

**ROBERT KNOX IN THE KANDYAN KINGDOM 1660-
1679: A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY
(1975)
ADDENDUM (1998)**

Introduction

"Buried alive thou wast: another world did'st see,
Of things & men a strange varietie:
Risen again, return'd, to us do'st tell
These wonders which from thee, we credite well.
Nineteen hott sumers, melting, there did'st stay.
Here in the North, to coole, th'art gott away
By Providence divine, on which wee looke,
As att the highest wonder in thy booke.
Thy first Edition was a noble feast
But these, thy second thoughts, must needs be best."

Jan: 1st 1695/6. D.F.M.D.

Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*. 2nd ed. (1989, i.e. 1990).
Vol. II, p. xvi

This agreeable verse was written on a slip pasted in the Preamble to the interleaved manuscript of Knox. The inscription reads: "A new-years-gift to his friend, the Authour, Capt. Robert Knox, upon this second Edition of his Narrative of Ceilon". The editor (J.H.O. Paulusz) in a footnote points out that the most rigorous search has failed to turn up the full names of the owner of these initials. It remains a puzzle to be solved.

If a poll were to be taken among scholars and students of Sri Lanka's well-wrought urn of history and culture even today on who was and still remains the most remarkable and well-loved visitant, willing or otherwise, to the island, I have little or no doubt that Robert Knox would emerge the victor hands down. The tale of this largely illiterate sailor and ship captain's son who endured nineteen and a half years as a captive of the redoubtable Rajasinha II in the late 17th century has had its infinite variety, like Shakespeare's Cleopatra. It has neither withered through age, nor staled by custom. Knox was born on 8 February 1641 and died at the ripe old age of nearly eighty on 19 June 1720, happy in the satisfaction of seeing his close encounter with the Kingdom of Kandy in successful print, but denied the long anticipated pleasure of the second edition of his interleaved copy published before his death. That this elusive and long-lost edition of his famous book took three hundred and nine years to be made available to expectant lovers of Knoxiana is one of the primary urges of this further addition to the literature on the intrepid and inquisitive Englishman. In 1976 my

"Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679 : A Bio-Bibliographical Commentary" was published in the *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. 1, No.2, December 1975, pp 81-151, 7 illus. It charted the destinies of both man and book from Knox's birth to death, the further adventures of the two interleaved copies, and provided a detailed, copiously annotated and critical survey of the literature pertaining to this abiding favourite and durable classic of Ceyloniana. My commentary sought to chronicle its history and validate its position up to the moment of compilation.

As I mentioned there, Knox had occupied a leading place in my affections from an early age, and a quarter of a century of foraging for material and information in my own University Library in Peradeniya and other repositories, here and abroad, only whetted the desire and stimulated the impulse of laying bare the fruits of this research. It is pertinent to this story to recount a day in London in late 1955 when S. Arasaratnam, K.W. Goonewardena and I (a trio of Peradeniya colleagues on study leave in England) became aware, over dinner in the University of London Students' Union cafeteria, that the long mislaid and untraceable interleaved copy of Knox's *Ceylon* had come to light in the British Museum Library. Further, that its eventual discoverer Dr. H.J. Braunholtz, Keeper of the Department of Ethnography and the retired Ceylon Government Archivist, Jan Hendrick Oliver Paulusz, had been entrusted with the task of editing it for publication by the Hakluyt Society, London. That Arasaratnam and Goonewardena went on to become established authorities on the activities of the Dutch in Ceylon is also germane to this story. Thereafter, each year the *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts* of the Hakluyt Society carried the news that this edition was "in active preparation". Braunholtz died a few years after the commencement of the undertaking, and the main challenge devolved on Paulusz alone. My interest was kept alive by inquiry from the Society periodically and on 13 May 1975 in the course of finalising my 1975 commentary I wrote to the Society and received a reply from Mrs Alexa Barrow (its Secretary) on 22 May 1975: "It is hoped that *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* by Captain Robert Knox edited by H.J. Paulusz will be published within the next two years. The footnotes are at present being typed which fill me with optimism, although years of experience warns me not to be too optimistic!" In my response of 03 June 1975, I expressed pleasure over her news, but I went on to say that I picked up "the warning signals in your qualified message of optimism". I further pointed out that the Society had bestowed on Paulusz initials that had rightly belonged to the late Braunholtz, in its letter and annual publicity lists.

By late 1979 I had learned from an unimpeachable source in the University of Cambridge (close to the horse's mouth in the Hakluyt Society) that the Society had been disappointed by the final product as provided by Paulusz, and expressed a desire to have it revised and reworked by someone else, presumably more expert in the field. Soon after an Australian student of Sri Lankan literature (James Crouch) whom I had kept informed of my own work on Knox had himself inquired from the Society on 8 March 1980 about this proposed and long-deferred publication, and been informed by Mrs Alexa Barrow on 4 April 1980 that: "We regret the Society's edition of Knox's *Ceylon* has been abandoned". The trio who had celebrated the news in 1955 with an

extra pint of ale each were naturally let down---incidentally all three became confirmed Knox aficionados, and these concerns were displayed in my previous commentary as well as this addition. It was a matter of some surprise, therefore, that Goonewardena chose to ignore completely in his otherwise scrupulous and thorough review of Paulusz's interleaved edition the significant fact that the work had been commissioned over three decades earlier by the Hakluyt Society for publication in its impressive and renowned series, and that this had not happened. Perhaps he wished to desist from heaping further indignity upon the editor? I have elected to put the record straight in the interests of historical accuracy, as well as disclosing the true antecedents of this edition.

The news was particularly saddening for me as I had been buoyed up by the appreciative comments arising from my labours of 1975. In addition the tercentenary of Knox's celebrated first and extremely rare folio edition of 1681 was almost upon us, and on my own initiative I decided to interest an Indian antiquarian reprint publisher--Navrang of New Delhi--on the desirability of undertaking a highly prized venture in facsimile publication. Unfortunately, since it took some time to locate an immaculate and perfect 1681 edition (complete with map, portrait and all the plates) in India, the first facsimile reprint of Knox appeared one year and seven months after the actual tercentenary of 1 September 1681 in May 1983. It was both pleasure and reward in abundance, the more so because I had been afforded the privilege of contributing a lengthy introduction to it (see no. 1). The demand proved so encouraging among Knox-starved customers, that it provoked a further reprint in identical format ten years later with an Afterword by me (see no. 4).

In between the first and second facsimile 1681 reprints it became known that Paulusz, baulked of his ambitions by the refusal or reluctance of the Hakluyt Society to publish his work, and having had, doubtless, the results of his long, painstaking and arduous labours returned to him, had not retired hurt. He must obviously have been immensely relieved and happy to have his edition of the interleaved Knoxes accepted for publication by Tisara Prakasakayo, Dehiwela, in Sri Lanka. His indiscriminate and unbalanced undertaking (going beyond, perhaps, what the Hakluyt Society had ever originally intended) finally saw the light of day in two stiff-board, dust-jacketed volumes in 1989 [i.e. 1990] (see no. 5). The comments I now put down are indeed passing strange. On p. 2 of Paulusz's Foreword to his interleaved edition of Knox, Vol. I, he mentions that H.J. Brauholtz initiated steps to edit the interleaved Knox with H.W. Codrington, C.C.S., as joint editor. The latter's death in 1942 and the war put paid to that effort. On p. 470 of the same volume (last page) he reveals that Brauholtz, on becoming Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, British Museum, had reported his discovery to the Hakluyt Society in 1939 with a view to publication. It is typical of Paulusz's editorial techniques that this obviously linked information has had to be garnered from two pages in the same volume separated by 468 pages in between! Even more baffling, nay misleading or perplexing, is the fact that nowhere in his Acknowledgements or Foreword (or indeed anywhere in the two volumes) in this long-awaited edition of a supposedly definitive Knox does Paulusz reveal that: (a) it had originally been commissioned by the Hakluyt Society from H.J. Brauholtz and

himself in 1955: (b) the date of Brauholtz's death and what his specific contributions had been; (c) whether they were utilised by Paulusz or not; (d) no mention, whatsoever, that the Hakluyt Society had turned down his edition around 1980; and (e) what, if any, reasons were given for such abandonment. All these are open to further inquiry or speculation. Even Knox, the greenhorn scholar, would have been most bemused.

