town migrated and settled at Barberyn (Béruwala), I have already called attention to the belief current in South India that Béruwala is a colony of Káyal.

The discrepancy between the dates of colonisation given in the tradition reported by Casie Chetty and that reported by Sir Alexander Johnston is irreconcilable, as the one refers to the early part of the ninth century and the other to the early part of the eleventh century. In this state of conflict we naturally turn to the history and literature of the Singhalese for some light. The *Mahāvamsa* makes no mention whatever of the Moors (*Yonnu*, *Marakkalayo*); but the *Rājāvaliya*<sup>3</sup> records that a great number of them arrived in 1505 from Káyal-paḍḍanam, and attempted to settle by force at Chilaw, and were beaten back by Dharmma Parākrama Báhu. An earlier reference is contained in the *Paravi Sandésa* ("Pigeon Message"), a poem written by Totagamuwé Ráhula Sthaviro, and addressed to the god Vishṇu at Devundra (Dondra) Dévalé. The pigeon is made to start from Jayawardhana Kótté (the modern Cotta near Colombo), where

<sup>1</sup> Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. I., p. 630, note (1).      <sup>2</sup> *Ceylon Gazetteer*, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Upham's translation, p. 271.

Srí Parákrama Báhu (1410-61) was then ruling, and to fly along several villages to Dondra, carrying the prayer that that monarch might be preserved and blessed. One of the villages on the route is Béruwala, which is described to be in the occupation of "cruel and lawless Bamburas" (scil. *mléchchas*, "barbarians"). Another poem, the *Kókila Sandésa*, written by Irugal Kulatilaka Sámi, in the same reign, alludes to Béruwala in similar language. I have not had time to get at earlier references in Siphalese literature, but I suspect none such exist. We have, however, some information from foreign sources. In 1350 John de Marignolli was wrecked on the coast of Ceylon at "Perivilis," which is supposed to be Béruwala. "Here," he says, "a certain tyrant, by name Coya Jaan, an eunuch, had the mastery in opposition to the lawful king. He was an accursed Saracen," i.e., Muhammadan. We are also told that by means of his great treasures he had gained possession of this part of the country. He robbed De Marignolli of the valuable gifts he was carrying home to the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batúta visited the Island six years earlier (in 1344), but makes no mention whatever of Béruwala, though it lay directly on his route from Galle to Colombo. He refers to Galle as a small town, to Colombo as the seat of a pirate in command of five hundred Abyssinnians, and to Battalah (Puttalam) as the capital of a Tamil king, Arya Chakkaravartti, "one of the perverse and unjust," as the devout traveller says, but of whose hospitality he is loud in praise.<sup>2</sup>

By the light of these passages, and the circumstance that the Siphalese did not know in the early part of the fifteenth century any more of the colonists who were found settled at Béruwala than that they were barbarians, we may safely conclude that Béruwala had not been seized upon by the Muhammadans in 1344; that that hamlet, Galle, and Puttalam, which are commonly believed to have received the

<sup>1</sup> Yule's *Cathay*, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, vol. VII., p. 56, of the extra number.



earliest Muhammadan settlements, did not contain any such colonies at that period ; and that, though Arabs, Egyptians, Abyssinians, and other Africans may have constantly come to and gone from Ceylon, as merchants, soldiers, and tourists, long before the fourteenth century, comparatively few of them domiciled themselves in the Island ; and that the settlement at Bérúwala, which the Ceylon Muhammadans generally admit to be the first of all their settlements, took place not earlier than the fourteenth century, say A.C. 1350. We may also safely conclude that this colony was an offshoot of Káyal-paḍḍanam, and that the emigrants consisted largely of a rough and ready set of bold Tamil converts, determined to make themselves comfortable by the methods usual among unscrupulous adventurers. Having clean shaven heads and straggling beards ; wearing a costume which was not wholly Tamil, nor yet Arabic or African even in part ; speaking a low Tamil interlarded with Arabic expressions ; slaughtering cattle with their own hands and eating them ; given to predatory habits, and practising after their own fashion the rights of the Muhammadan faith ;—they must indeed have struck the Sinhalese at first as a strange people deserving of the epithet “barbarians.” It is only natural that other colonies should have gone forth from Káyal-paḍḍanam, and not only added to the population of Bérúwala, but settled at other places, such as Batticaloa, Puttalam, &c. With the advent of the Europeans, communication with “the fatherland of the Chónahar” (as Káyal is known) and Ceylon grew feeble, and during the time of the Dutch must have practically ceased, because the Muhammadan settlers, from their obstinate refusal to become Christians, became objects of persecution to the Hollanders, who imposed all manner of taxes and disqualifications on them. The distinction which the “Ceylon Moor” draws between himself and the “Coast Moor” (*Chammánkáran*) is evidently the result of the cessation of intercourse thus produced and continued for several decades between the mother-country and her colonies.

Having thus shown that the history of the Moors of

Ceylon, no less than the language they speak, proves them to be Tamils, it remains to consider their social customs and physical features. But I do not propose to dwell at length on these points, not only because they are apparent to most of us who reside in the Island, and this Paper has far exceeded the limits I set upon it, but also because, in January last, when Mr. Bawa's Paper on the Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon was read, I pointed out what the requirements of a marriage were according to the law of the Prophet, but how different were the rites and customs practised by the Moors, and how many of those customs, such as the *stridhanam* (independent of the *mohr*), the *álátti* ceremony, the bridegroom wearing jewels though prohibited by the law, the tying of the *táli*, the bride wearing the *kúrai* offered by the bridegroom, and the eating of the *paṭṭhóru*, were all borrowed from the Tamils. I also commented on other customs, such as the absence of the *purdah* system (or rigid seclusion of women), and of prayer in the streets and other public places, both of which customs are foreign to Tamils, but germane to Egyptians and many clans of Arabs.

I shall therefore pass on to their physical features. Of these, the best marked race-characters, according to Dr. Tylor,<sup>1</sup> are the colour of the skin, structure and arrangement of the hair, contour of the face, stature, and conformation of the skull. On all these points there is, in my opinion, no appreciable difference between the average Tamil and the average Moor. If he were dressed up like a Tamil he would pass easily for a Tamil, and *vice versâ*. As regards cranial measurements, I would add that in a famous trial for murder (known as "the Chetty street murder case"), in which I appeared in 1884 as counsel, I had to be in consultation with three of our leading doctors of medicine and surgery (having large experience of the country and its people)<sup>2</sup> on the question whether the skull produced

<sup>1</sup> Art. "Anthropology" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten, M.D.; Surgeon-Major L. A. White, M.B.C.S.; and Dr. W. G. Vandort, M.D., C.M.



in the case was the skull of a Tamil or not, and they were unanimously of opinion that it might be as much the skull of a Moorman or a Singhalese as of a Tamil: so difficult would it be to distinguish between the skulls of the three sections of our community! The results of Prof. R. Virchow's inquiry into the physical anthropology of the races of Ceylon, as contained in his Paper on the Vēddās of Ceylon and their relation to the neighbouring Tribes,<sup>1</sup> are unfortunately of little value from his want of local knowledge, which prevents him from discriminating between the right and the wrong information given by the writers on Ceylon whom he quotes, and from his candid admission that the skulls submitted to him were too few, if not of doubtful identity. Commenting upon the Moorish skull, for instance, he says:—"So far as I can learn, there is only one skull of a Moor in Europe . . . . It is accordingly orthodolichocephalic and chamæprosopic. A further comparison is scarcely desirable, because from a single skull no judgment can be formed as to whether it is really typical of the race."<sup>2</sup> And he mentions that, until of late only a single Tamil skull was known in Europe, and that his conclusions are based upon an examination of this skull and of three others forwarded to him as Tamil skulls from Colombo. Besides the question of the identity of these skulls, it appears to me that four cannot be taken to be typical of the Tamil race. As the upper classes of Tamils cremate their bodies, a legitimate comparison with the other races, class for class, would be always a matter of difficulty.

I do not feel myself free to conclude this Paper without making a few remarks on the name by which the "Ceylon Moors" and the "Coast Moors" (Lebbes, Chōḷiyar, Chammāṅ-kārar) are known among the native races of India and Ceylon in the midst of whom they live. The Singhalese call them *Yonnū* and the Tamils *Chōṇahar*. It is supposed by those few of the Moors who would (like the Mauri of old,

<sup>1</sup> *R. A. S. Journal, Ceylon Branch*, vol. ix., pp. 350-495.

<sup>2</sup> *R. A. S. Journal, Ceylon Branch*, vol. ix., p. 451.

described by Gibbon) "adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs, that this very name of *Yonnú* or *Chónahar* is evidence of the origin of the Moors from Arabia," because Arabia in Sanskrit is *Yavana*, in Páli *Yonna*, and in Tamil *Chónaham* or *Sónaham*.

The descent of *Yonna* from *Yavana* must be conceded on the analogy of *lona*, Páli for salt, being derived from the Sanskrit *lavana*; but it may be contended that *Chónahar* with a long *o* cannot be traced as clearly from the Sanskrit. A more direct derivation, it has been pointed out to me by the Rev. Father Corbet, is from the Arabic *shúna*, "a ship of war," and *shuna* could easily have become *shona* through the Hindústání, which often tends to change the long *u* into *o*. If this be so, *Chónahar* (in which *har* would represent the Tamil plural form) would mean warlike people. Father Beschi, in his Tamil Dictionary, says that the name is a corruption of "Chóla-nahara people." Mr. C. Brito<sup>1</sup> thinks it is derived from *sunni*, as the bulk of the Moors are Sunnis of the Sháfá'í sect.

But even if we accept the position that *Chónahar* is derived from *Yavana*, it does not at all follow that the Moors are Arabs, for the long and shifting history of the *Yavanas* in India, which is now well known, points to a different conclusion. They are mentioned in the *Mahá Bhárata* with the Sakas (Scythians), Pahlavas (Persians), Kambojas, &c., to denote warlike races outside the limits of India, and differing from the Indians in religious faith and customs. The term *Yavana*<sup>2</sup> having been identified with Ionia, Dr. Hunter has shown in his delightful work on *Orissa*<sup>3</sup> how the Ionians "at once the most Asiatic and the most mobile of the Greek colonists in Asia Minor," came to be confounded by the Persians as early as B.C. 650, and through them by the Indians, with the

<sup>1</sup> *Yalpána Vaipava Málai*, Appendix, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra identifies *yavana* with Sans. *yuvan*, Lat. *juvenis*, as indicating the "youthful" or new race of Asiatic Greeks. See *Indo-Aryans*, vol. II., p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I.



whole Greek race. After Alexander the Great's expedition to India at the close of the fourth century B.C., the term *Yavana* was applied in Indian literature to the Greeks. In the rock inscriptions of Aśoka, for instance, Antiochus, the Greek king, whose eastern dominions covered great portions of western Asia, is referred to as "Antiacho, the Yona king" (B.C. 250); and Patanjali (B.C. 130) records "that the Yavanas eat lying down." Since the invasions of Alexander and Seleucus, the Ionians had established themselves beyond the Indus, and even gone as far as Oude, for the Sanskrit grammarian just mentioned records that the Yavanas laid seige to that city. They then pushed their way to the Buddhist kingdom of Magadha, and advanced into Orissa as Buddhists, where they founded a Yavana dynasty. Being expelled therefrom in A.C. 473, they moved southwards, overthrew the Andhra kingdom, the capital of which was Warangul (half-way between the Godavari and Haiderabad), and ruled in that part of the country till A.C. 963, when their downfall occurred amidst a great religious revival which ended in the overthrow of Buddhism and the re-establishment of the Saiva faith. From this period the Ionians disappear from Indian history, being most probably absorbed by the war and persecution which characterised the times. But the name Yavana survived as meaning *a people who came from the north and brought in new religious rites*. "These," says Sir William Hunter, "were the two crucial characteristics of Yavanas in the Hindú mind, and in the end they led to the transfer of the name to a people more widely separated by race and religion from the Ionians than the Ionians from the Hindú. For the north was again about to send forth a race of invaders bringing with them a new faith, and destined to establish themselves upon the wrecks of native dynasties and native beliefs. The Musalmán invasions of India practically date from the eighth century, when the Arabs temporarily conquered Sindh. The first years of the eleventh century brought the terrible Máhmud Sultan, whose twelve expeditions introduced a new era into

Hindústan. From this time it becomes difficult to pronounce as to the race to which the term Yavana applies. At first, indeed, the Musalman invaders, especially in Southern India, were distinguished from the dynasties of Ionian Yavanas by the more opprobrious epithet of *Mlechchas*. But as Islam obtained firmer hold upon the country, this distinction disappeared; and popular speech, preserving the old association of northern invasion and a new creed with the word Yavana, applied it indiscriminately to the ancient Ionians and to the new Musalmans. Before the Muhammadan power, the heretic and the orthodox dynasties of India alike collapsed, and in a few centuries the ancient Yavanas had ceased to preserve any trace of their nationality. All former differences of race or creed were pulverised in the mortar of Islam, and the word Yavana grew into an exclusive epithet of the Musalmans." Prof. Weber has emphasised these views in his *History of the Indian Literature*,<sup>1</sup> and proves conclusively that the Arabs and other Muslims were the last to receive the name of Yavanas. From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries the Muhammadans in South India were known as *Mlechchás*, or "barbarians," just as the Siphalese knew them in Ceylon in those ages as *Bamburó*. In later days they knew them as *Yonno*, while the Tamils learnt to use the word *Chónahar*.

To sum up. It has been shown that the 185,000 Moors in the Island fall under two classes, "Coast Moors" and "Ceylon Moors," in almost equal numbers; that the "Coast Moors" are those Muhammadans who, having arrived from the Coromandel coast or inner districts of South India as traders or labourers, continue steadily to maintain relations of amity and intermarriage with their friends in South India; and that such "Coast Moors" are Tamils.

As regards the nationality of the "Ceylon Moors," numbering about 92,500 out of the 185,000, we have ample reasons for concluding that they too are Tamils,—I mean the masses of them; for, of course, we meet with a few families here and

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<sup>1</sup> Page 220, note.



there—say, five per cent. of the community, or about 5,000 out of the 92,500—who bear the impress of an Arab or other foreign descent. Even the small *coterie* of the Ceylon Moors, who claim for themselves and their co-religionists an Arab descent, candidly admit that on the mother's side the Ceylon Moors are exclusively Tamil. All that remains to be proved, therefore, is, that their early male ancestors were mainly Tamils. For this purpose I have sketched the history of the Ceylon Moors. I have shown the utter worthlessness of a tradition among them that a great colony of Arabs of the house of Hashim made settlements at Bérúwala and other parts of the Island, and have adduced reasons for accepting as far more probable the tradition reported by Mr. Casie Chetty, that the original ancestors of the Ceylon Moors formed their first settlement at Káyal-paḍḍanam, and that many years afterwards a colony from that town—"the father-land of the Chonagar"—migrated and settled at Bérúwala. I have further shown how similar the history of the Ceylon Moors is to that of the Coast Moors; how intimately connected they were with each other till the Dutch began to persecute them in Ceylon; how the intercourse between the mother-country in South India and Ceylon was arrested about 150 years ago; and how the distinction arose thereafter between the Ceylon Moors and the Coast Moors. By tracing in this manner their history, that is, their descent, I arrive at the conclusion that the early ancestors of the "Moors," Ceylon and Coast, were mainly Tamils on the father's side, as admittedly they are exclusively on the mother's side.

Then, considering their social customs, I have pointed out how closely they are a copy of Tamil institutions. I have also touched upon their physical features and called attention to the opinion of some of our leading doctors of medicine and surgery, that the skull of a Moorman cannot be distinguished from that of a Tamil. In complete confirmation of the inference drawn from these arguments is the evidence afforded by language. The vernacular language of the Moors is, as I have said, Tamil, even in purely Singhalese districts.

What diversities of creed, custom, and facial features prevail among the low-country Sinhalese and the Kandyan Sinhalese, between Tamils of the Brahmin or Vellala castes and of the Paraya caste! And yet do they not pass respectively as Sinhalese and Tamils, for the simple reason that they speak as their mother-tongue those languages? Language in Oriental countries is considered the most important part of nationality, outweighing differences of religion, institutions, and physical characteristics. Otherwise each caste would pass for a race. Dr. Freeman's contention, that "community of language is not only presumptive evidence of the community of blood, but is also proof of something which for *practical purposes is the same as* community of blood,"<sup>1</sup> ought to apply to the case of the Ceylon Moors. But, of course, in their case it is not language only that stamps them as Tamils. Taking (1) the language they speak at home in connection with (2) their history, (3) their customs and (4) physical features, the proof cumulatively leads to no other conclusion than that the Moors of Ceylon are ethnologically Tamils.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Art. on Race and Language, *Contemp. Review*, p. 739, March, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> Besides our Dutch rulers, who believed that the Moors were only Tamil Muhammadans, other authorities, who have mixed and moved with the people of Ceylon and taken pains to study them, may be cited: such as the Rev. James Cordiner, whose duties as Director of all Schools in Ceylon during the administration of Governor North, 1798-1805, afforded him great opportunities of collecting information and judging on all matters connected with the sociology of the Island. At p. 139 of his work on Ceylon he declares that the Moors are Tamils by race.

I would mention also the name of Mr. Simon Casie Chetty, who was a Member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon for some years since 1838, and whose opinions are recorded in his *Gazetteer*.

The editors of the *Ceylon Observer*, in their issue of December 10, 1885, said, "We believe that fully 80 per cent. of the Muhammadans of Ceylon are Tamils."

And Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., who has lived and laboured in Ceylon for over fifty years, speaking at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, held on January 26, 1888, observed, in reference to the Paper read on that day, as follows:—"The obvious reason why the marriage customs of the Muhammadans were mainly Tamil was due to the fact, that most of the proselytes made by Muhammadans in South India and Ceylon were from the Tamil race."



CAPTAIN JOÃO RIBEIRO :  
HIS WORK ON CEYLON, AND THE FRENCH  
TRANSLATION THEREOF BY THE  
ABBÉ LE GRAND.

By DONALD FERGUSON, Esq.

(*Read July 26, 1888.*)



IN the early part of the year 1701 there appeared at Trevoux in France a small volume with the following title :—"Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylan. Ecrite par le Capitaine Jean Ribeyro, & présentée au Roy de Portugal en 1685. Traduite du Portugais en François. A Trevoux, chez Estienne Ganeau, Directeur de l'Imprimerie de S. A. S. Monseigneur Prince Souverain de Dombes. Avec Approbation & Privilege. M. DCCI." Almost simultaneously the same book was issued in Paris, the first part of the title being identical with the above, and the latter part reading thus :—"A Trevoux, & se vend, a Paris, chez Jean Boudot, Libraire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, rue S. Jacques, au Soleil d'or. M. DCCI. Avec Approbation & Privilege." The name of the translator is not given, the epistle dedicatory being signed simply with the initials J. L. G. However, in the same year 1701 there was published at Amsterdam a reprint of the above book, with the following title :—"Histoire . . . en 1685. Traduite du Portugais par Monsr. l'Abbé Le Grand. Enrichie de Figures en Taille-douce. Suivant la Copie de Trevoux, A Amsterdam, Chez J. L. de Lorme, Libraire. M. DCCI." Regarding the Abbé le Grand, we learn the following facts from the memoir of him by Père Bougerel in Nicéron's "Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres," t. 26, and the "Biographie Universelle," t. 25.

Joachim le Grand was born at St. Lô, in the diocese of Coutances, in Normandy, on February 6, 1653, his parents being Gilles le Grand and Marie Violet. After his first studies he went to Caen to study philosophy under the celebrated Pierre Cally. He had as a fellow-student Pierre François de la Tour, who was afterwards General of the Oratory. The friendship which they then formed terminated only with their lives. Following the example of his friend, he entered the Oratory in 1671, and whilst he remained there he studied belles lettres and theology. He left this in 1676 and went to Paris, where he was constantly with the Père le Cointe, who was engaged on the "Ecclesiastical Annals of France." This learned man finding in the Abbé le Grand an accurate memory, a fine judgment, a marvellous sagacity for the discussion of facts, and a great love of truth and of work, qualities and talents necessary for success in history, did not hesitate to persuade him to give his whole time to this subject. He did more : he was willing himself to be his guide in a career so vast and so difficult. With such help he acquired a wide acquaintance with ancient titles and maps, an acquaintance which he largely perfected in the Royal Library by the liberty which M. Thevenot, who had charge thereof, gave him. He undertook successively the tuition of the Marquis de Vins and the Duc d'Estrées. Meeting Dr. Burnet in Paris, he engaged in a controversy with him on the subject of the latter's "History of the Reformation," publishing his opinions in a work issued in Paris in 1688 in three volumes, 12mo. The Abbé d'Estrées having, in February, 1692, been appointed Ambassador to Portugal, chose the Abbé le Grand as Secretary to the Embassy, and he went to Lisbon in April. As the negotiations between France and Portugal did not proceed very rapidly, the Abbé le Grand profited by his leisure, and collected memoirs or relations concerning the vast territories regarded by the Portuguese as their conquests. He resided in Portugal until August, 1697, and on his return to France he commenced to collect



material for a history of Louis XI. In 1701 he printed at Trevoux, in 12mo., "L'Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylan du Capitaine Jean Ribeyro," which he translated from the Portuguese. He had found this work at Lisbon in the possession of Dom João Luis d'Acunha. He did not content himself with a simple translation, but augmented this history by several chapters, under the name of "Additions," which he derived from various manuscripts which were communicated to him by the Marquis de Fontes, the Comte d'Ericeyra, and many others. In 1702 he returned to Spain with the Abbé d'Estrées, and there developed his rare talent for negotiations. On his return he was nominated Secretary of the *Pairie*, and while holding this post published several memoirs on the Spanish succession. In 1720 he was commissioned to draw up an inventory of the collection of maps; and he also finished his life of Louis XI., but this work was not published. Towards the end of his life he retired to Savigny, to the château of the Marquis de Vins, his former pupil; but this nobleman having been cut off prematurely, the Abbé le Grand returned to Paris, where he died some months later of apoplexy, on April 30, 1733, in his eighty-first year.

Le Grand's translation was utilised to some extent in the form of additions to Knox's account of Ceylon, as reprinted in Harris's "Voyages," 1705 (vol. II., pp. 450-84), but not, so far as I know, by other writers of the last century.

A little over a hundred years after the death of Le Grand, viz., in 1836, the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon issued volume V. of the "Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas, que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes ou lhes são visinhas," the first part of which volume contained "Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão, Dedicada á Magestade do Serenissimo D. Pedro II. Rei de Portugal Nosso Senhor. Escrita pelo Capitão João Ribeiro." To this is prefixed the following note:—"Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences at the sitting of 15 October, 1835. The Royal Academy of

Sciences resolves, that the manuscript intituled *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão, escrita pelo Capitão João Ribeiro*, which manuscript was offered to it by its member D. Francisco de S. Luiz, Secretary of the Academy, on 23 November, 1835, be printed, at its expense and under its authority, in the *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas*. Francisco Elias Rodrigues da Silveira, Vice-Secretary of the Academy."

Finally, in 1847, there issued from the Ceylon Government Press at Colombo a translation by Mr. George Lee, Postmaster-General of the Colony, of Le Grand's book, with an appendix, containing many valuable papers by different writers "illustrative of the past and present condition of the Island." Mr. Lee was unaware of the publication eleven years previously of Ribeiro's work in the original Portuguese, for he says in his preface:—"I doubt whether Ribeyro's History was ever published in the Portuguese language; it appears to have been procured, with other public memoirs, by the Abbè le Grand, in Portugal, through the kindness of the Dowager-Countess d'Ericeyra, the lady to whom he dedicates his translation, and whom he mentions as being descended from the illustrious house of Menesez, of which two members had been Governors of Ceylon." But, stranger still, Sir Emerson Tennent, in the first edition of his work on Ceylon, fell into the same error, though he corrected it in the second and later editions (see vol. II., p. 4, note 6).

Returning now to the Portuguese edition of 1836, we find in it the following prefatory note by the editors:—

"The MS. entitled *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão*, which was offered to the Academy by one of its members, and which it now publishes, must be considered as the original; for, though not written in the handwriting of the author, yet it has at the end of the dedication his autograph signature; and from this circumstance, as well as from others, this appears to have been the very copy that was offered to the King D. Pedro II., in 1685.

"The author (as he himself says in the Prologue) divides his work into three books. In the first he shows what



Ceylon is, and the right of our Kings to that rich and precious isle. This book consists of 24 chapters, and has at the end the map of the Island. In the second he treats of the progress of the war which we carried on in Ceylon with the natives and afterwards with the Dutch: it consists of 27 chapters. In the third he seeks to show the mistakes that were made in the conquest of India, and is of opinion that we should simply have taken and peopled Ceylon: this consists of 10 chapters.

"From this it would seem that the laborious and praise-worthy Barbosa Machado had not an exact acquaintance with this work; for, speaking of it in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, he says that it consists of two parts, and that the first has 24 chapters and the second 10, which does not conform to the truth.

"As to the author himself, neither does Barbosa give us any information, except his name, nor have we met with any elsewhere. From a perusal of his work we learn:—

"That João Ribeiro, having gone to India with the Viceroy Conde de Aveiras João da Silva Tello, arrived in those dominions in September, 1640. (Bk. II., chap. VIII.)

"That in October of the same year, being then 14 years old, he was sent to Ceylon with 400 other soldiers, when the Captain-General of the Island was D. Filipe Mascarenhas. (Bk. II., chap. VIII.)

"That he served the King forty and a half years, from March, 1640, to October, 1680, when he returned to Lisbon, nineteen and a half years of that service having been passed in India and eighteen years in Ceylon. (Dedication and Bk. III., chap. IX.)

"That in 1658, Jafanapatam having been taken by the Hollanders, Captain João Ribeiro was sent, with other prisoners of war, to Batavia, and there thrown into prison. (Bk. II., chap. XXVII.)

"Of his good service, and of the zeal and affection of which he deemed the honour, the glory, and the interests of Portugal worthy, we have frequent evidences throughout the whole work, and in the reflections in which the author now and again indulges.

"The work of Captain João Ribeiro has suffered the same fate as, through our negligence, has befallen many other works of Portuguese writers, which, not having gained the attention of the authors' fellow-countrymen, come into the hands of strangers, not simply to be translated and published by them, with some discredit to us and to our spirit of inquiry and literary energy (which would be a lesser evil), but to be so altered, mutilated, and maimed by unfaithful and sometimes inapt translations, as to be discreditable alike to the translator and to the author himself.

"This work with which we are dealing was translated into French by M. le Grand; it was printed at Paris, Trevoux, and Amsterdam, in the year 1701, in 8vo., and was noticed in the *Journal des Sçavans* of May 30 and the *Memoires de Trevoux* of March and April of the same year.

"In both these journals it is stated, and M. le Grand himself confesses, that he did not confine himself to translating the work of Ribeiro, but that he augmented it by many chapters under the name of *Additions*.

"We should certainly be much indebted to M. le Grand if this were the only liberty taken by him and carried out with reference to his original; but he has done much more, viz., (1) he has omitted whole chapters, as may be seen, for example, in Book II., which in the original has 27 chapters and in the translation 23; and in Book III., which, consisting in the original of 10 chapters, has only 2, and these very short, in the translation; (2) he has altered, at his pleasure, the order of the narrative and the distribution of the materials of the chapters, omitting many things which appeared to him either superfluous or of minor importance; (3) he has shown (what is most material) that in many and frequent passages he has not understood the original Portuguese, with which language he appears not to have been well acquainted.

"Of this last accusation, which may perhaps be considered the most serious, we feel bound to give some proofs, that it may be seen that we do not impute to M. le Grand errors or defects that he has not allowed to be printed in his so-called translation.

"In Book I., chap. III., near the end, the author says that 'from the kingdom of Cotta were brought every year some thousand *champanas* (which are like *sumacas* of forty tons) of areca.' The translator says that every year there were brought from the kingdom of Cotta 'more than a thousand boats, each one of sixty tons, of a certain sand [*d'un certain sable*] which is much used throughout all the Indies.'

"In chap. XIII. of the same Book I. Ribeiro says 'that the soldier, captain, or commander who had married, and wished the same day to retire from the service of the King, might do so, such being the practice.' M. le Grand says that 'the soldiers and officers could quit the service when they wished, so long as they did not desert.'

"In the same Book I., chap. XXI., the author, speaking of the pepper of Ceylon and of the great value attached to it, reflects, that as the Chingalas have no eyes for this fruit, except to pay their dues to their lords, 'they gather it fully ripe, and generally the greater part is allowed to ripen on the trees,' &c. The translator says, however, that the pepper of Ceylon sells at a higher price than that of other places,



and that it appears to him that what contributes most to its goodness is that the Chingalas 'gather it before it is perfectly ripe.'

"In Book I., chap. XXII., Ribeiro says that 'the diver, as soon as he rises [from the bottom of the sea] to the *champana*, is at liberty, until he who is at the bottom of the sea ascends, to open with a knife as many oysters as he can, and whatever he finds therein is his.' The translator says that 'if the diver, during the time that he is below the water, can open an oyster and finds a pearl, it is his.'

"We omit many other passages, and do not notice frequent less serious errors, as, for example, *Villa-ponça* for *Villa-pouca*, *Conde de Aveiro* for *Conde de Aveiras*, *Francisco de Asiloca*<sup>1</sup> for *Francisco da Silva*, *fifteen hundred* (*quinze cens*) for *five hundred*, &c.

"What has been said is more than enough to show that we have not yet, at least, a translation of the work of João Ribeiro, and that the Academy has done a real service, both to literature in general and specially to Portuguese literature, in publishing the work of a writer who, beside the truth and sincerity which are evident in his manner of writing, relates what he saw, observed, and heard from the natives of Ceylon during the 16 [*sic*] years that he lived there, regarding the natural products of the Island; the customs, rites, religious opinions, and civil life of its inhabitants; the form of its government; the possessions which we had there; the rights which our Kings obtained there; and finally, the manner and means by which we lost the Island, and it passed into the power of the Hollanders, &c."

The reference to Ribeiro's work made by Diogo Barbosa Machado (*Bibl. Lusit.*, 1747, vol. II., p. 734) mentioned above is as follows:—"Ioaõ Ribeyro, Captain in the Island of Ceylon, which he described as an eyewitness in a clear and truthful style in the year 1685. Fatalidade, &c. MS., 4to. It consists of 2 parts; the first has 24 chapters and the second 10. It is preserved in the Library of his Excy. the Conde de Castellomilhor. It was translated into French by Monsieur le Grand under the following title: *Histoire . . .* Paris, 1701. Trevoux, 1701."

Barbosa Machado has also (vol. II., p. 68) the following entry:—"Filippe Botelho, Priest, and native of the Island of

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<sup>1</sup> This is hardly fair, for Le Grand corrected the error in his Errata.—D.F.

Ceylon, son of Portuguese fathers, composed with the highest individuality and exactness *Relação das guerras de Uva*, which was preserved in his choice Library by his Excy. the Marquis de Abrantes D. Rodrigo Annes de Sâ e Almeyda, who communicated it to Monsieur Legrand, who translated it into French, and it was printed, together with the *Historia de Ceilaõ*, composed by João Rebeiro, also translated into French. Trevoux, &c."

How an error, once perpetrated, is liable to be perpetuated, may be judged from the following extract from the *Dictionario Bibliographico Portuguez* of Innocencio Francisco da Silva, 1860, vol. IV., p. 25 :—"João Ribeiro, soldier in India, and Captain in the island of Ceylon, the events of which he described in the year 1685 as an eye-witness : *Fatalidade historica da ilha de Ceylão. Dedicada á magestade do serenissimo D. Pedro II., rei de Portugal.*—The original Portuguese of this work, consisting of two parts, the first with 24 chapters and the second with 10, remained for many years in manuscript, and was only printed for the first time in vol. V. of the *Collecção de Noticias para a historia e geographia das Nações Ultramarinas*, published by the Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, 1836. It was, however, translated into French by M. Legrand, a few years after it was written, and appeared in print under the title of *Histoire de l'île de Ceylan, par Jean Ribeyro, &c.*, together with the translation which the same Legrand made of the *Relação das guerras de Uva* by Filippe Botelho, Trevoux, chez Estienne Ganeau, 1701, 12mo. The Commander F. J. M. de Brito had copies of both, as appears from the catalogue of his Library, quoted already several times."

It is strange that, while confessedly so little is known of Captain Ribeiro, the editors of the MS. should be able to pronounce with such assurance upon his signature, &c. But let that pass. It will be seen that the editors make very strong charges against the Abbé le Grand, of not only mistranslating the original Portuguese, but mutilating the work by leaving out passages and even whole chapters. Now,



happily, I am able to clear the character of the reverend translator to some extent, though not entirely; and that in a rather curious way. After the death of the late lamented scholar Dr. Arthur Burnell, his valuable library was sold (in 1884) by Mr. Bernard Quaritch, the well known antiquarian bookseller of London, and some of the books came into my possession, among them being a manuscript thus described in the catalogue:—"Ribeyro (J.). *Historia Oriental* (in Portuguese), three books, 4to., 203 pp., old calf." When it reached my hands I saw that it was Ribeiro's work on Ceylon, and I hoped that it might be the author's autograph manuscript; but a further examination soon showed me that this was not the case. Owing to pressure of work in connection with a daily newspaper, it was not until I was on furlough in England in 1886 that I was able to look more carefully into this manuscript, comparing it with the Lisbon edition and Le Grand's French translation, the result being that I made the interesting discovery that this was the identical manuscript from which the Abbé le Grand made his translation. The proof of this will be given further on. Meanwhile, let us examine the various editions of Le Grand's translation of which the titles have been given above.

As I have shown, the Trevoux edition was the original, the Paris one being identical with it except for the title-page, so that we may consider these two together. After the title-page comes the Dedication, covering seven pages; then the Author's Preface of three pages; the Translator's Preface, five pages; Explanation of Names of Ranks, &c., one page; Table of the Chapters, six pages; various documents relating to the authorisation, &c., of the printing of the work, five pages; and Errata, one page. Then comes the body of the work, running from page 1 to page 352, with four extra pages, 187-90, at the end of Book I., which I shall explain presently. Book I. contains twenty-five chapters, the first twenty-four corresponding to those of the Portuguese original, except that chapters XVII. and XVIII. are transposed. But chapter XXV. is an entire interpolation of Le Grand's; it treats of the islands in the

neighbourhood of Jaffnapatam, and is founded on chapter XLV. of Baldæus.<sup>1</sup> In Book II. there are twenty-three chapters, against twenty-eight in the original. As far as chapter XVIII. the chapters in the two versions correspond; but chapter XX. of the Portuguese is included in chapter XIX. of the French; chapters XXI. and XXII. in chapter XX.; chapters XXIII., XXIV., and XXV. Portuguese in chapter XXI. French; chapter XXVI. Portuguese becomes chapter XXII. French, and chapter XXVII. Portuguese chapter XXIII. French. (The abbreviations which the chapters have undergone I shall notice afterwards.) In Book III. the state of affairs is almost worse, for the whole of the first seven chapters of the Portuguese have disappeared, and chapter I. French contains chapters VIII. and IX. Portuguese; chapter II. French comprising chapter X. Portuguese. Beside the letter-press, Le Grand's book had seven copperplate engravings by Berey, viz., one of the cinnamon and one of the talipot, and plans of Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Trincomalee, and Mannâr, the one of Colombo being specially poor. But it also contained an excellent (for that period) map of Ceylon by De l'Isle, which is a marked contrast to the one found in the manuscript from which the Lisbon edition of Ribeiro was printed, and of which a miniature copy is given in Tennent. Now as to the Amsterdam edition of Le Grand. It is, as the title-page states, a reprint of the Trevoux edition, the corrections given in the Errata of the latter having been embodied in the text. So slavishly has the reprinter followed the original, that at chapter XXV. he has repeated the paging 187-90, though there was no necessity to do so, unless to make the pagination correspond with that of the earlier editions, which, however, it fails to do exactly.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter was evidently written by Le Grand after the rest of the book was printed, for it is printed on thinner paper than that used elsewhere, and the paging 187-90 is repeated.

<sup>2</sup> A later edition issued at Trevoux in 1707 I have not seen; but one published at Amsterdam in 1719 is simply the 1701 Amsterdam edition with a new title-page, the publishers being Duvillard & Changuion.



A word now as to Lee's translation of Le Grand. From a somewhat cursory comparison of it with the French I have found the translation generally accurate, and have detected only a few serious errors. One of these occurs in chapter III. of Book I., where Le Grand has:—"On n'y manque pas non plus de bré, ni de mines de fer." Lee seems to have misread *bré* (Portuguese *breu*, resin, pitch) as *blé*, and so translates:—"Nor is corn wanting, or iron mines."<sup>1</sup> He has omitted several of Le Grand's notes, but has appended many of his own, which are generally useful and correct. In some cases, however, he has been sorely mystified, owing to the fault of Le Grand or his manuscript. These I shall touch upon further on. He gives facsimiles of Le Grand's plates, but not of the map of Ceylon, which was missing from the copy of Le Grand from which he made his translation. Though, through no fault of his, Lee's book cannot be accepted as a faithful translation of Ribeiro, it will always be of value, if only for the lengthy appendix referred to above.

I now come to consider the Burnell MS. of Ribeiro of which I have spoken above. It is stated in the memoir of Le Grand from which I have quoted that the Abbé found the MS. at Lisbon in the possession of Dom João Luis d'Acunha. (The MS. referred to by Barbosa Machado may perhaps be the one from which the Lisbon edition was printed.) Its subsequent history I have failed to trace. Dr. Burnell seems to have purchased it from Maisonneuve & Co., of Paris, but the latter are unable to say how it came into their hands. It is a small quarto of 202 leaves, written mostly in a clear hand, though in parts, especially at the end, the ink has eaten through the paper and made it brittle like tinder. It is bound in brown leather, with gilt ornamentation on the back and the single word "Fatalidade." It has no title-page, the first page containing the dedication of

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<sup>1</sup> Another most ridiculous blunder that he has committed is the rendering throughout of Ribeiro's "As Grevayas" (which Le Grand has transferred to his French version without translating) as "the Gravets"! Of course the Giruwá pattu is meant.

the work to the king. I give opposite a facsimile of this page, which has at the foot, as will be seen, a note in a different hand, as follows:—"Qualquer Liureiro pode emquadernar esta obra do Capp<sup>am</sup> João Ribeiro q̃ tracta das Couzas de Ceilaõ e comtaðe. 202 Folhas. São D<sup>os</sup> de Leon de 7<sup>bro</sup> de 1696 [?]. Fr. G<sup>co</sup> do Crato." That is:—"Any bookseller may bind this work of Captain João Ribeiro, which treats of the affairs of Ceylon, and contains 202 leaves. São Domingos de Leon, September 1696 [?]. Freire (or Francisco) Gonçalo do Crato." This seems to be an authorisation, indicating that the book contained nothing inimical to "the Faith," but who the writer was I cannot say.<sup>1</sup> The date of the year is written apparently 1676, but 1696 must be meant, as Ribeiro presented his MS. to the king of Portugal in 1685. As Le Grand returned to France in 1697, the MS. would therefore seem to have come into his possession only shortly before he left Portugal. At the end of Book I. is a blank folding leaf, on which, evidently, a copy of the map of Ceylon which the original MS. contains was to have been made; but this was never done. Though, as I have said, the copyist wrote for the most part in a beautifully clear hand, he was, I am sorry to believe, not only careless but apparently dishonest, as I shall have to show.

Before proceeding to a more detailed comparison of the MS. and the printed edition, I may mention some of the general characteristics of the former. One of these is the spelling of Portuguese words: thus we find *pello* for *pelo*, *chama* for *chamma*, *fes* for *fez*, *réais* for *reaes*, *adquerir* for *adquirir*, *extillo* for *estilo*, *sogeito* for *sugeito*, *Ceyllaõ* for *Ceilão*, *suçessos* for *successos*, *serto* for *certo*, *jatançia* for *jactancia*, *pricioza* for *preciosa*, *idiffigios* for *edeficios*, *thomey* for *tomei*, *cengura* for *censura*. All these examples are taken from the Dedication and Prologue alone, while the

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<sup>1</sup> Leon, where the footnote, and apparently the MS. also, was written, is, I presume, the town in Spain, capital of the province of the same name. I have not been able to ascertain whether the monastery of S. Domingos still exists there.



Dedicada  
A.

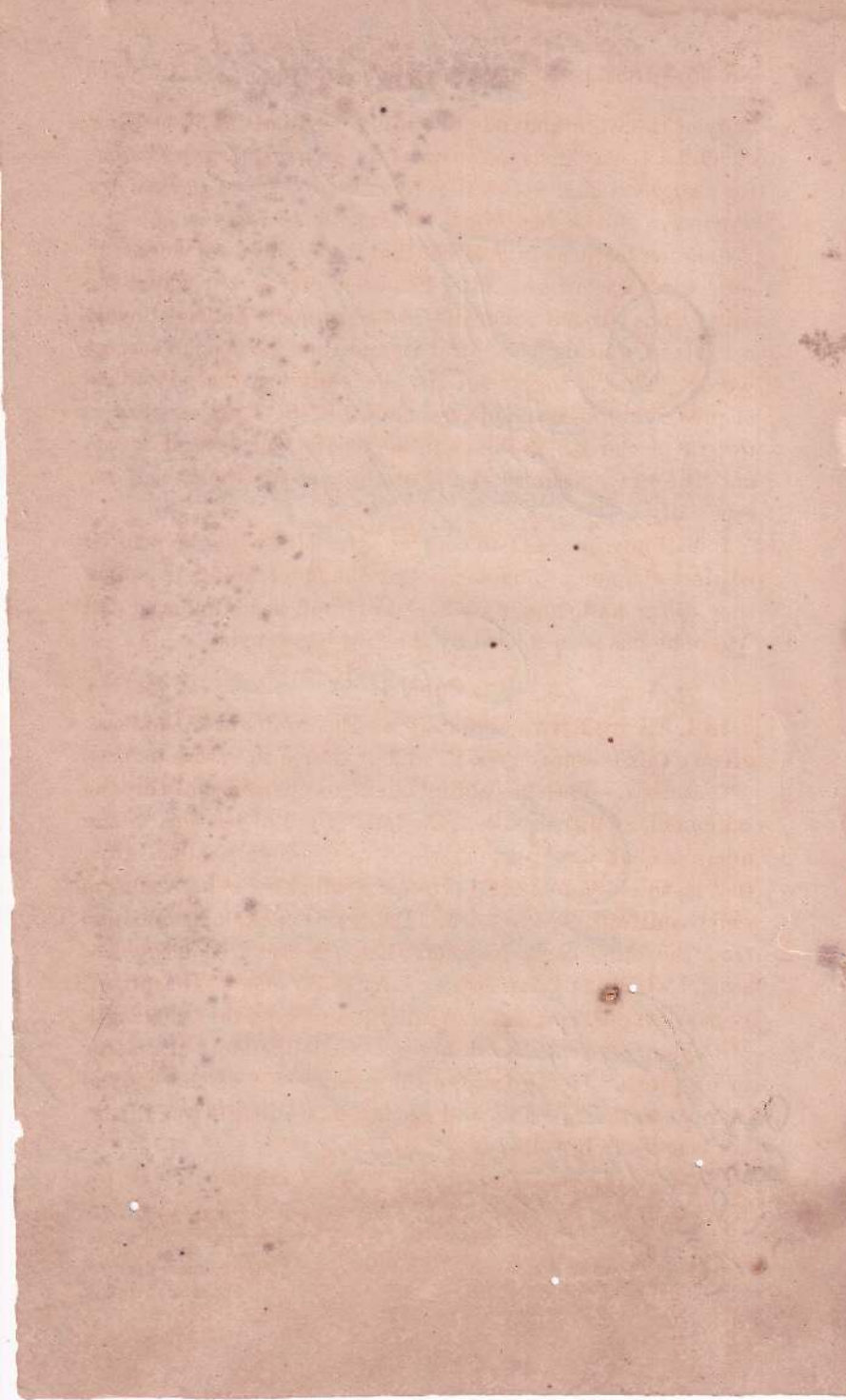
Majestade do Sereniss-  
simo D. Pedro 2.<sup>o</sup> Rey  
de Portugal Nosso moor.

Escrita.

Pello Capitaõ João Ribeiro.

Qualquer Livroiro pode em quo-  
der nar esta obra do anno 1788.  
buro q' tracta das couzas de Lisboa e com  
ta de 202 folhas do 1.<sup>o</sup> de 1788 de 7.  
de 1788.

J. Rodolpho





body of the work abounds in similar peculiarities of spelling, of which I may instance *surgiaõ* for *cirurgiãõ*, *sanguexugas* for *sanguesugas*, *cocodrillo* for *crocodilo*, *parávellas* for *parabolos*, *Jazus* for *Jesus*, *Sseilaõ* for *Ceilaõ*.

Another feature of the MS. is that it contains no erasures : in some cases a word or a letter has been altered, but where the copyist has written a whole sentence wrongly he has allowed it to stand, putting *alias* after it, and then giving the correct words. This is ingenious, and certainly has the advantage of preserving the neat appearance of the MS. Another characteristic of the MS. is the running together of several words and the use of contractions, in the case of the word *que* especially.

I shall now proceed to compare the MS. with the printed edition, chapter by chapter, noting the chief points in which they differ, and showing where Le Grand has blundered and where he has been misled by the faithless copyist.

### BOOK I.

In L.A.<sup>1</sup> we have a summary of the contents of the book given : this is wanting in B., and of course therefore in LeG.

*Chapter I.*—LeG. has abbreviated this chapter, omitting the statement of Ribeiro that Ceylon “By its position is the mistress of all those regions which are commonly called India, that is, the kingdoms and provinces which exist between the two beautiful rivers Indus and Ganges : which in distance one from the other comprise more than six hundred leagues of coast.” In this passage, where L.A. reads *formosos* (beautiful) B. has *famozos* (famous). While Ribeiro says that the length of Ceylon is *seventy-two* leagues, LeG. deliberately alters this to *sixty-two*. He also omits the comparison of the Gulf of Mannár to the Adriatic, and the statement that it was thirty-six leagues in breadth.

*Chapter II.*—L.A. has in one place a misprint *Galle* for *Gatte*, the word being correctly given a little lower down.

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<sup>1</sup> I use the following contractions :—L.A. for the Lisbon Academy printed edition ; B. for the Barnell MS. ; LeG. for Le Grand's French translation.

In the list of kingdoms on the Malabar coast LeG. has *Tala* for *Lala* (the *L* in B. looking very like a *T*), *Changatte* for *Mangatte* (the latter is the reading in both L.A. and B.), and *Achinota* for *Chinota* (B. having misled him). He also makes Ribeiro say "the Samorin, which I ought to put first," whereas Ribeiro gives the Samorin fourth in the list. (B. reads *o Damorim*.) In the list of the divisions of Ceylon, LeG. has *Asgrevañas* for *as Grevayas* of L.A. (B. reading *asgrevayas*). LeG. has also omitted, by an oversight, *Cucurucorla* from the list.

*Chapter III.*—Ribeiro says of the king of Cotta:—"Almost the whole of his lands are forests of Cinnamon, and extend from Chilao to within two leagues of the pagoda of Tanavaré." This LeG. transforms as follows:—"It is specially in his territory that the cinnamon grows; there is a forest of it of twelve leagues between Chilaon and the Pagoda of Tenevaré." Regarding the cinnamon tree, Ribeiro says:—"Its leaf is in appearance like that of plantain [plantago], in so far as relates to the three stalks that it has; the shape of it, however, is like that of the Laurel; crushed between the fingers, the odour is like that possessed by the best cloves of Rochelle." This LeG. translates:—"The leaf of the cinnamon greatly resembles that of the laurel; . . . if it is crushed between the fingers it emits a very agreeable and at the same time very powerful odour." Ribeiro also says:—" . . . as it rains every day it [the cinnamon tree] does not lose its leaves," which LeG. makes:—" . . . it [the leaf] never falls, *although* it often rains in that country." LeG. also omits Ribeiro's statement that the precious stones were found in a region "sixty-seven leagues in circumference." Among the precious stones Ribeiro mentions "*robâzes, verlis, taripos*"; the first of these LeG. omits, and the other two he transfers without translating. Lec makes them "beryls" and "tourmaline," which is probably correct. I cannot find the word *robâz* in any Portuguese dictionary; but Stevens's Spanish dictionary has "*Robáso*, the precious stone called a cornelian," and "*Rubáça*, a red stone, of less value than a ruby, called a garnet." LeG. says that Brazil wood is called in



India "*sapaon*," and B. has "*sapaõ*"; curiously enough, L.A. has the false reading "*Sapraõ*." We now come to the famous statement of LeG. that "from the kingdom of Cotta alone there are obtained yearly more than a thousand boat-loads, of sixty tons each, of a certain sand which has a great sale throughout the whole of India." Now there are two gross errors here. In the first place, the boat-loads (*champanas*, L.A.; *chapanas*, B.) were, according to Ribeiro (L.A. and B.), *sumacas* of forty tons (*quarenta toneladas*) each; how LeG. made this blunder I cannot imagine. But the other error is far more serious, and for it not LeG. but B. is responsible. The latter states that the article exported from Cotta and so largely consumed in India was "*area*," which LeG. naturally enough translated "*sable*" (sand). Lee in his translation of LeG. appends a footnote to this as follows:—"I cannot discover what this sand is—no article of export of the kind is found now." If he had had the Lisbon printed edition of Ribeiro before him, he would at once have detected the error. It is noteworthy that Sir Emerson Tennent, though he was not, when he wrote, aware of the existence of this printed edition of Ribeiro, solved the mystery. In a note on page 27 of vol. II. he says:—"A passage in Ribeyro's account of the productions of Ceylon has puzzled both his translators and readers, as it describes the Island as despatching 'tous les ans, plus de mille bateaux, chacun de soixante tonneaux, d'un certain sable, dont on fait un très-grand débit dans toutes les Indes.'—ch. iii. Lee naively says that 'he cannot discover what this sand is.' But as Le Grand made his French translation from the Portuguese MS. of the author, it is probable that by a clerical error the word *arena* may have been substituted for *areca*, the restoration of which solves the mystery." There is a slight error here, the Portuguese word for "sand" being *aréa* (mod. *areia*), and not *arena*. Moreover, LeG. did not, as we now know, make "his French translation from the Portuguese MS. of the author." Ribeiro further says that Ceylon produces "also a large number of elephants, much pepper,

both of which are considered the best in the whole of the East," which LeG. expands into :—"It is well known how much the Mogol, the Kings of Pegu, of Siam, and other Indian Kings value the Elephants of Ceylon. The Pepper that grows in this Island is sold at a much higher price than that of other countries." I have referred above to Lee's mistake in translating "*bré*" as "corn" instead of "resin"; but in fact Ribeiro says that Ceylon produces "much resin of two kinds": these he describes more fully in chapter XI. LeG. has a long Addition to this third chapter, in which he deals with cinnamon, areca (this makes it the more remarkable that he did not detect the error of "*area*"), the talipot, &c. Among other things he says :—"I do not think that the white sandal is as common in Ceylon as Jean Ribeyro says, at least there is not much trade in it, and all the good white sandal is obtained from the Island of Timor." Now Ribeiro nowhere that I can find makes the statement here attributed to him, so the worthy Abbé is knocking down a man of straw of his own erection.

*Chapter IV.*—Ribeiro says that Colombo was situated on a bay (*bahia*). B. has the absurd reading "*botica*" (apothecary's shop), but LeG. has had the sense to write "*anse*" (creek). B. has also the nonsensical reading "*sirvada*" for "*situada*." This chapter is a very short one, and enumerates the chief towns, &c., all round the coast of Ceylon, with the distances between each. To it LeG. appends the following remarks :—"The Nations have not yet come to an agreement with respect to measures: the leagues are in some countries double and treble what they are in others; so that one cannot be surprised that the Authors who have written on the Island of Ceylon are so little in accord among themselves as to its extent; but it seems extraordinary that a single writer does not agree with himself. Jean Ribeyro says in the first chapter that this Island has a circumference of one hundred and ninety leagues, and by the reckoning which he here makes we can find only one hundred and sixty-six. The



Dutch, however, give it as two hundred ; for with respect to its area they make it fifty-six and a half leagues in breadth, and its length they reckon also as fifty-six and a half leagues from Ponte de Galle to Triquinimalé : whereas Jean Ribeyro only gives it forty-seven leagues in its greatest breadth, and likewise reckons only forty-six from Ponte de Galle to Triquinimalé ; which shows that there is the difference of one-fifth in the method of reckoning of our Author as compared with that of the Dutch, and that thus it is not so difficult to reconcile them ; and that if the Island of Ceylon is one hundred and sixty-six Portuguese leagues in circumference, it must be about two hundred leagues, following the scale of the Dutch." All this is very ingenious, but is completely beside the mark ; for Ribeiro agrees perfectly with himself in this chapter and the first in making the circumference of the Island one hundred and ninety leagues. The fact is, that the careless copyist of B. (Le Grand's MS.) has omitted several lines referring to Batticaloa, which give the very figures (24) required to make up the 190.

*Chapter V.*—LeG. gives a fair, though rather free, translation of this chapter. I may simply mention that the statement that the emperor of Ceylon sent "two" ambassadors and "a crown of gold" to the king of Portugal is an interpolation of Le Grand's. Ribeiro says that on his baptism the emperor took the name of "D. João Pareá Pandar" : LeG. transforms "Pareá" (or "Parca," as B. has it) into "Parera," and this Lee further alters into "Perera" ! LeG. has two lengthy Additions to this chapter, in which he supplements from other sources the information given by Ribeiro.

*Chapter VI.*—Le Grand's translation is again somewhat free, but a fair representation of the original. He has an Addition to this chapter also.

*Chapter VII.*—There is nothing particular to remark on this chapter, except that LeG. has here (as elsewhere) rendered the "ola" of the original ("olla" in B.) by the word "lettre."

*Chapter VIII.*—This is a very short chapter, and LeG. has given the general sense of it; but he has made one serious blunder. Ribeiro says that D. Hieronimo de Azevedo, after his entry into Kandy, “was lucky in being able to retire, with the loss of three hundred Portuguese and many Lascarins of the Emperor’s dominions,” whereas LeG. states that “he thought himself fortunate in being able to retire with only three hundred Portuguese and some Lascarins of the Emperor of Ceylon.” (Lee has “Cotta.”) Le Grand’s addition to this chapter is three times the length of the latter. In it he says that Dom João “reigned more than thirteen years after the death of Pedro-Lopés de Souza,” whereas in a note to the chapter itself (which Lee omits) he says, “He lived nearly ten more years after this,” that is, after the defeat of D. Hieronimo. LeG. says that Henar Pandar on coming to the throne took the name of “*Cam-Apati-Maha-d’Ascín*,” which, Lee says in a note, “is not to be found among Singhalese authors, and its orthography is not in any manner to be twisted into a Singhalese name.” Le Grand has here copied from Baldæus, who in chapter VIII. of his work on Ceylon makes the above statement, and also gives the meaning of three-fourths of this title, the correct spelling of which is, I suppose, “*Kshamápati Mahádarśin*.”

*Chapter IX.*—This gives an account of the death of the Emperor Dom João, after donating the Island of Ceylon to the King of Portugal. Ribeiro states that the emperor’s nephew was sent to Portugal and ordained as a priest, being granted an allowance for his support; and he adds in parentheses:—“We knew this Prince at one time, and called him ‘de Telheiras,’ from the place where he resided, and in which locality he founded an Oratory for the Brothers of St. Francis.” LeG. enlarges this somewhat, and then fathers upon Ribeiro the following statement:—“I have seen the Act of Foundation, which is of the month of June of the year 1639, and his will, which is of the month of March, 1642. Although a Priest, he had by Susanne d’Abreu two daughters, both of whom were Nuns of the Cordeliers at *Via Longa*.”



One of them was Abbess when I went there on the 19th of January, 1693. He gives orders in his will that his Cousin D. Philippe, Canon of Coimbra, shall be interred on one side of the Altar, and himself on the other ; and names as executor of his will one D. Jacques of Ceylon, also a relative of his." No wonder that Lee was mystified by this passage, and to the date 1693 appended the note :—"There must be an error in this date, as this work is stated in the title-page to have been presented to the king of Portugal by Ribeyro in 1685."

*Chapter X.*—Ribeiro states that the territory bequeathed by the Emperor Dom João to the King of Portugal contained 21,873 villages ; but LeG. makes the number 21,863. There are numerous details omitted by LeG. For instance, Ribeiro enumerates the articles which the "mayors" of villages were bound to supply to the Emperor's troops when on march, viz., "chickens, hens, butter, kids, cows, and pigs." LeG. also fails to apprise us of the interesting fact that "all these villages have coolies [L.A. "*Culles*," B. "*cúles*"], who are for the carting," &c. In the list of trades, &c., Ribeiro mentions "*mainatos*" (washermen), "*jagreiros*" (jaggery-makers), "*páchas*" (classed with sandal-makers and barbers, as of low caste<sup>1</sup>), "*cornacas*" (elephant-keepers), and "*chaliás*," all of which we fail to find recorded in LeG. In the case of the "*cornacas*" this is due to the omission of some lines in B. The total weight of cinnamon obtained yearly by the King of Ceylon is said by LeG. to have been 10,565 quintals : the figures in Ribeiro are 10,575. According to Ribeiro, the overseer of the gem-diggers in Sabaragamuwa was called "*Vidana das agras*" : this appears in LeG. as "*Vidava das agras*," the printer having misread the *n* of the first word as a *u* ; Lee translates the title as "vidahn aratchy," which is hardly justifiable. To this chapter also LeG. has appended an Addition.

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<sup>1</sup> Clough has "*Pachayá*, a man of a degraded tribe, a low caste man." (See also chapters XI and XVI. of Ribeiro.)

*Chapter XI.*—Here again Ribeiro mentions the “*pachás*” (B. “*Páchaos*”), and LeG. has transferred the word without explaining it. Lee puts a note to it as follows:—“Perhaps this is a mistake of the copyist for *paduwas*, originally palanquin-bearers from the coast,” but this explanation is unsatisfactory. In rendering Le Grand’s (and B.’s) “*Butategama*” (L.A. “*Butalegama*”) as *Bulatgama*, however, Lee is no doubt correct. In speaking of the payment by the natives to their chiefs of taxes, Ribeiro says that the principal article in which payment was made was “*aréca*, which is highly valued throughout India.” This LeG. deliberately alters into “*Areca*, which is a *leaf* that is greatly valued,” &c.; and Lee goes still further and says:—“The tax is more especially paid in *betel*, which is a leaf,” &c. In this chapter LeG. has preserved the “*Culles*” (coolies) and “*Motteto*” (*muttettu*) of Ribeiro. LeG. says that “The forests of Ceylon are rich in productions which might be serviceable to commerce.” This can hardly be called a fair translation of Ribeiro’s words, which are:—“Moreover, the forests contain a great quantity of *cocculus (coca)*.” I referred above to the fact that Ribeiro states that Ceylon produces two kinds of resin; these are mentioned here, and one is particularly described, which he says the people of India call “*chandarrús*.” Lee has a note to this:—“I do not think this word is known in Ceylon—the gum mentioned is the *Doommala*, a kind of *copal*.” As I have shown above, Ribeiro specially says that it was in *India* that the name “*chandarrús*” was used. The word is found in Arabic and Hindústání as *sindarús*, *sandaros*, *sundaros*, and in English as *sandarack*.

*Chapter XII.*—In this chapter Ribeiro gives a description of the chief places occupied by the Portuguese in Ceylon. In describing Colombo he says that the walls were of “*taipa singela*,” which words LeG. has transferred without explanation, and Lee confesses himself unable to explain. A writer in the *Orientalist* says that they mean “*Sinhalese walls*.” “*Taipa*” means “mud wall,” and “*singela*” is nothing but “simple.” That is, the walls were “simply mud.”



LeG. fails to record the fact that the portion near the sea at the south of the fort of Colombo was called "Galvoca" (Galle Buck). He also omits the statement of Ribeiro that the fort of Jaffna was built of "pumice-stone" ("*pedra pomes*"). To this chapter LeG. has a lengthy addition, to only one point in which shall I refer. Speaking of Galle, he says:—" . . . the soil is everywhere stony, it is this that has given it the name *das Gravayas*." What he thought *Gravayas* meant I cannot imagine. Lee makes the matter worse by, as usual, replacing "*as Gravayas*" by "gravets." [Since the above was in type, I have discovered, through the kindness of Mr. F. H. de Vos of Galle, the origin of Le Grand's explanation of the word "*Gravayas*." Baldæus, in his *Ceylon*, chapter XXII., says of Galle:—" . . . the mountains look very fine from there. One travels along hewn out roads, called Gravettes, because they are made and cut [*gegraven*] through the mountains." Of course this explanation is utterly wrong, and Le Grand, by copying only a portion of what Baldæus wrote, has left his readers to flounder in a quagmire of hopeless doubt as to what connection "stony ground" could have with the name "*Gravayas*."]

*Chapter XIII.*—This chapter calls for no special remark, except the last sentence, which, as the editors of L.A. have shown, LeG. has mistranslated, having been misled by B., which for "*casava*" reads "*escuzava*."

*Chapter XIV.*—Ribeiro says that in Ceylon the image of Buddha ("*Bodu*") was "more than six cubits" high. LeG. makes this "more than 32 feet." Ribeiro also states that the Siphalese call their year "*Aurudá*," which fact LeG. passes over. The statement of Ribeiro that "all assert" ("*todos affirmão*") that "the Apostle St. Thomas. . . was in this Island," is modified by the copyist of B. into "they say" ("*dizem*"), &c. Ribeiro says of the Siphalese that "they do not deny the immortality of the soul, but say that when the wicked dies his soul goes into an animal suited to his evil habits, and he who lives well into some domestic

animal, and especially into a cow: that of the brave man into a tiger, panther," &c. By the omission of a line B. has misled LeG. into making Ribeiro assert that the soul of a wicked man passes into a domestic animal. LeG. also has changed the "panther" ("*onça*") of Ribeiro into a "bear" ("*ours*"). Ribeiro mentions the belief of the Sinhalese that those who have done well in one existence will have their possessions doubled in the next; and he adds:—" . . . for this reason these people do not inherit a *real* from their parents, nor do married persons ever show each other the money that comes into their hands, but everything that each acquires he buries when the opportunity appears safe to him, and thus nobody has anything of his own. When they die they are found to have only some cattle and implements of labour or similar things." LeG. has blundered over this as follows:—" . . . this is why they preserve nothing of what he [the deceased] has amassed; they bury all with him, and only retain some cattle," &c. LeG. has an addition to this chapter also. Lee renders his "*Gones*" and "*Changatars*" by "*gorunnanses*" and "*sanghias*"; he has omitted the last sentence of the Addition.

*Chapter XV.*—LeG. omits the statement of Ribeiro that the trees at the foot of which the Sinhalese placed their floral offerings were called "*Bodiames*" (B. "*badiâmes*"), i.e., "*Bôdihâmi*"? LeG. has a footnote as follows:—"All that I have seen regarding the Heathen say that the Devil being wicked it is necessary to try and get his friendship by rites and presents or sacrifices; and that God on the contrary being all-good has need of nothing." This Lee has, most unjustifiably, incorporated in the text as if it were Ribeiro's statement and referred to the Sinhalese. Ribeiro says that there are five kinds of poisonous snakes in Ceylon: this LeG. omits. In the latter part of this chapter LeG. has taken many liberties with the original. The last paragraph of Ribeiro is as follows:—"They are said to have many other sorceries; but I relate what I saw with my own eyes. There are among them Astrologers, whom they call *Nangatás*: these, I doubt



not, are greater sorcerers than the others, since they have to have a hand in the matter before they are capacitated for one thing or another: these they always consult when making journeys and have an omen for anything; the hour in which it is necessary to enter on a war, fight a battle, sow the field, get married, or any other business, all is done by their advice. These Nangatás are of a low caste corresponding to our drummers." In place of this LeG. has the following:—"Many other instances of their superstitions are related; but that which is universal is, that they have many Astrologers whom they call *Nagatas*, and that they undertake no business without consulting them. It is true that these *Nagatas*, who in origin are poor wretches and of the vilest condition among these people, do sometimes make predictions that astonish one, when one sees, contrary to all hope, what they predicted occur; so that it is difficult to believe that there is not some pact with the Devil, and in fact something supernatural about the affair." It is remarkable that in this passage B. (followed by LeG.) has a better reading ("*Nagatás*") than L.A. ("*Nangatás*"). Lee has the following note to this word:—"The Singalese word for an Astrologer is ගිටිසාස්ත්‍රිකාරයා (*Giotisastrikaria*), and of an Astronomer නක්සත්‍රිකාරයා (*Naksastrikaria*). The word in the text is unknown." This is a surprising statement. Of course "*nagata*" represents the Singhalese *nakat* or *nekata*.

*Chapter XVI.*—In speaking of the caste system Ribeiro tells us that "*cariás*" are fishermen, "*mainatos*" washermen, and "*pachás*" sandal-makers: this LeG. omits. Ribeiro says of the Singhalese:—"All these people are of the colour of a quince, some darker than others, the hair in the Nazarene fashion, the beard wide, in the ancient Portuguese style; of a pleasant countenance, and not differing from the people of Spain," &c. In place of the last words ("*da gente de Hespanha*") B. has "from our Portuguese" ("*dos nossos Portuguezes*"), while LeG. renders the passage as follows:—"All the men are swarthy, or rather of a colour approaching

to reddish-brown, some of a darker colour than others; they wear the hair long, the beard square." LeG. has also abbreviated a good deal in the latter part of this chapter, and in some places has been misled by false readings in B. He has also made an Addition to this chapter.

*Chapter XVII.*—Ribeiro commences this chapter with the words "As we are speaking of these animals," *i.e.*, of elephants, to which he had been referring in the previous chapter. LeG., however, breaks the connection between chapters XVI. and XVII. by inserting chapter XVIII. between them, so making chapter XIX., which treats of the animals of Ceylon, follow the one on elephants. Speaking of the famous elephant Ortelá, Ribeiro says that he brought the King of Kandy more than fifty thousand *patacas* yearly; LeG. has "plus de cinquante mils écus," which Lee has by a slip rendered "about 15,000 crowns." LeG. omits to record the fact mentioned by Ribeiro, that every year twenty or thirty elephants were sold to the Great Mogul. Ribeiro says that in eight days the wild elephants become tractable. LeG. shortens this period to three days. He has also abbreviated considerably throughout this chapter.

*Chapter XVIII.*—By the omission of some lines B. has led LeG. to make the statement that even the low-caste murderer of a high-caste person could not be put to death unless taken within sixty days: whereas Ribeiro makes the contrary assertion. In the account of the trial for adultery, also, B. has omitted the words "*de azeite*" ("of oil"), and so led LeG. to make one of the ordeals the thrusting of the arm into a caldron of boiling water. LeG. also omits the following statement of Ribeiro's:—"This ordeal is a barbarous one; but I heard one of our people, who was several times Maralleiro, say that he has seen many women come through these tortures without injury."

*Chapter XIX.*—Among the animals recorded by Ribeiro as being found in Ceylon are "*macareos*"; these are omitted by LeG. Ribeiro also says that the rivers yield large quantities of fish and "*camarões*" (prawns or shrimps);



LeG. translates the last word "*coquillage*" (shellfish), which Lee has rendered "shells"! Regarding smallpox, Ribeiro says:—"They call this disease *Deané charia*, which in our language means an affair with God." This appears in LeG. as:—"The people of the country call it *Ancharia*, an affair with God, because apparently one does not recover from it except by a miracle, and because one must think of putting his affairs in order when he is attacked by this disease." It will be noticed that for "*Deané charia*" LeG. has "*Ancharia*," which Lee has further altered into "*Ankaria*." The origin of Le Grand's blunder is found in B., which reads "*dean-charia*," the first two letters of which word LeG. evidently mistook for the Portuguese preposition *de*. "*Deané charia*" apparently represents the Sinhalese *Deviyanné káriya*. The Sinhalese name of the venereal disease is given in L.A. as "*Parángué rere*," while B. (followed by LeG.) reads "*Paranguelere*," the latter being a better reading, if, as I suppose, the Sinhalese *parangi-leda* is intended. Towards the end of this chapter the copyist of B. has omitted several lines.

*Chapter XX.*—Ribeiro states that "there are large numbers of bears in a portion of the island, but not throughout": this LeG. omits. Ribeiro's not very delicate story of the soldier and the mungoose has been considerably toned down by LeG. The statement in LeG. that "the Sinhalese call it [the cobra] *Naia* and *Naghaia*," is an interpolation of the Abbé's which he has fathered on Ribeiro. LeG. has also considerably abbreviated Ribeiro's details regarding the snakes of Ceylon.

*Chapter XXI.*—In this chapter also LeG. has omitted many little details given by Ribeiro: his mistranslation regarding the gathering of pepper has been noticed above by the editors of L.A. LeG. has appended to this chapter an Addition, containing information on precious stones by Barbosa, taken from Ramusio.

*Chapter XXII.*—In this chapter also LeG. has taken considerable liberties with his original. His blunder about

the pearl diver's privilege has been pointed out above by the editors of L.A.

