A Chronological Survey of Sinhalese
Lexicographical works in Ceylon during
the period 1800—1950

by

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In the field of lexicography ancient Ceylon is very poorly represented.
Commenting on the earliest available dictionaries of the Sinhalese, Sir
Baron Jayatilaka says, “the Abhidānapadāpikā, commonly known as the Pali
Nighantuwa (Pali lexicon) a versified vocabulary of Pali words, which belongs to
the 12th Century A.D. is perhaps the earliest dictionary compiled in Ceylon. Si-
milar compilations in Sinhalese do not seem to have been made until the 15th
century when Nallurutunmuni, a Minister of Parākramabāhu the VI, of Kōtte,
rode the Nāmāvaliya (Story of Names) while Parākramabāhu himself was the
author of Nāma-Ratna-malā or Nam-Ruvan-Mal (String of Name Gems) which
is popularly known as Ruvan-Mala or Ruvan-Mal-Nighantuwa. The work known
as Piyum-Mala (Garland of Lotus Flowers) is undoubtedly earlier in date, but
it is not versified, and its author is unknown”. This note on early dictionaries
of Ceylon, is rather disappointing for a country, that has a language and a history
dating back to about the 6th century B.C.

The Portuguese who arrived in Ceylon in 1505, and ruled mainly the mari-
time areas for nearly one and a half centuries, too, do not seem to have left
any work to their credit. Although Fr. S. G. Perera says, “there is record
of Sinhalese Grammars and Dictionaries compiled by both the Portuguese and
the Dutch long before 1759”, the statement is not borne out as far as Portu-
guese dictionary making is concerned. His further assertion that “The first
Sinhalese dictionary on the other hand was compiled by the Dutch clergy to-
wards the end of the 16th century”, could be nearer the truth if 16th century
be taken as a bona fide mistake for the 17th century. That in fact, 16th cen-
tury may be an error for the 17th century could also be deduced from another
reference of his which is quoted elsewhere in this paper. Thus the fact remains,
that so far neither a Sinhalese—Portuguese dictionary nor a Portuguese—Sinha-
lese dictionary compiled during the Portuguese rule has come to light in Ceylon.

In contrast to this sterility of the Portuguese period in the field of lexico-
graphy that of the Dutch period is quite fruitful. The Wesleyan missionaries
who followed the Dutch traders to Ceylon started making systematic studies
of the Sinhalese language mainly for missionary work, and dictionary making
was one of the fruits of such labour. Rev. J. D. Palm says, “At Jaffna in 1691,

1935, p.VII.
2. The Ceylon Literary Register (hereafter abbreviated as CLR) (Illrd Series) 1935-1936,
Vol.IV p.327
3. Ibid p. 328
fresh schemes were contemplated for the better propagation of the Christian religion. They had succeeded in making a Tamil and Dutch, Portuguese and Sinhalese and a Sinhalese and Dutch dictionary.4 As alluded to earlier Fr. S. G. Perera too says that, "the first Sinhalese lexicographer whose name has come down to us, is the Dutch clergyman Simon Cat, who set to work at a Sinhalese dictionary (1695 - 1697) when he was already 62 years of age".5 Thus, this seems to have been the beginning of modern dictionary production in Ceylon, and by the end of the 18th century when the political power bowed out in favour of the British, they had a number of lexicographical works to their credit.6

The British who got a foothold in Ceylon in 1796, and made it secure in 1798, did also become interested in dictionary production as an aid for the propagation of religion and to make the administrator more efficient. In this instance although the government preceded the missionary in beginning this work, it was the Wesleyan missionary, who came to dominate it during the 19th century. All the earliest successful names one comes across in this connection—namely those of Fox, Callaway, Clough and Bridgnell—are Wesleyan ministers. Although the works of Fox and Callaway were published earlier than that of Clough, the work completed by the latter was in fact begun almost at the beginning of British Crown Colony rule in Ceylon. Hence the work completed by Clough may be considered the earliest lexicographical work to be started in the 19th century. The only other work which may claim priority over this in point of time is an undated Dutch—Sinhalese dictionary, in the Ferguson collection.7 However, this is still in Ms. form, and the only indication of its date is in the Watermark in its paper, which reads "Curteis & Son, 1801". Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, who described this Ms. in his booklet "The Ferguson Library"8 perhaps judging by the only available evidence, namely the watermark in the paper, and perhaps also considering that it is a Dutch—Sinhalese dictionary concluded that, it "appears to be a copy of an earlier work compiled during Dutch times". No further light has been thrown on it since Paulusz made this comment.