In my Afterword in the 1993 folio 1681 edition, I had stated that I planned a critical review of Paulusz's edition when the *Addendum* to my 1975 Knox commentary was to appear. This work has been delayed in the last five years by problems of ill-health, increasing age and other scholarly projects. Hence, the elaborate and clinical dissection of Paulusz's edition I had looked forward to writing has been effectively and more devastatingly forestalled by Prof. K.W. Goonewardena in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*, Vol XXXVII, 1992-93 (1994), pp. 117-144. I am in agreement with him on all grounds, and can only congratulate him on exposing the purblind nature of Paulusz's scholarship and the unnecessarily long-winded, even haphazard and disorderly, character of his editorial labours. I am naturally glad to have been spared the ordeal of going over the same ground, with perhaps a slightly different emphasis, but essentially similar results. My comments in this work may, therefore, be taken as complementary to his and starting some hares too. I am unaware of any other review of the interleaved Knox at the time of writing. As in the 1975 work, this too is divided into two sections: (a) Editions, Versions and Digests; (b) Criticism, the Man and his Book. I must point out that my major or only concern has been to supplement my pioneer commentary on Knox, with material published after 1975, and in a few cases, earlier literature which had escaped my notice.

That encounter in 1955 continued to shed its afterglow, and it has been left to all three to contribute their particular expertise to reframing the portrait of Knox's narrative skill and descriptive prowess in the light of later developments in history and anthropology. That is my only excuse for offering this final tribute to the audacious and venturesome English captive in 17th century Ceylon whose story when it was first published 317 years ago rated only one notice in *The London Gazette* No. 1648 of 1-5 September 1681, and then in *The Term Catalogues, 1668 - 1709 A.D.* (Edward Arber) Vol. 1 1668 - 1682, p. 461, as a bound folio edition priced at 10 shillings. It has been worth its weight in gold since to antiquarians and rare book collectors as well as to the never decreasing tribe of students and scholars of Sri Lanka's mediaeval lore, in one way or another.

I began this sequel to my 1975 Knox pursuit on 24 March 1998, the 50th anniversary of my marriage, and it was finished on 7 May, my wife's birthday. It is dedicated to her love and understanding, and a shared interest in this irresistible chase. I wish to thank the Editor of *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* for accepting it for publication.

Note on the plate

This remarkable and elaborately conceived and executed portrait in oils by P. Trampon is reproduced by kind courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, London. It is obviously a much later portrait than the familiar Richard White engraving of 1695, when Knox was 54. But the painting is undated and the Museum Catalogue has no date for it either. A clue to its possible date is provided by the fact that Knox's left hand is resting on a manuscript book which bears the title *Memoires of my owne Life 1708*. It is known that Knox was using a second interleaved copy of his first edition of 1681 from 1696 to 1711 to put down his memoirs, referred to in his Last Will and Testament of 30 November 1711 (confirmed for the last time on 4 April 1720) and this copy came to light in the Bodleian Library, Oxford in October 1900. It was first edited by James Ryan and published in 1911, and is commonly referred to as the "Autobiography". It is a matter of some curiosity that there is no mention of this later impressive portrait done twelve years before his death. Concerning its first reproduction anywhere see No. 33 and related comments.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY
A : EDITIONS, VERSIONS and DIGESTS
(In Chronological Order)

1. KNOX, Robert. *AN HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE ISLAND CEYLON IN THE EAST INDIES*. With an Introduction by H.A.I. Goonetilleke, former Librarian, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. First Facsimile Reprint by Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, New Delhi of the Original Edition published in London in 1681. New Delhi, 1983, xvi, (24), 189 p., front. (port), fold map, 17 copper plate engravings on 15 plates. Folio (30 x 15 cms). Publishers black cloth binding with gilt lettering on spine. Printed in India by Mr Sehgal at Rahul Offset Works, A-44, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase 2, New Delhi and published by Mrs. Nirmal Singal for Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, New Delhi, 110012.

This is the very first facsimile reprint of the original 1681 folio edition, published in London by Richard Chiswell, printer to the Royal Society. There have been other reprints after 1681, but never before a complete photolithographic reproduction in exact replica fashion. The Richard White portrait of Knox (dated 30 Dec. 1695) and the 1681 facsimile title-page follow the special introduction by H.A.I. Goonetilleke on pp. vii-xvi. The introduction concentrates on narrating the circumstances surrounding the gestation of Knox's text and his adventures in seeking a second expanded edition in his lifetime thereafter. The vicissitudes affecting both the autobiography (published only in 1911) and the interleaved copy of the 1681 edition are discussed in detail. There are observations too on the contemporary and subsequent impact of this perennial source book for Sri Lankan studies. After over three centuries it retains its unassailable place as the most highly prized and sought after artifact in the antiquarian literature on the island. Copies of the first edition, when available, fetch sensational prices, and this elegant and dignified reprint provides an opportunity for all Knox lovers to possess the first and most celebrated book on Sri Lanka in the English language in its original format, with the portrait, map and illustrations at a most reasonable price. The Indian price was Rs. 250/-. The attractive jacket had the portrait of Knox on the cover, and a small map of the island on the back. This reprint of Knox won the prize for the best designed and printed book in India in 1983.

A Sri Lankan edition of this reprint was also published by special arrangement with Navrang, New Delhi, in Colombo by K.V.G. de Silva & Sons (Col.) Ltd., in 1983. The collation and cataloguing description are identical with the Indian edition. There was also a stiff board cover facsimile printing of the 1983 edition in 1984 at a still cheaper price.

2. KNOX, Robert. *An historical relation of Ceylon, together with somewhat concerning Severall Remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapened since my Deliverance out of my Captivity*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., (1983). Ivii, 400 p., front (port), 18 plates, fold. map. Quarto (23 x 15 cms).

The present edition is a reprint of the original 1911 edition by James Ryan published

by James Maclehoose & Sons. Glasgow. This is the first complete reprint of this edition which included the Knox autobiography left out of the controversial (yet much quoted) 1958 reprint by the *Ceylon Historical Journal*. The text of the Historical Relation occurs on pp. 1-275, and the Autobiography is on pp. 277-400. This reprint has been reset and not reproduced (as it should have been to ensure accuracy) photolithographically. It is a great pity, considering the claims made for its legitimate superiority over the 1958 reprint, that three essential illustrations in the original 1911 edition have been omitted. The excuse provided (on p. viii) is untenable, as a copy with those illustrations could easily have been located in Colombo itself. There is a brief introduction by V.O. de Alwis Gunewardane on pp. ix - xiii.

3.KNOX, Robert. *RELATION DE L'ILE DE CEYLAN*. Introduction, revision de la traduction et glossaire par Eric Meyer. Editions LA DECOUVERTE/MASPERO. 1, place Paul - Painleve. Paris Ve. 1983. 289 (4) p., 2 maps (front). (La collection de poche la Decouverte. 66). Octavo (18 x 11 cms).

