

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

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The Ceylon Antiquary

and

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Part IV.

THE PETA—VATTHU.

By DR. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, PH. D.

(Continued from Vol. VII, Page 163.)

BOOK TWO.

VII. The Peta Story of Dhanapāla.

(Dialogue between some merchants and a Peta.)

MERCHANTS. 1. "Naked and of hideous appearance are you, thin and with your veins visible. Your ribs stand out, and you are emaciated. Now who are you, venerable one?"

Peta. 2. "I, venerable sir, am a Peta, the unfortunate Yamalokika. Since I had committed a wicked deed, I went from this world to the region of the Petas."

Merchants. 3. "Now what evil was performed with your body, speech, or mind? In consequence of what act have you gone from here to the world of the Petas?"

Peta. 4. "There is a city of the Dasaṇṇans, famous, known by the name of Erakaccha. There I formerly was a treasurer; by the name of Dhanapāla they knew me.

5. "Eighty cartloads of gold belonged to me; I had abundant gold and many pearls and cat's-eye gems.

6. "To such an extent was I the owner of great wealth, but I did not like to give. I locked my door and took my meals so that the beggars should not see me.

7. "Unbelieving and miserly was I, avaricious and abusive; I kept many people from those that were charitable and were performing good;

8. "Saying : 'There is no reward for liberality. Whence is the fruit of self-restraint ?' The lotus-ponds, the wells, and the planted pleasure gardens, the wayside watering places, and the passages at the place hard to cross, I have lost.

9. "So I, not virtuous in my deeds, left the world as an evil-doer. I was reborn in the Peta-region and am afflicted with hunger and thirst. It is fifty-five years since I died.

10. "I have no acquaintance with either food or potable water. As the withholding, so the loss ; one's perdition is in proportion to his closeness. For the Petas, they say, know it : '*As the illiberality, so the loss.*'

11. "In my previous existence I withheld ; I did not give away many treasures. In spite of the laws of charity I did not provide a refuge for myself.

12. "Now that it is all over, I repent, burdened with the consequences of my own deeds. After four months shall be my death.

13. "Down to the exceedingly severe and terrible hell I shall fall ; it is four-cornered and has four doors ; it is divided into parts by measure ; it is surrounded by an iron fence and is covered on the top with iron.

14. "Its iron floor is glowing, provided with heat. Flashing on all sides for a hundred *yojanas* it stands for all time.

15. "There for a long time I shall experience grievous pain and the fruit of my evil deeds. Therefore I bewail this fact.

16. "Therefore I tell you something excellent, all of you who are assembled here : do not commit a sinful act either openly or in secret.

17. ²⁸"If this evil deed you do or will perform, grief will not leave you, even though you fly up in the air to escape it.

18. "Be respectful to father and mother ; in the family honour the elders ; reverence the ascetics and the bráhmans. Thus you will come to heaven.

19. ²⁹"Not in the sky nor in the middle of the ocean, not even though one enters the cleft of the mountains, is found that region of the earth where one could stand and free himself from his evil deeds."

VIII. The Peta Story of Cūlasēṭṭhi.

(A conversation which took place between the Peta Cūlasēṭṭhi and king Ajātasattu who was walking up and down a terrace.)

King. 1. "A naked, emaciated ascetic you are, venerable one. Whither are you going by night and for what reason ? Tell me this, could we help you ? Withal I give you wealth."

Peta. 2. "There is a city, Benares, far-famed ; at that place I was a householder, rich, but miserly. I did not give, and my mind dwelt upon lust. On account of my bad character I came to the region of Yama.

3. "Hence I am exhausted with the pangs of hunger on account of those sins ; for that very reason I go to the kinsmen for some food. But those of a sordid nature do not believe that the fruit of generosity is in the other world.

4. "My daughter tells me repeatedly : 'I will give a gift to the fathers and the grand-fathers.' The bráhmans offer to others the prepared meal by saying, 'I am going to Andhakavinda³⁰ to eat.' "

28. *Upacchāpi* : read *upaccāpi* with C, D, and B. *Palāyitum* ; emend to *Palāyitum*.

29. In Minayeff's text, but omitted by B, C, and D ; quoted by the commentary to explain stanza 18 ; cf. *Dhammapada* 127.

30. Andhakavinda, the city in which his daughter Anulā lived.

King. 5. To him the king said : " After you have received it, then you shall again come hither quickly. I too will make you an offering. If you have any reason, tell it to me ; in a statement of your argument, we shall hear what is worthy of belief."

Narrative. 6. Saying, " Very well," he went (to Andhakavinda). There they partook of food, but they were not worthy of the gift. Afterwards he came to Rājagaha ³¹ a second time and appeared in the presence of the king.

7. When the king saw the Peta coming to him, even for the second time, he said : " What shall I in my turn give ? Tell me this, whether there is any means by which you may be satisfied for quite a while."

Peta. 8. " Serve Buddha and the Church, O king, with food, drink, and the robes of monks. Ascribe this gift to my benefit. In this way I shall be content for a considerable time."

9. Thereupon the king descended and immediately gave boundless gifts with his own hand in the Church ; he told the affair to the Buddha, and to this Peta he ascribed the virtue of the donation.

Peta. 10. He, honoured, exceedingly radiant, appeared before the king, saying : " I am a Yakkha, possessed of the highest supernatural power ; men are not like unto me in majesty.

11. " Behold this incomparable potency of mine, which was brought about by you when you gave beyond measure in the Church. Satisfied continually and for all times with the many gifts, I am happy, O lord of men."

IX. The Peta Story of Ankura.

[To clarify the situation, let us make from the commentary a *resumé* of the incidents underlying this story. Ankura is no Peta, but on account of his connexion with the Peta, the tale is called the *Ankurapetavatthu*.

To Upasāgara, the son of Mahāsāgara, king of Uttaramadhurā, and Devagabbhā, daughter of Mahākamsaka, king in the city of Asitanjana, region of Kamsabhoga, province of Uttarāpatha, were born one daughter named Añjanadevī and ten sons of whom the youngest was Ankura. The brothers set out to conquer, and making their residence at Dvāravatī, divided their territory into ten kingdoms, but gave no portion to Añjanadevī. Then when it occurred to them that she also should have some land and that they should make eleven divisions of the conquered territory, Ankura requested them to give his portion to their sister, while he would make his living in business. Accordingly he became a merchant and always was very liberal in his gifts.

His treasurer was a slave to whom Ankura gave as a wife a lady of good family. The treasurer died while his wife was with child, and when the child was born, Ankura supported it. Then after the boy had grown up, there was some discussion as to whether he was free or slave. When Añjanadevī had heard about this, she freed him from his serfdom. The lad, however, being ashamed of the aspersions which had been cast upon his origin and not wishing to dwell there, went to the city of Bheruva, where he married the daughter of a certain tailor and maintained himself by following the sartorial trade.

At that time there was in Bheruva a great treasurer called Asayha, who was very liberal to ascetics, brāhmins, paupers, wayfarers, beggars, and mendicants. The tailor showed the poor where Asayha dwelt and told them that they could procure gifts there. For his kindness in thus directing the needy, at his death he was reborn as a yakkha dwelling in a banyan tree in a wilderness. While he was in this condition, his right hand was engaged in dispensing blessings.

There lived also in Bheruva a certain unbeliever who was discontented and held good causes in contempt. At his death he was reborn as a Peta not far from the dwelling place of the blessed spirit or Yakkha.

31. Rājagaha, the capital of Māghada.

When Asayha died, he was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven in association with Sakka (Indra), the king of the gods.

In the course of time Āṅkura and a brāhman, each with five hundred cartloads of goods, were travelling upon the road through the wilderness where they lost their way, and since they had to spend many days there, their supply of food and water was exhausted. Then the Yakkha saw their plight, and thinking of the help formerly rendered to him by Āṅkura, showed him the tree in which he resided and decided to help them. The banyan tree was full of branches and clumps, it had thick leaves and thousands of shoots, it gave dense shade, and was a *yojana* in length, breadth, and height. When Āṅkura saw this, he was pleased and encamped under it. The Yakkha held out his right hand and satisfied everybody with water; then he gave each one whatever he wanted. After everyone of the company had been satisfied with various kinds of food and drink, and when the fatigue of the journey had ceased, the brāhman-merchant unwisely conceived this thought: "Having gone from here to Kamboja in search of treasures, what shall we accomplish? But let us in some way seize this Yakkha whom we have right here and place him upon a wagon; and then we shall return directly to our city."

The *Āṅkurapetavatthu* begins at this point in the conversation, and we shall accordingly pass from the commentary to the translation of our text.]

Brāhman. 1. "The object for which we are going to Kamboja with our goods is accomplished in our meeting this Yakkha who gives us all we want; let us take this Yakkha along.

2. "This Yakkha let us take by obtaining his consent or by force; let us lift him upon the wagon and quickly go to Dvāraka."³²

Āṅkura. 3. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, not a branch of it should he break; for he would be a betrayer of his friend, yea a sinner."

Brāhman. 4. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, even its trunk he may cut, if it should be to his advantage."

Āṅkura. 5. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, not a leaf of it should he injure; for he would be a betrayer of his friend, yea a sinner."

Brāhman. 6. "Of the tree in whose shade one happens to sit or lie down, that even together with its roots he may pull out, if such should be to his advantage."

Āṅkura. 7. "In whose house one should abide even though just for a night, with whom one should obtain food and drink, not against him even with the mind should one think evil. Gratitude is applauded by good men.

8. "In whose house one should tarry even though just for one night and be ministered unto with food and drink, not against him even with the mind should one meditate wickedness. He whose hand commits no injury makes an end of treachery to friends.

9. "Whoever in time past was good in his deeds and later on sinfully commits an injury, that man, bereft of his beneficent hand, will not behold good fortune."³³

Yakkha. 10. "Not by a god or by a human being or by a sovereign would I be easily subdued. A Yakkha am I, endowed with the highest supernatural power; I go a great distance (in a flash) and am blest with beauty and strength."

Āṅkura. 11. "Your hand is entirely golden, dripping with honey, and streams of gifts are issuing from its five fingers; various sweet juices are trickling from it. I believe that you are Purindada (Indra)."

32. Same as Dvāravatī.

33. Minayeff's text here inserts the following stanza from *Dhammapada* 125: "Whoever offends the harmless man, the person pure and free from lust, upon this same fool evil returns just as fine dust thrown against the wind."

Yakkha. 12. "Not a god am I nor a Gandhabba nor even Sakka Purindada (Indra). *Ankura*, recognize me as a Peta who has come hither from Bheruva."

Ankura. 13. "What was your character, how was your conduct in your previous existence in Bheruva? On account of what holiness of yours are good works being accomplished with your hands?"

Yakkha. 14. "A tailor I formerly was in Bheruva, eking out a very miserable existence. I did not have the means to give.

15. "And my workshop was in the neighbourhood of Asayha, who was a believer, a master in the practices of charity, doing good deeds, and unassuming.

16. "Thither went the beggars, the paupers of various lineage; and these asked me there for the dwelling of Asayha, saying; 'Whither shall we go? God bless you: Where are the gifts dispensed?'

17. "When I was asked by these, I told them the house of Asayha as I stretched out my right arm and said: 'Go thither and good luck betide you; there in the abode of Asayha presents are dealt out.'

18. "Therefore my hand gives you what you wish; for that reason my hand is dripping with honey; on account of that holy life of mine good deeds are accomplished with my hands."

Ankura. 19. "Thus we see you did not give a gift to any one with your own hands, but, rejoicing in the alms of another and stretching out your hand, you proclaimed the information.

20. "Therefore your hand gives what is wanted; for that reason your hand is dripping with honey; on account of that holy life of yours good works are accomplished with your hands.

21. "Lord, that pious man who with his own hands presented the gratuities, after he had laid aside his mortal body, pray now to what region did he go?"

Yakkha. 22. "I do not know the going and the coming of *Angirasa*,³⁴ the dispeller of misery, but I heard in the presence of *Vessavana*³⁵ that Asayha had gone to companionship with Sakka."

Ankura. 23. "It is sufficient forsooth to do good and to give gifts according to one's station. When he has seen one who with his hand dispenses what is desired, who will not perform meritorious works?"

24. "Verily now upon my going from here and arriving at *Dváraka*, I shall begin to give out presents which are to bring me happiness.

25. "I shall give food and drink, clothes and dwellings, a wayside watering place and a well, and passages at the place hard to cross."

A Peta appears.

Ankura. 26. "Why are your fingers crooked and your mouth distorted and your eyes dripping? what evil deed has been done by you?"

Peta. 27. "For the pious householder *Angirasa* (Asayha) who loved his home, I was at the head of everything connected with his charity; I was the overseer of his bounty.

28. "There when I saw that the beggars, those desiring food, had arrived, I stepped to one side and made a face.

34. Applied to *Asayha*.

35. Same as *Kuvera*; cf. *Peta-Vatthu* I, 4, 2.

29. "Consequently my fingers are deformed and my mouth out of shape and my eyes dripping. Such a wicked deed was done by me."

Ankura. 30. "Justly, O wicked man, is your mouth misshapen since you made a grimace over the gifts of another."

31. "For how could one in dispensing gifts consisting of food and drink, solid food, clothes and dwellings, depend upon the acquisition of the services of another?"

32. "Verily now upon my going from here and arriving at Dváraka, I shall begin to give out presents which are to bring me happiness."

33. "I shall give both food and drink, clothes and dwellings, a wayside watering place and a well, and passages at the place hard to cross."

Narrative. 34. Then under these circumstances he turned back and arrived at Dváraka. *Ankura* established such almsgiving as would bring him happiness.

35. With a serene mind he gave food and drink, clothes and dwellings, a wayside watering place and a well.

36. "Who is hungry? Who is thirsty? Who wants to put on a cloak? Whose draught-animals are weary? At this place they shall hitch them to the wagon. Who wants a parasol and perfume? Who, a wreath? Who, sandals?"

37. Thus shouted the barbers, the cooks, and the bards continually both in the morning and in the evening, there in the house of *Ankura*.

Conversation between Ankura and Sindhaka, who had charge of handing out his gifts.

Ankura. 38. "The people think of me, '*Ankura* enjoys good sleep.' *Sindhaka*, I sleep badly, since I do not see any beggars."

39. "The people think of me, '*Ankura* sleeps well.' *Sindhaka*, I sleep ill, since the beggars are so few in number."

Sindhaka. 40. "If Sakka, the lord of the Tāvātimsas, should grant you a wish, in making your choice, for what in the whole world would you express a desire?"

Ankura. 41. "If Sakka, the lord of the Tāvātimsas, should grant me a wish, it would be that in the morning when I have gotten up, at sunrise, there should be present celestial viands and pious beggars ;

42. "That, when I give, the virtue of my gift may not waste away, and after I have given, I may not feel regret. As I give, may I cause my heart to rejoice. Thus would I choose a wish from Sakka."

Conversation with Sonaka, who was versed in worldly wisdom.

Sonaka. 43. "Do not give all your possessions to others ; but present gifts and accumulate property. For this reason wealth is assuredly better than giving. With excessive charity families do not exist."

44. "The wise men do not approve of a refusal to give nor of excessive liberality. Therefore, you see, wealth is better than almsgiving. He who has resolute righteousness should steer on a middle course."

Ankura. 45. "Well, for all you say, I for my part will give, and may the good, the pious men, cultivate my acquaintance. As a cloud filling a depression with rain water, I want to refresh all the beggars."

46. "If one has a tranquil countenance at the sight of mendicants and is joyful upon bestowing a gift, that is happiness for him who dwells in a house."

47. "If one has a tranquil countenance at the sight of mendicants and is joyful upon bestowing a gift, that is the successful attainment of good works.

48. "Just before bestowing the gift, he is happy ; while giving it, he should cause his heart to rejoice ; after he has made his donation, he is jocund. That is the successful attainment of good works."

Narrative. 49. Sixty thousand cartloads of food daily are distributed to the people in the house of Āṅkura, who has a desire to be good.

50. There live with Āṅkura, three thousand cooks adorned with jewels and ear-rings, who are zealously devoted to the giving of the offering.

51. Sixty thousand youths, wearing jewels and ear-rings, split the firewood at Āṅkura's extensive presentation of gifts.

52. Sixteen thousand women bedecked with every ornament knead dough into various forms at the great almsgiving of Āṅkura.

53. Sixteen thousand women arrayed in all finery, with spoons in their hands, are attending at Āṅkura's great donation.

54. Much he gave to many people ; for a long time the warrior (Āṅkura) continued to give devotedly and with his own hand, repeatedly showing his consideration.

55. Many months and fortnights, and seasons and years, yea for a long time, Āṅkura continued his great liberality.

56. So Āṅkura gave and offered for a long time ; then when he laid aside his mortal body, he entered the Tāvātimsa heaven.

57. To Anuruddha Indaka gave food with a ladle. When he laid aside his mortal body, he entered the Tāvātimsa heaven.

58. In ten points Indaka outshines Āṅkura, viz. in appearance, in speech, in sentiment, in fragrance, and in pleasant contact ;

59. In length of life, and in fame forsooth, in caste, in good fortune, and in lordship, Indaka surpasses Āṅkura.

60. When in the Tāvātimsa heaven upon the stone *paṇḍukambala* at the foot of the heavenly coral tree, Buddha, the best of men, was sojourning,

61. While the deities had assembled in the ten (thousand) worlds, they associated with the thoroughly enlightened one (the Buddha), who was tarrying on the mountain top.

62. Nor does any god transcend the Buddha in appearance ; excelling all the gods, the Buddha alone shines.

63. At that time Āṅkura was there, twelve *yojanas* from him ; not far from the Buddha Indaka puts Āṅkura in the shade.

64. As he beheld Āṅkura and Indaka and cherished him who was worthy of a favor, he spoke these words :

Buddha. 65. "Āṅkura, for a long time charity on a great scale was practised by you ; you are sitting too far away ; come hither into my presence."

66. Extolled by the purified one, Āṅkura spoke as follows :

Āṅkura. "What avails me that gift of mine ? It was destitute of a donor worthy of reward.

67. "Although Indaka here, this Yakkha, gave an insignificant gift, yet he outshines us as the moon does the multitudes of stars."

Buddha. 68. "Just as in a sterile field, seed, though a great deal of it be sown, does not yield much fruit and does not please the husbandman,

69. "In the very same manner bountiful liberality bestowed upon wicked people does not bring in much profit nor delights the donor.

70. "Also just as scanty seed is sown upon good ground and the harvest gladdens the farmer when there is plenty of rain,

71. "Similarly in the case of the righteous, the virtuous, and such like, any deed, however slight, becomes merit fraught with great return."

Narrative. 72. One should examine the gift that is to be given when that which is bestowed leads to great reward. If they give alms with due consideration, the benefactors go to heaven.

73. One should seek an auspicious and very excellent gift for those who are worthy of a favour here in the world of the living. For these givers charity is replete with abundant fruit, just as they say are seeds in a fertile field.

X. The Peta Story of the Mother of Uttara.

(Conversation between the priest Kankhārevata and a *Peti*.)

Narrative. 1. As a Buddhist priest had gone to his noonday rest and was seated upon the bank of the Ganges, he was approached by a *Peti* of horrid appearance and of timid look.

2. Her hair was very long and hung down to the ground; clothed with her tresses, she thus addressed the ascetic :

Peti. 3. "It is fifty-five years since I died. I know neither food nor potable water. Give me some water, reverend sir ; I am thirsty for a drink."