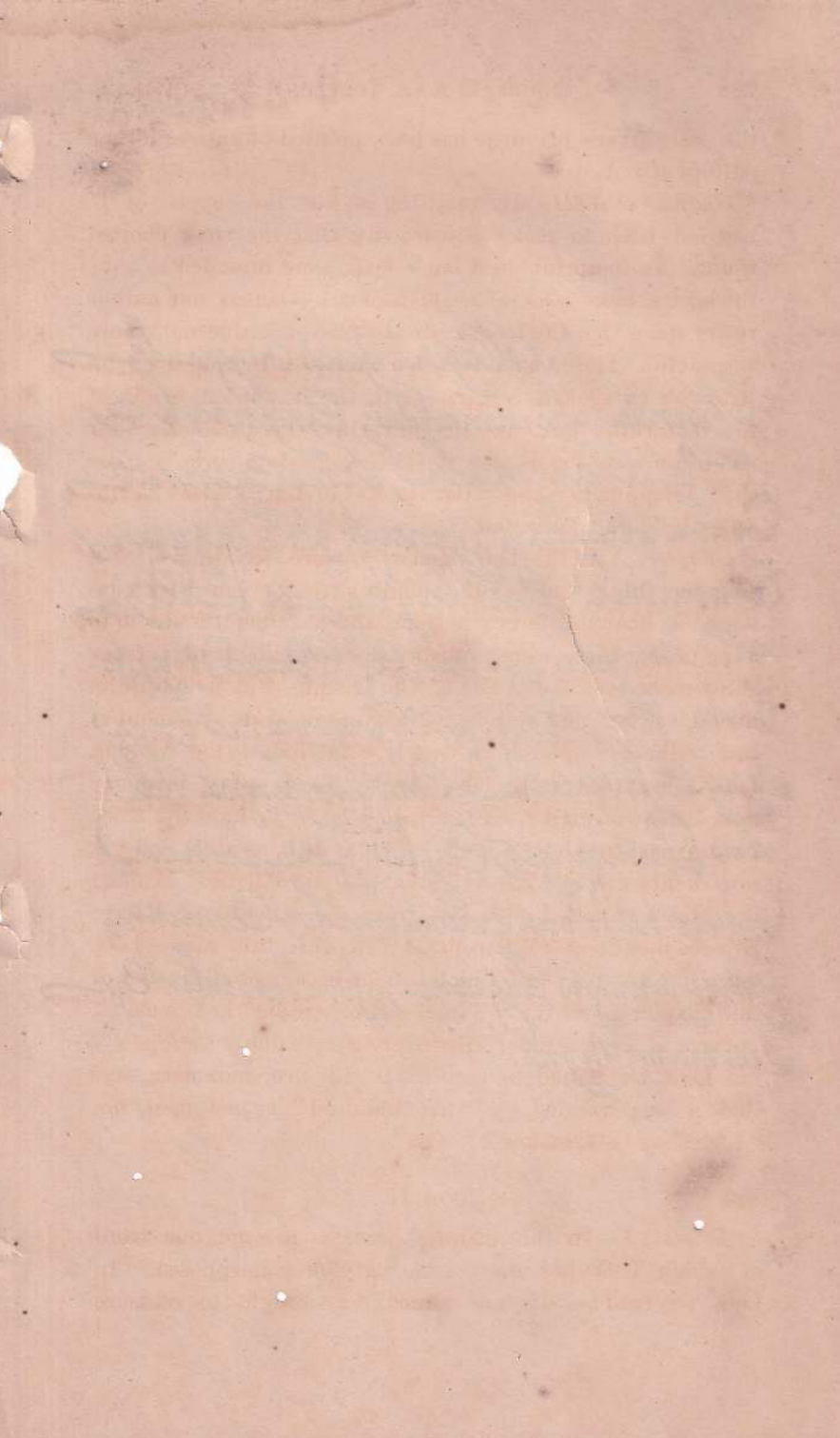
*Chapter XXIII.*—By omitting a line the copyist of B. has led LeG. to make Ribeiro say that the trees planted round the footprint on Adam's Peak were intended to give the spot a more venerable appearance; whereas our author really states that the trees made the place healthier and more agreeable. The Abbé has characteristically improved on Ribeiro's outspoken remarks as to the fraudulent origin of the footprint. L.A. has the misprint "Pasdim corla" for "Pasduncorla," as B. has it (LeG. "Pasdum corla"). For the "Trequimale" and "Batecalou" of L.A., B. has "Trinquimale" and "Baticalou."

*Chapter XXIV.*—LeG. makes Ribeiro say that it is a singular thing that Ceylon should have for centuries contained so many different nations, and he adds a footnote to explain that these were probably the descendants of persons shipwrecked on the coasts of the Island. But he has quite misunderstood our author, who makes no such statement as that fathered upon him, but is referring to the Veddás. LeG. also makes Ribeiro say:—"There was formerly near Balané a small Kingdom called *Saula*": here the Abbé has misread the *J* of "*Jaula*" (*Yála*) in B. as an *S*, and has mistakenly altered "*Balavé*" (*Walawé*) to "*Balané*." Among the places supplied with salt from the saltpans of *Balavé* Ribeiro mentions "*Villacem*" (*Wellassa*): this name LeG. omits. The "*pagoda*" which Ribeiro speaks of at the end of this chapter is not the "*Wirgel-coil* or temple" as Lee states, but that of *Kataragama*: Ribeiro gives the name ("*Catérgão*"), but LeG. has failed to record it. Ribeiro, moreover, says that it was guarded by "five hundred" armed men, not "1,500," as LeG. makes it.

## BOOK II.

*Chapter I.*—In this chapter occurs a passage, one word of which LeG. has most amusingly metamorphosed. In LeG. we read:—"It was immediately sought to reassure





O Capital Geral Com grande  
deligencia o foi demandar, e informado,  
d'ley de sua marda, semo esperar e  
retorn a Candia, o General p'os todas as terras  
emquistadas Evendo q' da parte do Rey  
nao compido a guerra, e q' estava muy so-  
berbo, e orgulhozo, p'nte a manear os vrios  
depois em marda Com quin'centos solda-  
dos Portuguezes, e agente q'da do n'osso  
terras todos bem amosicionados, e contentes,  
p'os o principio de guerra, o foi demandar em  
seu mesmo Reyno.



the subjects of the King of Portugal, somewhat alarmed by the irruption which the King of Candy had made; a garrison of five hundred Portuguese was placed at Maula, in order to arrest the incursions of the Cingalese, and to abate the pride of their King." Now I have no doubt that many readers of LeG. or of Lee's translation have wondered where "Maula" was situated, and have searched the maps in vain to find it. The fact is, however, that "Maula" is what Professor Skeat would call a "ghost word," and is an invention of the worthy Abbé, founded on a misreading of B. What Ribeiro wrote was that "The General quieted all the territories, and seeing that the war had broken out from the King's side, and that he was very proud and vain, and in order to tame his pride, put himself *on the march* with five hundred Portuguese soldiers, and the black people of our territories, all well armed," &c. I give on the opposite page a facsimile of the passage in B., from which it will be seen that the word "*marcha*" is so written as to be easily mistaken for "Maula" by one unacquainted with the copyist's mode of forming his letters; but this excuse can hardly be pleaded in the case of the Abbé; in fact, the same word occurs a few lines above, where the letters are more clearly formed. It was this curious error that confirmed my suspicion that B. was the identical MS. used by LeG. for his translation. Ribeiro gives as the reason for the King of Kandy's Atapattu Mudaliyâr's marching on Jaffna, the fact that the garrison of that fort was small, and that Felipe de Oliveira, who had brought that kingdom under submission to the Portuguese rule, was dead. This is not recorded in LeG., the copyist of B. having omitted a couple of lines. The name of the captain of the relieving expedition sent to Jaffna is given by LeG. as "Jean de Pina," but L.A. and B. both read "Foão," not "João." Ribeiro tells us that the Portuguese general went from Manicavaré to Malvana, "where that King [of Kandy] solicited peace, with all the earnestness and the conditions that we required. The general was not very unwilling to accede, both on account of those conditions and because the

soldiers during those two years had become worn out by the continual marches and toils," &c., and goes on to say :—" however, at this time an order reached him from the Viceroy, the Conde de Linhares, in which he expressly commanded him that he should once for all conquer that Kingdom, accusing him of remissness." LeG. has misunderstood the first part of this passage strangely, for he renders it :—" . . . from there he went to Malvana, where the King solicited him earnestly for some time to endeavour to reduce the rest of the country. The General recognised the importance and the difficulties of this enterprise," &c. Apparently the Abbé thought the "King" referred to was the Portuguese "King of Malvana." Lee seems not to have been able to understand what was meant by "the King," for he leaves him out entirely, and translates :—" . . . he went to Malwana, where he received pressing orders," &c. LeG. makes Ribeiro say that the Viceroy was ignorant of previous communications on the subject of the capture of Ceylon : this is absurd, and is not borne out by the original. Ribeiro gives the year 1630 as that when Constantino de Sá became for the second time Captain-General of Ceylon, and prepared to enter on the campaign which cost him his life : this LeG. omits. According to L.A. the four traitor Mudaliyárs were "allied to the chief Portuguese inhabitants," but according to B. "with persons of authority." LeG. has made an Addition to this chapter, in which some details are given regarding the traitors.

*Chapter II.*—Ribeiro says :—"The soldiers that he [the General] had did not amount to four hundred ; wherefore he chose some citizens of Columbo capable of accompanying him, and with the one and the other body he made up five hundred men, and some twenty thousand lascarins." LeG. renders this :—"He drew as many as four hundred Portuguese from the garrisons, and enrolled some thousand or eleven hundred in Colombo ; so that he collected nearly fifteen hundred Portuguese and twenty thousand Lascarins." As before, the Abbé has misunderstood "*quinhentos*" to mean



“fifteen hundred” instead of “five hundred.” Ribeiro says that D. Jorge de Almeida landed at Colombo “at the end of October, 1631”; LeG. says “on the 21st of October of the year 1631.”

*Chapter III.*—Ribeiro says that the Portuguese whom the Captain-General had deprived of the elephant given him by the King of Kandy received from the latter “precious stones” of double the value. LeG. simply says “presents.”

*Chapter IV.*—As an example of the carelessness of the copyist of B., and of the way in which he has altered words arbitrarily, I may mention the following. L.A. reads:—“Com esta resposta se poz logo o General em marcha com toda a gente de guerra das nossos terras”; but B. has:—“Com esta Reposta sepos logo o Rey em marcha, ou general em marcha com toda agente da Terra de nossos dominios.”

*Chapter V.*—The words with which this chapter concludes in LeG., viz., “and thus was kindled in the Island of Ceylon a war that cost Portugal dearly,” are not found in Ribeiro.

*Chapter VI.*—According to Le Grand, Ribeiro makes the statement that “there is no port on that side,” i.e., on the east coast of Ceylon; and Lee appends to this a note, saying:—“. . . it is unnecessary to point out the inaccuracy of this remark to those who know that there is perhaps not a finer harbour in the world, certainly not in the Eastern seas, than that of Trincomalee.” But Ribeiro does not make any such assertion: he simply says that the position of Batticaloa and Trincomalee rendered them of little use to the Portuguese, who spent more on those places than they got from them. According to L.A. it was “after seven days” that the garrison of Trincomalee capitulated to the Dutch; B. has “in a few days.”

*Chapter VII.*—Ribeiro describes Caimel as being situated “a league to the north of Negumbo”; LeG. says “a league from Negumbo”; while Lee makes it “a league below Negombo.” According to L.A. the Portuguese, after fortifying

Negombo, placed in it "three" pieces of artillery; B., followed by LeG., makes it "ten" ("des" for "tres"). Regarding Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, Ribeiro says:—" . . . of the many nobles I knew during nineteen years in that dominion [India], he surpassed all in his character and virtues." LeG. has blundered over this, and made Ribeiro say that he was acquainted with this noble "during eighteen years." (B. has "em 18 annos alias 19.") Ribeiro says that Antonio da Mota Galvão was sent to Sabaragamuwa to bring it under the rule of the Portuguese; LeG. says that he was sent *from* that district for that purpose!

*Chapter IX.*—Ribeiro says that Fernão de Mendoça, when escaping from the Kandyan King's dominions, reached Matara through the "Grevaias," which, as usual, Lee has rendered "gravets."

*Chapter X.*—Ribeiro says that Antonio da Mota Galvão sent an escort to meet the prince of Uva at "Opanaique" (Opanayaka). The copyist of B., mistaking the first letter of this name for the Portuguese definite article, makes it "o Panaique," which LeG. copies. Strangely enough, L.A. is still worse, for it reads "o panaique."

*Chapter XI.*—LeG. says that the Prince of Uva was accompanied to Goa by two nobles and "two" servants. Ribeiro does not specify the number of the latter. The account of the Prince's baptism is also a good deal abbreviated by LeG.

*Chapter XII.*—The copyist of B. has omitted a couple of lines near the beginning of this chapter, and LeG., not being able to make sense of what remained, has abbreviated considerably. For the "Cadangão" of L.A., B. has "Candegam" (in LeG. "Condegan"), which is nearer the correct form of the name, viz., Kendangomuwa. LeG. has again altered "Balave" to "Balané," and Lee has once more rendered "Gravayas" by "Gravets." For the "Acomivina" (Akmímana) of L.A., B. has "Acomevina," which in LeG. is altered to "Acomerina." LeG. omits the statement of Ribeiro that the Dutch commissary who arrived in Colombo in February, 1643, to inform the Portuguese of



the ten years' treaty of peace, was Pieter Burel, and that he came with four ships.

*Chapter XIII.*—Ribeiro says that the battle of "Curaça" lasted from 9 in the morning to 3 in the afternoon; LeG. makes it commence at 8 A.M. LeG. makes the name of the Dutch commander "Vanderhat"; L.A. has "Uvanderlat," and B. "Vvanderlat." (Of course Van der Laan is meant.) Ribeiro adds that he was "the best soldier they had in the Island." The wounded on the Portuguese side were 67, and not 60, as LeG. has it. Ribeiro does not state, as LeG. makes him say, that the Captain-General raised the ranks and the pay of those wounded in this conflict: he simply says that he slipped under the bolster of each a paper containing 12, 15, or 20 San-Thomés, according to their rank. LeG. is also inaccurate in other details. For "Acomivina" or "Acomevina" LeG. has "Comeriau," which Lee has altered to "Comerian." (This curious mistake is due partly to a misprint and partly to Le Grand's misreading of B., the copyist of which has written "a Comevina.") LeG., following B., has the misspellings "Mapoligana" and "Bolitote," for "Mapolegama" and "Belitote." To the latter name Lee has a note, "? Bentotte." This is absurd: Welitota is the place referred to. "Mapolegama" is of course Mápalamaga. There seems to be no doubt that by "Curaça" Ribeiro meant Mirissa, but how the name assumed such a guise I cannot imagine, unless it was in some way confused with Akuressa.

*Chapter XIV.*—Through a stupid blunder of the copyist of B., LeG. makes Ribeiro say that Pedro de Sousa left Colombo for Negombo at 8 in the morning, whereas he simply says that eight companies marched from Colombo to assist the other Portuguese troops. Ribeiro also says that they marched with great difficulty, as the route consisted of five leagues of deep sand, which caused them to go backwards as much as forwards. "Poçinho," which Ribeiro states was midway between Colombo and Negombo, means "the little well." LeG. says that on the news of the defeat of the

Portuguese army reaching Colombo, the wife of Antonio da Mota Galvão "increased the alarm and horror by her cries." This is utterly unjustified by the original; and in other details the Abbé is equally incorrect. LeG. says that the successor of Antonio da Mota Galvão in command of the troops was "Jean Alvarés Brandan"; B. has "João Alvres Brandão"; but L.A. reads "João Alvres Beltrão." LeG. says that the Captain-General of Colombo placed troops "in the castle of Betal." Here he has been misled by B., which reads "*paço*" (castle) for "*passo*" (pass). The place referred to is Pass Betal (Wattala).

*Chapter XV.*—LeG., following B., says that it was on the 17th of January, 1640, that the Dutch retired from Colombo to Negombo; whereas L.A. has the 27th. The "*Paço dos Lagartos*" of B. and LeG. should be "*Passo dos Lagartos*" (the Pass of the Lizards). As a specimen of the manner in which LeG. has curtailed and mistranslated the original, the following passage may be quoted. Ribeiro says:—"On the 25th we gave them [the enemy] an invitation with nine hundred and fifty balls and one hundred and twenty fire-bombs, which had more the appearance of the latter than that they were such in reality; for the zeal of the Captain-General led him to order the casting of a mortar, and in place of bombs he ordered a good number of cocoanuts to be filled with powder, which, when well covered with tow, pitch, and other ingredients, seemed to be what they were not; so that, while the enemy made fun of these bombs, they were all the same much annoyed by them; for the Church and the houses of the old fortress did not hold two hundred, and four hundred found accommodation in thatched huts, and they went about continually with buckets in their hands to protect themselves from those fireballs; but the greatest effect was almost nothing." This LeG. renders thus:—"On the 25th there came to us a convoy of 950 bullets and 150 bombs; the Captain-General caused mortars to be erected, from which cocoanuts supplied with pitch, tow, and resin were thrown, all thinking that they would greatly inconvenience the besieged, because, as



there were not houses to lodge all the garrison, the greater part of the soldiers were in wretched huts easy to burn. But all this had no great effect." LeG. has also considerably abbreviated the speech of the German officer, and his version of it is very incorrect. LeG., following B., says that the assault on Negombo lasted from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M.; L.A. says from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M. For the "Val dos Reis" of L.A., B. and LeG. have "Valdereis." The "Verganpetim" of L.A. is in B. "Vargempetim," and in LeG. "Vaigampetim." Lee has rendered it "Waygampittia," which is incorrect; the place referred to is Weligampitiya, between Colombo and Negombo.

*Chapter XVI.*—For the "Bebiliagama" of L.A., B. and LeG. have "Bitiagama."

*Chapter XVII.*—For "Lahoa" (Alawwa) Le Grand has "Lagoa," he having misread B., where the *h* is written very like a *g*. Ribeiro says:—"At Calituré a Captain of infantry was in charge with his company; and likewise another in a stockade made of wood at Canasturé, where we had a magazine, in which were stored the provisions and ammunition that came by the river for the supply of the camp at Manicavaré." This LeG. renders:—"A Company of Infantry with a Captain was stationed at Calituré, and at the mouth of the river of Calituré some magazines were made for the camp of Manicavaré, and there likewise a Company of Infantry was stationed." Here the Abbé has gone out of his way to blunder: the "river" referred to by Ribeiro is the Kelani, and "Canasturé" is Kanadura on the Gurugoda-oya. He has also deliberately altered the "eighty" soldiers of which each of the three companies in Colombo was composed to "eight hundred." With this chapter commences the omission by the copyist of B. of long passages, often of great importance, of the original, with the occasional insertion of words to fill up the lacunæ. It is no wonder, therefore, that Le Grand sometimes found it difficult to follow the narrative, and inserted statements not made by Ribeiro. For instance, in this chapter LeG. makes Ribeiro say of Lopo Barriga

that he was "an active and vigilant man, but one not to the taste of everybody, and regarded more as the spy and minister to the passions of the General than as a camp Marshal." "Aranduré" (Arandara) is in B. written "Anduré," and LeG. has still further altered this to "Anduné."

*Chapter XVIII.*—The greater part (about six-sevenths) of this chapter is omitted by B.

*Chapter XIX.*—About three-fourths of this chapter is omitted by B., including the explanation of the word "Garaveto" (gravel) as "a gate for the entrance of a stockade."

*Chapter XX.*—About half of this chapter is omitted by B. LeG. has joined this chapter to chapter XIX. Ribeiro says that the Dutch placed in the Rayigam Kóralé "four hundred lascarins." LeG. has 4,000, having been misled by B., which reads "quatro sentos mil lascarins."

*Chapter XXI.*—B. has omitted about a fourth of this short chapter, one omission being Ribeiro's statement that General Hulft's squadron "consisted of eighteen ships and two *patachos*, in which were six thousand men of war."

*Chapter XXII.*—B. omits about half of this chapter. Chapters XXI. and XXII. form chapter XX. in LeG.

*Chapter XXIII.*—No less than seven-eighths of this chapter is omitted by B. For "Nossa Senhora da Vida" LeG. has "*nuestra Señora d'ajuda*," thus substituting Spanish for Portuguese, and converting "Our Lady of Life" into "Our Lady of Help." A good example of the utter nonsense that the writer of B. has made of Ribeiro by his omissions is found in this chapter, where LeG., following B., states that Antonio de Mello de Castro, with one hundred men, killed more than three thousand of the enemy; whereas in fact, Ribeiro says that in the assault on the battery of Santa Cruz the Dutch lost more than two thousand ("mais de dous mil"; but B., "paçante de trez mil").

*Chapter XXIV.*—More than three-fourths of this chapter is omitted by B., and in LeG. it is condensed into some dozen lines. The "countermine" ("contramina") of L.A. is converted in B. into a "curtain" ("cortina").



*Chapter XXV.*—More than five-sevenths of this chapter is omitted by B. In this and the two preceding chapters Ribeiro gives most interesting details of the siege of Colombo, and draws a terrible picture of the sufferings endured by the Portuguese from want of food and pestilence. Beside dogs, fifteen elephants were eaten, only the famous Ortelá being spared. LeG. has combined this and the two preceding chapters as chapter XXI. of his translation.

*Chapter XXVI.* (chapter XXII. in LeG.).—B. omits three-fourths of this chapter, including the statement that the Portuguese prisoners were sent to Negapatam. LeG. gives May 10, 1656, as the date of the evacuation of Colombo by the Portuguese; Ribeiro says that it was May 12.

*Chapter XXVII.* (chapter XXIII. in LeG.).—More than half of this chapter is omitted by B. In the list of persons who were present at the siege of Jaffna, LeG., following B., inserts after the name of João Botado de Seixas that of "Lançarote de Sexas," and makes Mathias Catanho (printed "Catarho") the "Védor da Fazenda," or Controller, instead of Leonardo de Oliveira.

### BOOK III.

*Chapter I.*—B. omits more than a half of this chapter, and LeG. passes it by entirely, except the heading, which he has attached to chapter VIII.

*Chapter II.*—More than half of this chapter also is omitted by B., and the whole of it by LeG. It deals, like the first chapter, with the errors committed by the Portuguese in their conquest of India.

*Chapter III.*—B. omits more than three-fifths of this chapter, which LeG. has entirely left out. It treats of the whole of the Portuguese empire in India, and describes the various fortresses.

*Chapter IV.*—The subject of the preceding chapter is continued in this. B. omits almost the whole of this chapter, and the parts that remain are so utterly disconnected that it is no wonder that LeG. passes over it also.

*Chapter V.*—In this chapter Ribeiro shows that it was necessary for the Portuguese to maintain only Malacca, Ormuz, and Goa. B. omits more than three-fifths of the chapter, and LeG. omits the whole of it.

*Chapter VI.*—This continues the subject of the preceding chapter. About three-fourths is omitted by B., and the whole by LeG.

*Chapter VII.*—In this chapter Ribeiro argues that the Portuguese should have abandoned the whole of their possessions in India and occupied Ceylon exclusively. B. omits three-fourths of the chapter and LeG. the whole.

*Chapter VIII.*—The heading of this chapter is, "How the produce of the lands of the Island should have been gathered," but, as I have said, LeG. has substituted the heading of chapter I., and has made this a part of the first chapter of Book III. in his translation. B., from which he translates, has omitted about five-sevenths of the chapter. Ribeiro says that the king of Kandy might have exported yearly not one hundred shiploads of cinnamon, but two or three thousand; LeG. says "one or two thousand."

*Chapter IX.*—The subject of this chapter, according to the heading, is "The chief errors of modern times." B. omits half of the chapter, and LeG. joins his translation of the remaining half to the preceding chapter. In describing the sufferings which he endured in the service of his king in Ceylon, Ribeiro says that for eighteen years he had "marching by night and by day, going barefoot, and covered with forest leeches, always living in the jungle." Le Grand's version is that he "passed eighteen years in the woods of Ceylon, going almost naked, and torn by the thorns." The reason why he does not mention the leeches is, that B., in place of "cuberto de sanguesugos do mato," reads "cuberto de sangue cheigas do máto," which is nonsense.

*Chapter X.*—The heading put to this chapter by LeG. (who makes it chapter II. in his translation) is not found in Ribeiro, who simply states that it brings the work to a conclusion. Three-fifths of the chapter is omitted by B.



I have thus endeavoured to show briefly how badly Ribeiro has been treated by a careless and dishonest copyist and a not very faithful translator. A rough calculation shows that B. has omitted a good deal more than one-fourth of the original; and the editors of L.A. are therefore quite justified in saying that “we have not yet, at least, a translation of the work of João Ribeiro.” Several years ago I began a translation into English of the Lisbon Academy’s edition, but from want of leisure did not proceed very far; and it is as well that this was the case, for it seems that a somewhat fuller and more grammatical text of Ribeiro’s work than that published by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences is in existence. Shortly before I returned to Ceylon from England in 1887, I wrote to the Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, to ask him if he could put me in the way of obtaining any information regarding Ribeiro and his work, and I received a short letter in reply, accompanied by a pamphlet, the title of which (translated) is as follows:—“Short Comparison of a Printed Work issued by the Royal Academy of Sciences, with a Manuscript of his Excellency the Visconde da Esperança on the History of the Island of Ceylon, by A. F. Barata.” This pamphlet was published in Evora in 1886, and the following is a translation of it:—

## I.

“In the valuable library of the Visconde da Esperança there is an important manuscript entitled *Historia da Ilha de Ceilão expendida e dedicada á Magestade do Senhor Rey Dom Pedro segundo, nosso Senhor, pello capitão João Ribeiro. Fielmente copiada do seu original por hum curioso. Lisboa Anno de 1732.* It is a folio of 327 leaves.

“This copy was made by a careful and conscientious individual, who has written in an ante-prologue:—‘In the choice library of José Freire Monterroy Mascarenhas there was a quarto book written and signed by João Ribeiro, which may be looked upon as the original of this author; and as such it was considered by its owner. On account of its rarity I have transcribed this copy, and in my opinion it is of equal trustworthiness, and in order that it may be so held by bibliophiles I have attached to it this statement.’

"This work was published in vol. V. of the *Noticias para a historia e geographia das nações ultramarinas*, with a different title: *Fatalidade historica da ilha de Ceilão*, &c.

"The author is referred to in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, and more biographically in the notice that precedes the publication of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

"There is, however, much to be noticed regarding the two copies, the printed and the manuscript.

"The printed version was given to the Academy by the Cardinal Patriarch Fr. Francisco de S. Luiz, and this Society ordered it to be printed, believing it to be the very one that the author presented to D. Pedro II., notwithstanding its being written by another hand, although signed by João Ribeiro.

"From the note of the copyist of the manuscript, we gather that the original of Montarrio Mascarenhas was *written and signed* by the author, a circumstance which the more gains for it the credit that it deserves from us.

"From a comparison of the two copies, printed and manuscript, it is evident that the latter is a later work, made after the printed edition; that is, that the printed edition is a copy of the rough sketch, of the first work of the pen of the Portuguese soldier in those distant regions, written without nicety of diction, without that classicism of phrase and completeness possessed by the manuscript copy, in which can be seen the work of the study, of rest and quiet, in the better rounding off of the periods, in the pruning away of exuberances, in the expansion of deficiencies, in the infusion into the whole work of the fifteenth century flavour, which is lacking in the printed edition.

"The first part of the three into which the work is divided contains the same number of chapters, 24.

"So many and so important are the alterations in the form, that to prove this it would be necessary to reproduce faithfully these chapters, both of the printed edition and of the manuscript, a plan which, beside being lengthy, would be tedious.

"All,—the dedication, the prologue, and the chapters,—though essentially the same, has been recast. Let us look at the first chapter. The printed edition says:—'The precious island of Ceilão extends from about the sixth to the tenth degree of north latitude, that is, from Galle Point to Rocky Point [da ponta de Galle á ponta das Pedras], and is seventy-two leagues in length and forty-seven in breadth, which is the distance from Chilao to Trequimalé.'

"The manuscript referred to says:—'The precious island of Ceilão is situated in the north latitude, from 6 degrees to about 10, which [reach] from the Point of Galle to that of the



Rocks [que' da ponta da Galle thé a das pedras]: it is 82 leagues in length and 4 in breadth, which is the distance from Chilao to Trequimale: and its circumference is 190 leagues.'

"The 2nd chapter in the printed edition begins:—'It is said that this Island had seven Kingdoms; this does not surprise me, for even at the present day, on the coast of India, these people out of a limited province form a Kingdom, as we have seen on the coast of Cannará and Malavar . . . .'

"The manuscript reads:—'It is said that this island had seven K<sup>é</sup>oms: this does not surprise me, for on the coast of India, even at the present day, these people form a kingdom out of a limited province, as we have seen on the coast of Cannará and Malavar.'

"Here the superiority of form, the elegance of diction, are to be noted.

"In chapter VIII. is printed:—'As D. João had the Queen in his hands, he executed on her the purpose which he had secretly determined on; and which was, that then in public in the sight of all, he should deflower her, by which act he would obtain the end of his hopes in making himself King.'

"In the manuscript:—'As D. João had succeeded in getting possession of D. Catharina, he executed the purpose that he had only secretly determined on, which was to have connexion with her publicly, the only means of obtaining marriage with her and being King of her Dominions.'

"One is struck with the superiority and delicacy of phrase in the allusion to the act, from which there can remain no doubt that the manuscript under notice was amended by the author himself from the first one, which the Academy took in hand to print.

"It is well to notice the divergence of the headings of chapter XIX. Whilst that of the printed edition says that there was in the island 'a great abundance of provisions, cattle, and diseases,' that of the manuscript asserts that it had 'abundance of provisions, cattle, and few diseases,' an assertion which a perusal of the chapter, both in the printed edition and in the manuscript, fully demonstrates.

"As far as the 24th chapter of Book I. noteworthy differences are to be found, and this also contains some. The printed edition runs:—'It is not amiss to note, that this Island being, as neither with the size of Bornéo, or S. Lourenço, which in fine by the capacity of these, and extent of land, might have a similar monstrosity; but it is to be noticed, as we have shown, that the circumference of Ceilão is a little

<sup>1</sup> According to the usage of the writers of the period, there is the ellipse of a verb, perhaps *vão* (reach).—*Note of Sr. Barata.*

more or less in land than this our Kingdom, which has had for many ages back a people, that their trade and mode of living would appear a fabulous narrative; however, all who go to the Island have knowledge of it.' This is not very lucid, and has no grammatical smoothness. The manuscript corrects in this manner:—'It is not amiss to express surprise that this island of Ceilão not being in size like that of Burnéo, or S. Lourenço, has had for many ages back a people preserving their rites and ceremonies, the narration of which would appear fabulous to all prudent reasoning; however, none of those who should chance to live in this Island would be able to doubt the truth of this statement which I make for the satisfaction of the inquisitive mind.'

"The correction is manifest, and, as its noble possessor says, 'the printed edition is taken from the first handiwork of the author, and the manuscript from the second, already corrected by him.'

"Not only the text, as is seen, has been altered, but even the headings of the chapters; it is like a new work on the same design, from the chief title of the book to the accessory minutiae.

"This comparison seems to me sufficient for the appreciation of the first book; I shall continue the same method in the subsequent ones.

## II.

"To show exactly how much the two editions differ, I shall continue to give parallels of the commencements of chapters only, as the complete transcription of these would be, as I have already stated, a reproduction of the two editions.

"The second book commences with these words:—'We have shown briefly, and in the mode in which it was possible to us, what Ceilão is and what it produces, rites, laws, and customs of that people, and everything else that we saw, experienced, and considered in eighteen years of residence.'

"The manuscript:—'We have shown in the mode in which it was possible the situation, fertility, and riches of the island of Ceilão; laws, rites, and ceremonies of its inhabitants; and everything else that we observed in the course of eighteen years that we resided there.'

"The printed chapter ends:—'. . . . that in fine all are blacks our enemies.'

"And the manuscript:—'. . . . who are always black and our enemies by nature, and only friends by necessity.'

"The printed second chapter commences:—'With the previous occurrences that we have stated, and the elder



Prince of Candia, by name Rajá Cinga, making an incursion into our territories, in order to incite the Captain-General, as had been agreed with the Modeliares . . . .

"This is a sort of abstruse jumble, in which grammar is wanting. Let us see what the manuscript says:—'With the previous occurrences which we have considered, the elder Prince of Candia, called Rajatinga, [*sic*] made an incursion into our territories to incite our Captain-General, as he had agreed with the Modiliares . . . .'

"With the same ideas, the conclusion of the chapter differs in form.

"The third printed chapter begins:—'The King of Candia Henar Pandar died, being the widower of D. Catherina.'

"In the manuscript:—'Hanar Pandar, King of Candia, being already the widower of the Queen D. Catharina, died.'

"Thus the literary and academic work proceeds with the grammatical and linguistic correction.

"The ninth chapter opens in this manner:—'Before we continue the narrative it is necessary for us for a better understanding that we turn back . . . .'

"'To turn back' is so vulgar that the author corrects in the manuscript:—'Before we prosecute this history, for its better understanding it is necessary to retrocede . . . .'

"And the commencement of the eleventh chapter says:—'After the Prince had been in the city ten days . . . .'

"And the manuscript:—'After the prince had resided in this city ten days . . . .'

"And further, in the thirteenth printed:—'After we had the territories of Sofregão all submissive . . . .'

"Correction of the apograph:—'After we had subjected to our authority all the territories of Sofregam . . . .'

"And without going through all the chapters of the twenty-seven which the second book contains, I shall show the manner in which the last one commences:—'The Hollanders seeing that after we had lost the city of Columbo, we brought a large force, and with it reinforced the Island of Manar, and the Kingdom of Jafanapatão, where had assembled a fleet of galleys, which had been sent to the help of Columbo by Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who was Governor of the Dominion, through the death of the Conde de Sarzedas, Vice-Roy thereof, the Captain-Major of which was Francisco de Seixas Cabreira; and also another of twelve *sanguicels*, which the same Governor sent to Manar, and the Captain-Major of this was Manoel de Mello de Sampaio: as well as a hundred and ten soldiers and captains, whom the Hollanders had sent to Negapatão, having surrendered in Columbo, and who went as prisoners in the ships.'

"What did the Hollanders do on seeing all this? The text does not say.

"Let us look at the correction of the copy of the Visconde da Esperança.

"The Hollanders seeing, after they had taken from us the city of Columbo, that we brought a large force to the island of Mannar, and Kingdom of Janapatão, [*sic*] where had assembled the fleet of galleys which the Governor of India had sent by the Captain-Major Francisco de Sexas Cabreira ; and the other of 7 *caturres*, of which Manoel de Mello Sampaio was Captain-Major ; and knowing that the same Governor of India, after having been informed of the loss of Columbo, had nominated as Captain-General of the island of Ceilão Antonio d'Amaral Menezes, who actually occupied the post of Governor of that Kingdom, who informed him of the despatch of reinforcements, who might do to them what they had just done, which would not be difficult for the Portuguese whilst they continued in Janapatão, [*sic*] determined, in order to guard against the mischief that they feared, to drive us out of the island of Mannar also.'

"Here we have the verb that is wanting in the copy printed by the Academy,—'determined.'

"It is manifest, therefore, that the manuscript copy is the corrected one, which the Academy ought to have printed if it had known of its existence, and not the rough draft of the soldier, the skeleton naked of form, of literary clothing, as its scientific dignity demanded.

"Neither the edition of Montarrio Mascarenhas nor this copy of the Visconde da Esperança was known of, and in this respect the Society is free from blame. Where, however, it is not, is, in my opinion, in having ordered to be printed a work that ought to have been corrected, at least of serious faults of grammar, if not of imperfections of forms of proper names, which very possibly are not consistent in the apograph.

"It is very likely that this labour would have been disagreeable and difficult, the more so as it would have been necessary to look at the readings of Barros, Couto, Castanheda, and Gaspar Corrêa ; but an Academy was bound to do so, before it printed such a work simply because it was offered to it by its member Fr. Francisco de S. Luiz, who certainly had not seen the defects and errors in it.

"They might have said that it was not their province to alter the rough original, as that would be a kind of profanation. To correct rude errors is a meritorious work, and in literary matters a good service, which has been done in so many cases in literary works to the improvement of all. Soropita did this to the lyrics of Camões, 'meddling with that which was clearly an error of the pen,' and he did quite right.

"It now remains to compare the third and last book of the work, where the alterations, the excisions, and additions are more noteworthy.



"This slight essay leaves room for a serious study on the island of Ceylon, and the verification of doctrines, proper names, dates, of everything contained in this *Historia da Ilha de Ceilão*. I have neither the time nor the knowledge to do this ; and so I shall simply continue the work I have begun.

## III.

"I proceed with the comparison of the two copies, beginning with the first chapter of the third part.

"The printed edition says :—'In the first book we have shown what Ceilão is, in the second the progress of that war, and for the end which we have in view, all is necessary, and before we proceed to show it with evidence, we have of necessity to make some observations, and if in these we err, many of other judgment, talent, and study fall into this infirmity.'

"In the manuscript we read :—'I showed in the first book the situation of the Island of Ceilão, what was remarkable in it, how we governed it, and the right which we have to hold it ; in the second I referred to the wars which we had there with the natives and Hollanders, until we were, through the lack of reinforcements, expelled therefrom : in this I shall show the inadvertence with which care was not taken for its retention, the damage caused to us by this inconsideration, which still exists.'

"The author continues his work of perfecting and recasting the first essay.

"The second chapter commences :—'Let us pass to the third point : for the preservation of these fortresses (we speak of those of less account and utility), these had to be provided, like the rest, with captains, men who had served in that province.'

"The manuscript says :—'The third reason was the bad choice that was made of commanders for those fortified places, especially those of less utility. These ought to have been provided with captains, who might be men created in the war of the same province ; not only in order to incite the rest, that by their exertions they might be worthy of those posts, but because experience taught them what was necessary for their preservation and defence.'

"Thus it continues with sufficient clearness, in regular periods, with subject, verb, and attribute, a matter in which there is a want of sequence on the part of the correlative printed edition.

"This assertion is being fully proved ; meanwhile, I shall continue the comparison.

"The printed third chapter begins thus:—'As I have become confused, and got into a labyrinth [*labyrinth*] of so many fortified places, it appeared to me right, although it might be with much trouble, to give a look at all in order to know what they were, and what we derived from each, and what they produced ; taking as companion on this long journey a poor speech, such as God has given me . . . .'

"And the manuscript says :—'As I have become greatly confused, having got into a labyrinth [*labyrinth*] of fortified places, it appeared to me right to refer (although with some trouble to myself) succinctly to all, what each contains, and the utility that resulted to us from their conservation, without which my discourse cannot well be understood. For traversing them all I have not desired any other companion than my rude speech, nor greater preparation than my free intellect : and with such limited provision as this I enter on the road of such a lengthy journey.'

"Thus commences the third chapter, which includes the fourth printed one, the manuscript therefore commencing with the words of the fifth printed one :—'The principal object of this our supposed journey . . . .'

"The manuscript :—'The principal ground of this our supposed peregrination . . . .'

"The printed sixth chapter opens :—'Malaca, an emporium, and a strong place by art and nature.'

"The manuscript :—'Malaca, a place equally strong by art and by nature . . . .'

"The seventh printed says :—'All that we have related being taken for granted, some excuse may well be admitted for those who peopled . . . .' &c.

"The sixth manuscript :—'All the right of excuse that the first peoplers may have had . . . .'

"The eighth printed and the seventh manuscript chapters compare as follows in their commencement :—'We have shown what are the territories of the Kingdoms of Candia, Uva, . . . .' &c. 'In the first book I showed what are the territories of the Kingdom of Candia, . . . .' &c.

"The ninth and the eighth thus :—'All things have a beginning, a growth, and a decline.' 'All things have their beginning, growth, and decline.'

"The alterations are most noteworthy at the end of the work, especially as the printed tenth chapter is once more recapitulated in the eighth and last of the manuscript, which ends with these words :—'. . . . and by this means we might have continued the government and rule of such a valuable island.'

"These words, *mutatis mutandis*, are, in the tenth chapter as printed, joined on to the last paragraph, which terminates with a list of the Governors of Ceylon as far as the sixteenth,



information which the manuscript gives separately, as I am about to show :—

1. Pedro Lopes de Sousa ;
2. D. Hieronymo d'Azevedo ;
3. D. Francisco de Menezes ;
4. D. Manoel Homem de Magalhães ;
5. D. Nuno Alvares Pereira ;
6. Constantino de Sá Noronha ;
7. Jorge de Albuquerque ;
8. Constantino de Sá Noronha, a second time ;
9. D. Jorge de Almeida ;
10. Diogo de Mello ;
11. D. Antonio Mascarenhas ;
12. Manoel Mascarenhas Homem ;
13. Francisco de Mello e Castro ;
14. D. Filippe de Mascarenhas ;
15. Francisco de Mello e Castro, a second time ;
16. Antonio d'Amaral Menezes occupied this post in Janapatão [*sic*] until we also left that place.

"This statement or list of names has in the printed original : at the 4th, Mascarenhas, and not Magalhães ; at the 12th, D. Filippe Mascarenhas ; at the 13th, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem ; at the 14th, Francisco de Mello e Castro ; and finally, at the 15th, *Antonio de Sousa Coutinho*, a name that was suppressed in the manuscript.

"To verify the correctness of these names would have been a good work, and I should have done it had I had the opportunity, and had there been in Evora the other elements necessary for the study.

"The suppression of the name of Antonio de Sousa Coutinho is based, perhaps, on what is stated in the *Descrição geral e historica das moedas*, &c., of Sr. Teixeira de Aragão, vol. 3, which on page 239 gives him as captain either of Colombo or of Ceylon for 1657; whence we may conclude that it was of Colombo, properly speaking, the capital of the island, the Governor of the whole of it being Francisco de Mello e Castro, who with him and Manoel de Mascarenhas Homem formed the gubernatorial triumvirate of India from May 22, 1656, to September 7, 1657.

"As an addition of the copyist of 1732, the manuscript ends with a *List of the Governors of India* up to 1754, a date posterior to that of the autograph copy of Montarroi; consequently a further proof of the copyist's statement.

"This *List* enumerates 91 Governors and Viceroyes down to the Conde d'Alva, D. Luiz de Mascarenhas, even giving some who died on the voyage, such as Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, João Pereira Forjás, Affonso de Noronha, and João de Silva Tello.

"It appears to me, in concluding this rapid comparison, that I have demonstrated the superiority and excellence of the

copy of the *Historia da Ilha de Ceilão* belonging to the Visconde de Esperança over the edition printed by the Academy in 1836, with the title of *Fatalidade historica*.

"It would be worth while to print this manuscript, which rejects much that is incorrect and even erroneous in the printed edition. It should rest with the illustrious Society to do this, showing in this manner its zeal for the national history, free from inexactitudes and illiterate forms.

"An exact and minute comparison of the two editions therefore excludes the perusal of the printed one by those who shall undertake to write of our extensive conquests."

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On receiving this pamphlet I wrote to Sr. Barata, from whom I learnt that the original MS. of Montarrio Mascarenhas, from which the one here noticed was copied, was destroyed in a fire: hence this copy is, in all probability, unique.

I do not agree with all that Sr. Barata has said above in depreciation of Ribeiro's first attempt at authorship, which, though rough and ungrammatical, is more characteristic of the soldier than the later polished edition, which smacks too much of the pedantic scholar. Nor do I consider the Lisbon Academy of Sciences at all blameworthy for printing (as I suppose they have done) their MS. *verbatim et literatim*. To have acted as Sr. Barata suggests would have greatly lessened the value of the printed edition. At the same time, it is to be hoped that the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, which has already done such good service by printing the valuable works of Gaspar Corrêa, Duarte Barbosa, and other old Portuguese writers, will publish a new edition of Ribeiro, with critical notes showing where the two versions differ, and with a good index, such as the editors of Gaspar Corrêa have appended to that work. The Academy should also institute a search for the MS. of Philip Botelho's "Guerras de Uva," which Le Grand utilised in preparing his translation of Ribeiro, and which has since disappeared from view. If this can be found it should also be published. Another rare work used by Le Grand, viz., João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes' account in Spanish of his father's disastrous expedition



against the Singhalese, is, I am glad to say, now being translated for our Society by one of its Members, two copies of the curious volume, published at Lisbon in 1681, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, having lately been added to the Society's library. The references to Ceylon in the work of Gaspar Corrêa, which I have mentioned above, are not very numerous, but are interesting and valuable, especially so being his account of the building of the first Portuguese fort at Colombo, of which place he gives a curious but faithful drawing. These passages should also be translated into English.\* The Portuguese and Dutch writers on Ceylon have been far too much neglected hitherto, but I am glad to find that in the case of the latter at least one gentleman is displaying the most praiseworthy activity in the matter of translation. I hope that others will follow his example, and that ere many years are past all the most valuable of the Portuguese and Dutch, as well as French and German, narratives of the past history of our Island will be available in an English form.

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*Postscript.*—While this Paper is passing through the press I learn that the following MSS. of Ribeiro's work are in the Bibliotheca Nacional at Lisbon:—

"Ribeiro (Capitão João)—*Fatalidade historica da ilha de Ceilão*. Dedicated to D. Pedro II. Original, dated 1685. B-8-31.

"The same work, with the title *Historia de Ceilam*. Slight variations. B-8-43.

"By the same author—*Prosequimento da historia de Ceilaõ*. B-8-44."

The custodian of the Library, Sr. D. Jose Pessanha, who furnishes this list, adds a note as follows:—"These works of João Ribeiro were published in 1836 by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon." This, however, is not quite correct, as only the first-mentioned MS. seems to have been printed.

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\* Since the above was written the writer has himself supplied this want in the pages of the *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. III.

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF MEDAMAHANUWARA.

By J. H. F. HAMILTON, Esq., C.C.S.

*(Read July 26 and Dec. 28, 1888.)*I.—*The Málīgāwa.*

THE ancient highway from Kandy to Bintenna proceeded from the south-eastern extremity of the city, skirted the right bank of the Mahaweli-ganga for three miles, crossed the river by a ferry at Kuṇḍasāle, and thence diverged from the river's path through the fertile valleys of Pāta-Dumbara to Teldeniya. From this point the modern road closely follows the ancient track. Crossing the Huḷu-ganga at Teldeniya, fifteen miles out of Kandy to the east, the road turns sharply to the right, runs parallel for two miles with the Huḷu-ganga, and then turning to the left near the junction of the Huḷu-ganga with the Guru- (Galmal) oya, follows closely the right bank of the latter stream for two and a quarter miles through an unhealthy and uninhabited valley. After passing the Guru-oya by a bridge close to the ancient crossing, it climbs the hill to Urugala and Míriyahéna (the Nugétenna gap), which lie beneath the shadow of the Medamahanuwara-kanda, and thence descends by tortuous ways (the last part of the descent being formerly accomplished by the *Galpadihela*) for twenty miles, until the Mahaweli-ganga is again reached at Wéragama. Here there is a ferry boat, which will land the traveller on the opposite bank of the river in the ancient city of Alutnuwara in Bintenna—the Mahiyaggana of legendary and historic fame. The modern road is now open for cart traffic beyond Míriyahéna, and is being gradually extended by a circuitous route through the Gapdeka. The ancient road was nothing more than a narrow track.



It is upon this route, as might be anticipated, that the most interesting remains of ancient times in Dumbara are to be found. Such are the palace of Kuṇḍasāle, the Galvihāra of Bambaragala, and, most important of all, the traces of the old town of Meḍamahanuwara, which in the past gave its name to the neighbouring hill, and in more modern days to a once flourishing coffee district.

Meḍamahanuwara was situated on both sides of the Guru-oya, within a mile of Urugala. The Guru-oya divides Meḍasiya-pattuwa from Uḍasiya-pattuwa South—a division established some forty years ago by the English Government. Formerly, however, Meḍasiya-pattuwa included a portion of what is now Uḍasiya-pattuwa South, and hence, though some of the remains are comprised within the latter division, the whole of them lie within the ancient limits of Meḍasiya-pattuwa. The name of Meḍamahanuwara is probably derived from Meḍasiyapattuwa, the city having taken the distinguishing name of the political division within which it stood—still another explanation of the name is also possible. “The middle great city” may have been so called from its position on the route midway and almost equidistant from Mahanuwara on the one hand and Aḷutnuwara on the other.

Though Meḍamahanuwara can lay claim to no such hoary antiquity or colossal structures as those “happy hunting grounds” of the archæologist in the North-Central Province and the Mágam-pattuwa, there still linger in it some interesting remains of the *régime* which preceded British rule in the Kandyan districts. Of these remains, I ascribe the foremost place to the ruins of the *Máligáwa*, not that they appear to be first in point of time, or exhibit any special architectural features, but because, firstly, they were the royal residence, and secondly, the materials available for a description of the *Máligáwa* are more exact than for any other building.

The site of the *Máligáwa* is well defined by certain containing walls, which will be hereafter described, though the superstructure, with the exception of a few fragments of tiles, three large blocks of stone at the north-west corner,

and two flights of stone steps, has entirely disappeared. It is situated in, and indeed forms a part of, a paddy field sloping towards the left bank of the Gurnu-oya. On the occasion of my last visit the field was under cultivation, and the tender rice was shooting in several inches of water within the precincts of what was once a royal palace. The work of measurement having to be accomplished from the narrow ridges, was attended with some difficulty and the risk of partial immersion at every step.

The plan of the palace buildings was rectangular. They faced the south, and were approached from that quarter by two broad stairs comprising seventeen stone steps. At the foot of the upper flight, and surrounding the palace proper, stood the straw-thatched lines of the king's guards. The steps conducted to an open space, which formed a compound running round the four sides of the main central building between it and the lines of the guards. From the compound there rose another and smaller flight of stone steps, conducting to the verandah of the central edifice and its principal entrance. The three stairs are in a line with one another, and stand immediately in the front and centre of the southern side of the palace. A verandah supported by carved wooden pillars encompassed the central building, which was the palace proper, the quarters of the king. At the north-west corner, situated in the encircling compound, was the *Nirāwiya*, and on the north side, also in the compound, a tamarind tree, which is still flourishing, spread a grateful shade. The walls of the main building were of chiselled stone, and the roof was covered with tiles, and rose on the four sides to a central ridge running east and west.

For the above description of the external appearance of the Māligāwa I am indebted to Idamégedara Meḍdumarāla Kórāla, an intelligent headman of some eighty years of age, who remembers having seen it, when it was still standing, in his youth. From the same source I have also gathered that the palace was erected by the king, who was styled by the honorific title of "Meḍalassé Budu-vechcha Deviyo," between



whom and Śrī Vikrama Rāja Siṅha, the last king of Kandy, there were two reigns, and that it fell into ruin about the year A.D. 1820. It thus appears probable that the palace was built about A.D. 1740 by Śrī Vijaya Rāja Siṅha, who was also known as “Haṅguraṅketa,” from the palace built by him at that place. There is however a vague tradition connecting Meḍamahanuwara with Śrī Vīra Parākrama Narendra Siṅha, better known as “Kuṇḍasāle,” the king who preceded Śrī Vijaya Rāja Siṅha, and reigned from A.D. 1706 to 1739. As Kuṇḍasāle is known to have built a palace at the place from which he derived his eponym, and also the Nāta Déwāle at Kandy, it is not improbable that the Māligāwa of Meḍamahanuwara should also be added to the list of his works. Whether it was built in the reign of Haṅguraṅketa or Kuṇḍasāle thus appears doubtful, but it is at least certain that it was built in the reign of either one or the other, subsequently to A.D. 1706 and prior to A.D. 1747.

The palace was used as a halting-place on the royal journeys between Kandy and Bintenna, and for brief occasional visits extending over one or, at the most, two weeks. Except for the few months that the Dutch occupied Kandy in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṅha, it does not appear to have ever served as a permanent residence, but the visits were probably frequent, as, besides being on the route to Alutnuwara and Bintenna, it was also on the way to the *gabadāgam*, or royal villages, of Haṅwella and Mahawela.

With regard to the interior of the Māligāwa I have not been able to gather any information, beyond the fact that there were no windows—a negative feature common to native houses in general.

It has been mentioned that the Māligāwa was built on ground sloping towards the bed of the Guru-oya. Hence it will be understood that on the southern and western sides the open compound was on a slightly lower level than the palace proper, and the huts of the guards were on a still lower level than the compound. Hence also the necessity for the flights of steps on the south. On these sides (the

south and west) the ground had to be raised for the site, and contained by masonry walls. These walls, which clearly indicate the plan and dimensions of the palace, still remain, and, especially on the southern side, are in a fair state of preservation. They are built of stones rudely shaped by the mason's chisel, intermingled here and there with round stones from the river bed. Now in the crevices, lantana and other jungle growths have found a home.

There are three walls to the south. The length of the third and outermost, which appears to have supported the ground on which the guards' houses stood, is now 143 ft., but the wall appears to have slipped away at its extremities, and to have been originally of greater length. Its height is 5 ft. The second wall, which supported the compound, is 143 ft. 8 in. long and 8 ft. high. The innermost wall, which supported the palace proper, is 105 ft. long and 5 ft. high. On the west there are also three walls remaining, namely, the wall which supported the palace proper, 76 ft. 2 in. long; a wall supporting on the west the southern portion of the compound, 38 ft. 8 in. long; and a short wall 18 ft. in length to the southern site of the guards' houses. These measurements show the superficial area of the palace proper to have been 105 ft. by 76 ft. 2 in.; the breadth of the compound on the front and south side to have been 38 ft. 8 in., and exactly half this breadth (19 ft. 4 in.) on the west; and the site of the guards' houses on the south to have been 18 ft. in breadth.

The large blocks of stone at the north-west corner, which I have above referred to, are believed to have formed part of the *Nirāviya*. One of them has had a groove cut in the centre. Two of them have been removed from their original position in the compound to the site of the palace proper, where they now form a portion of a small watercourse. The cubic measure of the largest stone is about  $19\frac{1}{2}$  ft.

The ground on which the palace stood was sold by the English Government, about sixty years ago, to the late Raté-mahatmayā of Māmpitiya, by whom it was resold to



Maḍugallé Raṭémahatmayá, who in his turn resold it about fifteen years ago to the present owner, Mígahakoṭuwé Appu Gurunnehé. It was asweddumised and converted into a paddy field about eight years ago.

On the left bank of the Guru-oya, below the Máligáwa, may be seen a pool stiller and deeper than the rest of the stream. Here was the king's bathing-place, and there yet remains a low stone wall on the bank from which his majesty was wont to feed the fishes. It was forbidden to catch fish here, and the prohibition was enforced by the headmen, and generally observed for many years even after the British occupation of the country.

The subject of this Paper is of comparatively recent date. Tradition however relates that it was built to replace a still older Máligáwa, which stood near the *Vidiya* of Meḍamahanuvara, and was known as the *Kóngaha-yāta Máligáwa*; and there are not wanting remains in the neighbourhood which date from a time anterior to the foundation of the Máligáwa which I have attempted to describe. Such are the remains existing on the adjacent grounds of the *Viháre-watta* and *Maḍamé-watta*, the *Vidiya*, and last, but not least in importance, the royal city of refuge, *Galé-nuvara*, on the summit of the neighbouring hill. There is very little precise information to be obtained about these localities, but from such scanty materials as I may be able to collect, I hope to furnish at some future time a second Paper on the antiquities of Meḍamahanuvara; and I may here remark in advance that the foundation, both of the *Viháre* and *Galé-nuvara*, is attributed to king Senarat, who reigned from A.D. 1627 to 1634; and as I have been unable to discover any traditions relating to an earlier time, I am inclined to fix this reign as the one in which the locality of Meḍamahanuvara first derived its name and connection with Singhalese royalty.

The accompanying sketch<sup>1</sup> of the Máligáwa as it is

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<sup>1</sup> Not reproduced.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

believed to have existed has been furnished by Mr. J. V. G. Jayawardana, the Interpreter of the Papwila and Urugala Courts.

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II.—*Vihārēwatta, Maḍamēwatta, Ira-handa-kotāpu-gala, Vidiya, and Galēnuwara.*

Adjoining the site of the Māligāwa is the *Vihārēwatta*, which derives interest from its having been the last but one of the many resting-places of the Daḷadā,—the national palladium,—prior to its removal to the Kandy Māligāwa in the reign of Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṅha. The Daḷadā was enshrined at Mḍamahanuwara during the reign of king Kuṇḍasāle. It was thence removed to the Piṭigoḍa Vihāre in the Gampaha division of Uḍa Dumbara, and thence to Kandy.

The original Vihāre was replaced about forty years ago on the same site by the present one of mean and unpretending structure. The walls of this are of mud, and the roof is thatched, but the massive wooden door and doorway are part of the old building, as also the carved pillars of the verandah, and the small moonstone, void of ornamentation, that faces the entrance. Scattered around are several chiselled stones, which appear to have belonged to the old Vihāre, and amongst them a broad and smooth flagstone, which stood in front of the original building and was used for the priests to lave their feet upon before entering into the sacred presence of the relic. Facing the Vihāre is the Pānsala, the residence of the priest; but the priest is seldom to be found. The Vihāre is closed, and, I believe, empty, the *karandaṭṭuwa* in which the relic was enclosed having been removed to a private house for safe custody, after the bottom of it, which contained a “sannas” (grant), had been lost or stolen.

The only objects of veneration now remaining in the *Vihārēwatta* are two Bó trees. One of them, standing to the left as the garden is entered from the upper side, is of great size and apparently great age. It measures 25 ft. in circumference round the stem at a foot from the earth.



The other is a smaller one, standing on the site of an older and more venerable tree which fell down four years ago, and was honoured with cremation. A charred fragment of the deceased tree may still be seen. Communicating between the two trees are the remains of some stone steps, the ground declining towards the bed of the Guru-oya. There are no inscriptions. One stone only bore some floral carving of stiff geometrical designs, and was doubtless intended to receive offerings of flowers. Formerly, and up to within the last thirty or forty years, the garden was a great resort of pilgrims. Now the shrine is deserted, and there is but an occasional pilgrim on "poya" days. All the surroundings of the place bear an air of semi-abandonment and neglect. The glory has departed, but the sacred trees continue to flourish, and their worship still lives on, the one sign of care and attention recently bestowed being a rude attempt to restore the wall of the terrace where stood the older tree.

*Madamévatta* is lower down the stream on the right bank. It was formerly the place of residence of the priests of the Vihāre, and contained besides a small cave dedicated to the goddess Pattini, and a small Déwālé dedicated to Katara-gama Deviyo. It has been completely abandoned, and is now overgrown with jungle and lantana.

I visited the cave; the entrance is extremely narrow. With some difficulty, for cobras are supposed to keep a jealous guard, I persuaded a Kandyan attendant to enter the cave. His description gave it a glamour of magnitude and mystery that determined me to explore its wonders myself. After the entrance had been enlarged a little with crowbar I succeeded, by assuming a horizontal attitude, squeezing myself in. I then found myself inside a cave with fissures running in several directions, but so small I could scarcely stand upright, whilst to explore the fissures required a mode of progression similar to that of the fictitious guardians of the place. While in this uncomfortable attitude a bat, startled by the intrusion, flew against the lighted candle, and left me in the dark. The cave contains nothing

of interest except a few stalactites, and I do not believe it ever contained any objects of worship. Certain it is there were no visible signs of Pattini past or present. The story of the goddess was probably a pious fraud of some Kapurála, who imposed upon the credulity of the people and turned their superstition to his own advantage. The narrowness of the entrance and the dreaded wrath of the cobra rendered his sham *arcana* tolerably safe from detection.

The Déwálé of Kataragama was a very small affair. Only its foundations, now overgrown with lantana, remain. Here again I met with a marked exhibition of the superstitious reverence of the natives for the cobra,—a superstition which I have always found to exist in connection with the déwálas of the Hindú gods, and never with the relic shrines of Buddha. I think this worthy of note, as it appears opposed to the conclusions of Sir J. Fergusson that Buddhism and Nāga-worship are closely allied and essentially of Turanian origin, whilst the A'ryan development of Hindúism exhibits only such traces of Nāga-worship as have been imparted by contact with Turanians. The old Déwálé on Maḍaméwatta was replaced by a building now standing in the Vídiya of Maḍamahanuwara, of which I shall have occasion to speak presently. But the modern Déwála is always closed, and appears forsaken. The decay of the old religions in these parts is very marked. It would almost seem as if the Old World worship of the Tree and the Serpent was about to survive them all.

Close to the river bed on Maḍaméwatta is a large inscribed stone, of which a copy was made by Mr. J. V. C. Jayawardana. The carvings are mostly symbolic. They portray a trident in the centre,—the peculiar weapon of the god Kataragama, the Singhalese equivalent of Kártikéya, the Indian Kartikeya. On the left of this trident is a small circle symbolising the sun, and below it a chank. On the right a half circle representing the moon, and below it a *siṅha* and a smaller chank. These carvings are subscribed by the Tamil words குமாரசின் தேய்யா மாடம், *Kumárasin téyyá máḍam*, which



I conceive to mean “the niche at which Prince Kumárasin̐ha lights his lamp, and worships,” *māḍam* signifying “a small hole in a wall to keep lamps,” used especially with reference to Hindú temples and worship, and *téyyá* being a translation of the Singhalese *deviyyó*, the ordinary appellation arrogated by the reigning monarchs and independent princes of the royal blood.

The inscription was no doubt the work of a Brahmin priest from Southern India. Not only the characters and words, but also the form of the *sin̐ha*, strongly suggest a Tamil origin, and as it is probable that Brahmins officiated at the *déwálas* patronised by royalty, the foreign character of the inscription is easily accounted for, the Brahmin caste having no representatives amongst the natives of Ceylon. I think it well to point out, as a mistake might easily arise, that the name of Maḍaméwatta contains no reference to the *māḍam* of the inscription, but was so called from its having been the place of residence of the priests of the Pattini and Kataragama Déwálés, and apparently of the Buddhist priests attached to the neighbouring Viháré (Singhalese *máḍama*, Tamil *māḍam*).

The only Kumárasin̐ha who figures in the Singhalese annals was the prince of Uva. He was the son of Vimala Dharmma by Dona Catharina, whose strange eventful history is well known. After Vimala Dharmma's death, his brother Senarat became the husband of Dona Catharina and the guardian of the young Kumárasin̐ha, and before his death divided the kingdom into three parts, assigning Uva to Kumárasin̐ha. There seems no reason to doubt that this is the personage to whom the inscription refers.

If the hypothesis is correct, it affords some ground for supposing that Meḍamahanuwara may have belonged to the old principality of Uva—a conclusion which derives support from the fact, that the principality is known to have embraced the strip of territory below the *Galpadihēla* between the hills and the left bank of the Mahawēli-gaṅga which now forms the boundary between the Central and Uva Provinces.

The *Vīdiya* of Meḍamahanuwara is, as its name denotes,

a street with houses and other buildings on either side. It is situated close to the ancient crossing of the Guru-oya, on the right bank of the stream, immediately below the modern cart-road and within a short distance of the bridge. It is said to date from the reign of Vimala Dharmma, who ruled from A.D. 1592 to 1627, and though now upwards of two and a half centuries have passed away since its foundation, it still retains the distinctive characteristics of its name, and continues to be the residence of a few families. It was here that Vimala Dharmma established a lock-up, which gained an evil notoriety, as a means of extortion in the hands of the subordinate officers of the Government. Here also stood the *Kōṅgaha-yāṭa Māligāwa*, the residence to which I have previously referred as being antecedent to the more recent building described in my first Paper. The gaol was standing at the beginning of this century, but now no trace remains of its existence except on the opposite side of the street some parts of the foundation of the house, where dwelt the *Rekavallu* or Prison-guards. The present inhabitants of the Vīdiya are known by the designation of *Kaṭupullō* or Constables, a name which indicates their descent from persons who held offices in connection with the gaol. There is nothing worthy of detailed description in the modern Vīdiya. The most conspicuous building is the Dēwālē of Kataragama, built after the collapse of the temple on the adjacent Maḍamēwatta; and next in importance to it is the "ambalam," whose pillars of *milila* wood, carved with figures of the lotus and conventional trees and flowers, are said to have been removed by the villagers from the room of the queen at the Māligāwa. There used to be an annual *perahera* at the Vīdiya, on which occasions an image of Kataragama was paraded with an accompaniment of tom-toms and torches, but this too, with the other religious institutions of the place, has fallen into disuse and discontinuance.

The peak of Meḍamahanuwara guards, as it were, the defile through Mīriyahēna, or the Nugētēna gap, between the Kandy country and Bintēna. It rises to an elevation of



4,372 feet, is precipitous on the north and west, but easy of ascent from the south. On its summit king Senarat built *Galé-nuwara*, a rock-fortress intended to serve as a place of refuge for the kings of Kandy when hard pressed by the invasions of the Portuguese. The fort was on an extended scale, and though now its remains have been defaced by the hand of time, and overgrown with jungle, alone they are still worth the labour of the climb, and combined with the lovely view over the sleeping vale of Dumbara and its guardian hills they afford a picnicing ground than which there is none better in the Island. It was on such an occasion that I, in company with two friends from neighbouring estates, the Ratémahatmayá of the district and Mr. Jayawardana, was so fortunate as to make acquaintance with Senarat's airy citadel.

Starting from the magistrate's house at Urugala, we passed round the southern base of the mountain through several abandoned estates, and commenced the ascent at the old Dodangala estate. After climbing for about half an hour over loose gravelly soil almost bare of vegetation, we arrived at the edge of the jungle which envelops the mountain's crest. Here we saw the remains of what had once been a substantial stone building near a running stream of water, called by our guides the *Halu-pé*, or Dhoby's house. Its walls and dimensions, however, were of such a pretentious character that it is not at all likely the building was ever a dhoby's residence, and I think that it was intended for a halting-place, where the king might rest on his fatiguing journeys up and down the hill, the dhoby having his establishment close by, and providing a customary change of raiment for his majesty. The journey onwards and upwards was through the forest up a steep path cleared for our party under the directions of a headman. As we approached the summit we came across two cuttings on the hill-side, which, though they contained no water, had originally been fosses. At one of them was a stone wall supporting the opposite bank, and in the wall was an

opening intended as an embrasure for a cannon. The cannon had disappeared, but the timber beam of *halmilla*, after two centuries and a half of exposure to wind and rain and attacks of the insect kind, still lay across the top of the opening. The opposite walls of the fosses were perpendicular, and we had to clamber up as best we could with the aid of jungle roots. A little further on we passed, wonderful to relate, a spring of fresh water, and a few steps still further brought us to the summit of the peak. This is crowned with an oblong stone building, the thick walls of which are still standing, though the roof has fallen in. We climbed on to the walls, startling as we did so a jungle-hen, who flew away, deserting her nest and eggs. Then we were rewarded for our pains by a fine view in the Hunasgiriya direction. We spent some time in exploring the locality, finding everywhere on the southern and eastern slopes the remains of mouldering walls, by which the steep hill-sides had been shaped and fashioned into battlements and bastions and escarpments, after the manner of a western mediæval castle. On the north and west were sheer precipices, which rendered access impossible and artificial defences unnecessary. On the northern side tradition relates the existence of a cave, which, being approached from above by means of a chain suspended from the rock, formed, when the chain was withdrawn, a sure and impenetrable hiding-place.

The remains of the stronghold are scattered about an area of several acres; and for the three-fold reason, that they are on so large a scale, our time was limited, and the ground is steep and covered with dense jungle, I am unable to enter into any more detailed description of the plan of the fortress than has been suggested by the foregoing notes.

In recent times cannon and stone cannon-balls have been found, including a bar-shot, and we hunted about with some curiosity for souvenirs of this description. But in this we were disappointed, all such relics of the past having been appropriated by former "picnicers" and the denizens of the neighbouring villages, who have realised Scripture, not indeed



by turning swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, but in a still more practical manner, by melting down the cannon and converting the iron into mamoties.<sup>1</sup>

As this paper on Mēdamahanuwara has been compiled without regard to chronological order of the several buildings and localities, a brief summary of the history of the district will here be given, so far as I have been able to glean it from the only available source,—popular tradition.

I have stated above that the reign of Senarat was probably the time in which Mēdamahanuwara first became frequented by Sinhalese royalty, but further inquiry has revealed that the first king whose name is mentioned in connection with the place is Vimala Dharmma (A.D. 1592–1627). The Vīdiya with the lock-up, and the first Māligāwa, may be said to date from his reign. The succeeding king Senarat (A.D. 1627–1634) built the citadel of Galēnuwara as a stronghold against the Portuguese, between whom and the kings of Kandy there existed a continual warfare; and to the same king I also ascribe the religious establishments of the Vihārēwatta and Maḍamēwatta. During Senarat's lifetime the kingdom was subdivided, and it has been suggested that Mēdamahanuwara belonged to the portion of Kumārasīṅha, the prince of Uva. Kumārasīṅha did not long survive Senarat, and at his death his possessions, and amongst them Mēdamahanuwara, reverted to Rāja Sīṅha the second, the tyrant described by Robert Knox. The second Māligāwa was built probably by Narēndra Sīṅha (A.D. 1706–1739). During this king's reign the Daḷadā was enshrined in the Vihārēwatta, whence it was removed to the Piṭigoda Vihāre, where it remained until it was finally removed to the Kandy Māligāwa in the reign of Kīrti Sī Rāja Sīṅha (A.D. 1747–1780), after the evacuation of Kandy by the Dutch. In 1815 Sī Wikrama Rāja Sīṅha made for Galēnuwara on the invasion of his country and the occupation of his capital by the British forces. Accompanied by two of his wives he arrived in the evening at Uḍupitiyē-

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<sup>1</sup> See note B.—*Hon. Sec.*

gedara, the residence of Appurála, A'rachchi of Bombura, situated near the foot of Meḍamahanuwara-kanda. Thence he sought to take refuge in a cave on the mountain side, but being overtaken by darkness and torrents of rain he missed his way, and returned in sorry plight to Uḍupitiyē-gedara. Here he passed the night, and the next morning (February 17) a party of the British having come up under the guidance of the friendly chief Eknēligoḍa, the three royal personages were seized and stripped of their jewellery and carried captives into Kandy. The Uḍupitiya family still lives in Bombura, the present occupant of Uḍupitiyē-gedara being a great grandson of the A'rachchi at whose house the king was caught. The site of the original house, the actual scene of the capture, is easily traced, and lies beneath the shade of an ancient tamarind and a *sūriya* tree. Near it is another house called Uḍa-gedara, on the site of an older building of the same name, where the English soldiers who accompanied Eknēligoḍa's party were quartered. I visited these places, and it was not without interest that I looked upon the scenes where, after a chequered history of 2,122 years, the last act was played in the drama of Sinhalese monarchy.

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NOTE A.<sup>1</sup>

Meḍamahanuwara was a place of refuge, and was so used by many of the Kandyan kings during internal dissensions and at the time of their wars against the Portuguese and Dutch.