Out of the published dictionaries during the British period 9 the first was a Portuguese—Sinhalese—English dictionary, printed at the Wesleyan Missionary Press in 1819. The title page of the work reads, A Dictionary of the Ceylon Portuguese—Sinhalese and English Languages by William Buckley Fox, to which is prefixed a Compendium of the Ceylon Portuguese Language. Fox, who was a

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4. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of the Ceylon Branch (hereafter abbreviated as JRASCB No. 3, 1847-1848, pp. 33-34
5. CLR (Illrd Series) 1935-1936, Vol. IV, p. 328
6. Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Pieris, Bishop of Chilaw, has informed me that an extensive article on this period is under preparation by him. See also JRASCB Vol. XXXV, No. 96. 1943, pp. 163-181
7. Now housed at the Library of the Ceylon University, Peradeniya.
8. Paulusz, J. H. O. The Ferguson Section of the D. R. Wijewardene's Library, 1948
9. 1796-1815 maritime areas; 1815-1948 Ceylon.
Wesleyan missionary, was in Ceylon from 1816 to 1823, and also published A Vocabulary, English—Portuguese and Singhalese.\(^\text{10}\) The Dictionary of Fox was immediately followed by that of another Wesleyan missionary named Callaway, who too was in Ceylon from 1814 to 1826. His work was in two parts; the first was the Sinhalese—English dictionary and the second the English—Sinhalese dictionary. Its title page a rather elaborate one reads, A School Dictionary part first Cingalese and English; contains the Cingalese words in use rendered into English, part second English and Cingalese, contains English primitive words and those of utility only rendered into Cingalese. An introduction is prefixed, containing observations on these languages designed to assist in their acquirement and an Appendix is added containing the Latin and French phrases which occur most frequently in English books. This dictionary which is 20 by 14 cm. in size, has the Preface in pages III to VI, the Introduction in pages I to XXII, Part I in 92 pages and Part II in 152 pages. It was also published at the Wesleyan Missionary Press, and bears the date, December 1820\(^\text{11}\).

Although this was published only one year after that of Fox, and at the same Press, Rev. John Callaway, does not seem to have considered the earlier publication of sufficient merit to be mentioned in his preface. In the latter he says, “Why the Language of these Cingalese has never been presented to the public in the form of a dictionary, the writer is unable to explain. Collections of words were made by the Dutch, and some fragments of a Dutch and Cingalese dictionary are extant, which does not appear to have been printed beyond the letter B. A few years since a collection of Cingalese words beginning with the vowels and rendered into English was printed, but the design of proceeding appears to have been abandoned”. Callaway apparently hadn’t known much about Dutch—Sinhalese compilations and perhaps deliberately omitted that of Fox. Writing further on his attempt at compiling this dictionary he begs the indulgence of the public and says, “that he has done all that might be wished, he is not disposed to believe, but in submitting to the public the result of his labours he is persuaded candour will allow, that notwithstanding the arduous duties of his profession and the tedious and the perplexing nature of the work itself, he has endeavoured—he cannot say “without one word of encouragement, one act of assistance, or one smile of favour”—but without the prospect of fame, the wish for recompence, or the probability of reimbursement to render an acquaintance with the literature of Britain easy to a Cingalese; and to delineate the language of a nation happily placed in circumstances highly favourable for receiving “the unsearchable riches of the Gospel of Christ”.\(^\text{12}\)

\(^{10}\) His other works are: (1) Geography and the Solar system (2) A Short catechism in the Portuguese (3) First Lessons in the Portuguese (4) Portuguese Hymns. see also A Narrative and progress of the missions to Ceylon and India, London, 1823


\(^{12}\) Preface
The attempts of Fox and Callaway at dictionary making seems to have been purely private enterprise—perhaps with some encouragement from the Church—done for the major purpose of facilitating the spread of the Gospel. Although the Government of the day would have been aware of these two publications, there is no evidence that they had taken note of them.