Priest. 4. "Here is the Ganges with its cool waters ; it flows from the Himalayas. Take some from it and drink. Why do you ask me for water?"

Peti. 5. "Reverend sir, if I myself take water from the Ganges, it turns into blood. Therefore I beseech you for water."

Priest. 6. "Now what sin was committed with your body, speech, and mind ? In consequence of what deed does the Ganges at your touch become blood?"

Peti 7. "Reverend sir, my son Uttara was a believing layman, and he, against my will, gave to the ascetics clothing, food in their bowls, medicine, and a dwelling.

8. "Moved by avarice, I reviled him, saying : 'Whatsoever against my will you give to the ascetics, clothing, food in their bowls, medicine, and a dwelling,'

9. "'That, O Uttara, you shall find bloody in the other world.' As a result of that deed, the Ganges becomes blood at my touch."

XI. The Peta Story of the Thread.

[Seven hundred years before the incident recorded in this story, while the Buddha lived at Sāvattthi, a boy was in the service of a *pratyekabuddha*. When he had grown up, his mother brought home a young lady of good family to be his wife. On the marriage day the youth went bathing with his companions and died from a snake-bite. He was reborn as a *vimānapeta*, i.e. he lived in a magical palace that moved about in the atmosphere at the will of its occupant. He had, however, not forgotten his bride and was anxious to take her into his *vimāna*. One day he saw a *pratyekabuddha* arranging his clothes, and so he approached him in the form of a mortal. He showed the holy man the house of the young lady and told him to ask for some string ; at his request she gave him a ball of thread. Then the spirit of the young man, in human form, went to the house and besought the mother to be allowed to sojourn there. He remained a few days, and then after he had filled all the vessels in the house

with gold, he took the girl to his *vimāna*. In the course of seven hundred years, when the Buddha was reborn in this world, there arose in the woman regret and a great longing to return to earth. So she said, "Excellent lord, take me back to my own house." At this point the story proper begins.]

Lady, 1. "In my previous existence to a mendicant priest who had renounced the world, I gave some thread as he approached and made his request. As a result, numerous blessings fall to my lot, and many ten-millions of garments are produced for me.

2. "The palace is covered over with flowers and is a delight; it is variously adorned, and man-servants and hand-maidens are in attendance. So I possess it and I clothe myself in splendour; nor does the abundant wealth at any time come to an end.

3. "As a reward for just one deed, joy and happiness are here obtained. After having gone to the world of men once more, I will perform meritorious works. Take me thither, lord."

Vimānapeta. 4. "It is seven hundred years that you came hither. You will become both decrepit and old there, and all your relatives by my troth are dead. What will you do if you have gone from here to that place?"

Lady. 5. "To me it seems just seven years that I have come hither and enjoyed heavenly bliss. Having gone once more to the world of men, I will perform good deeds. Take me thither, lord."

Narrative. 6. Then without more ado he took her by the arm and led her back as a very tottering and aged woman, saying: "Tell also the other people who have come thither, 'Do good works, then you will receive happiness.'"

Lady. 7. "It has been seen by me that Petas through not performing a good deed come to grief; likewise do human beings. By executing an act which has beatitude as its consequence both gods and men are happy creatures."

[The commentary adds that she gave many presents, and dying on the seventh day after her return to earth, was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven.]

XII. The Peta Story of Kannamunda.

[In the city of Kimbilā was a certain pious layman whose wife was guilty of adultery. When the offence was reported to him, he questioned her, but she replied with an oath:

"If such a sin was committed by me, may this black dog whose ears are cut off devour me on successive occasions during my existence."

Her five hundred women companions asserted that she was innocent and swore that they would be her slaves in successive births if she was guilty.

When the woman died, she was born as a *vimānapeti* on the bank of lake Kannamunda, one of the supposed inland seas in the Himālayas. When the five hundred women died, they were reborn as her slaves. During the day, as a reward for the good done during her lifetime, she enjoyed herself in heavenly bliss, but at midnight, stung by remorse, she rose from her bed and went to the shore of her lotus-pond. There a terrible black dog with his ears cut off came along, and after he had thrown her on the ground, he devoured her and cast her bones into the lotus-pond. Immediately thereupon she rose out of the water in her natural form, returned to the *vimāna* and went to sleep in her bed.

After she had lived in that place for fifty-five hundred years, the Peti finally became tired of such an existence without a man. In order to induce a mortal to come there, she threw some mangoes into a stream, thinking that if a person found the fruit, he would search for its origin. One of the mangoes floated as far as Benares, where the king was taking a bath in the Ganges. His attendants gave it to him, and since he wished to know if it was safe to be eaten, he gave a piece of it to a condemned bandit, who, upon partaking of it, was restored to youth.

When the king saw the wonderful effects and was determined to find the source of the fruit, he employed a forester, who went up the Ganges toward lake Kannamunda. When he had travelled sixty *yojanas*, he met an ascetic, who directed him farther on; after he had traversed thirty *yojanas*, he saw another pious man, who gave him further information; finally, after he had gone fifteen *yojanas* more, he came up to another hermit, who gave him the following instructions:

"Setting out from here and leaving the Ganges follow this small river, going against the stream, until you see a fissure in the mountains: then at night, taking a firebrand, you must enter there; since the river does not flow by night, you can travel that way. After you have proceeded several *yojanas*, you will see the mango trees."

He followed these directions and at sunrise saw a wonderful mango forest. When the *Petis* saw him approaching in the distance, they ran out to meet him. But since he had not done enough good to enjoy celestial bliss there, he became frightened and fled to Benares, where he told the king what happened. When the latter had heard this, being anxious to see the women and to enjoy the mangoes, he took the same route, and upon meeting the women he was taken into the *vimāna*. He lived there one hundred-fifty years before he was aware of what took place at midnight.

Once he happened to rise at that hour and saw the *Petī* walking on the shore of the lotus-pond. In his curiosity he followed to investigate, when he saw that she was devoured by the dog. He considered these circumstances for three days, and finally he freed the *Petī* by killing the dog. Then ensues the following conversation:—]

King. 1. "Here are staircase landings of gold, resting upon the golden sands; there are beautiful sweet-smelling lilies, a delight to the heart.

2. "Various trees form a canopy over the waters, breezes fragrant with different scents blow over them; the ponds are covered with many pink lotuses and bedecked with the white lotus.

3. "Agitated by the wind, the delightful pools emit a pleasant odour; they resound with the noise of the swans and herons; they are resonant with the quack of the duck.

4. "Filled with numerous swarms of birds and echoing with a great multitude of songs, the trees yield divers kinds of fruit, the forests produce manifold flowers.

5. "Not among men is found such a city as this. You have many palaces built of gold and silver.

6. "Brightly gleaming, the four regions (the cardinal points) all are radiant. You have these five hundred maid-servants that wait upon you.

7. "They are wearing armlets of shells and are adorned with golden garments. You have many beds made of gold and silver.³⁶

8. "Woollen blankets are upon them; they are covered with the skins of Kadali antelopes and are all put in order. Lying down upon them, you enjoy the fulfilment of all pleasures.

9. "Yet when midnight has arrived, you get up and go out; when you have come to the pleasure garden on all sides of the lotus-pond,

10. "Upon its bank you stand, fair one, upon the green turf. Then a dog, whose ears are cut off, devours you, member after member.

11. "When you are devoured and formed into a chain of bones, you plunge into the lotus-pool, where your body becomes just as it was before.

12. "Then with a complete body, very handsome, beautiful to behold, arrayed in your clothes, you come into my presence.

36. *Sovannaruciyaṃaya* in text; read *sovannarūpiyaṃaya* of M, D, and B.

13. "Now what wicked deed was committed by your body, speech, and mind ? As a punishment of what sin does the dog whose ears are cropped devour the parts of your body, one after the other? "

Peti. 14. "In Kimbilá was a householder, a pious layman ; his wife was I, of wicked character and an adulteress.

15. "With reference to my unchastity, thus my husband spake to me : 'It is not fitting or right that you are unfaithful to me.'

16. "Then I falsely uttered a terrible oath : 'Not do I deceive you with my body or in thought.

17. " 'But if I trespass with my person or my mind, then may this earless dog devour me part after part.'

18. "The penalty for both that deed and the falsehood I have been enduring for seven hundred years ; ³⁷ ever since the time that the dog with the cropped ears has been devouring the parts of my body, one after the other.

19. Lord, you are very powerful ; for my sake you have come hither. Released from the earless one, I am free from sorrow and without fear from any source.

20. "Lord, I worship you and beseech you with reverence : revel in superhuman pleasures ; enjoy yourself with me."

King. 21. "I have partaken of celestial delights and am enraptured with you. Now, beloved, I pray you, quickly take me back (to Benares)."

[The commentary adds that the *Peti* complied with his request and then in sorrow returned to her home in the Himálayas.

The expression for "the dog whose ears are cut off" is *kaṇṇamuṇḍo sunakho*. The commentator doubtless intended a pun when he placed the *Peti*'s home at lake *Kaṇṇamuṇḍa*. The title of this tale might have been translated, *The Peta Story of the Earless (Dog)*."]]

XIII. The Story of Ubbarí.

(*Conversation between the Buddha and Ubbarí, who was formerly the wife of the king of the Pañcálas.*)

Narrative. 1. There was a king *Brahmadatta*, ruler of the *Pañcálas* ; then after the lapse of some days and nights, the sovereign fulfilled his time.

Ubbarí, his wife, went to his funeral pyre and lamented. Although she did not see *Brahmadatta*, she cried, "O *Brahmadatta*."

3. A *Rishi* arrived there, a holy man of righteous conduct, and on that occasion he asked those who had duly assembled there :

Buddha. 4. "Whose charnel house is this over which blow breezes laden with various perfumes ? Whose wife is this that mourns for her husband who has gone far away from here ? Although she does not see *Brahmadatta*, she wails, 'O *Brahmadatta*.'

5. And these then, they who had duly congregated there, answered : "Venerable sir, she is the wife of *Brahmadatta* ; good fortune to you and to *Brahmadatta*.

6. "This is his tomb over which are wafted many scents ; this is his wife who is mourning for her spouse gone far from here. Although she does not see *Brahmadatta*, she grieves, crying, 'O *Brahmadatta*' "

³⁷ According to the commentary she had lived in the *vimána* fifty-five hundred years before the thought occurred to her to throw the mangoes into the stream. We should therefore infer that she had been suffering the torment from the dog for the same length of time ; we must bear in mind, however, that the verses are older than the frame-story.

Buddha. 7. "Eighty-six thousand men bearing the name Brahmadaṭṭa have been burnt in this cemetery ; for which one of these are you in sorrow ?"

Ubbarī. 8. "Reverend sir, I mourn for him who was the king, the son of Cūḷani, the sovereign of the Pañcālas, my husband who fulfilled all my desires."

Buddha. 9. "Verily all who bore the name of Brahmadaṭṭa were kings ; all forsooth were the sons of Cūḷani, the rulers of the Pañcālas.

10. "For all in successive order you were the queen consort. Why do you neglect your former husbands and bewail only the last one ?"

Ubbarī. 11. "In my case who am a woman, shall my nature remain so for a long time, venerable sir ? You are telling much of my having been a woman in the transmigration."

Buddha. 12. "You were a woman, you have been a man, as a beast also you were born. Thus this present condition does not appear as the limit of the states of the departed."

Ubbarī. 13. "Verily me, glowing, being like a fire over which ghee had been poured, you sprinkled, as it were, with water. Now I put an end to all my suffering.

14. "You who drove from me, half dead with grief, the sorrow for my husband, you removed³⁸ from me indeed the pain, that gloom that resided in my heart.

15. "Now I have laid aside my affliction and am calm and serene. I do not mourn, I do not weep, having heard you, great saint."

Narrative. 16. When she had heard these words of his, the admirable utterance of the priest, she took the bowl and robe and embraced the ascetic life.

17. And she, leaving house and home and going forth in the houseless state, practised benevolence in order to be reborn in the Brahma world.

18. She wandered from village to village, to hamlets and royal cities; Uruvelā is the name of the town where she ended her days.

19. After she had been occupied with charity for the sake of being reborn in the Brahma world and had abandoned the thoughts of a woman, she became a denizen of the Brahma heaven.

END OF BOOK II.

33. Read *abbūḷha* instead of *abbūḷh im*; cf. *P.V. I*, 8, 6; also cf. *Vimāna-Vatthu VII. 9, 9*, where we find *abbulhi*.

MORE KANDYAN NOTES.

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

TRADITIONS. The Kandyen Helen—Sita—was carried away to a hiding place at Nuwara Eliya through the following villages in Uda Paláta :—Payingamuwa, Uda Legundeniya, Katukitalekele, Atubage Oya, Nidanketa Oya, Pussellawa, Aggalakele (Rothschild.)

The neighbourhood of Madugoda in Upper Dumbara is also associated with her.

Forbes, quoted by Lawrie, states that "Sita, (Lakshmi) the wife of Rama, rested at the village of Gonawala in Matale East, when Rávana compelled her to journey from Lankapura to the forests in the interior of the Island. A fountain is said to have sprung up beside her here, where " a very large spring of pure water rises in a basin of white sand, which is surrounded by a wall and overshadowed by trees. The village is now a Muhammadan one. [Forbes, Vol. I. 345 ; Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, p. 294.]

"The road to Hakgala runs through the Sita-Eliya gorge where King Rávana confined the Princess Sita, and where she made her escape through an underground passage through the rock."

Bembiya and Hamapola. In my last "Kandyen Notes" I mentioned the episode of the mats supplied by these two villages for the Minipé Ela.

The mats that the Hamagama people supplied were, according to one account, of *kawan*, but according to another, of *gallaha*. As Clough gives neither word, I am unable to say whether these are both names of the same plant or what either or both plants were.

I should have added with regard to the former village that the boundary between it and Weragama, opposite Alutnuwara on the other side of the Mahaweliganga, is a certain "*tahansi damba gaha*" or "forbidden" *damba* tree. The story is that a "great great, etc., grandfather" of a Bembiya man in the reign of Rája Sinha II shot an elk, cut it in half and carried the two halves away in a pingo. On account of this exhibition of remarkable strength, the King gave him land on a *sannas* at Bembiya, this tree being the boundary.

Hamapola is across the river in Uva and is a village of tom-tom beaters. They are the only tom-tom beaters who are allowed to cremate their dead, the reason being that when Rája Sinha II. was hiding from the Portuguese, a woman of the village, being questioned by a party of Portuguese, refused to admit that she had seen him or knew where he was. He was at the time hiding among the branches of a tree in the village. The woman was therefore put to the torture and in the end to death by the Portuguese. After they had left, the King was told about her, found that she had six sons, made them all *Panikkiyás* and had the corpse cremated. The six family names then acquired by the sons still survive and also the tomb of the woman.

Rantamba. This is the name of a crossing of the Mahaweliganga in this neighbourhood.

Wewalagoda Stone. There is a large rectangular stone here, 13 "carpenter's cubits" (*wadu riyen*) long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ditto wide and 1 deep, which Dodanwala Maha Lekama had cut with the intention of taking it to Walgewwagoda, but he was not able to get it removed beyond this spot,

and there it has remained ever since. It is close to the Kapinawe Ela, which falls into the Nanu Oya—not the well known Nanu Oya which gives its name to a station and therefore has become a “household word,” but the obscure Nanu Oya near Peradeniya, quite a respectable stream, but strange to say not mentioned in the *Gazetteer* of an old resident of Peradeniya, Sir A. Lawrie.

A “carpenter’s cubit” is about the same as a yard.

Ordeal by Boiling Oil. There was a case at Kurukohogama in the Udasiyapattu of Upper Dumbara on 1st October, 1907. Complaint was made to the Police by the Arachchi that a villager and his son had agreed that, as proof that the latter was not on terms of improper intimacy with his step-mother, he should take an oath to that effect, accompanied by dipping his hand into boiling oil. The son went through the ordeal and had in consequence to be sent to the hospital. The Magistrate held that this was not an offence on the part of either father or son.

“Castes” of Moormen and Others. Of course there are no castes among Muhammedans, but all Moormen are not regarded as of the same status by the Kandyans. At Kahatapitiya, Gampola, there is a family of Moormen doctors from Udunuwara whose ancestors belonged to the Royal Medical Department or *Betge* of the King, and they are considered equal to Vellálas. (Lawrie, p. 395). There are others of them at Yataberiya in Four Kórales, known as Udaiyar people, because they derive from Sheik Madar Udaiyar, who was a medical man of the Kandyan Kings. They have a chief man or headman, who is called Mulkáriya.

Also belonging to this department but at the other end of the scale are the Batgam Durayo, who had to taste the excrement of the king daily for the *Betge* people to see what the state of his health was.

Other durayas had to supply the king with limes and oranges.

Folk-Etymology—Gelioya in Udunuwara. The Gelioya or Gerioya passes Talawatura. The King, Rája Sinha II, when crossing it one day found the carcass of a bullock which had been thrown into the oya, hence the name (*geri*—bull.) This was told me by Nugawela, late Raté-mahatmaya and Diwa Nilame.

Colonel Henry Hardy. The name of Colonel Henry Hardy of the 19th Foot who took a prominent part in the operations of 1815 and 1817-8 is still remembered among the Kandyans, and representations of him may be seen on the brass plates depicting events in the career of the last King in 1815. There is a tradition that “Colonel Harding” (*sic*) made an offering to the Pattini Déwale at Paduwela in Uda Paláta of his silk handkerchief “because he was bitten by a leech in the eye while he was encamped there.” The handkerchief is still at the déwale. It is quite possible that Colonel Hardy did leave his blood-stained handkerchief at the déwale, and that it has remained there ever since, like the Portuguese swords at Dodanwela Déwale. This act of jettison or forgetfulness has now in the course of years been transformed, as might be expected, into an offering. General Studholm Hodgson who was in command of the troops in Ceylon, 1865, and who knew Colonel Hardy in Trinidad, described him as “one of the best men who ever breathed—one of the most chivalrous spirits that ever adorned the ranks even of the British Army.” Colonel Hardy died in Trinidad in 1835.

Dodanwala Dewale Relics. With regard to these and the traditions respecting them, see Cave’s *Book of Ceylon*, p. 350. There are two embroidered silk jackets said to have been those of King Rája Sinha II., also his sword and palanquin, and some Portuguese swords. In

the Kandy Museum is his gold crown, which also was deposited at the déwále. (The name for the King's crown by the way is, I believe, *toppi haluwa*).

Raksawa. This is the conspicuous mountain of Dolosbage. The tradition is that it was inhabited by a demon who smelted iron. There are still traces of iron.

Standing in front of Raksewa is "The Sentry Box." It is said that the King had sentries posted here to watch people coming from Kegalla District. This may have been so, but the appearance of this isolated rock is enough to account for its getting this name from the English—military or planters.

Ambuluwawa is the mountain that towers above Gampola on the west. There are several derivations given of the name. One is that it means "the hill touching the sky," from *amba*, sky, *la* water and *wawa*, hill, the two latter words that I am not familiar with.

The other is that the name is a contraction of *amba buluwa wa*, meaning "the place where a golden mango was given." To account for this name there is the following story.—

A princess, since deified, lived here in a cave. One day she was bathing in a pond called Rantattsiya (?) Pokuna, when an Indian prince who lived at Kahatapitiya fell in love with her and invoked the assistance of the god Ginikumbaya (Gini umbaya, an attendant deity of Dewil Dewiyo), who with this object made the princess sick. Pattini then appeared, and gave her a golden mango for her protection which she had won in the war with Indra.