This is a completely revised translation of the text of the French Lyon edition of 1693, with the following changes. No illustrations from the 1693 edition were reproduced, and only a small section of the famous map is given as a frontispiece. The format of the book, perhaps, prevented the entire map being included. There is a modern map of the island by Raymond Ghirardi facing the frontispiece, while a single illustration from the original appears on the cover in unfamiliar colour. Meyer, the well known French scholar and student of Sri Lankan society and economic history, provides a full and critical introduction on pp. 7-33, setting the author and book in historical perspective. There is a select bibliography on pp. 30-33. There is a glossary-index on pp. 281-289. Chs. 12 & 13 are omitted from the fourth part of the text, and only an extract of the final Ch. 14 is given. It is a curious coincidence that this French edition appeared in the same year as the very first facsimile reprint of the 1681 edition.

4.KNOX, Robert. *AN HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE ISLAND CEYLON IN THE EAST INDIES*. With an Introduction and Afterword by H.A.I. Goonetilleke, former Librarian. University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. New Delhi: Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, 1993. xviii (24), 189 p., front (port), fold. map., 15 plates. Folio (30 x 15 cms).

The second facsimile reprint of the original 1681 edition, ten years after the first. The identical coloured dust jacket adorns this second reprint as well, but the paper used is of superior quality to that in the 1983 edition. The Indian price was Rs. 300/-. The only addition to the 1983 reprint is the Afterword on pp. xvii - xviii, which deals in brief with the principal reprints and new editions of Knox's epic story.

5.KNOX, Robert. *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon. Revised, and Brought to the Verge of Publication as the Second Edition of Robert Knox. Together with his Autobiography and All the New Chapters. Paragraphs, Marginal Notes added by the Author in the Two Interleaved Copies of the Original Text of 1681*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J.H.O. Paulusz. 2 Volumes. Dehiwela

(Sri Lanka): Tisara Prakasakayo Ltd. (Printed at the Tisara Press, 135, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwela), 1989 (i.e. 1990). Volume I: xvi, 508 p., front (port), 2 plates, fold. chart.; Volume II: lii, 688 p., front (port), 18 plates, fold map. (The Ceylon Historical Journal Monograph Series--Volumes Thirteen & Fourteen). Quarto (21 x 14 cms)). Vol. I (price Rs. 700/-); Vol. II (price Rs. 980/-). Stiff-board covers, with dust jacket on each volume. The front inside flap of each jacket carries a brief biographical sketch of the editor (J.H.O. Paulusz) born 21 September 1900, and then resident in North Wales, by a former Director of the Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka, G.P.S.H. de Silva. This note appears on the back of the title page in each volume. "This Second Edition includes all additional material written by Robert Knox for his second edition during the years 1681 to 1713 and hitherto unpublished. It also includes all the glosses inserted by Knox between the lines of the printed text. There have been numerous editions of Knox's book in many languages and in many forms in the 308 years between his first edition and the second".

This bibliographer cannot help drawing attention in the first place to two intriguing points which cannot escape notice. The long-winded title includes the phrase: "Brought to the Verge of Publication as the Second Edition by Robert Knox." Is this Knox's own usage ere he died, or that given by Paulusz before the Hakluyt Society rejected his labours? The second curious point is that the imprint date of Vol. I is given as August 1989, while the imprint date of Vol. II is May 1989. Thus the second volume precedes the first in time, even though the contents of the second cannot be truly comprehended without reference to the first.

The contents of the first volume are as follows:

1. Explanatory Note on Types used in Text, p. xi; 2. List of Abbreviations and Symbols, p. xii; 3. Errata, p. xiii; 4. Acknowledgements, pp. xv-xvi; 5. Introduction to Second Edition, pp. 1-470. (There is an unlisted Foreword on pp. 1-7, dated 18 April 1989 from Westbury, Wiltshire, U.K., by J.H.O. Paulusz, perhaps the last contribution before this edition went to press in Sri Lanka). The Introduction proper begins on p. 9 and includes a long, discursive, and rambling account of the history and fortunes of the Kandyan Realm from the late 16th century to the last half of the 17th century in which the main burden of the treatise is designed to defend VOC (or Dutch) policy in its dealings with the Kandyan kingdom, and to denigrate the native monarch and his supposed duplicity and treachery which takes us up to p. 293. There are references to Knox and his fellow-captives and details of their confinement in this section as well. A major portion of his historical review is taken up with refuting and rejecting the writings of Arasaratnam and Goonewardena (see my commentary on Goonewardena's article No. 27), but nowhere in the comprehensive Index or meagre Bibliography do their names feature, despite his reference to an important 1958 contribution by Goonewardena by name on p. 415. Amnesia, wilful omission or both?

From p. 293 Paulusz begins to unfold in detail (gathered from nearly 30 years of

search and research) the resourceful and enthralling life and times of "Robert Knox (1641-1720) Master Mariner Merchant and Author. Aspects of His Life and Fortunes". Birth, ancestry, family connections, school; Kinship with Bonnells (his mother's family); Knox Ward; Puritan Discipline, Adolescence, Captive at Kottiyar; Godric: Patron Saint of Pedlars; Taken Prisoner; The So-Called Knox's Tree; Visitors to Lanka Trepanned; Estate of the Elder Knox: Letters of Administration; Knox's Earliest Statement After Escape; State of English Captives, Conditions at Kandyan Court; Beard and Knight, Udamala Adasins Death; Report by D. Balk; English Captives as Pedlars; Raja's Physical Appearance; Escape of Day and Kirby 1683; Raja Tries to Lure or Coerce European Envoys into His Service; The King's Preference for Foreigners; Later Escapes; Policy of Appeasement Fails; Last "Anne" Sailor Escapes; Knox's Homecoming (c.1680), Coffee House Life, Book Published, Sails Again in Tonquin Merchant, Sept. 1681; Coffee House Visits; The "Historical Relation" is published 1 September 1681; England Still "Plot-Mad" when Knox's Book Appeared; The Illustrations; The Artist/Limner; Illustrations Rare in 17th Century Books; MS of Hooke's Diary Yields Clue; Two Qualities of Paper Revealed by Watermarks; King Charles II Receives Knox, December 1683; Pioneer in Tea Trade; Knox as Guide to Sinhalese Language Proficiency Assessed; Draft Sinhalese-English Word List by Knox and Hooke; Notices of Knox's Ceylon: Reviews, Comments, Summaries, Translations; Reviews, Reprints, Extracts Edited by Writers in English; Publications in Sri Lanka; Works by German Nationals on Lanka Coeval with Knox; Knox Becomes Slave Trader; Servitude Makes the Enslaved Callous; Knox Calls at Cape Town; The Portrait of Knox: 1695; Home from the Sea. Old Age; Last Will. Death; Some Dutch Maps Before Knox; Sinhalese Lekam Miti Used as Framework; Ceylon Map shown to Knox; The Works of Portuguese and Dutch Historians; Fernao de Queyroz; Ribeiro's "Historical Tragedy", Baldaeus: "Description of Ceylon"; Appendix; Knox "Historical Relation"; Sober, Austere, Prim Matter of Fact Narrative; Robinson Crusoe. Defoe's Debt to Knox; The Lost Interleaved Volumes; Second Edition; Vigilance of D.W. Ferguson. The above are the exact sequence of sectional headings between pp. 293 to 470, and their rather patchy and ill-arranged order is not exactly helpful in following a clear direction or purposeful chain in the evolution of the book: 6. Works Bearing on Knox or His Times. pp. 471-476. A bare listing (sans pagination or collation of either monograph or periodical) of 132 works relating to Knox and his period. Some writings noticed in the text of the book are excluded, while others of little or no importance are included. It would be true to say that the bibliography is shockingly destitute and of limited use. The opportunity of providing a proper bibliographical listing of relevant literature on Knox has been sadly passed over for reasons difficult to understand. 7. Glossary, pp. 477-481; 8. Index (to Vol.1) pp. 483-508. The portrait of Knox by White in the Bodleian Library appears as the frontispiece facing the title-page (not p.1 as listed on p. ix); the Genealogical Chart of Knox's Family (folding) is between pp. 298-299; the facsimile title page from the 1681 edition is between pp. 380-381; and a page from the interleaved copy showing Knox's handwriting is between pp. 428-429. A discomfiting feature of the Acknowledgements on pp. xv-xvii is that apart from the customary thanks in general to the staffs of libraries used in Europe and one institution in Sri Lanka--the Ceylon National Archives--and a few names of officials in institutions, no specific debt is