As said earlier, the Government itself had started compiling a dictionary long before the Wesleyan missionaries had embarked on it. This dictionary which was ultimately published by Clough has an interesting history behind it. It had its beginning during the time of North, the first Civil Governor of Ceylon (1798-1805). He entrusted the project to a learned young Corsican named Joinville, who was one of the nine hand-picked men of Governor North, for service in Ceylon. His special task was to investigate the Natural History of the Island, but his capability for work was such, that during his stay of seven years in Ceylon, he filled many a varied post and acquitted himself very creditably on every such occasion. Yet, it was most unfortunate that the compilation of the dictionary which he began, had to remain one of his unfinished tasks. In the Despatches of the Governor to the Secretary of State for Colonies, he makes reference to the fact that Joinville had started compiling a dictionary and also says that he had been subsequently appointed to direct a Committee for that purpose. Joinville himself referred to this in his 'Journal of a Tour in the Galle and Matara regions' where he says, "The whole district of Mature is full of Cingulois temples. Bouddhisme is the dominant religion, and I was assured that there is not one genuine Christian, though many have been baptized, so that all these temples are as a rule well endowed. I visited that named 'Veheregamptittie'. The priest in charge is one of the most learned in the Island, though encrusted with the prejudices of his religion, and with all the superstition which form no true part of it. I was introduced to him by one of his pupils...and was very well received. He was greatly useful to me during the short stay I made at Mature, in explaining to me various words for the Cingulois—English dictionary now being prepared under the auspices of the Governor". But as said in the Despatch to the Secretary of State dated 18th Feb. 1801, "The dictionary which was begun has also been suspended on account of the avocation of the personnel employed in the formation and the difficulty of finding men of sufficient knowledge of any two languages necessary for its compilation to superintend it".

13. If they were favourably received by the government, the Governor would have informed the Home Government about their publication. The evidence for this at the Ceylon National Archives (hereafter abbreviated as CNA) is in the negative.


16. CNA, 5/1/384, Despatch dated 15.12.1801


18. i.e. Karatota Dharmarama; see below f.n. 33


20. CNA, 5/1/258
However, in a later Despatch of the Governor, dated 15th December 1801, \(^{21}\) he reported that, that it is far advanced towards its conclusion. Perhaps after the first reference alluded to, Joinville may have been working on it by himself, or he may also have found some personnel with a sufficient knowledge of languages to assist him in adding a few more pages to the Ms. But whatever that may be, the latter was the last reference by the Governor, to this compilation by Joinville. Perhaps too heavy a burden of work, with the added reasons given in the Despatch of 18th Feb. 1801, would have ultimately led to the suspension of the work which Joinville was never able to complete.

Yet, it was not the end of this early project. When Joinville abandoned the task, Samuel Tolfrey seems to have taken it over, and made it the nucleus for a compilation of his own.

The latter an Englishman, came to Ceylon in 1801, and was appointed to the Board of Revenue. From there he was made the President of the Provincial Court of Colombo, then Senior Commissioner of Stamps, President of a Committee for the Superintendence and direction of the Land Registry and retired in 1810 as the Civil Auditor General.

In the Ceylon National Archives, there is a copy of an amended dedication and preface written by Samuel Tolfrey to his dictionary.\(^{22}\) If the dictionary would have been published, in the state Tolfrey thought it was complete, the preface he wrote too would have gone into print. But since the Government thought otherwise regarding its completeness, this Ms. preface remained in obscurity, to date. In this preface Tolfrey says that “he found the embryo of the dictionary in the hands of an enlightened foreigner”. This reference is to no other person than Joinville himself, for, he was the only foreigner engaged in such activities, out of the nine hand picked men who came to Ceylon with North. He further says that he gathered considerable information, when he was the President of the Provincial Court of Colombo, during the period 1802 to 1806, and that the men who acted as interpreters was of great assistance to him. The two interpreters referred to here are undoubtedly Cornelis de Saram and Don Jacobus Dias Bandaranaike. In recommending these two names for the posts of interpreter Tolfrey observed that, “These are two fine young men, scholars of Mr. Armour, and as it is of the utmost importance to the ends of Justice that the interpretation of evidence should be correctly made which it is most likely to be when it passes through the medium of one language only, and when it is in the hands of men of character and high family which both these young men are, I trust His Excellency will think proper to give them such encouragement as may be calculated to secure them service to the court”.\(^{23}\) It leaves no room to doubt that the two interpreters referred to above were, in fact these two young men, so highly recommended by him, and had been of such great assistance to him later in collecting material for his dictionary.

\(^{21}\) CNA.5/1/384
\(^{22}\) See Appendix 1
\(^{23}\) CNA.7/7
CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF SINHALA...

The material which he thus collected, during his stay in Ceylon, was arranged and finalized for publication around 1815, five years after his leaving Ceylon. On its completion he sold the copy to His Majesty's Government while in Britain, and this Ms. reached Ceylon on 4th November, 1815, for purposes of revision, supplementing and printing. In sending the Dictionary to the Governor, the Secretary of State for the Colonies observed that, "As it is impossible in this country to procure the necessary types or any person qualified to superintend the printing the work I have judged it advisable to forward it to you in order to its being printed at Colombo. As however it is desirable that this work should previous to being put to the Press be rendered as complete as possible, I have to desire you will use your endeavour to procure from any person where knowledge of the language is adequate to the task any amendments or additions of which they consider the work to be capable—any delay in its publication will be more than compensated by its being ultimately published in the more complete form possible."