Hantane and King Panduwas. There is a conspicuous red-tinged flat rock on the slope of Hantane visible from Dawlagala, and other places in Udu Nuwara. To account for its appearance it is related that King Panduwas, who was "the third king of Ceylon after Upatissa and lived 5,000 (?) years ago," was under the influence of a devil, and a ceremony was performed to exorcise this devil. This ceremony involved the rubbing of sandal wood on it. The rock is known as Handum Madala, where sandal was rubbed," (*madala* from *madinawa*, to rub.)

Hénakanda Bisó Bandára. There are many traditions in the *pattus* round Kandy about this queen, who seems to have been a terror to the inhabitants.

In fact the "Home Counties" of Kandy were her special preserves—Udunuwara, Yatinuwara, Harispattu, and Lower Hewaheta. She is supposed to have punished the Vellála inhabitants of the village of Haputale in the last-named "County" by removing them from the village and giving their lands to Paduwas, because on one of her royal progresses through it they had refused to attend her with torches. And on another of these nocturnal journeys at Hindagala in Harispattu, when she asked for torches and attendants from the chief of that place, he,—with more flippancy and independence than wisdom and regard for self-interest—replied 'Let the Bandára get them from the old man in the cave'—meaning the figure of Buddha in its rock temple. She thereupon confiscated his lands next day and gave them to the Viháre. These comprised the entire village of Hindagala. (See Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, p. 327.)

Hers is a name of potency still, and she has been deified. I was told at Alawatugoda in Harispattu, that the female figure in the déwálé there was that of this queen, but of her the Kapurála and the people knew nothing. One of them however said, "How do we know that it is Bisó Bandára or even that it is the figure of a female when we have never seen it? We are not allowed to see it."

There is at the Palle déwálé at Embekke dedicated to Kataragama a palanquin (*kúnama*) which is said to have belonged to this queen, and to have been presented by her to

the déwálé when as she was passing through these lands it broke down. It is painted with cherub-like figures which seem suggestive of Portuguese influence. (See Lawrie, Vol. I, p. 219.)

She is said to have lived for a time in a cave called Hunubathalbeme Gallena at the village of Mawela adjoining Rothschild Estate on the road from Watagoda to Pussellawa in Kotmale. She was a historical personage, for she granted a field at Pánabokke to an ancestor of that family on a stone sannas, 'sun and moon.' (Lawrie).

There is a tradition too that she dedicated some land to a Viháre at Handessa in Udunuwara. (*ibid*).

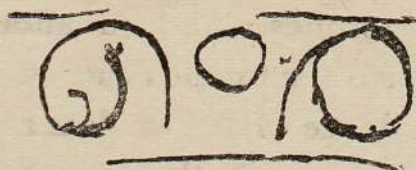
Tiyambara is a hamlet situated nine miles from Gampola on the Gampola-Kurunduwatta road in Ganga-ihala Kórale. Four stone pillars were found here, one of which was sent to the Colombo Museum in September, 1907 or 1908, and another to the Kandy Museum.

One tradition is that Bhuvaneka Báhu V transferred the seat of Government to Kotte in 1356, leaving the royal family at Gampola and that Rája Sinha I of Nilambe, when on his way from there to Sabaragamuwa, heard of the sojourn of some of the royal family of his predecessors at Gampola, and fearing that they might kill him or oust him from the throne, sent to kill them. One of them, Konappu, escaped and remained at Gampola disguised as a Buddhist priest, and started to build a palace at Tiyambara-amba, commanding a view of the low, as well as the hill, country. Whilst he was building it, the king heard of it, and sent ministers to inquire into the matter. Konappu in consequence fled to Colombo, and from thence to Goa. He returned to Ceylon after the death of Rája Sinha and became king under the title of Vimala Dharma Suriya, in 1592.

The wife and a son of Vimala Dharma Suriya are said to have taken refuge from the Portuguese in a large cave under one of the rocks of Yatinuwara known as Kumáragala. The cave is called Kumára Gallena. There is a kóvila here with a carved wooden door of the double-arched shape with a carved frame, *haraskade* and *uttaru lélla*. The *haraskade* is of this pattern.—



and the *uttaru-lélla* of a floral pattern



with pine-apples or what looked like them.

Another tradition is that a prince of Gampola who was occupying the palace at Sinhapitiya, found that Rája Sinha's visits to Gampola were too frequent for his safety, and started to build a palace at a spot not easily accessible. For this reason he selected the hill Eraniyagamma at Tiyambara-amba, and removed thither the materials of the former palace, and when the king heard of it he sent emissaries to kill him. The prince had been warned of this by some one, and he fled from the place. The king's men pulled down what had already been erected and the place was abandoned. (25 Oct. 1907).

Tiyambara-amba, so far as I can make out, is not mentioned in Lawrie's *Gazetteer*.

A Degraded Village—Andurubebila. The people were outlawed by Rája Sinha II for not showing lights when he was passing. They are now the lowest of the Vellálas. The village is in Ganga-paláta, Yatinuwara.

Dehipágana Gettaru. These outlaws were referred to in my last "Notes." Sir A. Lawrie calls them in his *Gazetteer* "Dehipadena," which seems incorrect. I also named the village where the incident of the concealment of the lime took place, "Dehipágana" a village in the Dunuwila wasama of Medasiyapattu in Uda Dumbara. Sir A. Lawrie calls it "Dehipadena," which I think is wrong, and elsewhere he relates the incident as having occurred at Dunuwila itself, and says that the name "Dehipadena" was given to that village. There is a village in Gangapaláta, Udunuwara, called Dehipagoda which I believe is under the same ban. On these points information from some Kandyan would be welcome.



TOPAZ-TOPASS.¹

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

A DISCUSSION on this interesting term took place in the pages of the *Ceylon Antiquary* in 1916, and the subject has been revived in the April number (vol. v, pt. iv) of that journal last year (1920). Several suggestions have from time to time been put forth as to the origin of the word, but only two of these have found acceptance with scholars, among whom there is still a difference of opinion regarding its derivation.

With the object of settling this vexed question, I have collected, in chronological order, as many references to, and definitions of, the term **Topaz** as appear in such authorities as Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, together with additional quotations cited in the *Ceylon Antiquary* and my own notes from original records and old travellers. The whole makes an informing series and, to my mind, solves the difficulty of the origin of the term.

There can be little doubt that the word is an early Portuguese corruption, through a form *tôpâshî* in Malayâlam (the first Indian language the Portuguese learnt), of the Indian *dubhâshî* (Skr. *dvibhâshî*), one with two languages, i.e., a half-breed servant of Europeans; thence a soldier, especially a gunner, and among sailors, a ship's servant, a lavatory or bath-room attendant, and incidentally, on occasion, an interpreter. In the form *topaz*, *topass* the term became differentiated from *dûbhâshî* (in the mouths of Europeans, *dubash*), a superior native interpreter, and meant always a low-class half-breed. It has no relation to *tôp*, a gun, or to *tôpî*, a hat.

1549. Father Anriquez, writing from Punicail on the 21st November, says that he was engaged for some time in making correct translations previously made by the **Topazes**. These **Topazes** had, moreover, a bad reputation and were excluded from the Jesuit College of Goa. [*Derivation of Tuppahî* by S. G. P. (who quotes the original Portuguese) in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II. pt. i, p. 62.]
1602. The 12th ditto we saw to seaward another Champaigne (Sampan) wherein were 20 men, Mesticos and **Toupas**. [Van Spilbergen's *Voyage*, p. 34 (pub. 1648). (Quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Topaz*.)]
1672. Madraspatam otherwise Chinnepatan, where the English have the Fort of St. George, garrison'd with **Topazes** and Mestices. [Baldaeus, *Beschryvinge van Malabqr en Choromandel*, quoted by Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 278.]
1673. To the Fort then belonged 300 English, and 400 **Topazes**, or Portuga Firemen. [Fryer, ed. 1698, p. 66. In his glossarial Index Fryer has **Topazes**, Musketeers. (In *Hobson Jobson*.)]

1. *Indian Antiquary*, April 1921.

1680. It is resolved and ordered to entertain about 100 **Topasses**, or Black Portuguese, into pay. [Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, I, 121. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1681. The Dutch at Policat taking in all the **Topasses** and Peons they can get to serve them. [Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George*, p. 11.]
1686. It is resolved as soon as English soldiers can be provided sufficient for the garrison, that all **Topasses** be disbanded, and no more entertained, since there is little dependance on them. [Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 159.] In *Hobson Jobson*.)]
1695. Ordered that . . . six soldiers Europeans, and six **Topasses** and twenty Peons go for a guard (with the present to the Nawâb's camp). [*Consultation at Fort St. George (Madras Records)*.]
1697. You doe very well in lookeing after the [concernes] of Manuell de Monte deceased or any other **Topasses**. [*Letters from Fort St. George (Madras Records)*.]
1698. The Pags : 44 : 12 : 2 expended att Fort St. David . . . for charges on 30 **Topaz** souldiers and 8 slaves, which the ship [took] in there. [*Letters from Fort St. George (Madras Records)*.]
1699. The garrison [at Fort St. George] consists of no more than three Companies of fourscore or a hundred men each, and one-third of these **Topazes** or Portuguese Indians. [Salmon's description of Madras, quoted by Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II, 75.]
1705. **Topases** qui sont des gens du pays qu'on élève et qu'on habille à la Françoise, lesquels ont esté instruits dans la Religion Catholique par quelques uns de nos Missionnaires. [Luillier, *Voyage aux Grandes Indes*, pp. 45-46. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1711. The Garrison consists of about 250 Soldiers, at 91 Fanhams, or 11. 2s. 9d. per month, and 200 **Topasses**, or black Mungrel Portuguese, at 50, or 52 Fanhams per month. [Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 14, (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1717. Midford and his English Sergeant, Hill, were desperately wounded and made prisoners, together with five Europeans and forty-seven **Topasses** . . . The unfortunate **Topasses** who had their noses cut off were [afterwards, 22nd January, 1718] formed into a company of marines, and had their pay augmented to Rs. 5 a month. In this odd way the Bombay Marine Battalion appears to have had its origin. [Biddulph, *Pirates of Malabar*, pp. 93, 99.]
1720. Expedition against Gheriah . . . Many of the casualties were caused by the bursting of a gun on board the *Phram*. The explosion fired the gun on the opposite side of the deck, which was loaded with grape, and pointing over a boat full of **Topasses**. [Biddulph, *op. cit.*, p. 147.]
1727. Some Portuguese [are] called **Topasses**. . . . will be served by none but Portuguese Priests because they indulge them more in their villany. [A Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1748, I, 326.]
1740. Number of men thought necessary for the Gunroom Crew—1 Gunner, 4 Gunner's Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 **Topasses**,

1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls, and 35 Lascars. [Consultation at Fort St. George, 30th May. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II, 295.]

1743. There are a certain Christian people to be found in this country of Malabar, and throughout the extensive coasts of India, called **Topasses**, who cannot be reckoned as belonging exactly either to the Europeans or the natives, but from (*sic*) a third class. They are a mixed race : some are sprung from Portuguese settlers and slaves, whose children have inter-married with the blacks : but the greater part are the offspring of enfranchised Portuguese slaves. With these we must also reckon freed slaves of all races ; including Christian slaves who are chiefly of the Romish persuasion.

The name **Topas** is curious. It is supposed to be derived from two Portuguese words ("thou boy") because the Portuguese in early times, having taught their language to the slaves born in their house, made use of them as interpreters in dealing with the natives, and were in the habit of saying *Tu Pai falla aquel* or 'you boy, say so and so.' There seems to be a glimpse of truth in this account, for they still call the oldest and most respected slaves 'Pai'.

Others refer this word [to] *koepaj* [? in English, *kupai*], which in the Malabar language signifies a coat ; for they wear coat, shirt, and breaches (*sic*), like the Europeans, as likewise a hat, in sign of their freedom, and the more wealthy among them wear shoes and stockings, though more generally they go barefoot . . . But in my opinion the origin of this name must not be ascribed to *koepag* ("coat") but rather to *Toepay* ("interpreter") ; because the race served as interpreters between the people of Malabar and Christians ; and to this day the same office is exercised by many of them and is esteemed a very honourable profession. [J. C. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, translated by Major Heber Drury, quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.]

1745. Les Portugais et les autres Catholiques qu'on nomme Mestices et **Topasses**, également comme les naturels du Pays y viennent sans distinction pour assister aux Divines mystères. [Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques*, II, 31. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]

1747. The Officers . . . report their people . . . could not do more . . . against the force the enemy had, being . . . one thousand Europeans, besides **Topasses**, Coffrees, and Seapoys. [Consultation at Fort St. David, 1st March (*India Office Records*).]

1748. William Barwell to Admiral Boscawen. I have already taken into pay all the **Topasses** and other People I could possibly procure. [C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, I, 213.]

1749. 600 effective Europeans would not have cost more than that Crowd of useless **Topasses** and Peons of which the Major Part of our Military has of late been composed . . .

The **Topasses** . . . a black, degenerate, wretched Race of the antient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their Ancestors, lazy, idle, and vitious withal, and for the most Part as weak and feeble in Body as base in

mind, not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary Requisites for a Soldier. [*A Letter to a Proprietor of the E. I. Company*, pp. 57, 103. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]

1750. When our people arrived, they found English **Topasses** and peons holding Villupuram fort, on behalf of 'Abd-ul-jalil . . . Sergeant Saint-Mare, ten Europeans with twenty **Topasses** and fifty sepoy . . . returned . . . Nâsir Jang Nizâm is encamped . . . with 200 English soldiers, 100 mestices, 200 **Topasses**, 400 sepoy and 600 Carnatic peons. [*Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, vol. VI., ed. Dodwell, pp. 387, 417, 431.]
1756. List of the smothered in the Black Hole Prison, exclusive of sixty-nine (consisting of Dutch and English sergeants, corporals, soldiers, **topazes**, militia, whites, and Portuguese) . . . [Holwell's *Narrative*, quoted by C.R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, II, 216n.]
1756. In this plight . . . I sustained the weight of a . . . **Topaz** bearing on my right. [Holwell, *Narrative of the Black Hole*. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1758. There is a distinction said to be made by you. . . which, in our opinion, does no way square with rules of justice and equity, and that is the exclusion of Portuguese **Topasses**, and other Christian natives, from any share of the money granted by the Nawab. [Court's Letter, quoted in Long's *Selections*, p. 133. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1758. A **Topaz**. [Note.] A black Christian soldier; usually termed subjects of Portugal. [*Annual Register*, 283/2. (In *O. E. D.*)]
1766. **Topasses**, a tawny race of foot soldiers distinct from Portuguese marine natives, and called **Topasses** because they wear hats. [J. H. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*. (2d. ed.) I, xiv. (Glossary). (In *O. E. D.*)]
1785. **Topasses**, black foot soldiers, descended from the Portuguese marrying natives, called **Topasses**, because they wear hats. [Carraccioli, *Life of Lord Clive*, IV, 564. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1787. I have also recommended the corps of **Topasses** or descendants of Europeans, who retain the characteristic qualities of their progenitors. [Fullarton, *View of English Interests in India*, p. 222. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1789. **Topasses** are the sons of Europeans and black women, or low Portuguese, who are trained to arms. [Munro, *Narrative of Military Operations against the Fench*, p. 321. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1793. **Topazes** seu *Dvibâshi*, in ora Coromandelica *Dobâchi*, ex etymologia sui nominis interpretes seu duo idiotmata calentes, unum Indicum, aliud Europæum. [*Musei Borgiani Velitris Codices Manuscripti*, auctore P. Paulino a S. Bartholomæo, Romæ, p. 251.]
- [**Topazes** or *Dvibâshi*, on the Coromandel Coast, *Dobâchi* according to the etymology of their name, interpreters, or versed in two languages, the one Indian, the other European.]

Colà essi chiamansi *Mundocârer*, gente di veste bianca, per distinguerli dalli **Tupasi**, che parlano Malabar e Portoghese, e portano cappello e calzonni senza calzette e senza scarpe. [Fra Paolino, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, p. 144.]

[In that place (Cochin) they (Christians) are called *Mundocârer*, men of the

white robe, to distinguish them from the **Tupasis**, who speak Malabar (Tamil) and Portuguese, and wear a hat and trousers without stockings and without shoes.]

In a footnote Fra Paolino explains the origin of the term **Tupasi**. The following is a translation of his remarks: The name **Tupasi** comes from Sanscrit *Duibhâshi*, *dui*=two, and *bhâshi*=one who speaks two languages, interpreter, which all **Tupasis** are, for they speak their native vernacular and a European language, English, French, Dutch or Portuguese. In Cochin they are called 'gente de chapeau,' that is, hat men, for they wear a *topi* or hat, whilst the other Indians, who are not descendants of the Europeans, wear the *Româli*, that is to say, a white turban or muslin of the finest cotton. [Note on *Tuppahi* by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. iv, p. 282, where the extract from Fra Paolino, given above, also occurs.]

1809. **Topaz**: A word used by the Portuguese in India to designate a Christian who has father and mother of different countries. [A Vieyra, *A Dict. of the Portuguese and English Languages* (quoted by A. Mendis Gunasékara Mudaliyar in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.)]
1817. **Topasses**, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either the mixed products of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese from the Indian faith. [J. Mill, *Hist. of British India*. (In *Hobson-Jobson*.)]
1821. **Tuppahiya**: interpreter, burgher (in contempt). [The Rev. B. Clough, *A Dict. of the English and Sinhalese Languages* (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62).]
1855. **Topas** (Port. *Topaz*, perhaps from the H. *topi*, a hat). A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India: in the early history of the Company these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers; hence the term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula: it is now obsolete. [H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*.]
1862. **Tuppahi, Tuppahiya**, from Hindi, *dobhâshiya*, an interpreter; or from Skt. *dvibhâshi*, a dubash, servant. [The Rev. M. Winslow, *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dict.* (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62).]
1862. The East Indian community which is here [Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, 1743, *supra*] alluded to has undoubtedly undergone a great change since the days of our author. . . . The term **Topass** has fallen into disuse, but it is singular enough that, to the present day, the Europeans in India invariably call 'boy' whenever they require a servant, East Indian or native. [Footnote by Major Heber Drury to his translation of Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*, quoted in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.]
1865. Thirty '**Topasses**' on board the deserted ship launched a boat and got to Port Canning. [*Daily Telegraph*, 24 October. In *O. E. D.*, s. v. *Topaz*.]
1871. **Topaz** (in India), a Christian that has father and mother of different countries. [D. J. de Lacerda, *Portuguese-English Dictionary*.]