acknowledged to any foreign or local scholar of the Dutch period in modern times (let alone in the meagre listing of works used). Four persons who helped with Paulusz's inadequate knowledge of Sinhala are thanked, as well as one friend who supplied references, photocopies, books and documents. Naturally the publisher and printer who were courageous enough to undertake this disowned work in Sri Lanka are thanked for their expertise. The edition was, however, disposed of at bargain prices in 1992.

The portrait frontispiece in Vol. II is of the same engraving by White as found in Vol. I. The extra plate facing p. 270 is titled "Manner How the Women Carry Their Children" and is not found in the original edition of 1681. It is, according to Paulusz, drawn by Knox himself, and was found among the interleaved papers. The draughtmanship is extremely clumsy and amateurish, though the idea is conveyed graphically enough. One of Paulusz's revelations after assiduous research strengthens greatly the earlier surmise that the artist was Knox's younger brother James. Robert Hooke's Diary sheds new light on the view that the artist-engraver could well have been James Knox who died on 23 March 1681. The circumstantial evidence pointing to him as the illustrator is buttressed by entries in Hooke's Diary for 1681 revealing the fact that James did the sketches "partly to honour a family debt" (Vol. 1. p. 391). The folding map faces p. 476 at the end of the text. Contents: 1. Explanatory note on Types used in Text. p. ix; (Abbreviations and Symbols Used, p.x); 2. The Preamble by Knox dated 10th December 1695. pp. x-xvi; 3. Extract from Minutes of the Court of Committees of the East India Company, dated 10 August 1681, p.xvii; 4. Letter to Mr. Chiswell from Sir Christopher Wren dated 8 August 1681 pp. XVII-XX; 5. The Epistle Dedicatory dated 1st August 1681. pp. xxi-xxv; 6. The Preface by Robert Hooke. pp. XXVII-XXXIV. 7. Letter of 18 May 1680/81 inscribing the book to the patronage of the East India Company, pp. xxxv-xxxviii; 8. The Contents. pp. xxxix-li; (Illustrations, p. lii); 9. Text of Second Edition, pp. 1-502; 10. The Epilogue and the Autobiography (Note by Editor), pp. 503-509; 11. The Epilogue, pp. 511-523; 12. The Autobiography, pp. 525-671; 13. Postscript, pp. 673-674 (The editor notes that these two pages "should be read immediately after p. 502"). The Knox Coat of Arms (Henry Knox) is found on p. 514; 14. Index to Vol. II. pp. 675-688. There are seven crude small line drawings in the text on pp. 32, 38, 57, 83, 169, 190, 213, later additions in the interleaved manuscript intended to illustrate certain contrivances and implements.

6. KNOX, Robert. *An Historical relation of the Island CEYLON in the EAST-INDIES; TOGETHER, With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other Englishmen now living there, and of the AUTHOR'S Miraculous ESCAPE. Illustrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND.* Austin (Texas): Palinda de Silva, September 1995. (24), 189, (3) pp. 17 copper-plate engravings on 15 plates, fold. map. Folio (30 x 15 cms.)

Another exact photolithographic reprint of the original folio edition of 1681. Bound in plain black cloth boards, with no dust-jacket. The fly leaf bears the text "For those who are to follow, lest they forget".

7. BARROW, Sir George. *2nd baronet*. An epitome of Robert Knox's "Historical relation of the island Ceylon" (1681). *Ceylon: past and present*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995. Chs. 1-3, pp. 7-80.

This is a facsimile reprint of the first edition by John Murray of London in 1857, and was critically noticed and commented on at No. 26 in the 1975 work. The three chapters are in essence a digest or epitome of the 1817 edition of Knox, subjoined to *The History of Ceylon from the earliest period to the year MDCCCXV...* by Philalethes, A.M. Oxon (i.e. Rev. Robert Fellowes. LL.D).

8. CORDINER, Rev. James. Knox's account of the King and Government of Candy in the year 1681. The Kings Great Officers and Governors of the Provinces. Military strength and mode of warfare. *A Description of Ceylon, containing an account of the country, inhabitants and natural productions: with narratives of a tour round the island in 1800, the campaign in Candy in 1803, and a journey to Ramisseram in 1804*. New Delhi: Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, 1983. (Facsimile reprint of the 1st edition of 1807, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, London; A Brown, Aberdeen, 1807). Vol.2, Pt. 2, Ch.7. pp. 324-345.

These copious extracts from Knox's own text relating to the King of Kandy and his administration are contained in Cordiner, and were commented upon extensively at No. 20 (pp. 113-114) of my 1975 commentary. There are briefer extracts in Vol. I from Knox as well, also noted in the 1975 entry.

B: CRITICISM - THE MAN AND HIS BOOK (In alphabetical order of authors)

9. ANTHONISZ, Reginald Gerald. *Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives at Colombo, with appendices*. Colombo: H.C. Cottle, Govt. Printer, 1907. (6), 138p., front. map, 6 plates.

There are translated extracts and facsimile pages of original manuscripts. Anthonisz provides the English versions re-translated from the Dutch relating to Knox and his fellow captives on pp. 98-102 in letters exchanged in October 1669-July 1670 with the Dutch authorities in Colombo. Anthonisz goes on to remark: "As far as I am aware no allusion to the events here recorded occur either in Knox's own book or in any of the Dutch accounts of the island which have been published." In fact Donald W. Ferguson, the indefatigable Knox sleuth, reproduced almost all of it in *The Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon* Vol. 4, No. 2, Feb. 1896, pp. 28-46 noticed at No. 50 (pp. 128-129) of my 1975 Knox commentary. These were reproduced almost immediately in his *Captain Robert Knox* (1896-1897) noticed at No. 51 (1975). In the interests of bibliographical completeness, it is included in this *Adendum*, in fairness to Anthonisz. Paulusz mentions these documents as found in both Anthonisz and Ferguson in his introduction (Vol.1), pp. 250-259.

10. ARASARATNAM, Sinnappah, *The Kingdom of Kandy: aspects of its external relations and commerce, 1658 - 1710. The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* (Peradeniya) Vol. 3, No. 2, July-Dec. 1960, pp. 109-127.

Studies the pivotal role of the foreign relations of the only real seat of indigenous Sinhalese power in the island, with special reference to the major part of the rule of Rajasinha II (1628-1687). Both the 1681 and the interleaved copy of Knox in the British Museum are made use of in places.

11. _____ *De Voc in Ceylon in Coromandel in 17 de en 18 de eeuw. De Voc in Azie*; ed. by M.A.P. Meilink - Roelofs. Bussum: Fibula - Van Dishoeck, 1976, pp. 14-63.

A sketch of the Dutch-Portuguese wars in Ceylon in the first half of the 17th century, and the Dutch alliance with the Kingdom in the interior highlands, followed by subsequent Dutch territorial expansion. The essay deals with all aspects of the economic, social and religious incursions of the Dutch in the island and has bearing on the period of Knox's captivity as well.