King Senarat, who reigned from A.D. 1627 to 1634, embellished the place by erecting the rock fortress Galé-nuwara, a royal palace, and a Daḷadā temple, as the following translations of two extracts from the *Rājāvaliṇi* and *Siyamōpasampadāvatā* will show :—

*Rājāvaliṇi*.—"King Senevirat retired to the city which he had built at Kalagatwatta in Malepane. Having afterwards erected the fortress Galé-nuwara in Meḍamahanuwara, he publicly held court there. He had three sons, viz., princes Rásiy, Vijayapāla, and Kumārasipha.

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<sup>1</sup> By N. don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, Assistant Librarian of the Colombo Museum.



Sig̃halaya (the hilly portion of the Island) was divided by king Senavirat into three parts, and each son was assigned a part. The eldest, prince Rāsīg, was crowned king of Bintenna and Alutnuwara."

*Siyamōpasampadāwata*.—"King Sēnāratna ordered the erection of temples for the Daḷadā relic (*Daḷadā mandira*) in several of the mountain fortresses, such as Meḍamahanuwara, and the Daḷadā relic which had been receiving the customary adorations at Śrīwardhanapura was ordered to be taken to those various temples, where constant and similar devotions should be paid to it.

"Having taken his chief queen and all his harem, as well as the royal princes, and carrying his hereditary treasures, he fled to Mahiyāgana, where he resided in a palace in the vicinity of the Mahiyāgana chetiya."

It is stated in the *Rājāvaliya* that king Śirī Vīra Narēndra Sig̃ha or Kuṇḍasālē (great grandson of Senarat, 1706-39) escaped to this city, Meḍamahanuwara, owing to a conspiracy having been formed by his ministers for his dethronement and assassination.

#### NOTE B.

*Extract from a Report made to the Hon. the Government Agent, Kandy.*

Nilgala Walawwa, June 16, 1889.

No stone cannon balls are now to be found on the top of Meḍamahanuwara peak. They have been from time to time removed by the villagers for various purposes.

Last year I went up to the top with Mr. Hamilton, then Police Magistrate, in search of some remains of its antiquity, but returned unsuccessful. Since I have sent up my headmen, with no better result.

I have, however, been able to procure three stone balls found in the possession of villagers of Bomburē, at the foot of the peak, and said to be some of those that have been found on the peak.

H. P. RAMBUKWELLA.  
Ratēmahatmayā.





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INTRODUCTION TO A HISTORY OF THE  
INDUSTRIES OF CEYLON.

BY GEORGE WALL, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

*(Read October 4, 1888.)*

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THE fact that important changes have taken place in regard to the local industries of the Island in the past suggests that a review of their history with reference to their present condition and future prospect would probably prove useful as well as interesting.

Much has already been done by previous writers, and especially by the indefatigable compilers of the "Ceylon Handbook and Directory," to show the present state and recent progress of local enterprises; but much remains to be said respecting the causes which led to the condition in which the British found them. These did not fall within the scope of that useful work, but have a special interest of their own and will amply repay the attention necessary to follow their operation.

The nature and development of all industrial pursuits depend, to a considerable extent, upon certain conditions and economic principles which are largely independent of those natural resources, the primary importance of which is so obvious as to generally obtain for them a degree of regard, even beyond what they really deserve. A due consideration of those factors is therefore necessary to a right understanding of existing industries ; and if they be overlooked and natural resources only be considered, much misapprehension may arise, of which some remarkable examples will be adduced in the sequel. In order to discuss those principles fully, much more space would be required than could be given within the compass of this Paper, but it is necessary to review them briefly in so far at least as they bear upon the course of industry in this Island.

It may be premised that in every community in which agriculture is carried on, however primitive its constitution may be, the cultivators of the land produce a surplus, of greater or less extent, over and above their own primary requirements. In other words, the produce of the land exceeds, to some extent, the necessary consumption of the labourers employed. The proportion of the surplus so arising and the manner of its disposal are important factors in determining the development and progress of industry. The former depends very much upon the natural resources of the country and upon the local advantages it may possess, such as facilities of transport, access to markets, &c. The latter is dependent upon the character and aims of the ruling powers, the disposition of the people, and the relations which subsist between the workers and the powers that direct and control their sinew.

Wheresoever the surplus accumulates, and wealth accrues, the fact affords evidence of the capabilities of the country ; but, on the other hand, the absence of accumulated wealth is no criterion of poverty of resource, inasmuch as the total income may be, and not unfrequently is, consumed, either by the State or the people, not in the necessities of life, but



in various forms of luxury, waste, and war. The rulers may and often do expend the surplusage in pomp and pageantry, in displays of regal and monumental splendour, in religious ceremonials and in court luxury. And the people, if they have the means, may lack the inducement to thrift. *In such cases capital will not be created nor material progress made.*

In some countries accumulated wealth has proved to be so great a source of danger that it has been sedulously avoided, lest it should attract the predatory incursions of powerful neighbours; or it has been protected at prodigious cost.

Hence China endeavoured to guard its territory and possessions by constructing one of the greatest works ever achieved by man, a wall of over 2,000 miles in length, which probably absorbed more labour and material than all the pyramids of Egypt together. The immense armaments of Europe in the present day, with the vast expenditure necessary for their maintenance, have the same object, and in like manner consume a large portion of the national surplusage unproductively.

Wealth offers the strongest and one of the commonest inducements for aggressions of one country upon another, and for the oppression of the weaker by the more powerful classes of the people. It is, however, in regard to individuals rather than to collective bodies that the danger of possessing wealth operates most influentially in preventing the accumulation of capital. Under native rule, it was not safe for any private individual in this country to possess riches, as they were certain to be seized by the ruler, or by his more unscrupulous officials in his name. Knox says that the Sighalese will do "only what their necessities force them to do, that is, to get food and raiment. Yet in this I must a little vindicate them, for what indeed should they do with more than food and raiment, seeing as their estates increase so do their taxes also! And although the people be generally covetous, spending but little, scraping together what they can, yet such is the Government they are under, that they

are afraid to be known to have anything lest it be taken away from them."

The Government thus referred to was that of the native King of Kandy, amongst whose subjects Knox passed the twenty years of his captivity, living as one of themselves, and therefore knowing their ideas, habits, and feelings more intimately than any other of their European historians. Under the circumstances thus described, industry would not only be useless but injurious. In later times the officers of Mohamet Ali's government in Egypt habitually employed the bastinado to extort levies from people whom they suspected of having secret possessions. Thus the mere suspicion of their having any spare means exposed the Egyptian fellaheen to penalties which are generally reserved for the punishment of convicted criminals. Industry, in such case, would only aggravate extortion; self-denial and thrift, the virtues which elsewhere insure wealth and create capital, incur the penalties of crime. The truest wisdom and policy of labourers so treated is to leave nothing unconsumed that could attract the State inquisitor and his armed retinue. *The material progress of such a people is impossible, and demoralisation inevitable.*

Hence it appears that though the natural resources of a country and its means of creating surplusage may exist abundantly, its material advancement does not depend upon the extent of wealth so arising, but upon the way it accrues, and the manner in which it is employed; whether, in fact, it be consumed in luxury, or wasted otherwise unproductively; or whether, on the other hand, it be converted into capital for developing the resources and economising the means of the country.

The ruins of Yucatan, the remains of Nineveh, the pyramids of Egypt, and the irrigation works of Ceylon, all afford striking evidence of the great natural resources of those countries at the time when these works were constructed; and each contains a chapter of local history, which may be read in the nature and purposes of the structures themselves.



Much may thereby be learnt respecting the condition of the people and the character of the rulers of those times.

Probably Egypt is the most remarkable example in the world's history of the profusion of natural resources. There, in fact, little is left for the labourer to do but to reap and garner the harvests for which the soil is prepared and tilled by the fertilising floods of its great artery, the Nile. These bring every year fresh soil from the mountains of the interior and spread them over the sunny surface of the country, ready to receive the seed from the husbandman, who follows the retreating waters in his punt. So lavish has nature been of her bounties there that notwithstanding the waste involved in the stupendous monumental edifices that still stand to attest it, the national wealth sufficed beside for the construction of one of the grandest examples of economic engineering the world has ever produced, the river of Joseph. By its means was the Nilotic alluvium extended artificially over an area almost equal to that of its natural reach. The ruins of this marvellous work, like those of our own magnificent tanks, are eloquent witnesses of the results of the arbitrary proceedings of despots, and of the consequences of their unchecked control of a country's sinew and resources.

In strong contrast to these instances of the profusion of natural resources and the waste or neglect committed by those who controlled them, may be cited that of the British nation, where surplusage has been obtained under comparatively adverse conditions, and where, nevertheless, the fruits of labour have so accrued, in accordance with true economic principles, that capital has accumulated to an extent greater than that of the nations most highly favoured by nature, and has raised the country to an unrivalled pitch of industrial wealth and glory. The production of capital in North America has been even more rapid than in Britain, the unbounded extent of virgin soil there having been utilised in conformity with principles favourable to the development and progress of industry.

These illustrations show that natural resources conduce to

the growth of industrial enterprise, and to the material advancement of a country, only in so far as the surplusage of its products is turned to account in the form of reproductive wealth, or capital. Whatsoever is expended in luxury, pageantry, wars, and other forms of unproductive expenditure is lost to all beneficent purpose, and is productive, at best, of a transient glory, destined either to perish in oblivion, or to endure as proof of the neglect or selfish ambition of irresponsible despotism.

It must not be supposed that educational and religious institutions are ranked as wasteful or unproductive. In so far as they tend to increase knowledge, instil virtue, and extirpate vice, they are in the highest degree useful and profitable to the State by promoting order, peace, and morality. They only become indefensible when they fail to honour God, or when they minister only to the pride and vanity of man. Moreover, knowledge is itself one of the most valuable forms of reproductive capital, and ought therefore to be inculcated assiduously as an important element of industrial success and material advancement. Knowledge, however, is also *power* as well as capital. Despots, therefore, must needs keep their subjects in ignorance, or they would lose their power of oppression. This formidable two edged instrument is sedulously kept by despotic rulers out of the grasp of the people, who are thus made helpless and dependent, and therefore in no way responsible for the condition of the countries they call their own, nor for that of the industries in which they labour.

In ancient times almost all countries were governed by despotic rulers, or patriarchs, who regarded the labouring class as inferior beings, to be kept in abject ignorance and dependence. Their labour, and often also their persons, were regarded as chattels at the disposal of the State. They were required to work for little if any other recompense than the food and shelter necessary to enable them to perform the requisite service. The surplusage of their labour inured entirely to their rulers, who therefore had the absolute



disposal of the entire income of the country. Hence the fruit of industry was consumed, wasted, or converted to reproductive use as capital, according as the taste and temper of the sovereign for the time being might determine. One, animated by beneficent ideas, might devote the labour of the people, the resources of the country, and the energy of his own character to the construction of an useful work; another, more vain and selfish, might neglect such work, and, like Cheops, apply the national wealth and sinew to a stupendous pyramid, for no higher purpose than to calculate his horoscope, or to perpetuate the memory of his personal vanity. Wisdom or folly, fanaticism or pride, by turns directed the ever-varying aims and objects to which the labour of the people was applied; and the same fitful and uncertain policy determined their condition. The history of Ceylon and its industries under native dynasties is a record of such alternations, in which great achievements were succeeded by ruinous lapses, in periods of fitful duration, when the condition and even the numbers of the people must have fluctuated between wide extremes. Such have been the general results, as attested by history, wherever the resources of a country have been concentrated in the control of despotic rulers. Though the interests of both rulers and people ought theoretically to be identical, seeing that the surplusage produced by the latter is the measure of the means of the former, yet in practice it has proved that pride, ambition, and greed have generally prevailed over the dictates of policy and reason. Hence, instead of progress of wealth and happiness and the blessings of contentment extending to all classes, the natural results of the principles and conditions of native despotism have been the ruin and desolation which are to be seen in the countries so governed. The ruined tanks, and the unhappy people who still cling to the expiring remains of the grand enterprise they represent, are the natural consequences of the system pursued by native despots, whereby the wealth and capital of the country were concentrated in one hand, subject to one will, and were not available for individual enterprise.

The influence of capital, the motive power of industry, depends mainly upon the way it is directed, whether as the ally of the labourer, or as his imperious taskmaster; whether to employ and remunerate him, or to exact as much work as the lash or the bastinado may be able to extort; whether to divide it in just and reasonable proportion between the labourer and the capitalist, or to absorb the whole, either by the power of the State or by usurious exactions. In the sequel of this review of the industries of Ceylon, it will be seen that the absence of capital has been in some cases scarcely more fatal than the abuse of the power exerted by its few possessors. The needy goyá, who has to pay fifty per cent. for the use of his seed, would often be better without it, and at the best he pursues his enterprise under discouragement fatal to the future progress of his industry or to the improvement of his own condition.

The conduct of the Portuguese and the Dutch was characterised by the avarice of adventurers, who were regardless of the good of either the country or its inhabitants. Their only care was to extract from both whatever they could obtain, whether by force or guile. Their capital and the command their fleets gave them of the sea, were employed in the interest of their own country and commerce at the expense of this Island and its people. Though they nominally purchased the produce of local industry, they actually appropriated it on terms little better than pillage, the prices paid being such as would have effectually suppressed the production, which was therefore carried on mainly by means of forced levies. Certain quantities of the various commodities were exacted under severe penalties, and the prices paid were such as to involve the producers in loss and grief. Some industries were thus destroyed, and all were discouraged. Bertolacci relates that pepper to the extent of forty to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum was levied at the rate of 1 to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fanam per pound, worth many times that paltry payment. Governor Schreuder on leaving the Island advised his successor to reduce the exports, lest the trade



of Malabar, another Dutch possession, should be injured. And it is well known that the cloves and nutmegs were destroyed in Ceylon in the interest of Dutch trade in the Moluccas. For cardamoms, Bertolacci says, they paid the Singhalese 2 fanams per pound. Under this régime the capital and power of the State were employed in seizing the products of industry on terms so grievous that it became the interest of the people rather to root up their trees than to harvest the fruit, wherefore it became necessary to enact extreme penalties for the destruction of fruit trees.

It thus appears that our predecessors employed their capital in a manner to effectually discourage, or even to extinguish, the most important industries of the country, nor was it ever applied beneficently, or under the conditions which foster enterprise, until the British took possession. Of private capital, independent of the State, there was then but very little, and that little was in the hands of renters and other such persons, exercising or usurping official functions and authority. Sir J. Emerson Tennent seems inconsistent in his remarks upon private capital, for in some parts of his writings he exposes, with all the force of his powerful pen, the extortions of native usurers; and elsewhere, in the Blue Book for 1846, he says: "It is a singular fact and somewhat discouraging that *there is not a single native capitalist in Ceylon*, though some are proprietors of land to a considerable extent, and enjoy a corresponding rank and influence in their localities." Here he shows, not the absence of capital, but its abuse.

The practical difference in the results of the employment of capital by the State, as compared with its application by private individuals, is well exemplified by reference to the historic facts above cited. Works constructed by the State are generally on a large scale, and whether of an useful and reproductive character, or of the opposite kind, they depend for their maintenance on the disposition of the rulers for the time being. They and they only have the power and the means. No one else has either the responsibility or the

ability to keep them in a state of efficiency. Hence neglect, the fatal and almost inevitable consequence of irresponsible ownership, has overtaken and ruined the greater number of such works. On the other hand, private capital has, from time immemorial, produced enduring results, which no power can destroy, and which will through all time go on developing the resources of the world. Commerce, the great benefactor and pacificator of mankind, which has brought the most distant nations into mutual intercourse and interdependence, owes its origin and development to private enterprise. In Britain, where it has attained the greatest development, and in some other countries, where modern civilisation has subdued or modified the ambition and selfishness of ancient despotism, the fruits of private capital are manifest in the advancement of all classes of the people, in the progress of art and science, and in affording the strongest motives for the maintenance of peace and for strengthening the brotherhood of nations.

The cause of the stagnant state of local industries, which the British Government found on assuming possession of this country, was clearly proved by the wonderful change which immediately followed the introduction of the capital which the planters introduced, and so vigorously employed, and by the widespread improvement in the condition of the natives within the range of its benign influence. The reason that in the regions beyond that range the old stagnation still continues, is because the old adverse conditions which discourage enterprise and make progress impossible are still in force there. The training of ages in oppression and misery could not easily be effaced, even if the former discouragements did not persist. To ignore those conditions, and to heap reproaches upon the victims, is as foolish and unprofitable as it would be to revile the dying or the dead.

The influence of free intercourse between different countries, and between distant parts of the same country, is an important factor in the development of industrial enterprise. In former times a nation might keep within itself and maintain



a comparatively isolated and independent position, its inhabitants accommodating their wants to their own local resources. In some the avenues of access were closed against all foreigners, except a favoured few, on whom they depended for some necessary exchange of commodities. In modern times, however, such exclusiveness has become impossible. Steam navigation, railways, and telegraphs, have brought nearly every habitable part of the earth into direct intercourse with all the rest. Keen traders issue forth, laden with the products of countries where industry has fructified abundantly, to find markets for the surplusage of their productions. Thus an almost universal interchange of commodities has been established. Old barriers have been broken down, until at length few hindrances remain to prevent free access to the recesses of even the most jealously guarded countries. The special resources and requirements of each, what it can most cheaply supply, and what it most urgently wants, thus become generally known, and commerce sets up a process of distribution and equalisation which seems to be destined to eventuate in a general equilibrium. With this knowledge every country might turn to account its special capabilities and advantages to the purposes for which it is best adapted. Many industries which were formerly pursued under adverse conditions, in certain places, have already been superseded by new ones more suitable to the circumstances. A still more comprehensive re-adjustment will doubtless be effected by a greater freedom of intercourse, which, if carried out to its natural results, will eventuate in each country's producing the commodities for which it is best adapted. In the meantime, however, this natural tendency of universal competition is being checked by means of artificial expedients, such as prohibitive or protective tariffs whereby local advantages are nullified and adverse conditions perpetuated. The good of the many is sacrificed for the benefit of a few, and the natural tendency is perverted. This old fashioned method of interfering with natural growth, though still maintained extensively, must

in the end succumb to natural forces. Universal intercourse seems to be the destined providential means of promoting peace, brotherhood of nations, and the distribution of the people to the places where there is most room for them. Far as the world is yet from such a consummation, the tendency of modern inventions, discoveries, and civilisation is so to disseminate knowledge, and to distribute the products of industry, as to extend their benefits universally.

Facility of communication between the distant parts of a country is as important to its industries as the intercourse it enjoys with other countries. Valuable commodities may otherwise exist abundantly in one part, and be yet practically unavailable for other parts, where they are urgently wanted. Thus, stores of grain existed in India in one part, whilst, but a few years ago, famine raged in another. Hence, for want of efficient means of transport, one province lost the benefit of a good market, whilst the people in another were dying of starvation. On the other hand, railways and modern appliances have proved the means of bringing supplies of wheat from the north of India and other new and remote places, which have afforded cheap food to the millions of English labourers, who would otherwise have suffered severe hardship during the long protracted depression of trade from which the country is only now recovering.

When the British took possession of Ceylon, the interior was accessible only by village paths and game tracks, which precluded the transport of any but very portable and valuable commodities. Wherefore the few industries which existed in the country were mostly of a local character, confined within narrow limits. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, writing in 1846, says: "It is surprising that even postal communication is so regularly maintained, considering the obstructions caused by wild animals, deep streams, and the absence of local European superintendence" in some parts. A British Embassy which started from Colombo to the King of Kandy in 1806, had to leave its artillery behind at Sitáwakka, and to proceed in light marching order, not



without great difficulty and delay. Trade and industrial enterprise were necessarily then almost confined to the coasts, each of which in turn was practically inaccessible for half the year during the monsoons, the small craft the Island possessed being unable to cope with them. In Knox's time, the King of Kandy required his subjects to bring with them, and deliver to him, the products of the country under his rule, and that faithful historian describes graphically the detentions, losses, and privations to which the people were exposed whilst waiting His Majesty's pleasure to receive them. He also relates that arecanuts lay on the ground ungarnered, because there was "no vend for them," or indeed for any other of their fruits. It follows that under such conditions, so comparatively recent, the industries of the Island were necessarily confined to such commodities as could be carried by almost impracticable paths to all but inaccessible markets.

Nor were the conditions much better under the Dutch, whose proceedings, as we have already shown, offered no inducement to the natives to pursue by choice the industries forced upon them, even if the markets that Government provided had been more accessible than they were made by the canals they constructed.

It was not until the British Government introduced the system of roads throughout the Island, for which it has since been so justly noted, that this essential element of industrial success has been provided. This means of communication has, in the meantime, been superseded by railways, in which steam takes the place to a very large extent of draught by animals. Unless Ceylon proceeds more energetically, however, and by private enterprise, to complete the chain of intercommunication by rail, she will be left far behind in the keen competition of powerful rivals in her newest enterprises, and will suffer discouragement, or possible defeat. The policy of constructing railways at the expense of the existing local industries, and of devoting them when paid for to the raising of revenue by means of excessive rates of

transport, is neither wise nor just. It deprives them of a great part of their value, which consists in economising carriage and thus affording aid and encouragement to enterprise.

In the foregoing remarks on the influence of capital, intercourse, and market, the relation these elements bear to the all-important one of labour has been incidentally shown, but requires to be more particularly considered.

As a general principle, it is obvious that some adequate inducement is an indispensable condition of voluntary labour. It would be vain to expect to enlist the best energies of the people in work in which they have no interest. Labour may, it is true, be extorted by the lash of the taskmaster or slave-driver for the benefit of those who, for the time, possess the requisite power ; and it has already been shown that prior to the accession of the British in Ceylon, the Sinhalese suffered galling oppression, and were in a state of helpless ignorance and degradation. It was dangerous, wheresoever it was at all possible, for them to possess anything of which they could be deprived, and they were therefore in a state of inevitable poverty. It was not possible for industry to prosper, or for the people to advance under such conditions. Although the country possessed great natural capabilities, and the virtual monopoly of two precious commodities, cinnamon and pearls, yet neither the people nor the country derived any advantage even from these specialties ; in fact, the greed of our immediate predecessors, the Dutch, reduced the value and destroyed the monopoly of the spice, and drove the trade into another channel.

It is thus manifest that the nature, extent, and success of the industries of a country are not under the control of the labouring people, nor are the working class responsible either for their own condition or for that of their country. This fact, so clearly shown in the history of Ceylon, is fully borne out in our own country elsewhere, and is strikingly manifest in the fact that the depressed, languishing, dispirited people who still linger about the ruins of the ancient tanks, are of



the same race and natural character as the energetic Siphalese, who are ever ready to undertake work on contract, and the goyás, who, to a man, are willing to fell heavy forest, clear, sow, and fence it, for the small return of a single crop of kurakkan, which rarely even yields an equivalent of 7*d.* a day for the severe labour it involves. The wretched crofter of North Britain, who listlessly watches his starving family in a state of moral paralysis, is of the same race, and naturally of the same energetic character, as his countrymen who have made the name of a Scot a synonym for indomitable energy. The African captive who suffers himself to be dragged ignominiously from his home, is often of the same kith and kin as his captor, and would turn the tables on him if he were not demoralised by oppression. In all these cases the difference of character is not natural, but is the product of the particular circumstances, often entirely artificial, in which the people are placed. The same result may be produced either, on the one hand, by oppression, which deprives men of the just value of their labour and reduces them to an abject condition, or by the dispiriting influence of vain and fruitless effort. A dead pull breaks the heart of a colt, and in like manner *a hopeless condition makes men apathetic, despairing, and slavish.*

One of the few Dutch Governors who had generous impulses towards the Siphalese recommended his successor to offer an additional inducement instead of forcible exaction, for he says: "Raising the price of an article has more effect with them (the Siphalese) than harsh measures." At the same time, his suggested addition of a penny per pound by way of inducement for the production of the article they were levying at a mere fraction of its proper value, shows how the feeling of justice becomes dried up by the exercise of habitual and systematic oppression.

History teaches that the stability and permanence of a Government depend mainly upon the justice and reasonableness of its dealings with the people, and upon the inducement thus offered for the enlistment of their energies. This, in

fact, is one of the leading conditions which determine the character of a nation's industries. Wheresoever labour is exacted by force and fails to receive its just remuneration, wheresoever service is executed without wages, the woe pronounced by Jeremiah will be realised. The fruits of such service will be uncertain, and may perish like the river of Joseph, or endure uselessly like the pyramids amidst the desolation they have helped to create. In short, *power that is exerted selfishly is unenduring, and that only is progressive and permanent which extends its rule unselfishly to all classes of the people.* The degradation of any section of a community is a mortal malady of the State, which will in the end bring the whole body politic to decay and ruin. The healthy condition of a State can only be secured by maintaining that of each class. The providential arrangement by which the violation of the principles of justice and charity entails its own penalties is as applicable to a nation as to an individual. Hence all the devices by which despotism has striven to maintain and perpetuate oppression have throughout the world's history eventuated in the destruction of the oppressor.

We have seen that in Ceylon, until lately, the conditions which call forth the energies of the people have been continually violated, and that the natural consequences have followed in the deposition of the oppressors, the stagnation of local industries, the waste of natural resources, and the demoralisation of the people. The requisite inducements for effective exertion, the capital necessary to utilise the labour of the people, and the knowledge required to direct it, were all wanting, until British capital and the energy of the planters supplied these essential elements to a part of the country where they have fructified abundantly. May the same happy results be soon extended to those parts which still lie under the blight bequeathed by former Governments!

The institution of caste, howsoever it may have originated, afforded to native rulers an effective means of securing their own ends by working upon the feelings of pride natural to



man. The distinction thus conferred upon all who were engaged in the occupation in which the rulers were most interested, and which gave to such people a rank above their fellows, secured the supremacy of that industry. Thus the cultivators who filled the State granaries were made to look with scorn upon all other classes of the people, who suffered degradation in different degrees, according to arbitrary arrangement. The people were thus placed in an unnatural relation one class to another, whereby invidious distinctions were created amongst them all, and severe discouragement was imposed upon those industries which were likely to enrich the people engaged in them. Nor was the distinction of the favoured class an unmixed blessing to themselves, for they were obliged, on pain of their own degradation and that of all their descendants, to adhere to their particular pursuit, whether their lands afforded an adequate return, or failed, from whatever cause, to yield the produce necessary to maintain their increasing numbers. Hence the coveted distinction subjected its possessors to the fate we see to-day so terribly exemplified in the condition of the wretched survivors of a once dense population, who still cling to their ancestral lands about the ruined tanks, and also in villages which have outgrown the resources of the lands belonging to them.

The obligations and restrictions imposed by caste upon the labouring population of Ceylon, and the relations thereby established between labour and the other factors of industrial progress, are entirely opposed to the conditions under which success is possible. Of these none is more important than the freedom of the labourer to dispose of his one possession, sinew, in the manner most conducive to his advantage and to the demand that may exist for its use. Caste inflicts a fatal impediment to the adjustment of means to ends, and imposes insuperable obstacles to progress and prosperity. One craft may lack labourers whilst another is overdone. Natural resources may lie neglected because the people, where they are available, are precluded by their caste from defiling

themselves by utilising them. For instance, coir is a thriving industry in some places, and is neglected in others because of the special contamination caste assigns to it.

It would far exceed the limits of this Paper to specify the numerous forms of discouragement caste imposes on our industries, but many will appear in the sequel. The influence it exerts must be constantly kept in view in considering each one in particular, if justice be done to the subject.

Probably the worst evil consequent on caste is that which makes it a degradation to accept wages. It virtually requires a man to be either a partner or a slave of his employer. Knox shows that it is not the work itself, generally, but the doing it for wages, which degrades the man. He says: "Husbandry is the great employment of the country. In this the best men labour, nor is it held to be any disgrace for one of the greatest quality to do any work, either at home or in the field, if it be for themselves, but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame, and very few are there to be found who will work so, but he that goes under the notion of a gentleman, may dispense with all works but carrying—that he *must* get a man to do, for carrying is accounted the most slave-like work of all." We daily experience the truth of this remark, by observing with what avidity the Siphalese will undertake almost any kind of work by contract, which comparatively few would be induced to do for wages. The task or contract evades the ignominy of hire. Even yet, notwithstanding some relaxations effected by European influence and example, the degradation which caste assigns to certain occupations, and to labouring for hire, continues in strong force. There are at this day hundreds of thousands of able-bodied Siphalese, who would gladly earn the wages their labour would procure, but for the shame of that terrible scare, and the sacrifice it would entail of their social status and that of their descendants.

The strength of caste feeling in the native mind may be inferred from the following remark of Sir J. F. Dickson in his article on Ceylon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :—



“The castes do not intermarry, and neither wealth nor European influence has had any effect in breaking down caste distinctions.”

Europeans may inveigh against the poor native, who in his deepest needs refuses to violate his order and sacrifice his social status and that of his posterity by working for hire, but it is a feeling which operates as strongly in our own community as amongst Asiatics, though not bearing the same opprobrious name. An English gentleman will not descend to any employment which, according to the accepted creed, would degrade him and lower his social status. It cannot therefore be expected of the ignorant natives who have inherited for many generations the ideas of the race, to do for themselves what even Christian teaching has not effected for the European. Naturally the invidious feelings inspired by caste distinctions are the strongest in the higher grades, who enjoy the superiority caste confers. They, therefore, whose example alone could break down the caste barriers, are they who most strenuously uphold them.

Of the numerous writers who have employed their pens in descriptions of this Island, very few have considered the conditions essential to the success and development of industrial enterprise. All of them, without exception, have been deeply impressed with the apparent capabilities and resources of the soil and climate, as these are manifested in the luxuriant growth and great variety of its vegetable products; and have therefore been surprised at and have remarked upon the backward condition of its industries, the undeveloped state of its apparently inexhaustible sources of wealth, and the low status of the rural inhabitants. Such a discrepancy between the actual condition of the country and its apparent capabilities required explanation, and nearly all have considered that the apathy of the people afforded a satisfactory solution of the matter, and have taken it for granted.

Though this very simple reason may seem to suffice for the mere purpose of accounting for the existing state of the country, it will be seen from the foregoing remarks that it

does not represent the true state of the case, and that it fails entirely to expose the real evils that have been the effective causes of discouragement in the past, some of which have, in consequence, remained in operation, and are still unremedied. The ready acceptance which this superficial theory has received has proved a very serious impediment to progress, and a grievous injury to the people, especially to that large section of them who are still suffering helplessly under adverse conditions, for which they are not in any way responsible.

Those writers who adopt this theory, and their followers quote the evidences of ancient prosperity and plenty contained in the ruined irrigation works to show what has actually been done, and they refer for proofs of more modern industry and success to the vaunted riches extracted from the country in former times. But they generally overlook the fact that the foundation on which those superstructures of past greatness and wealth were built was, in both cases, unstable. Under native rule the whole resources of the country and the sinew of the people were in the power of the State and were devoted to one enterprise, dependent for its success on vast works, which the State alone could maintain. The failure of these works therefore inevitably sealed the doom of the unhappy people, who had no escape from the ruin imposed upon them. They lived under artificial conditions of which they were not the splendid authors, but only the miserable victims. It was not nature that was cruel to them, nor were they responsible for the violation of her laws. Equally unnatural and impolitic was the conduct of our immediate predecessors, and though it operated in very different ways it was not less effective than that of the native rulers in crushing out the vital principles of industrial enterprise.

The authorities whose writings and opinions have been referred to may be divided into two classes, viz., those who have apprehended the true state of the case, and have sympathised deeply with the sufferers ; and those who, on the



other hand, have disregarded the effective agencies, and have contemned and reproached the people for their misfortunes. The former class, though small in number, is strong in all that gives value to their evidence and weight to their opinions. Sir Henry Ward is a type of this class; he saw the country for himself, and investigated personally, with all the force and acumen of an experienced statesman, the actual conditions of the country and the people. The result was a deep sympathy with the sufferers, and strong invective against the real authors of the evils under which they suffered. Knox belongs to the same class; and writing as one of the people themselves, after living as one of them, he describes in his naïve and simple way that the people durst not possess anything that could attract the cupidity of their rulers, nor had any inducement to produce more than they could consume, "having no vend for anything they might get."

In the masterly Minutes of Governor Ward, and in the unvarnished description of the honest captive, who spent twenty years in the village life of the Singhalese, are contained the true principal causes of the backward condition in which the British Government found the industries of the country when it assumed the rule.

Those who, on the other hand, attribute the condition of the country to the apathy and idleness of the people have written apparently without any intimate knowledge of the character and ideas of the labouring classes of their own and other countries.

The writings of those who belong to this class, and of their followers of the present day, would lead their readers to the supposition that, if it were not for the supineness and crass idleness of the Singhalese, the whole Island would be a veritable garden of Eden, teeming with all the products of tropical growth, besides some peculiar to itself. It would take up pages of this Paper to merely enumerate the various products which, according to Bennet and others, would yield fortunes to any one who would take the trouble to reap them. He

(Bennet) is particularly strong in regard to indigo, cotton, opium, pepper, and tea. The two first mentioned grow wild, and he says there are 4,000 square miles on which cotton might be grown. As regards tea, which he also describes as *indigenous*, he may have only followed Percival, who wrote about twenty years previously, and says that "the tea plant is found in the greatest abundance in the northern parts of the Island, which are most unfavourable to other kinds of produce"! He says further "that it is equal in quality to any that ever grew in China."

Another enthusiast of more recent date, C. W. Payne, has published, besides his book on "Ceylon, its Products, Capabilities, and Climate," a map of large size, and of very remarkable character. At page 11 of his book he says that Ceylon "will be found to be far more productive in mineral wealth than any other country." He estimates "that the exportation of *cotton* from hence would give freight to 500,000 tons of shipping annually, and would annihilate the slave cotton supply from America." Of *tobacco* he says "an acre produces one and a half to two tons." *Wine* of superior quality, and that to a great extent, could be made here; indeed "it would be difficult," he says, "to find a climate or soil better adapted for the cultivation and growth of the grape than some parts of the low country." In his rambles he "gazed around him with astonishment to see the herds of *wild* cattle grazing upon the beautiful green pasture, resembling our home parks, but far more luxuriant. Countless herds of wild cattle wander through the forest, and over the valleys; they have also their camping grounds, park-like places, shaded with trees. Every herd has several of these camps. So strong is their attachment to place that they have been known to travel back 100 and even 200 miles to their old haunts." "Here," he says, "is a wide field for the slaughter house; beef and venison in abundance." "I have myself seen," he goes on to say, "herds numbering two to three thousand heads without owner or master. Why, the very hides of these animals would make a fine export trade, while



their flesh would be food for the Eastern army and the emigrant !” This gentleman assured Lord John Russell that “in a few years he could produce a surplus revenue of £ 1,450,000 sterling, after deducting expenditure.” Still, extravagant as is the picture drawn by this author and resident of the country, he is in one respect more just than most other writers ; for he admits the need of *capital* for the execution of most of his projects, whilst they expect the poverty-stricken people to do everything by merely shaking off their sloth, and harvesting the natural products of the country, amongst which they include some that are neither indigenous nor cultivable, things that never did nor ever will grow here.

Such are some of the misapprehensions into which writers, including some who have enjoyed the advantage of personal observation during considerable periods of residence in the country, have been led by judging from superficial appearances and overlooking the conditions which determine the nature and development of industry. A fair and reasonable consideration of the subject with reference to those conditions will be found to explain some apparent anomalies, to account for the decline of some industries and the extinction of others, and to place the character of the Singhalese race in a light which relieves them, to a great extent at least, of the charges commonly laid against them, both as regards their industry and their intelligence. As to the rest, they cannot be expected to exhibit the characteristic virtues of Christianity, which as yet are but little understood amongst them.

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## ANCIENT INDUSTRIES IN CEYLON.

By GEORGE WALL, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

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CEYLON is fortunate in possessing a connected history of the last 2,300 years, of which Turnour, a most competent authority, says that "it is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country." Like all ancient and nearly all modern histories, however, the histories of this Island are almost exclusively records of great national events and the proceedings of rulers, princes, and priests, and afford little, if any, information respecting the industries of the people. Historians, even to this day, fail to recognise the fact that potentates are not possible without a people, and that a people is nothing without its industries. In other words, the position, power, and resources of kings are derived entirely from industry as the fundamental source of all wealth. The fact that unless the people earn by their labour somewhat more than the necessities of life there is no resource for either princes or priests, outside of the ranks of the people themselves, is generally regarded by historians as unworthy of notice in a national record. It is nevertheless a fact of such importance, and is so related to all those events that figure prominently in history, that the condition of a country, and the industries in which the sinew of the people is employed, may, to a great extent, be logically inferred one from the other. The slight mention of trade and commerce in Singhalese histories is attributed by Mr. Turnour to the fact that they were exclusively written by Buddhist priests, who are debarred from all secular pursuits.



The monuments which remain to attest the resources, and to exhibit the national character of ancient races of mankind, seem to show that wheresoever the surplus products of labour were devoted to luxury, pomp, and unproductive purpose, the improvident races so employing them perished, and their epitaph is inscribed upon the memorials of their wasteful policy; and on the other hand, that wheresoever the sinew and resources of an ancient people are represented by reproductive works, the race and its industries survive, even where these have been crushed by the weight of unproductive national burdens, as in Egypt, or have been subject, as in Ceylon, to the frequent incursions of rapacious neighbours, and to the vicissitudes of ever-changing and despotic Governments. Had the ancient Singhalese possessed the wisdom and foresight which led the Chinese to fortify their country against invasion and to protect their industries from harassing interruptions by erecting that stupendous barrier, the great wall, this country might have enjoyed, like that, a continuous progress of permanent and enduring wealth. And the Singhalese would almost certainly have attained a degree of intellectual and moral refinement and culture which are fairly foreshadowed by the art displayed in the design and decoration of their religious edifices, the science exhibited in the conception and execution of their stupendous irrigation works, and in the beautiful ideas of womanly devotion and female virtues which form a staple subject of their best poetry. But, instead of any such provident regard for the security of their possessions and industries, the Singhalese attracted their rapacious neighbours to their defenceless coasts, by lavishing upon their religious edifices a profusion of precious metals and gems, which were highly prized and easily carried off by their enemies. Hence it followed that, throughout their history, from the most ancient times, whenever the Government was weak, parties of Tamils invaded the Island, and either despoiled it, or seized upon and exercised for a time the supreme power. It is astonishing how easily these marauders established themselves, and how

patiently the Singhalese generally submitted to, or accepted, their domination. The policy of the people seems to have been to acquiesce unresistingly in each new dispensation, and to gradually absorb into the realm the novel elements so introduced. The only exceptions appear to have been provoked by extreme oppression, or by religious feelings, and when thus roused, the Singhalese turned resolutely upon their foes, and drove them bodily out of the country, or exterminated them. In reference to such struggles the Rev. Spence Hardy says that "many a Marathon or Thermopylæ might have been recorded of them." Seeing that the frequent invasions by their Tamil neighbours were the cause of all the worst disasters that befel their splendid industries, the persistent neglect of their national defences was the more remarkable, especially as they had not a long line of exposed boundary to protect, like the Chinese, but only a few points of their coasts. Such blind disregard of their national interests, after so many and such severe lessons, can only be accounted for by the inability the race has always shown for any great combination. They were ever a domestic, not a political, people, and so continue to be to this day. People of this disposition fall almost necessarily under the subjection of any resolute power, and become the servants, if not virtually the slaves, of those who wield it.

It may here be incidentally questioned, whether the great wall of China, which in modern times has been regarded as an egregious folly, costly as it must have been, was not, at least in the time when it was built, a more economical means of defence, after all, than a standing army, which would have abstracted in perpetuity so large a proportion of the labour taken from the industries of the Empire.

Seeing that history affords no direct information respecting the ancient industries, the actual condition of the people, or the national resources of the Island at the time of Wijayo's conquest, all that can now be ascertained on the subject must be inferred from the data afforded by the authentic narratives of the events therein recorded. These



events, so far as they depended upon the sinew of the people, either directly for the things done, or indirectly for the means of doing them, afford a sure guide for inference and research. Industry, being in one form or another, the source of all wealth, it is evident that wheresoever this is proved to exist, that must have preceded it, as certainly as the parent its offspring. Even when wealth flows from the most precious of nature's bounties, considerable labour is nevertheless necessary for their utilisation. In the Australian gold fields, for example, during the first few years after their discovery, notwithstanding the large prizes found near the surface, and the fortunes acquired by some individual diggers, the total output, when divided over the whole force engaged in the work, amounted to only two guineas a week for each worker. Gems, and even pearls, when charged with all the expenses involved in their collection, are not so lucrative a source of revenue as they seem at first to be.

Sir J. E. Tennent, in his celebrated book on Ceylon, disposes summarily of the great staple industry of the Island by the remarkable statement that before the arrival of Wijayo, 543 B.C., agriculture was unknown here, and that grain, if grown at all, was not systematically cultivated. "The inhabitants," he says, "appear to have subsisted then and for some centuries afterwards on fruits, honey, and the products of the chase." This view, which has been generally accepted on his authority, seems, however, to be irreconcilable with the authentic narratives, which will be found on examination to plainly describe a condition, both of the country and its inhabitants, at the time of Wijayo's landing, indicative of a certain degree of civilisation, and of the existence of settled communities, cities, and Governments. Such a state of things is incompatible with the nomadic life of tribes who live by the chase, as is conclusively proved by our experience of several races still living in that way in different parts of the world. The Red Indians of America, Bushmen of Australia, Hottentots of Africa, and Veddás of Ceylon, all afford examples of the wandering, unsettled

mode of life proper to such pursuits and manner of subsistence. In none of these races do we find cities, settled forms of Government, or any approach to the conditions prevailing in this Island when Wijayo arrived. All the narratives of this event show that the Singhalese *Yakhos*, as they were then called, and as they familiarly call each other to this day, had cities, *Yakho* capitals, social institutions, a national language, and some indubitable signs of accumulated wealth. Agriculture must, therefore, have been well understood, and successfully, if not quite generally practised, for it will be shown in the sequel that no other supposition is compatible with the circumstances narrated. Tennent supports his theory that the inhabitants lived by the chase by the fact that hunting was one of the amusements of the princes in those days, and that royal huntsmen formed part of their retinue. The same might be said, however, of the English princes of to-day, and the fact seems to indicate the luxury of court life, rather than that the people were reduced to that primitive and precarious means of subsistence.

Turning to the narrative of Wijayo's landing, and divesting the substantial facts of obvious orientalisms, and the heroine of supernatural powers, it becomes quite plain that Kuweni, like the rest of the inhabitants, was of human flesh and blood, no demon or spirit, but a real and also a very fascinating lady, whose ideas, tastes, and language harmonised with the princely character in which she appeared to Wijayo. Her "innumerable ornaments, lovely as Maranga, and her splendid curtained bed, fragrant with incense," would indicate, even if they were figments of the imagination, refinements inconceivable by a Red Indian or a Veddá. Yet *Yakhini* as she was, her charms were sufficiently real and substantial, and her position high enough, to captivate Wijayo, and to obtain for her the honour of becoming his wife and the mother of his two children. With such credentials, her discourse about other princely persons of her acquaintance follows consistently and naturally, and the narrative proceeds to relate that Wijayo listened to her story of a certain *Yakho*



sovereign, Kalaseno, who was just about to form a family alliance with another, the King of the Yakho city, Lankápura. The event was to be celebrated by a wedding festival of seven days' duration, and she treacherously suggested that this would be a rare opportunity for a surprise attack. Profiting by her information and advice, Wijayo proceeded to the distant scene of the festivity, and slaughtered the assembled Yakho guests in the midst of their conviviality. This done, Wijayo appropriated Kalaseno's court dress to his own use, and his retinue, following his example, helped themselves to the rich wedding garments of the other slaughtered Yakhos. These and other collateral circumstances establish the fact that the Yakhos concerned were neither demons nor Vēddás. Sovereigns, cities, and court dresses contrast strangely with what we know of chiefs in war paint, skin, and feathers, the orgies in which they indulge, and the life led by nomadic tribes who live by the chase.

The theory propounded by Tennent seems to have been suggested, and indeed necessitated, by the fundamental mistake into which he, in common with so many other authors, was led by regarding the Yakhos as savage aborigines—Vēddás, in fact, whose manner of life is such as he and his followers describe.

After the events just mentioned, Wijayo departed from the Yakho capital, founded the city of Tambapanni, and settled there. His chief ministers then proceeded to form separate establishments, each for himself. Anurádhó formed his far away on the banks of the Kadambi river, Upatissó went still further north, and Uruwelo and Wijito settled southwards and eastwards, in places not now identifiable. From this dispersion of Wijayo and his ministers to form settlements in parts of the country widely distant from each other, it may be confidently inferred that the places mentioned were well populated, and that the people were of a peaceable character, or Wijayo's small party would not have dared to separate. Nor would ministers or princes settle in deserts or jungles, where there were not

people enough to produce the food, and to render the services necessary for themselves, their retinues, and courts.

Wijayo's adventure having thus succeeded so well, and his supremacy having become established by his representatives in so many parts of the Island, it seemed to his ministers unadvisable that the traitress Kuweni should share his throne. A mission was therefore sent to the King of Madura, to solicit for a princess suitable to become the wife of the ruler of Laṅkā. The emissaries who formed this important embassy took with them "gems and other splendid presents" wherewith to propitiate the favour, and secure the aid of the King Panduwo. This monarch received them graciously, and thereupon consulted with his ministers, with whose concurrence, he, having already decided to send his own daughter, asked his nobles "who amongst them were willing to send their daughters to renowned Sihāla," to accompany her. In response to this invitation, 700 noble ladies are said to have been selected, and Panduwo, having decorated his daughter with every description of gold ornaments befitting her sex and exalted rank, dispatched the party in charge of 18 officers of State, 75 horsekeepers, elephant-keepers, and charioteers, his daughter to be the bride of Wijayo, with a dowry consisting of elephants, horses, chariots, and slaves, and her noble companions to seek their fortunes in his court. On the landing of the cortége, the ladies, their retinues, and the magnificent presents they brought, were received and conveyed to Wijayo's court, with all the honour due to their rank and to the high positions for which they were destined. The ovation prepared for them, and the festivities that followed were such as could only have been conceived and executed in a country where regal state, court customs, and luxury were familiar and a state of civilisation was established, and where the inhabitants, on the long line of the march from the landing place, were peaceable and acquiescent. It is needless to point out how utterly incongruous such a party of noble ladies, and such presents as Panduwo sent, would have been if dispatched to a country inhabited



by Veddás or bushmen scouring the Island for a miserable subsistence of fruit, honey, and game. The picture such a country would have presented may be imagined from the isolated condition of the part of this Island now occupied by the few remaining Veddás that survive, and better still from what is known of the wilds of Australia, where aborigines roam in search of a wretched and precarious subsistence. Moreover, the troublesome character of such people, as near neighbours, is abundantly proved by the terrible contests civilisation has had to wage against savagery in America and elsewhere, even in our own times.

It is very probable that poetic licence has multiplied many fold the number of the noble ladies who came from the Pandyan court to settle in *renowned Lan̄kā*, and may have magnified the value of the gifts they brought; but, unless the story be altogether rejected, it establishes the fact that Ceylon was already a settled and civilised country when Wijayo and his party set foot in it. The substantial and well-attested facts of the narrative indicate a state of things wide as the poles from anything to be found amongst Red Indian or Hottentot tribes. What nomade tribe of which anything is known, ever, for example, collected gems, gold, or any other treasure than scalps, skulls, and such like trophies of their savage habits? The gold of Australia and California, albeit glittering here and there upon the surface of the ground, lay neglected by the hunters, who wandered for ages about those regions in quest of game. Such races do not fulfil, and probably do not know, the divine injunction to subdue the earth, but prey upon its natural productions, like the beasts of the field, urged by the same wants and appetites, and satisfying them by similar means.

The hypothesis established by the foregoing facts harmonises the various circumstances of the narrative of Wijayo's adventure and the subsequent history of his reign, and that of the dynasty he founded; on any other theory these present insuperable inconsistencies and impossibilities, which would vitiate the whole annals of that important era. Hence the

opposite theory, that Ceylon was inhabited in Wijayo's time by Yakhos, who were not Singhalese, but savages, Vēddās in fact, living on fruit, honey, and the products of the chase, will not bear the test of logical inference, and must give place to one which is consistent in itself, and is besides strongly supported by recent philological research into the origin and history of the Singhalese language.

On this subject the Rev. Spence Hardy has stated the probability that "the Singhalese language was spoken long before the arrival of Wijayo." "Either this prince," he says, "imposed his own language upon the people whom he conquered, or his descendants adopted the language previously spoken in the Island," the former being an untenable supposition, without parallel in history, and the second being therefore all but certain.

Judged by the actions recorded of him, Wijayo could not have been so wild and reckless an adventurer as to have gone with his retinue to a country, either altogether unknown or known to be inhabited by savages, so unprovided, that his party had at the outset to accept the hospitality of the princess Kuweni. Considering the proximity of Ceylon to India, it is most improbable that its real condition could have been unknown there. Panduwo, in fact, spoke of it as renowned, and as he had no hesitation in sending his daughter and her noble associates thither, so soon after Wijayo's accession, he must have had reason to be satisfied with the resources of the Island and the character of the people. Indeed, the pacific disposition of the Yakhos, if not already well known, must have become so very shortly afterwards, or their country would not have been so frequently invaded by comparatively small bands. It seems probable, in fact, that Wijayo's was one of these incursions, and perhaps not the first of those easy victories already alluded to. The facts suggest that the motive and preconceived intention of the expedition was to obtain the power over and to command the riches of the country, ends in which he succeeded so completely, and seeing that Gautama had foretold that such



was the part he was destined to fulfil, the plea of religion may have served to give a favourable colour to his project in the eyes of his followers. It will be remembered that Gautama had previously paid several visits to Ceylon, and he may probably have been inspired with the idea that his doctrines might be propagated amongst the Yakhos without encountering the opposition with which it had to contend in India, where the Brahminical religion had become deeply rooted. His prophecy respecting Wijayo's future rule over the Island may have been intended to stimulate this hero to fulfil a prediction which promised results so glorious to any ambitious adventurer, and was, at any rate, one well calculated to ensure its own fulfilment. Whether these suppositions are true or not, they supply a rational motive for the adventure, which relieves it of the foolhardy and reckless character it might, in the absence of such reason, assume. Albeit history affords many examples, even in modern times, of daring seizures of power by a few resolute leaders who, favoured by the momentary weakness of the ruling powers, and the supineness or pre-occupation of the people, have succeeded in effecting great revolutions. Such, for example, was the case in our own day, when Napoleon the Third succeeded by means of a handful of Changarniers in subverting the Republic of that day, and establishing himself on the Imperial throne.

Seeing then that Ceylon had in several distant parts, at the period in question (543 B.C.), its own Yakho sovereigns, capitals, and courts, characterised by a certain degree of luxury and refinement, it must necessarily have also had a large population, spread over a wide extent of the country, for it has already been postulated that there could be no potentates without a people. Equally certain is the inference that the natural resources of the Island must have been effectively utilised by labour, seeing that a people cannot exist without industry, and that cities, courts, and luxury could neither be originated nor maintained without an amount of surplusage divertible from the pursuit of the

necessaries of life, to procure such adventitious means of advancement and civilisation. The facts of the authentic history of the period thus plainly imply the existence of large national resources, an ample supply of labourers for their utilisation, and a considerable accumulation of national wealth.

At this stage of the inquiry a brief glance at some of the most obvious evidences history affords of the wealth of the period may serve to confirm and strengthen the foregoing conclusions, and to prepare the way for the further inferences which are to follow, respecting the nature of the Island's resources, the condition of the inhabitants, and the kind of industries by means of which the material progress of the country was advanced. Considering the numerical strength and the particular constituents of Wijayo's party, it will be evident that whatever was achieved during his reign, and for a century afterwards, must have been effected by means of the wealth and resources of the Island already existing when he arrived, for such a party could not have materially increased the production of wealth, though they might, when in possession of supreme power, have directed wisely, and no doubt did actually control the application of the means and materials then existing to such objects as they deemed best. The evidences herein to be adduced will be drawn from the proceedings, not only of Wijayo's reign, but from those also of the century following.

1. The enormous expenses which must have been incurred in connection with the mission to King Panduwo.

The presents sent by Wijayo must have been of a very costly nature to have been worthy of such an occasion and its particular object, and to have adequately exhibited the state and power of the suitor. And that they actually were such is proved by the nature of the response elicited, and by the magnificence of the return gifts, the rich dowry conferred upon the bride, and the splendid retinue that accompanied her. The expenses of the mission itself, consisting, as it did, of numerous officers of State, and attended as it must neces-



sarily have been, by a numerous and imposing cortége, must have involved a very heavy outlay. Even greater still must that have been which was prepared to receive and convey to Wijayo's court the bride and her noble suite. Add to all these items that of the wedding festivities and the inauguration of the Queen Consort, and the sum total will represent an amount which would have taxed severely the resources of any but a rich country. This costly occasion, moreover, occurred but a very few years after the conquest.

2. The formation of a tank for irrigation at Anurádhapura by Wijayo's immediate successor, Panduwasa, less than forty years after Wijayo's landing.

This tank was not a mere pokuna, or bath, but a wewa for agricultural purposes, and is the first recorded of those useful works which form so striking a feature of Singhalese history, and which afford, by their interesting ruins, irrefragable proof of the ancient wealth of the Island. These great structures, the mere repairing of which strains modern resources, both of skill and finance, must have required for their construction an immense force of labourers, and they prove incontestably therefore that the country must have possessed great wealth at the time each was executed. Whether the labour employed was locally supplied, or was, as some authors imagine, imported from the continent, is immaterial as a proof of the wealth of the builders, for it would cost more to import and to pay foreign labourers than to avail of the local supply. Whencesoever the labourers came, and whether or not remunerated otherwise, they must, at the least, have been fed and maintained at the cost of those who employed them.

The same may be said of capital, material, or other form of contribution from abroad; therefore the supposition that Ceylon was indebted to foreign aid for the means of executing the stupendous public works and religious edifices implies that such aid, whatever its form, would have to be paid for, and would therefore require a greater degree of national wealth and resource than the more natural and probable

theory that the means were locally provided. Ceylon could never at any time have obtained extraneous means for nothing, but must have paid for them, as she now does for the rails, locomotives, rice, and other commodities which are imported for public or private use.

In the sequel, reasons will be adduced for believing that though the tank above-mentioned is the first work of the kind recorded in Sinhalese history, it was not the first in fact, and that it did but represent the means by which the Yakhos (not Vēddās) had long practiced their national agriculture. It appears, indeed, to be highly improbable that a mere change of Government should so soon have revolutionised the practice of the country in a matter of this particular nature. Especially so considering that the conquerors did not bring with them the secret of artificial irrigation by means of these stupendous works. Even so late as the eighth century the Rajah of Kashmir sent to Ceylon for engineers to construct tanks in his realm. The first authentic record fixes the date of the earliest of such works in India in the fourteenth century of our era, and on the other hand, the Government of this Island possessed within the early period now in question its "chief engineer," and several of these vast works were completed, besides others designed and commenced, the completion of which occurred but a little later. It thus appears that to the Yakhos so-called belongs the credit of originating these wonderful structures, though they probably owed the opportunity and means of carrying them out on an extended scale to the settled rule and powerful administration of a strong Government.

It may here be incidentally asked whether it is conceivable that a population of Vēddās could have designed such works, could even have been forced to abandon the chase, and to settle down to do the work themselves, or have supplied the means of doing it? The people who designed and executed those great irrigation works could not have been Vēddās, or men of the chase. They may have been demon worshippers, and doubtless were such, to some extent at least, and their



successors of this day still retain some remnants of that ancient superstition. Neither demons nor savages, the ancient people called Yakhos were evidently a civilised and intelligent race. Mr. Spence Hardy implies so much in the passage already quoted, in reference to their language, but he further says: "Speaking of a time long anterior to Wijayó's, I am far from thinking that the ancient race of the Island was so rude and ignorant as it is generally regarded." Indeed, it appears from history that a few only of the Yakho chiefs were conquered by force of arms, and that the rest were won over by the diplomatic skill and tact of the conquerors, for it is stated that Panduwasa, Wijayó's immediate successor, permitted certain of the Yakho chiefs, Kalawélo and Chitto, to exercise great authority. He even allowed them, on great public occasions, to sit upon a throne of equal height and dignity with that on which he himself was seated.

We attach no importance to the name, Yakhos, by which the people were called. It is no new thing to speak in contemptuous terms of a conquered people or even of strangers. We ourselves are still designated by the Chinese as barbarians and foreign devils.

3. Passing by the evidences of wealth which are exhibited in the construction of gilt palaces and other edifices of which ruins still remain to attest their magnificence, the fact of the condition which the city of Anurádhapura had attained within half a century after Panduwasa's reign may be adduced in proof of the wealth of the country at that time.

This city already figured as a centre, in and around which several vast tanks had been completed, numerous palaces and religious edifices had been erected, and the city itself contained an organisation of which some idea may be formed from the fact, that there was a staff of 500 scavengers, 200 night men, 150 corpse bearers, and 150 chandala attendants at the public cemetery, all maintained, of course, at the public expense.

The marvellous nature of the works achieved by the Sihalense, and the rapidity with which they were executed

under the Governments of Wijayó and his immediate successors, in the first century and a half after the conquest, may perhaps be better understood and appreciated by comparing them with what has been done in modern times, in countries enjoying the advantages which science has conferred, and possessing an amount of wealth and resource which may be fairly known or estimated. Take, for instance and comparison, what has been done in the same country, Ceylon, under British rule during nearly a century of occupation, bearing in mind that the natural resources of the Island have been supplemented by several millions of capital, some thousands of Britain's most energetic and intelligent sons to employ it, and nearly 300,000 Tamil coolies imported to aid in carrying out the work that has been accomplished. All these extra advantages, as well as the most modern appliances and experience, have been exercised under the favourable conditions of a powerful Government and uninterrupted peace. The most sceptical mind could not fail to be convinced by such a comparison of the great resources of labour and wealth the ancient inhabitants of this Island must have possessed, and the energy they displayed five centuries before the Christian era. Leaving antiquarians, anthropologists, and others to puzzle out the problem of the Yakho pedigree, and to make of it what they may, no sophistry can deprive the people of Ceylon in the time of Wijayo of the lustre of a degree of high intelligence and prolific industry of which their works bear witness, without involving in the wreck the superstructure supported, as Turnour states, "by all the evidences that could contribute to verify the annals of any country."

Pursuing the application of the principles laid down in the preceding chapter, which regulate and determine the course and development of national industries in general, to the facts of ancient history, it will in the sequel appear what were the nature and condition of the chief of those industries which conferred upon this Island the wealth of which the facts just adduced afford indubitable proof.



A COLLECTION OF NOTES ON THE ATTACK AND  
DEFENCE OF COLOMBO, IN THE ISLAND  
OF CEYLON,

GIVEN OVER TO THE ENGLISH ON FEBRUARY 16, 1796.

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Translated from the French of MONSIEUR DE LA THOMBE  
(*Voyage aux Indes Orientales*) by the late Colonel  
the Hon. A. B. FYERS, R.E., Surveyor-  
General of Ceylon.

[The following translation of *Recueil de Notes sur l'Attaque et Défense de Colombo*, which appeared in M. de la Thombe's "*Voyage aux Indes Orientales*," was made for the Society by its President, the late Colonel A. B. Fyers, R. E., Surveyor-General. The translator died in ignorance that a previous version in English had been attempted by Mrs. C. A. Lorenz (*née* Nell), some years ago, and printed for private circulation. This translation is now unprocurable. Colonel Fyers' contribution, therefore, so far from being held *de trop*, will be welcomed as a valuable addition to the historical papers issued by the Society.

The Appendices have been added by the editor with the object of laying before readers ample material for forming an unbiassed opinion regarding the surrender of Colombo to the British arms.—B., *Hon. Sec.*]



THE surrender of the Island of Ceylon to the English, and notably the capture of the fortress of Colombo which is its bulwark, having given rise to different versions, I am going to publish some information on the military operations which preceded the occupation, in order that an opinion may be formed as to how much reliance can be placed in the account given by Mr. Percival, an English officer, who, like a good Englishman, is far from confessing that treason alone obtained for his country the invasion and possession of this fine Colony.

This information was given to me at Batavia and in the Island of Java by several Dutch officers of rank employed there, who had formed part of the garrison of Colombo at the time.

Their own character and the agreement of their accounts convinced me of the truth of the notes which they gave me.

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#### ATTACK, DEFENCE, AND SURRENDER OF COLOMBO.

*July, August, September, 1795.*

After the capture of Trincomalee, the English marched upon Batticaloa, of which they took possession without opposition, and then repaired to Jaffna (*Jaffnapatnam*), where the Dutch only left a few invalid officers and a company of Sepoys, having made the Europeans and artillery evacuate it for Colombo.

All the Malays who were in the Wanní (*le Vanille*) and at Mannár (Manaar) were also recalled thither, and the defence of that fortress from that time alone occupied attention. For had it been retained it would have helped, with assistance from the King of Kandy, towards the recapture of Trincomalee and the other posts of which the English were then masters.

Haste was then made to set on foot in Colombo the defensive arrangements which the circumstances necessitated.

Two companies were placed in the ravelin of the Delft Gate.

M. Dupéron, second engineer, who had charge of the execution of the exterior works, constructed outside the Galle barrier a *flèche*, the fire of which covered the lake, the road, the Galle Face (*la plaine de Galle*), and the sea. Four eighteen-pounders were mounted on it, but it could have held eight.

A battery for two eight-pounders was constructed outside the Delft Gate, which commanded the coast and the lower town road. Two eighteen-pounders were mounted on the *bonnette* above the barrier which directed its fire on to the esplanade.



Another *bonnette* was made at the angle of the covered way leading from the ravelin of the Delft Gate to the Powder Mill, in which two eighteen-pounders were placed so as to fire on the lake by the esplanade. A *place d'armes* was constructed here, and the covered way was heightened. All these works as well as the others were pallisaded. The side facing the Governor's house which commanded the roadstead was armed with small fieldpieces, one or two-pounders : a wide trench was made in front of it.

A sod battery was constructed to defend the landing-stage at the wharf. Three or four pieces of small calibre were mounted on it.

Large quantities of *cheveaux de frise*, fascines, gabions, pickets, and poles were made.

The fire engines were put in order, the wells in the fort repaired, and private ones cleaned out. In addition to these a large supply of water was stored in the garden of the Governor's House.

The European and Malay companies each furnished seven men daily for these works. They were given as extra pay six sous, two rations of arrack, and a small loaf of bread. They were under the surveillance and command of two of their own officers.

A large number of cattle were collected. Store-houses were built for *carvates*, cocoanuts, arrack, oil for lights, wood, &c. Private houses were hired to serve as stores and for the offices of the Company, the premises being used, or the intention being to use them, for depositing merchandise.

The order forbidding storekeepers from selling any provisions whatsoever was renewed.

Private persons who wished to take refuge in the Fort were obliged to provide themselves with provisions for at least six months. Others conveyed their goods there to save them from the pillage which they had reason to fear at the time of the approach of the English.

In accordance with the decision of a Council of the different

heads of corps, who assembled at Government House to consult on the means for an exterior defence, a portion of the trees and shrubs on the Cocanut Garden Island (*l'Île du Jardin de Cocotiers*) was cut down. All that was on the Galle Face on the side of that island was pulled down, besides a part of the bazaar of the lower town on the seaside. A commencement was also made in demolishing the block of houses situated on the shore of the lake, as well at the front and rear of the cemetery situated at the entrance of the lower town. They were undecided whether they would also raze the half of this lower town, as formerly recommended by M. de Cipierre, an engineer from Pondicheri.

The ramparts were furnished with guns, mortars, howitzers, and all ammunition necessary for a vigorous defence.

The powder magazine at the Galle Gate, and that situated at the Rotterdam Gate, were masked with three rows of cocanut trees, on which were placed four feet of sand. Finally, the epaulments of the angles of the bastions were heightened by earth.

All the sailors were organised into a company, and exercised at the guns on the ramparts.

Three companies of Moormen (*des Maures*) were formed, who served as *coulis* or labourers either to the Company or to private individuals. They were commanded by battalion officers. Similar companies were also formed of Singhalese dependents of the Disave, and were commanded by sergeants or corporals.

The writers of the Company, too, took up arms and formed another company amongst themselves. Two companies were formed of citizens commanded by the brothers Kulemborg, who agreed to maintain them during the expected duration of the siege.

In September, 1795, there was grumbling on the part of two companies of the Meuron Regiment (*Régiment de Meuron*) who were stationed at Galle. They were cudgelled into submission, the punishment which Major Moitié had dealt out to them.



All the merchandise and effects of the Company which were at Tuticorin were transported to Colombo: some families also came to seek refuge there. It [Tuticorin] was entirely evacuated, and the English took possession without firing a shot.

While these events were proceeding, two merchant vessels arrived from Batavia, which were fortunately laden with rice and various other provisions. They brought also despatches for the Governor which confirmed the alliance of Holland with France, and the news of the departure of the Stadtholder and his family for England. These vessels were to have been reloaded at once and sent away to the Isle of France [Mauritius], but the difficulty of finding *coulis* or slaves, or other cause not possible to get at, delayed their departure.

The Governor had assuredly many means of provisioning his Fort and posts and securing against the misfortune which befel merchandise worth immense sums, but he appeared not to care to profit by any of them.

M. Cheniète, Viceroy (*lieutenant du roi*) at Tranquebar, came during the month of August and offered to supply all the provisions which might be required, in exchange for country produce. His offer was fruitless, either in consequence of the season being unseasonable, or because they did not come to terms about the price. He also offered to purchase the two merchant vessels which had just arrived, to place them under the Danish flag, and to buy up for their cargo all the Company's goods, giving Bills of Exchange on the Royal Treasury of Denmark; taken up by the Governor of Tranquebar. These proposals were not accepted.

Pierre Monneron subsequently arrived from the Isle of France with two vessels under the flag of Tippoo Saib. His cargo consisted of Madeira and Bourdeaux wines, which were nearly all purchased by the Governor. Monneron offered to transport to the Isle of France, to be warehoused there, all the goods, or even to purchase them, but being unable to agree about the price, these offers were equally resultless.

All that was done was to sell publicly many goods of small value which were in store and likely to be spoilt.

However, the first two vessels which arrived were loaded again, but no one knew their destination or nature of the cargo. There was also a question of loading *Le Fidèle*, which belonged to the Governor Mr. van Angelbeck, but under the Danish flag.

It was learnt indirectly that the King of Kandy, faithful to his ancient alliance with the Company, had offered to assist in the defence of the Island; but it appears that his aid was mistrusted, and even rejected, because he favoured the English.

All the spices which were at Kalpitiya, Chilaw, Negombo, Kalutara, Galle, and Mátara were transported to the stores in Colombo, which was considered the only place that should be defended. Much was left at Galle, for want of means of transport.

During these preparations money changed in value: the rupee, which was ordinarily worth 5 escalins, rose to 10; the piastre from 10 escalins 3 sous to 20; the ducaton from 13 escalins 2 sous to 25 escalins; the pagoda of Tuticorin or Porto Novo from 17 to 28 escalins; the star-pagoda and others from 20 to 32 escalins. Florins and copper coins were very scarce.

Two English frigates having commenced to cruise before Colombo, an officer and a detachment of artillery were directed to proceed every night to each of the seaside batteries, but enjoined not to fire under any pretext whatever, without an order from the Governor. This naturally looked suspicious to several officers, and remarks were made about it.

The Governor being desirous to go to Galle, as was said, on some secret business, and unable to do so in consequence of indisposition on reaching Kalutara, had an interview with the Commandant of the former place, and with Colonel Sangle.

On the return of the Governor, he had tried in his presence the eighteen and twenty-four pounders on the Leyden Bastion



and on False Bay Battery (*de la fausse Baie*). Their furthest range was nearly to the mouth of the river at Great Mutwal (*grand Matuaal*): they were afterwards pointed on the Fishmarket and on *Courteboom*.

Mortar practice was made from the Utrecht Bastion in firing stones as far as the Galle Gate. In short, preparations were made for the most vigorous resistance.

The English came from Jaffna by land very leisurely. The Governor was not ignorant either of the strength or the description of troops of which their army was composed. He had been forewarned of everything that had been planned at Madras regarding the Island of Ceylon. He received information from Tranquebar and even from Madras itself.

The English army was composed of Sepoys, some of whom were raised in haste at Madras from the *coulis* of the country. A report spread that it consisted of 10,000 men, and that the enemy had raised besides on the coast of Madura a corps of bandits who would scatter about the environs of Colombo and pillage.

What troops were at Kalpiṭiya and Chilaw, were then recalled, but the officers at those two places had deserted beforehand, leaving their charge to the Company's clerks (*des Boekaiders*).

At this juncture Captain Lamotte, who commanded the Malay battalion, was sent out to meet the enemy with a few companies of his corps; but he had orders to retire as the enemy advanced. He finally took up a position defending the passage of the *Kaimelle* river. Information having been received that armed Kandyans were marching in great force to unite with the enemy, and that they were even supplying them with provisions, he was ordered to retire upon Negombo, and from thence to return to Colombo.

All the bridges on the route were destroyed, and all the roads cut to prevent the passage of the enemy's artillery. Nevertheless the English established themselves at Negombo,

which its head (*l'Oprohoffte*) had abandoned, and their men-of-war and transports anchored there.

Four eight-pounders had been placed at the *Passebetal*, but orders were subsequently received to withdraw them.

The English Major Agnew, who had already once summoned the Governor of Colombo, van Angelbeck, to surrender the Fort, and to place himself under the protection of the English flag, came and made a second summons, and handed over to the Colonel of the Meuron regiment letters from his brother [with the offer] of a Brigadier's commission, if he would join the English service. This he accepted, and it appeared to have been arranged beforehand, as he announced at the same time that the whole regiment would pass over to the same service with its Colonel, who claimed it.

This treason happened most inopportunately, as the European garrison was inconsiderable.

As this regiment was composed partly of Frenchmen devoted to their country and to the Dutch, our allies, their services were counted upon.

The English Major arrived in the frigate *L'Héroïne*, but had left her in the offing, and come on shore alone in a canoe. He landed at the inn, where, for form sake, a sergeant was placed near him. He remained for several days and had his meals daily at Government House, from the balconies of which he could easily inspect the preparations which were made.