The Governor in acknowledging the receipt of this volume informed the Secretary of State that it would receive his prompt attention and would be given to William Tolfrey for revision. The latter was another Tolfrey in the Ceylon Civil Service, and was incidentally, a nephew of the former. He came to Ceylon in 1806 and regrettably died in 1817. During his period of stay in Ceylon he also held the post of Chief Translator to the Government, after D'Oyly, and officiated at the audiences and visits of the Kandyan Chiefs for confidential translations. He seems to have been a remarkable scholar in his day, having studied Sanskrit, Pali, Hindustani, Tamil, Greek and Sinhalese in addition to his mother tongue.

Apart from the dictionary he also had several other works and translations to his credit.

The Governor in informing the Secretary of State on the nomination of Tolfrey for the revision of this work, also observed that Tolfrey’s masterly proficiency in the Sinhalese language, renders him perfectly competent to judge, as well as to amend or add anything which this book may be found to require.

24. In 1826, the widow of Mr. Samuel Tolfrey seems to have received £ 500 for a "Manuscript copy of a work which he had with infinite labour, compiled containing the addition of the Portuguese to the English and Sinhalese dictionary formerly purchased of him together with a grammar of the former language"—Despatch No. 18 of 10.6.1826; CNA 4/10/143. (However J. R. Toussaint, has in the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union (hereafter abbreviated as JDBU) Vol. XXIII, p. 116, that he ‘received an honorarium of £1000 from the Secretary of state for compiling a English—Sinhalese Vocabulary’. This information is not documented in the records of the CNA)

25. CNA, 4/3/320
26. CNA, 5/8/177
28. He resigned the post in June, 1816; see also Toussaint, pp. 43-45
29. JDBU, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, Jan. 1934, p. 116
30. His other works are: (1) Translation of the New Testament into Sinhalese—completed upto Paul’s Epistle to Timothy (b) into Pali, to the second Epistle to the Hebrews (2) Pali—English dictionary—at an early stage (3) A translation of a Native Pali Grammar, Balawataraya which Rev. Clough carried through the Press. (4) A translation not completed of a native grammar of the Cingalese or Elu (5) List of Medical works in the hands of a Native Practitioner in Ceylon. CNA, 5/8/528-529
31. CNA, 5/8/177

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In receiving the dictionary for revision, Tolfrey made the following observations for its compilation and printing. Since this reply to Sutherland, 32 throws light on the *modus operandi* of an early work of this nature undertaken by the Government, I will quote the relevant paragraphs in their entirety. “In the first place, the Chief Priest of Matura Karatotte Unnanse 33 should be requested to forward to Colombo without delay the Vocabularies specified in the accompanying List No.1, 34 taking care that the most correct manuscripts be sent, that is such as have the fewest omissions, interpretations, erroneous meanings and orthographical inaccuracies. With the exception of Bowala Unnanse, 35 another priest in the same district also eminent for learning, there is no one so capable of executing this commission as Karatotte Unnanse. Perhaps their joint aid may be solicited, but the obligations will be strongest on Karatotte, because he is actually in the pay of the Government.

“I would further propose that the Collectors of Colombo, Galle and Matara, should be called upon to obtain, through the Native Headmen in their respective districts, an enumeration of technical words and expressions in use among the different classes specified in the accompanying List No. 2, 36 with an explanation in Singhalese of each word or expression, there being many terms peculiar to people of one class which are wholly unintelligible to another; the Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations should in like manner be requested to obtain through his headmen a specification of words and phrases peculiar to the Mahabadde.

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32. James Sutherland, Secretary to the Kandyan Provinces 1815-1817; see also Toussaint pp. 32-33, 180
33. (†) 1734-1822. He was born into the family of Wijayasekara Appuhamy and Samarakoonge Lokum Hamine of Karatota near Hakmana, in the Southern Province. At an early age he was handed over by his parents, to Rev. Kadurupokune Suvannajoti Thera, for his education, and was later ordained by him at the Weragampitiya Viharaya at Matara, under the name of Karatota Dharmarama. He received his further education at the Malvattee Viharaya, Kandy, and was also under the tutelage of the then famous Pandit, Attaragama Rajaguru Bandara. Later, Karatota Dharmarama himself, enjoyed considerable fame as a scholar and priest. He also received many an honour from King Rajadhirajasinha (1780-1798), from the Dutch Government and also from the British Government. He has also the reputation of being the Sinhalese teacher of D'Oyly. Among his works the most famous is the *Barasa Kavya*, see also 1966 pp. 57-62.
34. Appendix II
35. Bovala Sri Dhammananda († 1835). He was born at Bovala near Walasmulla, in the Southern Province. He seems to have had his education under Rev. Dharamipola Dharmarashitha, Chief Priest of the Malvatte section, and also under Attaragama Rajaguru Bandara. see also 1966 pp. 93-97.
36. Appendix III
“The next step will be to cause Don Thomis\textsuperscript{37} to copy out verbatim the contents of the vocabularies, not in alphabetical order, which would be a very laborious and tedious process, but in the succession in which the words occur leaving the alphabetical arrangement to be made thereafter, by a more simple and expeditious method.