12. _____ J.H.O. Paulusz on the 1638 Westerwolt Treaty in Ceylon. A rejoinder. *Bijdragen tot de taal. land - en volkenskunde van Nederlandsch - Indie* (The Hague) Vol. 138, Nos 2&3, 1982, pp. 191-205.

Considers that Paulusz's article acquitting the Dutch of dishonest conduct in their relations with Rajasinha II raises a number of issues of fact and interpretation relating to the history of the VOC in the East as well as in Ceylon. Questions of historical methodology, the use of primary sources, and the problem of bias in history also emerge, and this rejoinder takes up all these questions in detail, in the course of exploring Paulusz's weaknesses and inadequacies of scholarship. Reasserts the historical position of shady behaviour on the part of the Dutch, reviews the weight of evidence in favour of this view, and then takes up in sequence the points on which Paulusz relies for his new interpretations. Each of these are then shot down in tatters, and Paulusz's preconceived notions of Rajasingha's treachery and double-dealing, and "the Dutch can do no wrong" concept riddled and put to flight. In the course of the discussions, further light is thrown on the true aims of VOC policy in Ceylon in the overall ambitions for eastern trade in this region. Concludes that Paulusz has failed every test of historical scholarship in modern times, and has merely acted as a contemporary mouthpiece of the one-sided evidence available in the Dutch sources (see also nos 34 & 35).

13. _____ *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658 - 1687*. New Delhi: Navrang, 1988.xxii, 256 p., 2 maps, 5 illus.

A reprint of the first edition of 1958, listed and annotated for its relevance to Knox studies in the Dutch period at No. 33 (p. 121) of the 1975 commentary.

14. _____ The consolidation of Dutch power in the maritime regions 1658-1687. *University of Peradeniya. History of Sri Lanka Vol. II. c 1500 - c 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. IX, pp. 211-232.

Emphasises that the permanent establishment of Dutch power in the island was achieved by violating the 1638 treaty with Rajasinha II, aggravating hostility with the Kandyan kingdom, and finally by the Dutch capture of Colombo in 1656. Knox was a captive from 1660-1679 and witnessed these changing fortunes between the Dutch and his royal abductor.

15. BLOOMFIELD, Frena. The real Robinson Crusoe, *Serendib: The Magazine of Air Lanka.* (Colombo) Vol. 1. No. 1 January 1982. pp. 30 - 31 + 33, illus.

A popular description of the English sailor, a captive of Rajasinha II for nearly 20 years. The remarkable map is reproduced on p. 44.

16. BRIGGS, David G. Early writers on coins of Asia. II. Robert Knox, captive in Ceylon. *Numismatics International Bulletin* (Dallas, Texas). Vol. 14, No. 7, July 1980. pp. 199-207, 3 plates, 4 text illus.

Describes the "three sorts that passeth for Coin in the King's Dominions" as Knox says it in his *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* (1681). As identified by Codrington in 1924 they were Portuguese double and single tangas of the Saint type, the *tangam massa* and the *podu tangama* worth 9d, and 4 1/2 d, larins made by private parties, five of which went to the piece of eight; and silver fanams, struck by the King, of which seventy five make a piece of Eight or a Spanish Dollar. The author supplies his own observations while relying on Codrington's analysis.

17. DESAUVAGE, Alain. Rajasinha II (Galerie des Rois de Ceylan - 2). *Lotus* (Brussels) No. 9, Dec. 1978, pp. 12-17.

On the personality and rule of this King of Kandy, who reigned for over half a century, and whose detenu Knox became for nineteen and a half years.

18. DE SILVA, Rajpal Kumar and BEUMER, Willemina G. Mieke. *Illustrations and Views of Dutch Ceylon 1602-1796. A comprehensive work of pictorial reference with selected eye-witness accounts.* London: Serendib Publications; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988. viii. 495p., front. (col. map), plates, text illus. (col. & black & white).

In the section entitled: "Customs, Occupations, Dress, Flora and Fauna", pp. 350-425, the original English edition of Robert Knox (1681) and the Dutch edition of 1692 have been drawn upon for copious illustration. On pp. 351-2, the authors discuss the exposure of Knox to the island in the 17th century. The illustrations from the 1681 edition are scattered on pp. 354, 360, 362, 363, 366, 370 (2), 372, 374, 376, 379, 383, 388 (2), 404 (2), and 420. In fact all 17 folio format copper-plate engravings in the

1681 edition are reproduced in greatly reduced size. The illustrations from the Dutch 1692 quarto format edition by Jan Luyken (which the authors consider more animated and detailed than the originals on which they are based) are on pp. 354, 361, 362, 366, 371, 372, 374, 376, 377, 379, 383, 388 & 404. All 13 etchings from this Dutch edition are reproduced in reduced size, including the frontispiece. On p. 452, the entire page is devoted to a brief discussion of Knox and his book, and the frontispiece portrait of Knox by White and the title-page in the 1681 edition are reproduced alongside in greatly reduced size.

19. DEWARAJA, Lorna S. Administration systems. 1, Kandyan Kingdom. *University of Peradeniya. History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II. c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995, Ch. 12. pp. 321-341, 3 charts.

In describing the principal features of the Sinhalese monarchical system, and the bureaucratic hierarchy deriving from its patronage, the evidence of Knox (1911 edition) is used in a few instances.

20. _____ The Kandyan Kingdom, 1638-1739: a survey of its political history. *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II. c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. VIII. pp. 183-209.

The period surveyed in this chapter begins with the treaty signed by Rajasinha II in 1638 with the Dutch in good faith to protect his sovereignty and to oust the Portuguese. The sixty years of his rule are analysed in terms of the intransigence of the Dutch and his own internal problems, and some reliance is placed on Knox's interleaved edition of 1990 to support some of the views expressed.

21. _____ Religion and the state in the Kandyan Kingdom: the 17th and 18th centuries. *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II: c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. XVI, pp. 453-469.

Relies on Knox as well for examples of close links between religion and state, with special regard to the tolerance displayed towards believers in other faiths than Buddhism.

22. _____ The social and economic conditions in the Kandyan Kingdom in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II: c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. XIII. pp. 375-397.

References by Knox in the 1911 edition are freely used to illustrate the system of social gratification, categories of rank and caste, birth, office, wealth, dress, and specific styles of living in the discussion of the seventeenth century.

23. GOONERATNE, Brendon. *The Epic Struggle of the Kingdom of Kandy, and its relevance to modern Indo-Sri Lankan relations.* London: Argus Publications, 1995. (4) 21 p. front. (plate), 23 plates (16 col.), folding plate. (The Sally Sage and

David McAlpin Lecture, 1990).

On p. 5 Gooneratne pays tribute to Knox as an important source book for students of the period, and the epic reign of Rajasinha II, his captor is examined on pp. 7-9. A letter written by the King to the Dutch Governor Jacob van Kittenstein on 6 August 1652 in Galle is reproduced in Dutch translation at the back of the book in facsimile. The author is a medical practitioner and antiquarian resident in Australia. He is Chairman of Friends of the Ancient Cities of Sri Lanka in Australia.

24. GOONETILEKE, H.A.I. Introduction. *An historical relation of the island Ceylon in the East Indies* by Robert Knox. New Delhi: Navrang, 1983. pp. vii-xvii.

This special introduction to the very first facsimile reprint of the original 1681 folio edition of this celebrated book is designed to display the text in its historical setting and to narrate the circumstances that motivated its telling at the time. It is a bibliographer's introduction which focuses on the series of events surrounding its first publication, the attempts by Knox to produce a second edition in his lifetime, and the influence of the book on succeeding generations of scholars and students of Sri Lanka.