1885. **Topaz**: a native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and an Indian mother in the South of India. [G. C. Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dict.*]
1885. **Topass**, from *tópî*, Hind., a hat, a person wearing a hat; a Christian of mixed descent, chiefly of Portuguese origin, employed on shipboard as a sweeper. [Dr. E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India.*]
1886. **Topaz, Topass**, etc. A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession. Its application is generally, though not universally, to soldiers of this class, and it is possible that it was originally a corruption of the Pers. (from Turkish) *top-chî*, a gunner. Various other etymologies have however been given. That from *topî*, a 'hat' has a good deal of plausibility, and even if the former etymology be the true *origin*, it is probable that this one was often in the minds of those using the term as its true connotation. It may have some corroboration not only in the fact that Europeans are to this day often spoken of by the natives (with a shade of disparagement) as *Topî-wâlâs* or 'Hat-men,' but also in the pride commonly taken by all persons claiming European blood in wearing a hat; indeed Fra Paolino tells us that this class called themselves *gente dechapeo*. Possibly, however, this was merely a misrendering of **topaz** from the assumed etymology. The same Fra Paolino, with his usual fertility in error, propounds in another passage that **Topaz** is a corruption of *do-bhâshiya*, 'two-tongued' (in fact is another form of *dubash*), *viz.*, using Portuguese and a debased vernacular. The **Topaz** on board ship is the sweeper, who is at sea frequently of this class. [Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. **Topaz**.]
1886. **Topaz**. A bath-room attendant. Probably from the Portuguese, [H. A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference on subjects connected with the Far East*, 2nd ed.] [He is still the bath-room and lavatory attendant on board ships carrying passengers to and from the East.—R. C. T.]
1891. **Tuppahi**, naturalised [Sinhalese] word derived from the Tamil *tupâsi*, interpreter. [A. Mendis Gunasékara Mudaliyar, *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, p. 362 (Quoted by S. G. P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62.)]
1892. **Topass** *tôpâshi*, Mal.). Corruption of the hindostany *doobash*. A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother, in the early history of the Company extensively enlisted as soldiers; now used on ships. [*Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. III, s. v. **Topass**.]
1892. **Topass, topaz**. Anglo-Indian name of any dark-skinned half-caste of Portuguese descent; the sweeper (who is often such a half-breed) on board ship. [C.A.M. Fennell, *The Stanford Dict. of anglicised words and phrases*.]
1893. **Topass**. Applied to half-castes of Portuguese origin. The word now only survives on board steamers of the merchant service. [A. T. Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent and Governor of Fort St. George* (Note on p. 11 of 1681).]

1913. **Topaz.** Derived from Hind. *tôp*, gun, or Hind. *tôpî*, hat, [H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 278 footnote.]
1913. **Topass.** E. Indies. Also **Topaz.** Adapted from Portuguese *topaz*. A man of two languages, interpreter, in which capacity these men of mixed descent were employed. A fancied derivation from Hindi *tôpî*, hat, making the term=*tôpî-wâla*, 'hat-man,' European, has been current since the middle of the 18th century.
A dark-skinned half-breed of Portuguese descent ; often applied to a soldier, or a ship's scavenger or bath-attendant who is of this class. [Oxford *English Dict.*, s. v. **Topass**.]
1916. **Topasses** was the name given by the Portuguese to Eurasians, and occurs frequently in the letters of old time missionaries. Both [the Sinhalese] *Tuppahi* and [Tamil] *Tupâsi* evidently come from this **Topass**, which is probably the Hindi word referred to by Winslow [*supra*, 1862]. It has the two significations given by Clough [*supra*, 1821]. The word **Topass** is said to be derived from Hind. *tôpî*. It would be a curious piece of "learned lumber" to know whether *Tuppahi* came in to use in Sinhalese from the Tamil *Tupâsi*, or from **Topass** so frequently used by the Portuguese. The authority of the learned scholar, Mudaliyar Gunasékara, is for its introduction from the Tamil . . . The Carmelite friar Paolino a S. Bartolmao was the first to propound the derivation of **Topaz** and Dubash from *Dvibhâshi* . . . But Yule very thoughtlessly ridicules the derivation . . . **Topaz** is not pure Portuguese, but a word Lusitanised from Hindi . . . Is the Hindi word *tôpî* or *dobâshi* (*dubhâshia*, Skt. *dvibhâshi*). . . The Turkish etymology suggested by Yule may well be neglected . . . That Eurasians came to be called "hat-men" is not strange . . . I think the use of *Tuppahi* in Sinhalese literature of the 16th and 17th centuries will bear out the statement that it was first used to discriminate Eurasians. [The writer is unable to verify this statement, which is suggested by the occurrence of the word in this sense in the translations of the *Parangi Hatana*] . . . Its use in the sense of "Interpreter" is of much later date, and probably came in because Eurasians often served this purpose. It would be interesting to know the date of the earliest use of the word in the sense of "interpreter." (Father Anriquez uses **Topaz** in this sense in 1549, which is the earliest in India.) There seems to have been a different word for "interpreter." in Ceylon, *i.e.*, *Banaca* . . . [Notes on the *Derivation of Tuppahi* by S.G.P. in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 62, 124-126, 282.]
1916. The Tamil *tupâsi* (of which *tuppâsi* is a modification) is evidently derived from the Hindi *dvibhâshi*, which literally means 'one who speaks two languages.' It is not genuine Portuguese. The Portuguese **Topaz** is either a corruption of *dvibhâshi*, or of its Tamil equivalent *tupâsi*. The latter is more probable, owing to the words "South India" in Whitworth [*supra* 1885]. . . The word cannot be connected with the Hindi *tôpî*, hat, for the reason that s (*ch*) in *tupâsi* or z in **Topaz** is unaccountable, and because it

is inconceivable that only a small and insignificant section of the people who wore hats came to be called *tupâsi* to the exclusion of the genuine Europeans who always wore hats. The Sinhalese *tuppahi* (a modification of *tupâsi*) may be from the Tamil or from the Portuguese, which, as shown above, adopted the word from the Tamil. [Note by A. Mendis Gunasêkara Mudaliyar, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.]

1916. The word **Tuppahi** is used by the Sinhalese to signify "interpreter." The Sanskrit word *dvibhâsi* signifying one who speaks two languages, has taken the form *tupâsi* in Tamil and the Tamil 'Tupâsi' has become 'Tuppahi' in Sinhalese. The word is also used by the Sinhalese to indicate a Portuguese descendant. [Note by Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar, on the *Derivation of Tuppahi*, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.]
1916. In the early intercourse of the Europeans with India, a man who was able to interpret between the European and the native, was called *dvibhâshi*, a man of two languages. In Portuguese this *dvibhâshi* became *dubash*, which is the word applied now to a ship-chandler, while in court it kept its form purer and passed into Tamil as *tupâshi*, and into Sinhalese as **tuppahi**. In the latter language it means, in addition to interpreter, also a Portuguese descendant of the mechanic class. This class is of mixed Portuguese and Sinhalese descent, and speaks two languages. Hence the designation. Note by W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar on the *Derivation of Tuppahi*, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.]
1916. In land-tombos **toepas** (*tuppahi*) means a person belonging to that class, but when followed by the word *moedianse* means interpreter (*tuppahi moedianse* = interpreter mudaliyar). So that a *tuppahi moedianse* is not necessarily a **toepas**. A person of mixed European and native descent (*mestiço*) was necessarily bi-lingual (**toepas**), and hence employed in Portuguese times as an interpreter. In process of time, the word which had reference to interpreter was used to designate a class, i.e., the lower order of *mestiço* and native Christians. The Dutch called the Interpreter-Mudaliyar "tolk modliaar." The *topi-wallah* or hat-man theory is, I think, rather far fetched. If such had been the case, one would have expected *topikârayah*, not **toepas** [Note by "Historicus" in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 191-2.]
1918. In a note on a passage in the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (*supra* 1750), with reference to "100 mestices, 200 **Topasses**," Mr. H. Dodwell remarks (p. 431n.): "Mestice merely means half caste. I cannot suggest why these people should apparently be differentiated from **Topasses**."

ADDENDA.

By S. G. P.

1644. . . . I shall not relate how ours are employed establishing sodalities among students and **Topasses**, who are natives of the country [Andrew Lopez, *Breve Relação das Christandades de 1644*. Mss of the Malabar Province. S. J. Translation from *Catalogus Missionis Madurensis*, 1907, p. 2.]

1685. We must remember that in all our forts and settlements in that State there lived and are living other residents, natives of the country, with their families ; these were of Christian ² parents and grandparents and they served us with affection ; we called them **Topazes** and they formed the service holders, tradesmen and merchants ; their sons served us as soldiers and have won an honourable record of services in war and have not been found wanting towards the State.

[João Ribeyro. *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilao*. Liv. III, ch. VII. Translation from Ribeiro's *Ceylão* by Dr. P. E. Pieris, p. 408.]

1687. (A Praça de Gale) tinha de guarnição 80 Cassados Portuguezes, entre docutes, velhos, e saos, e 30 soldados da ordenenca filhos da terra, e **Topazes**, com tres Companhias qu' lhe forao de socorro e 300 lascarins Chingalaz. [Fernao de Queyroz. *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylao*, f 367.]

The fortress of Galle had as garrison 80 Portuguese Cassados including the sick, the aged and the hale, and 30 soldiers of the Militia country born (Portuguese) and **Topazes**, with 3 Companies which had come there as succour and 300 Sinhalese lascarins.

- „ Ajunlow o Geral 18 Companhias de soldados de 20 ate 25 homens cada hua, entrando neste numero mais de 120 **Topazes** Christaos da terra [Ib. f 415.]

The General mustered (in Colombo) 18 Companies of soldiers of 20 to 25 men each, including in this number 120 **Topazes** country born Christians.²

1694. "Customs, formerly collected by the Topas-Moor ³ of Tutucoryn, but now taken by the Company ⁴ and held at the disposal of the Governor and Council of Colombo." [Item occurring in the accounts of the Pearl Fishery of 1694 "drawn up in the Fishery to the S. of Aripo 7 May, 1694. Signed Floris Bloom, etc." *Ceylon Literary Register*, III. 128.]

1803. It was from (these) black Portuguese that the troops known by the name of **Topasses** were taken. They were called **Topasses** from wearing hats instead of turbans ; the word *topee* or *chaupee*, which appears to be a corruption of the French *chapeau*, being the term used in their language for a hat.

[Robert Percival : *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1803, p. 146.]

The *Portuguese Era*, II, 508, n 6 says : "On the word **Tuppahi** see *Orient*. III. 212." Owing to an obvious error in the reference, the passage from the *Oriente Conquistado* (1710) cannot be traced.

Mons. S. Rodolfo Dalgado—in his *Influência do Vocabulário Português em linguas Asiaticas* (Coimbra 1913)—says (pp. 152-153) among other things :

This word was used in the XVII and XVIII centuries to designate those who claimed to be of Portuguese descent, spoke Portuguese, dressed in the Portuguese fashion, professed the Catholic religion and usually served as soldiers.

The origin of the word is much discussed. At least three derivations, more or less plausible, are suggested. 1st Turco-persa-hindust. *top-chi*, gunner, because of the occupation ;

². i.e. Portuguese.

³. Probably Topaz Mor.

⁴. Dutch East-India Co.

2nd Hindust. *topi* hat, *topivāla*, hat man, a distinction, sometimes honorific, sometimes depreciative; 3rd *tuppasi* for *dubashi*=neo-arico *dubāshi* or *dobashi*=Sansk. *dvibashya*, bilingual, interpreter, because they spoke two languages," etc., etc. He also quotes several writers, among whom are :

Antonio Bocarro, Dec. XIII *da Historia da India*. "Septecentos portugueses, afóra alguns **topazes** tambem espingarderrio," p. 244.

Aristide Marre—(1) *Notice sur la langue portugaise dans l'Inde française en Malaisie* in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*. III. No. 36 (1881): "Metis ou **Topas** dits gens à chapeaux."

(2) "A India no governo do Vice-rei Conde de Villa Verde 1693-1698" in *O Chronista de Tumary II*. 83 : "Propunha mais que era necessário á igreja de Calicut um **Topaz**, ou lingua⁵ dos Christaos da terra, que alem de entendido fosse homem de respeito, que podene tratar com o Samorim, e com os seus ministros os negocios da igreja, e dos Christaos."

João de Lucena, *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier* (Lisboa, 1600), II. cap. 16: "Os que as (necessidades) padecem as mostram, e representem bem sem **Topaz** nem interprete." "Estimando muyto a ocasiam de se achar sem **Topaz**."

5. An alvará of 25 Jany. 1571 ordered that the post of *Lingua* (Lingoa,=Banaca=Banacke= cf. "Modliar en Banacke= Basnayaka Mudeliar) be given to converts. *Archivo—Port*, Or. suppl. 2nd p. 79. Which explains how Native Christians also came to be called *Topazes*.



CORONATION OF SINHALESE KINGS:

ORIGIN OF TWO CUSTOMS.

THE FIG-WOOD CORONATION CHAIR AND THE RIGHT-WHORLED CHANK.

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

AT the ceremony of the coronation of ancient Sinhalese kings, it was an invariable custom that the Coronation chair was (and had to be) of fig-wood (Sinhalese *Udumbara* or *Attikka*) and the "sprinkling" was from a conch with spirals that ran to the right.

The antiquity of the custom in Ceylon is well attested: The Sinhalese commentary of that portion of the *Majjhima Nikāya* known as *Cullasihanada-suttavannanā*¹ says *inter alia* :—

"In the first place, he who wishes to be duly inaugurated as king should obtain for this purpose three chanks (golden and otherwise), water from the Ganges river, and a maiden of the Kshatriya race.

"He must himself be ripe for the ceremony (*i.e.* be over 16 years of age) and be a Kshatriya of noble lineage, and **must sit on a splendid udumbara chair**, well set in the middle of a **pavilion made of udumbara branches**, which is itself in the interior of a hall gaily decked for the ceremony of *abhiseka*.

"First of all the Kshatriya maiden of gentle race, clothed in festive attire, taking in both her hands **a right-handed sea chank**, filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, pours the *abhiseka* water over his head"

Again: "What ceremonies are observed at the coronation of a King?" asked the Dutch Governor Von Falk in 1769, and the answer given by "Some of the best-informed Candian Priests respecting the antient Laws and Customs of their country" was as follows :—

"On the day of his installation, the Royal Mandapa is beautifully decorated with all sorts of precious ornaments; within that Mandapa is erected another, **made of the branches of the udumbara or attika tree**; and in the centre of this inner Mandapa is placed **a seat made of the wood of the same tree**.

"The King, covered with jewels, and invested with the insignia of royalty, wearing the sword, the pearl-umbrella, the forehead band, the slippers, and the chowrie made of the white hairs of the Semara's tail, repairs to the above-mentioned seat.

"A royal virgin, adorned with costly ornaments, and holding in her hand **a sea-chank** filled with river water and **opening to the right**, then approaches the place where the King is seated, and, lifting up the chank with both hands, pours its contents upon the King's head²"

Now, what is the origin of this ancient Coronation custom of the Sinhalese? The answer is indicated in an interesting story which the Buddha related at Jetavana under the following circumstances :—

1. Quoted in the *Mahāvamsa Tika*. For a full description of the ceremonies connected with the *abhiseka* or consecration of ancient Sinhalese Kings, see my paper on "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon" in the C.B.R.A.S. Journal for 1920, pp 115-133.

2. Bertolacci, *Ceylon*, Appendix A. pp 454-5.

Mahá-Kosala, the King of Kosala's father, they say, in giving his daughter to King Bimbisára, allotted her a village of Kási for bath-money. After Ajátasattu had murdered his father,³ King Pasenadi destroyed that village. In the battles betwixt them for it, victory at the first lay with Ajátasattu. And the King of Kosala, having the worst, asked his councillors :

"What can we devise to take Ajátasattu?"

"Great King," they answered, the Brethren have great skill of magical charms. Send messengers to them, and get the opinion of the Brethren at the monastery."

This pleased the King. Accordingly, he caused men to be sent, bidding them go thither, and hiding themselves, overhear what the Brethren should say. Now at Jetavana are many king's officers who have renounced the world. Two among these, a pair of old Elders, dwelt in a leaf hut on the outskirts of the monastery: the name of one of them was Elder Dhanuggaha-tissa, of the other the Elder Mantidatta. These had slept all the night through, and awoke at peep of day. The elder Dhanuggaha-tissa said, as he kindled the fire :

"Elder Datta, Sir."

"Well, Sir."

"Are you asleep?"

"No, I am not asleep: what's to do now?"

"A born fool that King of Kosala is; all he knows is how to eat a mess of food."

"What do you mean, Sir?"

"He lets himself be beaten by Ajátasattu, who is no better than a worm in his own belly."

"What should he do, then?"

"Why, elder Datta, you know the Order of Battle is of three kinds: Waggon Battle, Wheel Battle, and Lotus Battle.⁴ It is the Waggon Battle he ought to use in order to catch Ajátasattu. Let him post valiant men on his two flanks on the hill-top, and then show his main battle in front: once he gets in between, out with a shout and a leap, and they have him like a fish in a lobster-pot. That is the way to catch him."

Now all this the messengers heard, and then went back and told the King. He immediately set out with a great host, and took Ajátasattu prisoner, and bound him in chains. After punishing him thus for some days, he released him, advising him not to do it again, and by way of consolation gave him his own daughter, the Princess Vajirá, in marriage, and finally dismissed him with great pomp.

There was much gossip about it among the Brethren indoors:

"Ajátasattu was caught by the King of Kosala, through following the directions of Elder Dhanuggaha-tissa!"

They talked of the same in the Hall of Truth, and the Buddha entering, asked what the talk was. They told him. Then he said:

"This is not the first time, Brethren, that Dhanuggaha-tissa has shown himself expert in strategy."

And the Buddha related to them the following old-world story⁵ :—

3. Pasenadi was Mahá-Kosala's son, Ajátasattu killed his father Bimbisára.

4. See note 7 below.

5. I have adapted the story from the *Vaddhaki-sūkara Jātaka* and *Taccha-sūkara Jātaka* respectively, so as to present together all the details, some of which are omitted by the one or the other. The translation is of course from the Cambridge University Edition issued under the able editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell.

Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, a carpenter, who dwelt in a village hard by the city gate of Benares, went into the forest to cut wood. He found a young Boar fallen into a pit, which he brought home and reared. The Boar grew big, with curved tusks, and was a well-mannered creature. Because the carpenter kept him, he went by the name of Carpenter's Boar.

The Boar became his servant: when the carpenter was chopping up a tree, the Boar used to turn the tree over with his snout, and with his teeth fetch hatchet and adze, chisel and mallet, and pull along the measuring line by the end. When he grew up, he was a monstrous burly beast. The carpenter, who loved him as his own son, and feared lest some one might do him a mischief there, let him go free in the forest.

The Boar thought: "I cannot live alone by myself in this forest. What if I search out my kindred, and live in their midst?" So he ran into the forest, looking for a safe and pleasant place to live in; and at last he espied a great cave up in a mountain side, with plenty of bulbs, and roots, and fruits, a pleasant living-place. Some hundreds of other boars saw him and approached him.⁶

Said he to them; "You are just what I am looking for, and here I have found you. This seems a nice place; and here I mean to live now with you."

"A nice place it certainly is," said they, "but dangerous."

"Ah," said he, "as soon as I saw you, I wondered how it was that those who dwell in so plentiful a place could be so meagre in flesh and blood. What is it you are afraid of?"

"There is a tiger comes in the morning, and every one he sees he seizes and carries off."

"Does this always happen, or only now and then?"

"Always."

"How many tigers are there?"

"Only one."

"What—one alone too many for all of you!"

"Yes, Sir."

"I'll catch him, if you only do what I tell you. Where does this tiger live?"

"On that hill yonder."

"At what time will he come?"

"Today he came early in the morning and took one, tomorrow he will come early in the morning."

6. In the *Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka* the Boar declares, in verse, as follows:—

"I wandered, searching far and wide the woods and hills around:
I wandered, searching for my kin; and lo, my kin are found,

"Here are abundant roots and fruits, with plenteous store of food;
What lovely hill and pleasant rills! to dwell here will be good.