A show was made of refusing the protection of the English flag, but the Meuron regiment was allowed to leave, and the Dutch Governor even countenanced [its departure]; for as there were no vessels fit to transport them, he furnished them with sloops belonging to the Company, at twenty rupees a head. Pierre Monneron also freighted one of these vessels for this service.

Colonel de Meuron wished to take his field-pieces away with him, but this was not allowed, on the plea that they belonged to the Company. The Frenchmen belonging to this regiment, the contract term of many of whom had expired, asked to be permitted to remain, on the ground that they had



been engaged only to serve the Company ; but they were all compelled to depart under promise to the latter that their discharges would be granted to them as soon as they arrived at Madras. Nevertheless a large number of them deserted.

Captain Zuelf, Aide-Major of this regiment, was ordered by the Governor to Galle to superintend the embarkation of the two companies which were stationed there.

Finally, in accordance with a convention between Colonel de Meuron and the Governor, the sick who were not able to leave remained in the Dutch hospital, and were treated as though still in service. As soon as the Meuron regiment left, the Council resolved to evacuate Galle, and only to defend Colombo. All the artillery and stores were withdrawn, and Colonel Hugues, who was stationed there with a company of the Wurtemberg regiment, was ordered to return [to Colombo]. He halted, however, at Kalutara for two days until the former regiment had all embarked.

The Malays, the artillery, three officers, and the sailors of the privateer *Le Mutin* who were at Galle, had also orders to return to the town [Colombo].

It was at this time that the frigate *L'Héroïne*, which was cruising before this fortress, anchored opposite Barberyn. Some armed sailors landed, spread alarm in the neighbourhood, bought provisions, and cut down cocoanut and palm trees to get the fruit. The officer in command ordered the postmaster (*posthorider*) — an invalid corporal from the garrison of Kalutara—to have in readiness for him the next day cattle and wood, for which he promised to pay. He then returned on board his vessel.

The corporal promised everything, but he informed the Commandant of Kalutara, and sent him three English sailors who had remained on shore. They were passed on to the Governor of Colombo, and imprisoned with a deserter from Trincomalee who had come through Jaffna.

There had already been posted at Bentota beyond Barberyn, a company of Malays commanded by Lieutenant Driberg, to defend the entrance of the river and the seacoast, and

one at Pánaduré (*Pantre*), this side of Kalutara, for a similar purpose, under the orders of Lieutenant Vogle.

Although Bentota was nearer, an order was sent to this officer to proceed without delay to Barboryn, to oppose the landing of the enemy. He had with him a company of Siphalese. Arriving at night he formed an ambuscade with the Malays behind a house of the Company situated near the landing place, and at the back of a neighbouring store. The Siphalese, as natives of the country, were kept under the cocoanut trees.

The English did not fail to come next day according to their promise. They had four long boats and a lighter (*un both*) to take the cattle and wood demanded the day before from the postholder. They landed armed, and commanded by naval officers. Scarcely had they landed, when the Malays, impatient to be engaged, opened fire and advanced on them. The English, surprised at this reception, retreated precipitately into their boats and defended themselves; whilst shoving off a lieutenant of the frigate and several sailors were killed, and several wounded. The Malays threw themselves into the sea, and captured a boat with several guns and sabres. All were sent to Colombo, and the value of the booty divided amongst the captors. Three of the Malays (of whom one was a sergeant) were killed, and some of them as well as of the Siphalese wounded. The latter also behaved very bravely. This little affair showed the enemy that the natives (*les Indiens*) in the service of the Dutch Company were determined to defend themselves well. This was the only time [the enemy] attempted to disembark.

The Governor, under his semblance of defence, appeared anxious to employ all the Europeans who were in the place, and offered the officers of the privateer *Le Mutin* and the crew service in the artillery during the seige; but as they foresaw what would happen, they thanked him and incontinently demanded to be allowed to return to the Isle of France, in one of the smallest one-mast sloops which had been sent for from Galle. He acceded to their request, and took advantage of



their departure to forward despatches to General Malartic, Governor-General of the Isles of France, and Bonaparte (then Bourbon). The necessary provisions were supplied to them, as well as two old *Sakebres* and some old sailors. M. Pourchasse, Captain of the prize, had the command. Some days after, profiting by a dark night and foggy weather, they set sail at 10 o'clock at night. They had the good fortune to escape the English cruisers, and it was known shortly after that they arrived safely at the Isle of France.

About the same time an English merchantman anchored before Mátara. An officer and five lascars landed to procure fresh water. Meanwhile the *Disáva* sent three fishermen on board to reconnoitre the vessel. The Captain, finding his men did not return, fearing attack, and wishing to profit by a favourable breeze which suddenly sprung up, weighed anchor and set sail for his destination, Bengal, detaining the three fishermen on board. His cargo consisted of Persian horses. The English officer and the lascars were seized and sent to Colombo by the *Disáva* as prisoners of war. The three sailors and the soldiers, who were prisoners, entered the [Dutch] service.

The troops were reorganised. The company of the Colonel of the Wurtemberg [regiment] and that of Winkelmann was split into three. Colonel Venagel was appointed Major. Two battalions of Malays were formed, the first commanded by Captain Lamotte, the second by Captain d'Obrick. A separate company of a portion of the Malays who were at the Arsenal was stationed at the *depôt* of the Company's slaves and of those condemned to chains. A battalion of Sepoys was raised under the command of Captain Pannenberg, Major of the fort of Galle. The Moors that had been enrolled also formed a battalion commanded by Captain Betzem. Five hundred *Cháliyas* (*Salias*) were armed to be employed under the orders of Captain Mittemann in the open, and in the woods. Major Cheder was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and had orders to repair to Colombo. The command at Galle was given to Captain Hulembeck of

the Grenadiers, who had only some invalids and marine artillery, a company of Moors newly raised, and one of Siphalese, to man that fortress. There was still in the Disávany of Mátara a company of Sepoys that had been sent against the insurgents, who were led by a [native called] Don Simon (*Dorsimon*). For some time he had been spreading sedition in the Province. This company was recalled. The Disáva and those under him abandoned Mátara and withdrew to Galle.

The Prosalot company, composed of deserters from the Meuron [regiment],—the greater part Frenchmen,—having complained of its Captain, was offered by Colonel Driberg and the Governor to Captain Légrevisse, who accepted it. Captain Prosalot was compensated by being appointed Major and Aide-de-Camp of the Governor, who placed entire confidence in him. Lieutenant Hayer was promoted to the rank of Captain, and took the command of the former Légrevisse company. Lieutenant Vandestraaten commanded that of Major Driberg. Lieutenants Osel of the National Battalion and Wekel of the Wurtemberg [regiment] were named Aides-de-Camp of the Governor.

Many other promotions were made, both of captains and lieutenants, amongst them one named Le Sieur Déville, a Frenchman, formerly a non-commissioned officer in the Meuron regiment. Men being wanted in all branches, they were obliged to make engineers of artillery officers.

It was during this time that the English men-of-war and transports assembled at Negombo. Several frigates and coasting craft cruised continually before Colombo, and approached it very closely every morning to discover if anything had left during the night.

The frigate *L'Héroïne* passed and repassed within range of the guns of the Flag battery, and it would have been easy either to sink her or to have made her strike her colours; but the Governor having commanded that there should be no firing without his order,—which order never



came,—the soldiers saw with mortification the enemy continually setting them at defiance, without being able to retaliate. The Malays encamped on the seashore at the foot of the Flag battery, being too exposed were put into barracks in the storehouses of the Harbour Master outside the Water-gate (*de la porte d'eau*), and some small guns, three or four-pounders, were placed at the base of the Flag battery under the apprehension that an armed sloop might approach on that side. They also lodged the Sepoys and Moors in some storehouses.

A part of Colonel de Meuron's house was rented to accommodate the Council of Justice and also for an office. The Town Hall served for the armed townsfolk and the clerks. The goods in the offices were placed at Government disposal.

By the advice and invitation of the Governor, several ladies betook themselves to Galle.

At the Governor's house there is a small platform, and under it a vaulted cellar; the Governor had it covered with four rows of fascines and sand, which rendered it bombproof, and there he deposited his plate and furniture.

A ship bearing the King of Achem's flag (red) appeared before the roadstead with the intention of entering. One of the two brigs cruising about left its mate and gave chase, pouring in broadsides which rent all the sails. This vessel very fortunately escaped under the Water-Pass battery, mounted with guns of large calibre, which, for the first time, were ordered to be fired. It was supposed that the Governor only made up his mind to give this order because he hoped this vessel might bring despatches which he daily expected from Batavia. The enemy's brig went about, stood away, and the vessel arrived safely in port. It was the French corsair *Le Jupiter*, from Batavia, which had been previously captured by Commodore Mitchel, and subsequently retaken. The Captain who commanded her was a Dutchman named Backer: he had only a Malay crew, but offered

to capture the two brigs before night and to bring them in for the Governor, if he would grant him sailors and soldiers to work his guns. But the offer was refused.

The Military Council assembled every day, and was composed of the Governor as President, of Colonels Driberg and Hugues, of Lieutenant-Colonel Scheder, Majors Vaugine, Venagel, Prosalot, Hupner, and Foenander, Captain of the Engineers.

Awnings were made for the batteries to protect the soldiers from the heat of the sun. Thither they had sent long and broad knives (a sort of *kléban*) for the Malays in case of attack.

On the surface of the Galle Face they made *trous de loup*, and abattis were placed across the roads which led from the wood to Mutwal (*grand Matuaal*), and towards Grandpass, where those who lived in the environs could pass in carriages. Cross roads were made in the woods and gardens to afford communication between different posts.

In order to prevent the enemy from coming either by Maradana (*le Maraoudanne*) or by the Cinnamon Garden (*jardin à cannelle*), Major Hupner took upon himself to have a canal made to unite the two lakes above the island, but the Governor, who came to see it when it was half finished, considered it a useless and very expensive [work] and put a stop to it.

When all the English transports had arrived at Negombo, the army advanced as far as Ja-ela, (*Jail*), half way on the road to Colombo. Information of this was sent to the Governor. This took place at the beginning of February, 1796.

On February 5, 1796, the company of Captain Légrevisse received orders to march to *la place d'Amsterdam* at 9 o'clock at night, as well as the company of Grenadiers and two of Malays. Cartridges and stone balls were distributed to them, and they repaired to the main guard of the Delft gate. Major Vaugine assumed the command, and added to them a company of Sepoys. At 11 o'clock at night this small body



of troops came out of the Fort, and arrived at half past one in the morning at *Passe-Bétaal*, a post which the enemy sought to occupy. Major Vaugine marched so as to approach Grandpass, and then debouched to the left in order to reach the wood and a narrow path: he had several streams and abattis to pass, but he was not disturbed during that night.

The following day, February 6, 1796, the Major began stationing posts all along the river, and sentries on the two banks.

The minister Gœffening, who lived not far off, came to visit the post, and offered his services, observing that from the Leper Hospital (*la maison des Léproux*) on the other side of the river, it would be easy to surprise it. Thereupon a dozen men under Lieutenant Portmann were posted there, as much to guard this point as to observe what might occur on the Mutwal side. The environs of the latter consist of cocoanut gardens watched by natives.

A quarter of a league further up [the river] to Grandpass was [stationed] Tavel's company.

At the ferry there was a small house occupied by an invalid corporal, whose duty was to examine those crossing the river. He had with him five Singhalese fishermen to work the ferry boats, but they all took flight on the arrival of the detachment. The officers stationed themselves in the verandah of the Postholder's house, and the soldiers under the trees facing the ferry. At three in the afternoon of the same day Major Vaugine received orders to return to the Fort with one company of Grenadiers and one of Malays. He forwarded Captain Légrevisse a copy of his instructions, according to which he was to maintain himself in that position, and warned him that Captain Mittermann would replace him in the command of his company. He thereupon went to Mutwal, where he had learnt that the enemy wished to effect a landing.

On February 7 Captain Légrevisse received orders to send another detachment of Malays to the Fort to assist at a

funeral; and they sent him the same day one officer, a sergeant, a corporal, and an artilleryman, with six four-pounders mounted on naval gun-carriages. They were placed on the right and left of the troops facing the ferry. Platforms were made of cocoanut branches and sand, and a hut of cocoanut boughs to serve as a *dépôt* for the provisions. M. Légrevisse then sent out a patrol as far as Grandpass. The sergeant in command reported that the English were on the other side of the river.

Indeed, during the night of the 7th and 8th, several men were really seen, who with torches appeared to be searching for the road leading to the mouth of the river.

At daybreak the drums announcing the march of the enemy were heard. During the morning Sepoys were seen coming from the mouth of the river: one party marched in column. The spies gave warning that the enemy were coming from Negombo with artillery.

Captain Légrevisse at the same time received instructions from the Governor not to pass the river, and to remain in the position that he occupied. In the afternoon four English officers were seen examining this post with glasses, and the following night moving up the river six shots were fired across the garden under the belief that troops were most probably encamped there.

Captain Winkelmann of the Wurtemberg regiment withdrew to Grandpass with a strong detachment. He established a post on a large rock situated near the mouth of the river.

In the event of a retreat Captain Légrevisse was to go up the river by the gardens as far as M. Tavel's country residence, from there to join Winkelmann's detachment, or to return to Colombo by the wood, if he could not hold Mutwal, whither he received in the evening orders to retire.

On February 10 he placed his company at the entrance of the wood leading to Colombo. The Sepoys were near, and the company of mounted Malays in a garden on the road leading to *Passe-Bétaal*.

The hamlet of Mutwal was abandoned. At five in the



evening the enemy crossed the river at *Passe-Bétaal*. The Sub-Lieutenant Déville, after firing on the enemy, overturned his field-pieces into the water: the gunners retired to Grandpass, and he and the rest rejoined Captain Légrevisse.

The order came afterwards to withdraw to *Courteboom*. Captain Légrevisse made his way there by a narrow path in the wood, the road being obstructed by abattis. He took up his position on the road, and M. Mittermann and his detachment at the entrance to the wood leading to Mutwal.

Captain Winklemann had orders to retire from Grandpass, where the enemy had turned his position. Lieutenants Bockmann and Vogle received orders to go to *Carvate-Breuque*, and in the event of their hearing cannonade on the Mutwal side, to enter the Fort after communicating the above order to M. Mittermann.

On the 11th the soldiers were without provisions, and occupied some empty huts. Captain Légrevisse took over command from M. Mittermann, who, through M. Prosalot, had received the Governor's order to return to him.

At midday an English corvette came very near land to examine and sound the bay. The Fort allowed it to approach without firing a single shot. M. Légrevisse thereupon withdrew his troops to the cover of the wood in order to save them from the broadside which the vessel was ready to fire had opportunity offered. After beating about for some hours she put out to sea again.

Captain Mittermann in the afternoon returned with the order to retire to Malabar street (*la rue des Malabares*). His detachment stationed itself there in a garden surrounded by walls and near *Courteboom*. M. Légrevisse placed his in such a position as to guard the street down to the sea, as well as the avenues leading to Grandpass. A soldier of his company, who was reproached with having quitted his post, desired to be punished, or to be cleared by blowing out his own brains.

An English frigate having approached the Dutch vessels in harbour, MM. Honline, Pabst, and Kuyper, artillery

officers, fired on her, and were immediately put into the mainguard for having done so without the Governor's order.

A quartermaster, coming from *Passe-Bétaal* by Grandpass, assured Captain Légrevisse that the English had all crossed the river, and were in the garden of President Goeffening, and were going to push on that very evening to Mutwal.

At three on the morning of the 12th, M. Raymond, late Lieutenant-Colonel of the Luxemburg regiment, came of his own accord from Colombo with two companies of Malays to join M. Légrevisse. The latter profited by this reinforcement to make a sortie. When he reached the entrance to the wood he took a by-path, but scarcely had he advanced a few steps, when he heard *ver daw* ("who goes there")! And although he replied *ami* ("friend"), he received a volley on advancing, which killed two men of his company and several Malays: there were besides several wounded, amongst them M. Raymond himself, who had the bone of his right thigh broken. He replied smartly, and the fire ceased. He immediately sent out to reconnoitre, but without success.

Meanwhile, a part of his company and the Malays went to Mutwal along the seashore: soon afterwards he heard them engaged with the enemy, who were there in force. He immediately proceeded there with the rest of his troops; but the enemy had already taken post there, and fired grape shot from their field-pieces into the wood. Captain Mittermann having refused to support him, and not being able otherwise to turn the English position by the right of the road, as they occupied the communications to Grandpass with superior forces,—this brave officer was forced to retire on *Courteboom*, where Captain Mittermann was already. The position of the latter was bad; the sea being in his rear and the wood on his left flank. He directed M. Légrevisse to withdraw, being himself ordered to remain alone in that position.



. After M. Légrevisse had effected his retreat through the wood, he perceived on his right a detachment of Malays and of the Wurtemberg regiment coming from *Carvate-Breuque*, which proceeding on the road to Colombo, took up a position on the right. At the same moment the enemy debouched on the road and vigorously attacked the troops of these two captains, who were driven back and obliged to retire to Kayman's gate (*la porte des Caymans*), having been deserted by the Sepoys. It was very fortunate for them that the enemy was contented to take up its position at *Courteboom*.

This was the only encounter of any importance that took place before the surrender of Colombo.

At Kayman's gate M. Légrevisse found three companies of the National Battalion: the Grenadiers, the company of Captains Thirback and Hoyer, as well as a detachment of artillery placed under his orders, to support him if the enemy approached. He stationed these troops at all the avenues, and the artillery and his own detachment on the seashore in an old Portuguese battery, partially demolished. Shortly afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Scheder came to take command of the troops. In spite of all, the enemy assembled in force at *Courteboom* under their very eyes.

Captain Légrevisse received orders at midday to retire with his detachment into the Fort, and the remainder of the troops received a like order successively. Kayman's gate was then closed, and a Malay guard placed there.

On the 13th all the gates of the Fort were shut, and the bridges raised. Légrevisse's company was directed to guard the ravelin of the Delft gate.

M. Sluysken, Director of Surat, who had come to Colombo for his health, wrote to Colonel Stuart, Commander of the English army, for permission to leave the Fort with his family. The permission was granted, and he withdrew to a country house on the Grandpass road. At the same time similar permission was offered to the ladies and private individuals who

might desire to avail themselves of it, and a safeguard was promised them : but no one accepted it.

The enemy then came and took up its position in Malabar street facing the old Portuguese battery, also at Wolfendahl (*Volsendanne*) at the Disávany (*Dessavonie*), and beyond the lake.

Captain Légrovisse was entrusted with the defence of the barrier of the ravelin of the Delft gate as far as the powder mill at the Rotterdam gate. Gunners under the command of an officer were stationed at the barrier, as well as at the ravelin, at the bonnet of the covered way of the powder-mill, and at the powder-mill itself.

Firebombs were thrown during the night from all the batteries and from inside the Fort to enable them to ascertain what was going on on the esplanade, in the lower town, and in the harbour. A strong detachment of Sepoys, commanded by an European sergeant, patrolled the lower town. He had orders to go as far as Kayman's gate, and went out by a flying bridge communicating between the ravelin and the covered way of the powder-mill. The English on their side communicated throughout the night with their ships at *Courteboom* : they had lighted fires for this purpose all along the coast.

On February 14, at 1 P.M., Major Agnew, an officer of the enemy's army, came with a flag of truce to Kayman's gate. They apprised the Governor of it, who sent his Aide-de-Camp, Major Prosalot, in a carriage. He returned with the English officer, preceded by an under-officer carrying a flag of truce and by a drummer. A council was held in the afternoon, and the English officer with the flag of truce returned in the evening. Thereupon the report spread that there was a suspension of hostilities for some days. Indeed the gates remained open, and whoever wished went out as far as Kayman's gate ; part, too, of the Moors, of the artillery, and of those who had been formed into battalions under pretext of going to see their families took advantage of it to desert.

On February 16, at 6 o'clock in the morning, all the



troops thinking, and with reason, that they were betrayed, were ripe for revolt. Several guns went off in the Rotterdam quarter, where two Wurtemberg companies were stationed. Firing then commenced at several other points of the Fort, and notably from the barracks of the Water-gate, where the Malays and Siphalese were stationed. It was entirely directed towards the house of Governor van Angelbeck. At the same time Captain Légrevisse, who had received orders to repair with his company to the mainguard, received a counter order, to the effect that the Fortress was given over to the English. This was done at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Thus was Colombo, the principal fortress of the Island of Ceylon, surrendered to the English. All the troops were so indignant with the Governor, that if the English Colonel had not sent him a detachment as bodyguard, he would certainly have fallen a victim to the fire which destroyed his house and menaced the interior of the Fort.

Subsequently the Governor himself was so horrified at his own treason, that he blew out his brains.

The terms of the capitulation were, that the garrison should march out with honours of war, arms and baggage, with drums beating, matches lighted, and colours flying ; that it should keep its artillery, which would follow it, and that the officers should be allowed to carry their side-arms.

Accordingly the whole garrison assembled at *la place d'Amsterdam*, and leaving the Fort by the Delft gate, laid down their arms on the esplanade. All the gates of the Fort remained open, and the officers were at liberty to re-enter it. The Anglo-European soldiers were quartered in the barracks, the Sepoys in the streets, and the officers in tents and in the verandahs of houses.

The next day, the 17th, Colonel Driberg conducted all the officers of the Dutch garrison to Colonel Stuart, who was lodging at the Governor's house. He informed them that they would leave for Madras on the 20th, and that two vessels would be ready for this purpose, one for the National troops and the other for the Wurtemberg regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Raymond, who had died of his wounds the previous day, was buried with all military honours.

M. Hupner and another artillery officer were appointed commissaries to receive the surrendered arms.

The Kandyans, to the number of 3,000 to 4,000, appeared on the morning of the 16th at Grandpass on the right bank of the river. They sent to offer their services to the English; but Colonel Stuart replied that he had no need of them, and forbade their crossing the river.

On the 17th the Ambassador of the King of Kandy came to offer congratulations to Colonel Stuart. The troops received them under arms, and the artillery saluted as they entered and retired; but notwithstanding these honours, they complained that they were not paid the same respect they received from the Dutch. Colonel Stuart received them at Government House without any special ceremony, and informed them that they must put up with it, being the English custom. They retired but little satisfied, and principally because they had received no presents.

On February 21 the Dutch troops embarked and set sail on the night of the 21st or 22nd. Some days after, the Malays were sent to Tuticorin, and from there by land to Madras. The sailors were taken to Bombay.

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The National troops embarked on board the *Epaminondas*, a Dutch vessel: forty-seven officers, infantry, artillery, and surgeons; four hundred and fourteen non-commissioned officers and men—in all 461.

The Wurtemberg regiment embarked on board the *Anna*, a private vessel: thirteen officers, among whom was Major Venagel: non-commissioned officers and men.

These two ships were escorted by the frigate *Bombay* of Bombay.

The ship *Anna* sprung a leak; the pumps were hardly able to save her. They let her drive before the wind, and she arrived on March 12, the *Epaminondas* only arriving on the 23rd.



List of the Ordnance on the Exterior and Interior Works  
of the Fort of Colombo.*Outside the Fort.*

Beyond the barrier which commands the			
Lower Town	...	...	2 brass 4-pounders
Within and under the new Guard-house...			2 18-pounders
The ravelin between Delft and Hoorn	...	10	iron 6-pounders
Opposite the Lake road from the Powder			
Magazine	...	...	3 18-pounders
Over the <i>demi-lune</i> of the Powder Magazine		13	8 and 6-pounders
Do. at the barrier of Galle gate	...	4	18 and 12 do.
Do. battery before the said gate...		4	12 and 8 do.
Between Enkhuysen and Briel, Malay camp		4	brass 2-pounders
Before the Water-gate	...	4	do. do.
Opposite the Landing Stage	...	4	do. do.
On the Baettenbourg Bastion	...	18	brass 24-pounders
At the Water-gate	...	16	iron and brass 18 and 12-pounders

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*Within the Fort.*

On the Bastions	{	Leyden	...	27	iron and brass 6, 18, and 24-pounders and 1 howitzer
		Delft	...	23	iron 8 and 24-pounders
		Hoorn	...	28	do. 3, 8, 12, 18, and 24-pounders and 5 mortars
		Rotterdam	...	26	iron 6, 8, and 18-pounders
		Middelbourg	...	18	do. 18 pounders, 3 mortars, and 1 howitzer
False Bay of Middelbourg			...	33	iron 3, 6, 12, and 24-pounders and 6 pieces in reserve
Klippenbourg Battery			...	10	iron 8 and 12-pounders
Enkhuysen Bastion	...		...	7	do. 6, 8, and 2 do.
Briel do.	...		...	10	iron and brass 2 and 24-pounders
Hangenhoek	...		...	6	iron 3 and 6-pounders
Zeebourg Bastion	...		...	9	do. 6 and 12 do.
Amsterdam do.	...		...	10	iron and brass 8-pounders
Curtain in front of Government House	...		...	9	of iron of 1 and 2 lb.

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Outside the Fort ... 84

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Total...300

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The Coëhoorn mortars, for firing grenades, were placed on Leyden, Hoorn, Delft, Middelbourg, Briel, Baettenbourg, and on the curtain before Government House.

Sixteen more pieces of various calibre were stored at the arsenal.

The magazines were very well stocked with powder, though much of it was found to be damaged.

There were in the arsenal small arms for a garrison of three times the strength.

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List of the Garrison of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon,  
at the time of its surrender to the English on  
February 16, 1796.

*General Staff.*

Van Angelbeck, governor ; Driberg, colonel in command ; Scheder, lieutenant-colonel ; Vaugine, major ; Prosalot, major and adjutant-general ; Driberg, captain major of the fortress ; Caper, lieutenant-adjutant of battalion ; Hopel, lieutenant and adjutant to the Governor ; Dèjé and Scheder, sub-lieutenants and Fort adjutants ; Wolkers, surgeon-major of battalion.

*National Troops.*

**Grenadier Company.**

Captain Frantz, two lieutenants, one sub-lieutenant, one assistant surgeon, and 90 non-commissioned officers and men.

**Fusiliers.**

1st Company.—Captain Légrevisse, 2 lieutenants, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 93 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Captain Thirback, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 115 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Captain Hoyer, 2 lieutenants, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 92 non-commissioned officers and men.

4th Company.—Captain Vandestraaten, 2 lieutenants, 2 sub-lieutenants, 1 assistant surgeon, and 98 non-commissioned officers and men.

Also attached to the Grenadier Company, a drum-major, a sergeant, a bandmaster, corporal, and nine bandsmen.

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**Wurtemberg Regiment.**

Van Hugues, colonel ; Venagel, major ; Hoffmann, lieutenant-adjutant ; Franck, surgeon-major ; Stalinger and Bleshe, ensigns of the colours ; a drum-major, corporal ; bandmaster sergeant, and eleven bandsmen.



- Companies. {
- Colonel : Captain-lieutenant Reitzenstein, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 97 non-commissioned officers and men.
  - Major : Captain-lieutenant Halovax, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 78 non-commissioned officers and men.
  - Fusiliers : Captain Winkelmann, 1 lieutenant, 2 sub-lieutenants, 78 non-commissioned officers and men.
- 

Malays : 1st Battalion, commanded by Captain Lamotte.

An assistant surgeon.

1st Company.—Driberg, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Kaping, major and captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 99 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Boegman, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Nolloyaija, captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 84 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Schmith, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singationa, captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 86 non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

4th Company.—Mollee, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singajouda, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 86 non-commissioned officers and men.

5th Company.—Vogel, lieutenant commanding ; 1 drill sergeant, Toedacvilyaija, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 53 non-commissioned officers and men.

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Malays : 2nd Battalion, commanded by Captain Dobrig.

1st Company.—Willemberg, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singasaric, captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 87 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Pellegrin, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Boukiis, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 81 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Délille, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Lay, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 97 non-commissioned officers and men.

4th Company.—Graimont, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Singagouna, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 67 non-commissioned officers and men.

5th Company.—Stroop, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Wirakousouna, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 55 non-commissioned officers and men.

6th Company.—Heyde, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, Bingalaxana, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 91 non-commissioned officers and men.

Sepoy Battalion, commanded by Captain Pannenberg.

1st Company.—Frick, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill corporal, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 61 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Company.—Otto, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 48 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd Company.—Golstein, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 82 non-commissioned officers and men.

4th Company.—Olivier, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 83 non-commissioned officers and men.

5th Company.—Axen, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 76 non-commissioned officers and men.

6th Company.—Vanderverff, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 91 non-commissioned officers and men.

7th Company.—Vandelbock, sub-lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 80 non-commissioned officers and men.

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Battalion of Moors, commanded by Captain Beem.

1st Company.—Brahé, lieutenant\* commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 sub-lieutenants, 94 sub-officers and men.

2nd Company.—Kneyser, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 81 sub-officers and men.

3rd Company.—Van Essen, lieutenant commanding, 1 drill sergeant, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 sub-lieutenant, 72 sub-officers and men.

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Artillery.

Hupner, major commanding; Proberg, captain, assistant major; Tresseler, sub-lieutenant, adjutant; Stekler, sub-lieutenant, adjutant; Aleps, lieutenant of the arsenal; an assistant surgeon.

1st Company.—Schreuder, captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 sub-lieutenants, 44 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 30 sailors, 5 workmen, 28 Moors.

2nd Company.—Erhard, captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 sub-lieutenants, 44 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 30 sailors, 6 workmen, 34 Moors.

3rd company.—Ducrok, captain, 1 lieutenant, 5 sub-lieutenants, 41 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 29 sailors, 6 workmen, 38 Moors.

4th Company.—Lagarde, captain, 2 lieutenants, 4 sub-lieutenants, 42 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, 29 sailors, 4 workmen, 32 Moors.



## Engineers.

Foenander, captain commanding ; Duperon, captain-lieutenant ; Luzon, captain-lieutenant ; Walberg, sub-lieutenant ; Ulembeck, Chevalier, Hernian, and Welsinger, cadets ; Keller, sergeant in charge of the works.

## Invalids.

Heicom, lieutenant in command, and 43 officers and soldiers.

## Scouts.

Van Mittermann, captain commanding, and 500 Chalias.

## Commissariat.

Van Stroure, captain, and Jonson, dubash.

## Armoury.

Nette and Demercé, captains.

*Surgeons-Majors of the fortress, subordinate to the Surgeon-General :—* Pool, Switz, and Heyden.

In addition three companies of Singhalese, each 100 strong, retainers of the Disáva, and an European corporal for each company.

There were besides one company composed of the clerks and two of citizens.

Memoranda relative to the Military Stations, the Organisation and the Pay of the Troops of India in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

All the invalids of the infantry or artillery were placed at the Disavoni to guard the warehouses outside the Fort, at the several minor posts in charge of the Disáva in the department of Colombo, of the captain of the coast in the district of Galle, and the Disáva of the Disavoni of Mátara. This branch of work was no concern either of the colonel commanding at Colombo or the major commanding at Galle.

Trincomalee had but one military station, where the whole administration fell to the major in command. When there were detachments, either of native or European troops, they were subject to the control of the chiefs of the district.

The Malay troops were all on the same footing, and companies of a hundred men their full strength.

They were composed of a major of their nation, captain of the first company, of an European officer in command, and a drill sergeant or corporal, one captain, one lieutenant, one native sub-lieutenant, six sergeants, six corporals, two drummers, a fifer, and 80 fusiliers.

The Malay major received fifty rix-dollars (at 48 sous) a month ; the captain twenty five rix-dollars ; the lieutenant eighteen rix-dollars and nineteen sous ; the sub-lieutenant, fifteen rix-dollars ; the sergeant, seven rix-dollars ; the corporal, five rix-dollars and seven sous ; the soldiers, four rix-dollars and seven sous.

They were allowed a flag, but had to pay for it. Commanders of companies were responsible for the repair of the arms, and received on this account fifteen rix-dollars a month, as did those of the European troops. Those of battalions had charge of the clothing, and received the opium given to the companies, and distributed it to the Malay captains, and they to their men.

Each European officer commanding a company of native troops received, besides his pay, ten rix-dollars a month.

The invalids got only two rix-dollars and thirty nine sous, with forty pounds of rice, like the rest of the troops.

Captains of battalions received eighteen florins a month, and after five years one hundred florins. The captain-lieutenants, sixty florins ; the lieutenants, fifty florins ; the sub-lieutenants, forty florins ; and sergeants, twenty florins—the florin being worth fifteen Dutch sous.

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## APPENDIX A.

[Correspondence extracted from the Dutch Records, Colombo.]

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To the Honourable J. G. VAN ANGELBECK, Governor, &c.,  
at Colombo.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that I have received orders from the Directors of the Honourable East India Company to carry into execution, in concert with the Officers Commanding the Naval and Land Forces in India, such measures as may appear necessary to prevent the ill effects apprehended, on account of the late successes of the French in Holland, from extending to this country ; and for this purpose the Prince Stadtholder, who has been obliged to take refuge in Great Britain, has transmitted a letter for you, through His Majesty's Secretary of State, which will be delivered to you herewith. As it contains the orders of His Serene Highness for putting the Dutch Settlements on the Island of Ceylon under the protection of His Majesty, I am persuaded there will be no difficulty on your part in paying immediate obedience to them, in order that such Colonies or Settlements may be protected against the enemy, and held possession of upon the condition of their being restored to the Republic, at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which its independence and its Constitution, as guaranteed in 1787, shall be maintained and secured.



I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the Officers Commanding the Naval and Land Forces have His Majesty's orders to cultivate the friendship and goodwill of the inhabitants, who may thus be placed under His royal protection, and to convince them of His Majesty's disposition to grant them all such indulgences and immunities as can, consistently with the general interests of the Empire, be extended to them; and that it is His Majesty's intention that their laws and customs should not be infringed, nor fresh taxes or duties imposed, relying, however, that proper provision will be made for defraying the expense of the internal Government of the Settlement. I am also to inform you that it is His Majesty's gracious intention that the internal trade of the inhabitants shall be entirely free, and that permission will be granted to them to trade to and from the English Company's possessions, in the East Indies, with the same advantages as the subjects of the most favoured nation; and that whilst the Settlements under your Government shall continue in His Majesty's possession, the inhabitants will be treated in the most favourable manner, and will be admitted to a full and free use of all the commercial advantages of which the situation and circumstances of the settlement will admit: and with a view to give every proof of His Majesty's desire to render the situation of the inhabitants as satisfactory as possible, he has directed that the officers of your Government should be left in the full and free possession of their employments, until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

With respect to the European corps serving under your Government, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to authorise that it should be proposed to them to be taken into the pay of Great Britain, and engaged for his service, on the terms on which they are now employed.

Having made this communication, it is my duty to apprise you that if, contrary to His Majesty's expectations, resistance should be made to deliver up the several Colonies and Settlements upon the Island of Ceylon, the Officers Commanding the Naval and Land Forces have the express command of the King to take possession of them by force, in His Majesty's name, a measure which, being the result of your disregard to the orders of the Prince Stadtholder, will render you, and those who may be concerned with you, responsible for the consequences.

I have further to acquaint you that a considerable body of troops will sail from hence in the course of a few days to rendezvous at Trincomalee, and that any communication you may have to make upon the important subject of this despatch you will address to the Commanding Officers of the Naval and Land Forces assembled at that place, who have full authority to adopt such measures, in conformity to the orders above-mentioned, as the exigency of the case may require.

The friendship which has so long subsisted between Great Britain and the States General, and which has certainly so much contributed to the welfare of both, has placed me under a peculiar embarrassment, from feeling the necessity of calling upon you for a decided and final answer to this despatch within a limited period; but the critical situation of public affairs will not admit of delay. It is therefore indispensably necessary that you should at once determine whether you will accept the protection offered by the King, as the ally and friend of the States General under the Constitution guaranteed to them in 1787, or whether you will prefer a system fraught with every distress and ruin to the liberty and property of those who are so unfortunate as to exist under it.

For this purpose, Major Agnew has directions to convey your answer to the Commanding Officers of the Naval and Land Forces, as no further communication can be had with me upon this point; or in the event of your wishing to despatch any person from your own Government, Captain Gardner has Commodore Rainier's orders to give him every suitable accommodation in His Majesty's ship *L'Heroine*, and to land him at Trincomalee; but it must be explicitly understood that the smallest delay under existing circumstances will be considered as a refusal of the offered protection.

Major Agnew, who will have the honour of delivering these despatches, is an officer upon whose integrity and discretion you may place the firmest reliance, and is highly deserving of being treated with the most unreserved confidence.

I have, &c.,  
HOBART.

Fort St. George,  
July 7, 1795.

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#### PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS an armed force, acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the powers of Government in France, has entered into the territories of His Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stadtholder has been obliged to leave his own country and take refuge in Great Britain—We do by this Proclamation, issued in virtue of His Majesty's command, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the Sacred Obligations of Honour and Allegiance and Fidelity to their lawful Sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs), to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into His Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by His Majesty until a general



pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient Constitution and Government of the United Provinces; and, in the meantime, we hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's royal word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by His Majesty, to be held and treated upon the same terms, with respect to all advantages, privileges, and immunities to be enjoyed by the respective inhabitants, upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated, which are now subject to His Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charters.

Given under our hands at Fort St. George this seventh day of July, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.

JOHN BRATHWAITE.

MON CHER FRERE,—EN consequence de la dissolution du Gouvernement avec lequel j'avois fait la capitulation pour le service de mon regiment en 1781, j'ai pris la resolution de le retirer de l'armée Hollandoire dans l'intention de transferer le corp au service de sa Majesté Britannique qui a donne sa protection au Prince Stadtholder Hereditaire, et qui a garanti la conservation de la Constitution des Etats Généraux établie 1787.

Je vous en donne avis afin de vous deriger en consequence je connois trop vos principes et votre attachement pour me permettre de douter un instant que vous ne remplissiez tous les devoirs que ce nouvel ordre de choses vous imposent.

En attendant la donnée satisfaction de vous embrasser ne doutez jamais des tendres sentiments fraternel de votre dévoué frère et chef propriétaire.

LE CHL. CHARLES DE MEURON.

Goudelour,  
ce 30 Février, 1795.

To the Officers Commanding the English Naval and Land  
Forces in the Bay of Trincomalee.

SIRS,—I RECEIVED through Major Agnew a letter from Lord Hobart, the contents of which you are acquainted with, and I am desired to send you my answer by Major Agnew. In consequence I have the honour to declare as well for myself as for the Members of the Council, which form the Government of this Island, that all of us and each in particular adhere faithfully to the old and lawful Government

system of the Republic of the Seven Provinces, with the States General and the Hereditary Stadtholder at the head, as guaranteed in the year 1787 ; and that we still acknowledge the English as our close and intimate allies.

Our principal forts are, thank God, well provided with everything that is necessary for a vigorous defence ; and therefore we are not so much in want of the supply which has been offered. But nevertheless it will be agreeable to us, if the Government of Madras will now return the friendship which we showed it last year, with an equal quantity of eight hundred Europeans, of which three hundred ought to be placed in the fort of Ostenburg, three hundred near Colombo in the forts of Negombo and Kalutara, and two hundred near Galle in the fort of Mátara. But thereby we ought to inform you, that we are destitute of money, and therefore unable to pay those troops, and thus we beg that your Government will charge itself with the payment, to be indemnified hereafter by our superiors.

With this supply we trust that we will be sufficiently able to repel the enemies which may attack us, and frustrate their designs, and this our confidence is grounded on the strength of the forts, the quantity of the garrisons, the stock of all that is required for a vigorous defence, and the firm resolution with which all our officers and troops are animated to hazard their lives and property for the defence of the establishments which have been committed to our care.

The recommendation of his Serene Highness our Hereditary Stadtholder and Chief Governor-General to give every possible help in our harbours to his Britannic Majesty's ships, shall be obeyed according to our power. But respecting the proposition of Lord Hobart to put our settlements under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, I am obliged to answer that we are in duty and by oath bound to keep them for our superiors, and not to resign the least part of them. I trust that this declaration will be approved of by you, as the letter of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange on which his Lordship grounds his proposition does not make the least mention thereof, as you will see by the copy which joins this.

This is also not required to attain the purpose, as we are, thank God, able to defend the establishments which have been committed to our care, especially if the English Government pleases to supply us with the aforesaid troops, and that his Majesty's ships please to co-operate for the defence of our coasts and harbours.

As I do not doubt but that this my just declaration will be accepted, the Major and Commandant Fornbauer is ordered by me to take in three hundred Europeans, and to station them in the fort of Ostenburg, and to deliberate with you about the measures which ought to be pursued for that garrison, and to deliver to the Commandant of the fort, cannon, stores, and other goods according to an exact inventory, for which purpose, according to Lord Hobart's proposition, the junior



merchant Fraercken is sent from hence to assist jointly with the administrator Martensz, as Deputy at the inventorisation.

SIRS,

Your obedient servant,

Colombo, July 27, 1795.

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.

Note pour Messieurs les Capitaines Renaud et Hoffmann.

1. Ces Messieurs presenteront mon respect à M. le Commodore.
2. Ils lui diront, que je jois prêt, d'observer les devoirs d'un Commandant d'une puissance alliée.
3. Mais que j'ai des nouvelles, des préparatifs de guerre, que la Compagnie Anglaise faisoit à la côte, et notamment à Negapatnam. Que les chefs de la Compagnie Anglaise, disent publiquement, que ces préparatifs joient contre l'île de Ceilon.
4. Que cette nouvelle peut-être facilement détruit par M. le Commodore, en donnant sa parole d'honneur par écrit que actuellement, M. le Commodore, n'ait pas d'ordre, qui l'autorisent de non faire la guerre et que'en cas que M. le Commodore ne juge pas apropos de me tranquiliser sur ce point, je le prie de me permettre que je refuse l'entrée dans la Bumenbaay à chaque bâtiment de guerre Anglaise, jusque ce que j'aurois des ordres definitifs du Gouvernement Général de l'Isle et que jusque là, je ne pourrois entrer en aucune negociation, sur le sujet contenue dans la lettre, qui m'a été remise par M. le Major Agneween.

J. G. FORNBAUER.

A. K. KORDEERT.

Trinkonomale, ce 1 Août, 1795.

J. M. JARTHOLOMEUSZ.

Commodore Rainier presents his compliments to Major Fornbauer, and will transmit his answer to the Note delivered by Captains Renaud and Hoffmann, as soon as the papers he judges necessary for his information can be copied. Major Agnew and Captain Borough will have the honour to deliver Commodore Rainier's answer to Major Fornbauer, and will be authorised to give such further explanation as may appear necessary.

On Board H.M.S. Suffolk.

August 2, 1795.

In reply to the note of Major Fornbauer communicated by Captains Renaud and Hoffmann, Commodore Rainier and Colonel Stuart have to observe, that the object for which the troops under their command have been ordered to Trincomalee was particularly explained to the Government-General of Ceylon, in a letter from the Government of

Madras and other communications, transmitted to Colombo, by Major Agnew, who has brought to them the reply of Mr. van Angelbeck, and delivered to Major Fornbauer the orders issued by him in consequence of these communications. The Officers Commanding His Majesty's Sea and Land Forces conceived that no further explanation of their object was necessary; but as Major Fornbauer requires it, they assure him that they are come as the ancient friends and firm allies of the Republic of the United Provinces, to protect with the troops of His Britannic Majesty the possessions of his allies, and to prevent their falling into the hands of their common enemy, under the express condition that as soon as the Constitution of the Republic of the United Provinces is re-established as guaranteed in the year 1787, the places occupied by His Majesty's troops shall be restored.

It is necessary that the Major Fornbauer should be fully acquainted with the instructions under which Commodore Rainier and Colonel Stuart act; which are, in the event of refusal to admit the troops for the purposes of protection as above stated, to use the force under their command to compel obedience; and should Major Fornbauer render it necessary for them to resort to force, he will be himself responsible for the consequences which may ensue from a line of conduct so opposite to the orders of His Serene Highness the Prince Stadtholder, and those of the Government of Colombo, that it can only be attributed to his determination to take part with the common enemy of His Britannic Majesty and the Dutch Republic.

Given under our hands on Board His Majesty's Ship Suffolk, in Back Bay, Trincomalee, this second day of August, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.

J. STUART.

#### Instruction pour Messieurs Renaud et Bellon.

1. CES Messieurs presenteront mon respect à M. le Commodore Rainier et M. le Colonel Stuart, et les remercierons de ce que il sont bien voulu par leur declaration, anuller les avis, que le soussigné avoie reçu, comme si la Compagnie Anglaise, avoit dessein d'envanir l'Isle de Ceilon. Qu'en consequence les vaisseaux de sa Majesté et autres battiments Anglais, pourront entrer dans la baye et qu'en Général les troupes de deux nations vivront en bonne amitié.

2. Le soussigné a ordre de recevoir dans le fort Oostenburg trois cent têtes militaires, de sa Majesté Britannique. Mais que malheureusement dans la lettre, qui porte cette ordre, il'y a omission de forme, en ce que la lettre n'est signéé que de Monsieur le Gouverneur de l'Isle tout sien : que selon la Constitution de la Compagnie toutes les lettres, portant même des petits objets d'administration, doivent être signéés, constamment du moins par la pluralité des members.



3. Que cette omission de forme constitutionnelle, rend la lettre de pas plus de poids, qu'une lettre particulière. Et que Monsieur le Gouverneur, qui est d'un âge très avancé, mourant, la Regence pourroit accuser de haute trahison, le soussigné et lui trancher la tête sur un échaffaud, sans que le soussigné auroit une seule pièce, pour le justifier de l'admission, des trois cent hommes, des troupes, de sa Majesté Britannique.

4. Le soussigné supplie par cette raison, Monsieur le Commodore Rainier et Monsieur le Colonel Stuart d'avoir égard à cette difficulté et d'accorder un délai au soussigné, pour l'admission des trois cent têtes dans Oostenbourg. Jusque ce que Monsieur le Gouverneur van Angelbeck aura levé, par une lettre, ou ordre signée de lui et de la pluralité des Membres du Conseil, cette difficulté, en quel cas le soussigné admettra aussitôt les trois cent hommes, l'intervalle pouvant être employé, de prendre les arrangements nécessaire pour tout ce qui a égard, à cet objet.

5. Pour engager M. le Commodore Rainier et M. le Colonel Stuart, d'accorder ce délai, le soussigné déclare, qu'il a ordre du Gouverneur et Conseil de l'Isle de Ceylon, en cas d'attaque par le Gouvernement actuelle de France, d'en donner avis au Gouvernement de Madras et d'autres chefs de sa Majesté Britannique, et de demander le secours qui sera jugé nécessaire, pour empêcher l'ennemi de faire la conquête des forts, sous son commandement. Et le soussigné engage par la présente sa parole d'honneur, qu'il observera fidèlement l'ordre ci-dessus.

J. G. FORNBauer.

Trinkonomale, ce 2 Août, 1795.

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COMMODORE Rainier and Colonel Stuart have received the Note which the Captains Renaud and Bellon were charged to deliver to them from a Major Fornbauer. They have by every means in their power endeavoured to avoid any occasion of disagreement between His Majesty's officers and those of the Republic of the United Provinces, on an object of service equally important to the interests of both; for this reason Major Agnew was despatched to Colombo to learn the sentiments of the Government of Ceylon, and the British squadron avoided entering the Bay of Trincomalee, till his return gave the Officers Commanding the assurance of the continuance of the friendship which has hitherto subsisted between these States.

Having acted with such delicacy towards the officers of the Government of Ceylon, they did not expect that any omission of form would have operated to prevent the immediate conclusion of an arrangement proposed by Governor van Angelbeck, in answer to the demands made by the British Government. That arrangement was by no means equal to the demands conveyed in the British Proclamation; but Commodore Rainier and Colonel Stuart, from a wish to avoid hostility if possible, took upon themselves to accept it.

Major Fornbauer's last notification obliges the Commanders of the British Forces at Trincomalee to revert to their original instructions. Major Fornbauer has received copy of their Proclamation, and he is hereby required in conformity to the demands it contains to deliver the forts under his command into the possession of the British troops, to be protected by them against the attacks of the French ; or his refusal will be considered as a declaration of hostility.

Given under our hands on Board His Majesty's Ship Suffolk, in Back Bay, Trincomalee, this second day of August, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.  
J. STUART.

Instruction pour Messieurs les Capitaines Renaud and Bellon.

1. EN présentant à Monsieur le Commodore et à M le Colonel Stuart mon respect, Messieurs les Capitaines Renaud et Bellon, protesteront formellement contre le contenu de la note fulminante, remis au soussigné. Ils chargeront Messieurs le Commodore Rainier et le Colonel Stuart de toute la conséquence, qui peut s'ensuivre et assureront ces Messieurs que la garnison et son Commandant tachera de mériter l'estime de la nation Anglaise, pour se consoler du mépris dont la dernière note vient flétrir son Commandant.

Trinkonomale, ce 2 Août, 1795.

J. G. FORNBAUER.

To the Officers Commanding the British Naval and Military Forces at Trincomalee.

SIRS,—HAVING received the news that you have thought fit to invade the Company's territory with armed troops, and to summon the forts of Trincomalee and Ostenburg, we have annulled our resolution to accept of eight hundred men as auxiliaries and to place three hundred of them in Ostenburg, and have therefore resolved to defend with the forces we have the forts and establishments which have been confided to us against every one that wishes to make themselves masters thereof. We inform you thereof, and have the honour to be, &c.

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.  
C. VAN ANGELBECK.  
D. C. VON DRIEBERG.  
J. REINTOUS.  
B. L. VAN ZITTER.  
A. SAMLANT.  
J. A. VOLLENHOVE.  
D. D. VAN RANZOW.  
A. J. ISSENDORP.  
T. G. HOPLAND.

Colombo, August 13, 1795.



*Capitulation of Trincomalee.*

Le Commandant du Fort d'Oostenburg rend le dit fort à sa Majesté Britannique sous les conditions suivantes :—

ARTICLE 1.

La garrison du Fort d'Oostenburg se rend prisonniers de guerre ; les officiers garderont leurs épées.

*Granted.*

ARTICLE 2.

Le Capitaine Weerman et le Lieutenant Lellman Ingenieur, demandent la permission de rester ici-pour arranger leurs affaires at celles des officiers.

*These officers will be permitted to remain a reasonable time for the arrangement of their affairs.*

ARTICLE 3.

Les propriétés des officiers et soldats sera assure.

*Granted.*

ARTICLE 4.

Les soldats seront prisonniers de guerre, et delivrés pour être transporté ; ils ne seront pas forcés pour prendre service, et ceux qui ne voudront pas s'engager, seront transporté en Europe au tems convenable.

*Granted.*

ARTICLE 5.

Les Malays seront bien traites, et ne seront pas forcés de prendre service ni comme militaires, ni comme matelots.

*Granted.*

ARTICLE 6.

Le magasinier, son assistant et le secretaire demandent la permission de rester ici pour arranger leurs affaires.

*These gentlemen will be allowed a reasonable time for the arrangement of their affairs, but are to be considered as prisoners of war.*

ARTICLE 7.

Tous les articles de la capitulation de Trinkonomale, quoique pas contenus dans celle ci, seront etendues aussi sur la garrison d'Oostenburg autant convenable.

*Granted.*

## ARTICLE 8.

A quatre heures cet après midi, la garrison marcheré dehors tambours battant et mettra bas les armes.

*The garrison will march out at 4 o'clock this afternoon in the manner required by this Article. But a detachment of the British army must be put in possession of the Water Pass Gate at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and proper persons will be appointed by Captain Hoffmann to point out the Magazine, &c., that guards may be posted for their security.*

## ARTICLE 9.

Tous les munitions, les magasins, papiers, et propriétés publiques seront delivrés au Commissaire nommé de la part de sa Majesté Britannique.

Fort d'Oostenburg,  
ce 31 Août, 1795.

PETER RAINIER.  
J. STUART.

To the Honourable J. G. van Angelbeck, Governor, &c., and to the Gentlemen of Council at Colombo.

HONOURABLE SIR, AND SIRS.—OUR President had the honour of addressing a letter to Mr. van Angelbeck on July 7, in which his Lordship communicated the intentions of the King of Great Britain with respect to the Dutch Settlements in India, and invited your Government to the acceptance of propositions which were calculated to secure those settlements during the war from falling into the hands of the enemy, by taking them under the protection of Great Britain, with the condition of their being restored to the Republic of Holland, at the conclusion of a General Peace, by which its independence and its constitution, as guaranteed in the year 1787, shall be maintained and secured. We had the less doubt upon our minds with respect to the satisfaction it would have afforded you to embrace the plan that had been concerted between His Majesty and the Prince of Orange, because we knew that you were bound by the most sacred obligation to uphold that constitution, and because the principles on which the plan was formed had nothing in view that could be construed into an act of derogation on your part.

We feel the most sincere concern that the harmony and good understanding which had so long subsisted between the two Governments should have suffered an interruption by your not having conceived



yourselves called upon by the Stadtholder's letter to acquiesce altogether in the propositions our President had made to you ; and that even the limited manner in which your Government had thought proper to comply was frustrated by the Officer Commanding in Trincomalee from a deficiency in point of form, with regard to the signature of the order, not deeming himself warranted to obey it.

In conformity to the orders from Europe, in the event of your declining the protection of Great Britain, the reduction of the Forts of Ostenburg and Trincomalee, with the adjoining districts, and that of other settlements belonging to the Dutch on the Island of Ceylon, which we have reason to expect either are by this time actually in our possession, or on the eve of being subdued by the British troops, has been the immediate consequence of the commencement of hostilities.

Being led by many circumstances to believe that we have a common interest with you in the result of the present war, we seriously lament the alternative to which we have been driven, and under this impression are anxious to make every effort in our power to bring our differences to an amicable and speedy termination, that we may at least enjoy the satisfactory reflection of having followed the impulse of humanity, and the dictates of those sentiments of regard we feel towards your nation, by strenuously endeavouring to avert those evils which must inevitably attend a continuation of hostility.

We are the more induced to make an attempt towards the restoration of tranquillity at this time from the conviction that your means of resistance are extremely inadequate, and we are persuaded that you cannot but concur with us in that opinion, when you are informed that by a capitulation signed at Neufchatel on March 30 last, on the part of the British Government and the Count de Meuron, proprietor of the regiment of that name, it has been stipulated that the whole corps should be immediately withdrawn from your service, with a view to its afterwards being transferred to that of Great Britain, and that for the purpose of executing the terms of the said capitulation the Count de Meuron had arrived at Tellicherry on the 6th instant. We have received accounts from His Majesty's Secretary of State, communicating the terms of this agreement, and have letters from Mr. Cleghorn, the gentleman who negotiated them, and who accompanied the Count de Meuron from Europe to this country.

Your letter of the 15th ultimo would warrant our availing ourselves of the advantages we must derive from so considerable a diminution of your force, and might be an inducement to us to complete the reduction of all the Dutch Settlements on the Island of Ceylon by conquest, a measure to which we might reasonably look without imposing upon ourselves a very arduous undertaking. We are, however, too well disposed to peace with the representatives of the Stadtholder's Government to forego any opening which may lead to so desirable an object, and therefore renew our former proposition, as far as it regards those Settlements which remain in the possession of your Government.

It may at the same time be expedient that you should explicitly understand that our proposition goes to putting the Dutch Settlements in question completely under His Britannic Majesty's protection and control, the troops to be stationed for that purpose to be either British or selected from amongst those now in your service, according to the disposition we may think it most advisable to make, under the impression of existing circumstances.

Our President's letter of the 7th July contains the stipulations we feel ourselves at liberty to enter into concerning the settlements remaining under your Government, as well as our determination with respect to the line of conduct that will be pursued, in the event of your persevering in your resolution of the 15th August.

Any further explanation you may require will be given by Major Agnew, who possesses our full confidence, and who is authorised by us to settle the mode of carrying the proposed arrangement into execution.

We have, &c.,

HOBART.

C. SAUNDERS.

E. H. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George,  
September 22, 1795.

Headquarter of the British Army near  
Jaffnapatnam, September 28, 1795.

To the Governor or Commandant of the Fort of Jaffnapatnam,  
and its Dependencies.

SIR,—THE important Forts of Trincomalee, Ostenburg, and Batticaloa having surrendered to the Army of his Britannic Majesty, the undersigned, Commanding-in-Chief the troops of His Majesty on the Island of Ceylon, demands of you to surrender the Fort of Jaffnapatnam and its dependencies under your command to the King, my Master. The officers and troops of the garrison, if it is their wish, will be immediately received into the pay of Great Britain with the rank they now hold. Their private property as well as that of all the inhabitants will be secured to them, and every reasonable indulgence which you can require on their behalf will be granted. It must be evident to you that your resistance cannot long preserve the Fort under your command, when you are apprised of the possessions which the English have already acquired on this Island for their preservation against our common enemy and of the British power in India. If therefore your refusal to surrender on the very favourable condition I have now the honour to offer, obliges me to erect batteries against the place (the guns for that purpose and the remainder of the army being on their march from Point Pedro to join), no terms will hereafter be granted, and if you are permitted to surrender it must be at discretion.



Captain Borough, Lieutenant Hayter, and John Macdowall, Esquire, will have the honour to deliver this letter to you, and are empowered by me to arrange the terms of surrender.

I have the honour to be, with every consideration of respect and esteem, &c.

J. STUART,

Commanding-in-Chief the Troops of His Britannic Majesty on this Island of Ceylon.

To the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, Governor, and Council at Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND SIRS,—WE have had the honour to receive from Major Agnew your letter of September 22 last, and reply to it as follows :—

Our answer to Lord Hobart's letter of July 7, which agreeably to his Lordship's desire was despatched to the Commanding Officers of the British Naval and Land Forces before Trincomalee, contained all that his Serene Highness the Hereditary Stadtholder demanded from us, and the strongest reasons why we could not agree to the remaining demands of his Lordship which went much further.

Our Governor alone signed that letter because Major Agnew insisted so much on having his despatch immediately on account of the danger to which the frigate was exposed in the bad monsoon, and as part of the Members of Council lived without the fort, hours would have been spent in getting it signed by them. Our Governor signed it without hesitation, as the draft had been approved by every one of us, and as the Governors of Ceylon have always in matters of the greatest importance given orders to the subordinate officers by letters signed alone by them.

Major Fornbauer should then without hesitation have complied with its contents, and we have therefore left the consequences of his refusal to his account.

We nevertheless expected with much reason that the Commanding Officers would have contented themselves with the aforesaid Major's offer, to ask additional orders, and then to comply, in which case this unfortunate misunderstanding could have been adjusted within a few days.

But as they commenced public hostilities by invading our territory and summoning both our Forts, we were obliged by our letter of August 15 to repeal our peaceable offer.

We will suppose for an instant that the misdemeanour of Major Fornbauer had given the Commanding Officers a right to commence hostilities. But with what reason can the conquest of Batticaloa, Jaffnapatnam, and Tuticorin be justified? The chiefs of those places

having made liberal offers for the admittance of your troops, what right or argument can you allege, My Lord and Sirs, except your superior force, to summon us to deliver our establishments in the manner you have done by your letter of September 22 last?

Respecting the capitulation which the Count de Meuron has entered into with your Government for the Swiss Regiment, we declare he had no power to do it, because he had consigned his regiment permanently to us, as long as the Company might want it, as appears by the 25th Article of the Capitulation, of which a copy is annexed. He says in his letter to his brother the Colonel Commandant, that the Government with whom he capitulated is dissolved, and that therefore he had resolved to withdraw his regiment from the Dutch Army. But the Government is not yet dissolved, as will appear at the conclusion of a General Peace in the Netherlands. In the meantime we are here the representatives of the same, and as such you acknowledge us by your letter of September 22 last.

But although we are deprived of that part of the regiment which is here, and which consists of five hundred men; we are, however, not destitute of resources to defend what has been confided to us, and if we are at last crushed by a superior force, we will find sufficient consolation in the reflection that we have done all that could be expected from loyal officers, who prefer their honour and their duty to every other consideration.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.

C. VAN ANGELBECK.

D. C. VON DRIEBERG.

J. REINTOUS.

B. L. VAN ZITTER.

A. SAMIANT.

J. A. VOLLENHOVE.

D. D. VAN RANZOW.

A. ISSENDORP.

T. G. HOFLAND.

Colombo, October 13, 1875.

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To the Officer Commanding the British Troops at Tuticorin.

SIR,—HAVING made an arrangement with Major Agnew that five companies of the Swiss Regiment in garrison here should be conveyed from hence to Tuticorin with the sloops *La Fidèle*, the *Jonge Villem Arnold*, and the *Grutaaf*, under flags of truce, for which purpose Major Agnew granted three passports, one of which goes now with *La Fidèle*.

M. Pierre Monneron arrived since here with his vessel, the *Alamgum*, with a passport and flag of Tipu Sultan, and Colonel de Meuron not knowing any means to convey to Madras the remaining two compa-



nies of his Regiment which are garrisoned at Point de Galle, he made with my knowledge and consent an arrangement with M. Monneron to convey part of the five companies to Tuticorin, in which case the remainder can be transported with *La Fidèle*, and the other two sloops go to Point de Galle to carry over the two companies.

Agreably to this arrangement *La Fidèle* goes now with two hundred and fifty men, and the other two sloops have already been despatched to Point de Galle with their passports in order to embark there the two companies. I have to request, therefore, that you will please provide them, with all possible speed, with the necessary water and firewood, and send them back to Colombo with a passport.

I have, &c.,

J. G. VAN ANGELBECK.

Colombo, November 12, 1795.

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#### APPENDIX B.

[Percival's "Account of the Island of Ceylon,"  
pages 112-118.]

THE English landed at Nigombo in February, 1796, when they made themselves masters of it without opposition.

After the taking of Nigombo, General Stewart, with the 52nd, 73rd, and 77th regiments, three battalions of Sepoys, and a detachment of Bengal artillery, marched to attack Colombo. The road through which he had to pass presented apparently the most formidable obstacles. Those rivers which add so much to the beauty and richness of the country, and those woods which afford so much comfort to the traveller, presented so many bars to the march of an army, and opportunities to annoy it. For twenty miles the road may be considered as one continued defile, capable of being easily defended against a much superior force. It was intersected by two broad, deep, and rapid rivers, and several smaller ones, besides ravines whose bridges had been broken down. Each side of the path through which our army marched was covered with thick woods and jungle, from whence the enemy had an opportunity of destroying their adversaries, without even being seen themselves. In such a situation General Stewart every moment expected an attack, and was exceedingly surprised, as were all the officers, at being suffered to pass through such a strong and difficult country without the smallest opposition. Nothing can give a more striking idea of the degraded state to which the Dutch military establishments at Ceylon were reduced, than their suffering an enemy to advance unmolested in such circumstances.

Neither want of skill or prudence on the part of the officers, nor want of discipline on that of the soldiers, could have produced such disgraceful effects. It is only to the total extinction of public spirit, of every sentiment of national honour, that such conduct can be attributed. A thirst of gain and of private emolument appears to have swallowed up every other feeling in the breasts of the Dutchmen ; and this is a striking warning to all commercial nations to be careful that those sentiments, which engage them to extend their dominions, do not obliterate those by which alone they can be retained and defended.

If their unmolested march seemed unaccountable, the circumstances which followed still more surprised our British soldiers. The first obstacle which opposed itself to General Stewart was the Mutwal river at the distance of about four miles from Columbo, and here the enemy, who made their appearance for the first time, seemed determined to dispute the passage. Nature had done everything in her power to render their resistance effectual. The river was here half a mile broad and ran in such a direction as nearly to cut off and insulate for three or four miles, that tract of country which immediately presented itself to our army. A little neck of land on the south side afforded the only entrance to this tract, which from its strength was called the Grand-pass. A battery erected by the Dutch on the Columbo side commanded the passages, and General Stewart was of course obliged to halt. The army lay here for two days preparing themselves for a difficult enterprise, when they were astonished to learn that the Dutch had thrown the guns of the battery into the river, evacuated the post, and retreated precipitately into the garrison of Columbo. The British at first doubted the truth of the intelligence, and then supposed it was a stratagem of the enemy to draw them across, and afterwards attack them with advantage. As no opposition, however, now presented itself on the other side of the river, it was resolved to carry over the army, which was speedily effected on rafts of bamboo, and a few boats from our ships lying at anchor off the mouth of the river. Our troops then encamped in a large grove of cocoanut trees, with a Malay village in front. The position was very advantageous, as the river from its winding course protected our right flank and rear, while the left was skirted by a very thick wood or jungle, which extended nearly to the Black Town of Columbo. Our ships, which lay at no great distance, were ready to furnish the army with everything necessary. It was of this last circumstance that the Dutch took advantage to excuse their pusillanimous conduct in abandoning such an excellent position. They said they were afraid of troops being landed from the ships between them and the fort of Columbo, and thus cutting off their retreat. But those who are acquainted with the situation of the country will look upon this as a very poor palliation of their cowardice ; as even supposing we had attempted to land troops between them and the



fort, a secure retreat was opened to them by the thick wood on the left, through which from our not knowing the ground, it would have been dangerous and improper for us to pursue them.

Whilst our troops lay here, the Dutch sent out from Columbo a large party of Malays under the command of Colonel Raymond, a Frenchman, to attack us, which they did rather unexpectedly in the morning about daybreak. Our troops, however, particularly our flank companies under Colonel Barbut, gave them such a warm reception that they soon retired very precipitately and with great loss; their brave commander was mortally wounded, and died a few days after. The loss on our part was not material: and this was the last and only attempt made by the enemy to oppose us.

Our army was now come to Columbo, the capital of the Dutch dominions in Ceylon, large, fortified, and capable of a vigorous defence; and here they seemed to have concentrated their resistance. On our appearing before it, however, a capitulation was immediately proposed, and in a few days after this important place was surrendered into our hands. To examine the causes which led to this unexpected conduct may be of use to our own nation, and the Commanders of our garrison abroad.

Previous to the British troops appearing before Columbo, its garrison had been in some measure weakened by the loss of the Swiss Regiment de Meuron, which for a long time had composed part of it. This regiment, upon the term of its agreement with the Dutch having expired a few months before General Stewart was sent against Ceylon, had transferred its services to our Government; and other troops had not hitherto been procured from Holland or Batavia to replace it at Columbo. The strength of the garrison was by this means impaired; but the want of numbers was not its principal defect, as upon marching out after the surrender, it was found to consist of two battalions of Dutch troops, the French regiment of Wurtemberg, besides native troops; forming in all a number fully equal to the force sent against it.

The dissensions among both the civil and military officers of the garrison were a cause which more powerfully hastened its surrender. Those principles, which have produced so many convulsions and atrocities in Europe, had also penetrated into this Colony. The Governor, M. van Angelbeck, was a very respectable old officer of moderate principles and a mild disposition. Many of those under him were, however, violent Republicans of the Jacobin party; they declaimed against the Governor as a man of a weak mind, and wished to place in the government his son, whom they had gained over to their own principles. The violence of this party had gone to an alarming height; they had already begun to denounce their opponents; and several respectable gentlemen would in all probability have fallen victims to their fury, had not the sudden arrival of the English at this critical moment rescued them from impending destruction.

The state of discipline in the garrison had also fallen into the most shameful disorder. Drunkenness and mutiny were carried to the greatest height. The old Governor has frequently declared at the tables of our officers, that he was in constant danger of his life from their mutinous conduct. He had resolved to defend the place to the last ; but such was the state of insubordination which prevailed, that he could not by any means induce the Dutch troops, and in particular the officers, to march out against the enemy. Personal safety, an object scarcely ever attended to by our troops either by sea or land, seemed in them to overpower every sense of duty or honour. A few of them went to accompany the Malay troops on the expedition I have already mentioned ; but scarcely had they reached the gates of the Black Town when their courage evaporated, and they left the Malays to their fate. Not above one or two European officers met us in that action besides the brave Colonel Raymond, who was ashamed of being connected with such poltroons, and would have brought their conduct to public censure had not his death fallen a noble sacrifice to his sense of honour.

This state of total insubordination, the violence of the Jacobin party, and the fear of an internal massacre, induced the Governor to enter into a private treaty for surrender with the English as soon as they appeared before the place. He let his troops, however, know that such a measure was in agitation ; but this produced no effect on their disorders, and he at length signed the capitulation without their knowledge, and I believe without their consent. Our troops were suddenly introduced into the fort, and had nearly entered before the Dutch were aware of it. They were found by us in a state of the most infamous disorder and drunkenness ; no discipline, no obedience, no spirit. They now began to vent the most bitter reproaches against the Governor, accusing him as the author of that disgrace which their own conduct had brought upon them ; and seemed in a tumultuous crowd determined to display a desperate courage when it was now too late. The Malay troops alone kept up any appearance of discipline. Even they, however, were led away by the contagious example of the rest ; and several of them, in concert with the Jacobin party among the Dutch, attacked the Governor's house, and fired it with an intention to kill him, crying aloud that he had betrayed them and sold them to the English. Nor was it without much difficulty that these mutineers were compelled to evacuate the fort, and ground their arms.

It was grateful to the heart of a Briton to behold the steady conduct and excellent discipline of our troops on this occasion when contrasted with the riotous and shameful conduct of the Dutch soldiers. An officer who was an eye witness assured me that the Dutch soldiers went so far as even to strike at our men with their muskets, calling them insulting and opprobrious names, and even spitting upon them as they passed. This behaviour entirely corresponded with their



former cowardice, and was equally despised by our countrymen. I have often since conversed on the subject with the Malay officers, who seemed to have embraced entirely the same sentiments with regard to it. They were all highly disgusted with the pusillanimous conduct of the Dutch, particularly in the affair at the Grandpass, where they left them without any assistance to fight by themselves. Their contempt for their former masters, and their admiration of the valour of our troops, has served to render the Malays our most sincere friends, and they are now formed into a steady and well-disciplined regiment in the British service.

These facts with regard to the easy capture of Ceylon tend to throw the severest reflections on the Dutch garrison there ; but by no means serve to show that the enterprise on our part was not attained with the greatest danger. The opposition of even a very small body of men must have occasioned much difficulty and loss to us, however great General Stewart's military talents, and however brave the troops he commanded. Nature, indeed, seems to have done everything in her power to secure the approaches to Columbo on this side.

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#### APPENDIX C.

[Welsh's "Military Reminiscences," Vol. I., pages 26-40.]