25. Afterword. *An historical relation of the island Ceylon in the East Indies* by Robert Knox. New Delhi: Navrang, 1993. pp. xvii - xviii.

The only addition to the 1983 reprint, dealing in brief with descriptions of the principal new editions of Knox, and concise annotations.

26. GOONEWARDENA, K.W. Kingship in seventeenth century Sri Lanka. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. III. Nos. 1 & 2, 1977, pp. 1-33.

The author's primary purpose in this article is to discuss certain information derived from the records of the Dutch East India Company relating to the reign of the King of Kandy, Rajasinha II (c. 1628-1687). The new elements which emerge from it are intrinsically very interesting and valuable; some of their value lies in providing authentic contemporary documentation for what has hitherto remained as conjectures and assumptions based on oral traditions or a written tradition which was, however, held suspect as unhistorical. Discusses the diplomatic and military tactics and overall strategy employed by Rajasinha II to keep the Dutch at bay, and reveals the true nature and significance of the monarchical system in Ceylon. Rajasinha despatched on two occasions in 1684 and 1686 delegations to the Dutch Governor Laurens Pijl to further strengthen understanding and to convey the King's confidence in the Dutch. Exact and precise evidence regarding the Kandyan royal dynasty is available from the 1686 record of discussion, as available in the Dutch archives. On December 10th 1687 the Dutch were informed by the same ambassadors sent in 1686 that the King had died, but had invested his son with the mantle of kingship before his death. A further embassy on the 15th December gave fuller details of the death and cremation, and of the coronation of the new king, following a period of mourning. All the evidence points to a close connection between King and the people, the aura of kingship

bordering on the divine, and the strong bond between religion and ritual.

27. _____ Robert Knox: The Interleaved Edition. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka*. (Colombo). Vol. XXXVIII, 1992/93, pp. 117-144 (published 1994)

In the early ripeness of retirement the erstwhile Professor of History in the University of Peradeniya and long respected authority on the Dutch period of Sri Lankan history decides to subject the long-awaited edition by J.H.O. Paulusz of the interleaved 1681 Knox to a searching and critical review. Beginning with a concise history of the man and his book and the additional information added by Knox between 1681 and 1713 to the printed text, its discovery by Brauholtz in the Christy Library of the British Museum, and the 1911 edition of James Ryan of both the Historical Relation (1681) and the Autobiography in the Bodleian Library, Oxford discovered in 1900, he turns to the efforts of the editor of the definitive edition of Knox brought out three years earlier. Vol. I is apparently the introduction to Vol. II, which contains all the earlier and later historical and autobiographical material, but Goonewardena admits to both the disjointed and disparate nature of the Introduction which tends to confuse and mislead the reader. Though the contents contain valuable data and evidence from research their presentation is awkward and, in some instances, duplicated. Works subsequent to both the 1681 and 1911 editions have been noticed and discussed, but surprisingly the editor makes no mention or takes into consideration the important facsimile edition of the 1681 Knox with an Introduction by H.A.I. Goonetilleke in 1983, and of the latter's "very relevant and valuable publication" of 1975. "This article has covered much of the ground that Paulusz has ventured upon, as well as some new ground--and all that meticulously and in a scholarly fashion" (p. 120). It is indeed curious that Paulusz appeared to be unaware or chose to ignore the present writer's comprehensive contribution to Knox studies (1975), as also the first facsimile reprint of the original folio edition of 1681, the French edition (Eric Meyer), and the James Ryan (1911) reprint, all of 1983. At least the first (1975) work should have come to his notice, as the Hakluyt Society received twenty copies at its request. At the very least Paulusz's representatives or publisher in Sri Lanka should have kept him informed of these important new additions to the literature of Knox, especially as Paulusz wrote his Foreword to his edition as late as 18 April 1989.

Goonewardena now turns to examining the main thrust of the Introduction taking up over 300 of its pages which is devoted to re-writing the history of the 17th century, more particularly the reign of Rajasinha II (1628-1687). Though well aware of the historical revisions of this period by Arasaratnam and Goonewardena in the last three decades (even though no reference is made anywhere in this edition to their work in this field) there is little doubt that Paulusz is desirous of overturning or rejecting these relevant researches, and continuing his character assassination of Rajasinha II, as well as the founder of the Kandyan royal house, Vimaladharmasuriya himself, and Rajasinha's father, Senerat. In this objective he is at pains to absolve the Dutch of any fraudulence or duplicity in their policies with the Kandyan Kingdom. While Goonewardena sees no need to launch out on an extended assault on "all the

preposterous ideas on seventeenth century history which Paulusz has attempted to disseminate", he takes up a few of them for pronounced refutation. But it is with his total rejection of the revised notions of Rajasinha's reign as revealed by modern research that Goonewardena takes on Paulusz with scarcely veiled contempt. He tears to shreds the devices employed by Paulusz "to pass off his own flights of fancy or concoctions in order to denigrate Rajasinha", by providing various examples of such disregard of accepted evidence. To cut a long story short, Goonewardena concludes: "It would be a tedious waste of time and space to tackle his new interpretations and fabrications in detail. At the same time the reader has to be made aware of the fact that no reliance should be placed on the history of the period that he has presented before us" (p. 127). He goes on, however, to provide even more striking examples of the disingenuous and untrustworthy methods of historical scholarship employed by Paulusz to prop up his favoured theses. In the course of this assiduous exercise Goonewardena shows up Knox's unreliability as a true witness and Paulusz's attempts to use Knox as a fall guy for his own pet theories. Goonewardena returns to his earlier examination of Knox (1958) to indicate how the nature of his detention, prejudices, credulity, and naivete combined to confuse his notions of Kandy society. Some evidence of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* is also provided.

Turning to Vol. II Goonewardena avers that the new material incorporated provide fresh information and new insights and view points, and considers the value of some of them as examples. Though Paulusz claims that: "Every sentence, phrase, or even word inserted by Knox in any blank corner has been included in the present edition", Goonewardena goes on to show by provision of some errors and omissions (on the basis of his own eye-copies or photocopies of the additional material) that Paulusz has fallen short of his own claims. Further in the interpretation or translation of Sinhalese words and phrases some serious errors perpetrated are noted, vitiating the value of the context or meaning. These take up pp. 139-142. On p. 142 Goonewardena sums up rather dismally: "It has been noted that the first volume is of very limited value because about three-fourths of it is devoted to the propagation of extremely fanciful and prejudiced versions of the history of the seventeenth century. As the merits of the volume are far outweighed by its demerits both the publishers and readers would have greatly profited by a one-volume publication limited to the present Vol. II but incorporating in it, by way of an introduction, the relevant and useful material noted in the first volume". Earlier on p. 139 the reviewer justifies his critical approach on the basis that even as it took over 300 years for this second edition to appear, Paulusz's edition would have to be "treated for all practical purposes as the last definitive one". A pretty depressing thought for all true lovers of Knox to live with indeed!

28. Knox's or the White Man's Tree. *Loris: The Journal of the Wildlife and Nature Protection Society of Ceylon* (Colombo). Vol.7, No. 4, December 1956, pp. 321-322.