"Here will I dwell with all my kin, not anxious, at my ease,
Having no trouble, fearing naught from any enemies."

The Boars, on hearing this, reply:—

"A foe is here! some other where take refuge, go thy ways;
Ever the choicest of the herd, O Carpenter, he slays!"

"Who is that foe? Come tell me true, my kindred, so well met,
Who is't destroys you? though he has not quite destroyed you yet."

"A king of beasts! striped up and down he is, with teeth to bite:
Ever the choicest of the herd he slays—a beast of might!"

"And have our bodies lost their strength? Have we no tusks to show
We shall o'ercome him if we work together: only so."

"Sweet words to hear, O Carpenter, of which my heart is fain:
Let no Boar flee? or he shall be after the battle slain!"

The Boar was skilled in warfare, and knew the place of advantage to take, so that victory might be won. He searched about for a place, and made them take food while it was yet night. Then very early in the morning he explained to them how war is of three kinds—the Lotus Army, the Wheel Army and the Waggon Army⁷; after which he arranged the boars, after the Lotus pattern, in this wise:

In the midst he placed the sucking pigs, and around them their mothers; around these he put the sows that had no young; around these the young porkers or little boars; around these the young ones with tusks just a-budding; around these the big tuskers; and, outside all, the old Boars fit for battle, strong and powerful, by tens and by twenties; thus he placed them in serried ranks.

Then he posted smaller squads of ten, twenty, thirty apiece here and there. Before his own position he had a round hole dug for himself; behind it, a pit getting gradually deeper and deeper, shaped like a winnowing basket,⁸ for the tiger to fall into: between the two holes was a spit of ground for himself to stand on. Then he with the stout fighting-boars went around everywhere encouraging the Boars. As he moved about amongst them, followed by sixty or seventy Boars, bidding them be of good courage, the dawn broke.

The Tiger, coming forth from the hermitage of a sham ascetic, appeared upon the hill-top.

"Our enemy is come, Sir," the Boars cried.

"Fear not," said he, "whatever he does, you do the same."

The Tiger glared and they glared back at him. The Tiger opened his mouth and drew a long breath: the Boars all did the same. The Tiger gave himself a shake and, as though about to depart, relieved himself; so did the Boars. The Tiger looked at the Boars and roared a great roar; they did the same. Thus whatever the Tiger did, the Boars did after him.

"Why, what's this!" the Tiger wondered. "They used to take to their heels as soon as they saw me—indeed, they were too much frightened even to run. Now so far from running, they actually stand up against me, in orderly bands! Whatever I do, they mimic. There's a fellow yonder on a commanding position: he it is who has organised the rabble. Well, I don't see how to get the better of them."

And he turned away and went back to his lair.

Now there was a sham hermit, who used to get a share of the Tiger's prey. This time the Tiger returned empty-handed. Noticing this, the hermit said:

"The best, the best you always brought before

When you went hunting after the wild boar.

Now empty-handed you consume with grief,

Today where is the strength you had of yore?

7. These are technical terms. The "Wheel" explains itself; the "Waggon" was a wedge-shaped phalanx; the "Lotus," as noted by Buhler (trans. of Manu in *S.B.E.* p 246) is "equally extended on all sides and perfectly circular, the centre being occupied by the King."

According to Manu (VII. 187) the disposition of troops, apart from the Lotus pattern, should also be according to the particular circumstances "like a staff, or a waggon, or a boar, or a Makara, or a needle, or a garuda." The translators (Burnell and Hopkins) explain these as follows:—Like a "staff" is in straight columns; the "waggon" has a sharp van and rear with a broad centre; the "makara" (sea-beast) is the opposite of this, having a narrow centre with a broad van and rear; the "needle" is a long, thin, sharp-pointed row; the "garuda" (mythological bird) has a very wide centre, but is otherwise like the boar.

8. The winnowing basket has low walls on three sides, two of them sloping towards the open end.

"Have you abjured all killing? Have you sworn
Safety for every living creature born?
Surely your teeth their wonted virtue lack.
You find a herd, and come a beggar back!"

The Tiger thereupon replied :—

"My teeth no longer bite,
My strength exhausted quite :
Brother by brother all together stood :
Therefore I wander lonely in the wood.

"Once they would hurry-scurry all about
To find their holes, a panic-stricken rout,
But now they grunt in serried ranks compact :
Invincible, they stand and face me out.

"They all agree together now, a leader they have got ;
When all agree they may hurt me : therefore I want them not."

To this the sham ascetic replied :

"Alone the hawk subdues the birds, alone
The Titans are by Indra overthrown :
And when a herd of beasts the mighty Tiger sees,
Ever the best he picks, and kills them at his ease."

Then the Tiger declared :—

"No hawk, no tiger lord of beasts, not Indra can command
A kindred host that tiger-like combine to make a stand."

Thereat the sham ascetic, to egg him on, said :

"The little tiny feathered fowl in flocks and coveys fly,
In heaps together up they rise, together skim the sky.

"Down stoops the hawk, and all alone, down on them as they play.
Harries and kills them at his will : that is your tiger's way."

This said, he further encouraged him : "Royal Tiger, you know not your own power
One roar only, and a spring—there will not be two of them left together, I dare swear!"

The Tiger yielded to this insistence. Plucking up his courage, he went back and stood
there awhile on the hill.

"See, Master! here's the scoundrel again!" cried the Boars.

"Fear not," said Carpenter's Boar, comforting them, and then took his stand upon
the ridge between the two pits.

With a roar the Tiger leapt upon Carpenter's Boar. At the very instant he sprang,
the Boar dodged and dropped straight into the round hole. The Tiger could not check his

onset, but tumbled over and over and fell all of a heap in the jaws of the other pit, where it got very narrow.

Up jumped the Boar in a trice out of his hole, and quick as lightning ran his tusk into the Tiger's thighs, tore him about the kidneys, buried his fangs in the creature's sweet flesh, and wounded his head. Then he tossed him out of the pit, crying aloud :

"Here's your enemy for you !"

They who came first had tiger to eat ; but they who came after went about sniffing at the others' mouths, and asking what tiger's flesh tasted like !

But the Boars were still uneasy.

"What's the matter now ?" asked Carpenter's Boar, who had noticed their movements.

"Master," said they, "it's all very well to kill one tiger, but the sham hermit can bring ten tigers more."

"Who is he ?

"A wicked ascetic."

"The tiger I have killed ; do you suppose a man can hurt me ? Come along, and we'll get hold of him."

So they all set forth.

Now the sham ascetic had been wondering why the Tiger was so long in coming. Could the Boars have caught him ? he thought. At last he started to meet him on the way ; and as he went, there came the Boars !

He snatched up his belongings, and off he ran. The Boars tore after him. He threw away his encumbrances, and with all speed climbed up a fig (*udumbara*) tree.

"Now, Master, it's all up !" cried the herd. "The man has climbed a tree !"

"What tree ?" their leader asked.

"A fig-tree," they replied.

"Oh, very well," said the leader. "The sows must bring water, the young ones dig about the tree, the tuskers tear at the roots, and the rest surround it and watch."

They did their several tasks as he bade them : the young Boars grubbed away the earth from the roots of the tree, and the sows brought each as much water as their mouths would hold, till there the tree stood upright bare down to the roots.

Then Carpenter's Boar sent the others out of the way, and, going down on his knees, struck at the roots with his tusk ; clean through the root he cut, as with an axe, and down came the tree. The Boars, who were waiting for the man, knocked him down, tore him to pieces, gnawed the bones clean in a moment !

Again the Boar asked : "And have you another foe ?"

"No, my lord," they replied.

Then they proposed to sprinkle him for their King. They perched Carpenter's Boar on the fig tree-trunk and water was fetched.

Espying the shell which the sham ascetic used for his drinking, which was a precious conch with the spiral turned right-wise, they filled it with water, and consecrated Carpenter's Boar there on the root of the fig-tree, there the water of consecration was poured upon him. A young sow they consecrated to be his consort.

Hence arose the custom, which still prevails, that in consecrating a king they seat him upon a chair of fig-wood, and sprinkle him from a conch with spirals that run to the right.

SINHALESE AND THE ARYAN LANGUAGES.¹

(Continued from Vol VII., Page 140.)

III.

By M. H. KANTAWALA, C.C.S.

IN order to refute the theory that Sinhalese is a Dravidian Language, we shall now endeavour to test it on the whetstone of what is known as "morphological classification," and lead negative evidence in support of our statements.

If Sinhalese were Dravidian, it ought naturally to respond to the various criteria which comparative philologists have from time to time laid down as the distinguishing features of the Turanian family. This family comprises such highly accomplished languages as Turkish, Tamil, and Telugu on the one hand, and such primitive speeches as Mandshu or Naga on the other.

There is such a variety of grammatical formations—such a diversity of syntactical rules in the various members that scientists have demurred in giving the name of "family" to this division; indeed, there is not so much consanguinity in the different branches as appears at first sight in the remotest off-shoots of the Aryan group; nevertheless, they all share elements in common and are probably derived from the same parental source.

Morphologically, all languages are divided into three groups or stages:—

- I. Radical or Monosyllabic.
- II. Agglutinative or Terminational.
- III. Inflectional or Organic.

1. I am tempted to contribute this further instalment as Mudaliyar Gunawardhana persists in his view that Sinhalese is a Dravidian Language. He contributed a refutation of my original article (*The Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII: Part II) in almost all the daily papers. I wrote a rejoinder in the *Times of Ceylon* of Oct. 19, 1921 to which he replied in the same paper on the 28th *idem*. I did not continue the controversy. The following is—in brief—what I should have said, had I replied:

I. The learned scholar, mockingly, ignores all history, ignores the very traditions of Ceylon—nay, ignores even the whole race of the Veddas and seeks to connect the Sinhalese with the descendants of Ravana. As if the ancestors of the modern Sinhalese were responsible for the kidnapping of Sitâ!

II. I quoted an axiom of Max Müller *viz* that languages though mixed in their dictionary could never be mixed in their grammar. Mudaliyar Gunawardhana admitted that this axiom, if true, would tell against his theory: so he weighed it in the balance and found it failed. He illustrated by showing that the English genitive by "of" was borrowed from the Romance Languages and that therefore English, which had an Anglo-Saxon structure, had a mixed grammar. Need it be pointed out that the Romance Languages are also Latin languages? Max Müller would have certainly had a most hearty laugh, had he been told that his favourite axiom was so easily found wanting! This is what he says:

"English did not spring from the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex only but from the dialects spoken in every part of Great Britain distinguished by local peculiarities and modified at different times by the influence of Latin, Danish, Norman, French and other foreign elements."

And still it was Max Müller himself who propounded an axiom which excluded the possibility of a mixed dialect!

III. The following is a verbatim extract from the Mudaliyar's letter:

"Sanskrit the written language became fixed, while Prakrit the popular speech broke up into various local dialects and these developed into various vernaculars amidst surroundings of their own. *Such a vernacular is Sinhalese.*" (The italics are mine). Just so. Have I scored a point, I wonder?

IV. The learned Mudaliyar goes on to dogmatise that the extent to which the Dravidian idioms appear in Sinhalese and the various Aryan vernaculars is considerable, so considerable in fact as to justify us in holding that the structural basis of these vernaculars is Dravidian and that the Aryan element is only a superimposition. I wish he had confined himself to Sinhalese and not brought the other Aryan vernaculars into the vortex of his imaginative flights. May I request him to give us instances and show by chapter and verse that the Aryan idioms are for the greater part Dravidian?

Laymen, like myself, believe in the concrete more readily than they do in the abstract.

In the first of these divisions we have such languages as the Chinese, where there is no distinction between a root and a word. There is no phonetic corruption whatever: we are at the dawn of human speech. There are no grammatical forms, no declensions, no inflections. "I beat him" or "he beats me" would be rendered by some such forms as "I to beat he" or "He to beat I." Everything depends on the position of words in a sentence. Change the position and you change the meaning. This shows a very primitive or infant stage in the evolution of phonetics.

In the second group, we go a step forward. There are declensions, there are conjugations, there is grammar. But the primary root is always kept intact. The terminations are tacked on to the roots which preserve their entity, all through the grammatical chiselling. The past tense of "go" in these languages would be "go. ed" and not "went."

In the last and the final stage we have the highest perfection of language: the original roots become obscured both in the base and in the termination. There is phonetic corruption through and through. In words like "brought"—we barely recognise the two components "bring—did."

Tamil belongs to the second and Sinhalese to the third class.

Before proceeding further it might be mentioned that all inflectional languages must have one day passed through the terminational stage and both through the radical. So it is not unusual to find in the Aryan languages, which are no doubt inflectional, traces of agglutination. *Gachchasi* would be quite a good example of any Turanian member, though it is the second person singular of the Sanskrit *Gachcha* "to go."² The fact cannot, however, be denied and has been amply demonstrated that, though traces of the middling stage betray evident signs of evolution in the Aryan and Semitic languages, no inflectional tendencies have ever been discovered among the Turanian members.³

These got stabilised when they were yet on the path of evolution and, without attaining to maturity, remained stunted. A few of their off-shoots at a very early period in the history of mankind—when the Turanians and the Aryans were yet roaming together, and before the latter had taken to cultivation or to civic life—separated from the parent stock, went through the mills of "dialectical regeneration," "phonetic decay," or "philological metamorphosis," as they are variously called, received their full quota of growth, and became such highly developed languages as the English or the Persian.

We have seen that the most important and outstanding differentia of the Turanian family is that the root is never obscured. Conjugations are formed by the "gluing" of pronouns to verbs or verbal roots—declensions by the "gluing" of prepositions to substantives or substantival bases. Both conjugations and declensions can still be taken to pieces and the terminations, whether they are modified or not, are always distinct from the roots to which they are appended. Termination "m" connotes "mine" in Turkish: add that to the past base *Sever-di* from *Sever*, "loving," and one gets *Sever-di-m*, "I loved" (lit. "my having loved"). *En* in Tamil means "my" and is the genitive singular of *Nan*. By adding it to *Po-gir* or *Po-n*, we get *Po-gir-en* or *Po-n-en*, "I go" or "I went" (lit. "my going" or "my having gone"). *Avan*, *Aval* and *Avar* are modified into *Ân* *Âl* and *Âr* and suffixed to the verbal bases in order to give us the third persons, masculine and feminine, singular and plural.

2. '*Gachcha*' is only a secondary root—its primary form being '*Gama*.' It must not be forgotten, however, that Sanskrit bifurcated quite early in the history of the Aryans when the spoken Prakrits were mostly synthetic in structure. Agglutination is therefore more prominent in Sanskrit than in the modern vernaculars.

3. The non-consonantal modifications in the Tamil roots are a result of the Law of Harmony. Vide *infra*.

Whatever the formations, however, the root *Po* remains distinct, unaltered and unalterable: it is ever awake—gaping, as it were, from the variegated apparel of conjugational terminations. Whatever the tense or the mood, whether used participially or adjectivally, whether it is *Pogiradu*, *Poven*, *Pogum* or *Pona-poludu*, the form betrays the original base *Po*. It is never touched, never modified, never mended. It retains its individuality and its *corpus*; and the terminations are mere appendages—loose trappings, as it were, patched on with due respect to the rules of euphony. What is true of *Po* is true of the majority of verbs, alike in Tamil as in the other allied languages.

And what is true of conjugations is equally true of declensions. In declining *Nân*, we take the base *En* and suffix the different terminations on to it: eg. *Ennâl*, *Ennakku*, etc. Sometimes the endings disclose their original roots and are so far radical or primitive. In *En-n-il-irindu*, *Irindu* has not yet dwindled down to the semblance of a termination.

Let us consider these formations in Sinhalese. As *Yanawâ*, the synonym of *Po*, is "irregular" in its past tense, we shall examine a more regular verb, viz. *karanavâ*. While in the present *karami* and the future *karannemi* the root *kara* is still visible, in the past *kalemi* or *keruvemi* or in the conditional *kalot* or in the verbal noun *kirima* the root is obscured, modified, transfigured. Even the verbs of the third conjugation, which are more uniform in structure than the rest, are no exceptions to the rule. The bases of the present and the past tenses differ widely.⁴

This is exactly what happens in the Indian languages but not in the Dravidian. On the contrary those verbs which are borrowed in Sinhalese from Tamil are never used singly or by themselves but are introduced, so to say, by the pseudo-auxiliary *karanavâ* eg. තට්ටුකරණවා (from தட்டு, "deck"), නමිට්ටුකරණවා (from நமது, "respect") or வீசிකරණවා (from வீசுதல், "throwing"). It may be noted in passing that in the languages of North India the root *kara* (Sans: *kri*) has the same function of marshalling foreign verbs.

In the declensions we march a step forward. The forms of *mama* are *mâ* or *mâva*, *mata*, *magé* or *mâge*, *magen* or *mâgen*, etc. The primal base *mama* becomes modified and loses its identity as in Sanskrit or Latin. In *magé* only a critical analyst will detect the two components: *mama* × *Gedara* (?)⁵ If we add *Indalâ* to the latter, we get an echo of the Tamil *Irindu*, but the actual ablative singular in Sinhalese is simply *magen*.

These examples amply and clearly illustrate that, while in Tamil we are still in the agglutinative or transitional stage, we have come in Sinhalese to that form of analytical or organic development where the simple process of coalescence of a demonstrative with a predicative root results in altogether a novel and often undistinguishable product—defying all attempts at etymological dissection.

Various other criteria have been prescribed by scholars as setting the highwater mark of the Dravidian languages. Rev. Caldwell, for instance, mentions in his *Comparative Grammar* the dislike of compound or concurrent consonants. These are inadmissible either in the beginning, middle or end of a word.

"At the beginning, not only of the first syllable of every word but also of every succeeding syllable, only one consonant is allowed. If in the middle of a word of several

⁴ Critics will point to *Vanden*, *Tanden*, *Ketten* in Tamil from the roots *Vâ*, *Tâ* and *Kel* respectively, as exceptions to the rule. It is true that the past bases differ here from the present, but the shortening of the primary vowel occurs even in the bases of the present tense and the addition of the nasal is in consequence of the rules of euphony. In spoken Indian Tamil the *l* sound is still audible in the past *Ketten* where the first *t* is "semi-liquid." We are dealing, besides, with the Turanian family as a whole and not with Tamil alone in its relation to Sinhalese.

⁵ The idea of possession in primitive languages could have only originated with one's own home or cave.

syllables, one syllable ends with a consonant and the succeeding one commences with another consonant, the concurrent consonants must be euphonically assimilated or else a vowel must be inserted between them. At the conclusion of a word double or treble consonants are as inadmissible as at the beginning; and every word must terminate in Telugu and Canarese in a vowel—in Tamil, either in a vowel or in a single semi-vowel as 'l' or 'r' or in a single nasal as 'n' or 'm.' "

Such syllabation is obviously antipodal to the basic principles of Sinhalese. *Stúti Patra*, which is as good Sinhalese as Sanskrit, would be written in Tamil as *Istuti Pattiram*! What a world of difference!

In all Turanian languages "the determining or modifying syllables are generally placed at the end and the vowels do not become so absolutely fixed for each syllable as in Sanskrit or Hebrew (or, shall we add, Sinhalese?). In them, there is what is called the Law of Harmony, according to which the vowels of each word may be changed or modified so as to harmonise with the keynote struck by its chief vowel."⁶

In all the Aryan languages we have many words whose roots are common property.