#### TRINCOMALLEE.

The harbour of Trincomallee, situated near the north-eastern extremity of the island of Ceylon, is one of the best in India ; it was defended by numerous works, and might have given us much trouble to take it, but fortunately the garrison were mostly quiet merchants and mechanics, who, by a protracted defence, would have hazarded their all for the bubble reputation, and therefore very speedily surrendered. The troops destined for the conquest of the Dutch possessions on the western shore of the island, then assembled at Ramiseram, in January, 1796, consisting of three European and five native corps, under the command of Colonel Stewart,\* of his Majesty's 72nd regiment.

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\* Colonel Stewart was a very old and experienced officer, well known, and at that time much liked by the Madras army ; he went by the familiar appellation of "Old Row." Relieved from the government of Ceylon, he afterwards became Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and returned to Europe in 1808.

## RAMISERAM.

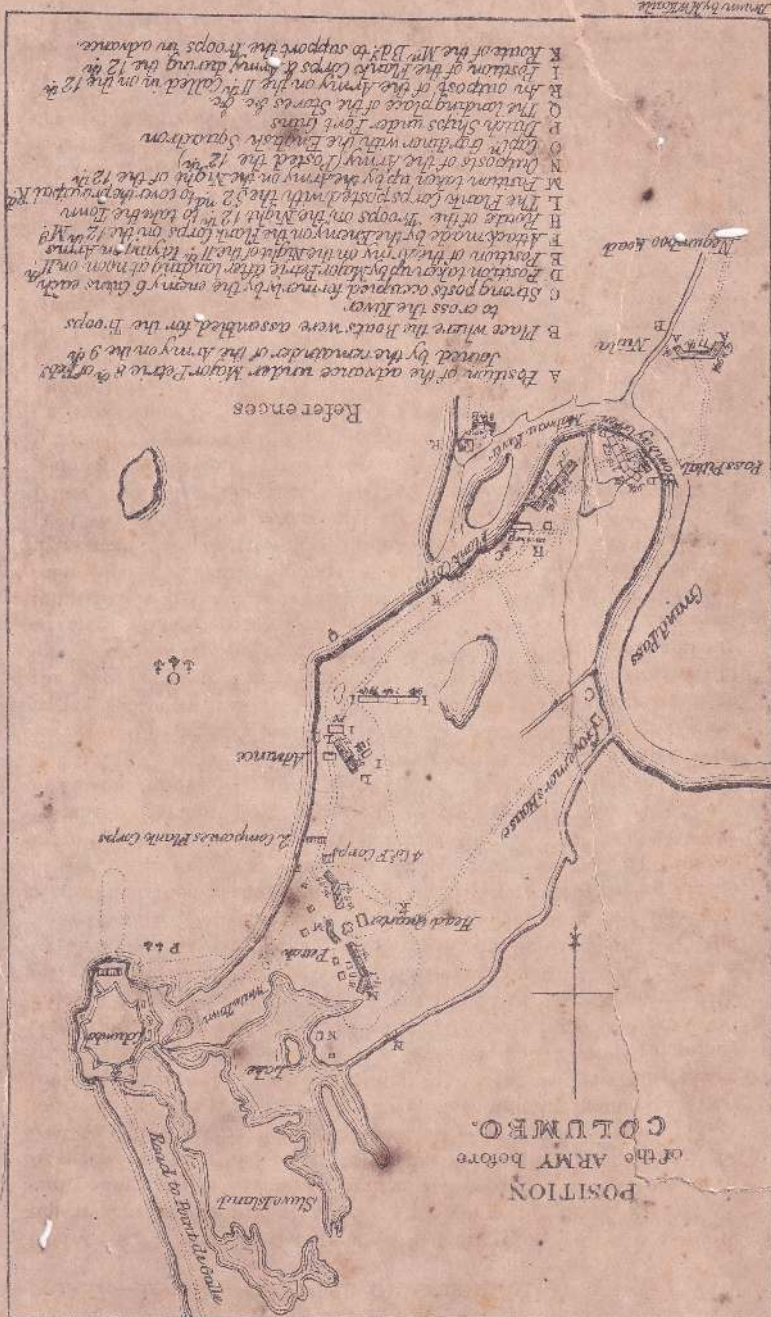
This island, about ten or twelve miles long, and half that breadth, and which is situated at the head of the gulph of Manaar, is separated from the mainland of the peninsula by a narrow ferry, and from Ceylon by Adam's bridge and the island of Manaar. Its Pagodas, celebrated all over India for their sanctity, are at the eastern end of the island ; they are lofty, and in good repair, though of great antiquity. The Brahmins have a neat little village in the neighbourhood, and there is a fine square stone tank, with a small island in the centre, luring the unwary to destruction, for its approach appears clear of all impediments. I had swam across to look at its images, and returning, carelessly allowed my legs to sink beneath me, when they were immediately entangled in weeds, which pulled me under water two or three times ; until, at length, I tore them up from the bottom in the struggle, and reached the bank with great difficulty, dragging behind me several thin cords of many feet in length. Although it is not very likely that any of my readers may have occasion to try the same experiment, yet I could not resist the temptation of holding out a warning to those who might be led into a similar danger through similar inadvertency.

Here, on very good ground, the troops were encampad as they arrived ; and about January 10, we took our final departure, in large open boats ; crossing under the bridge, as it is called, we coasted along, by Arepoo, Calpenteen, &c., running on shore every evening, to cook and eat our diurnal meal, and sleep on the beach ; but without any shelter from the weather, which being particularly inclement, we generally had our clothes wet through all night, and dried during the day upon our bodies : experiencing both extremes in the course of the twenty-four hours. Our first rendezvous was Negumbo, about thirty miles north of Colombo, then in the enemy's possession. Our flotilla being drawn up in order, a landing was effected, and we found the works abandoned without resistance. Here, then, we landed our stores, camp equipage, &c., as also the fascines and gabions we had made, under the erroneous impression that we were not likely to find materials in Ceylon, the best wooded country in the world ; and I may as well anticipate the catastrophe, by remarking, that they were afterwards all served out to the Bombay Grenadier battalion, at Colombo, for firewood !—the useless cost and labour being carried to the account of experience and geographical knowledge. Leaving our boats to carry on the heavy articles, for which cattle could not be procured, the army marched by land, and arrived within four miles of Colombo, without meeting the slightest resistance, as it was not until after we had crossed a broad and rapid river that the enemy attempted to impede our approach.

## COLUMBO.

Advancing at daylight, we crossed the great ferry, called Grand Pass, and forming on the other side, moved on, uncertain what recep-









tion we were likely to experience, when all of a sudden a peal of musquetry, and shower of balls, arrested our attention. A body of eight hundred or one thousand Malays, followed by Dutch troops, gave us this salutation, which being returned with interest, they immediately took to flight, leaving, amongst others, a Colonel mortally wounded on the ground. His remains were interred with military honours, and we took up our almost peaceable abode in the Pettah and environs, about two o'clock the next day : having, however, had a most ridiculous alarm during the night, which terminated fatally for one of our comrades. Being with the advance, I was posted in a thick grove, with one of the picquets for the night ; the next party to us was furnished by the Bombay Grenadier battalion, in similar ground. All the sentries were loaded, and told to challenge distinctly any one who approached them ; and, if not satisfactorily answered, to fire at the object. The night was dark, and all had remained still, till towards morning, when suddenly, "Who comes there?" was bellowed out from the Bombay post, and immediately after the report of two musquets, followed by others, resounded through the grove. "Fall in ! fall in ! prime and load !" followed on our part, to which a dead silence ensued ; and then one of those uncertain pauses, the most trying to the nerves and patience of a soldier. Matters remaining in this state for some time, we ventured to enquire what had occurred to our comrades on the right, and found that a buffalo had suddenly advanced on two drowsy Ducks,\* and, not giving the countersign, was immediately fired at ; the remainder of the picquet turning out, loaded their pieces, and also commenced firing, when a shot from a better marksman than the rest killed one of our own sentries, and was even fired so close to him as actually to blow away a part of the poor fellow's mouth. The fact was, that drowsiness had obtained such complete possession of the guard, that on their being thus suddenly awakened they were quite unable to recognise each other in the dark.

Negotiations having commenced between Colonel Stewart and the Dutch Governor-General, van Angleback, we remained inactive for a few days ; when, on February 16, the whole of their possessions on the Island were ceded to us by capitulation, in trust for the Prince of Orange, and the fort was instantly taken possession of by our troops in his name, our corps, the 9th battalion of Native infantry, being detached to Point de Galle, sixty miles south, to receive charge of and garrison that fortress.

\* The Bombay army are generally designated "*Ducks*," perhaps from their Presidency being situated on a small island. The Bengalees are denominated "*Qui hies*," from a habit of exclaiming "*kocy hye?*" "who is there?" to their domestics, when requiring their attendance ; and the Madrasees are designated by the appellation of "*Mulls*," from the circumstance of always using a kind of hot soup, ycleped mulligatawny, literally pepper water, at their meals, particularly supper.

Columbo, the capital of the Dutch in Ceylon, is a place of considerable consequence and strength, from its natural position as well as from its works, which were numerous and in good condition. The fort, which is extensive, contained many capital dwelling houses, including the Governor's palace, which is a most superb building. The Pettah had also several good houses, churches, &c., in it; and in the place, altogether, were many respectable inhabitants. Without a chance of relief, it would have been madness to have held out: and by an early capitulation, private property was not only preserved, but all the different public servants obtained pensions from our Government. Columbo is also a place of great traffic by sea, the roadstead being extremely safe and commodious, particularly during the north-eastern monsoons.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
CEYLON BRANCH  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,  
1887-88.

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EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

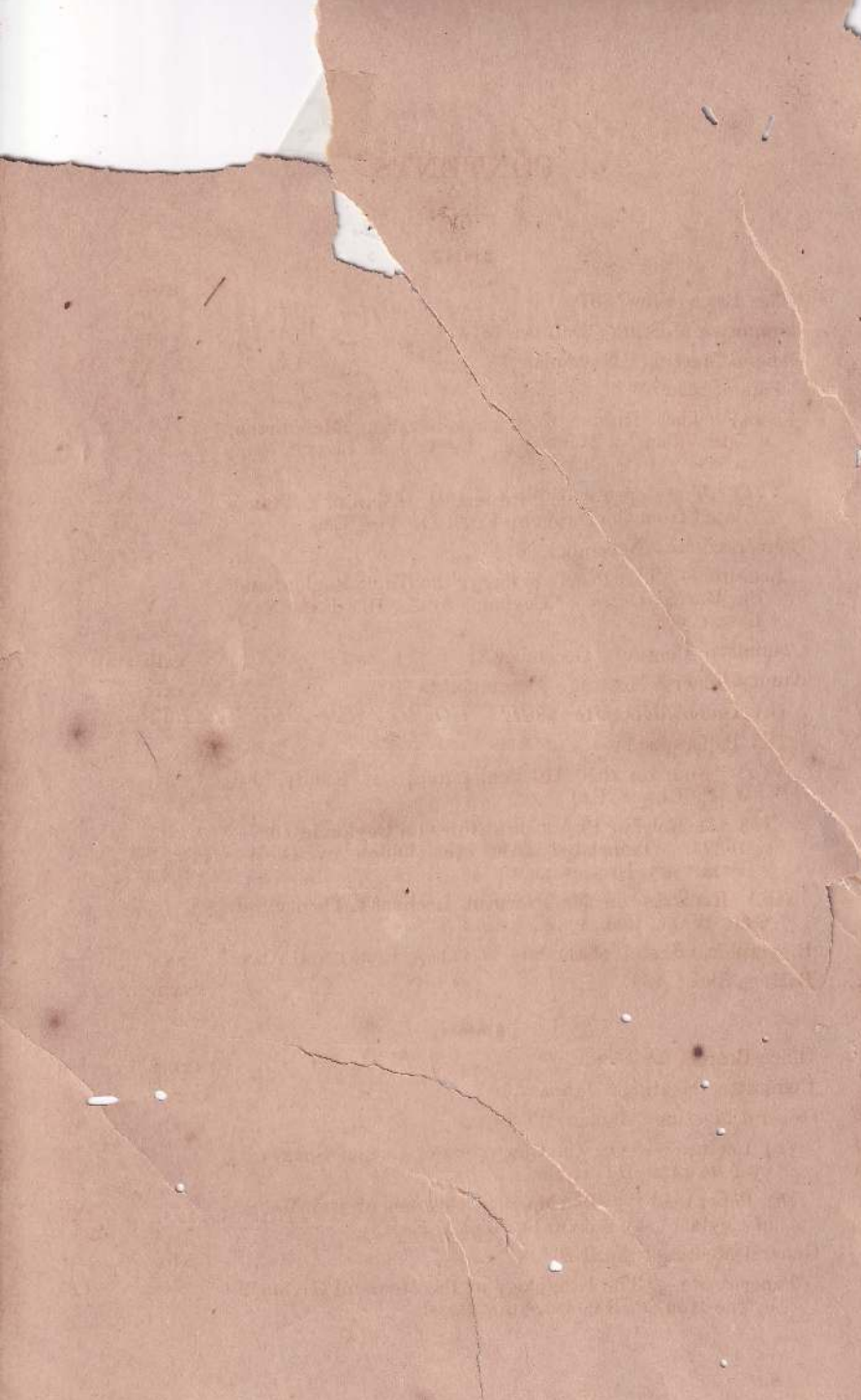
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"The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology."

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COLOMBO:  
G. J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.

1891.





## PROCEEDINGS, 1887.

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### COMMITTEE MEETING.

*October 18, 1887.*

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. T. Berwick, Vice-President.

Mr. W. H. G. Duncan, Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Honorary Secretary.

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### *Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Committee Meeting held on December 14, 1886.

2. Read letter from Mr. W. E. Davidson, Joint Honorary Secretary, formally resigning, owing to want of leisure to devote to the Society's work.

(a) Resolved,—That a vote of thanks be conveyed to Mr. Davidson for his past services on behalf of this Society.

(b) Upon the suggestion of the Honorary Secretary—

Resolved,—To associate Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Librarian of the Colombo Museum, with Mr. Bell, *vice* Mr. Davidson resigned.

3. (i.) Read letter of March 19 from the Executive Committee, Colonial and Indian Exhibition, forwarding diploma and medal awarded for the Society's exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.

(ii.) Letter from Dr. Henry Trimen, dated September 22, offering to the Society's Library certain records of the "Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society, 1820-30."

Resolved,—That the former be preserved at the Museum and the latter accepted.

4. The Honorary Secretary stated that the Government Printer promised to issue "Journal No. 33, vol. IX., 1886," and "Proceedings, 1886," before the end of the year, but that

he would not be able to undertake more printing for the Society until next year. "Journal No. 32, vol. IX., 1885," was issued early in the year.

5. The Honorary Secretary submitted to the Meeting the Papers sent in during the year, and pointed out that until the flow of Papers became more constant, it would be impossible to convene General Meetings regularly. The dearth of Papers this year had been exceptionally marked :—

(i.) *Tirukkétisvaram, Mahâtirtha, Matoddam, or Mântodai.* By Mr. W. J. S. Boake, C.C.S.

(ii.) *The Capture of Trincomalee, 1639: Extract from the Journal of Antonio Caen.* Translated by Mr. Advocate F. H. de Vos.

(iii.) *A short and concise Account of the Life and Rise of Mr. Petrus Vuyst, ex-Governor of Ceylon, together with a truthful account of all his tyrannical acts, and the names of those who were unjustly executed by him.* Translated by Mr. Advocate F. H. de Vos.

(iv.) *A Contribution to a knowledge of the Crabs found on the Coasts of Ceylon.* By Mr. A. Haly.

(v.) *Notes on Ceylon in 1687. By Dr. Daalmans, a Belgian Physician.* Translated by Mr. D. W. Ferguson.

Resolved,—To convene a General Meeting on the 17th proximo at the Colombo Museum.

6. Mr. Berwick mooted the subject of a *Conversazione* to be held on some evening succeeding the above proposed General Meeting.

The President generously offered the use of his house. After some discussion—

Resolved,—That the Members present do form themselves into a Sub-Committee (with power to add to their number) to make the necessary inquiries from persons interested as to the feasibility of holding such a *Conversazione*. The Sub-Committee to meet and report the result of their efforts on the 27th instant.

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GENERAL MEETING.

*Held at the Colombo Museum, November 17, 1887.*

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Dr. P. D. Anthonisz, M.L.C.	Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.
The Hon. J. B. A. Bailey, C.C.S.	Mr. D. W. Ferguson
Mr. T. Berwick, Vice-President	Mr. M. Kasipillai Tissainaya- gam
The Hon. H. Bois, M.L.C.	Mr. W. C. Macready
Mr. S. Bois	The Hon. P. Rámanáthan, M.L.C.
Mr. A. Clark	Mr. W. P. Ranasingha
Mr. M. Cochran	Mr. J. H. Renton
Mr. W. E. Davidson	Hikkaduwa Sri Sumangala
Mr. F. H. de Vos	Terunnánse
C. P. Dias Bandáranáyeke, Maha Mudaliyár	Mr. J. H. Thwaites
Mr. W. H. G. Duncan, Hon- orary Treasurer	Mr. W. van Langenberg
	Mr. G. Wall

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Honorary Secretary.

Several ladies and gentlemen as visitors.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Annual Meeting, December 16, 1886.

2. The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society :—

Mr. J. Allport	Mr. W. C. Macready
Dr. J. Attygalle	The Hon. W. W. Mitchell, M.L.C.
Mr. J. H. Barber	Mr. A. Nell
Mr. S. Bois	Mr. D. C. Pedris
Mr. H. H. Capper	Mr. E. Schrader
Mr. E. C. Davies	Mr. W. van Langenberg
Mr. J. H. F. Hamilton	Mr. A. van Starrex
Mr. H. A. Keegel	Mr. J. R. Weinman
Mr. C. O. Mackwood	

And the following gentlemen were re-admitted as Members :—The Rev. E. F. Miller, the Rev. J. Scott, Mr. H. van Cuylenberg.

3. Mr. Berwick proposed, and Mr. Thwaites seconded, "That the Society do place on record its sense of the loss sustained by the death of Mr. W. Ferguson, F.L.S."\*—Carried.

\* For biographical sketch see p. xxx.

Mr. Berwick said the admission of new Members recalled to his mind the loss of some old ones. Since their last meeting they had lost a very highly esteemed Member by the death of Mr. W. Ferguson, F.L.S., whose services to the Society in connection with the Natural History of the Island, more especially in regard to its Botany, during a long term of years, entitled him to their highest consideration. His labours had been of great value, and his personal worth and merits were held in high esteem. In the presence of Members and connections of the deceased gentleman's family he abstained from lengthy remarks, but would propose to place on record the high appreciation in which his services and memory were held by the Society. The motion was adopted and warmly responded to by the Meeting.

4. The Honorary Secretary laid on the table a long list of books received in the course of the year. The books themselves, which covered two tables, comprised many valuable works obtained by presentation, exchange, or purchase.

5. In the absence of Mr. W. J. S. Boake, C.C.S., the Honorary Secretary then proceeded to read a Paper by that gentleman on the *Ruins of Tirukkéttivaram, Mahártirtha, Mátoddam or Mantoddai in the Maṇḍar District.\**

The Paper gave an interesting account of the site, and of the writer's excavations at different points, undertaken by request of the Society, which had voted a small sum for the purpose.

A large number of articles, fragments of pottery (blue enamelled), precious stones (?), crystals, glass, beads, bangles, &c., and a few coins were exhibited. These had been unearthed at a depth of some feet—a fact in itself, in such soil, arguing considerable antiquity.

6. Mr. Bell, Honorary Secretary, stated that nearly all the coins were of the "bull and fishes" type, which, as far as he was aware, had hitherto been found only at Mántoṭa. All were so much corroded as to almost baffle identification. One coin, partly broken, was a quarter massa of Parákkrama Báhu I.

The Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan spoke at length on the subject, contributing many valuable explanations and criticisms respecting the origin and signification of the names of the famous city itself, and of the ancient temple in its midst, which was one of the most sacred places of Hindu worship. He referred to the fact that Vijayá had, according to certain authorities, landed at this place, and had found the



temple in ruins, from which it was evident it must have existed long previously; indeed, he confidently concluded that it dated as far back as Ráma himself. He furnished evidence to show that Mántota was one of the most ancient cities of the world. It was certain that the temple existed in 650 A.D., and was in a most flourishing condition at a time when Buddhism was being ousted from India and Ceylon. He remarked that there were 1,008 sacred places of Hindu worship—not 64, as stated by Mr. Boake.\*

Mr. Kasipillai Tissainayagam said † :—

My Lord,—The lengthy observations made on the subject by the Tamil leader have left me little to say. Nevertheless I desire to add a few words as to the origin of Mántota and Tirukkétichcharam.

Of the 1,008 places considered especially sacred by the Saivites, 64 hold a prominent rank. And of these 64, two are by far the most conspicuous, namely, Benares in the north and Sithamparam, called also “The Temple,” by pre-eminence, in the south.

The *Dakshana-kailasa-mahátmiyam* says that Mántota was originally called Maha-Tvashtri-puram (which the Tamils afterwards corrupted into Matóddam). According to this work, one Tvashtri had been for ages doing penance and practising religious austerities on the banks of the Pálavi (“milk-lake”), in order to obtain offspring. After a time Síva appeared and spoke to him thus:—“I am well pleased with your prayers and austerities; you have been bathing in the waters of the holy Pálavi: henceforward this place shall be called Maha-Tvashtri-puram, in honour of your memory. You will have a son, whom you will name Vissakarma (‘the architect of the gods’).”

The book further dwells on the benefits which will be derived by bathing in the waters of the Pálavi.

As to the origin of Tirukkétichcharam, it says that once upon a time a dispute arose between Vāyu (the Indian Æolus) and Atisésa (the serpent with 1,000 heads), as to which of them was stronger than the other. They agreed to settle the dispute by a contest. Atisésa was to have under his protection and shelter Mount Kailâsa with its 1,000 crowning summits, and Vāyu was to blow it up. Atisésa undertook the defence, and sheltered the mount by his head. Vāyu was blowing with all his

\* For a Memorandum by the Hon. P. Rámanáthan on this subject see Journal No. 35, vol. X., 1887, pp. 114-117.

† This report was furnished by the speaker as suggested by Mr. Berwick. See next page.



might for months together, but with no result. But the hurricanes produced by the blowing injured gods, men, and demons, who made a complaint to Siva to abate the evil. Siva, in order to divert the attention of Atisésha from the mount, addressed him a few words; whereupon Atisésha moved his head slightly to listen, and left three peaks uncovered and exposed to the mercy of the winds, by which the peaks were torn asunder, carried off in the air for thousands of miles, and thrown into the Indian ocean, where they now go under the names of Trincomalee, Tirukkétichcharam, and Raméssaram. Ráma, after his triumph over Rávana, in order to purify himself of the sin of Brahmanicide (for Rávana was a descendant of Brahma), offered *púja* in this shrine.

According to Tamil history, Vijaya is said to have built four temples in four corners of Ceylon, when he had acquired possession of the Island—one at Kírmalalai in the north; another at Dondra in the south; a third at Trincomalee in the east, and a fourth at Tirukkétichcharam in the west (which last was rebuilt by him).

The three great apostles of Saivaism in the Tamil country, who uprooted Buddhism and Jainism from their country, consecrated Tirukkétichcharam by their hymns. The hymn of the honey-tongued Tirunavakkarasu is lost. Of the remaining two, that of Suntarar is the most popular. It is remarkable for its elevated tone, its inspiring phrases, its divine melody. Notwithstanding that we hear it all the year round from the mendicants in the Jaffna peninsula, we are never tired of it.

Tirukkétichcharam was not a town, but was probably a suburb of Mántota. Suntarar does not say that Tirukkétichcharam was on the sea coast, but says that it was situated in Mántota, and Mántota was by the sea. Architecturally viewed, the edifice now in ruins could not be placed in the list of first class Dravidian temples, the grandeur and solemnity of which is said to be unsurpassed by that of any cathedral in Europe.

Mr. Ranasinghe made a few observations with regard to the derivation of the name touched upon by Mr. Rámanáthan.

Mr. Berwick suggested that Mr. Boake be requested to prosecute his researches, and that the Tamil gentleman who had spoken last be asked to put into writing the interesting facts, legends and myths he spoke of, which, though intrinsically not of much value, might throw light on the history of the place, which was a most interesting place and one of the very first seats of civilisation in Ceylon.

The President said that he was sure the gentleman referred to would comply with the request, but that Mr. Boake was now



removed to Hambantota, and his successor would be asked to continue the exploration.

7. Mr. F. H. de Vos then read an account of *The Capture of Trincomalee by the Dutch in 1639*,\* being a translation of extracts from the Journal of the Dutch Commander, Antonio Caen. As the Paper was a long one, Mr. de Vos read the beginning of it, passed over the passages which went into matters of detail, related the facts which referred to the capture, and gave a description of the actual fighting that took place.

8. The President remarked that the length of the two Papers read, and the prolonged discussion which ensued on the first Paper, had taken up so much time that he must ask Mr. D. W. Ferguson to be good enough to postpone for another occasion the reading of his Paper. Mr. Ferguson having consented, and there being no other business before the Meeting, the proceedings closed at about 10.45 P.M.

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*Remarks by Mr. T. Berwick, Vice-President, on Mr. Boake's Paper, June 18, 1887.*

I have read Mr. Boake's Paper on the Ancient City of Tirukkétisvaram, near Mannár, and think it of considerable value in its bearing on the elucidation of the history, both of India and Ceylon, and of the historical connection between these countries. The Paper in itself, naturally, does not advance the subject much, but it paves the way for more. I only regret that he has not embodied in it the traditions of Arab invasion and massacre which he refers to, and the legend of the submergence of the city of Rávana, which very possibly was somewhere thereabouts. The Rájáwaliya speaks of his country having been that which lay between Tuticorin and Ceylon before it was submerged.

If, however, the remains are as ancient as Mr. Boake thinks, he must be altogether mistaken in his conjecture that it was built about the same time as the present temple, at least, of Raméssaram, which, though on a very ancient site, is, I believe, of no great antiquity, and indeed cannot be from its architecture. There are several allusions in the song of Santaramúrtti Náyanár, said to have been written in the sixth century, which seem to identify the spot: the milky sea; the sea of many ships; the sea abounding in pearls. It is to be wished that the objects discovered by Mr. Boake were inspected by Mr. Parker in order to have his opinion as to their age. The place is very probably identical with "the sea-port

Mahawattoo-totta" mentioned in Upham's Mahāvamsa, page 227, and at page 348 as "Mahatotta," where a great army of Malabars landed in the time of Wijayabāhu. It may also be the Mahatotta of which the Rájawaliya speaks as the place at which the brother of the unfortunate Elala arrived with 30,000 men for his assistance during the siege of Wijitapura, and the place to which the Daladá was brought from Tuticorin. The place itself is altogether worthy of exploration, and Mr. Boake's Paper will be useful in giving a commencement to this.

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### CONVERSAZIONE HELD AT THE MUSEUM

on November 26, 1887, at 9.30 P.M.\*

(Reprinted from the "Ceylon Observer" of November 27, 1887.)

*The Pearl Fishery—the Tank Region—and the Buried Cities of Ceylon.*

NEVER before has the Museum, which Ceylon owes to Sir William Gregory, looked so bright and attractive as it did on Saturday evening, when the building which the Sinhalese are accustomed to designate by the charnel-house-sounding term of "bone-house" was thronged with a gay and brilliant throng in response to invitations which had been issued by the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. A good many years ago somewhat similar gatherings used to be held, but they took place in the private residences of some hospitable members, and were confined to the members themselves. The members are now actuated with the very laudable desire of popularising their branch of the Asiatic Society. The term "Asiatic" is certainly a broad one, and the doubt which is felt in many quarters as to its meaning in connection with the Society, is very excusable. It would be well if the objects of the Ceylon Branch were better known. As set forth in the rules and regulations, they are these:—  
 "To institute and promote inquiries into the history, religion, languages, literature, arts, and social condition of the present and former inhabitants of this Island, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology." For several years an open conversazione has been urged by some members of the Society, but it was not until this year that the idea has been carried into effect. Altogether upwards of 900 tickets were issued, but in

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\* For cost of Conversazione, see Appendix.



consequence of unfavourable weather not half that number of persons presented themselves. Great preparations had been made at the Museum for the comfort and enjoyment of visitors. The reading room and library had been turned into a lecture and refreshment room. The antiquarian chamber was set apart for experiments, while the big room upstairs, in addition to its ordinary capital collection of Ceylon animals, birds, beasts, reptiles, insects, and fishes, was considerably augmented by special loans for the occasion. The decorations were admirable and tasteful, and in their execution Mrs. Thwaites and Mr. Stanley Bois had been the moving spirits, Mr. Henry Bois having undertaken the lighting arrangements, which he brought to a very successful issue. The staircase leading from the hall upstairs was adorned with magnificent ferns, shining through the leaves of which were the beautiful vari-coloured fairy lamps which do not lose their charming effect even by the commonness which they are now attaining. The large room was illuminated with the new tea-house lamps shaded with coloured globes. The two Hon. Secretaries, Mr. Bell and Mr. Corbet, had both worked hard, and a good deal of the success of the conversazione must be credited to them. Mr. Duncan, the Treasurer, had charge of the music and refreshment arrangements, of which nothing but praise can be given. The catering, which was very satisfactory, was done by the Coffee Tavern Co., under the management of Mr. Tomlinson, who was assisted by Mr. Fischer of the Grand Oriental Hotel. The great feature of the conversazione was that members of all races were invited; Europeans, Burghers, Tamils, Siphalese, Malays, and Parsees. Most of the Pashas were also present. When everything had got into full swing the large room presented an unusual and highly interesting scene. Surrounded by such grim relics as the splendid skeletons of two elephants which stood at one end and the body of an immense shark at the other end of the room, while snakes, birds, crocodiles, turtles, fish, marine fauna, and the other accessories of the Museum stood about in all their ugliness or beauty, the brilliantly dressed and gay crowd of ladies and gentlemen made a very impressive contrast. The scene, too, was heightened in effect by the luxury of colour imparted by the dresses of many of those belonging to the native classes. The greater part of the *élite* of Colombo, European and native, were present, including His Excellency the Governor, many of the members of the Legislative Council, and many representatives of different religious denominations. Out of the 900 and odd tickets issued, only about 410 were availed of—the heavy rain which fell from about six to half-past eight preventing many from



leaving their homes. A "moonlight night" had been selected for the occasion, but fair Luna refused to grace the night by showing her face, and the outdoor arrangements had to be abandoned. This caused the interior of the Museum to be somewhat crowded, and if the whole of those invited had put in an appearance the Committee would have been sadly at a loss what to do with them.

Amongst the extra scientific attractions which were examined and watched by the visitors with great interest were the following :—

Telescopes from Mr. S. Green, Rev. S. Coles, and Dr. Brito ; and microscopes from the students at the Medical College (Dr. Vanderstraaten) and Dr. Macdonald. Mr. Staniforth Green had generously promised to move his large astronomical telescope to the Museum if it would bear transporting safely, but of course the cloudiness of the night rendered it unnecessary to bring it. Mr. Skinner also kept his back for the same reason. Mr. Cochran performed a variety of interesting experiments, showing electric discharge in various highly rarified gases, such as hydrogen, oxygen, carbon dioxide, sulphur dioxide, sulphuretted hydrogen, hydrochloric acid, vapour of mercury ; the effect of fluorescent glass and fluorescent liquids upon the electric discharge ; the spectra of certain metals, such as sodium, potassium, lithium, barium ; the lime light ; apparatus for showing the polarisation of light by tourmaline, Newton's rings, and camera obscura. Dr. Macdonald exhibited microscopic slides showing the "germs in diseases." Dr. Brito demonstrated the circulation of blood in the live frog—living animalculæ, microphotographs, &c. Col. Clarke sent a theodolite and an astronomical spectroscope. Mr. H. Bois lent a small telegraphic apparatus (Wheatstone's), and the Telephone Company sent a telephone. The President contributed an electric light apparatus. Photographs of Anurádhapura and Polonnaruwa by the late Mr. Lawton, and photographs of Gandhara and other places of Buddhist antiquity in India, were exhibited. Mr. H. Nevill sent a collection of Kandyan silver and brass work, and some ola manuscripts. Mr. Bell contributed a collection, undoubtedly the best in existence, of Ceylon coins, and coins from the Maldive Islands. He has been ten or twelve years at the work, and has managed to get hold of some rare specimens. He also sent some Maldivian lacquer work. The brass work on the same table belonged to the Museum proper. In the Antiquities Room there was a curiously inlaid marble table lent by the Hon. P. Rámanáthan. This was made at Agra in imitation of the best style of mosaics in the Taj Mahal ; and there was also a beautiful box bound in ivory made in the Madras Presidency. Mr.



A. F. Green exhibited several cases of beetles—a capital collection. Mr. Skinner, the Postmaster-General, lent an electrical apparatus which was attended to by Mr. Simpson. The chart of the solar system lent by Dr. Koegel was very interesting. The spray producer sent by Dr. Schokman filled the room with a delightful perfume. Rajapakse Mudaliyár lent a copper plate and some copies taken from it according to a new system. There were, in fact, objects of interest for all, and all present seemed to enjoy themselves.

*The Opening Address: The Pearl Fishery, Tank Regions,  
and Ancient Cities of Ceylon.*

At nine o'clock the Library had become filled with an audience of ladies and gentlemen to hear Mr. A. M. Ferguson's opening address on the Pearl Fisheries, the Ancient Tanks, and Ruined Cities of Ceylon. In the room were a map of the district round the Gulf of Mannár prepared at the Surveyor-General's Office, and a painting of the divers' boat at the pearl fishery by Mr. J. L. K. Vandort, with shells and corals on a table to illustrate the remarks. The Right Rev. the Bishop of Colombo presided, and amongst the audience were the Governor, as Patron of the Asiatic Society, Arabi Pasha, and many of the distinguished people of Ceylon. The lecturer was briefly introduced by the Bishop.

Mr. Ferguson, after a few preliminary remarks, said:—  
“However little interest there may be in what I may say, I am quite sure you will all be interested in this beautiful chart which Colonel Clarke has had prepared at my request at the Surveyor-General's Office, and which, like everything that proceeds from that office, does credit to it. Looking to this portion of the Gulf of Mannár you will see at once the two great series of pearl banks. Here are the Ceylon ones extending from near the island of Mannár right away to Negombo. The really prolific and profitable banks, the Cheval and Modragam Paars, are coloured red. There are 19 banks on the Ceylon coast and 66 on the Indian, 85 altogether, but a large number of them, nearly the whole of the Indian ones, might be blotted out as far as real profit is concerned, and all the Ceylon ones, except the two mentioned. Most of the oysters fished and most of the money that has accrued therefrom to Government have come from those two banks. The draughtsman has not been able to show what is so very prominent in the Gulf of Mannár, and that is its series of currents. It is torn with successive strata of currents, some on the surface and some at various submarine depths, and if you want to know the real cause why pearl fisheries in Ceylon have so often failed, and why, as a rule, they have



failed in India, you will find it in the currents which come sweeping round from the Bay of Bengal up the Ceylon shore, and then rush with immense force against the Indian coast, carrying with them enormous masses of sand and mud, to such an extent that we have ridges of some size on the Ceylon banks, and others, no less than twelve feet high, on the Indian side. You have heard of many enemies of the pearl oyster. The 'trigger fish' (*A. balistes*), which is very irreverently called the 'old woman' fish in Ceylon, is one of them; and you have heard of rays or skates with hammer-like teeth, of chanks, and other shells; and even sea snakes have been charged with eating the pearl oysters, which is utterly impossible. The real and the great enemy of the pearl oyster, however, is mud carried on fierce sweeping currents. We are very ignorant, and we have much to learn of the laws which guide the life-history of the pearl oyster from the time that it swims rapidly in its larval stage until the stage when it becomes the mature oyster, yet we know that it depends upon certain circumstances of currents, the currents meeting and counteracting each other, and so producing conditions favourable for the deposit of the spat on the banks, and then the shells being allowed by the continuance of favourable conditions to attain the age of pearl bearing and of maturity. Altogether the pearl oyster is an exceedingly interesting animal. The word 'oyster,' although wrong scientifically, has yet been so long applied that we are perfectly safe in using it; for the creature is really so much like an oyster, though it belongs to the mussels from its possession of a byssus, or beard, by which it is able to anchor itself on masses of rock. The conditions generally favourable for the pearl oyster are large pieces of coral and other rocks at the bottom of the sea at an average depth of seven fathoms. It is very interesting to see the instinct by which the oyster rises up as high as it can attain to and find support. It has a horror of a sandy bed. The pearl oyster, if it finds itself deposited on sand, has a foot with which it actually walks, and it makes as good a use of its one foot as many human beings do of their two. It has, in truth, very remarkable powers of locomotion, enabling it to go in search of a fitting abode, if it finds the conditions where it has been deposited unsuitable. After finding a suitable place of location it throws out beautiful silk-like filaments of great strength to form the byssus by which it anchors itself, and the foot is positively used as a hand to adjust the filaments and fix them on the rock to which the oyster desires to attach itself. The chief interest, of course, in connection with the pearl oyster, is its power of depositing nacre. Any foreign substance getting into the mantle of the animal producing



irritation is at once by a beautiful instinct coated with this nacreous mucus. The first operation of the oyster is to provide itself with a comfortable and smooth abode. No lady ever paid more attention to the furnishing of her boudoir than the pearl oyster does in making an abode for itself and its interesting little family, which consists at one time of only 12,000,000 eggs! (Laughter.) No human being, of course, ever counted 12,000,000, but Dr. Kelaart computed that in an individual examined by him under the microscope there were 12,000,000 of eggs, and seeing that the creature begins breeding when one year old, and continues the process during the larger portion of its full existence, you can, or rather you cannot, imagine the millions and billions of progeny that are produced and which float away on the sea and form food for multitudinous fishes. Of the millions upon millions of oysters that are produced in the young stages, only the smallest possible percentage ultimately settles on the rocks, and of these again only a very limited percentage come to the pearl-bearing stage. In face of the great forces of nature that I have mentioned, we are practically helpless, and all ideas of artificial culture are, of course, defeated. If we could place buoys in the sea, with great coir cables or mats floating in the water, and if we could possibly so anchor them that they would resist the force of the winds and currents, there is no question but that the pearl oysters would fix themselves on such objects, and pearl fishing would then become a very different and more facile operation to what it now is. Besides directing your attention to this beautiful chart, I would ask you to look at this graphic sketch which I have had prepared for me by Mr. J. L. K. Vandort, of a diving boat and the scene at the pearl fishery. In the background there is the guardship, one of those very fine schooners which the Ceylon Government provides for the bringing over of the immigrant coolies to whom Ceylon owes so much. With regard to the steam launch which figures in the animated scene, I may say that it is now the very effective representative of the old shark charmer. You have all read about the romance of the pearl fishery, and one of the chief and most interesting objects was a 'charmer,' who was employed to charm away the sharks so that they did not attack the divers. Mr. Twynam found that the last 'shark charmer,' instead of being at the pearl fishery was a score of miles inland bidding for paddy rents; so he finally dispensed with the services of the shark charmer. The gun which used to be fired as a signal for the boats going out to the banks and returning to the shore has also been dispensed with. The custom was expensive, and the storing of gunpowder was dangerous.



The operations of the fishery proceed smoothly without the incantations of the snake charmer or the reports of the gun. The formation of the exterior portion of the pearl shell is curiously adapted to a useful purpose, so that it has been quaintly said of the pearl oyster that it carries its commissariat on its back. The construction of the exterior of the shell is such that the conditions are highly favourable for the growth of algæ, which are the home of organisms, animal and vegetable,—infusoria and diatoms. The diatoms, minute vegetable particles, excel even the oyster in reproductiveness, for they multiply at the rate of 500,000,000 per month,—that is all! (Laughter.) Pearl oysters produce their own food, which is drawn to the mouth of the creature by a current it has the power of creating, and it is a question, not so much of age as of abundant provision of food, that regulates the size the oyster shall attain, and what pearl-bearing qualities it may have. It is a very difficult question indeed to decide the age of oysters, and many mistakes have inevitably been made. The Ceylon pearl oysters, in consequence of the superior conditions in regard to shelter and food, are of a much larger size than the Indian ones. They are altogether superior. Whatever precariousness there may be about the fisheries of Ceylon, they are much more profitable than the Indian ones, for the result of a series of years of fisheries shows that the pearl banks of Ceylon yield an average of Rs. 60,000 per annum to the revenue, while the Indian pearl fisheries yield only Rs. 5,000 per annum, or one-twelfth of the Ceylon contribution. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I can only just touch on the process of diving for shells, which is exceedingly interesting. The class of people who dive have been trained all their lives in chank fishing. They are all meat-eaters, either Mohammedans or Tamils. I saw not a single representative of the Singhalese race at the Jubilee Pearl Fishery, and I do not suppose such a person as a Singhalese pearl diver exists. It is a curious fact, but the divers are all, as I have said, Mohammedans, or, so far as I know, Tamils, who are meat-eaters. They feed well, and they are consequently able to undergo great fatigue. I have seen it stated in books that the consequence of the lives they lead is that they are short-lived. Mr. Twynan and Captain Donnan are not of that opinion. You will have seen exaggerated statements in some publications about divers remaining under water four minutes, and even six: I believe such a thing is impossible. In any case there must have been some abnormal conditions to enable any human being to abstain from breathing, and to endure the non-aeration of the blood for so long a period. In this last fishery Captain Donnan timed a diver to 109 seconds, the period in



which the diver was under the water, and I should like to know if that has ever been exceeded. To see a human being go under water, and mark the time he stays there, though it is only less than a minute, seems a perfect age. Now about the sharks. I think it is pretty certain that in the whole course of the Ceylon fisheries only two human beings have fallen victims to these fierce fishes. The people jumping into and rising out of the water, and the sound of many voices, with all the noises of depositing the oysters in the boats, form a great protection. It is also a curious fact, but one which all of us know who have been any time resident here, that a dark-skinned person has a great many more chances in his favour against attack from a shark than a white-skinned person. The Arab divers of the Persian Gulf are so well aware of this that they artificially blacken their bodies when they dive for pearls. There is another very curious thing about the divers and crews in the boats. Those of you who understand the science of numbers may be interested to know that they seem to have adopted the decimal system. There is no reason why they should not have three sets of divers on one side of the boat and three on the other, but there are actually three sets on one side and only two on the other—ten divers, ten boatmen, and three others; and I submit that it is quite probable that the decimal system has been adopted for the facility of counting and dividing. You all know that instead of one-fourth of the produce of the fishery it has recently been found necessary to allot to the divers, whose work is very hard indeed, one-third of the produce. It is a most interesting sight to see the fishing boats begin in the morning by dawn, and anything more beautiful and poetical you cannot imagine. Floating over a sea that previously was as silent as death (the guardship resembling 'a painted ship upon a painted ocean'), you see them all rushing up, taking their stations, beginning the diving operations, and working away without intermission from dawn till half-past twelve or one o'clock. Then they come sweeping back again, passing close to the guardship, where the Superintendent of the Fishery stands and shouts out—'*Ettine chippi?*' (How many shells?) and they answer, some 5,000, some 7,000 or 10,000, others 15,000, and so on. The lower numbers elicit derisive groans, but if a man says 25,000 or 30,000 there are cheers. A diver has been known to collect 80 oysters at a haul, but 40 are nearer the average; and a couple of millions have been landed in a day. The boats make for the shore as fast as they can, each boat striving to be first, and the oysters are divided into lots; the divers are allowed to take their portion of one-third of



the shells at once and sell them, and by selling them in small quantities they are often able to get better prices than the Government share realises. The prices they get generally, however, regulate largely the prices that will obtain at the public auction. And a curious and weird sight is the public auction ! Those I saw took place by lamp-light. Mr. Twynnam sat at a table and the buyers were ranged round. The latter seemed to have combined in some agreement amongst themselves as to the prices, but generally their cupidity would get the better of all promises, and they began to bid one against the other, going up to higher and higher prices, much human nature being evinced. In my time in Ceylon, oysters have been sold at from Rs. 8 to £18 per 1,000. £18 was given for oysters in the time of Sir Henry Ward, and I do not know of any higher figure. Well, ladies and gentlemen, the difficulty with me is not to go on, but to mention in the short time allotted to me a few of the most interesting things out of an immensity of curious and interesting matter connected with the pearl fishery. But I must not detain you longer, because my good friend Mr. Bell, who has magisterial powers, has restricted me to ten minutes for the pearl fishery and ten for the tank region and the ancient cities of Ceylon. It is very interesting, in the first place, to note that the scene of the pearl fisheries is close to the scene of the immigration service, which is an honour to the Ceylon Government. Up to a certain period, when steamers began to run from Tuticorin, there was no other mode of getting to Ceylon but by the northern route, and a large proportion of the Tamils still prefer it to the shorter sea journey. The Ceylon Government have now provided such beautiful roads, such really splendid resthouses, and such excellent wells and hospitals, that the contrast between what I remember to have been the case when fever and epidemics decimated the poor people and left their bones to lie bleaching on the roadside, is most wonderful and gratifying. The fact is that there have been few epidemics of cholera of consequence, or of smallpox, amongst the coolies since this new state of things came into existence, and these immigrants are now provided with every possible comfort. Their health and their lives are cared for, and we hope that, as a result, there will be a continuation of that flow of immigration upon which our prosperity in Ceylon is so much dependent. These people, in journeying to the hill-country of Ceylon, pass through regions where silence and solitude reign. A human being is scarcely to be seen for miles where once life was teeming; where every passion and instinct of human nature was alive and active, where thousands helped to build cities and tanks and cultivate a happy and fertile country,—there now the fever demon



reigns supreme. The task which the British Government has set itself—and it is a noble task, a task worthy of the highest faculties of administration—is to restore the lost fertility and the lost population to this region. You will hear occasionally very strong protests made against voting money for people who show such a want of energy and enterprise. It is quite true that they do show a want of energy and enterprise, and if Government were to be actuated simply by ordinary feelings of human nature they might practically say, ‘We really are sick of you. We have done our best to give you water for your soil, and now you want us to cultivate it for you.’ But we must remember the ages of moral and physical degradation through which they, the remnant of a once great people, have passed. They have been the victims of a peculiar disease—‘parangi’—which is a disease of innutrition and bad water. A marvellous improvement has already taken place, and with the restoration of the grand Kalāwewa tank, which is one of the noblest works of the kind ever formed, there is prospect of a still greater improvement. It was begun by Dhātu Sēna in the fifth century of our era, and it was repaired by Parākrama Bāhu in the twelfth; and finally, it has been thoroughly restored in this jubilee year of our Queen. Those of you who, I hope, will have the privilege of visiting it will see a grand lake of water of seven square miles; and the water is not, like the ordinary tank water, simply intended to irrigate some 22,000 acres of land below it. It is a noble and great work magnificently restored by a Yorkshireman,\* of whom the natives say he is certainly the incarnation of their old giants. The great peculiarity of this work is that a grand canal runs away from it to a distance of 54 miles, giving water and producing fertility along its course. There are 28 sluices and tanks along this course, and when it reaches Anurādhapura it fills up tanks some of which were formed 300 years before Christ. This and other tanks have produced a most wonderful change in the physical condition of the people, and we all know that the mental and moral condition of any people is very much dependent upon their physical prosperity and physical well-being. In going to Anurādhapura you pass the grand Giant’s Tank. It is a mighty work, but the obstruction which runs across the Aruvi-āru (“the waterfall river”) is one of the grandest works in Ceylon. The blocks of stone which have been put across that river are enormous, the stone itself being of a most beautiful quality, and the greatness of the work may be

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\* Mr. Walsh Wrightson, of the Public Works Department, Ceylon.



imagined from the fact that it has stood for ages the enormous floods that have carried down *kumbuk* and other trees, many of which weigh upwards of five tons. I think it is one of the most interesting reminiscences of life in Ceylon to have seen that grand work. I believe it is in contemplation partially to restore the Giant's Tank. Kaláwçwa, however, stands unique, and any statesman might be proud to have his name associated with the restoration of such a work. For myself, I most cordially hope, and I really believe, from having kept my eyes open and seen what I did see there, that if we can only get people to accept the privileges bestowed upon them, the population will be restored. Of course that will be a long process, but we indulge in the hope that finally population and productiveness will be restored to a region once inhabited by millions, who erected a city which even in its ruins ranks amongst the wonders of the world. These buildings at Anurádhapura, the great *dágabas*, are amongst the wonders of the world, only inferior (if really inferior) to the pyramids of Egypt. Those of you who have read Sir J. Emerson Tennent will have seen a calculation of the immense number of streets, each half a mile long, which the materials of one of these *dágobas* would build. There are five of them, and amongst the smaller erections there is one which is perhaps one of the most interesting buildings in the world. There is no question that Thúpárama *dágaba* marks the transition period in India and Ceylon from edifices of wood to edifices of stone. It may take you by surprise, as it did myself when I first heard of it. It is only about 2,300 years ago since the people of India and Ceylon found out that they could build with stone, and the reason why we have so few antiquities which go back beyond the period mentioned is, that even the greatest temples were simply built of perishable wood. But Thúpárama dates back about three centuries before Christ, and a most interesting object it is with its elegant bell shape and its exquisitely beautiful columns. Then, what a wonderful place Anurádhapura is! Look at those enormous *dágabas* which still stand erect against the sky, and which must have looked intensely beautiful when they were coated with polished "chunam" and with sheets of polished brass or burnished gold. One cannot help the feeling that he would be glad to see population and prosperity restored to a scene where once so much of active life and of resources existed, which unfortunately were misapplied. But of course we must remember that the people knew no better than what they were taught in those old-world days. Let us hope that their successors may largely improve upon their example. I am detaining you, I am afraid, ladies and gentlemen, but I



should do injustice to my own feelings if I sat down without saying that those of you who have never visited that region have a pleasure in store in going to the mountain of Mihintalé. Standing on one of those dagabas you get a view for miles and miles over waving forest, with a view of scattered mountain masses, including the mysterious Ritigala, prominent amongst which, and standing alone, is Mihintalé. It is a most beautiful rocky mountain, where immense detached masses of granite are piled one above another. It was probably the scene of an ancient hill worship anterior to the introduction of Buddhism by the son and daughter of Asoka, the great Buddhist sovereign of India. They found a worship established there—very probably some form of snake or demon worship. The mountain is just one series of monuments all the way up on each side of the 2,000 steps. In fact the whole country round Anurádhapura for an immense area is one series of ruins. When I say ruins, I mean that the edifices are fallen down, but the material—the masses of stone—are as fresh as when the masons wedged and chiselled them into shape some 2,000 years ago. The material is magnificent, the climate is in favour of its preservation, and there are blocks of stone 16 tons in weight lying about, which are marvels in themselves. At Mihintalé they say that in clear weather you can see from one side of Ceylon to the other, which I can well believe from the experience of my short visit."

Mr. Ferguson closed his rapid and necessarily fragmentary review of a few characteristics of the pearl fisheries, the tank region, and the ancient cities, by remarking that, like Tennyson's brook, he could go on for ever, but must not forget the many objects of interest which upstairs awaited their inspection. (Applause.)

His Excellency the Governor said :— " My Lord Bishop, I am sure you will permit me to be the organ of expressing to Mr. Ferguson what I am quite sure I may venture to express, without even the formality of appealing to the audience to authorise me to do it—that is, to convey the thanks we all feel for the interesting address which he has given us." Then addressing Mr. Ferguson, he said :—" All your audience must have listened to you with interest, and some, I hope, will carry away from it new ideas. The more who follow the advice you have given to pay a visit to Mihintalé and look on the magnificent view from its summit, the more pleasure will be obtained by them. For my own part I was particularly grateful to hear you give the account of your visit to the tank region of Ceylon, because I think that it is very possible that there are many persons in your audience who may not have heard in any popular form any account

of what is going on there, or how interesting a work is being performed. Feeling myself a deep interest in that work, I much rejoice at any attempt which would popularise it. I will not be guilty of the offence which you have so carefully avoided, and I have no more to say than to give you our hearty thanks for the interesting address you have given us." (Applause.)

The Bishop said he was sure it was quite unnecessary to put to the vote what had been proposed by His Excellency, and he would take the liberty of saying that it was carried unanimously. The more literary part of their business was at an end, and if they went upstairs for a little time they would find on returning to the room that it had assumed a different aspect.\* (Applause.)

The company then left the library and proceeded upstairs to view the many interesting objects there collected, and a very enjoyable *Conversazione* was brought to a close between 11.30 and 12 o'clock.

The following programme was played by the Volunteer Band:—

1	Overture	...	"Schubert"	...	Suppé.
2	Air	...	Scena from "Trovatore"	...	Verdi.
3	Selection	...	"Barbeire de Sevilla"	...	Rossini.
4	Scena and Air from	...	"Paluto Martiri"	...	Donizetti.
5	Alpine Echoes	...	...	...	M. Carl.
6	Fantasia	...	"A Night in Berlin"	...	Hartman.
7	Selection	...	"Albion"	...	Godfrey.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

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\* Refreshments were afterwards served in the reading room.



COMMITTEE MEETING.

*December 21, 1887.*

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. T. Berwick, Vice-President.

Dr. W. R. Kynsey, Vice-President.

Mr. W. H. G. Duncan, Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and F. H. M. Corbet, Hon. Secretaries.

*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on October 18, 1887.

2. On the motion of the President a cordial vote of thanks was passed to His Excellency the Governor and the Sub-Committee of the Museum for giving the Society the use of the building on the occasion of the recent *Conversazione*, and to the Director, Mr. Haly, for his generous aid.

3. Mr. Corbet laid before the Meeting certain proposed alterations in the Society's Rules and Regulations.

Resolved, after considerable discussion, to defer consideration of the whole question until next year, in view of the many amendments suggested, which would require the careful attention of a special Sub-Committee.

4. Resolved to convene the Annual General Meeting for Friday, December 23, at 9 P.M., at the Colombo Museum.

The Honorary Secretaries undertook to have ready a Report on the year's work, and the Honorary Treasurer handed in an interim statement of the Society's financial position.

5. Proceeded to nominate Office-Bearers for 1888 :—

*President.*—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Mr. T. Berwick and Mr. George Wall.

*Committee.*

The Hon. H. Bois, M.L.C.

Mr. H. H. Cameron.

Lt.-Col. the Hon. F. C. H.

Clarke, R.A., C.M.G.

Mr. J. B. Cull.

Mr. W. E. Davidson.

Mr. P. Freidenberg.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.

Mr. S. Green.

The Hon. P. Rámanathan,

M.L.C.

Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.

Dr. H. Trimen.

Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten.

*Honorary Treasurer.*—Mr. W. H. G. Duncan.

*Honorary Secretaries.*—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and F. H. M. Corbet.

6. Resolved to request Mr. D. W. Ferguson to read his translation of *Dr. Ægidius Daalman's Notes on Ceylon in 1687-89*, at the Annual Meeting.

### ANNUAL MEETING.

*December 23, 1887.*

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. T. Berwick, Vice-President.

Mr. W. H. G. Duncan, Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Ferguson.

Mr. D. W. Ferguson.

Mr. A. P. Green.

Mr. S. Green.

The Hon. W. W. Mitchell,

M.L.C.

Rev. J. Scott.

Mr. W. van Langenberg.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and F. H. M. Corbet, Hon. Secretaries.

Two visitors.

### *Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on November 17, 1887.

2. The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society :—Mr. P. Arunácalam, M.A., C.C.S.; Mr. Cecil Hill, R.E.; Mr. J. G. L. Ohlmus; Mons. C. Ruinat, J.P.

3. On the motion of the President, Mr. J. Capper was unanimously elected an Honorary Member, in recognition of his valuable services to the Society in past years.

4. Mr. Corbet, Hon. Secretary, then read the following

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR 1887.

*Members.*—The Committee of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report that since the last Annual Meeting, held on Friday, December 16, 1886, there has been the following decrease in, and addition to, the number of the Society's Members.

They record with regret the loss by death of three Members, viz.:—Messrs. W. Ferguson, F.L.S.; S. Jayatileke, Mudaliyár; and M. Sagarajasingham. Also the loss by retirement of one Member, viz., Dr. J. W. Plaxton.

On the other hand, they have pleasure in stating that twenty-one new Members (including those gentlemen admitted this evening) have been elected, viz.:—Mr. J. Allport; Mr. P. Arunácalam, C.C.S.; Dr. J. Attygalle; Mr. J. H. Barber, Proctor; Mr. Stanley Bois; Mr. H. H. Capper;



Mr. E. C. Davies; Mr. J. H. F. Hamilton, C.C.S.; Mr. Cecil Hill, R.E.; Dr. H. A. Keegel; Mr. C. O. Mackwood; Mr. W. C. Macready; the Hon. W. W. Mitchell, M.L.C.; Mr. A. Nell; Mr. J. G. L. Ohlms; Mr. D. C. Pedris; Mons. C. Ruinat, Vice-Consul for France; Mr. E. Schrader; Mr. W. van Langenberg; Mr. A. van Starrex; and Mr. J. R. Weinman, Advocate. And that three former Members have rejoined the Society, viz.:—The Rev. E. F. Miller; the Rev. John Scott; and Mr. H. van Cuylenburg.

The difference shows a net gain to the Society of twenty Members. The Society now counts thirteen Life Members and 156 Ordinary Members, besides the Honorary Members, to the list of which Mr. John Capper's name has this evening been added.

The facilities accorded to Members by a modification of Rule 4 (clause *a*), passed at the last Annual Meeting, for compounding their yearly subscriptions and becoming Life Members, have not been availed of so far.

The Society has specially to deplore the loss it has sustained by the death of the late Mr. William Ferguson, F.L.S. He had been connected with the Society from 1858, and both as a Member of Committee and as an enthusiastic worker in the fields of botany and zoology, has rendered the Society continued and valuable service. Mr. Ferguson's work had obtained for him a deserved name in scientific circles outside Ceylon.\*

In Samuel Jayatileke, Mudaliyár, the Society has lost a worthy Member, well known throughout the Island for his Oriental attainments and for his love of botany.

*Meetings.*—During the year under review there have been but one General Meeting and two Committee Meetings. Whatever good work the Society has done in other respects, this paucity of Meetings is to be regretted.

It seems necessary to point out again that Members have in their own hands a remedy for this lamentable neglect of one of the chief means of usefulness open to the Society. Without Papers adapted for reading, it is useless to convene General Meetings. Members would do well to bear in mind that the necessary qualification for writing a Paper worthy of a place in the transactions of the Society, is not a wide and profound erudition such as few men can aspire to, but merely a greater familiarity with any given subject coming within their scope than that possessed by the majority of the Members. Add to this, ability to clothe their ideas in pleasant and not too technical language, and nothing further is required to enable Members to furnish literary pabulum

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\* For biographical sketch see p. xxx.



suitable for the General Meetings. On the other hand, learned, but to the ordinary hearer "dry," Papers may be most valuable contributions to our Journal, though not of a character to be appreciated at an evening gathering. Thus it appears that there should be no hesitation on the part of any of the Members in contributing to the Society's pleasure or instruction (or both, for those who have the skill to combine the two) by furnishing Papers on such subjects as they may have studied specially, or even brief notes on matters which may from time to time come under their observation. It is thought that if the real wants of the Society in regard to Papers for reading were better understood, there would be no lack of help in this direction. An appeal is made to Members generally to exert themselves to put into writing, for the benefit of the Society, the result of their gleanings in whatever field has attracted their particular attention.

At the Meeting held on November 17, Mr. F. H. de Vos read several extracts from his interesting translation of a manuscript account by Antonio Caen of the capture of Trincomalee in 1639; and the Honorary Secretary, in the absence of the author, Mr. W. J. S. Boake, read extracts from a short Paper detailing the discovery of antiquities at the ancient sacred site of Tirúkkétisvaram. This was followed by a discussion, in which the Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan, Mr. M. Kásipillai Tissaináyagam, Mr. Ranasinha, and Mr. Berwick took part.

*Conversazione.*—The most noticeable event of the year recorded in our annals has been the *Conversazione*, which was held in the Colombo Museum on Saturday, November 26. This is the first gathering of the kind that has ever been held under the auspices of the Society. As an experiment it was most successful, and may well, the Committee are of opinion, be taken as a good precedent to be followed once at least every year. Admission was in this case free. Nearly a thousand tickets were issued by the Honorary Secretaries to Members, for themselves and for other persons whom they desired to invite. As going to prove the popularity of such gatherings, it may be mentioned that the supply of tickets fell short of the demand. The weather unfortunately proved very inclement, and only about 400 persons attended the gathering.

The many interesting objects that were on view in the Museum on this occasion need not be detailed. Speaking generally, they were such as it is usual to see at these entertainments. But it is only right to state that the best thanks of the Society are due to those gentlemen and ladies who most kindly assisted in the preparations for the *Conversazione*, or who lent objects for exhibition, as well as to those who so unselfishly devoted their time during the evening to giving



information to all present regarding the different exhibits. The ready and willing assistance rendered by all concerned has been very gratifying, and may be taken as a hopeful sign for the future when similar entertainments are contemplated.

The Committee have passed a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor and the Sub-Committee of the Museum for giving the Society the use of the building, and have expressed their special obligations to the Director, Mr. Haly, for the generous aid he rendered the Society, both by advice and personal efforts.

*Journals.*—There have been issued during the year Journal Vol. IX., No. 32, 1886, and reprint Vol. II., No. 4, 1848-9. No. 33 (a translation of Professor Virchow's Monograph on the Veddas) will be out in a few days, as well as Proceedings, 1886. This will complete Volume IX. It has not been found possible to arrange for more than one other reprint,—No. 5, 1849-50, now in hand, being carried through at the Government Press.

*Library.*—The Library has received several valuable accessions this year by purchase and presentation.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Secretary of State for India and to the Indian and Ceylon Governments for books presented by them.

In the Report for 1886 the Committee stated that a catalogue of the Society's books would be commenced at once, but the work has had to stand over owing to the want of bookcases in which the works could be properly arranged, and of the needful registers and tickets with numbers. Now that these have been supplied by the Government, it is hoped that the work may be proceeded with steadily.

*Archæology.*—Mr. Boake's excavations at Tirúkkétisvaram (Mántoddai) were alluded to when reference was made to the Papers read at the General Meeting. It is understood that the Government Agent of the Northern Province has addressed the Government, independently, urging the desirability of thoroughly clearing the ruins; and judging by the "finds" on or near the surface reported by successive Assistant Government Agents—Messrs. Byrde, Boake, and Saxton—no more promising site for systematic exploration could be selected.

Good work is being done at Anurádhapura under Mr. Ievers' able direction, in laying bare and restoring the chief of Ceylon's "buried cities."

*Maháwansa.*—This great work has now been fully translated into English. Louis Wijesingha Mudaliyár is at present engaged in seeing his translation of chapters XXXIX. to C. through the press. No more valuable contribution to Oriental history has seen the light for years, and its appearance will be welcomed by Orientalists far and wide.



It is hoped that the same learned scholar may very shortly be entrusted with the editing of a second edition of the English translation of chapters I. to XXXVIII., translated by the late George Turnour some fifty years ago, and long since out of print.

*Finances.*—The annexed balance sheet\* of the Society's funds needs little remark. The balance at the bank amounts to Rs. 659·94, after payment of all expenses of the year, including the cost of the *Conversazione*. The balance would be more than double what it is but for the unpardonable neglect of a very large number of Members in delaying payment of their subscriptions.

The arrears in Members' subscriptions was strongly commented on in last year's Report; and the Committee regret that this year shows no improvement—rather the reverse. It would be far better for Members to sever their connection with the Society than to persistently ignore all applications made to them for their subscription.

Rs. 345·74 was expended on purchase of books this year, as against Rs. 249·68 last year; but only Rs. 10·75 was spent on binding. That the sums under the heads Advertisements, Printing, and Gas are smaller this year, is attributable to the Society having held fewer Meetings and issued less of its Transactions.

Rs. 17·25 was spent by Mr. Boake out of the Rs. 50 voted for the excavations at Tirúkkétisvaram.

*Rules.*—It is proposed that a Special Committee should be appointed to revise the rules and regulations of the Society. Several important alterations which have been suggested seem to demand early attention, *inter alia* (a) with regard to the privileges which should be enjoyed by Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of sister branch Societies, when temporarily residing in Ceylon; (b) the eligibility of ladies as Members of our Society; and (c) the subscription payable by non-resident Members.

*Prospects for the New Year.*—The following Papers have been already sent in, or promised:—*The Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon*, by Mr. G. Vane, C.M.G., late Treasurer of the Colony; *On the Construction of Zoological Tables*, by Mr. A. Haly, Director of the Colombo Museum; *The Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon*, by Mr. Ahamadú Báwa, Proctor; *A Contribution towards the History of Colombo*, by the Hon. P. Rámanáthan, Advocate, M.L.C.

The Committee trust that a sufficiency of readable Papers will be forthcoming in 1888 to enable General Meetings to

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\* See page xxxiii.



be held once a month or so, and that when the next Annual Meeting is held the Society may be able to congratulate itself on a year of solid work and real progress.

5. On the motion of the Rev. J. Scott, seconded by Mr. J. Ferguson, the Report was adopted.

6. Moved by the Hon. W. W. Mitchell, M.L.C., seconded by Mr. van Langenberg, and unanimously carried, That the following be the Office-Bearers for 1888, viz. :—

*President.*—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Mr. T. Berwick ; Mr. George Wall.

*Committee.*

The Hon. H. Bois, M.L.C.  
Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S.  
Lieut.-Col. the Hon. F. C. H.  
Clarke, R.A., C.M.G.  
Mr. J. B. Cull.  
Mr. W. E. Davidson.  
Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.

Mr. P. Freüdenberg.  
Mr. S. Green.  
The Hon. P. Rámanáthan,  
M.L.C.  
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.  
Dr. H. Trimen, F.L.S.  
Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten.

*Hon. Treasurer.*—Mr. W. H. G. Duncan.

*Hon. Secretaries.*—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and F. H. M. Corbet.

7. The Bishop thanked the Meeting for the honour conferred on him and the other office-bearers.

8. Mr. Bell, Honorary Secretary, read a short Paper by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., entitled *Note on the "Hil-Pen-Kandura" at Kandy*, being an account of the discovery of the remains of an ancient bathing-place, supposed to have been the royal bath, at the head of the Kandy lake.

9. Mr. D. W. Ferguson then followed with his translation of *Notes on Ceylon in 1687-89*, by Dr. Ægidius Daalmans, a Belgian physician. This proved to be very quaint and amusing, and several times provoked the audience to laughter : as when the author described the difficulties encountered on a journey to Kótté, which he styles "Cotten" ; or when he made ludicrous comparisons between Ceylon and his native country ; or, again, when he confidently stated that Ceylon had been discovered by Christopher Columbus.

10. Mr. Berwick observed that it would be useful to have a skeleton map of Colombo prepared, in which the ancient buildings, &c., should be marked, as those published by the Portuguese and Dutch writers could not be made to agree.

Mr. Corbet suggested that Mr. A. E. Buultjens' assistance should be enlisted, as he would be able to procure copies of the plans forwarded to Holland in the time of the Dutch.

11. The Bishop thanked Mr. Ferguson for his interesting Paper, and invited Mr. Wall to address them on the subject of the newly developed theory in astronomy.

Mr. Wall said that Mr. Norman Lockyer had lately read a Paper before the Royal Society developing a novel and interesting theory, in which he took as his starting point the meteorite, and as his goal the cycle of the universe. According to him, the differences between the spectra of the several kinds of self-luminous heavenly bodies was not due, as has hitherto been supposed, to a difference in the physical basis of those bodies, but to the various degrees of condensation or diffusion of the meteorite matter, of which they are all alike composed, and to differences in their temperature. Mr. Lockyer had been able, from the same meteorites, to reproduce in his laboratory the different spectra distinguishing the various kinds of self-luminous bodies, and he adduced this experiment in support of his views. Mr. Wall added that, if the learned astronomer were able to establish his theory, he would have made an epoch in the history of astronomy.

Mr. John Ferguson cautioned the meeting against accepting Mr. Lockyer's theory until it had received the sanction of other leading Members of the Royal Society.

In this view Mr. Wall concurred.

The Meeting then broke up.

*A Biographical Sketch of the late William Ferguson, F.L.S.*

(See motion, p. v., and Annual Report, p. xxv.)

BY the death of Mr. Wm. Ferguson in July, 1887, this branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been deprived of one of its oldest and most valued members. His career in Ceylon has been as useful as it has been long, and men of science, both in and out of the Island, will have good cause to deplore the loss of so eminent and experienced a co-operator, and one who so readily placed at their disposal the vast amount of knowledge acquired by him.

The deceased first arrived in the Island in 1839, at the age of nineteen, as a Surveyor under Government; and continued to follow that profession up to the time of his transfer to the Public Works Department in 1858. The great hardships and the exposure incidental to the work of a surveyor during the early days of the Colony necessarily tended to prostrate even his hardy frame, and oft-repeated attacks of fever accelerated his death.



The last days of his life were filled with hard and zealous work as Superintendent of Roads in the Municipality of Colombo.

The ample field presented to all lovers of nature in this Island was eagerly availed of by so keen a botanist and observer as Mr. Ferguson, and when, in addition to his great interest in the work, opportunities were afforded him in his career as a surveyor, of satiating his hunger for new, more varied, and rarer specimens, it ceases to be a subject of wonder that he should have been adjudged, and that, too, by men of no less a calibre than Sir Joseph Hooker, Bentham, Wight, Cleghorn, and Munro, one of the most accurate, observant, and successful of botanists. The generosity with which he was ever ready to help others in their researches is testified to by Sir J. E. Tennent, to whom, in connection with the botanical section of his work on Ceylon, he afforded the most substantial assistance.

To have acquired so thorough a mastery of botany and a knowledge of zoology would have been sufficient to have occupied the leisure hours of men of ordinary ability, but such was not the case with Mr. Ferguson, for, having dipped into these studies, his inquiring mind led him to form an intimate acquaintance with the different and varied species of these branches of science.

The following is a list of works from the pen of Mr. William Ferguson :—

Description of the Palmyra Palm of Ceylon, illustrated with several woodcuts drawn and engraved by native artists. (8vo., Colombo, 1850.)