Speculates whether the protected tamarind tree under which Robert Knox is traditionally supposed to have been captured is the real spot in either the case of the father or the son. (see also No. 39)

29. LEACH, Edmund Ronald. "What happened to *An Historical Relations ...* on the way to the printers?" *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: the South Asian Scene*, ed. by H.L. Seneviratne. University of Adelaide, 1989. (*Social Analysis*, No. 25, September 1989), pp. 18-21. An entirely plausible and legitimate speculation on how and why an impoverished, unlettered sailor of 40 years (held captive without writing materials) could have written and have published so comprehensive and absorbing a narrative (both general and specific in content and form) in the space of nine months. Leach suggests that Knox, far from dependence only on his cousin Rev. John Strype, may well have had more powerful and educated patrons and advisers in the Royal Society, besides Hooke and Wren. Also, the entirely one-sided account of Rajasinha's supposedly tyrannical and ruthless behaviour may have been inspired by the desire to expose the corruption and extravagance of an unpopular Catholic Monarch, Charles I. Leach surmises that Sir Josuah Childs, Daniel Defoe, and other unknown influential persons aided and abetted the production of a work, which was almost completed in manuscript by March 1681.

30. MASEFIELD. John Edward, *A Mainsail Haul*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954. 174p. (Mariners Library, No. 25). 1st edition 1905; 2nd rev. edition 1913.

On p. 110 he refers to Knox: "Captain Robert Knox . . . endured more than man is usually given to endure . . . Crankiness (he was not mad) . . . may have been gloomy: "hatred of women" was partly fear. His moralisings are never quite tedious; you see the man behind the writing. Life proved Knox to the bone before he earned his leave to write. On p. 114 "He went back to his father. Knox having been brought, as he would put it, out of the land of Egypt, became not a preacher but a slaver. His character seems to have gone to pieces. It often happens when the devil gets well, he forgets to pay his doctor's bill. Knox as a slaver is not a pretty figure" p. 116). I am indebted to Paulusz for this reference, and the relevant comments, from p. 414 of Vol. I (1990 edition). There is a brief allusion to Masefield in my note to No. 88 (Second) in the 1975 work.

31. METTHANANDA, Tilaka. Robert Knox's *Historical Relation* and the position of women in Kandyan society. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* (Peradeniya) Vol. XX Nos. 1 & 2, 1994, pp. 106-132.

This article concentrates on the status, role and social condition of women in the area that Knox was familiar with. She focusses on the institution of marriage, formal marriage unions, marriage customs and ceremonies, marriage and the caste factor, monogamy and the religious factor, divorce and remarriage, adultery and loose behaviour, marriage and virginity, the dowry system, marriage and independence of women, polyandry, social position, social values, economic position and role, women and religion. In conclusion the writer inclines to the view that Knox's observations on the nature and functioning of 17th century Kandyan society are invaluable, and "a fine testimony to the power of observation, memory and reporting Knox seems to have possessed". But she draws attention to his misinterpretation of the marriage customs

and the relative position of the institution of marriage, arising from his strict Puritan conditioning based on the Christian value system. This led to his adopting a rather simplistic and rigid attitude to a far more complex and flexible indigenous Sinhala culture of the time, greatly different in form and structure to his own starchy and unbending ideas of morality in a totally different European society. Mettananda is in bibliographical error when she bases her essay on only two editions of Knox - the original 1681 edition "which included Knox's Autobiography" (which it did not, that coming only in 1911) and the "present second edition of J.H.O. Paulusz of 1993" [sic]. As the *Addendum* shows in abundant detail the so-called second edition of the interleaved Knox by Paulusz has the publication date 1989 (i.e. 1990), and is further seriously questionable as a true and accurate assessment and critical survey of Knox and his story in the Kandyan kingdom of Rajasinha II in the light of the devastating indictment of this edition by K.W. Goonewardena (see no. 27).

32. NANAYAKKARA, Vesak. The captives. *A Return to Kandy. Over Balana and Beyond*. 2nd ed. revised. Colombo (Arasan Printers for S.A. Nanayakkara), 1977. pp. 173-193, frontispiece portrait from 1681 edition facing p. 175; 3rd ed. revised. New Delhi: Navrang & Lake House Bookshop, 1994. pp. 181-201, frontispiece portrait from 1681 edition facing p. 183.

An unchanged account of Knox's incarceration repeated from the 1st edition of 1971, noticed in the 1975 work.

33. NEEDHAM, Rodney. Robert Knox and the structure of absolutism. *Exemplars*. Berkeley (California): University of California Press, 1985. Ch.3, pp. 44-56, 1 plate.

Using "The King can do no wrong" (Sir William Blackstone) as motif, Needham examines some extreme examples of the absolute and "tyrannical" nature of Rajasinha II's kingship in the 17th century, based on some not very precise observations of his English captive for nineteen and a half years, who exhibited most, if not all, of his puritan prejudices in his not always exact assessments. Needham uses the King's right to break any legal or moral code at the top end of the scale and the Rodiyas (beggars) mistakenly referred to as "Veddahs" to live outside the normal authority and penalties of established society. The subject of incest (the reported liaison of the King with his daughter) figures largely in the attempt to portray royal licence at its most potent, and comparisons with Egyptian and Inca royal mores are made. To his credit Needham admits that Knox may have been (a) exaggerating reports; and (b) referring to permitted behaviour in general, and not specifically directed at Rajasinha II. If Needham had been aware of the literature on the caste of Rodiyas, especially M.D. Raghavan's *Handsome Beggars: The Rodiyas of Ceylon* (1957), he would have realised how and why they were banished from the social order. The heinous offence originated from the supply of human flesh (instead of the customary venison) to the King's table by a clan of Dadda Vaddas (outcast Veddahs) who were hunters, Knox calls them *Roudeahs*, *Beggars* who live, and have their dwelling in remote parts. The degradation in the social scale has died hard even to this day, despite enlightened

attempts by the authorities to elevate their singularly lowly status. The illustration is of a new portrait of Knox in the National Maritime Museum, London, showing the later ship's captain at a desk with a quill pen in hand, wearing an elaborate and striking wig headpiece. Neither name of artist nor date is provided. This naturally led to my own inquiries from the Museum which revealed that the portrait in oils was by P. Trampon and entitled *Captain Robert Knox, 1642-1720*, of the East India Company. A reproduction from a print kindly supplied by David Taylor of the National Maritime Museum adorns my present labours. It is indeed curious that Paulusz's strenuous researches over thirty years had failed to locate this significant portrait of the by then illustrious voyager. Since Knox was born on 8 February 1641, the Museum date is incorrect.

34. PAULUSZ. J.H.O. The 1638 Westervolt Treaty in Ceylon: charges of Dutch deceit disproved. *Bijdragen tot de taal-land -en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch - Indie* (The Hague), Vol. 136. Nos. 2 & 3, 1980, pp. 321-352 (2 appendices).

An attempt to defend the Dutch against the overwhelming evidence of past historical findings, of the charge of perfidy and sharp practice in an important treaty settlement with the Kandy king which soured subsequent relations between the two countries. Asserts that the historians of recent times, especially Goonewardena (1958) and Arasaratnam (1976), have displayed grievously faulty logic and substituted surmise for facts in their analyses of this phase of Dutch history in Ceylon. The gaps in their accounts are here supplied which, in the writer's opinion, shed an altogether different light on this episode. Paulusz evaluates the Treaty, and describes the many occasions on which Rajasinha II deliberately flouted its terms, which, in his opinion, provide enough evidence to dispel the long-held view that the Dutch were both fraudulent and untrustworthy. For refutation of this position see Arasaratnam (No. 12) and Paulusz's rejoinder below.

35. _____ Professor Arasaratnam's rejoinder. Some comments. *Bijdragen tot de taal. land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Inde* (The Hague). Vol. 138, Nos. 2 & 3, 1982, pp. 206-210.

Replies to Arasaratnam, and provides a list of some of the more glaring errors with corrections, and repeats the grounds on which he made his original defence of the Dutch.

36. PERIS, Merlin. Knox on elephants. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* (Peradeniya) Vols. XVII & XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1991-1992 (published 1994). pp. 1-32, 2 plates.