All names of relations and most of the common nouns can be etymologically crystallised and traced to the parent stock. *Father*, *Père*, *Pater*, *Pitá*, *Piyá* and *Pitru* are but steps in the same linguistic ladder. Even such words as *Goose* from *Hansa* or *Artist* from *Ar*, "to plough" have "laid bare their anatomies" to the philological surgeon. Words and expressions can by the lump be shown to possess that affinity which only closely-allied languages share in common. It is the total absence of such words and such expressions or even their roots, that excludes by such a wide gulf the Dravidian from the Aryan groups. As Dr. Pope says, "without the help of Sanskrit the Tamil language can stand on its own legs"; but not so the Sinhalese. Here we have Sanskrit or Prakrit inbred and imbedded into the very structure of the language. They form its life-blood: devoid of them, Sinhalese would not only totter and gasp but cease to breathe.

Often the only guiding factors in determining relationship between the outlying Turanian tongues which do not share much in common are their pronouns, numerals and prepositions. It is in vain that we look for these parts of speech in Sinhalese. Far from showing any Dravidian affinity, they reveal their parentage in characters too bold to deceive.

From whatever standpoint one looks at it, then, one is convinced more and more that Sinhalese is Aryan, wholly Aryan and nothing else but Aryan in its structure. Its entire framework enters an emphatic protest at being "libelled" as Dravidian. Here, we are no longer wallowing in the mire of agglutination: our cadence is no longer hampered: we have homogeneous formations: we have "no fissures, no cracks, no sutures in our terminational plasters;" we have transcended all stagnation: we have emerged from the chrysalis: we have come by the zenith of evolution: we have attained that highest stage in our development to which all languages are tending—or must inevitably tend unless stabilised—viz., "*Inflectionalisation*."

⁶ Max Müller: *Science of Language*, Vol. II p. 29.

Notes & Queries.

NOTES ON THE "MAHÁVAMSA"

V. VIJAYA'S "700 FOLLOWERS."

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

THE *Mahāvamsa* is responsible for the statement that Vijaya was accompanied to Ceylon by a band of "seven hundred followers." Thus:—

(1) Then did the King (Sīhabāhu) cause Vijaya and his followers, *seven hundred men*, to be shaven over half the head, and put them on a ship and sent them forth upon the sea" (*Mah.* VI 42, 43.)

(2) "Vijaya, son of King Sīhabāhu, is come to Lankā from the country of Lāla, together with *seven hundred followers*" (*Mah.* VII. 3).

(3) "Then the Yakkhini seized him, and hurled him who cried aloud into a chasm, and there in like manner she hurled all *the seven hundred* one by one after him" (*Mah.* VII 15.)

Taken by itself, the precise language of the above would appear to indicate that Vijaya was accompanied by exactly seven hundred men, no more and also no less.

But the use of the term "*seven hundred*"¹ generally in Buddhist literature, including even the *Mahāvamsa*,—viz. as a "round number" expressive or rather descriptive of a multitude of persons or animals, or a considerable period of time,—would not warrant such a precise conclusion.

In the Mahāvamsa.

Take first the *Mahāvamsa* itself;—

(1) In connection with the Second Council of early Buddhism, we are told that "at that time the thera Revata, in order to hold a council, that the true faith might long endure, chose *seven hundred* out of all that troop of bhikkhus; those chosen were arahants endowed with the four special sciences, &c." (*Mah.* IV. 61. 62).

(2) Pandukābhaya "in the city of Pana near the Kāsa mountain . . . gathered together *seven hundred followers* and provision for all" (*Mah.* X. 27).

(3) "The thera Mahāvvyaggha gave thereof (i.e. of the sour millet-gruel) to *seven hundred bhikkhus* in the Ukkanagara vihāra and then ate of it himself" (*Mah.* XXXII. 54.)

Of King Narendra Sinha we are told that "he caused a casket to be made . . . to hold the relics of the great sage . . . and he caused it to be gilt and set with *seven hundred gems*" (*Mah.* XCVII. 54.)

1. Like a good many other "round" figures with which I propose to deal on another occasion.

And if you turn to the *Jātakas*, any further doubt as to the general use of the term "seven hundred" to indicate no more than a "round number" would instantly be dispelled. Here are but a few illustrations :—

In the "Jātakas."

(1) When a monk, whose passions had been roused by the sight of a well-dressed woman, is brought up before the Buddha at Jetavana, the Buddha declares : "What wonder that womankind should trouble the wits of a man like you ! Even wise men, who for 700 years have done no sin, on hearing a woman's voice, have transgressed in a moment." ²

(2) In the *Supatta Jātaka* (No 292) we are told that "the admonitions of Fairwing the Crow were remembered for 700 years."

(3) In the *Sattubhastā-Jātaka* (No. 402) a brahmin, going through villages, towns and cities, gets 700 pieces and thinks this money is enough to buy slaves, male and female.

(4) In the *Junha-Jātaka* (No 456), King Junha asks a brahmin, to whom he is under some obligation, what boon he craves, and the brahmin makes reply :—

" Give me five villages, all choice and fine,
A hundred slave-girls, seven hundred kine,
More than a thousand ornaments of gold,
And two wives give me, of like birth with mine."

(5) To a monk, who when going his rounds for alms in Savatthi had met a fair lady and fallen in love with her at first sight, the Buddha declares : "O Brother, why are you backsliding from a religion such as ours, that leads to salvation, and all for fleshly lusts ? Wise men of old, who were kings in Surundha, though for 700 years they abode in one chamber with a woman beauteous as the nymphs divine, yet did not yield to their senses, and never so much as looked at her with desire." And the Buddha proceeds to narrate the *Udaya-Jātaka* (No. 458) in the course of which we are told that "the Bodhisatta lived 700 years" and that "after the course of 700 years" he remembered the past, i.e. his previous birth.

(6) In the *Suppāraka-Jātaka* (No. 463) we read of a ship in imminent danger of being engulfed in the dreadful Valabhāmukha ocean and that "there were 700 souls aboard this ship."

(7) The *Sādhina-Jātaka* (No. 494) describes how Vedeha, King of Mithila, on the invitation of the gods, goes to heaven where "he dwelt for 700 years by man's reckoning, enjoying felicity."

(8) The *Bhallātiya-Jātaka* (No. 504) is a story of two fairies who kept apart for one night from each other, "and then went mourning for 700 years."

(9) In the *Kumbha-Jātaka* (No. 512)—as in the *Junha-Jātaka* (No. 456) referred to above—a king's gift includes, *inter alia*, seven hundred kine :

" Lo ! five choice villages I own are thine,
Twice fifty handmaids, seven hundred kine,
And these ten cars with steeds of purest blood,
For thou hast counselled me to mine own good."

(10) We learn from the *Sambula-Jātaka* (No. 519) that Queer Sambula pined through jealousy of the other wives of the King : she grew thin and pale of countenance, and

² *The Jātaka* (Camb. Edition), II. 23.

her veins stood out upon her body. Her father-in-law, seeing her in this languid condition, asks :

" *Seven hundred elephants* by night and day
Are guarding thee, all ready for the fray,
Hundreds of arches shielding thee from harm ;
Whence come the foes to fill thee with alarm ? "

(11) King Sutasoma (in the *Culla-Sutasoma-Jātaka*, No. 525), discovering one day a grey hair on his head, resolves to retire into a forest and to live an ascetic's life. His ministers and others try to dissuade him, each pleading in this wise :

" Such random words as these in uttering
Thou mak'st an arrow quiver in my heart ;
Remember thy *seven hundred wives*,³ O King ;
What will become of them shouldst thou depart ? "

(12) In the *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* (No. 539) we read of a ship with seven caravans with their beasts embarked on board and " in seven days the ship made *seven hundred leagues*."

To come back to Vijaya, it is I think safe to say that he was accompanied to Ceylon by a considerable following, who may have numbered less, or even more, than seven hundred : how many, precisely, they were we shall never perhaps know.

A RICE SOWER'S CHANT.

By H. DON CLEMENT.

1. To the Gods and the Deities,
Afar off and near.
May the hour of my sowing,
Be welcome and dear !
2. May the bags of my income,
Be filled to the brim,
All ye Gods and ye Deities,
Your share shall be trim.
3. In your fanes shall be rubies,
And sapphires, and pearls,
Shining ivory, and gold,
And maidens with curls.
4. Here then is the first handful,
Of sprouting good rice.
Let all that is sown, yield
A forty-fold price.

3. These are "seven hundred favourite concubines" from his harem of 16,000 wives.

SÍTÁ-AGGALÁ.

By T. PETCH.

IN the up-country districts of Ceylon, there are dug up, or washed out of the ground by the rains, dark-brown irregular lumps of some vegetable substance which are known to the Sinhalese as *Sítá-aggalá*, and to the Tamils as *Rávanon kolai koddai*. In shape, they are irregularly round or ovoid, somewhat resembling a distorted potato. The colour is brown or blackish brown, and the surface is generally cracked and furrowed. They are very hard, and consist internally of more or less translucent masses separated by white veins. The largest I have seen measured $6 \times 4.5 \times 4$ centimetres.

Local tradition attributes the occurrence of these bodies to a well-known incident in the history of Ceylon. When *Sítá*, Ráma's queen, was abducted by Rávana and carried off to the jungles of Ceylon, she fasted for forty days. During that period, wishing to make certain offerings, she asked for fruits, etc., to be supplied her. But Rávana sent her cooked rice, whereupon, considering that an attempt to induce her to break her fast, she made the rice into balls and threw it away, at the same time invoking disaster upon Rávana and his relations. And there the evidence remains to this day, in the form of *Sítá-aggalá*, *Sítá's* cakes, or *Rávanon kolai koddai*, the fatal gift of Rávana.

Unfortunately, modern science, as usual, refuses to accept the tradition of the elders, and insists on seeking other explanations. According to it, these bodies are compact masses of fungus tissue which are technically known as *sclerotia*. Many fungi produce them; and they serve the purpose of enabling a fungus to live through periods of drought when the more normal forms of fungi might dry up and die.

This fungus was collected in Ceylon on Pidurutalágala in 1865 by an Italian botanist, O. Beccari, and was described by another Italian botanist, V. Cesati, who named it *Sclerotium ligulatum*. In more modern classification, it would be known as *Mylitta ligulata*. A similar *Mylitta*, found in Australia, is known as "Black Fellow's Bread," and another found in India in the Nilgiris goes by the name of "Little Man's Bread." I was informed several years ago that *Sítá-aggalá* were cooked and eaten, but I have not been able to obtain confirmation of that. Any information on that point would be welcome, as well as information on their distribution. At present, the fungus is known only from Pidurutalágala, where it was collected again in 1903, and Dolosbage, but the fact that it has Sinhalese and Tamil names suggests that it is widely distributed.

These *sclerotia*, under suitable conditions, probably during the rainy season, give rise to a fructification, which appears above ground. The fructification of the Australian species is known, and is a *Polyporus*, about four inches in diameter. It has not yet been determined what

the fructification of the Ceylon *Mylitta* is, though it should be a comparatively easy matter for anyone who lives near a locality in which the *sclerotia* are known to occur.

Several accounts of the origin of these *sclerotia* have been given me, all based on the idea that they are the remains of food. They may be of interest as indicating the variation of the foregoing tradition with the lapse of time.

One correspondent stated that they were called *Sítá-aggala*, because they were the remains of *Sítá's* repasts in the jungle. That, of course, is contrary to the recorded fact that she fasted during her captivity.

In another version, current among the Tamils on a tea estate, the name had become *Rámenon koli kottei*. According to them, these bodies were food supplied to a king named *Rámen*, who ordered them to be thrown away because they did not contain any salt. *Rámenon koli kottei* would appear to be, on a free translation, "Rámen's chicken rissoles!"

A third explanation states that a certain god, on returning home to his evening meal, found that his wife had not cooked his rice properly. The grains were cooked on the outside, but the interior was hard. So he made it into balls, and threw it, according to my informant, "away." This explanation is the most ingenious, as it accounts for the structure of these *sclerotia*, the uncooked part of the grains of rice forming the translucent granules of the *sclerotium*, and the cooked part, the white veins.

CAPTAIN CHAMPION.¹

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

BREVET Lieutenant Colonel John George Champion, 95th Regiment, died on 30th Nov., 1854, at Scutari Hospital, of wounds received at the battle of Inkerman on 15 July. I never heard of a "Captain William Champion" in Ceylon, and think that Sir W. J. Hooker simply got the Christian name wrong, even though he was an exact scientist to whom names were all important. The difficulty about Captain Champion's "very brief stay" in Ceylon, and his having left Ceylon before Hooker wrote his preface to an article of 1841, may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that Captain Champion, after accompanying his regiment out to Ceylon in 1838, soon after went home on leave. Where was the 95th before it came to Ceylon—possibly in India?

The question could be settled if some one at Colombo would take the trouble to go to the Record Office, and, having obtained permission, go through the Ceylon Calendars or Almanacks for 1838 and 1839. There is in each of them a list of Staff, R. E. R. A. and regimental officers quartered in Ceylon in those years.

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p 47.

SOME PORTUGUESE MSS. FOR THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

By REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

THE following list of some of the Portuguese MSS. to be found in libraries in Portugal was sent me lately by a friend in Europe, and, as it may help to stimulate research into the history of our ancient Missions, I wish to make it public.

At *Ajuda* : Cartas da India.

In the *Academia Real das Sciencias*, Lisbon : Cartas da India.

At the *Bibliotheca Nacional*, Lisbon :

MSS. 33.—Historia da Christandade de S. Thomé (the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar).

36.—Noticias do Reino de Malabar.

59.—Memorial das Missoes Augustinianas na India.

149.—Descripção da fortaleza de Sofala e das mais da India com uma relação das religioes todas que ha no mesmo Estado.

176.—B.N. 4 ; A-4-44 : Memorias e documentos para a historia ecclesiastica de Goa e seus suffraganeos.

177.—A-5-1 : Memorias para a historia ecclesiastica de Goa e Missoes da Asia.

179.—Papeis para a historia ecclesiastica Asiatica.

186.—Missoes dos Padres Theatinos na India Oriental.

473.—Rebellion de Ceylan.

530.—Historia de Ceilão, por João Ribeiro.

531.— " " " " " " , 1685.

536.—Noticias do reino de Malabar (the same as No. 36 ?). See also B-8-49 and A-2-36 of *Archivo Ultramarino*, (Lisbon ?)¹.

722, 723.—Noticias historicas da Companhia de Jesus (two Mss. in folio of pages 1202 and 1511) relativos as Missoes da China, etc. ; they belong to the collection *Jesuitas na China* da R. B. A.

753.—Acta Congregationum Provincialium Societatis Jesu, al amo 1590 and 1672 inclusive.

787.—Barreto de Rezende : Tratado dos V. Reis da India.

820.—Historia dos Portugueses na India.

906.—Primeira Parte da Historia da Companhia na India. (This first part is complete and contains some important marginal notes.)

1610.—Guerreiro ; Reçam Annual. (This has been printed.)

4179.—Relação da guerra que fizeram os Maratas no Reino de Carnate e Madurey (com outras noticias), pelo P. Francisco Alvares, S.J., 1745.—In folio.

1. The interrogation marks are mine.—H.H.

- 4180.—Madurey (1740-45). MS. in-folio do P. Francisco Alvares, S.J.—Mais documentos importantes relativos a India (1741-50).
- 4507.—P. Guzman : Historia de las Misiones de la Compañia de Jesus.
- 4508.—P. Guzman : Missoes do Oriente, Japão, etc. (In Spanish; from Bk. 6 to Bk. 11).
- 6914.—Copiador (?) de Cartas da India do Marquez de Niza (?). (At the end, contains some letters for Fr. Alexandre Cabral, S.J., Procurator-General of Malabar and for Fr. Manuel Henriques, Rector of St. Paul's College, Goa.)
- 7388-91.—Catalogos (?)
- 49.—Catalogo dos Arcebispos e Bispos da Asia, Africa, etc., Portugueza. 4º.
- 1957.—Collecção de papeis reconditos originaes coms provisões, cartas, etc., pertencentes as Estado da India.
- J—5-25.—Historia do Reino do Congo.
- 3891-2 and 1522.—Concilios Provinc. de Goa, 1567-1754.
- 494.—Relação de obras Mss pertencentes a Historia da India Oriental, por Agostinho José da Costa Macedo, 2º Bibliothecario da Biblioth. de Lisboa.
- 1521-23-25-27.—Cartas do Cardeal da Cunha a Jesuitas e a respeito de Jesuitas da India (1724-32).
- 28.—Descripção das terras da India, in 4º.
- 1409.—Diario (em latin) de viagem para a India, por um Religioso.
- 1523 and 1524.—Dubia ab Episcopo Goano proposita super nupera (?) conservatoria (?) PP. Soc. Jesu Prov. Goanae, Sac. Congri Episc.^m et Reg.^{ium} exponenda (original e em parte auth.)
- 6698.—Memoria sobre o estado da India pelo Conde de Ericeira. Pangim, 1720.
- 465.—Carta ao P. Melchior dos Reis sobre as desordens da India (Goa, 28 Dez. 1732) ; original.
- 6620.—Extracto das cousas pertencentes ao governo da India, tirado das cartas dos P^{es} Geraes para os Provinciaes. In-fol.
- A-1-4.—(Caixa) : Papeis pertencentes a historia ecclesiastica da Asia e suas missoes.
- J—2-53, (33 ?).—Relações sobre Ceylão (et alia).—De Ethiopia e India, 1632 ; P. Barradas, S. J.
- 913.—Indice dos Mss. Coll. Coimbra, S. J.
- A-5-10.—Relações remetidas da India pelos P^{es} Theatinos sobre as progressos das Missoes. 1—fol.
- B-6-17.—Noticias da India, de 1717 até 1733.
- A-5-1.—Memorias para a historia ecclesiastica das Missoes e Conventos da India. 1-fol.
- In the *Archivo Ultramarino* :
- T-5-13.—Noticia summaria do presente estado da Missão de Ceylão, pelo P. Custodio de Mello, 1749. 1 Fol.
- E-4-25.—Memoria das Missoes da Asia, 1732. 1 Fol.
- B-6-17.—Vice Reis e Governadores da India (1505-1744).

A-4-44.—Memorias do Arcebispado de Goa e do estado e progresso das Missoes d'Asia. 1 Fol.

I may add that in the British Museum there are 60 volumes relating to India and Brazil during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, amongst them 40 entitled : *Collecçam Authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvaras e nais ordens que se expediram para a India desde o estabelecimento destas conquistas. Ordenada por provisam de 28 de Março de 1754.* MSS. Brit. Mus., No. 20, 861 to 20, 900. [Cf. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon* (I. xxviii).]

SOME HISTORICAL NOTES.

By R. J. PEREIRA.

"Vas-Kavi." ¹

THE Kuṇkunávė monk was, in the last King's reign, residing in the Aṣgiri Viháre in Kandy. He spoke through his nose, hence he was commonly known as Kuññá Sámi (කුඤ්ඤ සාමි). He was highly regarded by all, even by the King, for his great learning.

Diyawaḍana Nilamés.²

Diyawaḍana Nilaméllá (or its contraction Diva Nilaméllá).

In Kandyan times a Diyawaḍana Nilamé was also entrusted with the superintendence of the Ulpēn-gé (bathing establishment of the King), and when the King bathed it was his duty to wash and comb, and dress His Majesty's hair.