Several communications to Sir J. Emerson Tennent on the Botany of Ceylon. (E. T., Introduction, p. xi.)

Several facts, as well as a full account of the mode of killing Turtles at Jaffna (E. T.).

Plan of the summit of Adam's Peak made in 1841. (E. T., II., p. 140.)

Scripture Botany of Ceylon. (Journal, R. A. S., Ceylon, 1858-9, p. 65.)

Notes to Hints on Gardening, specially adapted for Ceylon, by W. Cameron. (Ferguson's Ceylon Directory for 1863, pp. 205-24.)

A Descriptive List of the Timber Trees of Ceylon. (Journal, R. A. S., Ceylon, pp. 225-57.)

Facts on Ceylon Plants, communicated to Dr. Thwaites. ("Enumeratio Plantarum Zeylanæ.")

Description of supposed New Genus of Ceylon Batrachians. (Journal, R. A. S., 1874.)

Reptile Fauna of Ceylon : Letter on a Collection sent to the Colombo Museum. (8vo., Colombo, 1877.)

Ceylon Ferns and their Allies, with familiar Notes on each species. (8vo., Colombo, 1880.)

Gramineæ, or Grasses Indigenous to or growing in Ceylon. (Journal, R. A. S., Ceylon, 1880.)

The supposed Origin of Tammanna Nuwara, Tambapanni, and Taprobane. (Journal, R. A. S., Ceylon, 1880.)

Timber Trees of Ceylon, by Mudaliyar Mendis, with Notes by W. Ferguson. (8vo., Colombo, 1881.)

Ceylon Reptiles: being a Preliminary Catalogue of the Reptiles found in, or supposed to be in, Ceylon. (Journal, R. A. S., Ceylon, 1881-2.)

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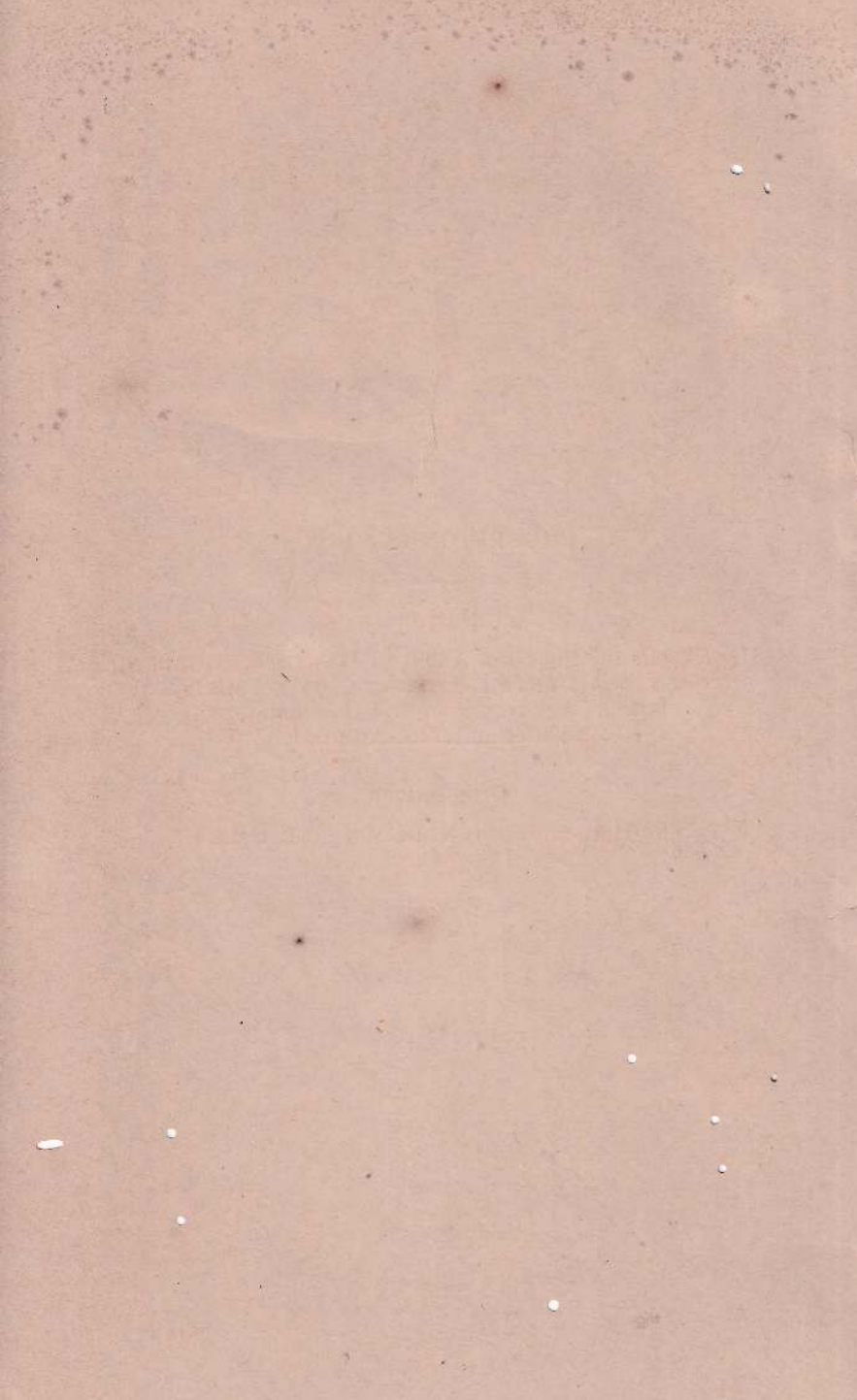
*D<sup>r</sup>.* The Honorary Treasurer in account with the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).\* *C<sup>r</sup>.*

1887.		1887.		1887.		Rs. c.	
Balance brought forward	...	...	...	Purchase of books	...	345	74
Cash in Bank :—	...	...	...	Printing, paid Government Printer, &c.	...	633	39
Anuadhapura Excavation Fund	440	5	...	Postages, stamps, and postcards	...	69	71
General funds	541	96	...	Cost of lithographing inscriptions	...	12	19
Members' subscriptions	...	...	...	Advertising Meetings, &c.	...	46	2
Entrance fees	...	...	...	Binding sundry volumes	...	10	75
Government grant to the Society	...	...	...	Stationery	...	58	33
Sale of Journals, &c.	...	...	...	Charges on account clerk's salary, gas, &c.	...	120	88
Dividends from Oriental Bank Corporation	...	...	...	Expenses of Conversation	...	630	27
	...	...	...	Tirakeapuram excavation account	...	17	25
	...	...	...	Balance at Bank	...	659	94
Total ...	2,604	47	...	Total ...	...	2,604	47

Colombo, December 23, 1887.

W. H. G. DUNCAN,  
Honorary Treasurer.

\* See p. xxv.





PROCEEDINGS, 1888.

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**Patron :**

His Excellency the Hon. ARTHUR HAMILTON GORDON,  
G.C.M.G., M.A. CANTAB., HON. D.C.L. OXON., M.R.A.S.,  
F.R.C.I., &c., Governor and Commander-  
in-Chief and Vice-Admiral.

**Vice-Patron :**

The Hon. EDWARD NOEL WALKER, C.M.G.,  
Colonial Secretary, Ceylon.

## Office Bearers, 1888.

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### *President:*

The Right Reverend REGINALD STEPHEN COPLESTON, D.D.,  
Lord Bishop of Colombo.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

THOMAS BERWICK, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, District Judge  
of Colombo.

GEORGE WALL, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.

### *Committee:*

The Hon. HENRY BOIS, M.L.C., F.R.C.I.

H. HAY CAMERON, Esq., C.C.S.

The Hon. Colonel F. C. H. CLARKE, R.A., C.M.G., F.R.G.S.,  
F.C.S., F.R.C.I.

JOHN B. CULL, Esq., M.A.

W. E. DAVIDSON, Esq., C.C.S.

A. M. FERGUSON, Esq., C.M.G.

PHILIP FREUDENBERG, Esq., J.P.

STANFORTH GREEN, Esq.

The Hon. PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN, M.L.C., M.C.L.E.,  
F.R.C.I.

W. P. RANASINGHA, Esq., Proctor of the Supreme Court.

HENRY TRIMEN, Esq., M.B., F.L.S.

J. L. VANDERSTRAATEN, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., L.S.A., L.R.C.S.  
& L.M.

### *Honorary Treasurer:*

W. H. G. DUNCAN, Esq.

A. P. GREEN, Esq., F.E.S., acting.

### *Honorary Secretaries:*

H. C. P. BELL, Esq., C.C.S.      F. H. M. CORBET, Esq.

### *Librarian:*

N. D. M. DE ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE, Esq.



## PROCEEDINGS, 1888.

### COMMITTEE MEETING.

*January 16, 1888.*

Present :

Lieut.-Col. the Hon. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G., in the Chair.

Mr. T. Berwick.

Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S.

Mr. J. B. Cull.

Mr. W. H. G. Duncan, Hon. Treasurer.

Mr. Ph. Freüdenberg.

The Hon. P. Rámanáthan, M.L.C.

Mr. George Wall.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., and Mr. F. H. M. Corbet,  
Honorary Secretaries.

### *Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Committee Meeting held on December 21, 1887.

2. Resolved,—To appoint a Reading Committee for the current year. Nominated : the Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan, M.L.C. ; Mr. J. B. Cull ; and, subject to his consent, Mr. S. Green.

3. In connection with resolution 3 of Committee Meeting held on December 21 last, relative to the proposed revision of the rules and regulations of the Society, the following gentlemen were nominated a Sub-Committee for the purpose :—The Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan, M.L.C. ; Mr. J. B. Cull ; Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten ; the Office-Bearers.

4. With reference to resolution 3 (ii.) of Committee Meeting held on October 18 last, Mr. Bell read a letter from Dr. H. Trimén, formally presenting this Society, on behalf of the relatives of the late Mr. W. Ferguson, with the Minute and Letter Book of the long defunct “ Literary and Agricultural Society.” Mr. Bell stated that the book would be at once bound, and suggested that it might be as well to print portions of the matter contained therein.

Resolved,—To refer the book to the Reading Committee.

5. Mr. Bell brought up the subject of the Dutch records in the Government Record Office, Colombo, and strongly urged that an effort should be made, before it is too late, to

induce Government to sanction the translation of at least the more valuable records. Mr. Bell stated that these records—the unbound volumes belonging to Galle more especially—were fast crumbling to pieces from dust and neglect, and that unless steps were taken promptly for their better preservation, it would be hopeless within a year or two attempting to consult a large proportion of them. He had ascertained from Holland that a competent translator would undertake the translation at 8*d.* a page—a very moderate charge, considering the form and style of these manuscripts of the seventeenth century. He moved, therefore, that the attention of Government be invited to the matter, and the grant of a small special sum be solicited, in order that a commencement of this very desirable work might be made under the direction of the Society.

Resolved unanimously,—That the question of the proper preservation and gradual translation of the Dutch records, being one which should commend itself to the Government no less than to this Society, the Honorary Secretary do address Government without delay, with the object of bringing about more careful custody of the records, and of obtaining a small special grant to be devoted to the work of translating the most important volumes.\*

6. Mr. Corbet, in pointing out the obligations under which Drs. Fritz Sarasin and Paul Sarasin had laid the Society, moved that their names be submitted to the next General Meeting by the Committee for election as Honorary Members.—Carried.

7. Mr. Corbet informed the Meeting that it had been suggested to him by Dr. Vandort as likely to further popularise the Society's objects, that "Popular Science Lectures" should be undertaken under the auspices of the Society.

Considerable discussion ensued, and the feeling of the Meeting seemed hardly to favour the suggestion, inasmuch as judging from past attempts in the same direction, it was not thought likely to lead to any practical result.

Resolved,—That the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Dr. Vandort for the interest shown by him in the matter.

8. Resolved,—To convene a General Meeting at the Museum on Thursday, January 26, at 9 P.M.

The Honorary Secretaries stated that Mr. A. Haly, Director of the Museum, was prepared to deliver an address, illustrated by diagrams, "*On the Characters of Ceylon Snakes*," and that Mr. Advocate B. W. Bawa had ready for reading a Paper "*On the Marriage Customs of the Moors in Ceylon*," by his father Mr. Ahamadu Bawa.

\* See letter from the Honorary Secretary to the Colonial Secretary, in the Appendix.



GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, January 26, 1888.*

Present :

Mr. George Wall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Allport.	Mr. Staniforth Green.
Dr. J. Attygalle.	Mr. A. P. Green.
Dr. P. Brito.	Mr. D. J. Guzdar.
Mr. W. H. G. Duncan, Hon.	Mr. P. D. Khan.
Treasurer.	Mr. W. C. Macready.
Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.	Mr. M. Shamsadeen.
Mr. D. W. Ferguson.	Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten.
Mr. John Ferguson.	

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. ; Mr. F. H. M. Corbet,  
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors.—Two ladies and five gentlemen.

*Business.*

1. The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on December 23, 1887, were read and confirmed.

2. The Chairman proposed the election, as Honorary Members of the Society, of Dr. Paul Sarasin and Dr. Fritz Sarasin\* on the recommendation of the Committee, and in consideration of their scientific researches and work in Ceylon, and of the valuable Paper they had contributed to the Society. He was sure those gentlemen were well known by name to all present.

The two gentlemen were then declared duly elected.

3. Mr. Bell proposed, and Mr. Corbet seconded, the election of the following gentlemen as ordinary Members :—

Mr. Mohamed Ismail Mohamed Ali ; Mr John Henry Jayatileke Abeyasiriwardana Ilangakoon, Mudaliyár of the Weligam Kóralé ; Mr. W. W. Martin ; and Mr. Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam. These gentlemen were declared duly elected.

4. Mr. Bell laid on the table a long list of books received since the previous meeting. He stated that the Society had had a generous gift from the Secretary of State for India of the last edition of the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," a work in fourteen volumes by Dr. Hunter of the Indian Civil

\* Authors of "Outline of Two Years' Scientific Researches in Ceylon" (Journal No. 32, vol. IX., 1886, pp. 283-305). *Ergebnisse Naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon in Den Jahren, 1884-86.* Wiesbaden, 1888.

Service. Mr. Cochran had presented a book by his brother, Mr. William Cochran, called "Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor; or, Notes in the Levant."

5. Mr. A. Haly delivered his address "*On the Characters of Ceylon Snakes, illustrated by Formulæ*."\* A chart, on which were written the formulæ which Mr. Haly wished to explain, and on which were also sketched the heads of the different types of snakes, was placed before the meeting.

The lecturer said that the object of the Paper which he had the honour to lay before the Society was to give as full a description of Ceylon snakes as was necessary for the student in as little space as possible, and also to facilitate their identification by means of formulæ.

There were on the table before him two zoological works: one the British Museum Catalogue of Fish in eight volumes, averaging 400 to 500 pages each, an absolute *sine qua non* for the student of the class. But supposing the student took for study a more limited group, say a single family of beetles, such as the skip-jacks, then the first work necessary is Candeze's "Monograph of the Elaterids," four thick volumes of about 400 pages each. Whatever branch of zoology he elected to pursue, from the monkeys to the jelly-fish, he was met with the same voluminous literature.

It was one of Cuvier's great objects in writing the "Règne Animale" to reduce its bulk as much as possible. In his preface he says "My matter would have filled many volumes; but I made it my duty to compress it by imagining short means of reduction." The means Cuvier employed was the immortal "Natural Method" itself. He did not make use of signs or formulæ in any way.

Professor Owen was the first to call attention to this subject. He says:—

"The entomologist has long found the advantage of the signs used for male and female and the like, and it is time that the anatomist should avail himself of these powerful instruments of thought, instruction, and discovery, from which the chemist, astronomer, and mathematician have obtained such powerful results."

Such formulæ are at present used to express the number and homologies of the teeth in mammalia, and the number of species and rays in the fins of fish. The late Professor

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\* As the outcome of this address Mr. Haly presented the Society with a Paper "On the Construction of Zoological Tables, with a Tabular Diagnosis of the Snakes of Ceylon." But, as was stated in a notice issued in 1890, with No. 36 of the Journal, he finally decided to withdraw his Paper (partly printed) for the present, owing to typographical difficulties connected with the setting up of the Explanatory Table.



Garrod used them to some extent in treating of the anatomy of birds, and an American naturalist has suggested their use in the descriptions of the Echinoderms; but with these exceptions, as far as the lecturer was aware, the subject had never been taken up.

Formulae were not alone useful for compression, but also for comparison; for example, taking up the first volume of the "Catalogue of Fish," we see that the genus *Perca*, of which our common English perch is a species, has the teeth villiform, *i.e.*, that the jaws are set with closely packed teeth, which have been compared to the pile of velvet. Of course, all the species of *Perca* agree in this, but how far does this character extend? To the whole family of Perch or only part of it, and in what other families of fish is it found? It was impossible to learn this unless the Catalogue was thoroughly studied. But supposing that we had a vertical column headed teeth, and placed opposite the name of every species of fish that had its teeth similar to those of the Perch, the student would see almost at a glance to what extent this character was found in all the great class of fish.

Before considering the construction of the formulae and their meaning, the lecturer wished to point out how much might be done by the use of numbers arranged in columns and used in their ordinary sense. He then showed on a greatly enlarged diagram of a portion of the table how some of the characters of the rat snake could be reduced to a mere numerical expression perfectly easy to understand and compare:—"The greatest thickness of the body and the length of the head are both contained thirty-nine times in the total length, and the length of the tail  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times. There are two pre-oculars and three post-oculars; eight upper labials, the fourth and fifth of which enter the eye. There are 176 to 208 ventrals and 108 to 134 sub-caudals: it grows to 84 in. in length;" can be expressed thus:  $39 \cdot 39 \cdot 3\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{8}{4 \cdot 5} \cdot \frac{176}{108} \cdot \frac{208}{134}$  84, and if these figures are arranged in vertical columns it is very easy to compare one species with another.

With regard to the formulae, the lecturer said that the simpler they were the better. He had restricted them to a single letter with an index letter or figure, such as  $a^1$ ,  $a^2$ ,  $b^1$ ,  $b^2$ ,  $a^a$ ,  $a^b$ , &c. Nature was infinite and human language finite, and however complex the formulae might be made, they would always fail to classify with accuracy the subtle gradations that occurred between different species.

When he first took up the subject he had hoped to make the meaning of the expressions  $a$ ,  $b$ , &c., quite definite. If  $a$  was employed to represent the form of the rat-snake, then all other species with  $a$  in the column headed "form" opposite their names would exactly agree with it in this respect, or



almost so. This, however, it was quite impossible to do. There were certainly some very definite types of form, such as the common green whip snake so common about Colombo; here the body was excessively elongate and the tail very slender, the snout produced into an elongate, flexible appendage. In the sea snakes the tail was oar-shaped; in the vipers the body was stout, the head triangular; other snakes that lived underground exactly resembled earth worms. All these types of course were definite enough, and could be expressed by letters; but if we took the rat snake as our centre, we found numerous forms radiating from it in all directions, some towards the vipers, others to the tree snakes, others to the water snakes, others the burrowing snakes. They were not sufficiently characterised to be included in these types; they were all indeed more closely allied to the rat snake on the whole than to any of the others. What was to be done in such cases? The lecturer considered the best course, after separating the clearly defined types, was to see in what characters the remainder agreed, and label these characters *a*. Thus the rat snake had a more or less cylindrical body, a flattish belly, flat but not depressed head, with a moderate muzzle, a cylindrical tail tapering to a point. In these points such very different forms as the *Pandython lycodon* and others more or less agreed, and by generalising the description it could be made to include them all. The lecturer thought that his meaning would be made clearer by reference to the diagrams which illustrate the five types of ventral and sub-caudal shields, and the fourteen types of head shields found in Ceylon snakes. He then referred to the meaning of the index figures and letters. Such an expression as *a*<sup>1</sup> meant that a full description of the part was given down to the minutest details, and that species having that formula for their ventral and sub-caudal scales agreed in every respect in the character of these scales. But it was not always desirable to give full descriptions; in the case of the head shields such descriptions were quite useless, in the lecturer's opinion. The student was therefore merely referred to the more important difference in the species arranged under type *a* by index letters *a*<sup>a</sup>, *a*<sup>b</sup>, *a*<sup>c</sup>, *a*<sup>d</sup>, &c.

The system was then considered in relation to the teeth of poisonous snakes, which were of three types,—*l*, *m*, *n*,—the cobra, sea snake, and viperine types. The subject of colour was next discussed. Here a natural classification was scarcely possible or even desirable. The lecturer had arranged the Ceylon species according to the colour of the belly, whether pure white or more or less spotted, or of about the same colour as the rest of the body. Particular



stress was then laid on the method of description. The ground colour was first given, then the other tints in order, according to their intensity from black to white. The student would frequently be able to identify a species by considering the black markings only, and then go on to study the other characters at leisure.

With regard to this subject the lecturer said that the British Museum Catalogue of Birds now extends to eleven volumes, and is not half completed. It consists almost entirely of descriptions of colour. He had tried the experiment on some of Dr. Sharpe's descriptions of Ceylon eagles, and found that a description of one hundred and fifty words in length could be reduced to eighty or ninety by the above means, and that if we used "brown" simply to express such differences of tints as grayish brown, reddish brown, blackish brown, rich brown, &c., they could probably be reduced to thirty or forty words; and if closely allied species were being considered, by repeating nothing that had been said of the first on the list they might often be reduced to ten or twelve.

Ideas that were not expressed in material form were as susceptible of classification as those that are. For instance, *a* stood for those snakes that, like the rat snake, were ground snakes, but fairly good climbers and swimmers; that suffocated their prey in their coils before devouring it; they are oviparous and diurnal; *c* stood for those that entered the water freely and swallowed their prey direct, but otherwise agreed in their habits with the rat snake.

The geographical distribution was treated in the same way, but could not be explained without a map.

In the last column *c* expressed common, *c c* very common, *r* rare, and *r r* very rare.

The lecturer showed a complete mastery of his subject, and the audience followed him closely.

6. The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Meeting to Mr. Haly for the very lucid manner in which he had explained the characters of Ceylon snakes, and made the examination of them more simple than before. The use of formulæ had been adopted in all branches of science for many years past, and the use of formulæ and signs instead of the long expressions necessary in ordinary language facilitated reference as well as abridged the length of the descriptions. No questions having been put to the lecturer, the Chairman said he thought the subject was too technical to admit of any discussion immediately, and would furnish food for thought afterwards.

7. Mr. Corbet then read a paper upon "*The Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon*," which he said had been written by Mr. Ahamadu Bawa, and which had been kindly



communicated to them by the author's son, Mr. Advocate B. W. Bawa.\*

The Paper commenced by remarking, if the pun might be excused, that matrimony amongst the Moors of Ceylon was merely a "matter of money," love and courtship playing no parts as factors in the great social institution. This fact was fully accounted for by the seclusion and ignorance in which the girls were brought up, the religious restriction upon social intercourse between the sexes, and the total subjection of the youths of the community to their parents and guardians in all that related to matrimonial affairs. Among the Moors overtures of marriage invariably originated with the relatives of the prospective wife, the amount available as dowry and the caste of the lady being important points to start with. As a rule a girl was considered eligible for marriage at twelve and a boy at sixteen, for at eighteen a girl was considered an old maid, and a bachelor at twenty-five was a *rara avis*. But as a consequence of the dowry system, and the entire absence of anything like elopements or clandestine marriages, there was necessarily a very large proportion of old maids. If the intelligent men of the community would but reflect on the consequence of the pernicious dowry system, and the daily increasing misery its perpetuation entails on the masses, they would surely endeavour to reform it. Among the wealthy families early marriages were the rule, and the matches were often made even before the girls had reached their teens. In all cases where eligible *matcham*, i.e., cousins or sons of mothers' brothers or fathers' sisters, were available preference was accorded to them—almost as a matter of right. In the absence of any such, a young man of equal caste was fixed on, and negotiations with his relations commenced. The Paper then described these negotiations, dwelling at length on the arrangements entered into with regard to dowry, and then proceeding to tell of all the feasts and ceremonies connected with a Moorish marriage. A deputation went to solicit Meera Lebbe as a husband of "Aysha, the daughter of Hassim Marikar, their dear friend and near relative." Various panegyrics were passed, a rich feast followed, and the party dispersed. From this time a periodical exchange of presents kept the flame from dying out. There is yet another ceremony before the marriage, viz., the payment of *seedanam*, or dowry money, which is a function of importance and takes place some months in advance of the nuptials. The cash of the dowry alone goes to the husband, and enables him to meet the wedding expenses and to purchase the bride's *trousseau*. On an

\* Journal No. 36, vol. X., 1888, pp. 219-33.



auspicious day, after partaking of the usual *patchoru paaiaram*, milk rice, and cakes, a party of the bride's immediate friends, to the number of about seventy, attended by the family priest or *Lebbe* and a brother or cousin of the bride carrying the *seedanappanam*, or the sum agreed upon, with some betel leaves and other things, proceed to the young man's house, where elaborate ceremonies are gone through. About ten days before the day fixed for the wedding the invitations are issued. The bridegroom arrives in his best attire, and attended by a large party of friends, calls at every house of every Moor, high and low, within a radius of several miles, and invites its inmates of both sexes, by calling out in stentorian tones. On the wedding day takes place the great feast at the bridegroom's house. By midday all the invited guests from far and near have arrived and seated themselves on the floor, tailor fashion, shoulder to shoulder, according to caste and condition. Basins with water are then passed round preparatory to eating. After the repast the guests leave, with a remark to the effect "I will go and come again." The men all gone, the fair sex are entertained in a similar manner. In the afternoon a party go to the bride's house, where they are received with much cordiality, and the bridegroom is presented with a ring. In the evening there is a fresh assembly of friends to do honour to the bridegroom and accompany him to the bride's, where the marriage rites are to be solemnised. In the presentation of the *santosam* the immediate friends of the bridegroom head the list with the highest sums—say fifty rupees—and then smaller sums follow. Thus sometimes Rs. 1,000 have been collected in addition to rings of varying value presented by the relatives. While this is going on the bridegroom is supposed to be at his toilet, to the due performance of which a bath is essential. After this the party proceed to the bride's house in great state, on the way to which numerous ceremonies are gone through. At the house the *kaduttam* or written record of the marriage is signed. The next function is *kavin*. The priest takes the bridegroom's right hand in his own, and repeats a formula in Arabic three times, asking if the bridegroom is willing, to which of course he replies in the affirmative. The priest with two witnesses then enters the bridal chamber, and similarly addresses the bride. After the conclusion of the ceremony the bridegroom is conducted to the bridal-chamber by the bride's father or brother, and the ceremony of tying the *tali* takes place, the *tali* being clasped round the throat and never removed during the lifetime of the spouses. The *tali* being tied the bridegroom is expected to "clothe" his bride. This consists of placing a silk *kambaya* round her waist.



All this time the bridegroom neither sees nor hears, and after the ceremony the bridegroom sitting on the bed near by has his first look at his future life partner. The position is embarrassing, as all eyes are fixed upon him. More feasting follows, and it is not till two o'clock in the morning that the bridegroom retires to the bridal chamber for the night. Early next morning the married sisters and female cousins or nearest female relative of the bridegroom visit the bridal chamber and prepare its inmates for the bath, to which they are conducted under a white canopy, and sitting side by side are bathed. Then the newly married couple feed each other. At night the bridegroom's family is invited to dinner at the bride's house, and the next night she and her family are similarly entertained at the bridegroom's. From this time feasts at intervals take place at the houses of the mutual friends over a period of some months, the happy couple living in *beena* at least until the first child is born, but if a part of the house has been given in dowry, the best room is appropriated to them.

8. At the conclusion of the reading of the Paper, the Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan said he saw a Mohammedan gentleman present who took a very active interest in the institutions of his race. Perhaps he might enlighten the Society about some of the customs which had just been brought to their notice.

The Mohammedan gentleman replied to one or two queries on subjects which the Hon. gentleman was in doubt about.

The Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan: The customs narrated by Mr. Bawa afforded, he thought, very substantial evidence of the life history of the Mohammedan community. The requirements of a Mohammedan marriage, according to Mohammedan law, were very simple indeed. It consisted of a proposal on the part of the bridegroom, acceptance on the part of the bride in the presence of witnesses, and a payment or a stipulation of dowry by the bridegroom to the bride. The written agreement was only a social custom. As many of the things described in the Paper just read did not come in the category of legal requirements, the question for them to consider was—whence were these customs derived. One or two of the customs had been altered during the last forty or fifty years. They all knew that soon after the British Government took possession of the country there was a code published in 1806 in which these Mohammedan marriage customs were particularly described, and in that code it was stated to be a well-established custom that it was the bridegroom's party that proposed the marriage, whereas Mr. Bawa told them that it was the bride's party that proposed. It was, however, quite clear that both in Arabia and Ceylon the proposal of marriage came from the bridegroom's party. He thought



that many of the customs described were purely Ceylon customs, and did not obtain in India and other parts of the Mohammedan world. [A gentleman from India who was present said they differed materially in the matter of dowry to the customs which obtained in their country.] The Hon. gentleman then sought to prove that nearly all the marriage customs of the Mohammedans in Ceylon were drawn from the Tamils.

The Chairman agreed that the customs at Mohammedan weddings in Ceylon were not strictly Mohammedan, but local.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson : The obvious reason why the marriage customs of the Mohammedans were mainly Tamil was due to the fact that most of the proselytes made by Mohammedanism in Southern India and Ceylon were from the Tamil race. He ought also to say that to his mind, and he was sure the ladies present (he was sorry there were not more of them to listen to so interesting a topic) would agree, that the change of custom here in Ceylon of the proposal coming from the female instead of the male side was a very striking proof of the advance of woman's rights, on which the Mohammedan community were to be congratulated. They had heard from the honourable and learned gentleman that the legal portion of the Mohammedan marriage was a very simple thing. And doubtless it was, as it ought to be. But for his own part he had rejoiced with his whole heart that night as he had heard of these Mohammedan marriage customs. He could only say that a young man who had known a young lady and admired her for her personal beauty and her accomplishments would deserve immense credit for going through all they had heard of that night, but when they remembered that the unfortunate man went through it all, and only at the end of the whole of these complicated ceremonies saw the object for which he had performed them all, surely he might be regarded as a martyr. Though he hoped that the Mohammedan community might advance rapidly in the cause of reform which they had commenced by recognising woman's rights, he still had a lurking hope that these customs would remain,—those customs which the Tamils had imposed upon them,—because if it were so difficult to get through one marriage of such a kind they would see that a man who had once got through all that torture would not be likely to repeat it, and so he hoped that none of his Mohammedan fellow-subjects would avail themselves of the privilege which they alone of all races enjoyed—of going through the marriage ceremony repeatedly, and with several partners. He did not know whether it had struck any of

the audience that night, but it had struck him very forcibly that they had a very interesting coincidence. In that book which was revered by the Mohammedan as much as it was by them, the first marriage recorded was followed by the appearance of a serpent. They had inverted the order of things : they had heard of the serpent first and then had followed the marriage.

He did not get up to discuss the Paper on snakes, because, as the Chairman remarked, it was of too technical a nature, and he was not competent to discuss it, but he felt very deeply their obligation to Mr. Haly for his very interesting Paper, and he trusted when it was published that the illustrations or parts of them would accompany the Paper. A great many of them were ignorant of the characteristics which distinguished venomous from innocent snakes, and to have those before them so well depicted would be of very great advantage. When he came back from his mission to Australia he got, amongst other things, to be presented to the Ceylon Government some very striking coloured pictures of all the venomous snakes of Australia, which were hung up in every national school there, so that every child was instructed in the appearance of those snakes which were to be dreaded and avoided. And although perhaps it might not be necessary for any measure of the kind to be taken in Ceylon, yet he thought it would be of very great importance that when the Paper was published, the heads with the other striking features of venomous snakes at least should be given, so that they might be easily recognised. He was sure they were all very deeply indebted to Mr. Haly for his deeply interesting Paper, and to the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Rámanáthan) who had shown that a large portion of the customs of the Mohammedans of Ceylon at least had been derived from the Tamils, naturally, as most of them were Tamil converts.

The Chairman then invited the gentlemen from India who were present to inform them of any remarkable differences that existed between the customs in India and those described that night.

In reply to the invitation one of the gentlemen said a few words, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.



GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 26, 1888.

Present :

Mr. George Wall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Arunachalam, C.C.S.	Mr. W. C. Macready.
Mr. P. Coomaraswamy.	Dr. A. Nell. [M.L.C.]
Mr. A. P. Green.	The Hon. P. Rámanáthan,
Mr. Staniforth Green.	Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. D. J. Guzdar.	Mr. K. D. C. Seneviratne.
Mr. Israel Homer Vannia	H. Sri Summangala Terun-
Sinkam.	nanse.
The Hon. W. W. Mitchell,	Dr. H. Trimen.
M.L.C.	Dr. W. G. van Dort.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., and Mr. F. H. M. Corbet,  
Honorary Secretaries.

The following ladies and gentlemen were present as visitors :—Mrs. J. H. Barber, Miss Vanderstraaten, Miss Lilian Vanderstraaten, Miss Wall, Miss van Langenberg, Miss Barber, and Messrs. J. R. Grenier, A. O. Joseph, H. L. Wendt, J. van Langenberg, D. Pestonji, D. A. Gunawardene, E. H. Joseph, W. P. D. Vanderstraaten, V. van Langenberg, W. E. Mitchell, N. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, K. Pestonji, D. B. Jayatilleke, C. Srikanta, Dr. M. Eliyatamby, N. Tyagaraja, N. A. W. Jayawardana, and W. N. S. Aserappa.

*Business.*

1. The Minutes of the General Meeting held on January 26, 1888, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Corbet proposed and Mr. Bell seconded, the election of the following gentlemen as ordinary Members :—

Messrs. A. E. W. de Livera, W. N. S. Aserappa, R. G. Anthonisz, N. A. W. Jayawardana, Dr. M. Eliyatamby, and Mr. Advocate N. Tyagaraja.

No ballot being called for, the gentlemen were declared duly elected.

On the motion of Mr. Corbet, Mr. J. W. Vanderstraaten was re-elected a Member *nem. con.*

3. Mr. Bell : I lay on the table a list of the books presented to the Society since the last Meeting. Amongst the new works is included a very valuable work in two volumes, "The History of the Parsees," by Dosabah Framji Karaka, presented to us by Mr. Pestonji Dinshaugi

Khan. There are also some two dozen volumes of rare voyages and travels, published by the Hakluit Society, of which this Society is now a Member, I am glad to say. We have got them on very favourable terms indeed. There are some £20 worth of books—all voyages relating to the East Indies. They are not procurable in the market; the only way to get them is from the Society. They are translations from Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, &c., travels.

4. The Hon. Mr. Rāmanāthan read a Paper on "*The Ethnology of the Moors of Ceylon*," occupying the attention of the Meeting for about an hour and a quarter.\*

The following is an analysis of the Paper:—

General description of the Moors of Ceylon.

The name of Moors, as applied to them, whence derived.

Local equivalent, Marikar.

Moors classified in the Ceylon Census as a nationality distinct from the Tamils, Sinhalese, and other races inhabiting the Island.

Meaning of Nationality: according to the Indian Census authorities, Webster, Mr. E. Balfour, Sir William Hunter, and Professor Max Müller, the nationality of a population is determined by its language.

The Language of the Moors being Tamil, they are Tamils.

The History, Social Customs, and Physical features of the Moors also lead to the same conclusion.

As regards their history:—

Their Distribution in Ceylon, and almost equal division as "Ceylon Moors" and "Coast Moors."

Coast Moors, known in India as Lubbays or Lebbes.

Relation of Lebbes to other Mohammedans in India.

Strength of Islam in North India, and its weakness in South India.

North Indian Mohammedans are generally Hindustani speaking; South Indian Mohammedans, Tamil and Malayalam speaking.

Light thrown on the Ethnology of the Moors by considering course of conversion to Islam in North India.

Its course in South India among the Māpīllas (Moplays) of Malayalam (Malabar Coast).

The course of conversion in Tamil-land:

Rise of Kayal-pattanam (south of Tuticorin) and of the Lebbes ("Coast Moors," "Choliyar").

Negapatam, Nagur, Kilakarai, &c., other centres of conversion.

Process of conversion among Tamils.

Influence of Arab and African missionaries, and the extent of their amalgamation with the native converts.

Such converts essentially Tamil.

Migration of the converts ("Coast Moors," "Choliyar," "Lebbes") to Ceylon, and settlements formed at Beruwala, Batticaloa, Puttalam, Galle, Hambantota, &c.

"Ceylon Moors" have not a history different from the "Coast Moor" (Lebbes, Choliyar).



A tradition relating to their settlement at Beruwela, as reported by Sir Alexander Johnston, refuted.

Another tradition reported by Casie Chetty more worthy of credit.

The period of their first principal settlement at Beruwala discussed and determined.

Formation of other settlements and continuance of intercourse between the mother country and her colonies till the time of the Dutch.

Persecution of the Mohammedans by the Dutch, and cessation of emigration from South India.

Such interruption of communication the cause of the distinction which the "Ceylon Moor" draws between himself and the "Coast Moor."

As regards their social customs and physical features, a consideration of them leads also to the conclusion that the Moors are Tamils.

Mohammedans of South India and Ceylon known to the Tamils as Chonahar, and to the Sinhalese as Yonnu.

Derivation of the term Sonahar.

The term Yonnu derived from Yavana.

History of the Yavanas in India does not prove that the Moors are Arabs.

On the conclusion of the Paper the lecturer was heartily applauded, and some discussion ensued on the point as to whether the language a people speak should be taken as the test of their nationality, a position for which Mr. Rámanáthan seems to contend in the following passage of his Paper :—

"If therefore we take language as the test of nationality, the Moors of Ceylon, who speak as their vernacular the Tamil, must be adjudged Tamils. But I shall dive a little deeper and prove that this conclusion is supported as much by their history (as far as it may be ascertained) as by their social customs and physical feature."

5. The Chairman: I am sure we shall all feel exceedingly indebted to the Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan for the pains he has been at in drawing up this very exhaustive treatise on the ethnology of the Moors of Ceylon. I think that there are, amongst the company present, some better informed than myself, and able, on the spur of the moment, to discuss the question. I confess that, for myself, the Paper contains such a vast mass of information that it requires to be well studied on my part before I can venture upon any remarks in the way of criticism. I trust, however, that there are gentlemen present better acquainted with the subject than myself. I would, however, remark that Max Müller, the great linguist, giving as a definition of the nation of a people the language they speak, is not wonderful, seeing how intimately his life and his works are connected with the study of languages—so much, in fact, that he regards thought as being not only intimately connected, but inseparably connected, with language, and says, in effect, that without language there is no thought, and without thought no language. I dare say there are a great many who will dissent from that broad statement. In fact it would



require a new definition of thought, or language, to make it completely intelligible. But it would appear to me that if we are to accept that definition in its simplicity and without any qualification, we must regard the Parsees as Indians, and not as a separate nationality, because they speak the language of the people among whom they have taken up their abode. Their history is a very curious one, and up till this evening I was not aware that there existed but one authentic account of the introduction of the Parsee people into India. However, I rejoice that a work of great authority upon that very interesting subject has been presented to the Society. I should think, looking to the fact of their remarkable isolation, and the distinctions that there are between the Parsees and others, that it can hardly be taken as conclusive proof of their nationality that they speak the language of the people, whose hospitality they received and whose country they have made their own. I hope some gentleman present will be able to make some remarks upon the Paper.\*

Dr. Trimen: Sir, I did not intend to speak upon this subject to-night, as it is one which is rather outside the range of my studies; but I cannot help, after what our friend has just said, adding my quota as a naturalist, to the question as to what constitutes a race. Now sir, we have heard from Mr. Rámanáthan a very interesting Paper on the origin, the language, and the customs of these so-called Moors of Ceylon; and he very rightly says that these various peculiarities do not necessarily either one way or the other show whether they are Moors or Tamils. But, sir, none of these things help us much toward the determination as to race. There is only one thing that constitutes race—blood. Nothing else. There cannot be anything else but community of blood, and it is in that direction, I think, that the investigation must tend in the determination as to the origin of the Moors of Ceylon. Mr. Rámanáthan did touch upon this subject towards the end of his Paper, and he quoted from Professor Virchow an experiment of his own, to show the impossibility of distinguishing skulls. That is perfectly true. What we want are observations—and extended observations—not only upon skulls, but upon the anthropology of the race generally. I cannot help thinking, as a naturalist, that if we are able to make such observations, we shall be better able to decide as to the origin of the Moors of Ceylon

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\* But see p. 169 of vol. I. (*History of the Parsees*, by Mr. D. F. Karaka): "It is said that many of the Persian exiles, when they came to India, took to themselves Hindu wives: these must have been received into the Zoroastrian faith, after having performed the ceremony of conversion." It will be remembered that the Parsees do not observe caste.—*Hon. Sec.*



than by the linguistic and historical investigation which Mr. Rámanáthan has so laboriously pursued. At the same time I cannot help expressing my conviction, that in any future examination of this subject, the materials he has brought together must form a very valuable series of data towards arriving at a conclusion.

Mr. Corbet : I think that the many members of the legal profession whom I am glad to see in the room, will agree with me that in the absence of evidence of the best kind—which at present is not available in this matter—secondary evidence of a fact may be adduced ; and not having the proof of descent which Dr. Trimen considers necessary, I think I may take upon myself to thank Mr. Rámanáthan for having adduced secondary evidence in his Paper.

The Chairman : The Paper certainly comprised a great deal of evidence that may be considered historically primary, and of the very highest value. But we shall all agree in one respect, and that is the immense labour that must have been required to draw up so exhaustive an historical account of the Moors of Ceylon, and I am sure we all feel deeply indebted to Mr. Rámanáthan.

The Hon. Mr. Rámanáthan, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, hoped Members would not go away with the impression that he was content to accept identity of language as proof of the origin of a race, though it is upon such proof that the different members of the Aryan race, for instance, have been established to be such. He particularly guarded himself on that point, and in order to elicit a discussion, he had taken the trouble to lay before them the nature of the reasoning he had adopted by preparing and circulating beforehand an analysis of his Paper. While he fully appreciated the value of such great authorities as Webster, Balfour, Sir William Hunter, Max Müller, and others, he regarded the objections raised by the Chairman and Dr. Trimen as proper objections. He did not confine himself to one part of the question : he had dealt with the linguistic, the historical, and the anthropological sides of the subject. On the anthropological point he was of course not competent to pass an opinion, and it would be for such scientific men as Drs. Trimen, Vandort, and others who were present to decide upon the question. He could only say what the outside of the head was like ; it would be for them to say what the inside was like (*laughter*). He had only recorded his opinion from an exterior point of view. But in reference to the contention of Dr. Trimen that race depended on community of blood, he would point out that the historical part of his Paper established that on the mothers' side at least the "Moors" were Tamils by blood.

He concluded by acknowledging the kind manner in which they had passed the vote of thanks.

6. A vote of thanks to the chair, passed on the motion of Dr. Trimen, brought the proceedings to a close.

# GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, June 26, 1888.*

Present :

Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., in the Chair.

Mr. W. N. S. Aserappa.	Mr. M. T. Mohamado Alie,
Mr. Henry Bois, F.R.C.I.	J.P.
Mr. D. W. Ferguson, M.R.A.S.	Mr. M. Shamsadin.
Mr. D. J. Guzdar.	Mr. H. Thwaites, F.R.C.I.
Mr. W. C. Macready.	Mr. J. W. Vanderstraaten,
Mr. K. D. C. Seneviratne.	M.C.L.E.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., and F. H. M. Corbet,  
Honorary Secretaries.

## *Business.*

1. The Minutes of the General Meeting held on April 26, 1888, were read and confirmed.

2. The Honorary Secretaries proposed and seconded the election of the following new Members :—

Messrs. John Frederick Tillekeratne Dissanaïke, Mudaliyâr ; Richard Balthazar Tillekeratne Dissanaïke, Mudaliyâr ; Charles Perera Seneviratne Gunatileke ; Solomon Christoffels Obeysekere ; and James Hugh Sproule, who were duly declared elected.

3. Mr. Bell, C.C.S., then, in the absence of the writer, read a Paper by Mr. J. H. F. Hamilton, C.C.S., on "*The Antiquities of Medamahānuwara.*"

The Paper dealt with the Māligāwa, and opens with a graphic description of the country from Kandy to the Maligāwa. The writer conducts his hearers along the ancient highway from Kandy, touching, by the way, on the many interesting remains of ancient times. He then goes on to say that "the site of the Māligāwa is well defined by containing walls" and that the superstructure has, with a few exceptions, almost entirely disappeared. On his last visit, the writer says, the "tender rice was shooting in several inches of water within the precincts of what was once a royal palace." The plan of the buildings, he says,



was rectangular, and faced the south. The writer then enters into details of the immediate approaches to the ancient edifice. The writer had learned that the palace was erected by the "king who was styled by the honorific title of *Buduwechcha Deviyo*, between whom and Sri Wikrama Rāja Sīgha, the last king of Kandy, there were two reigns, and that it fell into ruin about the year 1820 A.D., and the writer thinks it probable that the palace was built about 1740 A.D. The palace, it appears, "was used as a halting-place on the royal journeys between Kandy and Bintenna." Regarding its interior, the peculiarity common to native houses in general seems to have been present—there were no windows. The writer then computes the dimensions of the temple or palace, and it is shown that the superficial area of the palace proper must have been 38 ft. 8 in. The ground on which the palace stood was, it seems, "sold by the English Government, about sixty years ago, to the late Ratémahatmeyā of Unampitiya, by whom it was resold to Madugalla Ratémahatmeyā, who, in his turn, resold it, about fifteen years ago, to the present owner, Migahákótuwe Appu Gurunānse. It was asweddumised and converted into a paddy field about eight years ago." On the left bank of the Guru-oya, below the Māligāwa, there is a pool stiller and deeper than its parent stream, and which is said to have been the king's bathing-place, and there is, it appears, still remaining, a low stone wall, "from which His Majesty was wont to feed the fishes," which were prohibited to be caught. The writer hoped at some future time to furnish a second Paper on the antiquities of Medamahānuwara.

4. Mr. Corbet read a Note by the Assistant Librarian of the Museum, Mr. N. D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, in which passages were quoted from the "*Rājāwaliya*" and the "*Siyamopasampadāwata*," giving some information on the subject of Medamahānuwara and the Māligāwa referred to.\* This note Mr. Corbet stated would be printed as an appendix to Mr. Hamilton's Paper.

5. Mr. Donald Ferguson, M.B.A.S., read his Paper on "*Captain João Ribeiro, his work on Ceylon, and the translation thereof by the Abbé le Grand*."

A short sketch of the life of the Abbé le Grand was given, the various editions of his translation of Ribeiro were described, as also Lee's translation into English; the Lisbon Academy's edition of the Portuguese text of Ribeiro was treated of, and finally a description was given of a manuscript in the writer's possession, which he has discovered to be the identical one used by Le Grand in making the trans-

lation. The Paper then proceeded to compare the manuscript and printed edition of the original Portuguese with the French translation and Lee's English version, chapter by chapter, showing where they differed, and proving that the imperfection of Le Grand's translation was largely due to the unfaithful manuscript used by him. Altogether, it was found that over one-fourth of Ribeiro's history had been omitted from the French version. Mr. Ferguson then referred to a later manuscript of Ribeiro's which has recently been discovered in Portugal, and in which the author had made many and important alterations and emendations, as had been pointed out in a pamphlet by Sir A. F. Barata, of Evora, who urged on the Lisbon Academy of Sciences the duty of printing this manuscript. Mr. Ferguson concluded by expressing a hope that this would be done, and that English translations of this and of the narratives of such Portuguese, Dutch, and other writers on Ceylon which had not yet been put into English, would be soon undertaken.

6. The Chairman said that the Paper which they had listened to was a very interesting one, and showed immense research on the part of the writer. Sir J. Emerson Tennent had been referred to, and the Paper was one that he (Sir James) would have been delighted to listen to, it being one after his own heart. He had heard it said that if any one asked Sir Emerson Tennent regarding a certain subject, he could tell them not only the room in the British Museum where the best work on that subject would be found, but even the very shelf, and he believed the number of the book. Ribeiro was one of the most accurate and interesting of the Portuguese writers on Ceylon, and he certainly hoped that a full and correct translation into English of his narrative would be made by the author of the Paper.

7. Mr. Corbet expressed a hope that the reader of the Paper would himself undertake a new translation of Ribeiro, and stated that the Society would do all they could to assist him. He also referred to the translation that was being made for the Society of the work of Constantine de Sá, which, though not so interesting as that of Ribeiro, is yet of much importance.

Votes of thanks to the writers of the Papers and to the Chairman were proposed by Mr. Bois, seconded by Mr. Thwaites, and carried with acclamation, after which the Meeting broke up.



GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, October 4, 1888.*

Present :

The Hon. Sir Edward Noel Walker, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, in the Chair.

Dr. J. Attygalle, M.D., C.M., M.R.C.S.E.	Mr. J. D. Mason, C.C.S.
Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S.	The Hon. W. W. Mitchell, M.L.C.
Mr. Thomas Berwick, D.J., Vice-President.	Mr. J. G. L. Ohlmus.
Mr. Henry Bois, F.R.C.I.	Mr. Charles Perera.
Mr. Frederick Dornhorst, M.C.L.E.	Mr. W. P. Ranesinghe.
Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., M.R.S. (A), & R.G.S. (A).	The Rev. J. Scott.
Mr. D. W. Ferguson, M.R.A.S.	Mr. K. D. C. Seneviratne.
Mr. John Ferguson, F.R.C.I.	Mr. M. Shamsadin.
Mr. Philip Fretidenberg.	Mr. Hector van Cuylenberg, M.R.A.S.
Mr. J. J. Grinlinton.	Mr. J. L. Vanderstraaten, M.D., L.S.A., M.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.
Mr. D. J. Guzdar.	Mr. Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam.
Mr. N. A. W. Jayawardana.	Mr. George Wall, F.L.S., R.F.A.S., Vice-President.
The Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.	Mr. J. R. Weinman.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Honorary Secretary.

Eighteen ladies and thirty-five gentlemen as visitors.

*Business.*

1. The Minutes of the General Meeting held on July 26, 1888, were read and confirmed.

2. The Honorary Secretary proposed, and Dr. Vanderstraaten seconded, the election of the following Members:—  
The Hon. Sir Edward Noel Walker, K.C.M.G.; the Hon. Robert Reid, M.L.C., C.C.S.; Mr. A. E. Brown; Mr. John Caderamen; Mr. C. Chellappa Pillai; Dr. Solomon Fernando; Dr. M. N. Gandevia; Mr. Mohamado Ismail Mohamado Haniffa; Mr. E. F. Hopkins, C.C.S.; Mr. W. T. Pearce; Mr. Hume Purdie; Mr. Francis Richard Sabonadiere; Mr. A. E. Wackrill.

3. The Honorary Secretary laid on the table a list of new books received.

The Chairman: I gladly acceded to the request of your Vice-President to preside this evening. He has taken

great trouble and given considerable time to what must be, I am sure, a very laborious Paper, and certainly a very interesting one. It would have been bad grace on my part to decline, and lose the advantage of hearing that interesting Paper from this vantage seat. But apart from that, I am glad of the opportunity of identifying myself and my office with the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of practically expressing the sympathy which I sincerely feel in its pursuits. The usual practice is for the Chairman on these occasions to introduce the lecturer. I feel that on this occasion the position is rather reversed, and that I am much indebted to the kind request of the lecturer for the introduction to the Society and to this Meeting. I think that I shall be best meeting your wishes by calling on Mr. Wall to read the Paper which he has prepared.

5. Mr. Wall read his Paper entitled "*Introduction to a History of the Industries of Ceylon.*"\*

The Paper touched first, on the spirit of modern political economy, on "the conditions necessary to industrial progress," and showed how, first the despotic rule of the native kings and then the conduct of the Portuguese and the Dutch, had rendered the free interchange of products and the accumulation of wealth by the Singhalese impossible. Hence there was no surplusage to export. As illustrations of the absorption or waste of wealth, the writer adduced the enormous cost of the great wall of China and of modern armaments. Knox was quoted to show that under the native rule it was dangerous for a man to have the reputation of being wealthy, as the king could claim everything. Mohamet Ali's policy in modern Egypt, and the pyramids in ancient Egypt, were referred to, as well as the ruins of Yucatan and the remains of Nineveh, while the irrigation works of Ceylon were used as illustrations of the writer's proposition, that great natural resources might not mean surplusage of wealth well employed. The wealth of Egypt derived from the overflowing of the Nile was also effectively used, and the wonderful progress of Britain and North America under adverse conditions adverted to. The conditions were shown under which even religious and educational institutions might be perverted so as to hinder instead of helping progress. In Ceylon, the very persons of the people and their labour were regarded as the property of the kings. Absence of capital and usurious interest exacted for seed advances were adduced as causes which hindered industrial progress. When the British took possession, and up to the time when Sir Emerson Tennent

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\* Journal No. 37, vol. X., 1888, pp. 327-49.



wrote, in 1846, there was no native capitalist in Ceylon. That want of capital as the cause of stagnation was shown by the wonderful change which followed the introduction of capital in connection with the planting enterprise. In regions beyond the reach of capital and its influences stagnation still continues. Under the heading of "Intercourse and Market" Mr. Wall dwelt on the beneficial effect of free intercourse and interchange, showing how steam navigation, railways, and telegraphs had brought the ends of the world together. Prohibitive and protective tariffs were denounced. The utter absence of roads at the beginning of this century and the difficulties of intercourse nearly half a century subsequently were quoted. The great benefits conferred by roads and railways were described, high railway rates deprecated, and the necessity of encouraging railway construction by private enterprise dwelt on. As connected with capital, free intercourse and markets, the importance of labour was urged and the necessity of sufficient rewards for labour being given,—adequate inducements for good work held out. In Ceylon, as elsewhere, the violation of this principle had led to disastrous results. The evil effects of caste were forcibly illustrated by the facts that supply and demand in different directions of employment were hindered by its operation, while certain pursuits, such as the preparation of coir, were tabooed. In its obligations and its restrictions caste was equally an evil, labouring for hire even being considered a degradation. It was shown, however, that caste feeling was not entirely confined to the natives. Mr. Wall defended the natives from the charge of indolence, referring to Governor Sir Hercules Robinson as representing the class who prefer such a charge, and Sir Henry Ward as conspicuous among those who more generously appreciate native character. The names of writers on both sides were adduced.

6. The Chairman: I am sure we are all very much indebted to Mr. George Wall for the Paper he has just read. I understand from the Honorary Secretary that the custom on these occasions is to invite discussion on the Paper, and to address questions to the lecturer, which doubtless he will be happy to answer. A preceding Chairman foreshadowed the time when a lady might occupy the chair. Perhaps I may therefore say now, that even the ladies are not precluded from taking part in the discussion.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., said that as none of the ladies had responded to the Chairman's invitation to take part in the discussion, he ventured to do so. He might be allowed to say that the Meeting was an abnormally large one. He had no doubt that the anticipated pleasure of



seeing His Honour for the first time in the chair had attracted a considerable portion of the audience, especially the ladies,—but he was sure His Honour would agree with him that the anticipated interest of the Paper from a gentleman of Mr. Wall's long experience and great ability must have drawn the larger number present. They had listened, he was sure, with very great pleasure to, and they had been very largely informed by a Paper which had ranged over a very large portion of human knowledge, and over a very great number of the countries of the globe, from which illustrations had been drawn to enforce the leading doctrines of political economy that were now recognised by a considerable proportion of the Governments and nations of the earth. Mr. Wall had taken a very generous and a very magnanimous view of the character of the natives of this country. They all felt there was much to be said for a people who had been ground down by ages of despotism and oppression. On the other hand, when they made the bare statement that a large proportion of the natives were indolent they were only stating the truth. Some man had laid down the axiom that every man living was as indolent as he possibly could be, and when they came to analyse the saying they found it was true. One man was indolent, because he did not like to work, and another man worked because training and conscience compelled him to work, and they who had been born in a colder clime than that of Ceylon had much to be thankful for, because the very inclemency of their climate had produced robustness, activity, and a desire for labour, and that labour had led to the accumulation of capital upon which Mr. Wall had so enlarged. As the hour was so late, he would only just touch upon one or two marked topics. Mr. Wall very properly alluded to bloated armaments as absorbing the capital of individuals and of nations. That was a true view, but they must not forget the other side of the question. If the Siphalese were in a poor and distressed condition, it was largely due to the fact that they failed in their duty to themselves in not organising a permanent force sufficient to resist the invading Tamils who were the prime agents in bringing about the ruin on which Mr. Wall had dwelt, by destroying those magnificent irrigation works upon which the prosperity and the very life of the country depended, for as soon as the tanks and channels were destroyed, pestilence set in, famine succeeded pestilence, and a large population disappeared from off the face of the earth. So that a fair proportion of the revenue of any country spent in providing an army or a navy to defend the nation and its interests was simply a premium of insurance. Then, as regarded the operation of caste, Mr. Wall had shown



how it had operated. With reference to the observation that caste exists in Western communities, they must never forget the grand difference. Oriental caste means that a man cannot pass from a low position to a high one. In Britain matters were so different, that, as they all knew, the grandson of a weaver having married an Earl's daughter was virtually ruler of Britain for very many years—one of its most eminent men, Sir Robert Peel. If caste in Oriental countries would only admit of cases of that kind, they would have nothing to say against it. Mr. Wall had shown how it did operate. When there was a demand for labour in one direction they could not possibly get the supply to meet the demand, because only people of a certain caste would perform the labour. Mr. Wall had shown that a very large amount of work had been done by the Singhalese people in furthering the industries of the land by taking contracts. They had felled jungle, they had taken contracts to build bungalows and stores, and a very considerable proportion of them had been carters, and they had done good work in that way. But sitting there and listening to that very able Paper, he could not help saying mentally "What has come over my old friend George Wall? for, in treating of the industries of the Island he said not one word about the class without whose labour British capital even would have been in vain, viz., the Tamil labourers." Admitting that the Singhalese might have performed 10 per cent. of the work which had been done in Ceylon in developing the resources of the country, he did not think he was beyond the mark when he said that they owed 90 per cent. to the Tamil coolies. They had all been instructed (and he was sure the Chairman would take a mental note of the statement) that if they did not progress with railways they would be left behind in the race by their competitors. He was sure the Chairman would convey his feelings on that subject to His Excellency the Governor, and His Excellency would write to the Secretary of State, and so, as the Yankees say, they would "go ahead" with railway construction. As regarded railway rates he might say, even at the risk of being deemed a heretic, he was of opinion that, if possible, revenue should ultimately be obtained from railways. In this country they could not apply with over-strictness the doctrines of free trade. Direct taxation was very excellent in its way. It induced men to look at the mode in which their money was being spent, and where they had intelligent men it was all right; but in Oriental countries direct taxation meant that one rupee was collected for the Government and another rupee extorted for the benefit of the collector. So that he thought liberal rates obtained from railways were justifiable so long



as the splendid system of roads which they had in Ceylon was kept up; it afforded a check, so that the Railway Department could not possibly exact higher rates than competition with carts would allow. If they charged rates that were too high, carts at once would come in and compel them to lower the rates. There were a great many other points worthy of notice in the very able and comprehensive Paper they had listened to with so much pleasure, but the hour was late, and there were other gentlemen—and ladies also, he hoped—who would respond to His Honour's invitation, and therefore with those remarks he could only say that he very highly appreciated the great ability of the Paper which they had all listened to with pleasure.

Mr. C. Krishna Menon (of the Agricultural Department, Madras) said he thought Mr. Wall had succeeded to a very great extent in proving that the imputation always cast upon the natives of Ceylon as indolent and apathetic had very little foundation when viewed in true economic lights. He went on to compare the natives of India generally with the people of colder climes, and said there were certain forces underlying the superstructure of every society which explained the cause of the decline of industry. These forces he enlarged upon, and then went on to disagree with the lecturer in reference to his remarks about native rulers, entering into a defence of the last king of Kandy. He referred to free trade and adduced instances in illustration of his contentions from the history of the Malabar Coast, Egypt, the United States, and other quarters of the globe.

Mr. J. Ferguson said it was impossible to deny the influence of climate and religion on the character of a people like the Singhalese. It had been hinted that, naturally, they would all like to do as little work as possible, and this was specially exemplified in the local proverb well known to them all:—"Better to walk than to run; to sit down than to walk; and best of all to go to sleep." He had been that day reading a review of the wonderful work done by Sir Colin Moncrieff and his colleagues of late years for the Fellaheen of Egypt, and very much was true of the effect in Egypt which was true of the beneficial influence of the British Government in Ceylon. He would like just to refer to the response which the Singhalese had made to the influence of good and enlightened Government, education, roads, the railways, &c., in directions outside those especially associated with their immemorial industries. For instance, a large number of them took a part in the coffee industry as owners of gardens and even large plantations; when coffee fell, they were eager many of them about cinchona, cacao,



and most of all tea. The teas sent to the market from Mr. De Soysa's plantations—all managed and the teas prepared by Singhalese—had got him quite a name. But it was in regard to the great cocoanut planting industry more especially that the natives had distinguished themselves by their marvellous extension of cultivation. Following European pioneers who forty years ago began in Negombo, Jaffna, and Batticaloa, the natives especially in the Western and North-Western Provinces had changed the face of the land, until now their palm cultivation was nearly equal in importance to that of the whole of the other planting industries in the Island.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson said he was very reluctant to appear again, but he had omitted to mention one of his most important mental notes, and he would like to take the liberty of just saying a few words on Mr. Wall's omission to notice that the British, with their Western liberal ideas, went too far in 1830. They abolished compulsory labour,—the labour due to the State by the people, by the aid of which Sir Edward Barnes made that great road which laid the foundation of the prosperity of the country. They also abolished the native customs in connection with the culture of rice, and in doing so, he believed, instead of forwarding the interests of the country they threw them back a quarter of a century. They had had to hark back in their legislation, and help the people to re-enact those rules by which compulsory service was exacted by the community from the community for its own good. The mistake of 1830 was one of their greatest, but it was one honourable to them, for it was made in the direction of liberality, but it showed how different were the conditions of a Western community and those of people of different pursuits and different ideas in Oriental countries.

The Chairman: I do not propose to make any attempt to traverse the multitudinous subjects which have been touched upon by the lecturer, and by those who have spoken after him, nor do I wish to take you from the Emerald Isle to the United States and other quarters of the globe to which the native gentleman from Madras has introduced us. I have no doubt, when we have an opportunity of studying his remarks, we shall see the practical application of them. There is a great advantage in seeing ourselves as others see us. There are two points in connection with to-night's Paper and discussion which press themselves on my attention, and to which I should like to refer. One is as to the industry of the people. I for my own part, and I think many others, have been very much irritated by those theory-mongers who go about the world and tell us that if we did this and that we might be a most industrious and



prosperous people. The lecturer referred to one—I did not exactly catch who he was—who pictured the prospect of a surplus of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million in Ceylon. What they were—rupees or pounds—I do not know. It has been my business for a long time to endeavour to make a surplus, and I should be very much pleased to catch hold of that gentleman and get him to put his theory into practice. I think his remark was in some way directed at the industry of the people. I object to making comparisons, but where they are in favour of the community amongst which we live I have less reluctance. I have spent twenty-five years in the West Indies. I inherited the traditions of a father who served the West Indian Colonies for half a century. I have served from British Guiana in the south to the Bahamas in the north, and I say unhesitatingly that in the West Indies there is nowhere such an industrious people as that of Ceylon—whether it be Tamil, Moor, or Singhalese. I should very much like my friends, the tea planters of Ceylon, to have a turn with the indentured emigrants of the West Indies, or the natives of the West Indies, or Africa. I speak as an official of twenty-five years' service in nearly all the Colonies of the West Indies, with perhaps one exception, and I speak also from the other side. Fortunately or unfortunately I have been a sugar planter and proprietor, employing, jointly with others, some 400 or 500 Indians, the greater part of whom were indentured labourers. So that I speak feelingly and with some experience when I draw the comparison. Mr. Ferguson drew my attention very pointedly to railways. Perhaps about railways I may have a different notion personally to what I have officially. From some American associations which I have, I personally, perhaps, would go a little ahead of my proper official position. I have great faith in the American doctrine, which says:—"Put a railway down wherever you like: if there is population it is bound to pay." But that is the vexed question which is always brought forward—will it pay or not? A private individual often thinks differently to an official. For instance, if I had private funds to invest I might go into a country, travel through it, and learn a good deal about it, and I might be perfectly justified in investing my £2,000. But in that same country, looking at it from an official point of view, I should not be justified in throwing in the weight of my official position, unless I could by some calculation show that it would pay. That is the difficulty in which responsible officials are placed in considering projects of railway extension, as compared with, what I may call, irresponsible or private persons. I hope, however, and I think that the public of Ceylon ought not to be altogether satisfied with the measure of railway extension which



is before them at present. I think perhaps it may be sufficient for the day. When we are getting towards the end of that extension, or getting partly through it, we may begin to talk about something more. There is one point, at any rate, in which I am sure the whole Meeting will agree with me most thoroughly and unanimously, and that is in offering to Mr. Wall our cordial thanks for the trouble he has taken in preparing and in delivering this Paper. I fear very much that he has read it at some personal inconvenience in regard to himself, though I know he had an offer of assistance, but he preferred to read it himself, and there is no doubt that a Paper comes with more acceptance and more force from its author than second hand. I am sure I can, in your names, say to Mr. Wall, we are very much obliged to him for his Paper.

Mr. Wall: Sir, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I should indeed abuse the great kindness and patience which you have shown, if I were to unduly avail myself of my privilege of reply: at the same time I think I should scarcely be justified in entirely abstaining. The Paper was already too long, and I have therefore rather to thank the speakers generally for their additions to it than to answer them. However, I should feel myself very much at fault indeed if I thought I had neglected to take due note of the vast influence that had been exerted over the industrial enterprise of this country by the British Government as a whole, and by the British planters in particular. But considering the introductory nature of this Paper, it did not appear to me—nor does it still appear—that there would be any appropriate allusion in particular to the Tamil labourer. The points I have had to establish were that the labourer must be remunerated, irrespective of his nationality, and to endeavour to show what had been the causes of the low condition in which industry was when the British took possession. It was necessary, I thought, to make explanation which would sufficiently account for that low condition, and also justify, as far as it can be done, the attitude, the conduct, and the character of the people. But I think I have already alluded to the very great change that took place when British capital and British influence impressed themselves upon this country and its industries, and I dwelt on the very great benefit that had accrued, and expressed a hope that the range of that influence might be extended so as to embrace the parts of the country which had not hitherto enjoyed it. I was rather too brief, perhaps, in my anxiety to condense my Paper, and I ought to have said in regard to modern armaments that they were necessary. I entirely concur with the view taken by the first speaker on that subject. Nevertheless they

certainly do involve a large unproductive expenditure. With regard to the particular armaments to which he referred, which impoverished the country, it was, like other things, the act of the governing power and not of the people. Therefore the people, whose character and position I was anxious to exhibit, were not concerned in that extravagant expenditure of money in meeting the incursions of their neighbours from the Malabar coast. With regard to the remarks about the railways, I must say that something far better than the rates of carriage upon roads ought to be offered to us by the railways if they are really to be of use to us, as they are in other countries. It would be vain for us to rely upon railways that do not economise the cost of carriage over roads. In other countries the cost of carriage by railway is in some instances a third or even a fourth of the carriage by road, and I think, therefore, we have a right, especially as the industries of the country have paid for the railway, to expect that the railways shall be made subservient to the industry and progress of the country. If so, they must certainly do a great deal better for us than roads. That remark has reference to what the first speaker said—that we had always a check upon railways, that they could not exceed the cost of carriage upon the roads. But, in fact, the railway must keep under it to be of any service, and go to a fraction of what the cost of ordinary rates would be. I am indebted to the last speaker—Mr. John Ferguson—for his mention of cocoanuts; but, in fact, that is one of those matters which comes more into the modern explanation of the industries than to those principles of them to which my Paper more particularly was directed. I think, Sir, these are the only remarks which seems to me to be called for at the present, as the time is late; and I hope that, whatever omissions there have been in the Paper, will be made good in the subsequent chapters, when I deal with the various industries specifically.

7. It was resolved to adjourn the reading of a Paper of which notice had been given, entitled "*The Antiquities of Medamahānuwara*," (Second Paper), by Mr. J. H. F. Hamilton, C.C.S.

8. Mr. Berwick proposed a vote of thanks to the chair, which having been acknowledged the Meeting broke up.



GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, November 22, 1888.*

Present :

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Ismail Mohamado Ali.	Mr. Staniforth Green.
Mr. T. Berwick.	Mr. D. J. Guzdar.
Mr. F. W. Bois.	Dr. H. Keegel.
Mr. Henry Bois.	Mr. K. D. C. Seneviratne.
Mr. A. E. Brown.	Dr. H. Trimen.
Mr. C. Chellappa Pillai.	Mr. H. Thwaites.
Mr. M. Cochran.	Mr. J. W. Vanderstraaten.
Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.	Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Dr. Solomon Fernando.	Mr. I. H. Vannia Sinkam.
Mr. A. P. Green, Acting Hon. Treasurer.	Mr. George Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Honorary Secretary.

Visitors, eight ladies and thirty-two gentlemen.

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*Business.*

1. The Minutes of a General Meeting held on October 4, 1888, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Hon. Secretary, moved, and Dr. Trimen seconded, the election of the following gentlemen to be Members of the Society :—

Rev. W. O. Charlesworth, Mr. S. Weerakody Mudaliyár, Mr. Sidney Gerald Gomes, and Mr. H. F. Tomalin, A.R.I.B.A.  
—Carried *nem con.*

3. The following letter, dated October 5, 1888, from Drs. Fritz and Paul Sarasin, expressing their thanks for their election to be Honorary Members of the Society, was read to the Meeting :—

Berlin, October 5, 1888.

Dear Sir,—We kindly beg you to express our most humble thanks to the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society for the great honour they have bestowed upon us. We congratulate ourselves that our studies meet with the interest of a Society which has done so much for the scientific exploration of Ceylon. The Honorary Membership of the Royal Asiatic Society will be a stimulus for us in our working for the knowledge of the natural history of your beautiful Island. We beg

you to add our Paper on the anatomy of a rare and most remarkable Echinoderm from Trincomalee to the Library of the Society.