Deals almost entirely, as the title implies, with Knox's account of elephants on the island as found in his *An Historical Relation*. . . (1681)--elephant behaviour and human responses to them are never far from the centre of attraction. The veracity of Knox as a dependable witness is a by-product of this exercise. Peris devotes three entire pages early on to the significance of these pachyderms. Knox's observations are

substantiated by modern scientific observations in the main. The emphasis on tusked elephants for ritual and state functions was quite evident to Knox. The use of elephants in war and for more terroristic and defence purposes is also touched upon as Knox depicted Rajasinha II as a despot who was in fear of being dethroned or disowned--a palpably false notion on the whole. The mode of using elephants as executioners is also mixed up. It is in the notice of the manner of capture of elephants that Knox is found to be least reliable or open to question. Knox's naivety is most apparent here, as well as his gullibility. In conclusion, Peris sums up what is now becoming better known and accepted regarding the authenticity of Knox. "This simplicity and candour of the man has, from the first publishing of the *Historical Relation* won him a reputation for honesty. What is regrettable, however, is that this has often been confused with veracity, since as we have seen in the case of our own limited subject of attention, Knox is not only surprisingly ill-informed for one who had spent such a long period of time among the Sinhalese, both in his own village and outside, but also surprisingly ill-comprehending or gullible- not to mention certain innate prejudices which he harbours against both the King and the people, whom he, not withstanding the unique nature of his imprisonment, persists in seeing as his enemy". That, in brief, is a telling summation of the value of Knox in general, and, more particularly, in the context of the area of elephant lore and knowledge which is Peris's special concern here. Throughout the critical essay reference is made to more reliable and modern scientific analyses of elephants, tame or wild. The two illustrations are relevant plates from Knox.

37. POWELL, Geoffrey. *The Kandyan Wars: The British Army in Ceylon 1803 - 1818*. New Delhi: Navrang, 1984. 320 p., 29 illus., 2 maps. front and back end paper maps. (19th Century Military Campaigns).

This is a facsimile reprint of the Leo Cooper 1st edition of 1973 published in London, and the author's use of Knox's observations and insights into 17th Century Ceylon, and the character and disposition of the Sinhalese are made use of skilfully. This work was noticed earlier at No. 80 in the 1975 commentary.

38. RAHEEM, Ismeth. Robert Knox as ornithologist *Loris: The Journal of the Wildlife and Nature Protection Society of Sri Lanka* (Colombo). Vol. XVII, No. 4, December 1986. pp. 176-177.

A brief account of Knox's vivid and accurate powers of observation of flora and fauna, by reference to two striking examples of avifaunal species--which are the Paradise Flycatcher and the Malabar Pied Hornbill. The relevant extracts are quoted from p. 28.

39. RANKINE, Esmee. Knox's Tree. *Island Interlude*. Colombo: Lake House Investments Ltd., 1971. Ch. XI. pp. 63-65.

Discusses the controversies regarding the tamarind tree in Muttur under which Robert Knox's father was captured. But later investigations following new evidence lead to

the surmise that the real tree was two miles up a small river close to Kottiyar- Muttur, 9 miles from the Muttur Ferry. Paulusz deals with the problems associated with recognising the tree on pp. 311-314, in a section "the so-called Knox's Tree", and the confusion arising from the identical name of father and son. The son was captured on 4 April 1660 at Kottiyar, and his father six days later as he sat under the disputed tamarind tree. The son was taken prisoner twelve miles inland at Killiveddy. The real place was about two miles to the east of the memorial tablet set up at the base of the wrong tree in the late 19th century on the initiative of Hugh Nevill, C.C.S. The tree was near the Palaya-turai ferry and landing stage (now bridged), and is known locally as *Palaya - Puliya* (a species of tamarind) but the actual tree is still an open question says Paulusz on p. 314 of Vol.1. The matter of the disputed tree was also discussed at Nos. 86, 90 & 102 in the 1975 commentary.

40. SENEVIRATNE, H.L. History, anthropology and the present volume: Introductory note. *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: The South Asian Scene*. University of Adelaide, 1989. *Social Analysis: Journal of Cultural and Social Practice*, No. 25, September 1989). Introduction. pp. 3-17.

This volume started out from an earlier project designed to celebrate the tercentenary of Robert Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon (1681)*, but ended up celebrating what the editor regards as the broader significance of the work--the interweaving of anthropology and history, neither of which in contemporary parlance was present in Knox's time. The significance of Knox's account of captivity in a tropical island is mentioned in passing, and its never-failing fascination. Only the essay by Edmund Leach (to whose memory the volume is dedicated) deals specifically with Knox (see No. 39). It may not be out of place to indicate that Seneviratne's *Rituals of the Kandyan State*. Cambridge University Press, 1978, relies on Knox in a few instances to support social systems and rituals in the Kandyan kingdom.

This volume was reprinted as a monograph in 1997 by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, omitting Leach's essay.

41. VALENTIJN, Francois. *Francois Valentijns Description of Ceylon* tr. and edited by Sinnappah Arasaratnam. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1978. xv. 395p., 12 plates (incl.front.). 7 maps (1fold.) (Hakluyt Society 2nd series, Vol. 149).

This is the first critical edition and reliable English translation of any part of this vast and encyclopedic work, a veritable mine of information culled from a multitude of sources with immense industry and intelligence of this Dutch pastor during his period in the East 1685-1713, even though he never set foot in Ceylon. It consists of the first twelve chapters of the portion entitled *Beschrijvinge van Ceijlon* included in the fifth volume. Sinhalese, Portuguese, Dutch and English sources, both published and unpublished, are utilised with remarkable skill and close attention to detail. Valentijn was born

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in 1666 and died in 1727, soon after his major work was published. (see no. 42) In an illuminating and informative introduction (pp. 1-60) Arasaratnam discusses the importance of his work for students of the Dutch period, as important as Baldaeus and Knox. The text of the translation is on pp. 65-374.

On pp. 32-33 the special reliance on Knox is discussed, as Valentijn realised its value when a Dutch translation was published in 1692 in Utrecht. He borrowed heavily from Knox as the latter was familiar with the interior highlands. The topographical, zoological and anthropological notices of the Kandyan Kingdom are taken from Knox, and the patterns of society and social life directly so; Sinhalese names of plants, animals, and birds too. But since he had no first-hand knowledge, Valentijn's remains a less involved, detached, scientific and scholarly study, reflecting both his education and standing in society. To sum up the debt, the involvement naturally becomes more factual than sensitive to locale and indigenous colour and life.

42. VALENTYN, Francois. *Oud en nieuw Oost - Indien*. Dordrecht. Amsterdam: Joannes van Braam, Gerard onder de Linden, 1724-1727. 5 Vols., port., maps, plates. *Beschryvinge van het eyland Ceylon*. Vijfte deel, Agtste boek. 462p, maps, plates.)

A translation of the Ceylon section in two manuscript volumes by Andrew Armour was presented to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain by Sir Alexander Johnston early in the 19th century. There is a typescript of this manuscript in the University of Peradeniya Library, but this translation is considered to be both "a very incorrect and imperfect translation", according to Sir J.E. Tennent *Ceylon* 5th ed (1860) Vol. II, p. 32. And Arasaratnam concurs in his Introduction to his English translation of Valentijn (1978) p. 21.

[Postscript As I correct the proofs in October 1999, it is one year since the death of Prof. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, one-time colleague and always friend, and I would like to offer this second foray in Knoxiana as a tribute to the memory of an esteemed scholar and versatile historian of the Dutch presence in Asia.]

H.A.I. GOONETILEKE