The term Diyawaḍana Nilamé is supposed to have had its origin from the highest dignitary in the kingdom holding amongst other offices that of watering the Śrī-Maha-Bódhīn-Vahansé or the sacred Bó-tree at Anurádhapura, when the seat of Government was there.

List of Diyawaḍana Nilaméllá.

1. Keppiṭipola (or Moṇaravila)
2. Mígastēnné (or Dumbara)
4. Keppiṭipola (or Moṇaravila)
5. Mámpitiyé (Vahala Loku Baṇḍára), eldest natural son of King Kírti Śrī, by his morganatic wife, a Mámpitiyé lady. He was cut to pieces at Huṇukoṭuwa, near Geṭambé, by order of the King, says *D'Oyly's Diary*, page 154, "lest he should usurp the kingdom" (රජවරයාගේ නීති); and on page 158 D'Oyly adds : "Another crime with which he was charged, was Incest with his Sister, of which the King had before warned him, but he did not desist."
6. Piḷima Talawwé (Jnr.) held offices of Disáva and R.M. ; joined Pretender 1817-18 ; banished to Mauritius ; returned and died 1833.
9. Dehigama (senr.) ? Also held offices of Disáva, Huṇubaddé Nilamé, Kúnam Maḍuvé Lékama, 1821-31.
10. Mullégama. Was Third Adigár, created by the last King : known as "Siya Pattuvé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé" ("Adigár of the Hundred Districts")

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VII, Pt. 3, p 152.

2. *Ibid.*, p 183.

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|--------------------|---|------------------------|
| 12. Dehigama, L.B. | } | R. Ms. of Yaṭi Nuwara |
| 13. Dunuwila, C.B. | | |
| 14. Girágama, L.B. | | |
| 15. Ratwatté, S | | R. M., Uḍa Dumbara |
| 16. Nugawela, C.B. | } | R. M.'s, Hárispattuwa. |
| 17. Nugawela, P.B. | | |

Kobbekaḍuwé, 2nd Adigár, 1828-1835, was dismissed for treason ; afterwards Diva Nilamé ; died 1st June, 1849 (*D'Oyly's Diary*, Index.)

Cobra Lore.³

The Sinhalese term for a cobra is *Nágayá*, *Nayá*, *Vishagóra Sappayá* (නාගයා, නයා, විෂගෝර සප්පයා.)

There is an adage "*Vishagóra sappayá deka nāru móḍayá*" (විෂගෝර සප්පයා දෙක නාරු මෝඩයා.) "Fool, if thou seest the venomous creature, let it not go (i.e. kill)."

I was told by some Kandyans, that the shadow of the Kobó-nayá causes death.

List of Adigárs (Adhikáram Maha Nilaméllá)⁴

The equivalent term of Adigár was also : *Épá*," "*Mápá*," In the reign of King Parákrama Báhu the Great, there were two Adigárs, Adhikári and Laṅkádhikári (*Mahavamsa*) ch. 70. v., 278.)

In Kandyan times, at a later period, there were two Adhikáram Maha Nilaméllá, the first was called Pallégampahé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé, and the second Uḍagampahé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé. Shortly after the accession of the last King, he created a third office called "*Siya Pattuwé Maha Adhikáram Nilamé*" and appointed Mullégama to that office. All these offices were abolished in 1848, but in 1887, the office of Adigár was revived as an honorary title. The usual title of an Adhikárama was Maha Nilamé ("Great Officer").

The duties of the Adhikáramvaru comprehended those of Court Ministers, Chief Justices and Commanders of the Military forces. Their staff of office consisted of a lac-painted cane (*vé-veḷa*) curved at the top, which was delivered into their hands by the King, upon their appointment. In former times the cane had merely a silver head and ferrule, but a cane entirely cased in silver (*ridi-véveḷa*) was introduced by the last King. For the better support of their dignity, a Disávané was usually conferred on each.

The Adhikáramvaru paid annually into the Royal Treasury (*Maha Aramudala*) a sum of 500 *ridi* each, being their tribute called "*dekum*."

(Note.—The late Wēgoḍapola Basnáyaka Nilamé related to me as having heard from a Dugganná Nilamé, that the last King addressed Mígastēnné and Piḷima Talawwé (senr Adigars), as "*Māmaṇḍi*" (මාමණ්ඩි) "uncle."

Names of Adigárs.

18. Ranpanhinda (Aṅgammana).
 23. Érawwawela : beheaded by orders not of Mígastēnné, but of Piḷima Talawwé, 1798-99.
 24. Piḷima Talawwé (senr) : beheaded by order of King, 1811-12.
 27. Éheḷépola : banished to Mauritius, 1825, and died there, April, 1829.
 29. Dúlḷewé : not the first created Siya Pattuwé Nilamé who was Mullégama.
 40. Dúlḷewé (W. A.) : a Proctor of the District Court of Kandy.
- A Kobbekaḍuwé was 2nd Adigár, 1828-35 (see under Diyawaḍana Nilamés.)

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p 185.

"SACCAKIRIYÁ."

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

WHAT is meant by the Pali term "*Saccakiriyá*" ? Childers¹ says it means "truth, act, asseveration." Hardy,² however, gives a fuller and better explanation. He explains a *saccakiriyá* thus :

"A recitation is made of acts done either in this or in some former birth, and by the power of this merit, when the recitation is truthfully made, the effect intended to be produced takes place, however wonderful its character may be."

And Hardy goes on to illustrate the explanation by giving several instances, the first of which is that of an *upāsaka* in Ceylon, whose mother being ill he went to her and solemnly asseverated : "I have never knowingly taken the life of any creature whatever from my childhood until now," whereupon she instantly recovered.

Geiger³ says : "The conception of the *saccakiriyá* (lit. *effect of the truth*) is hardly to be rendered in a translation. Beside the declaration it includes a wish. The *saccakiriyá* is always given in this form : *if or so truly as such and such is the case, shall such and such a thing come to pass.*"

The *Jātakas* or "stories of the Buddha's former Births" afford perhaps the best illustrations of what is meant by a *saccakiriyá* :

In the *Kanhadīpāyana Jātaka*,⁴ a lad named Yañña-datta is bitten by a snake and his parents bring him to an ascetic to be healed. The ascetic, laying hands upon the head of the lad, performs a *saccakiriyá* or Act of Truth thus :—

"Seven days serene in heart
Pure I lived, desiring merit :
Since then, for fifty years apart,
Self-absorbed, I do declare it,
Here, unwillingly I live :
May this truth a blessing give :
Poison baulked, the lad revive !"

The lad opens his eyes, being only partially cured. Thereupon both father and mother make each a *saccakiriyá* and, we are told, "all the poison fell and sank into the ground," the lad rising perfectly hale.

In the *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463), a ship is in imminent danger of being engulfed in the terrible Valabhāmukha⁵ ocean. The skipper,⁶ addressing the 700 terrified souls on board,

1. *Pali Dictionary*. q. v. 2. *Eastern Monachism*, 273.

3. *Mahavamsa*, p 125, n 3,

4. No. 444 in the Cambridge Edition of *The Jataka*, (Ed. Prof. E. B. Cowell) from which the translations given below have been quoted.

5. The Valabhāmukha Sea was a kind of hollow like a saucer. "Here the water is sucked away and rises on every side ; and the water thus sucked away on all sides rises in sheer precipices leaving what looks like a great pit. A wave rises on one side like a wall : a terrific roar is heard, which seems as it would burst the ear and break the heart."

6. He was the Bōdhisatta in this birth.

says : " Friends, bathe me speedily in scented water, and put new garments upon me, prepare a full bowl, and set me in front of the ship." This is done and the skipper makes the following *saccakiriyá* :

" Since I can myself remember, since intelligence first grew,
Not one life of living creature have I taken, that I knew :
May this ship return to safety if my solemn words are true ! "

And the narrative declares that the vessel, " now as though endued with supernatural power, returned in one single day to the seaport town of Bharukaccha, and even upon the dry land it went, till it rested before the mariner's door."

In the *Mahá-Mora-Játaka* (No. 491), the Bódhisatta admonishes a converted fowler thus : " As you have broken the power of lust and penetrated the knowledge of a Pacceka Buddha, on that ground make an Act of Truth, and in all India there shall be no creature left in bonds." The fowler makes a *saccakiriyá* in this wise :

" All those my feathered fowl that I did bind,
Hundreds and hundreds, in my house confined,
Unto them all I give their life today,
And freedom : let them homewards fly away."

And, it is recorded, " by his Act of Truth, though late, they were all set free from confinement, and twittering joyously went home to their own places. At the same moment throughout all India all creatures bound were set free, and not one was left in bondage, not so much as a cat."

In the *Sivi Játaka* (No. 499) the blind King Sivi regains his eyesight by two Acts of Truth :—

" Whatever sort, whatever kind of suitor shall draw near,
Whoever comes to ask of me, he to my heart is dear :
If these my solemn words be true, now let my eye appear ! "

Even as he uttered the words, we are told, one of his eyes grew up in the socket. And to restore the other he made another *saccakiriyá* thus :

" A brahmin came to visit me, one of my eyes to crave :
Unto that brahmin mendicant the pair of them I gave.
" A greater joy and more delight that action did afford.
If these my solemn words be true, be the other eye restored ! "

" On the instant appeared his second eye," the story continues.

In the *Sambulá Játaka* (No. 519) Prince Sotthisena, a leper, leaves the kingdom and takes to the wilderness whither his beautiful and faithful wife Sambulá accompanies him. One day Sambulá unavoidably delays to return with fruits from the forest and Sotthisena doubts her constancy :

" Illustrious lady, why so late today ?
What favoured lover led to this delay ? "

She protests her innocence, but her husband declares :

" You jades are ever by far too clever,
Truth among such is a great rarity,
Ways of the sex are enough to perplex,
Even as the course of a fish in the sea."

Then she replies : " My lord, though you do not believe me, by virtue of the truth I speak, I will heal you." So, filling a pot of water and performing a *saccakiriyá*, Sambulá pours the water on his head and says :

" May Truth for aye my shelter be,
As I love no man more than thee,
And by this Act of Truth, I pray,
May thy disease be healed today ! "

" No sooner was the water sprinkled over Sotthisena than the leprosy straightway left him, as it were copper rust washed in some acid," adds the narrative.

In the *Mahá-Sutasoma-Játaka* (No. 537) certain persons who have serious injuries on their hands are healed by a *saccakiriyá*. Sutasoma (the Bodhisatta) gets some bark from a tree pounded, performs an Act of Truth, and rubs the pounded bark on the injured palms, and " at that very moment their wounds were healed."

In the *Múga Pakkha-Játaka* (No. 538) Queen Candádevi, daughter of the King of the Maddas, is barren but longs for a child. So on the day of the full moon she takes upon herself the uposatha⁷ vows and, while lying on a little bed, as she reflects on her virtuous life, she makes a *saccakiriyá* in these terms : " If I have never broken the commandments, by the truth of this my protestation may a son be born to me." And the story goes on to relate how, " through the power of her piety," a son was born to her in due time.⁸

In the *Mahájunaka Játaka* (No. 539), Prince Polajanaka, unjustly suspected of treachery by his brother the King, is thrown into chains and imprisoned with a guard in a certain house. The Prince makes a *saccakiriyá* : " If I am my brother's enemy, let not my chains be unloosed nor the door become opened ; but otherwise, may my chains be unloosed and the door become opened," and thereupon, the story says, " the chains broke into pieces and the door flew open."

In the *Sáma Játaka* (No. 540), Sáma, a hunter's son, is wounded by a poisoned arrow and lies at the point of death. To take the poison from him, his mother performs a solemn *saccakiriyá* thus :—

" If it be true that in old days Sáma lived always virtuously,
Then may this poison in his veins lose its fell force and harmless be.
" If in old days he spoke the truth and nursed his parents night and day,
Then may this poison in his veins be overpowered and ebb away.
" Whatever merit we have gained in former days, his sire and I,
May it o'erpower the poison's strength and may our darling son not die ! "

When his mother has thus made the solemn asseveration, (continues the narrative), Sáma turned as he lay there. Then his father also made his solemn asseveration in the same words ; and while he was still speaking, Sáma turned round and lay on the other side. His complete re-

7. The *Upasatha* day is a day of religious observance and celebration for laymen and priests, and answers as nearly as possible to our Sunday. It occurs four times in the month, viz on the day of full moon, on the day when there is no moon, and on the two days which are eighth from the full and new moon ; it is therefore a weekly festival. On *uposatha* days laymen dress in their best clothes, and such of them as are religiously disposed abstain from trade and worldly amusements, and take upon themselves the *uposatha* vows, that is to say, go to a priest and make him their witness of their intention to keep the eight *Silas* during the day. The eight *Silas* are (1) prohibiting the destruction of life, (2) theft, (3) impurity, (4) lying, (5) use of intoxicating liquors, (6) eating at forbidden hours, (7) attending worldly amusements, and (8) use of unguents and ornaments.

8. In the Introduction to the *Mahá-Sutasoma-Játaka* (No. 537), reference is made to a *Saccakiriyá* by the elder Angulimāla whereby he saved the life of a woman having a difficult delivery.

covery is then brought about by a goddess of the Gandhamádana mountain, who had been a mother to Sáma in his seventh existence before this one and who also now performs a *saccakiriyá* :

"The goddess hidden out of sight upon the Gandhamádan mount
Performed a solemn Act of Truth, by pity moved on Sáma's count :
'Here in this Gandhamádan mount long have I passed my life alone,
In forest depths where every tree beareth a perfume of its own.
'And none of earth's inhabitants is dearer to my inmost heart,—
As this is true so from his veins may all the poison's power depart.'
"While thus in turn by pity moved they all their solemn witness bore,
Lo in their sight up Sáma sprang, young, fair, and vigorous as before."

Examples from the "*Mahāvamsa*."

Further similar illustrations may be quoted from the *Jātakas*,⁹ but it seems unnecessary. The *Mahāvamsa*, however, gives a few interesting examples and these are enumerated below :

In connection with the collar-bone relic of the Buddha, King Devánampiyatissa makes the following *saccakiriyá* :—

"If this is a relic of the Sage then shall my parasol bow down, of itself, my elephant shall sink upon its knees, this relic-urn, coming toward me with the relic shall descend upon my head,"

"So thought the king, and as he thought so it came to pass," says the *Mahāvamsa* (XVII. 25-26).

Again, King Asoka of India makes a *saccakiriyá* on the occasion of the despatch of the great Bodhi tree to Ceylon. We are told that, in order to receive the sacred branch, he mounted upon a seat inlaid with gold, and, grasping a pencil of red arsenic with a golden handle, drew with this a line about the bough, uttering the following solemn declaration :

"So truly as the great Bodhi-tree shall go hence to the isle of Lanká, and so truly as I shall stand unalterably firm in the doctrine of the Buddha, shall this fair south branch of the great Bodhi-tree, severed of itself, take its place here in this golden vase."

Then (continues the narrative) the great Bodhi-tree severed, of itself, at the place where the line was, floating above the vase filled with fragrant earth (*Mahāvamsa*, XVIII, 40-42.)

Dutthagámani, in the course of his subjugation of the Tamils, makes a *saccakiriyá* upon the field of battle : When the monarch heard that it was said, "Not knowing their own army, they slay their own people," he made this solemn declaration :

"Not for the joy of sovereignty is this toil of mine, my striving has been ever to establish the doctrine of the Sambuddha. And even as this is truth, may the armour on the body of my soldiers take the colour of fire."

"And now it came to pass even thus," solemnly records the *Mahāvamsa* (XXV. 16-18).

Dutthagámani performs another *saccakiriyá* at the enshrining of the relics in what was then, and is still today, known as the Ruvanveli-séya. Washing his hands in water fragrant with perfumes and rubbing them with the five kinds of perfumes, he opens the relic-casket, and, taking out the relics, the King thinks thus :

9. See, for instance, the *Gayaddisa-Jātaka* (No. 513) where a *saccakiriyá* is performed on behalf of a Prince by his father, mother, sister and wife.

"If these relics shall abide undisturbed by any man soever, and if the relics, serving as a refuge for the people, shall endure continually, then may they rest, in the form of the master as he lay upon his death-bed, upon this well-ordered and precious couch!"

Adds the *Mahāvamsa*: "Thinking thus he laid the relics upon the splendid couch; the relics lay there upon the splendid couch even in such a shape" (XXXI. 106-108).

Then, again, we have three other instances in the *Mahāvamsa* each of which, though not expressly designated as such, may still be said to partake of the nature of a *saccakiriyá*:

(a) Rain falls at an unwonted season and causes trouble. King Elára undergoes a fast, thinking: "*A king who observes justice surely obtains rain in due season.*" Thenceforth the heavens rain no more during the day throughout his realm; only by night do the heavens give rain once every week, in the middle watch of the night. (*Mah.* XXI. 28-33).

(b) King Sirisamghabodhi, hearing that the people of the Island were come to want by reason of a drought, is filled with pity and lies down on the ground in the courtyard of the great Thúpa, forming the resolve: "*Unless I be raised up by the water that the god shall rain down I will never more rise up from hence, even though I die here.*" As he lies there, the god pours down rain forthwith on the whole Island of Lanka, reviving the wide earth, and in this way he averts the fear of a famine in the Island. (*Mah.* XXXVI. 74-79).

(c) A Yakkha known as Ratakkhi¹⁰ makes red the eyes of the people and devours large numbers of them. The same King Sirisamghabodhi, learning of the people's distress, lies down with sorrowful heart alone in the chamber of fasting, keeping the eight *uposatha* vows, and says: "*Till I have seen the yakkha I will not rise up.*" By the magic power of the King's piety, the Yakkha comes to him and is subdued and so the fear of pestilence is brought to an end (*Mah.* XXXVI. 82-90).

In the light of what has been detailed above, Hardy's definition of a *saccakiriyá* needs revision, or rather amplification. The asseveration, or "recitation" as Hardy calls it, is obviously not restricted to "acts done either in this or some former birth," but sometimes, as in the case of two at least of the illustrations above from the *Mahāvamsa*, has reference to a contingency coming true or an event occurring at some future time, period or birth, as the case may be.

A noteworthy fact in connection with every *saccakiriyá* referred to above or known to me (with one solitary exception) is that the *wish* following the asseveration is always good or praiseworthy, noble or pious. The "solitary exception" I have come across in Buddhist literature is in the nature of a malediction and, curiously enough, is paralleled by the solitary example of a *saccakiriyá* I have met with in Christian literature. Here are the two which, in unholy spirit, bear a striking resemblance to each other:—

In the *Pandara-Jātaka* (No. 518) an ascetic proves treacherous to a snake-king who had trusted him. Accordingly the snake-king, in order to punish the other, performs a *saccakiriyá* thus:

"Informer, traitor, that wouldst slay
A guileless friend, be thy head riven
By this my Act of Truth, I pray,
Piecemeal, all into fragments seven!"

Then before the very eyes of the snake-king, (so the story goes), the head of the ascetic was split into seven pieces, and at the very spot where he was sitting the ground was cleft asunder.

And the Christian *saccakiriyá* occurs at 2 Kings I. 10:—

"And Elijah answered and said to the Captain of fifty: '*If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty.*' And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty."

Can any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* point out any other *saccakiriyá* in Christian literature?

¹⁰. That is, "Red-eye." Geiger suggests it was scarlatina. The *Atanagaluvasa*, which relates this episode in Chap VI (Ed. Alwis, p 16 foll), speaks of a fever (*jararoga*) beginning with inflammation of the eyes.