We are, &c.,  
P. and F. SARASIN.

F. H. M. Corbet, Esq.,  
Hon. Sec., R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, Colombo.

4. Mr. George Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President, read a paper on "*Ancient Industries in Ceylon.*"\*

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—A few words of explanation are desirable before I commence reading you my Paper. In endeavouring to write a history of the industries of this Island, it seems necessary to me, in order to do justice to the subject, to begin at the beginning, more particularly as the modern history and the present condition of our industries are exhaustively treated in the very excellent work of the Messrs. Ferguson, the "Ceylon Directory." On the other hand, the previously existing industries have a high degree of interest in themselves, and may, perhaps, present some features of novelty. There is an old French proverb that it is the first step that is the difficulty, and that difficulty has been realised in the attempt that has been made.

The authentic and connected history of the Island begins with the landing of Wijayo, but it would be, I think, a great mistake to suppose that the history of the Island necessarily commenced at that period. In fact, that it had a previous history is certain, but the only way in which a knowledge of the previous history of the Island can be acquired is by endeavouring to ascertain what was the state of affairs and the condition of the people at the time of Wijayo's landing, and this is to be learned by analysing the authentic facts of the history that we have. At the last Meeting, when you did me the honour of hearing the Introductory Paper, I endeavoured to point out certain general principles upon which the nature and development of industries must depend, not in this country only, but in any and every country. On the present occasion, my task will be to endeavour to ascertain what was the condition of the country and of the people at the time when our authentic history commenced, and from that starting-point, the importance of which you will at once recognise, we may make a fair beginning and consider that we have a safe foundation. But if we do not begin right, the foundation not being solid, the superstructure will be endangered. No doubt the circumstances of the Wijayan



invasion and landing are known to all who are here present, or nearly so. It may, however, be briefly stated that Wijayo was the son of a king on the neighbouring continent, and being of an adventurous turn, he, with some ministers and followers (700), came to this country. The circumstances are interesting to those to whom it concerns, but it is not necessary for the purpose of this research to do more than just sketch generally the fact that Wijayo and his party landed, that immediately afterwards they met with a lady at her spinning wheel, and, after the manner of young ladies, she engaged the attention of Wijayo, and by a ruse contrived to have a *tête-à-tête* with him, during which she imparted some very important secrets, and availing himself of which he succeeded in establishing his power in the Island. With these preliminary remarks I shall proceed to read to you the Paper.

The lecturer began by quoting Turnour's opinion, that the history of Ceylon, from the landing of Wijayo in 543 B.C., was "authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which could contribute to verify the annals of any country." History, however, was a record of the doings of rulers and priests, and afforded little, if any, information concerning the industries of the people. These, being the source of all national wealth, might be inferred from the facts of the narrative. After some allusions to the ancient industries of other countries, he said their epitaph was inscribed on the monuments they had left. If the Sinhalese had been as careful as the Chinese had been to protect their territory and treasure from foreign invasion, they would have had a similar progress, instead of being despoiled by their rapacious neighbours. The ancient history of the Sinhalese, as shown by their great works, advance in art, and moral culture, proves that they would have attained a high moral and intellectual condition. But instead of protecting their defenceless coasts they attracted their enemies by lavishing gems and precious metals upon the decoration of their public buildings. The policy of the ancient Sinhalese was that of a people too intent upon their occupation to ascend to their national interests. They were a domestic, not a political people, and continued to be such to the present time. They had therefore generally acquiesced in and acknowledged the supremacy of foreign invaders so long as these ruled them without undue vigour, and when oppressed cruelly, they turned upon the invaders with fury and expelled or extirpated them. The character of the people and the nature of their industries could only now be inferred from the events of history, which must have depended on their sinew, either for the things done or for the means of doing them. Tennent had stated in his great



work on Ceylon that agriculture was unknown here in Wijayo's time and for centuries afterwards, and that the people lived on "fruit, honey, and the products of the chase"; but this was quite irreconcilable with the authentic facts of history. Wijayo found Yakho sovereigns, courts, social institutions, and a considerable degree of civilisation, a state of things wide as the Poles from that of nomadic tribes, who lived like the Red Indians of America, Bushmen of Australia, or the Veddás of Ceylon. The sovereigns, cities, and court dresses of the Singhalese whom Wijayo conquered contrasted strongly with chiefs in war paint and feathers, as did also the gems and precious metals and luxuries of the former with the scalps, skulls, and other savage trophies of the latter. The Singhalese were called Yakhos, and they continue to familiarly call each other so to this day. It may then have been used by Buddhist historians, perhaps as the Chinese designate us British as barbarians and foreign devils. After answering Tennent's arguments and analysing the events of the invasion by Wijayo, the lecturer proceeded to show that the speedy dispersion of Wijayo's small party, he to settle in Tambapane and they to found settlements in widely separated parts of the Island, was a proof that those parts were populated, and by a peaceful people. In further proof he adduced the fact of a great embassy to Madura with costly presents to select a wife for the newly-established monarch. This embassy was received by Panduwo with great favour, and he, deciding to send his own daughter as the bride, invited his nobles to send theirs to accompany her to "renowned Sihala." The bride and 700 noble ladies were then despatched with magnificent presents of slaves, chariots, and horses in charge of eighteen officers of State, and a great retinue. Such a *cortége* would never have been despatched to a country inhabited by demons or savages, but could only, in fact, have been received amongst a peaceful people who had a settled government and resources adequate to the maintenance of a court. The king of Madura must have been fully satisfied on these points, or he would not have sent his own daughter, nor have bestowed on her such costly and luxurious dowry. These and other collateral facts proved incontestably that Ceylon possessed civilisation and wealth anterior to Wijayo's landing. This was corroborated by recent philological researches, which had satisfactorily proved that the Singhalese language was spoken long previously, and Mr. Spence Hardy had expressed his conviction that the people of that time were very far from being so rude and barbarous as they were generally regarded. The lecturer closed by adducing a number of the authentic facts of the history to prove that the country must have possessed considerable wealth to have



enabled them to achieve the great works which were undoubtedly done during the reign of the conqueror and his immediate successor. A comparison of these works with what had been done in Ceylon during nearly a century of British occupation with the advantages of several millions of imported capital, utilised by some thousands of Britain's most energetic sons, employing modern appliances, and with the aid of nearly 300,000 imported Tamil coolies in a time of undisturbed peace, could not fail to convince the most sceptical persons of the great resources of Ceylon five centuries before the Christian era.

5. Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G. : I am placed at a great disadvantage in offering any observations on the very able Paper to which we have listened, by the fact that I had no knowledge of its contents until I heard it read. The practice of the Parent Society, I understand, is that, when Papers are passed by the Reading Committee, they are printed and very confidentially communicated to Members before the Meeting, so that they may come prepared to make such observations as may occur to them ; and I submit that it might be well, in the case of this Society, to adopt that practice. One effect which it would have would be that the Papers being in type would be printed in the Proceedings of the Society within a reasonable period. At present it is quite on the cards that a Paper read in 1880 may not appear in the Proceedings till 1890 ! Having said so much, I would like first of all to remark, in fairness to Tennent, that Mr. Wall has, curiously enough, omitted a very important fact mentioned by him. The absence of the notice of any particular product in the old records is of very little value, because, as Mr. Wall has pointed out, the records being made by Buddhist priests, they confined themselves very much to what concerned the Buddhist church and monarchy. Cinnamon, strikingly enough, is not mentioned, and that has led to very great debate as to whether cinnamon is or is not indigenous to Ceylon ; but in the case of agriculture, Tennent mentions the fact that the Queen had to provide her guests with rice from a wrecked vessel. Now, if rice were cultivated, and in abundance, it is very strange that she should have had to resort to a wrecked vessel in order to get rice to feed her guests. As regards the language, I think there is a great deal to be said for the Rev. Spence Hardy's theory. Mr. Wall has forgotten to mention most important points on which Mr. Hardy dwells, and that is that nearly every important mountain, river, and locality has a name of Sanskrit origin, and those names must have been given by a race which pre-existed before the landing of Wijayo. Then comes the extraordinary problem that a



Sanskrit-speaking race should be away at the southern end of India, and the difficulty also that Wijayo and his followers did not come amongst friends, but amongst a foreign people whom they conquered. There is no suggestion in the narrative that they were of the same race. Quite the contrary, and there are great difficulties concerning the whole subject. I was surprised to hear Mr. Wall state that, in the best poets of the Sinhalese, female virtue is especially dwelt on. Mr. Wall must have read more largely than I have had the opportunity of doing. The specimens we have of Sinhalese poetry in the work of the accomplished Forbes would seem to point rather in the opposite direction. One of his chapters is headed by a verse, in which the poet says that he has seen such wonders as a straight cocoanut tree, a white crow, and an Indian fig,—which, as Doctor Trimen knows, bears fruits without having had blossom on it,—that he had seen that tree in blossom, but a virtuous woman he had never seen. That is the most prominent point in Sinhalese poetry as quoted by Forbes. As regards the wealth of the country, it may be consistent with the fact agriculture was not carried on to any extent that they should have what represented wealth. To this day the soil of Ceylon in some parts is largely permeated by gems, and gems had a great value always on the opposite continent of India, and 2,400 years ago or so the soil contained immensely larger quantities of rich gems than is now the case, so that they had an immense quantity of what represented wealth in the shape of gneiss, and it is quite probable that the fisheries may have yielded treasures also. In any case there is not sufficient proof, and I must confess that, although it is quite true that the non-mention of a thing in the native records is not strong negative proof of the non-existence of the thing, yet the fact that forty years after Wijayo's appearance in Ceylon we have a record of the first tank that was built, combined with the fact that we know that we have no record of any tank made before Wijayo's era, would seem to show that, whether the people grew rice or not, they certainly could not have had much of irrigation. I think the balance of evidence is against the people whom Wijayo conquered having had irrigation works. I have simply thrown out these few remarks, as Members were expected to say something, and I can only say that, having thrown out these few suggestions, I cannot sit down without expressing my deep sense of the great research, ingenuity, and acuteness with which Mr. Wall has treated this important subject.

Mr. Berwick: Might I be allowed to say one word in corroboration of the very cogent remarks which have just been made by Mr. Ferguson as to the inconsistency of the



fact that the earliest record we have of any of our tanks dates subsequent to the arrival of Wijayo, with the idea that the agriculture of Ceylon was in the high condition that Mr. Wall would seem to imagine? Not only is that theory inconsistent with what has just been pointed out by Mr. Ferguson, but there is another little point on which I am somewhat at issue with Mr. Wall, and that is when he refers to the neighbouring country of India, and contrasts the condition of ancient agriculture there with that in Ceylon. There is one circumstance which I might perhaps refer to in the first instance, which has struck me very forcibly indeed, and that is, that in all my travels in the south of India I was impressed with the fact that every—if I may so speak—item of agricultural civilisation which Ceylon possesses has been borrowed from our neighbours in the south of India. I was exceedingly struck with that fact, clearly proving as it does that our agriculture here is the child of a parent which came from the other side of the water. I mention that merely as a preliminary to another circumstance. Mr. Wall has told us that there is no record in India of any tank earlier than the fourteenth century. But it should be remembered, in the first place, that the south of India overflows with tanks, that those huge tanks (to which ours are rather a contrast in point of magnitude) then existed, and that the records of India have always been in a more imperfect condition than those of Ceylon. It is, I believe, a fact that Ceylon has the proud advantage of being in possession of records older and more authentic than any that are to be found in the continent, and that may well account—in fact, must necessarily account—for the absence of records in India of tanks older than the fourteenth century. When we see the whole of the south-east, especially of India, covered with tanks of the most enormous magnitude, and when we see that the only civilisation that ever has existed in Ceylon, namely, agricultural civilisation, has been evidently borrowed from our neighbours, I think these facts suggest a considerable amount of modification of the theory which Mr. Wall has so ably endeavoured to put forward.

Mr. C. K. Menon (of the Madras Agricultural Department) remarked that Mr. Wall had attempted to show by an elaborate process of induction that there was a great development of national industry in Ceylon before Wijayo's conquest. To those who had been accustomed to accept the traditions and history written by Sir James Emerson Tennent and writers of the same stamp, the theory propounded by Mr. Wall, that there were industry and civilisation in Ceylon before the Wijayoan conquest, was startling, but to one who comes from India, who has been nursed in



the legendary tales and folklore of his native country, who has had opportunities of studying the great epic poems in the vernaculars, the theory suggested by Mr. Wall will not be startling. Both the great epic poems of the Hindus—the Rāmáyana and Maha Bharat—were composed long before the Wijayan period, and they contain references to Ceylon which show that the inhabitants had at that period already attained a high degree of civilisation. He agreed with the lecturer in thinking that Ceylon had a civilisation before the Wijayan conquest. As regards the tanks, he did not believe that Wijayo and his followers brought with them the genius for tank-building, because Wijayo belonged to the kingdom of Bengal, which is inundated by the Ganges. He could not, however, agree with the lecturer in thinking that the ancient Indians were ignorant of tank-building. The Aryan races were probably ignorant of it because they had no necessity for tanks, but the Dravidians, who included the vast majority of the Tamil population, knew a great deal about tank-building, and the ancient kings encouraged and multiplied the building of tanks all over Southern India. It is therefore quite probable, owing to the close proximity of Ceylon to the south of India, that the Ceylonese learned the art from the Dravidians.

The Chairman: I feel inclined to say a word, though I occupy a position which unfortunately makes it almost impossible for me to argue in detail upon the points raised by the previous speakers. Mr. Wall's most able and ingenious Paper rests apparently upon the foundation of an implicit reliance upon the details of the Siphalese chronicles, or at any rate upon their general veracity from the date 545 B.C., and what we want is to have some grounds for that confidence, other than the very general statements of the distinguished Turnour, that those chronicles are worthy of credence. I imagine that Turnour said that, and that he said that they were furnished with all the evidence by which a history can be confirmed, not with reference to the earliest part of those chronicles, but with reference to them in general and with particular reference to their later part, and to the striking confirmation to which he himself had drawn attention from the date 250 B.C. From the time of Asóka there is confirmation of the Siphalese chronicles, but I am afraid for the 290 years before that we have still to find the evidence. The chronicles were written by people, say 400 or 500 years A.D., who evidently had access to some records—faithful records—running back to 250 B.C., but there, as far as I am aware, all that we know ends. We have no reason to believe that they had anything further, though they may have done so. But as to their colouring of the details—the amount of



gold or jewels, the number and names of the persons, &c.—those must be put down to the imagination of the writers of about 400 A.D. At any rate, what is wanted before we can follow the reader of the Paper into all his conclusions is some further ground for believing that the writer of the “Dípa-waṇsa” had access to authentic materials for the sixth century B.C. I feel bound to draw attention to that which seems to me to be the weak point of an ingenious argument, which, unless further established by materials to be produced, seems still to be like founding historical conclusions upon the details of romance. When we meet with people who were said to be the grandsons of lions, and who were like Ulysses and Calypso, themselves the guests of ladies of a supernatural race, we are naturally led to distrust the details of such a story. The strongest point which I think Mr. Wall has alleged is the mention of a tank, comparatively a few years after the time assigned to Wijayo, but still, as that tank is not identified, it appears to me to be the easier course to suppose that to be entirely fictitious than to suppose that it is a confirmation of the statements that surround it. No doubt, as our valued visitor has pointed out, Wijayo coming from the north of India was not likely to have introduced a system of tank irrigation into this country; and if only forty or fifty years after his arrival his successor made a tank, it is pretty certain that there was developed a knowledge of the system in this country independent of his arrival. That would be a most interesting confirmation of the degree of civilisation that existed if we had proof that the statement is historical, and I hope that Mr. Wall, in the next Paper, will direct our attention especially to the further proofs which I am sure he has, upon which he rests his confidence, that history may be based upon those parts of the “Dípa-waṇsa” and “Maháwaṇsa.”

Mr. George Wall: My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I was afraid when I began to read my Paper that I was already trespassing rather too much upon the patience and good nature of my audience. Had it been otherwise, I should not have contented myself with the proofs or evidences that I have adduced, but I should have endeavoured to anticipate points which will be brought up on a future occasion which show that the hypothesis which I have ventured to propound is not dependent upon mere details, but upon the substantial facts of history. I quite agree with the gentleman who said it was a startling one, because I felt it so myself, and it was not until I had seen that it was supported by accumulative proof that I accepted it. If it had depended upon a single statement here, or a single parenthetical remark there, gleaned painfully from small details, I would not have



troubled this audience with it ; but having started the inquiry long ago with the belief generally entertained, namely, that this country was inhabited by aboriginies, and that the period of authentic history was the period of civilisation, and that civilisation commenced with it—it was not until I found how strangely inconsistent that state of affairs was with the whole pile of evidence that confronted me that I changed my opinion, which was based in part upon what the exports and imports, according to Tennent, were at the time we had been alluding to. It is with regard to the condition of the Island at the time of Wijayo's landing that we must look as the starting point upon which the theory depends. Now, according to Sir Emerson Tennent (page 446, first volume), the only exports were gems, pearls, and chanks. I have taken the trouble to count up all that should be, according to the knowledge we now possess, obtained by gems, pearls, and chanks, and then I set against it what we were supposed to have imported—slaves, chariots, horses, gold, cloth, frankincense, sandalwood, silk, vermilion, woollen cloths, carpets, gold, and silver. He says that the gold which was lavished upon the cupolas of the dagobas, and which abounded in the vessels that were used, must have been imported, as it exists here so scantily. We are said to have also imported the only grain there was. Be it observed that is the only argument, and I can find no other arguments in favour of the theory that Ceylon had no grain. It is distinctly stated, in so many words, that not only at the time of Wijayo's landing, but for several centuries afterwards, agriculture was not known, and that grain, if grown at all, was not systematically cultivated till several centuries afterwards. The only argument in proof of that stupendous conclusion, so far as I can find, is that the rice was obtained from wrecked ships, but whether there is any people that ever were kept in food by the chance of a precarious advantage of wrecked vessels, I leave this audience to judge. The fact of that little parenthetical observation about wrecked ships is quite consistent with the facts of every day occurrence. I suppose, if a ship laden with rice were wrecked, we should not object to using the rice if it were not seriously damaged ; but the idea that a population such as I have demonstrated should have existed depending upon rice from wrecked ships is too absurd. The other evidence adduced is that, in a present that was sent from the neighbouring continent there were a great number of grand things. I can hardly enumerate them all, but they were about the greatest luxuries you can imagine in your wildest oriental imaginations. There were one hundred and sixty cooly loads of—what? Hill paddy. Now what practical accompaniment would such an item be



along with that glorious canopy, and gold, horses, chariots, and that sort of thing? I consider it would not have been sent, if it was a present of rice, in such quantity as would have been devoured in a single week. It was hill paddy, and I conclude that it is a far more reasonable thing to suppose that hill paddy was not generally known in this country, or generally cultivated, and that, seeing that they were painfully cultivating the rice that they consumed by a process that required such tremendous tanks, it would be a great boon to this country to have a kind of rice that would grow on mountain-sides and dry places, where water was not accessible. At any rate, I draw no conclusion, and I should consider a hypothesis built upon such evidence as not worth very much. I would draw my conclusion in some proportion to the facts, and the hypothesis I put forward is necessary, in my opinion, to the whole narrative. Not only must you discard all the details, but you must discard the whole thing, unless to make it consistent you invest the Island with a previous history to that of the time of Wijayo. It will hereafter be my endeavour to show that that tank was the first tank of the kind. I may say, in anticipation of what is to follow, that if these great works had been the work of Tamils, I appeal to this audience to consider whether the Tamil monarch, Panduwo, would have allowed them to go out of his possession, or whether it would not have been maintained with the same regard that a British Government would regard the vast sum of money that it had expended on any public works, and whether, if we erected those tanks, we would quietly have allowed the people to claim them and taken no further notice. Now these monarchs, Panduwo and others, were close neighbours, and I look upon the part that these neighbouring monarchs played as the most incontestible proof of the independent action of this country. As I said, the problem as to who the then Sinhalese were is a problem which does not concern my inquiry, and is probably beyond my powers to solve. I see certain broad facts which meet me at every turn, and I may say that I have read Tennent's book over and over again, the "*Mahāvamsa*," and other books, and endeavoured to harmonise the old and accepted doctrines, and it defies all my power. When I see such a small list of exports, and such a prodigious list of imports, it calls upon me to believe that this country was so poor that it could not feed itself, but was yet so rich that it could import all the luxuries of the world! It appears to me, my lord, that the groundwork is at fault, that the hypothesis that this country was inhabited by a few aborigines, and that Wijayo commenced the history of civilisation is a mistake, and that it is impossible to harmonise facts which



require these tremendous, these stupendous, conclusions from those very slender premises. With regard to the remark of Mr. Ferguson, I must reply that I have not had the advantage of reading much poetry,—that is not in my line quite,—but in my reading I may have been singularly fortunate, for the only poems that I have ever found it worth my while to read, or had the means of reading, because they were translated into English, were the most beautiful expressions of womanly devotion and virtue that I could have addressed to my own daughter. I do not doubt for one moment that, along with these, there were others of a very different character which co-existed, but those ideas prove that there was a high culture, that there was refinement. There may have been along with it that which was very debasing,—so there is amongst ourselves, alas and alas,—but you do not therefore disparage the poet because there are some who have disgraced the language. I am sorry it did not occur to me, my lord, to bring a copy which I made of one of these poems, intending to read it, but fearful of taking up more time than was meet, I have curtailed my Paper, and did not bring forward more than was necessary.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson : Would you kindly mention where we can find those verses ?

Mr. Wall : I believe that the poems I allude to must have been translated by Mr. Steele, because I find that they were signed “T. S.,” but my attention—

Mr. Berwick : What is the date of those verses ?

Mr. Wall : I cannot give you the dates. I have not introduced the subject further than that there was refinement, and the dates will be given when the Paper is printed. I think Mr. Ferguson did not mention the date of his. I think, if the system of tank cultivation had been as well known in India as it was here, the king of Cashmere would not have sent through and passed his own neighbours to find engineers in the eighth century of this era to carry out works of a similar nature. The fact that our works and those of South India are in many respects similar, I think does not prove that the Indian necessarily preceded these. I think they may have been originated here, for any argument that has been adduced to the contrary. Further than this, we shall see more hereafter. In regard to what has fallen from his lordship, as I say, I gleaned my hypothesis from a general consideration of the narrative, and not from its details only. With regard to Asoka, of whom it would appear from his lordship's statements, that history would be more reliable, he, in sending his present to Ceylon, spoke of this Island as a splendid country, and exclaimed,



after he was given the presents from Ceylon, that there were no treasures to compare with them in those parts. I am sorry, my lord, to have taken up so much time, but the subject is one of some interest, and I hope I may be pardoned for having done so.

6. The Chairman, the Lord Bishop of Colombo, expressed the thanks of the Meeting to Mr. Wall for the Paper he had read.

7. A vote of thanks to the chair, proposed by Mr. H. Bois, brought the Meeting to a close.

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COMMITTEE MEETING.

*Friday, December 28, 1888.*

Present :

G. Wall, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Philip Freüdenberg. | Mr. Staniforth Green.

Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Honorary Secretary.

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*Business.*

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Committee Meeting held on January 16, 1888.

2. The draft of the Annual Report of the Society was read and approved. It was resolved that the Report as read should be submitted to the Annual Meeting, that Sir Noel Walker should be invited to become Vice-Patron, and that the following Officers should be proposed for election at the Annual Meeting :—

*President.*—The Lord Bishop of Colombo.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Mr. George Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.; Mr. Thomas Berwick.

*Committee.*—Mr. H. Bois; Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S.; Colonel the Hon. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G.; Mr. W. E. Davidson, C.C.S.; Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.; Mr. Philip Freüdenberg; Mr. Staniforth Green; Hon. P. Rámanáthan, M.L.C.; Mr. W. P. Ranasinha; Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna, M.L.C.; Dr. H. Trimen, M.B., F.L.S.; Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten.

*Honorary Treasurer.*—Mr. W. H. G. Duncan.

*Honorary Secretaries.*—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and F. H. M. Corbet.

3. As the Bishop had sent his resignation, it was unanimously resolved to request his Lordship to continue to

preside, limiting his services to the Society and his attendance at the Meetings according to his convenience.

4. A letter was read from Mr. H. C. P. Bell tendering his resignation of the Honorary Secretary on account of his official transfer to Kégalla, but offering to continue editing the Society's publications. It was unanimously resolved to thank Mr. Bell for his valuable services in the past and to accept his kind offer, requesting him at the same time to remain Honorary Secretary.

5. The draft of revised Rules was then considered, and it was resolved that as there was not time to discuss them properly, a Special Meeting of the Committee should be called for the purpose in the second week in January.

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### ANNUAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, December 28, 1888.*

Present :

The Hon. Sir E. Noel Walker, K.C.M.G.

Mr. J. Alexander, F.R.S.

Mr. W. N. S. Aserappa.

Dr. J. Attygalle.

Mr. B. W. Bawa.

Rev. W. Charlesworth.

Lt.-Col. the Hon. F. C. H.

Clarke, R.A., C.M.G.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.

Mr. A. P. Green.

Surgeon J. Moir, A.M.S.

Mr. W. P. Ranasiha.

Dr. W. G. Rockwood.

Surgeon J. V. Salvage, A.M.S.

Rev. J. Scott.

Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Honorary Secretary.

Visitors, six ladies and six gentlemen.

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### *Business.*

1. On the motion of Mr. Wall, Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., took the chair.

2. Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.: It will lessen your surprise, and I hope lessen your alarm too, when I tell you that I take the chair merely for a temporary purpose, though for a very important and a very pleasant purpose. Age and long residence have their pleasures as well as their duties, and my friend Mr. Wall has on this occasion yielded the palm to me, and has asked me, before we pass on to the business of the meeting, to propose that the Hon. Sir Edward Noel Walker shall be chosen Vice-Patron of this Society; according to precedent, his predecessors in office having been kind enough



to hold the post. I feel quite sure that he will fill the chair most efficiently. He takes a warm interest in the Society, and I feel that I have only to propose the motion to have it carried by acclamation—that Sir Noel Walker be chosen Vice-Patron, and in that capacity be asked to take the chair.

Mr. Geo. Wall: I have great pleasure, on behalf of the Committee as well as on my own behalf, in seconding the motion. The Committee, at the Meeting held this afternoon, unanimously resolved that the request should be made which has been already preferred.—The motion was carried by acclamation.

3. Mr. Ferguson resigned the chair in favour of Sir E. Noel Walker, K.C.M.G., who on taking it said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to thank you for electing me to the office of Vice-Patron. I shall have very much pleasure in discharging its duties, and it will always be a matter of gratification to me to promote the objects of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

4. The Honorary Secretary read a letter from His Excellency the Governor, in which he expressed his regret at not being able to be present at the Meeting.

5. The Minutes of a General Meeting held on November 22, 1888, were read and confirmed.

6. On the motion of the Honorary Secretary the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—Messrs. B. G. L. Bremner, F. W. de Silva Muhandiram, and A. G. Perman.

7. The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report of the Committee for 1888.

#### *Annual Report for 1888.*

*Members.*—The Committee of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report that since the last Annual Meeting held on December 23, 1887, there has been the following decrease in, and addition to, the number of the Society's Members. They record with regret the loss by death of two Members, viz., The Honourable Albert de Alwis, M.L.C., Mr. Sampson de Abrew Wijaya Gunaratna Rajapakse, Mudaliyār of the Gate, J.P. Also the loss by retirement two Members, viz., Mr. P. W. Conolly, C.C.S., Lieut. Cecil Hill, R.E. On the other hand, they have pleasure in stating that thirty-four new Members (including those elected at this Meeting) have been added to the roll of the Society, viz.:—

Messrs. Mohamado Ismail Mohamado Ali; R. G. Anthonisz; W. N. S. Aserappa; A. E. Brown; John Caderamen; C. Chellappa Pillai; Mohamado Ismail Mohamado Haniffa, M.M.C.; E. F. Hopkins, C.C.S.; J. H. Jayatileka



Abhayasiriwardana Ilangakon Mudaliyár; N. A. W. Jayawardana; A. E. W. de Livera; W. W. Martyn; W. T. Pearce; Hume Purdie, L.D.S.; Charles Perera Seneviratne Gunatileka, M.M.C.; Robert Reid, C.C.S.; James Hugh Sproule, J.F.; Francis Richard Sabonadiere; John Frederick Tillekeratna Dissanaïke Mudaliyár; Richard Balthazar Tillekeratna Dissanaïke Mudaliyár; N. Tyagaraya; Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam; A. E. Wackril; Sidney Gómesz; H. F. Tomalin, A.R.I.B.A.; S. Weerackoddy Mudaliyár; The Rev. W. Charlesworth; Bruce L. G. Bremner; F. W. de Silva Muhandiram; A. G. Perman; The Hon. Sir Edward Noel Walker, K.C.M.G.; Dr. M. Eliyatambi; Dr. Solomon Fernando; Dr. M. N. Gandevia.

A former Member has rejoined the Society, viz., Mr. J. W. Vanderstraaten.

The difference shows a net gain to the Society of 31 Members.

Two Members have compounded their yearly subscription, and by payment of a lump sum have become life Members, viz., Messrs. E. R. Gunaratne Jayatileke, Mudaliyár of the Gate; and F. H. Price, C.C.S.

The Society now consists of 187 ordinary Members and 15 life Members. In addition it has on its roll, besides the Military Medical Officers, seven Honorary Members, amongst whom are counted the brothers Dr. Paul and Dr. Fitz Sarasin, who were elected to that position this year.

The death of the Hon. Albert de Alwis (who became a Member in 1882) has deprived the Society of one who rendered valuable service to Ceylon as a Member of the Legislative Council, and who was greatly respected.

In the death of Sampson de A. Rajapakse, Mudaliyár (who became a Member in 1879), not the Society alone, but the whole country has to deplore the loss of a distinguished Singhalese, noted for many good qualities, but chiefly for independence of character and munificent charity and public spirit.

The large increase in the number of Members since the resuscitation of the Society in 1881 has fully confirmed the correctness of the opinion expressed in the Report for 1883. The Committee then said, "Were the objects of the Society more generally known, it may safely be asserted that they could not fail to attract to its ranks a far greater proportion of the intelligent public. With an extensive and varied Library, alike accessible to resident and outstation Members, nothing, save ignorance of the Society's *raison d'être*, and of the advantage it offers for acquiring a familiarity with the many branches of research possible in the Island, prevents a larger influx of new Members. It cannot be too prominently



put forward that the design of the Society is "*to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.*"

The number of Members in 1880 was 72, it is now 202.

*Meetings.*—Since the last Annual Report was written there have been six General Meetings, including the one held on December 23, 1887. At that Meeting a short Paper by Mr. J. P. Lewis was read, in which he described the remains of an ancient bathing-place—supposed to have been the royal bath—at the head of the Kandy lake. At the same Meeting Mr. D. W. Ferguson read a translation from the Dutch entitled "*A Belgian Physician's Notes on Ceylon in 1687-89.*"

Mr. Wall discoursed upon Mr. Norman Lockyer's novel theory regarding the spectra of the self-luminous heavenly bodies.

At the Meeting on January 26, 1888, Mr. A. Haly lectured on "*The Characters of Ceylon Snakes,*" illustrating his valuable address with diagrams.\* Mr. B. W. Bawa contributed a Paper by his father, Mr. Ahamadü Bawa, on the "*Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon,*" which, in the absence of the author, was read by one of the Honorary Secretaries.

At the Meeting in April the Hon. P. Rámanáthan read a valuable Paper on the "*Ethnology of the Moors of Ceylon,*" which has aroused great interest in the country, and has occasioned considerable discussion.

At the Meeting in June Mr. J. H. F. Hamilton's Paper on the "*Antiquities of Medamahánuwara*" was read. Mr. D. W. Ferguson read an elaborate Paper on "*Captain João Ribeiro: His work on Ceylon, and the French Translation thereof by the Abbé le Grand.*"

At the Meeting in October Mr. George Wall read a Paper entitled "*Introduction to a History of the Industries of Ceylon,*" and at the Meeting in November he read a Paper on "*Ancient Industries in Ceylon.*"

It is very satisfactory to observe that there has this year been a sufficiency of Papers. It is hoped that the suggestions made on the subject in the Report for 1887 will be attended to, and that a good number of literary contributions will be received in the course of next year.

*Conversazione.*†—The success of the *Conversazione* held in

\* Mr. Haly withdrew his Paper (partly printed) owing to typographical difficulties connected with the setting up of the Explanatory Table.

† For an account of the *Conversazione* see pp. x. to xxii.



1887 justified the holding of similar gatherings by the Society yearly. It is matter for regret that no *Conversazione* could be held this year, owing to the Honorary Secretaries being too fully occupied with their official duties to devote the time and attention necessary to arrange such an entertainment. But the Committee trust that it may be possible to follow up the precedent set in 1887, and that a *Conversazione* may be held in the course of the ensuing year.

*Journals.*—Another matter for regret is the delay and irregularity attending the issue of the Society's publications.

The only number of the Journal which has been issued, the translation of Professor Virchow's Monograph on the Veddās of Ceylon, completed Vol. IX., 1885-86. Nos. 34 and 35, 1887, forming half of Volume X., are in the press, and the former will be in Members' hands very shortly. The technical nature of much of its contents—Sinhalese inscriptions, requiring the closest revision of proof to ensure absolute accuracy—has rendered its earlier issue impossible. Efforts will be made during the coming year to bring the Journal and Proceedings up to date. Much depends on the time and hands the Government Printer can spare to the Society's work, but Mr. Skeen has promised to press on the printing as fast as possible. Messrs. Ferguson, the Society's agents, have undertaken to reprint back numbers of the Journal out of print, and are at present engaged on Volume III., Nos. 10-12 (1856-61); whilst the Government Press has nearly completed the reprinting of No. 5, 1849-50.

*Library.*—Considerable additions have been made. Chief amongst them may be mentioned the new edition of Sir W. W. Hunter's great work "The Imperial Gazetteer of India," which was presented by the Secretary of State for India. This Society now subscribes to the Hakluyt Society, and there are in our Library some twenty-four volumes of the valuable publications of that Society, which by printing rare or unpublished voyages and travels, aims at opening an easier access to the sources of a branch of knowledge that yields to none in importance, and is superior to most in agreeable variety. The thanks of the Society are due to the Secretary of State and the Governments of India and Ceylon, the Government of the United States, the Smithsonian Institute, and many Societies for valuable donations and exchanges.

The collection of books belonging to this Society, without being alienated has been amalgamated for the purpose of cataloguing with that of the Colombo Museum, an arrangement most advantageous to both. The books have been classified on the lines of a scheme proposed by Sir John Budd Phear.



The Librarian of the Museum is at present engaged on a Catalogue of the Library.

The need of sufficient room for the books has been much felt, a need which the Government has admitted, and which, by the allotment of a special extra grant for wall-cases in the present Supply Bill, will be met to some extent. An eventual extension of that part of the Museum containing the Library will, however, alone meet the emergency, as the building will shortly be too small to accommodate the rapidly increasing collection of books and to receive the 5,000 odd volumes of Dutch records which it is proposed ultimately to transfer to the Museum from the Record Office.

*Finances.*—The balance sheet of the Society's funds is annexed.\* The balance in the bank, amounting to Rs. 339·47, would be much larger if Members were more punctual in paying their subscriptions. The amount of the arrears (Rs. 924·00) shows no diminution on last year.

The expenditure on purchase of books has been liberal, viz., Rs. 1,597·49, as compared with Rs. 375·44 last year.

*Rules.*—The Rules of the Society had long called for amendment. A Sub-Committee was appointed early in the year to revise these Rules, and the result of their labours is a new set of Rules and Regulations, which the Committee now commend to the Society for its adoption. These Rules are based on those of the parent Society, and will be found, it is believed, to be free from many of the defects of the Rules as hitherto existing.

*Dutch Records.*—Your Committee addressed the Government in February on the subject of the Dutch records, with the object of eliciting its aid (a) in the better preservation of these valuable historical documents, which contain full particulars of the Dutch administration in Ceylon between 1640 and 1795; and (b) in commencing a translation of the more important volumes (*i.e.*, Resolutions of Council, &c.). In response to the former request the Government has determined, when opportunity offers, to hand over the custody of these records to the Librarian of the Museum, and the latter appeal for a small annual grant towards carrying out the translation will, it is hoped, be acceded to by His Excellency the Governor.† Meanwhile the Committee have deemed it as well to anticipate Government aid, and have

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\* See pp. xciv. and xcv.

† The representations made on behalf of the Society to the Government on the subject of the Dutch Records have led to provision being made in the Supply Bill of 1891 for Rs. 200, for the preservation and translation of these records. The Galle records were transferred to the Colombo Museum in March, 1891.

authorised the translation into English of the two oldest volumes of these records existing—those of the Galle Council, 1640–44; and the translations have already been made for the Society in Holland. Mr. Advocate de Vos has most kindly undertaken to transcribe the original text, in order that it may be printed side by side with the translation.

*Glossaries Committee.*\*—All work was virtually suspended during the year owing to the absence of the President from the Island, and, it must be confessed, for want of active support from Members and others, on whose assistance the Sub-Committee had not unreasonably relied in the steady prosecution of this most important undertaking. A few gentlemen are, however, it is satisfactory to learn, quietly pursuing the work as leisure admits, by each glossaring some special Singhalese poetical or prose work; and should the Sub-Committee be enabled to again resume its task, the fruit of such individual labour will not be wasted. Incidentally in their connection the Society cordially welcomes the first instalments of a new edition of Clough's Singhalese Dictionary (issued by the Wesleyan Press), and the prospectus of a new "Singhalese Grammar for European Students," by A. Mendis Gunasekara, of the Registrar-General's Department, which is being printed at the Government Printing Office.

*Prospects for 1889.*—An English translation of the "*Beknopte Historie van de Voornamste Gebeurtenissen op Ceilon, 1602–1757*," has been made for this Society by the International Translation Agency, and will be revised by Mr. Advocate de Vos.

Mr. Isreal Homer Vannia Sinkam is preparing a Paper on "*Ceylon Snakes*."

Mr. Amyrald Haly has promised us a lecture on the methods employed in preserving Natural History specimens in the Colombo Museum.

Mr. Advocate de Vos is engaged on a translation into English of Christopher Schweitzer's "*Account of Ceylon in 1676–81*."

Messrs. Advocates Senathi Raja and Tiaga Raja intend, the Committee understands, to favour the Society with Papers shortly.

Lastly, though in point of importance and interest along the first, a Paper on the history of Colombo has been promised us by the Hon. P. Rámanáthan, and we may hope for further instalments of Mr. George Wall's valuable "*History of the Industries of Ceylon*."

The Society may be congratulated on the success achieved

\* See Appendix.



in 1888, and of the prospects that open before it in the coming year.

8. The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to ask you to adopt the Report which has just been read. I think in doing so we may notice the increase in numbers of which the Report speaks. It is certainly very gratifying that during the past eight years the increase should have been from 72 in 1880 to 202 in 1888. The appeal which the Committee make to Members to be more punctual and prompt in paying their subscriptions would, perhaps, be misdirected if I emphasised it in any way this evening. Those who take so special interest in the proceedings as to be present this evening are very unlikely to be those who are in default in supplying such means as even a Royal Society cannot get on without.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson rose to point out just one omission in the exceedingly interesting Report which had been read. The publication of a new edition of Clough's Sinhalese-English dictionary was mentioned. The Rev. C. Carter is preparing an English-Sinhalese dictionary, and he thought that fact should be mentioned, which would make a very interesting Report more full and accurate.

The Chairman thought as justice was being meted out, mention should also be made of the English-Sinhalese dictionary.

The Report was then unanimously adopted.

9. The Rev J. Scott moved and Dr. Attygalle seconded the election of the following Office-Bearers for 1889:—

*President.*—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Messrs. George Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.; and Thomas Berwick.

*Committee.*—Mr. H. Bois; Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S.; Colonel the Hon. F. C. H. Clarke, C.M.G.; Mr. W. E. Davidson, C.C.S.; Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G.; Mr. Philip Freüdenberg; Mr. Staniforth Green; Hon. P. Rámanáthan; Mr. W. P. Rarasingha; Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna; Dr. H. Trimen, M.B.; Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten.

*Honorary Treasurer.*—Mr. W. H. G. Duncan.

*Honorary Secretaries.*—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and F. H. M. Corbet.

The Rev. J. Scott: There is only one remark I would like to make in connection with this list of office-bearers, and that is to express my own gratification, and I believe it will be a gratification to other Members as well, that Mr. Bell is to continue as one of the Honorary Secretaries. It was feared by some that his removal to an outstation would cause the loss of his services to the Society, but I am glad that the

Committee have prevailed upon him to continue to act as Honorary Secretary in conjunction with Mr. Corbet, who has rendered very valuable service to the Society. If I may venture to make one very humble suggestion to the Committee, it is that they should take into consideration the propriety—I cannot say more than that—of admitting ladies to Membership. Of late we have been honoured by the presence of many ladies at our Meetings, and I think they would like to come in not merely as visitors, but as Members. Having thrown out that suggestion, I would leave it in the hands of those who are better able to deal with it than I am.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson thought the gentlemen would be only too glad to admit the ladies to Membership, and to pay the subscription for them, and even those gentlemen who were in arrears would no doubt gladly pay their subscriptions. They would be only too delighted if ladies become Members and contributed Papers to the Society, and took part in the discussions.

The Chairman: The question that I will put to the Meeting is, that the gentlemen whose names have been read by the proposer be appointed to the respective offices named. There being no objection I take it that they are appointed. With reference to the suggestions made by the mover, I do not know whether he has in his mind that the ladies should take office too. I may say from my experience of these Meetings that we do not seem to be able to get on without the ladies, and that the ladies have supported these Meetings very considerably. I hope that they require no further invitation to be present, and indeed it would be quite open to them on any occasion to take part in the discussions. I am informed (as will be seen by the order of the day on the card of invitation) that the Rules and Regulations of the Society are under consideration for amendment, and the Honorary Secretary informs me that one point which has received consideration is that the ladies should be put on the same position in regard to the Society as the gentlemen now are.

10. The Honorary Secretary read a Second Paper by Mr. J. H. F. Hamilton, C.C.S., on "*The Antiquities of Medamahānuwara*."\*

#### *Summary of Paper.*

*Vihāré-watta*, *Madamé-watta*, *Irahanda-koṭāpu-gala*, *Vi-diya*, and *Galé-nuwara*.

*Vihāré-watta* is of interest as having been the last but one of the many resting-places of the *daladā* (the tooth-relic) previous to its removal to the Kandy Māligāwa. The *daladā*



enshrined during the reign of Kuṇḍasale; its removal to Pitigoda Viháré and thence to Kandy.

The original viháré replaced by the present one about forty years ago. Description of the viháré; the pansala; the *karanduwa*. The two bó-trees at *Viháre-watta*.

*Madamé-watta*, formerly the residence of the priests of the viháré, contains a cave dedicated to the goddess Pattini, and the site of a small déwalé dedicated to Kataragama Deviyo.

Description of cave; the déwalé of Kataragama; superstitious reverence of the natives for the cobra always found to exist by the writer in connection with the déwalés of the Hindu gods, and never with the relic shrines of Buddha. This is opposed to the conclusion of Sir J. Fergusson that Buddhism and Nága worship are closely allied, and essentially of Turanian origin; whilst the Aryan development of Hinduism exhibits only such traces of Nága worship as have been imparted by contact with Turanians. Description of the *Ira-handa kotápu-gala*, a large inscribed stone, copied by Mr. J. V. G. Jayawardene. Refers probably to Kumárasinha, prince of Uva, and affords ground for supposing that Medamahánuwara may have belonged to the old principality of Uva.

*Vidiya* (i.e., a street with houses and other buildings on either side) said to date from the reign of Wimala Dharmma Súryya; situation; date; the *Kongaha-yata Mali-gáwa*. The foundation of the house of the *Pekavallu*, or prison guards. The designation given to the present inhabitants *Katupulló*, or constables. Modern déwalé of Kataragama; ambalam; annual *perahera*.

*Galé-nuwara*, a rock fortress built by Senarat on the summit of Medamahánuwara at an elevation of 4,372 feet, to serve as a place of refuge against the invasions of the Portuguese; the climb up; the scenery; the *Halu-pé*, or dhoby's house; general description of the fortress; fosses; stone retaining walls; stone buildings; a spring of water at the summit; remains scattered about an area of several acres; tradition of a cave; stone cannon balls.

The writer sums up chronologically the history of the district, and concludes with a brief account of the capture of the last king of Kandy at Udupitiya-gedara, the site of which may still be seen near the fort of Medamahánuwara-kanda.

11. Mr. W. P. Ranesinhe remarked that the word translated "dhoby's-house" may mean "the robingroom," the place where the king robes himself or where he keeps his robes. He thought, too, there was some mistake as to the word *Madaméwatta*: it was necessary to ascertain the exact word found in the inscription in order to get its correct meaning.



The Chairman thought that the remarks made, coming from so high an authority, would be very acceptable to Mr. Hamilton and assist him in correcting any mistakes he may have fallen into. He did not feel himself competent to contribute anything to the consideration of the Paper, which deals with a very interesting antiquity—interesting because it was the place of deposit of the sacred tooth-relic before it was removed to its present resting-place in Kandy. He was sure he only anticipated their wishes in moving that a vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Hamilton for his Paper.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson felt sure it would give Sir Edward Walker great pleasure to propose to His Excellency the Governor that a small grant of public money be allowed for clearing away the jungle-growth around the defensive work on the summit of Medamahānuwara. Having the power of thought-reading, he was able to add that his Hon. friend Colonel Clarke was just saying to himself mentally that it would give him great pleasure to send one of the young surveyors he was training to take a sketch of the place, which would greatly enhance the value of the Paper.

The Chairman: As Mr. Ferguson has appealed to me officially, I may say that any recommendation coming from him on such a subject will have great weight; but at the same time I need not say that Mr. Ferguson is the last person I should assume would urge the Government to approach anything connected with Buddhism except with the greatest care and circumspection.

Mr. A. M. Ferguson protested that this was simply a question of surveying a very interesting old fort, which would enable their military friends especially to compare ancient with modern means of defence: there was no reference to Buddhism at all.

12. Mr. A. P. Green then read his Paper on "*A Visit to Ritigala.*"

#### *Summary of Paper.*

Ritigala is an isolated mountain, forming a conspicuous object between the two main roads which diverge at Dam-bulla to Trincomalee and Anurādhapura respectively, and it may be reached from either of them by minor roads from Habarane and Kekirāwa. Taking the latter route the travellers halted for the night at Galapitigala, about eight miles from the main road. This they describe as an interesting village, cotton being grown by the villagers and rough cloths made from it by the women, who were good looking and appeared much more intelligent than the men. From here to the northern side, from which point alone the ascent



can be made, is about three miles. Extensive ruins were found on the foot of the hill—a *pokuna*, faced throughout with large chiselled stones, arranged stepwise, above which were the remains of several buildings of considerable size, but entirely without ornamentation. From this group of buildings a straight causeway, paved with large flags and bordered by curbstones, leads up the hill to a second group, called the *Maligáwa* by the natives. The highest and smallest of these ruins is in the best preservation. It is built to face the points of the compass, and is constructed of very massive stones.

The hill has a bad reputation for bears and evil demons, and it was difficult to persuade the villagers to accompany the travellers to the summit. The ascent was made in about two hours. The temperature here was delightfully cool, and the view from the trigonometrical pile magnificent. The camp was pitched on a small level space just below the actual top, the only drawback to the position being the difficulty in obtaining water.

13. Mr. Green read a Paper by Dr. Trimen on "*The Botany of Ritigála.*"

#### *Summary of Paper.*

The writer looked with interest at the striking outline of this fine hill and made a determination to examine its flora, which he knew had never been seen before by botanically trained eyes, so that the chief object of his ascent of Ritigála was to investigate its vegetation and collect specimens. But another visit was needed after the rainy months to complete the botanical survey of this hill, because at the time of the writer's visit the trees and shrubs were dried up and nearly bare of leaves, owing to the prolonged drought which lasted several months, and therefore undeterminable, and the present notes are an imperfect account of flora. The height of Ritigála (2,536 ft.) is always over-estimated by those who try to fix its altitude by the eye; owing to its isolation and abrupt rise from the low country; it is the highest ground intervening between the central mass of the Ceylon mountain system and the very similar hills of Southern India.

The nearest approach in height to Ritigála amongst all the other hills of "the great forest-covered plain of Central Ceylon" is Friar's Hood (2,147 ft.) in the Eastern Province.

Several botanical plants, seen and collected, which had some local peculiarities, were described. A species of *Colens*, believed to be unknown to science, was found, which it was proposed describing under the name of *Colens elongatus*.

14. Mr. A. M. Ferguson said he had deferred rising, hoping that Mr. Alexander, who, as Forester, resided in the



North-Central Province for some years, and knew every inch of the ground and every tree growing there, should give them the benefit of his superior local knowledge. He had spent one of the most pleasant periods of his life as the guest of Mr. Alexander in Anurádhapura. There were two things on which he would wish to make a few remarks in connection with what Tennent had called the mysterious summit of Ritigala, where the wretched aborigines of Ceylon are reported to have retired from the invaders, and which the natives believe is haunted by their spirits to this day. Mr. Alexander would be interested to learn from Mr. Green's Paper, and so would Colonel Clarke as head of the Forest Department, with reference to the health of his officers and others, that a delicious climate is to be found in the North-Central Province if you can only get high enough to find it—2,500 ft. above sea-level. He was only sorry that Dr. Trimén, with his wealth of information, had said nothing on the geology of that interesting region. Two very opposite opinions have been offered with regard to it. Tennent, in his great work, was in favour of a theory which he (the speaker) felt bound to say he could not accept,—that the great column of Sigiri and other isolated rocks had been shot up as they stood in a convulsion of nature. With regard to the other theory advanced by Mr. Campbell in his "Circular Notes," he would remark that, if the sea ever beat against the north-central mountains in any age of the world, there would surely be the remains of animals, or corals, or something to indicate the presence of the sea. He had the advantage of seeing the rich soil dug deep and scooped up by the diggers who were forming the great Kaláwewa tank, but he could not there or elsewhere find the slightest trace of anything marine in the whole of his journey. He had his own supposition,—and it was offered with great modesty, because he was not a scientific geologist,—and that is, that the same process has taken place in the North-Central Province that we see going on in the whole of our mountain regions. These are composed of gneiss of a very perishable nature—a fact which adds exceedingly to the difficulty and expensiveness of making roads and railways, and there was no doubt in his own mind that those mountain regions in the North-Central Province were once much more extensive and much more lofty than they now are, and that the summits had been degraded and decomposed in the course of ages by heavy rains. With regard to the remark of Dr. Trimén, that the flora found on the top of Ritigala is similar to that found at much higher elevations elsewhere, he thought this might possibly be explained by something like the process which took place in regard to the oaks in Java. The



proper zone for the oak in that region is 9,000 ft. above sea-level, but they actually exist at half that height in consequence of volcanic action having blown out the side of the mountains, and so the oaks have adapted themselves to their new home. It is possible that plants which were growing at much higher elevations might come down and likewise adapt themselves to their new conditions. However, he was hopeful that some day a trained geologist would survey not only that portion, but every portion of Ceylon. He thought Sir Noel Walker could suggest to His Excellency no better measure, or one which would grace his rule more, than the appointment of such a competent geologist to give us a good geological and mineralogical survey of the country. With these remarks, he would give way to Mr. Alexander.

Mr. Alexander begged to be excused from speaking, as he was suffering from a severe cold.

Mr. Geo. Wall observed that the remarks falling from Mr. Ferguson were always worth listening to. He was not prepared to oppose any theory to those mentioned by Mr. Ferguson, but certainly the one put forward by Mr. Ferguson himself was a new, and one which to his (the speaker's) mind presented, at the first blush, some difficulties which required some little time to remove. He had only, with regard to the botanical part of the Paper, just one remark to make, and that is, that in the north part of the Mátalé District he had observed plants which grew at a very much higher elevation elsewhere, were to be found at least 2,000 ft. lower. He had heard Dr. Trimen say that he never visited the summits of our principal isolated mountains without making considerable discoveries, or, at least, additions to previously existing knowledge.

15. A vote of thanks to Dr. Trimen and Mr. A. P. Green, the writers of the Papers, was unanimously carried.

16. Colonel Clarke next proposed, and Mr. Wall seconded, a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Noel Walker for presiding, which was carried *nem. con.*

Sir Edward Noel Walker, in acknowledging the vote, was inclined to agree with Mr. Wall that Mr. Ferguson need offer no apology or excuse on any occasion for addressing the Meeting. He always listened to Mr. Ferguson with the greatest interest, and he must add with fascination when he speaks of his long experience, and gives the Meeting the advantage of his widely collected information. There was one thing, he thought, most people did not realise, and that was that these interesting places were easily accessible for—certainly gentlemen, and perhaps even ladies. He mentioned that to create an interest in those places and to point out to Members that they can realise the pleasure of visiting them.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (CEYLON BRANCH) LEDGER BALANCES, DECEMBER 28, 1888.

	Rs. c.	Rs. c.		Rs. c.	Rs. c.
Bank of Madras	...	339 47	7 Bank of Madras	...	339 47
Books account	...	1,597 49	26 General revenue account	..	228 68
Printing account	...	370 35			
Charges account	...	331 61	50 Anurádhapura excavation account	—	568 15
Conversazione account ..	...	38 27			
Entrance fees	...	—			
Sale of Journals	...	—			
Life Members' account, 1888	...	135 50			
Members' subscriptions, 1887	...	346 50			
Do.	...	31 50			
Do.	...	1,392 50			
General revenue account	...	91 79			
Anurádhapura excavation account	...	568 15			
Total	...	2,677 19	Total	...	568 15
					568 15

A. P. GREEN,  
Acting Honorary Treasurer.

E. & O. E.

Colombo, December 28, 1888.





## APPENDIX.

*CONDITION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY.*

AT a General Meeting held at the Colombo Museum on March 25, 1884, on the motion of the President it was resolved that a Sub-Committee composed of Mr. Berwick and Mr. Davidson, Hon. Secretary, be appointed to examine into the condition of the Library, and report as to what steps should be taken to ensure the more regular supply of new books and periodicals, and to fill up the vacancies in those series of books which are now incomplete. At a Committee Meeting held at the Legislative Council Chamber on November 1, 1884, the Report on the Society's Library by Messrs. Berwick and Davidson, the Sub-Committee, was read.<sup>43</sup>

*Report.*

Colombo, October 30, 1884.

GENTLEMEN,—IN accordance with Resolution IV. of the last General Meeting held on March 25, 1884, empowering us to examine into the condition of the Society's Library, we now beg to report what we have done and what conclusions we have come to.

2. We have gone carefully through the Library and have found 124 books which are in bad condition, and requiring, in some cases, entire rebinding, in others repairs. The Hon. Secretary has seen that those books which it is essential to attend to at once have been sent to the bookbinders for repairs. But from motives of economy we think it wiser to wait until the finances of the Society are a little more flourishing before the bulk of the repairs are undertaken. Meanwhile the number of books entered in the repairs list might be slowly reduced at the Committee's discretion.

3. We append a list of those volumes, out of several publications, which are missing. These volumes are in most cases several years old, and the time when they were lost is in nearly every case prior to the new Catalogue of 1881. Full details will appear in the Return A annexed. We do not feel justified in at present recommending the Society to purchase the missing volumes, but we think that the Committee, when the purchase of books is under discussion, might consider the desirability of completing some of these sets.

4. With a view to ensuring the more regular supply of new books, we suggest the advisability of distributing the circulars of the book trade received by the Honorary Secretary among those Members who would be kind enough to make lists for the Committee of those books which they think the Society's Library ought to contain. As most

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\* This Report, together with the opinions of the Members of Committee on it, was inadvertently omitted from the Proceedings of 1884.



new books are announced in these circulars for some time prior to their actual publication, it ought to be possible to obtain them punctually through some local bookseller who has a London Agent. On comparing the figures we find that it is cheaper to send orders through a good local bookseller than to order our books direct, as the commission and other charges of the London houses with which we have dealt is very high, amounting in some cases to 20 per cent. of the total value of the order.

5. We are of opinion that the Royal Asiatic Society's Library and the Museum Library should be combined, in the interests of both. It seems illogical to have two distinct collections of books in the same room under different rules and with different catalogues. We annex copy of the Rules of the Museum which refer to the Library and a copy of our own Rules.

6. Our grounds for making this recommendation are, first, the interests of the Public. The Rules of the Museum were modelled on those of the British Museum. In this, the interests of the reading public are unduly lost sight of. If it were intended that the Library should be of practical value to readers it was forgotten that rules applicable to a temperate climate and to an institution in the heart of a dense population, where there is a large class of men following the profession of letters, are unsuited for the tropics or a colony like Ceylon, where every man has his professional duties, which occupy him all day long. The conclusion that the Museum Library is of hardly any practical value is demonstrated at once by the fact that the total number of persons holding reading tickets in 1883 was only 17.\* Whether this number be compared with the number of people who take an intelligent interest in the literature of Ceylon and of the East generally (a very wide range), and who would gladly read works on those subjects were they readily obtainable; or with the number of volumes in the Library, it will be seen that the figures are small, out of all proportion. We believe that if arrangements are made and publicly announced to the effect that on easy conditions the 2,700 works contained in these libraries are available for circulation, there would be a ready demand for them, and instead of perhaps one in a hundred being looked at for an hour, as at present, a fair percentage would be studied.

7. Of course these remarks do not apply to the valuable collection of Oriental Manuscripts, nor to certain maps, bulky works of reference, &c., which it would be advisable to exclude from the circulating list.

8. We would indicate merely the general lines on which we think this amalgamation might be based, without infringing on our own rights or those of Government. A joint catalogue should be prepared and printed, based on simple principles. The Society's books might in this be marked with an asterisk, in case at a future time it were considered advisable again to separate the libraries. In future purchases, a certain number, in proportion to the Society's monetary contribution, might be assigned to the Society and marked with the asterisk. The joint management might be headed by the Director of the Museum, who should from his position be the sole channel of communication with his subordinate, the Librarian, in order to obviate any difficulties which might arise from divided authority. The other

\* The number of readers who renewed their tickets in 1890 was 181.



members of the Committee of Management might include the Secretary and a Library Committee of three from this Society and the working Sub-Committee of the Museum. This Committee should draw up rules, the main principle of which should be the issuing of books on certain precautionary conditions (as in our own Rules) to members of this Society without charge, and to non-members on payment of an annual subscription of Rs. 10 or Rs. 12.

The Government vote of Rs. 1,650 yearly, and the annual grant of the Society, should be devoted to the purchase of books, while the amount derived from subscriptions from non-members of the Society would probably cover the additional cost in postage and stationery. It might be found that the funds at the disposal of the Library Committee were in excess of its current wants, and the expenditure of Rs. 1,500 would in most years be sufficient were a nice discrimination exercised in the choice of books. The surplus funds—whenever there are any—the Library Committee might use for the public good in providing popular evening lectures, conversaziones, and other forms of intellectual amusement such as would tend to further that general interest in the Museum which its founder had so much at heart.

9. Before closing this Report, which we feel has run to undue length, we would note sundry possible objections to amalgamation which might be put forward by the Government before assenting to this proposal. (1) There is a possible loss of books. To this we reply that the Librarian and his Assistant have very little to do but to see to the custody of the books, and they should be strictly held responsible for losses. If this work be efficiently supervised there ought to be little danger of any serious loss. (2) The deterioration of books. This carries its own refutation. The object of books is to be used, and a clause in the rules might deal with the misuse of books. (3) Inconvenience through absence of a book from the Library. We would recommend that out of the ample funds there would be at the disposal of the Committee, duplicate copies of all text books and other standard works most in demand should be bought, and we believe that by effectual management and the intelligent assistance of all the officers responsible for the Library, it would be found possible to acquire within one year nearly all the duplicate copies of which the Library stands in need.

T. BERWICK.

W. E. DAVIDSON.

#### *Return A.*

*Volumes missing which are needed to make up complete sets :—*

L. Asiatic Society, Bengal. Journal, 1836, 1858-60, 1864-67. Proceedings, 1872-74. Volumes for 1874, 1876, 1877 are imperfect.

L. Asiatic Researches. Volumes 8-12.

Academy Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. 1861-65, 1868, 1869.

Linnean Society Journal.—Zoology, vols. 1-8.

Do. —Botany, vols. 1-8.

Bombay Asiatic Society, Transactions, vols. 10-15, 17.

L. Royal Asiatic Society Journal, vols. 10, 14, 16 (old series).

Batavian Society's Transactions, vols. 1-4, 7, 11, 15.

Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, Journal, vols. 4, 5.



- Annals and Magazine, Natural History, vols. 1-10, 2nd series.  
 Do. do. 1-6, 3rd series.  
 Calcutta Review, vols. 3, 12, 17-21, 23, 24, 31-34, 36-43.  
 Technologist, vol. 1.  
 Agri-Horticultural Society, India. Transactions, vols. 1, 4-6.  
 L. Birds of India, vol. 1.  
 Ceylon Almanac, 1827, 1828, 1830, 1833, 1834, 1836, 1838-40, 1843,  
 1845-47, 1860.  
 Smithsonian Reports, 1858-60.  
 Do. Miscellaneous Collections, vols. 6, 7.  
 The Ibis, vols. 1, 2.  
 Malay Grammar and Dictionary, vol. 1.  
 L. Bibliotheca Indica, vols. 4-6.

*Return B.*

Number of volumes in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library	1,339
Do. do. Museum Library	... 1,290
Number of books taken out of the Asiatic Society's Library in 1883	... 82
Number of applicants	... 25
Do. Colombo applicants	... 17
Do. outstation applicants	... 8
Do. readers in 1883 holding Museum Tickets	... 17

REMARKS BY COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

November 17, 1884.

A SMALL sum should be expended regularly each year in binding or repairing old books.

It would be well to advertise a list of the missing books in the local papers, and even to offer a small reward for their recovery. They are no doubt in some person's library who is unaware that they belong to the Asiatic Society.

The proposal to circulate the catalogues is a good one, so as to ensure the regular supply of new books; but I believe better terms could be made with a London bookseller than with a local firm. In the Colonial Medical Library we have a yearly account with Mr. Renshaw, and we get 15 per cent. discount, which covers the expense of packing, insurance, &c., and enables us to get our books at the English published price.

I see no objection to the amalgamation of the two libraries under the rules proposed.

W. R. KYNSEY.

November 19, 1884.

I agree with Dr. Kynsey's remarks, emphasising the economy of procuring books through London agents.

The question of amalgamation seems premature until the attitude of Government with regard to the proposal has been ascertained. From our point of view it is desirable.

J. B. CULL.

December 2, 1884.

As Secretary of the Colonial Medical Library I find it cheaper to get books through a London bookseller. I recommend missing books being advertised for, and donations called for, particularly old books connected with the Island. Every effort should be made to amalgamate both libraries; our rules can be submitted to Government.

J. L. VANDERSTRAATEN, M.D.

November 20, 1884.

*Volumes missing.*—It is not clear from the report whether the list in Return A includes all the books missing from the Library. A remarkably large proportion are transactions and periodical publications. I would suggest that the list be sent to all the Members of the Society, with a special request that each will take such steps as will enable him to certify that the volumes are not in his possession.

As regards the volumes wanting of the Bengal and Bombay Asiatic Society, there can be little doubt that the Councils of those bodies would supply them on application.

*Purchase of Books.*—I have not the least doubt that we should employ a good London bookseller. The long-established and well-known house I employ for the Royal Botanic Garden's Library, and my own, charges cost price, and no commission whatever.

*The Royal Asiatic Society and Museum Libraries.*—Amalgamation of these does not appear to me possible. One is a public the other a private library. I am strongly of opinion that on no account ought any volume to be removed from the Museum Library, and that it ought to be completely free for consultation by every person of respectability. The risk of loss of books is by no means a slight one, witness our own list of *hiatus*. I should myself prefer to forbid the lending out of volumes of periodical publications or society transactions even in our own Library.

But some mutual agreement as to purchases might very well be come to between the two libraries, so that needless duplicates need not be bought. The Society should purchase especially the less costly books of more general use to students, whilst more extensive works of value would be acquired by the Museum.

HENRY TRIMEN.

December 2, 1884.

I believe it would be found more advantageous to the Society to purchase books through the agency of a London bookseller in place of through local channels.

I do not think it is desirable to amalgamate the Society's with the Museum Library. The distinctive character of the Society should be preserved as much as possible.



Seeing that so many books, &c., are now missing, greater attention will have to be given to the rules regulating the loan of books for the future, and, if necessary, additional safeguards for securing the regular return of borrowed volumes, &c., adopted.

JOHN G. WARDROP.

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December 3, 1884.

If such a thing is possible I see no objection to an amalgamation with the Museum Library, especially in view of the proviso mentioned in paragraph 8 of the report. To my mind the advantages to be gained by an amalgamation are all to the benefit of the Members of the Society, seeing the Museum Library is evidently not made use of by the general public.

Before condemning the proposal to buy fresh books through local booksellers, it might be wise to ascertain the conditions under which they would act as agents to the Society. Buying locally would save the Honorary Treasurer a deal of correspondence in disputed accounts, &c.

J. G. DEAN.

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November 16, 1884.

Paragraph 3. *Remarks and Suggestions.*—Ascertain from the Society's whose works are imperfect, and from Quaritch, at what cost those marked L can be obtained.

Paragraph 4.—Ask Dawson & Son, of Cannon street, City, and Cave & Co., on what terms they will procure us books from time to time.

Paragraph 5 *et seq.*—This proposal is, I think, inadmissible. The Museum Library is intended for the depository in the Colony of the beginning of a great Public Library, and the books should never be allowed to leave the Library. The Library of the Society is meant for the use of the Members, many of whom are students, and the books are best used by being lent to them for use at home.

R. S. COLOMBO.

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November 18, 1884.

Paragraph 2. *Remarks on Report.*—Binding will have to wait for better time; some books have been very poorly bound, but we cannot afford better work at present.

Paragraph 3.—I agree with the President.

Paragraph 4.—A London firm will be more advantageous for us than any local house.

Paragraph 5.—I fear this recommendation cannot be adopted, as being contrary to the rules of the Museum Library.

P.S.—If the Honorary Secretary or members of Committee were to watch local auction sales of old books, the missing Nos. of the Ceylon Almanac might be obtained for trifling sums. I think the Calcutta Review should be obtained complete, when we have funds to spare. The parent Society and that of Bengal would, I am certain, present us with any missing numbers of their Journals, if in existence.

J. CAPPER.

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### EXCAVATIONS AT ANURÁDHAPURA.\*

December 18, 1884.

I REGRET that an attack of fever has delayed my report upon the present state of the excavations at *Mirisawetiya*. I have now to write away from my papers, and am therefore unable to state exactly how the finances stand; but Mr. Ievers has promised to supply this information immediately.

The Society will have heard before this that the search for a chapel on the eastern side of the *dágaba* has been unsuccessful. In accordance with Mr. Smither's instructions, after the *dágaba* had been cleared of grass and roots, a trench, 6 ft. broad by 6 ft. deep, was cut round the top of the bell of the *dágaba*. Operations were then commenced in earnest on the eastern side: 100 ft. were marked off from the central part of the inner enclosure wall; oblique lines were run up from the two extremities to the 6-ft. trench; and the wedge-shaped portion thus marked out was cautiously and slowly cleared away. Heavy rains stopped our progress for nearly ten days, and washed down two small portions of the wall of the *dágaba* uncovered by the trench, which had to be carefully rebuilt. Every day we expected to come across some signs of the upper part of the hidden chapel: again and again we worked eagerly and cautiously round some suspicious collection of bricks; and each time we were doomed to disappointment. At last, when all hopes of a chapel had disappeared, we were rewarded one morning by finding traces of chunam, and from that time onward each day brought to light some fresh, though small, discovery. We found, first of all, an upper wall of brick coated with chunam, about 2½ ft. high and 7 ft. above ground level, the base of it running out in clearly-defined mouldings to a narrow terrace. Beneath this terrace again is a higher brick wall coated with chunam, in wonderful preservation. The upper mouldings of this wall are not entirely perfect; but the bold mouldings at the base, resting on a stone pediment, are extremely so. I worked along this wall with a trowel as far as I dared to go without running the risk of an avalanche of bricks, and am of opinion that it runs the whole way round the base of the *dágaba* to the excavated chapel; as also probably does the upper wall. It is difficult to

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\* See Report on Archæological work in Anurádhapura and Polonnaruwa, Sessional Paper X. of 1886, pp. 5, 6.



guess what stood in the place corresponding to that occupied by the chapel on the opposite side. Some low, narrow walls of rough brick-work look almost as if they belonged to a later and cheaper restoration. There is also a curious oblong enclosure divided in the centre by a very low, thin wall, where perhaps twin altars stood. A very fine octagonal pillar of unique design was found, being on its side about 12 ft. from this enclosure to the northward, and a long, rough stone altar near it.

The question for the Society now to settle is, whether the work shall be continued. As there is not, and clearly never was, any large chapel on the eastern side, it is, I think, improbable that any will be found to the north or south. On the other hand, the two walls of chunam, with their mouldings, are quite unique, and wonderfully well preserved. Of course it is a question how far the chunam will stand exposure to sun and rain: it is also a question how the brickwork of the *dágaba* will fare when all the surrounding earth is removed. As to the chunam, it has lasted 2,000 years already, and was meant to be exposed and not buried: while, judging from so much of the brickwork as has been discovered by the trench, I am inclined to think that no fears need be entertained of a serious slip. But I speak with great diffidence on both points. The only expense at present being incurred is the pay of the overseer in charge of the work, who receives three shillings a day. We have been careful to employ as near as possible the same gang of convict labourers at the excavation, and the same jail peon, since the commencement of the work, and it might be thought possible to dispense with the services of the overseer for the present, and so avoid all expense, until more delicate work requires skilled supervision. The expenditure up to the end of this month will amount to about Rs. 200.