Literary Register.

SOME SINHALESE FOLKLORE STORIES.

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

THE following were told me in the Southern Province, 1897-1900.—

(1) A Journey to Heaven.

An elephant from heaven used to enter a *gamarála's* sweet-potato garden and destroy the crop. One day the *gamarála* (like an unfortunate keeper did with Beligammana at the kraal of August, 1920), caught it by the tail and held on to it, with the result that the elephant took him up in this way to heaven. He returned in the same way and informed his wife (*mahage*) where he had been, and how. She suggested that it would be a good thing if they could both go to heaven in this way. When the dhoby brought back the wash she told him all about it, and he wanted to go too. He told all the people for whom he washed and they wanted to go too. All these determined that they would pay a visit to heaven by this means—in fact the whole village was bent on going. All assembled, waiting for the elephant's return in order that he might take them. The *gamarála* held on to the elephant's tail; his wife held on to him, and so on.

When they got near heaven, the *gamarála's* wife asked him whether the gate of heaven was large enough to admit them all. He let go his hold in order to demonstrate with his hands how wide the gate was, and he and the whole tail (or tale) of villagers fell to the earth and were killed. And here ends the tale.

(2) The Thief-catcher and the Forty Thieves.

One day a man saw a crab digging a hole and then walking away from it and returning to it. When he had gone through these three actions the crab remarked to himself,—

Háranná bola háranná
Duvanná bola duvanná
Hitinná bola hitinná,"

which I suppose may be freely translated :

"Dig, my friend, dig,
 Run, my friend, run,
 Wait, my friend, wait."

The man determined to use these words as if they were a charm. Later he stole a donkey and hid it in the jungle. He then announced that he was prepared to discover stolen property and the thieves who had stolen it. The owner of the donkey applied to him in due

course to find his donkey. He undertook the job, and as a necessary preliminary to impress the owner, went through the operation of burning some substance or other and muttering the charm. He then told the owner "you will find the donkey at such and such a place," and of course he found it there. On this account the man acquired a reputation as a discoverer of stolen property.

Now there happened to occur a burglary at the palace and some treasure stolen, and the king had it published by beat of tom-tom that, if anyone could find the treasure and discover who the thieves were, he would be richly rewarded, but that the penalty of failure would be death. The wife of the famous thief-catcher told the tom-tom beater that her husband was the man to perform this task successfully. In consequence her husband was taken before the king who ordered him to undertake it. He asked for a period of forty days in which to accomplish it, and this was allowed him. He felt that it was all up with him as failure was certain, and so he provided himself with 40 stones, to mark each day as it passed with a stone—a black and not a white stone it should have been.

On the first day the captain of the robbers who had heard that he was employed on this task set one of his men to watch his proceedings. This man hearing him say at the end of the day "There is one," as he handled the stone, jumped to the conclusion that he had discovered one of the thieves, viz. himself, and so reported to his captain. Next day the captain sent two men to watch. They heard the thief-catcher, at the end of the day, say to himself counting two stones, "There are two," and thought that he had discovered two of the thieves. So it went on from day to day until on the last day the whole of the forty thieves were present, and in due course they heard the exclamation "There are the forty." So they confessed their guilt to him, and he remarked: "I knew all along that you were guilty, but as you have confessed I will intercede for you with the king." The king duly rewarded him but punished the thieves.

The thief-catcher then told his wife that from that day he intended to give up that occupation, as he feared next time he would not be successful. She, however, replied: "But we must live; if you give up the profession I shall have to take to it, and you had better teach me how to carry on." Accordingly he began by repeating to her the words of the charm sentence by sentence and over and over again.—Just then the thieves, whom he had denounced to the king and who had a grudge against him in consequence, were engaged in digging a hole so as to break into his house. Hearing the first line which seemed unmistakably to refer to what they were doing, they ran away, and, as they did so, heard the second line which as undoubtedly described that action. Thereupon they stopped and hid themselves, and then came the third line just as *à propos* as the other two. This was the climax; they fled and left him and his house undisturbed from that day forth.

[It is curious that the number of the thieves should be 40; one suspects that the story of Ali Baba and the 40 thieves was not unknown among Sinhalese villagers. One is struck with the want of imagination shown by the thieves and their captain—or perhaps they had too much of it.]

3. Two Wayfarers and a Leopard—Turning the Tables.

A countryman took shelter in an *ambalama*. A leopard had anticipated him but remained without the railings. The man caught it by the tail and held on to it for some time. Then there arrived another traveller who had a *katti*, and the first man appealed to him to kill the leopard. But the new-comer having looked at the leopard, hesitated and then said he could not do it as the animal reminded him of his grandfather. The other therefore suggested

that he should give him the *katti*, and hold the leopard's tail while the former killed the leopard. The second man agreed to this, handed over the *katti* and caught hold of the leopard's tail. Whereupon the first man decamped calling out to the second : "*Muttat badágana ohe hiṭa-pan*" : "Stay there you, hugging your grandfather." [Is there not a similar story in the *Kata-sintamani* or the *Katamancheri* ?]

4. The Leopard and the Jackal.

A leopard come across a calf and was going to eat it, but a jackal advised him to put it into a *koṭuva* (enclosure) and keep it there until it had grown up, as it would then give him a much better meal. The leopard took the advice, but the calf grew into a bull of such a size that the leopard felt unable to tackle it. The jackal was again consulted and recommended that a rope should be tied to the bull and passed round the leopard's middle. This was done, whereupon the bull dragged the leopard all over the country until it died. Then the jackal feasted on the leopard.

5. Folklore of the Leopard.

The leopard in fact does not seem to get credit for much in the way of brains. The Sinhalese say that the cat is the master of the leopard, for it taught the leopard how to climb trees, but not how to climb down. Hence the leopard bears ill-will towards the cat. There is a similar story in the Madras Presidency respecting the tiger and the cat. They became great friends but eventually quarrelled. The tiger attempted to kill the cat who climbed a tree and escaped as the tiger could not do this. The tiger therefore waited for the cat to come down and was killed by a sportsman. But the story ought to be that the tiger climbed the tree after the cat ; that the cat got down but the tiger could not, and was consequently trapped or shot by the sportsman. (See *Indian Notes and Queries*.)

THE COURTESAN'S STORY.¹

By MR. C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S.

IT was almost a year to a day after my meeting with my friend the anchorite, that I again found myself in the rest-house at Pandharpur. I had finished the work for which I had come and I was lying in a long chair in the verandah, drinking a whisky and soda. Just then my butler came up with the news that a woman wished to see me. "What on earth does she want?" I asked, as the sun was setting and I could not imagine what business a woman could have with me at that hour of the day. "I asked her," replied my servant, "but all I could get out of her was, that she had heard the Sahib liked stories and that she had one to tell him." "O, if she has a story to tell," I said, "let her in. It will pass the time before dinner." The butler salaamed, went out and in a few moments brought back with him a pretty girl, who salaamed to me with a careless movement of the right hand. She was dressed in a pretty silk *sári*, she wore a heavy pearl nose-ring supported by a wisp of hair. She had silver bangles and anklets and gold rings and toe-rings. Her eyes were darkened with *kanjal* (a preparation of lampblack), and all her person gave out a scent of attar and sandalwood oil. She

¹ *Hindustan Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1921.

walked with a swinging motion of her heavy hips and with her toes turned inwards. Her gaze had none of the timid bashfulness that distinguishes the Indian lady from her English sister. A glance at her was enough to tell me that my lady visitor was a priestess of Aphrodite.

"Well, Bai Sahib," I said with a smile, "what can I do for you? I am afraid I am too old for one so young and beautiful as yourself."

"The Sahib is too kind," she answered with a languishing look, "the Sahib seems dull, shall I tell him a story?"

"Please do," I said, "tell me the story of yourself and I fancy it will be as interesting as any Puranic legend."

"Very well, Sahib," said the girl, "I will, and I think it will prove not uninteresting. My name is Saraswati. I came from Bombay originally and I was a pupil of the famous Kitty Jan."

"Kitty Jan?", I asked, "who was she?"

"The Sahib cannot in his youth have spent much time in Bombay or he would certainly have known Kitty Jan," retorted my visitor. "She was the reigning beauty there twenty years ago. She was half English, so she said, her father being a high English official, and she sang divinely both English and Indian songs."

I still had to plead ignorance of this paragon of seduction.

"Well, it is not of much consequence, Sahib. I do not remember my parents. They were Bhattias, so Kitty Jan said, and one of her agents stole me when only two years old at a railway station. The agent took me down to Bombay and Kitty Jan took charge of me. She was very kind to me and she tried hard to make me sing like herself. But I had no music in my head and I could not learn although I tried as hard to learn, as she to teach me. When I was twelve, Kitty Jan sold my innocence to a rich young Hindu of Bandra for several thousand rupees. That was one of the ways she made her money. Thereafter I lived with her and followed her trade. But although I was twenty years younger than she was, the visitors at her house always preferred her to me. She was so fair and had seen so much and she could sing like a gandharva.² Nor was she lacking in wit. Woe betide the youth who tried to make fun of her! She soon had him blushing to his eartips, while the whole room rocked with laughter.

"When I was sixteen Kitty Jan moved from Bombay to Haidarabad in the Deccan. She said that the air of Bombay no longer suited her. Perhaps also she wished to try her charms on a new set of clients. Anyway, she was soon as great a success in Haidarabad as in Bombay, and all the young Moghul nobles raved about her eyes, her fair complexion and her saucy wit. One day there came to her house a young Musulman. He was a trooper in the Bombay lancers and his name was Farid Khan. He had been drawn to the house by the fame of Kitty Jan, but when he came his eyes turned to me. He was the first visitor who had ever preferred my looks to those of Kitty Jan and I felt ever so grateful to him for it. Nor did Kitty Jan mind. She merely laughed and called us by the names of various famous lovers, Rama and Sita, Majnun and Laila, Romeo and Juliet, and I know not what else.

"There was one dark spot in our sky. Farid Khan's leave was quickly nearing its end and he was due to return to Poona where his regiment was stationed. He wanted to marry me and take me with him. But Kitty Jan would not let me go, unless he paid her Rs. 2,000. Of course a lancer like Farid Khan had not even Rs. 200. So we resolved to seize the first chance

2. The Hindu cherubim.

that came and run away together. But that was not easy. Kitty Jan guessed what we intended and kept me shut up in my house with one of her men-friends to watch me. Whenever I tried to go out as if on an innocent walk, Kitty Jan always knew of it and had me brought back.

"At last the chance Farid Khan and I were longing for came. The river at Haidarabad rose higher than it had ever risen before. The water swept round our house! Other houses all round were crumbling to nothing and Kitty Jan saw that unless we at once left, we should all be drowned, as indeed many of our neighbours had been. I and Kitty Jan and one or two other girls, whom she had in the same way bought or stolen for her trade, went out of the house together; but at the first corner I slipped away and ran as hard as I could to Farid Khan's house. By a lucky chance he was in. I told him how I had run away and he was delighted at my wit and courage. That evening he took me by train to Poona and I lived in the lancer lines with him as his wife.

"After a time he found the cost of keeping me on his slender pay too heavy; for how could I, used as I was to the luxury of Kitty Jan's house, be content to live on his beggarly Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 a month. So we left the lines and went to live with another lancer, Buland Khan, who had a house in the city. He had a rich father who made him an allowance. So we went to live with him and even as Draupadi³ did," here the naughty little wretch's eyes twinkled gaily. "I managed to be a faithful wife to more than one husband. After a time, however, Buland Khan's money also gave out. His father married a second time and turned a deaf ear to all his son's prayers for money. He sent him just Rs. 20 every month.

"But what were Rs. 20 a month to me who wanted jewels and silk dresses, such as I had worn with Kitty Jan? At last my two husbands were in despair. We were only half way through the month and neither Farid Khan nor Buland Khan had a pice between them. What was worse was that our credit was exhausted. No one would sell us a thing save for ready money and we had none.

"You must get some money or I shall leave you," I said to Farid Khan.

"Where can I get it?" he retorted sulkily.

"That is known only to God," I said. "But there is a milk-woman who used to bring us milk. She always wears a string of gold sequins and other ornaments round her neck. Why not get the money from her?"

"You little fool," snarled back Farid Khan. "She will not let us have any more milk on credit; is she likely to lend us money?"

"Man with a buffalo's understanding," I answered. "Are borrowing and lending the only ways by which money changes hands?"

"What do you mean?" said Farid Khan, but his face grew pale and I knew that he had guessed my meaning.

"Now, Sahib, I never meant that Farid Khan and Buland Khan should kill the poor old milk woman. My idea was that they should jump out of some dark corner and, pretending they were robbers, snatch away her jewellery. Nor would there have been any great harm in this, for of what manner of use was the sequin necklace to an ugly old *gavli*⁴ woman. Indeed it only drew attention to her ugliness, whereas round my neck it would have enhanced my beauty. I explained this that evening to the two lancers; and for several days afterwards they watched in dark lanes to try and catch the old *gavli* woman.

3. Draupadi was the common wife of the five Pandavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*.

4. Gavli is the cowherd caste.

"But she was no fool, that old milk seller. She always plied her trade by day and she avoided dark lanes and gullies. If any one asked her for milk, she bade him bring his 'lota' and get it filled in the main road. Thus things grew worse and worse. We only lived at all by pawning one of my gold toe-rings. But when I gave it to Farid Khan, I warned him that I should leave him before the week was out, unless he gave it back to me together with a money present by way of interest. Farid Khan's wits were sharpened by the fear of losing me, so he went the same day to the *gavil* woman and told her that he had come by some money and would pay her bill, if she went back with him to his house. In this way he baited the trap for her and the miserly old thing was caught in it.

"She came back with him to our house and came inside. Directly she did so, Buland Khan shut the door behind her and Farid Khan flung her on the ground. She had been too astonished to do anything until she felt her necklace go from off her neck and then she fought like a fiend. She screamed, she kicked, she bit and made such a fearful uproar that the two men had to tie her *sári* round her head and neck, while they took the rest of her ornaments and her purse. When they had taken all she had they undid her *sári* and would have let her go. But she was dead. Whether they had tied her *sári* too tight round her neck and had strangled her or whether the loss of her money and jewellery had broken her heart, I do not know. But she was stone dead, there was no doubt of it; and the next question was what we should do with the old wretch's body. The men asked me. But I would not help them, as I did not wish to be mixed up in the murder.

"You killed her," I said. "You must hide her body or the Sarkar will hang you."

"At last they got angry with me and dragging the old woman into an inner room, covered it with a sheet. Then they went out and did not return until late at night. They brought back with them a wooden box. They made me help them tie the dead body as tightly as possible in the sheet. They next stuffed the body into the wooden box and went out again. Farid Khan carried the box and Buland Khan carried his bedding and a bundle of pots to make it look as if they were travellers. I learnt afterwards that they threw the box and its contents into a well two or three miles away. I slept until six next morning, when Farid Khan woke me up and told me that I must go to Bombay. I at first refused. But Farid Khan had, it would seem, lost all his love for me. He looked at me as if he would kill me.

"You have made me a murderer, you vile woman!" he said, "I shall not let you stay here and betray us."

"Buland Khan added some words of the same sort and I was so frightened that I agreed to do whatever the two men told me. They took me to the railway station, and Farid Khan went with me to Bombay. There he took me to a house kept by a miserly old Ben Israel woman and told me to stay there until he came to fetch me. As he gave the old Ben Israel woman only two rupees, it was not long before she drove me out of the house. I was very angry at the way I had been treated and I also heard a rumour that the police had found the box with the dead woman's body inside it in the well and were looking for me. I sold my remaining jewellery and went by train to Surat. I lived there for some weeks, until one day I heard a footstep on the staircase and a loud knock at my door.

"My blood turned to ice. I opened the door and there in front of me stood two Poona policemen. They had found me out and they questioned me and cross-questioned me until I told them everything. Nor to tell the truth was I really loth to do so, as I was burning with rage against Farid Khan and Buland Khan for the way they had turned me out and had kept for themselves the *gavli* woman's ornaments.



"After taking down my story in writing, the two policemen took me to a Magistrate, where I repeated it and the same evening I was taken to Poona. There I gave evidence before the Judge Sahib and in the dock were Farid Khan and Buland Khan. They scowled at me in order to frighten me, I suppose. But I was not afraid of them and I told the Judge Sahib the truth. One must tell the truth, Sahib, is that not so, when one takes an oath in the Sarkar's court?"

"Yes, indeed that is so," I assented, wondering how much truth the young lady would have told, had she not been anxious to square accounts with her former lovers. "But how did the police come to know that Farid Khan and Buland Khan were the murderers?"

"Well, Sahib, it was really not very hard. The *gavli* woman had been seen going with Farid Khan, just before she disappeared. The next day I, Farid Khan and Buland Khan vanished, leaving the door of the house locked from the outside. Then the police, on hearing that the *gavli* woman was missing, sent divers down the wells round Poona and found the box with the body inside it. The box had the shopkeeper's name on it and he told the police that a man in a lancer's uniform had bought it. Then the two young fools getting frightened sent the *gavli* woman's jewellery by registered post to Haidarabad and the postal officers, having been warned, found the parcel and handed it over to the police. On these facts the police arrested Farid Khan and Buland Khan and learnt from them that I had gone to a Ben Israel woman in Bombay. From her they learnt that I had left Bombay. They made enquiries for me in the Deccan and then in Guzrat. In the end they found me in Surat."

"Well, what happened to Farid Khan and Buland Khan?" I asked, as I had got quite interested in the fate of the two young ruffians.

"The Judge convicted them," replied Sarswati, "but he did not hang them as he should have done. He sentenced them to the Black Water (Transportation) for life."

"Oh well," I said, "they were quite young, were they not?"

"They were young in years," replied Sarswati severely. "Farid Khan was 20 and Buland Khan 21. But they were old in wickedness, or they would not have treated me as they did and the Judge Sahib should have hanged them."

Then giving me her sweet seductive look and coquettishly drawing her *sâri* across her face, she asked me in a way that left no doubt as to her meaning :

"Now that I have told the Sahib my story, does he want nothing more from me?"

As she spoke she poked at a pebble with the big toe of the right foot.

"Nay, Bai Shib," I answered with a laugh, "I have work to do, and you really must excuse me."

"The Sahib is as virtuous as Bhishma,"³ said Sarswati with a slight sneer.

"And the Bai Shib," I retorted, "is as virtuous as Draupadi."³

The sneer on my visitor's face changed into so deep a scowl, that not wishing to incur the little fiend's vindictive enmity, I at once said soothingly :

"Nay, Bai Sahib, be not angry, even the virtuous Bhishma would have felt your beauty, and, if he might not love you, he would at least have paid it tribute."

As I spoke I put two ten rupee notes into her hand and said : "One is for the story, Bai Sahib, and the other for your pretty face."

Sarswati's anger went as quickly as it had come. She salaamed as before and turned to go. I watched her as she went down the drive, swinging her heavy hips in a wide circle. As she was about to turn the corner, she looked back and called mockingly : "May Shri Krishna of Pandharpur, Sahib, bestow on you second youth."

Before I could think of a retort, she had gone for ever. But the scent of her attar and sandalwood oil haunted the verandah for a full hour afterwards.

3. Draupadi was the common wife of the five Pandavas, the heroes of the *Mahabharata*.

5. One of the heroes of the *Mahabharata*. He took a vow of perpetual chastity.