It is just possible that the Society might like to devote the balance of the fund, or part of it, to the restoration of the newly-discovered ruins at *Wijayarāma*. The identification of these ruins cannot be regarded as positively certain; of their great antiquity and excellent workmanship there can be no doubt. The large oblong building known as "the Palace" could be very easily restored. The low boundary wall is formed of enormous squared slabs, each bearing a unique fresco in very high relief. These slabs have nearly all been displaced by trees and creepers, but they are all lying close to their original positions, and hardly any are broken. A gang of coolies and a small crane, or even levers, would restore the wall in a few days. The surrounding jungle has been partly cleared, and a good road cut from the *Jétawanārāma*. The place must have been a large settlement, as the remains of buildings of all sorts are very plentiful; and the doorway-stones and stairways are highly ornamented. Another *dágaba*, known as the *Kiri-wehera*, has been discovered about half a mile further north, and a path cut to it: but it is simply a huge mound of earth about 30 ft. high, with a few large bricks scattered over it. There can be little doubt that fresh ruins of similar interest will be found in this direction as the jungle is pushed further back. It is a curious fact that the only moonstone we have unearthed at present at *Wijayarāma*, though similar in shape to those at *Anurādhapura*, is without the delicate carvings of birds and animals, and is only decorated with concentric circles. It is just possible that this may be a mark of antiquity.



*THE LIBRARY.*

The LIBRARIAN, Colombo Museum, to the HONORARY SECRETARY,  
Royal Asiatic Society.

November 27, 1886.

SIR,—I PROPOSE to do myself the honour of preferring a request to you in this letter, and at the same time showing you that a compliance with it will be beneficial to the Royal Asiatic Society.

2. The request is that you will permit me to put your books on the same shelves with the books belonging to the Museum, and to include them in the same catalogues.

3. You need not fear that confusion will result from this arrangement, for your books are all marked with the Royal Asiatic Society's stamp, and in the catalogues their names will be distinguished by asterisks.

4. With your permission I will now explain how I intend to do the work in which I solicit your concurrence.

5. I mean to divide the books into classes according to the subjects of which they treat; arrange them on the shelves as they may best fit in, but keeping each class separate; and then number the books in each class consecutively.

6. The numbers will be printed on tickets which will be affixed to the backs of the books.

7. I intend to make two general catalogues of all the books: in the first, their names will be given in alphabetical order according to the principal word in each title; and in the second, the same order will be followed, but the books will be entered according to the names of the authors.

8. In addition I will make a classified catalogue, wherein the title of each work will be stated under the heading of the class to which it belongs, and I hope in many instances to give cross-references.

9. In all the catalogues the number affixed to each individual book will be entered opposite to its name: such number will be distinguished by a letter denoting the class to which the work belongs, and it will be easy to find it on the shelves.

10. The plan of having consecutive numbers on the volumes presents many advantages: the chief of these, as regards your books, will be that the absence of a work from the shelf to which it belongs could hardly escape notice, and that it would enable me to apply regularly for the return of books borrowed from your Library.

11. At present I have but little check on the taking away of your books. I cannot know, except with much trouble, if a volume is "out," for it takes several hours' search to discover that it is not on the shelves.

12. An important reason for having one set of catalogues for both collections of books is that it will effectually prevent mistakes being made in buying new books for either, as these catalogues will show at a glance what works there are in the library here, whether belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society or to the Museum.

13. The catalogues I propose to make will be prefaced by a statement of the Rules of your Society and of the Museum on the subject of taking out books, so that all those persons who may consult the catalogues will see the advantage of becoming members of the Royal Asiatic Society.

F. H. M. CORBET,  
Librarian.



CONVERSAZIONE, NOVEMBER 26, 1887.

*Items of Expenditure.*

			Rs.	c.
Hire of 9 tables	...	...	6	0
Do. 100 chairs	...	...	20	25
Advertising charges	...	...	12	0
Labourers for 3 days	...	...	25	0
1,000 surfaced cards	...	...	10	0
C. V. Band ...	...	...	30	0
Refreshments	...	...	470	93
Pay for sergeants (ticket collectors)	...	...	7	0
John Walker & Co.	...	...	31	50
Gas Works ...	...	...	17	50
Total ...			630	18

SINHALESE GLOSSARY.

THE present Specimen Glossary A—or rather specimen of the Specimen Glossary—is circulated in the Special Committee for their opinion on the question whether a Specimen Glossary on such a principle and in such a shape as B should be issued by the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch. On that account it is not thought necessary to waste paper by spacing these specimen pages, but they will, when issued, be spaced, and have large margins, for each Glossarist to use them as almost blank forms to enter his words, while at the same time they will be a model as to what to enter.

The present glossary stops at *Kh*.

January, 1888.

H. C. P. BELL,  
Honorary Secretary.

A.

*Notes.*

E and O in Sanscrit words are transcribed exactly as they are written in Sinhalese, *i.e.*, with or without the long mark, according to the practice of the edition cited; but are always to be pronounced long.

The sound of *Ḍ* being neither exactly V nor exactly W, nor uniform in all words, V is given at the beginning of the words for convenience of reference, and W in the middle as more nearly representing the sound.

N.B.—Readers are reminded that the object aimed at in this Specimen Glossary, and to be aimed at in any which may be made in accordance with it, is not to give the root-meaning, or central meaning, or usual meaning, of each word, but *the exact meaning which it happens to bear in the passage cited*. In other words, that English should be given, in regard to each place referred to, for a Sinhalese word, which would represent that word in that place in a literal English translation of the passage.

A = န.

- Akusalayata*. 8, 3. to demerit.  
*Agra*. 13, 9. foremost.—*hastayak*. foremost hand (to grasp, &c.).  
*Atisayen*. 1, 19; 1, 27. *passim*. very.  
*Aturen*. 1, 15. from among.  
*Adanūlabannāhu*. 5, 5. are being drawn.  
*Adhikakoṭa*. 2, 6. exceedingly.  
*Adhikabawa*. 15, 9. greatness.  
*Adhipati*. 11, 5. chief ruler.  
*Adhyayana*. 1, 7. reading, studying (sacred books). (One of the four divisions of learning or paṇḍitship.)  
*Adhyāpana*. 1, 7. instruction, lecturing (sacred subjects). (One of the four divisions of learning or paṇḍitship.)  
*Anaṇḍayāgé*. 1, 32. of Anagga (pr. n., the god of love).  
*Anabhiwṛiddhi*. ruin.—*tamā*. 1, 17.  
*Anabhiwṛiddhiya*. misfortune. 2, 31.  
*Anarthaya*. 2, 10. (in comp.) evil, disadvantage.  
*Anavaratayen*. 1, 29. incessantly.  
*Anācārayanta*. 1, 15. to sin, non-practice of discipline.  
*Anādarayen*. 15, 5. disrespectfully.  
*Anikakhu*. 4, 4. another. (See *Anyayakhu*.)  
*Anukūla*. 11, 7. agreeable.  
*Anucarakoṭa*. 2, 9. having followed.  
*Anubhawayen*. 2, 29. by the enjoyment.  
*Anurāya = rāga*. 2, 21. *passim*. attachment, passion.  
*Anuwa*. 13, 8. after.—*giyāwū*. who has followed.  
*Anusāsanaṭṭa*. 1, 33. admonition, instruction.—*ākīrtm*. 15, 22.—*ākāṭa*. 1, 40. *passim*.  
*Anga*. 1, 10. the body.  
*Antayehi*. 1, 3. at the end. after (with past part. act. *asā*. after hearing).  
*Anyayakhu*. (*keren*). 4, 5. another. (See *Anikakhu*.)  
*Apasmārayāge*. 2, 21. of epilepsy.  
*Apāyayo*. 8, 4. four forms of perdition.  
*Abhinawawū*. 1, 20. ever new or fresh, incipient.  
*Abhiniveśaya*. 2, 31. (with *karana*.) adhering.  
*Abhimānaya*. 1, 9.—*nadhanakoṭa*. pride (in wealth). 3, 8. pride.  
*Abhyantara*. 1, 28. (with *gen*.) within.  
*Ayogyayahata*. 2, 4. to the bad.  
*Arthaya*. 13, 9. (in *purushārthasiddhiya*), success.  
*Awajñā*. 4, 5. disrespect (?), blame.  
*Awawayayehi*. (in *sarirāw*). 15, 19. member, limb.  
*Awawādayek*. 9, 1. advice.  
*Asadṛiṣa*. 1, 12. incomparable.  
*Asā*. 1, 3. having heard.

A' = န့.

- A'haṅkāra*. 15, 7. (in—*parawassien*). pride.  
*A'di*. 1, \*5. beginning with = "and the rest." 2, 10. (after "Buddha," for Law and Sangha) 15, 2. *A'din* (after "me" without subst.).  
*A'diyak*. 2, 8i a beginning.  
*A'padāwak*. 13, 5. a calamity.  
*A'bharanaya*. 2, 8. ornament.  
*A'swāda*. 1, 30. (with *karana*). taste, enjoy.



I = ९.

- Ikbitten*. 1, 1. (begins paragraph) and, then.  
*Ikmundwú*. 1, 13. (with acus.) surpassed, transgressed.  
*Icháwen*. 1, 24. by desire.  
*Itá*. 1, 25 ; 1, 40. *passim* very.  
*Idin*. 3, 5 ; 4, 4.  
*Indriya*. 1, 29 ; 2, 16. sense. 2, 24. *indriyayágé*. 2, 22, &c. *indriyayehi*.  
 2, 12. *indriyayangé*. 2, 16. *indriyawijaya*.  
*Iwata*. 15, 7. away.  
*Iwasá*. 4, 5. endures.  
*Iwasim*. 9, 5 ; 10, 6. for (—*ma*, before *nəmati*) endurance (?)  
 forbearance.  
*Isin*. 15, 13. with the head.  
*Isuru*. 11, 5. lord.

U = ८.

- Ukta*. 8, 6. aforesaid.  
*Utgrahana*. 1, 7. (for *udgrahana*) acquiring (sciences, &c.). (One of  
 the four divisions of learning or pañditship.)  
*Utpattiya*. 1, 10. birth.  
*Utsáha*. 13, 11. (with *karan* and locat. of object) try, make an effort.  
*Upadanáwú*. 13, 2. giving rise to.—*dawá*. 2, 5 ; 2, 14. produce.  
*Upadésa*. 2, 1. advice, instruction.—*ayata*. 1, 32.  
*Upannáwú*. 1, 37 ; 15, 14. generated (of a fire).  
*Upabhoga*. 12, 8. enjoyment (of possession).  
*Upalakshitawé*. 15, 13 ; 15, 17. possessing, characterised by.  
*Úlak*. 2, 5. a dart, needle (?). pike.  
*Uwat*. 1, 9. (after *etakudu*) even.  
*Usa*. 1, 25. (in composition adverbially) up.

E = ८.

- Ehek*. 1, 15. one. 2, 33. *ekakuṭa*. 1, 15. *ekekma*. (after *ekek*) each.  
*Ekasthánayehi*. 1, 17. in one place, together. *ekdawaseka*. in one day.  
*Ekwatekhima*. 2, 34. at one time, simultaneously.  
*Ekwimen*. 1, 17. by the accumulation (of).  
*Etakudu*. 1, 9. (with *uwat*) yet.  
*Ebandawú*. 3, 9. such ; *ebanduma*. 5, 8. exactly, such.  
*Elawá*. 2, 8. causes ; 5, 8. *elawáməyi*. it indeed causes.  
*Elú*. brought. (?) hung. *elawanalada*. 15, 7. directed.  
*Esémawú*. 7, 6. being such ; *eséməyi*. 1, 41 ; 2, 22. is even so.  
*Eheyin*. *passim*. therefore. 1, 12. (followed by *wú*.)

E' = ८.

- E' passim*. that. 2, 22. (as substitute) *passim*. 1, 16. those.  
*E'kárəyən*. 2, 11. and *passim*. therefore.  
*Ekasthánayehi*. 1, 17 ; 2, 33. in one place.  
*Ekántayən*. 1, 13. really (if seen in true light).  
*Etak*. 1, 9. so much.

O = २.

- Owunṭa*. 8, 4. to them.

Æ = ெ

- Æti.* 1, 5. possessing ; 1, 8. including ; 1, 26. involving. (and *passim.*)  
*Ætiwæ.* 15, 12 having.  
*Æti.* 9, 1, there is.  
*Ætibaw.* 2, 19. being (in such a state)—with an adverbial participle.  
*Ætunge.* 15, 8. of elephants.  
*Ætulata.* inward. 7, 4. *ætulathi.* 7, 3. within *ætulat* with *kara.* 6, 6. admit (as lover).  
*Ættawunge.* 1, 21, of those who have.  
*Ættawu.* 1, 10 ; 2, 28. having.  
*Ættāha.* 8, 5. have.  
*Ættāha.* 8, 6, there are.  
*Ættāhugé.* 1, 35. of one who has ; *ættāhuwisin.* 15, 6, 7.  
*Ætti.* 1, 22. fem. possessing.  
*Ættehi.* 1, 6. is (?), has.  
*Ædahili.* 7, 7. (with *kara*) belief (in a person).  
*Æs.* 15, 7. eyes.  
*Æsyia.* 15, 5. (constr. with *yutu*) to be heard.  
*Æsillak.* 2, 37, 38. instant (by instant).  
*Æsú.* 1, 36. (with *granthaya*) learnt.

K = க

- Kaṭayutuyi.* 2, 20. to be done (auxiliary with *prabodhaya*).  
*Kaṭayutte.* 9, 4. (with *piṭathi*, as if *piṭai*).  
*Kaṭayuttehiwi.* (auxiliary to *anūsāsanā.* 1, 41).  
*Kaḍupatak.* 6, 8. a sword.  
*Kaṇa.* 2, 4. ear.  
*Kaṇḍūtiyehi.* 3, 8. in the scratching (? itch).  
*Kantalīn.* 2, 27. by the flap of the ear.  
*Kapōlasthala.* 15, 15. cheeks.  
*Karana.* 15, 19. doing.—*lada.* 15, 6. done.—*laddāwū.* 6, 7. made,  
*karaṇulabeti.* 14, 4. are made ; *karannāhuwisin.* 15, 8. by him-who does.  
*Karaṇakotajena.* 1, 38. on account of.  
*Kalatra.* 4, 3. wife.  
*Kalana.* 15, 4. (with *guna*) virtues. *kalāṇayehi.* 2, 32. in virtues.  
*Kali.* 1, 32. is time.  
*Kaleka.* 95. at a time (in *kisikalekat*).  
*Kalhi.* 13, 5. with *pæmini.* when. 15, 3. with *wadārana.*  
*Kalusha.* 1, 20. foul.  
*Kawara.* 2, 10 ; 4, 4. and *passim.* what. (adj. with nom. mas.).  
*kawarak.* 13, 8.  
*Kasatawū.* 2, 9. stained.  
*Kāma.* 1, 31 ; 2, 20 lust. (in comp.).  
*Kāmiwu.* 2, 32. lustful.  
*Kāya.* 1, 13. body (in comp.).  
*Kāyika.* 12, 7. bodily.  
*Kāraṇa.* 1, 36. cause. *kāraṇawu.* 1, 38 ; 1, 43 ; 1, 16. *kāraṇaya* id. *kāraṇayen.* 1, 30 ; 2, 11 ; 2, 17, by reason.  
*Kāraṇāheyin.* 3, 5.  
*Kālayehi.* 2, 8. at the time.  
*Kinda.* 1, 18. of what use.  
*Kiyat.* 13, 10. say. *kiyanalada.* 15, 5. called. *kiyam.* 1, 18.  
*Kiyā.* 15, 2. after question.



*Kiyá*. 15, 23. said (with *nimawanaladi*).

*Krimen*, 1, 19. by making.

*Kisi*, 3, 10. any (in negative sentence).—*kulekat* 9, 3. (not) at any time. 50. 11, 7.

*Kiya*, to tell (constr. with *yutu*).

*Kirtiyeu*, 2, 12. from renown.

*Kumak*. 1, 25; 2, 2; 9, 4 *passim*. what? *kumaknam*. 1, 37. what indeed? *kumak-menda*? 2, 7; 6, 6. like what?

*Kumaruwa*. 9, 2. O prince! *kumarawanta*. 2, 11. to princes.

*Kumárayan*. 1, 3. prince (honorific plural)—*wisin*, 15, 20.—*ye*, 1, 1. *kumárayeni*. O prince!

*Kulaya*. 1, 55. family (reputation).

*Kusala*. 2, 14. merit—*dharmaya*. 14, 4. virtue—*dharmayehi*. 15, 1.

*Kenekun*. 15, 11. a person.

*Kepariddakin*. 2, 36. how?

*Kereti*. 7, 6. they do.

*Keren*. 4, 5; 12, 9. from.

*Kerehi*. 7, 6. on (reliance on) (with *awu*).

*Keré*. 4, 7. does (auxil.).

*Keréwá*. 2, 38. let him do (auxil.).

*Kela*. 1, 8. the perfection.

*Kelawara*. 1, 27; 2, 17. end.

*Kesé*. 8, 7. how.

*Koṭa*. 1, 9, 2; 9, having done, using, inclined to (formative of adverbs, and in each case followed by *eti* or *attiwá*).

*Komalawá*, 15, 11. tender.

*Khroda*. 9, 3. anger.

*Kshatriya*. 1, 10. warrior or royal (in comp.).

Kh. = ॐ.

*Khedaya*. 13, 6. distress.

### B.

#### *Form for the use of Glossarists.*

(The Glossary given as a guide is that of "Attanagaluwaṇsa," Chap. II.)

1 *Akusalayata*. 8, 3. to demerit. [Mil. 136, 1. *id.*]

2 *Agra*. 13, 9. foremost.—*hastayak*. foremost hand (to grasp, &c.)

\*[*Aḡṇanayanta*. Damp. At. 24. 13. to the foolish (Pālibálanam).]

[*Atikrantawu*. Mil. 81, 15. being gone by (of time).]

3 *Atisayen*. 1, 19; 1, 27. *passim*. very.

4 *Aturen*. 1, 15. from among.

\*[*Adattádāna*. Damp. At. 1, 14. theft.]\*

[*Adahannemi*. Mil. 154, 22. I believe.]

[*Anubhawakoṭa*. Mil. 215, 32. having eaten.]

On this page only the words numbered 1, 2, 3, 4 form part of the Specimen Glossary, and the references opposite to them (in which only the numbers of chapter and line are given) are to "Attanagaluwaṇsa." The other references are samples of such as would be added by each Glossarist from the book he might be dealing with. "Mil." stands for "Milindaprasṇaya," and "Damp. At." for "Dampiya Atuwáwa."

A Glossarist dealing with "Milindrprasṇaya," for example, would write on this form the words in [ ], and others. A Glossarist dealing with the Sinhalese Commentary on "Dhammapada" would write those in \* [ ],\* and others.

## DUTCH RECORDS.

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch,

February 7, 1888.

SIR,—IN furtherance of a Resolution (copy of which is annexed) relative to the Dutch Records in Ceylon, passed unanimously at a recent Meeting of the Committee of this Society, I am directed to invite the attention of the Government to :—

(a) The present state of the Dutch Records.

(b) The desirability of having the more valuable volumes of those Records translated.

2. (a) Some years back most of the Dutch Records in Colombo, which had been stored in the Kachchéri and elsewhere, were removed to the Government Record Office. They were subsequently bound, numbered consecutively, and placed on suitable shelves.

A rough index was also made, which it was intended to amplify in time. This index has unfortunately been lost, and the only index now available is a very incomplete and unreliable list in manuscript.

As regards the great body of the Dutch Records it is, therefore, impossible to ascertain with any certainty their true contents. The Minutes and Resolutions of Government, however, from 1657, have been separately numbered, and may be consulted as a series.

3. Mr. Swettenham, when at the Secretariat, took considerable interest in the proper preservation of the Dutch records, and was mainly instrumental in having the whole of the Galle Dutch records transferred to the Government Record Office, Colombo.

The volumes from Galle were merely stitched in brown paper covers and arranged on shelves according to dates, without reference to subject matter. Labels appear to have been affixed to a few volumes. The whole of these records still remain unbound, and have hitherto been kept (owing possibly to want of space in the Record Office) in a room upstairs exposed to dust and damp and to the ravages of rats, with the natural result that several volumes appear to have been completely destroyed, and the entire set shows deplorable signs of the exposure and neglect to which they have been subjected.

4. The Committee venture to suggest that these records should be at once removed to some more suitable room, that they should be labelled throughout, and that they should be gradually bound in order to prevent their further destruction.

5. (b) In concluding his Presidential address at the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1880, the late Colonel Fyers made the following remarks on the need of obtaining a systematic index of all the Dutch records in Ceylon :—

“There is another subject to which I wish to invite attention, viz., that of the *Dutch Records* in the Island. These volumes, in number at least three thousand five hundred, must contain a considerable amount of valuable information bearing on the past history and administration, not only of this Island, but also of the various settlements and trading marts established by the Dutch. The Commission appointed in 1862 did much to rescue these important documents from destruction by obtaining sanction for them to be bound and removed to proper custody. They have been carefully numbered and arranged, but now require systematic indexing. An excellent Handbook of the Madras Records, by Mr. J. Tolboys Wheeler, published in 1861, might serve



as a precedent to the Ceylon Government for the compilation of a similar summary of the records, Dutch and English, of our Colonial Office, for which adequate remuneration ought to be given."

While fully endorsing this suggestion of Colonel Fyers, the Committee deem it right to go further, and to respectfully urge the Government, before the condition of the records render it impossible, to authorise the translation of at least the most important volumes.\*

The Committee consider that the terms offered from Holland are most reasonable, and in view of the utility of the work would readily defray a portion of the cost from the funds of the Society, were those funds more than sufficient to cover the ordinary annual expenditure.

They trust, therefore, that they may be permitted to make special appeal to Government for the grant of Rs. 200\* this year to be devoted by the Society exclusively to the translation of Volumes I. and II. of the Galle Dutch Records, Resolutions of Council, 1641-44, the earliest of these records existing in Ceylon.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

H. C. P. BELL,  
Honorary Secretary.

#### ANCIENT STIRRUP IRONS.

March 1-5, 1888.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to forward by post two stirrup irons found about four feet from the surface of the ground when the channel which feeds the Tissa tank from the Magama river was first excavated ten years ago. I also send copy of a report No. 32 of the 4th ultimo received from the Mudaliyár, Magam Pattu, who brought the stirrups to me, and of a statement taken down by me from the villager who first discovered them. The depth at which they were found (viz., four feet) would lead one to suppose that they were left there at some very remote time, and it would be interesting to ascertain from competent authorities to what period they belonged, and whether they are of European or native manufacture.

I am, &c.,

The Honorary Secretary,  
R.A.S. (C.B.).

C. A. MURRAY,  
Assistant Government Agent.

*Report.*

Hambantota, February 4, 1888.

SIR,—RELATIVE to the two ancient stirrups found at Tissa, and which were handed to you on the 28th ultimo, I have the honour to state that I closely questioned Ederewera Patabendige Sami Appu of Tehawa, the person who discovered them, and I gathered the following facts :—

They were found whilst excavating the earth for the enlargement of

\* On the representations made by the Society, a vote of Rs. 200 for the preservation and translation of the Dutch Records was voted in the Supply Bill for 1891.

the Ellegala channel at the spot nearly 50 fathoms above the juncture of Tammana-ara and the said channel, some ten or eleven years back, at a depth of between 5 and 6 ft. in two different places at a distance of about five yards from each other, and almost on a level. The layer of the earth there contained fragments of bricks and pottery and also substances resembling charcoal.

The discoverer came by them whilst being engaged as a labourer on the said work, and he had them with him all this time, as he thought they were bits of iron of not much consequence, till I casually questioned him on December 12 last, as to whether he, as an old resident of the place, had not found any articles of metal of ancient use, and he gave them to me.

From the appearance of the stirrups it is apparent that they belong to two different pairs. At the first sight I myself suspected that they must have been dropped by some foreigners, either Portuguese or Dutch; but upon entering into details as to its discovery, I am convinced that such is not the case, and the following account also precludes the first presumption:—

According to Mr. H. Parker's elaborate report on archaeological discoveries at Tissamahārāma published in the Journal No. 27 of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1884, the kingdom of Mágama (including Tissamahārāma) was founded by Wijaya in 414 B.C., but according to other writers, Mágama, as a principality, was founded by the Prince Mahā-Nāga in the year 243 B.C., which event Mr. Parker puts down only as the settlement of that Prince there.

The valiant Prince Dutugemunu, a descendant of Mahānāga in the fifth generation, was born at Mágama in the year 205 B.C., and in order to accomplish his long cherished object of vanquishing the Tamil invaders, this Prince Dutugemunu led a great army consisting of cavalry, infantry, and war elephants from Mágamapura to Wijetapura, one of the fortresses defending the capital of Anurādhapura, which capital he conquered, and became King in 161 B.C.

King Kavan Tissa, the father of this illustrious Prince, who reigned at Mágama in 207 B.C., had ten generals, one of whom, named Welu Sumana, was a great equestrian, and it was chiefly his skill in the management of a very unmanageable and stubborn animal that raised him to the rank of a General, and it was he who was entrusted with the venturesome undertaking of going to Anurādhapura, then ruled by the hostile King Elala, and fetching certain articles to satisfy the longings of the queen of King Kavan Tissa during her period of gestation for Prince Dutugemunu.

Representing himself to King Elala as an ill-treated and dismissed officer of King Kavan Tissa, he gained the good graces of the former and became the chief officer over the grooms, which he said was his vocation at Mágama also.

After supplying himself with the articles he went for, he mounted one of the swiftest animals of King Elāla, went up to the palace gate, and declaring that he was none other than one of the Generals of King Kavan Tissa, rode away at a lightning speed: seeing that he was followed by two of King Elālas Generals and company, he wheeled the animal round and round, raised a cloud of dust which blinded people, got aside with drawn sword, which he held out in a level with the necks of the two mounted Generals, who rode against the sword, thus severing the heads from their bodies, and securing the heads rode off to Mágama. This event must have taken place between 207 B.C., the



year Kavan Tissa is shown as King of Mágama, and 205 B.C., the year of Dutugemunu's birth, if it be taken as in 206 B.C. It will appear that there were skilled equestrians 2,094 years ago, and that horses and riding gear were in use then also; but if this be disputed, the fact the Prince Dutugemuna led cavalry in 161 B.C. (2,049 years ago) cannot be doubted. Mr. Parker in his said Journal, pages 38 and 39, states that he found buried underground at Tissamaharáma old iron tools, which he supposes must have been in use about 2,000 years ago.

The first time the Europeans ever landed in Ceylon in companies was in the year 1505 A.D., being the year the Portuguese landed in the Island, which is only 383 years ago; but considering the depth at which the stirrups were found it cannot be supposed that the earth has risen to such a height within this comparatively short period.

If these stirrups be suspected to have been dropped by either the Portuguese or the Dutch, the same doubt must apply with equal force to the old iron instruments discovered by Mr. Parker.

It is true that the stirrups are in a better state of preservation than those instruments, but this might depend upon the kind of metal they are made of, and the nature and depth of the earth under which they were discovered. I am not certain whether they are iron or steel.

D. F. OBESEKERA,  
Mudaliyár, Magam Pattu.

---

*Statement.*

Tihawa (Tissa), February 28, 1888.

Sami Appu examined, states: I had a contract to widen the channel from Ellegala to Tissa tank about ten or twelve years ago. When I was cutting the side of the channel with my coolies, the stirrup irons became exposed. They were a foot and a half apart on the same level, and about four feet from the surface of the ground. The stirrups were lying flat, with the upper end towards us as we cut the ground. There was nothing else about except some charcoal and pieces of rusty iron which crumbled away and which I did not take up. I kept the stirrups all this time. I did not tell the engineer, as he lived at Hambantota. I kept them with me. I have been living at Tissa ever since. The stirrups were very rusty when first discovered, but have been cleaned by me since.

Asst. Government Agent.

LOCAL AGENCY FOR SALE OF PUBLICATIONS.

"Observer" Office, Colombo, April 10, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—We are prepared to take up the duties of sole agents and depository for the Society's publications, to despatch all packets to Messrs. Trübner & Co. and to all exchange Societies, in return for the Society paying us trade commission (25 per cent.) for all sales effected on their behalf, and 10 per cent. on all disbursements for despatches made on their behalf. In the case of Messrs. Trübner's purchases, the same to be accounted for direct by this firm, we merely charging our outlay and 10 per cent. commission. In regard to advertising we agree to keep on a standing advertisement weekly in *Daily and Overland "Observer"* and in *"Tropical Agriculturist,"* and to allow alterations from time to time, for the sum of Rs. 6.25 per quarter. Further, the Society to place all the reprinting of Journals in our hands, to be done at our best rates from time to time.

H. C. P. Bell, Esq.

A. M. & J. FERGUSON.

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Colombo, April 11, 1888.

Messrs. A. M. & J. FERGUSON, Colombo.

GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of the Committee of the Society (which it is not convenient to call together at present) I accept formally the terms we agreed to in conversation, and now detailed in your letter of yesterday.

1. It is understood that you (a) Become the sole agents and depository for our publications. (b) Despatch all packets of Journals, &c., to Trübner & Co. (c) And to all exchange Societies. (d) And to Members out of the Island, the names of whom will be furnished you by the Honorary Secretaries from time to time, when they have despatched each Journal as it is issued to resident Members.

In return you will be entitled to:—

- (i.) 25 per cent. on all sales on the Society's behalf.
- (ii.) 10 per cent. on all disbursements for despatches on its behalf.
- (iii.) In the case of Trübner's purchases, only actual outlay and 10 per cent. commission to be deducted.

2. You further undertake, for the sum of Rs. 6.25 per quarter, to keep a standing advertisement of our publications (altering as required) in the *Daily "Observer,"* *Overland "Observer,"* and *"Tropical Agriculturist."*

3. As to reprinting Journals and Proceedings, I agree to place all such work in your hands, to be done at best rates, with the proviso that no reprint is to be commenced without previous arrangement with the Honorary Secretary as to type, correction of proofs, &c.

H. C. P. BELL,  
Honorary Secretary.



## EXCAVATIONS AT ANURÁDHAPURA.\*

Kandy, April 23, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—SOME time ago we voted funds to clear the Mirisweti, in part, a work well carried out by Mr. Burrows. Government is now excavating the centre of the *dágoba* now called Abhayagiri, but doubtless really the Jetawanaráma of King Mahasen. The work consists of a shaft into the centre of the “bell,” and then a sort of “well” excavating the core of the *dágoba* to its foundation. The probable reason that these *dágobas* were built in brick, laid in a careful cement of tank mud, was to obviate earthquakes.

We under-rate this risk, as there has been no destructive one since our occupation of Ceylon, but shortly before our rule the upper stages of the Lankatilaka temple or pagoda, near Kandy, were utterly destroyed by one, and numerous old buildings show traces of their effects.

I am greatly afraid that if the *dágoba* is filled up with the refuse earth, broken bricks, &c., excavated, the first earthquake will cause the shell to crack, and lead water drainage into the core, which would be at once followed by the complete ruin of the *dágoba*.

I ask the Society to consider the propriety of inquiring whether Government intend to fill up the space excavated with solid new masonry.

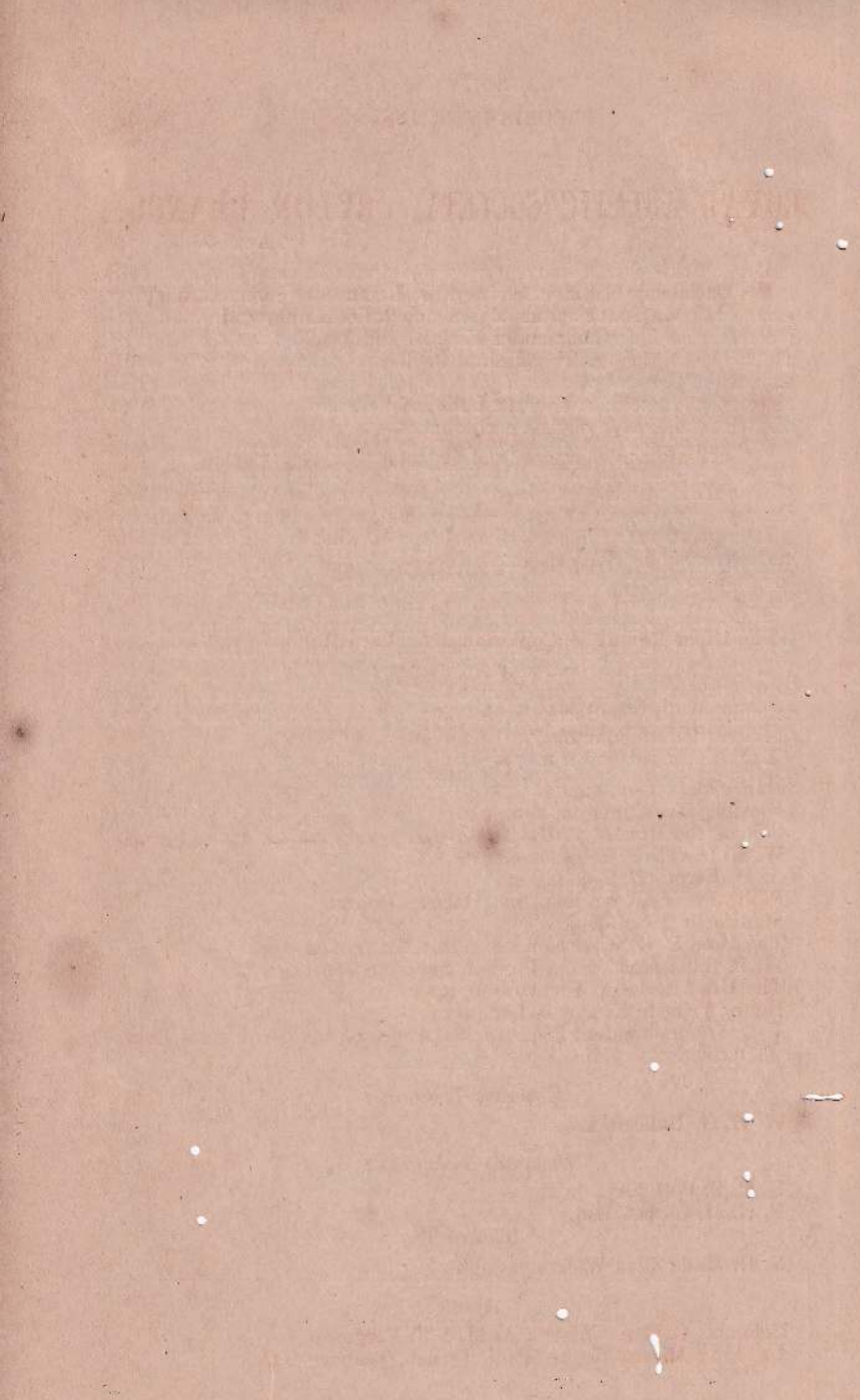
If they do, further action is not needed; but if it is intended to fill it up with the waste refuse, I move that Government be asked to delay action, and that the Society endeavour to raise funds to have the core re-filled with solid masonry.

I trust that this letter may be laid before the next meeting of the Society, and may receive careful consideration.

HUGH NEVILL.

Honorary Secretary, R.A.S. (C.B.).

\* See Report by Mr. Burrows, p. cii.





# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

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Lieutenant-Governor and Colonial Secretary, Ceylon.

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The Right Rev. R. S. Copleston, D.D., Lord Bishop of Colombo.

### *Vice-Presidents :*

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# LIST OF MEMBERS.

*Corrected up to December 31, 1888.*

*Year of  
Election.\**

## I.—HONORARY MEMBERS.

- 1873 † Capper, John, No. 6, Edith Villas, West Kensington, London.  
 † Gray, Albert., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, England.  
 1865 † Holdsworth, E. W. H., F.L.S., F.Z.S.  
 1881 † Künste, Professor Mahádeva Moreshvara, P.R.D.  
 1888 † Sarasin, Dr. Fritz,     { Wiesbaden, Germany.  
 1888 † Sarasin, Dr. Paul,     {  
 † Stevens, C. S. Vaughan, F.R.G.S. Melbourne ; F.R.S. Queens-  
 land ; Member of Antiquarian Society, Bombay ; Museum  
 fur Volkerkunde, Berlin.  
 All Military Medical Officers in Ceylon.

## II.—LIFE-MEMBERS.

- 1856 Bailey, the Hon. John Brooke Allanson, C.C.S., Government  
 Agent, Eastern Province.  
 ‡ 1882 Copleston, the Right Rev. Reginald Stephen, D.D., President  
 C.B.R.A.S., Lord Bishop of Colombo.  
 1874 Cull, J. B., M.A. Oxon., Principal of Royal College, Colombo  
 (Life-Member 1885).  
 ‡ 1867 Davids, Professor T. W. Rhys, PH.D., L.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.  
 Hist. s., Secretary and Librarian R.A.S., and Chairman of  
 P.T.S., 3, Brick court, Temple, E.C. (Life-Member 1868).  
 1881 Davidson, W. E., C.C.S., J.P., F.R.C.I., Police Magistrate and  
 Commissioner of Requests, Kalutara (Life-Member 1885).  
 ‡ 1859 Dickson, the Hon. Sir J. Frederick, M.A. Oxon., K.C.M.G.,  
 Colonial Secretary, Singapore (Life-Member 1885).  
 1879 Ferguson, A. M., C.M.G., Principal Proprietor and Editor of  
 "Ceylon Observer," Kollupitiya, Colombo (Life-Member  
 1868).  
 1858 Ferguson, A. M., jun., M.R.A.S., Planter, Upper Abbotsford,  
 Nanu-oya (Re-elected 1879, Life-Member 1880).  
 1879 Ferguson, D. W., M.R.A.S., Joint Proprietor and Assistant  
 Editor "Ceylon Observer," Colombo (Life-Member 1880).  
 1867 Ferguson, John, Joint Proprietor and Editor "Ceylon  
 Observer," Honorary Correspondent of Royal Colonial  
 Institute, Mount Lavinia (Life-Member 1880).  
 1882 Freudenberg, Philip, J.P., Imperial Consul for the German  
 Empire, Colombo (Life-Member 1885).  
 1882 Gooneratne, E. R., Honorary Secretary, Páli Text Society,  
 Mudaliyár of the Governor's Gate, D.C., Atapattu Mudali-  
 yár, Galle (Life-Member 1888).  
 ‡ 1879 Grant, John N., Acting Manager, Despatch Boat Company,  
 Colombo.

\* Year of election as Honorary Member.

† Non-resident Members.

‡ Distinguishes those who have contributed Papers to the Society.

- 1881 Lewis, John Penry, M.A., C.C.S. (Lieut., C.V.), District Judge, Má tara (Life-Member 1885).  
 † 1868 Nicholson, Rev. J., Wesleyan Missionary (Chairman, Galle District), Galle.  
 1881 Price, Ferdinando Hamlyn, C.C.S., J.P., Acting Assistant Government Agent, Kégalla (Life-Member 1888).

### III.—ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- 1885 Alexander, John, F.R.S. Edin., Forester, Central and North-Central Provinces, Kandy.  
 1888 Ali, Mohamado Ismail Mohamado, J.P., Máradana, Colombo.  
 1887 Allport, John, M.A., Mathematical and Science Master, Royal College, Colombo.  
 1884 Anthonisz, the Hon. Peter Daniel, M.D. St. Andrews, F.R.C.S. Edinburgh, President C.B.B.M.A., M.L.C., Retired Colonial Surgeon, Consulting Surgeon and Physician, Colombo and Galle.  
 1888 Anthonisz, R. G., Registrar of Lands, Galle.  
 1887 Arunachalam, Ponnambalam, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, C.C.S., Acting Registrar-General and Fiscal, Western Province, Colombo.  
 1888 Asserappa, Walter N. S., Student-at-law, Jampettah street, Colombo.  
 1887 Attygalle, J., M.D.C.M. Aberdeen, M.R.C.S. England (Assistant Surgeon, C.V.), in charge of Jails; Public Analyst; Medical Adviser, Ceylon Government Railways; Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Colombo.  
 1881 Bandaranayaka, C. P. Dias, J.P., U.P.M., Maha Mudaliyár, Sinhalese Interpreter to the Governor and Translator, Colombo.  
 1887 Barber, Jas. H., M.R.A.S., Proctor, Notary, and Planter, Blackstone, Nawalapitiya.  
 1881 Baumgartner, George A., C.C.S., District Judge, Badulla.  
 1884 Baumgartner, Harry Percy, C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Matara.  
 — Bawa, Benjamin W., Advocate, Kegalla.  
 † 1880 Bell, Harry Charles Purvis, C.C.S., Hon. Secretary C.B.R.A.S., Member of Committee, Colombo Museum; Acting Landing Surveyor, Customs, Colombo.  
 1873 Berwick, Thomas (Captain, C.V.); Retired District Judge of Colombo, Vice President C.B.R.A.S. In Europe.  
 † 1867 Boake, W. J. S., L.R.C.S.I., L.F.P.S.G., C.C.S. (Captain, C.V.); Assistant Government Agent, District Judge, &c., Malnar (Re-elected 1881).  
 1885 Bois, F. W., J.P., F.R.C.I., Consul for Sweden and Norway (Alstons, Scott & Co.), Colombo.  
 1884 Bois, Henry, J.P., F.R.C.I. (J. M. Robertson & Co.), Colombo.  
 1887 Bois, Stanley (Alstons, Scott & Co.), Colombo.  
 1884 Bosanquet, Hon. Richard Arthur, M.L.C. (Major, C.V.) (Bosanquet & Co.) In Europe.



- 1888 Bremner, Bruce George L., Assistant, Ceylon Company, Limited, Colombo.
- 1886 Brito, Philip, M.B.C.M. Aberdeen, M.R.C.S. England, Lecturer, Ceylon Medical College, Maradana, Colombo.
- 1888 Brown, A. E., A.M.I.C.E. (Captain, C.V.), Locomotive Engineer, Ceylon Government Railways, Colombo.
- 1869 Brown, R. L. M. (Lewis Brown & Co.), Colombo.
- † 1881 Burrows, Stephen Montague, M.A. Oxon., C.C.S., M.R.A.S., Assistant Government Agent, Matale.
- 1886 Byrde, Evan M. D., C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Negombo.
- 1888 Caderamen, John, Proctor and Notary, Colombo.
- 1886 Cameron, Hardinge Hay, C.C.S., J.P., F.R.C.I., Mayor and Chairman, Municipal Council, Colombo.
- 1887 Capper, H. H. (Capper & Sons), Manager, "Times of Ceylon," Colombo.
- 1881 Carbery, J., M.B.C.M., M.D. Aberdeen, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Matale.
- 1888 Charlesworth, Rev. W., Wesleyan Missionary, Vice-Principal, Wesley College, Colombo.
- 1888 Chellappa Pillai, C., Mathematical Master, Wesley College, Colombo.
- 1885 Christie, Thomas North, J.P., D.C., Planter, St. Andrew's, Maskeliya.
- 1882 Clark, Alfred A., J.P., Forester, Western Province, Slave Island, Colombo.
- 1884 Clarke, the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Francis Coningsby Hannam, R.A., C.M.G., M.L. & M.C., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.I., Surveyor-General, Acting Conservator of Forests (Commanding C.V.), Colombo.
- 1886 Cochran, M., M.A., F.C.S., Municipal Gas Inspector, Analytical Chemist, Colombo.
- † 1869 Coles, Rev. S., C.M.S., Church Mission Training College, Kotte (Re-elected 1886).
- 1871 Coomaraswamy Ponnambalam, M.M.C., Proctor and Notary, Colombo.
- 1886 Corbet, Frederick Hugh Mackenzie, Librarian of the Colombo Museum and Private Secretary to Mr. Justice Lawrie, Hon. Secretary C.B.R.A.S., Colombo.
- 1879 Crawford, Marcus Synnot, B.A., C.C.S., Grain Commissioner, In Europe.
- 1873 Daendliker, P., J.P., Manager, Volkart Brothers, Consul for the Netherlands, Colombo.
- 1887 Davies, E. C. (Captain, C.V.), Government Factory Engineer, Colombo.
- 1882 De Alwis, Hon. Albert Louis, M.L.C., J.P., Proctor, Kalutara.
- 1881 Dean, J. G.
- 1888 De Livera, A. E. N. Walter, Private Secretary to Mr. Justice Dias, Colombo.
- 1884 De Saram, Frederick John, J.P., Proctor and Notary, Colombo.
- 1882 De Saram, John Henricus, C.C.S., F.R.C.I., Registrar-General and Fiscal, Western Province; Special Commissioner for Registration of Titles to Land, Colombo.
- 1885 De Saram, Peter, Acting Cadet, Kachchéri, Colombo.
- 1888 De Silva, F. W., Interpreter, Minor Courts, Balapitmodara.

cxxii ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (CEYLON BRANCH).

- 1873 De Soyza, Chas. H., J.P., Merchant, &c., Chairman, Ceylon Agricultural Society, Alfred House, Colombo.
- † — De Vos, F. H., Barrister and Advocate, Acting Crown Counsel, Southern Circuit, Galle.
- 1880 Dias, Wijeyewardene Bandaranayake William, M.D. St. Andrews, M.R.C.S. England, L.S.A. London, Colonial Surgeon, Galle.
- 1886 Dornhorst, Frederick, M.C.L.E., Advocate, Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo.
- 1881 Duncan, W. H. G., Principal Assistant, Whittall & Co., Honorary Treasurer C.B.R.A.S. In Europe.
- 1881 Dunlop, Charles Edmund, C.C.S., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.I., District Judge, Tangalla.
- 1888 Eliyatambi, M., M.R.C.S. England, L.R.C.P. & S. and L.M. Edinburgh, Deputy Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Police Hospital, Maradana, Colombo.
- † 1882 Elliott, Edward, C.C.S., J.P., Government Agent, Galle.
- 1888 Fernando, Solomon, M.B.C.M. Aberdeen, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Office Assistant to Principal Civil Medical Officer, Colombo.
- 1885 Fisher, W. W., Crown Counsel, North-Western Province. In Europe.
- † 1882 Fowler, George Merrick, C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Kalutara. In Europe.
- 1888 Gandevia, M. N., M.D., L.R.C.P. London, L.R.C.P. Edinburgh, Slave Island, Colombo.
- 1884 Garvin, Thomas Forest, M.B.C.M. Aberdeen (Assistant Surgeon, C.V.), Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Port Surgeon, Colombo.
- 1888 Gomesz, Sydney G., Medical Student, Colombo.
- † — Goonetilleke, William, Proctor and Notary, Editor of the "Orientalist," Kandy.
- † 1884 Green, A. P. (J. P. Green & Co.), Kollupitiya, Colombo.
- 1881 Green, Henry Watkins, C.C.S., J.P., Director of Public Instruction, Acting Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary and Clerk to the Executive Council, Colombo.
- † 1866 Green, Staniforth (J. P. Green & Co.), Kollupitiya, Colombo.
- 1866 Grenier, the Hon. John Charles Samuel, J.P., M.E. and L.C., M.C.L.E., F.R.C.I., Barrister and Advocate, Attorney-General, Ceylon. In Europe. (Re-elected 1882.)
- 1866 Grinlinton, J. J. (Captain), A.I.C.E., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I., Managing Director of the Wharf and Warehouse Company, Colombo.
- Guzdar, Dadabhoy Jinanji, Landing Waiter, Customs, Colombo.
- 1882 Haines, William George, J.P., C.C.S., Acting Assistant Collector of Customs and Landing Surveyor, Jaffna.
- † 1887 Hamilton, John Herbert Fearnley, C.C.S., Acting Assistant Government Agent, Acting Police Magistrate and Commissioner of Requests, Balapitmodara, Galle.
- 1888 Haniffa, Mohamado Ismail Mohamado, M.M.C., Maradana, Colombo.
- 1887 Hill, Cecil, Lieutenant Royal Engineers, Colombo.
- 1888 Hopkins, Edward Francis, C.C.S., District Judge, &c., Matara. In Europe.



- 1888 Ilangakon, John H. Jayatilaka Abhayasiriwardana, J.P.,  
Mudaliyár, D.C., Weligam Korale, Mátara.
- ‡ 1879 Ievers, Robert Wilson, C.C.S., Acting Government Agent,  
North-Central Province, Anurádhapura.
- Jackson, William Henry, C.C.S., J.P., Office Assistant to  
Government Agent, Jaffna.
- ‡ 1881 Jayawardana, Arthur, Mudaliyár, Welleboda Pattuwa,  
Hikkaduwa.
- 1888 Jayawardana, N. A. W., Teacher, School of Agriculture,  
Colombo.
- 1884 Karunaratna, F. C. Jayetilleke, District Mudaliyár, Kalutara.
- 1882 Tissainayakam, Kasipillai Murugeser, F.R. Hist. S., Kotahena,  
Colombo.
- 1887 Keegel, H. A., L.F.P.S., L.R.C.P., L.M. Edinburgh, Hon. Sec.  
C.B.B.M.A., Assistant Colonial Surgeon and Judicial Medical  
Officer, Colombo.
- 1886 Keith, W. G., M.B., C.M., L.R.C.P. & S. Edinburgh, Assistant  
Colonial Surgeon and Judicial Medical Officer, Kandy.
- ‡ — Kynsey, William Raymond, C.M.G., F.R.C.S., P.L., L.R.C.S.I.,  
M.M.C., J.P., F.R.C.I., Principal Civil Medical Officer and  
Inspector-General of Hospitals. In Europe.
- 1885 Langdon, Rev. S., F.C.S., Wesleyan Missionary, Chairman,  
Kandy District, Haputale.
- 1879 Lawrie, the Hon. Archibald Campbell, Acting Puisne  
Justice, Kandy.
- ‡ 1867 Lee, Lionel Frederick, C.C.S., J.P., Itinerating Police  
Magistrate, Kurunégala.
- ‡ 1879 Le Mesurier, Cecil John Reginald, C.C.S., J.P., F.R.G.S., F.A.S.  
London, F.R.C.I., Assistant Government Agent, Nuwara  
Eliya.
- ‡ 1882 Lewis, Frederick, Planter, Balangoda, Ratnapura.
- 1874 Loos, Frederick Charles, F.R.C.I., Proctor and Notary (Loos  
& Van Cuylenburg), Colombo.
- 1867 Loos, J., M.D. St. Andrews, M.R.C.P. Edinburgh, L.R.C.S. England,  
Retired Colonial Surgeon, Kandy. (Re-elected 1881.)
- 1886 Macdonald, J. D., M.D. Glasgow, Physician in charge of  
General Hospital, Lecturer in Medicine, Ceylon Medical  
College, Colombo.
- 1887 Mackwood, C. O. (Chas. Mackwood & Co.), Colombo.
- 1866 Mackwood, F. M. (Chas. Mackwood & Co.), Colombo. (Re-  
elected 1884.)
- 1887 Macready, W. C., Second Assistant to Postmaster-General,  
Colombo.
- 1881 Mason, John Davenport, C.C.S. In Europe.
- 1888 Martyn, W. W., Planter, Hapoorode, Passara.
- 1887 Mitchell, the Hon. William Wilson, M.L.C. (Darley,  
Butler & Co.), Colombo.
- 1879 Miller, the Venerable E. F., M.A., Warden, St. Thomas'  
College, Colombo. (Re-elected 1887.)
- 1881 Morgan, John Theodore, M.R.C.S. England, M.B.C.M. Aberdeen,  
M.M.C., Colonial Surgeon, Kandy.
- 1882 Moysey, Henry Luttrell, C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent,  
Matale. In Europe.
- 1886 Murray, Colin Alexander, C.C.S., J.P., U.P.M., Assistant Govern-  
ment Agent, Hambantota.

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- 1837 Nell, Andreas, L.C.M.C., Sub-Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Resident Surgeon, General Hospital, Colombo.
- † 1856 Nell, Louis, C.C.S., J.P., Crown Counsel, Southern Circuit, Galle. In Europe. (Re-elected 1881.)
- 1865 Nevill, Hugh, C.C.S., F.Z.S., Corresponding Member A.N.S. Philadelphia, M.B.O.U., Editor of the "Taprobanian," Fiscal. Central Province, Kandy. (Re-elected 1881.)
- 1882 Noyes, Edward Thomas, C.C.S., J.P., Assistant Government Agent, Vavuniya-Vilankulam.
- 1888 Obeysekere, Solomon Christoffel, Proctor, Supreme Court, Colombo.
- 1887 Ohlmus, J. G. L., Proctor and Notary, Colombo.
- 1884 Panabokke, T. B., Batemahatmaya, D.C., Udapalata, Kandy.
- 1888 Pearce, W. T., General Manager, Ceylon Government Railways, Colombo.
- 1887 Pedris, D. C., Proctor, District Court, Colombo.
- 1888 Perera, Charles Seneviratana Gunatilaka, M.M.C., Proctor, Colombo.
- Perera, Edward F., Proctor, Bambalapitiya, Colombo.
- 1882 Perera, John Frederick, Mudaliyár, Weligampitiya, Jâla.
- 1872 Perera, Joseph M., Proctor, Kégalla.
- 1884 Perera, W. R. H. Wijewickreme Seneratne, Mudaliyár, Gangabodapattu, Matara.
- 1888 Perman, A. G., Traffic Suprintendent, Ceylon Government Railways, Colombo.
- 1885 Pestonjii Dinshawjee Khan, Manager, Framjee Bhikajee & Co., Kollupitiya, Colombo.
- 1882 Pieris, J. M. P. Samarasinha Siriwardana, Mudaliyár of the Gate and Siyane Kóralé West, Silversmith street, Colombo.
- 1888 Purdie, Hume, L.D.S., Dentist, Colombo Apothecaries' Company, Colombo.
- 1881 Pyemont-Pyemont, Louis Oxley, B.A. Oxon., C.C.S., Police Magistrate, Haldummulla.
- 1860 Rajapaksa, W. N. de A. Wijeyegooneratne, Proctor, Supreme Court, Rakwana.
- † 1880 Rámanáthan, the Hon. Ponnambalam, M.L.C., M.C.L.E., F.R.C.I., J.P., Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Colombo.
- † 1874 Ranasinha, W. P., Proctor and Notary Public, Chief Editor of the "Dinakaraprakasa," Colombo.
- 1879 Ravenscroft, the Hon. William Newry, C.M.G., C.C.S., M.E. and L.C., J.P., F.R.C.I., Auditor-General and Controller of Revenue, Colombo.
- 1888 Reid, Robert, C.C.S., J.P., Acting Principal Collector of Customs, Colombo.
- Renton, J. H. (Bosanquet & Co.), Colombo.
- 1181 Rockwood, W. G., M.D. Madras, M.R.C.P. and S. London, F.R.C.I., Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Surgeon of the General Hospital, Lecturer on Surgery, Ceylon Medical College, Colombo.
- 1887 Ruinat, Mons. Camille, J.P., French Vice-Consul, President of the Ceylon Committee, Paris Universal Exhibition, 1889, Colombo.
- 1888 Sabonadiere, Francis Richard, J.P., Colombo.
- 1886 Sanders, William Rutherford Bogle, C.C.S., Police Magistrate. Jaffna.



- 1884 Santiago, A. Chandrawarnam, Interpreter Mudaliyár, District Court, Colombo.
- 1879 Saunders, Hon. Frederick Richard, C.M.G., C.C.S., M.L.C., F.R.C.I., Government Agent, Western Province, Colombo.
- 1881 Saxton, George Shadwell, C.C.S., J.P., Assistant Government Agent and Acting District Judge, Chilaw.
- 1887 Schrader, E., Assistant, Volkart Brothers, Colombo.
- 1887 Scott, Rev. J., Wesleyan Mission, Colombo.
- Seneviratne, Hon. Alexander de Alwis, M.L.C., M.M.C., M.C.I.E., Advocate, Colombo.
- 1884 Seneviratne, K. L. don Charles, Survey Department, Colombo.
- † 1884 Samsedeen, A. T., Maradana, Colombo.
- 1884 Short, Edward Morrieson de Coucy, C.C.S., Office Assistant to Government Agent, Kalutara.
- 1884 Skeen, G. J. A., Government Printer, Colombo.
- 1888 Sproule, James Hugh, J.P., F.R.C.I., Proctor, Supreme Court, Kandy.
- † 1884 Subhúti, Waskaduwe Terunnánsé, Kalutara.
- 1884 Sumangala, Hikkaduwa Sri, Terunnánsé, High Priest of Adam's Peak, Colombo.
- 1884 Symons, C. E. H., Secretary, Ceylon Chamber of Commerce, Colombo.
- Tarrant, Herbert, Tea Taster (E. John), Colombo.
- 1884 Templer, George W., C.C.S., J.P., Acting Government Agent, North-Western Province.
- † 1884 Templer, Philip Arthur, C.C.S., J.P., Government Agent, North-Western Province. In Europe.
- 1871 Thomas, A. H., Planter, Cymru, Lindula. In Europe.
- Thomson, A. N. (Captain C.V.), Assistant, Whittall & Co., Colombo.
- 1883 Thwaites, J. Hawtrey, B.A. Dublin, F.R.C.I., Barrister-at-Law, Registrar of the Supreme Court, Colombo.
- 1886 Tillekeratne, Dissanaiké D. A., Mudaliyár, Talpe pattu, Angulgaha, Galle.
- 1888 Tillekeratne, Dissanaiké J. F., Mudaliyár of the Kachchéri and Four Gravets, Máara.
- 1888 Tillekeratne, Dissanaiké R. B., Mudaliyár of the Kachcheri, Máalé.
- 1888 Tomalin, H. F., A.R.I.B.A., District Engineer. In Europe.
- 1884 Tothill, T. H. F., L.S.A. London, M.R.C.P. Edinburgh, M.D. Paris (Surgeon, C.V.), Medical Practitioner, Colombo.
- † 1880 Trimen, Henry, M.B. London, F.L.S., Director, Royal Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya.
- 1883 Twigg, Thomas McCausland, C.C.S., J.P., Office Assistant to the Government Agent, Batticaloa.
- 1888 Tyaga Raja, N., Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Colombo.
- 1881 Van Cuylenberg, Hector, M.R.A.S., M.M.C., Proctor, Supreme Court, Colombo. (Re-elected 1887.)
- 1883 Vanderspaar, Geo. A. H. (Messrs. J. J. Vanderspaar & Co.), Consul for Italy, Colombo.
- † 1872 Vanderstraaten, J. L., M.D. St. Andrews, M.R.C.P. & L.S.A. London, L.R.C.S. & L.M. Edinburgh, Colonial Surgeon, Western and North-Western Provinces, Principal Ceylon Medical College, Acting Principal Civil Medical Officer and Inspector-General of Hospitals, Colombo.

CXXVI ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (CEYLON BRANCH).

- 1873 Vanderstraaten, J. W., M.C.L.E., Proctor and Notary, Colombo.  
(Re-elected 1888.)
- 1871 Van Dort, W. G., M.D.C.M. Aberdeen, Vice-President C.B.B.M.A.,  
Medical Practitioner and Surgeon, Colombo.
- 1887 Van Langenberg, Wilfred, Acting Cadet, General Treasury,  
Colombo.
- 1888 Vannia-Sinkam, Israel Homer, Broker, Messrs. Delmege,  
Reid & Co., Colombo.
- 1887 Van Starrex, Alexander, Planter, Crystal Hill, Matale.
- Vigors, Charles Thomas Doyne, C.C.S., J.P., Acting District  
Judge, Kégalla.
- 1882 Wace, Herbert, C.C.S., J.P., F.R.C.I., Assistant Government  
Agent, Ratnapura.
- 1888 Wackrill, A. E., Trigonometrical Assistant, Survey Depart-  
ment, Colombo.
- 1888 Walker, Sir Edward Noel, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary,  
Colombo.
- ‡ 1858 Wall, George, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President C.B.R.A.S., Mer-  
chant and Planter, Colombo.
- 1881 Wardrop, J. G., Manager, Commercial Company, Colombo.
- 1885 Webster, R., Manager, Chartered Mercantile Bank, Colombo.  
In Europe.
- 1888 Weerackody, S., Interpreter Mudaliyár, District Court,  
Kégalla.
- 1887 Weinman, J. R., Advocate, Honorary Secretary and Treas-  
urer, Law Library, and Secretary, Pettah Library, Colombo.
- 1881 White, Herbert, C.C.S., J.P., Assistant Government Agent,  
Kandy.
- 1885 Williams, the Hon. George Sanders, M.A., C.C.S., J.P., Principal  
Collector of Customs. In Europe.
- 1884 Wilmot, Colville Eardley, C.C.S., Assistant Collector of  
Customs, Galle.
- 1871 Worthington, George Edward, C.C.S., Barrister-at-Law,  
District Judge, Commissioner of Requests, and Police  
Magistrate, Jaffna. (Re-elected 1881.)
- 1884 Wright, W. H., Coconut Planter, Mirigama.
- 1885 Wrightson, Walsh, District Engineer, Kalawewa.



## RULES AND REGULATIONS.

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*Preamble.*

1. The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.

*Members.*

2. The Society shall consist of Resident or Ordinary, Honorary, and Corresponding Members; all elected by ballot at a General Meeting of the Society.

- (a) Members residing in Ceylon are considered resident.
- (b) Persons who contribute to the objects of the Society in an eminent and distinguished manner are, on the recommendation of the Committee, eligible as honorary members.
- (c) All Military Medical Officers in Ceylon are honorary members of the Society.
- (d) Persons residing at a distance from Colombo may, upon special grounds, and on the recommendation of the Committee, be elected corresponding members.

*Entrance Fee and Subscriptions.*

3. Every *Ordinary* member of the Society shall pay on admission an entrance fee of Rs. 5.25, and an annual subscription of Rs. 10.50. Annual subscriptions shall be considered due on January 1 of each year. Members who fail to pay their subscriptions by the end of the year (provided they have been called for) shall be considered, *ipso facto*, to have relinquished their connection with the Society. Members who have been absent from Ceylon have the privilege of rejoining the Society within twelve months of their return to the Island, on payment of the subscription for the current year.

- (a) The privilege of *Life Membership* may be ensured by the payment of :—(i) Rs. 105, with entrance fee on admission to the Society; (ii) Rs. 84 after two years' subscription; (iii) Rs. 73.50 after four years' subscription; (iv) Rs. 62 after seven years' subscription; (v) Rs. 50 after ten years' subscription.
- (b) *Honorary* and *corresponding* members shall not be subject to any entrance fee or subscription, and are to be admitted to the meetings of the Society and to the privilege of its library, but are not competent to vote at meetings, to be elected to any of its offices, or take any part in its private business.
- (c) Persons desirous of rejoining the Society may be re-admitted members without entrance fee, subject to the discretion of the Managing Committee.

*Office-bearers.*

4. The office-bearers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, all appointed by open vote at the Annual Meeting of the Society, besides all ex-Presidents, who shall be *ex-officio* Vice-Presidents so long as they are members of the Society; and their functions shall be as follows:—

- (a) The President, or in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society and of the Committee, maintain order, collect the votes, and cause the laws of the Society to be observed and enforced.
- (b) The Treasurer shall receive, collect, and pay out all moneys on behalf of the Society, keep an account thereof, including the vouchers, and submit a statement of the pecuniary affairs of the Society to the Annual Meeting and at all other times as may be required.
- (c) The Secretary shall arrange, give notice of, and attend all meetings of the Society and of the Committee, and record their proceedings. He shall also edit the Journal, and exercise a general superintendence under the authority of the Committee.

In the event of any office-bearer leaving the Colony for three months, it shall be competent for the Committee to fill up the office at the next General Meeting.

*Committee.*

5. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Committee of twelve members (with power to add to their number) in addition to office-bearers, and elected in like manner; but subject always to the rules and regulations passed at General Meetings. Three to form a quorum.

*Mode of Admission.*

6. Members desirous of proposing candidates for admission to the Society shall give notice to the Secretary, in writing, at least a fortnight before the assembly of any General Meeting. Admission to membership of the Society shall be by ballot at any General Meeting. No candidate to be considered as elected unless he has two-thirds of the votes taken in his favour.

*Meetings.*

7. An Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in December, and General Meetings at such other times as may be determined by the Committee; due notice of the meetings, of any intended motions which do not come through the Committee, and the nomination of new members, being always first given by the Secretary.

8. The course of business at General Meetings shall be as follows:—

- (a) The Minutes of the last meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and signed by the Chairman.
- (b) Candidates for membership shall then be proposed, ballotted for, admitted, or otherwise.
- (c) Reports of Committees shall be read, and communications made of all articles received, and donations to the Society.
- (d) Any specific business submitted by the Committee, or appointed for consideration, shall be proceeded with.
- (e) Papers and communications for the Society shall then be read.



9. Every member of the Society has the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, one or two visitors to the General Meetings.

10. Special Committees may be formed for the prosecution of any specific object or matter of research. These must be named at a General Meeting, and will act as much as possible in co-operation with the Secretary of the Society, who will be a constituent member of all such Committees.

#### *Papers and Communications.*

11. All Papers and communications shall be forwarded to the Secretary at least a fortnight before the assembling of the General Meeting at which they are intended to be read. Such Papers shall be read by the author, or the Secretary, or by some member of the Society.

12. All Papers and other communications to the Society read or submitted at any General Meeting shall be open to free discussion ; and such Papers and discussions may be printed in the Transactions of the Society, if approved by the Committee.

13. The writer of any Paper which is published in the Society's Journal shall be entitled to receive twenty-five printed copies of his Paper.

#### *Journals.*

14. One copy of each Journal shall be sent by the Secretary to every member who has paid his subscription for the current year, and to every honorary member ; and every such member may procure a second copy on application to the Secretary. Members requiring more than two copies of the Journal can be supplied with them at half the price charged to the public.

#### *Suspension and Alteration of Rules.*

15. It shall be competent for any General Meeting to suspend any of the above rules.

16. No alteration of rules shall be made except at the Annual Meeting, and unless carried by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present ; due notice of any proposed alteration having been given in writing to the Secretary at least a fortnight before the meeting.

## RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

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1. The Library is open on week days (except Fridays) from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M., and on Sundays from 3 P.M. to 6 P.M.

2. The Librarian shall keep a register of books belonging to the Library, showing their title, name of author, date of receipt, whence obtained, edition, number of volumes, number of plates, place and date of publication.

3. All books, pamphlets, and periodicals received for the library shall, immediately on receipt, be entered in the library register and stamped with the Library stamp. The Librarian shall see that each plate and map in books received for the Library is carefully stamped on the reverse side with the Library stamp. New books received shall be stamped on the cover with the words "Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch."

4. A book shall be kept in which shall be entered the title of every work lent out, the number of plates (if any) it contains at the time of its being lent, the name of the member borrowing the same, and the date on which it is lent. A member applying in person for a work shall sign a receipt for the book and plates it may contain at the time of borrowing. A member not applying in person shall send a written request for the books he requires, and this request shall be filed in the Library as a voucher, the Librarian duly noting on it the books actually lent out. The Librarian shall send with each packet of books a form of receipt, to be signed and returned by the borrower. Should any member prefer to keep a private register of books borrowed from the Library, it shall be the duty of the Librarian to enter in such register the names of all books issued, and to initial receipt when returned.

5. On return of any books to the Library, the Librarian, after satisfying himself that the book is in the same condition as it was when lent out, shall insert opposite to the entry, in the loan register, the date on which the book has been returned, and return to the borrower the receipt or other voucher given by him duly cancelled. And if on the return of any book the Librarian shall perceive that it has sustained any damage since it was taken from the Library, he shall make a note of the particulars and report the same to the Honorary Secretary.

6. No member shall remove any book, pamphlet, periodical, or any other article the property of the Society from the Library without giving the Librarian a receipt for the same.

7. No book, pamphlet, journal, or periodical, &c., shall be lent out before the expiration of one week after its receipt in the Library.

8. Periodicals and unbound Journals in numbers shall be returned after the expiration of one week.

9. Works of reference and certain rare and valuable books, &c., must not be taken out of the Library without special permission of the Committee.

10. Non-resident members are entitled to take out books, plates &c., from the Library on making special application to the Honorary



Secretary, and signing an obligation to defray the expenses of carriage, and to make compensation for any book, plate, manuscript, &c., which may be lost or damaged.

11. No member shall be permitted to have more than three sets<sup>o</sup> of books from the Library in his possession at any one time without the special permission of the Honorary Secretary.

12. Except with the special sanction of the Committee, resident members shall not be permitted to keep books, &c., borrowed from the Library for more than fourteen days, and non-resident members for more than one month.

13. All books, except in the case stated below, shall be returned to the Library before January 1 in each year. Early in December the Librarian, having previously ascertained that the books are actually absent from the Library, shall forward to all members who have books belonging to the Society in their possession a letter requesting that such books be returned before the end of the month. Non-resident members who on January 1 have had books, &c., for less than one month may send a detailed list of such books instead of returning them.

14. The Librarian shall report to the Honorary Secretary, for the information of the Committee, each year in January, the names of all books not returned, and of the members by whom they were borrowed.

15. If application be made to the Librarian for a book already taken out from the Library, he shall issue a notice to the borrower requiring him to return it free of expense, within one week from the receipt of such notice if a resident member, and within one month if a non-resident member.

16. If any book borrowed from the Library be lost, damaged, defaced, by writing or otherwise, the borrower shall be held responsible for such loss or damage; and if the book belong to a set, he shall be liable to make good the set to the satisfaction of the Committee, or pay its value.

17. No books, &c., shall be issued from the Library to any member while he retains any property of the Society in contravention of the above rules.

18. A book shall be kept in the Library in which members may write the names of any books, &c., they may recommend to be purchased for the Library.

19. No person who is not a member of the Society shall be permitted to take away any book from the Library without special authority from the Committee, or to have access to the Library without permission of a member of the Committee.

20. In no case shall any member be allowed to take out of Ceylon any book, manuscript, pamphlet, periodical, &c., belonging to the Society.

21. The Librarian shall be held personally responsible for the safety of the books, &c., belonging to the Society's Library under his charge, and that these rules are properly carried out, as far as lies in his power.

22. The Committee may at any time call in all books, &c., and may cease to issue them for such periods as the interests of the Society may require.

\* Each volume of the Transactions of any learned Society or similar publication shall be counted as one work.



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