“During the interval preceding the receipt of Books etc., for which I have applied, Don Thomis may be usefully employed in making a collection of words purely colloquial, but I hope no very considerable time will elapse before he be furnished with at least, one or two Books mentioned in the List.

“When Don Thomis shall have collected and copied out all the words required to form a tolerably useful Dictionary, they must be alphabetically disposed and the English meanings applied. In the performance of this most important part of the business most assistance will no doubt be derived from the previous labours of Mr. Tolfrey, and some from a collection of words which I myself have made subsequently to his departure from Ceylon, but there will still remain numerous words the true meaning of which can only be determined by a reference to Books of approved authority and to persons thoroughly versed in the Etymology of the Language”.\textsuperscript{38} Tolfrey expected the dictionary to consist of somewhere between thirty and forty thousand words running into 96 sheets or 8 quires of printing paper. In his estimate the copying of different vocabularies were to take about an year or eighteen months and six more to arrange them alphabetically. Further, he reckoned that if this were to be his sole concern, the rendering of the Sinhalese words into English would take about 3 or 4 years. And almost towards the end of his lengthy reply he made the following remarks on the Ms. he had in hand. “The labours of Mr. Tolfrey in attempting to reduce this chaos and confusion into which the Singhalese language had fallen to some degree of order and regularity at a period when no one had the resolution to venture upon so irksome and unpromising a task, are entitled to highest praise, but meritorious as his exertions have unquestionably been, much yet remains to be done before the desired object can be accomplished”.\textsuperscript{39} This memorandum did impress the Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg, and in giving his orders or making his observations—in a scrap of paper as he was wont to do very often—he said, “This is really a very able interesting (sic) letter which does Mr. Tolfrey much credit.—All he asks should be granted and my idea is that he should be allowed to occupy himself exclusively in his literary pursuits”.\textsuperscript{39}

37. Thomis Samarasekara Dissanayaka Muhandiram.
The following appears in CNA, 6/520B/675: “His name is Don Thomis Aratchy and he has been long in the service of Government at Matara, where his literary reputation is well established. I would propose, that he should in the first instance have a salary of R [lx] [Dollars] 20 per month, subject to further increase hereafter, should the service he will be required to perform prove more arduous than at present expected” see also చెరువు, లింగ, తియాట్, సేన సాహిత్యోద్యోగ్, 1951 pp. 113-123.
38. CNA, 6/5208/745-762
39. A loose slip of paper filed with the letter dated 25.11.1815 of Tolfrey, in CNA, 6/520B/743
Although Tolfrey (W) undertook the work with great ambition and a masterly plan, his untimely death put an end to his labours, and left the work unaccomplished. At this point—either just before or just after his death—there had arisen a slight confusion on the authorship of this unfinished work. Tolfrey himself had said that it's a work of his own supplemented by that of his uncle Samuel, although his commission had been only to revise and complete his uncle's Ms. On this point even the Governor himself seems to have been in a rather uncertain position, for when he wrote to the Secretary of State regarding the claims of authorship, he said “Mr. William Tolfrey had before its arrival been engaged in collecting the materials of a Cingalese Dictionary and he arranged some thousand words for that purpose. This compilation I understand he made the basis of his plan for completing his uncle's Book incorporating into his own Ms. the words subsequently selected while he was employed at the request of Government. This will therefore be a joint property and will require some little arrangement with the representatives”. 40

We have no evidence here to show how it was settled in England, but whatever that be, the work of the dictionary seems to have come to a stop once again, until it came into the hands of Clough, who at long last, saw it come through the Press.

Rev. Benjamin Clough was a preacher from Bradford in Yorkshire, England, and was one among the first batch of Wesleyan priests to arrive in Ceylon. A scholar and an able man he is reputed to have been one of the live wires in the Wesleyan church of the time. 41 In his preface he says that this Ms. dictionary was handed over to him by Governor Barnes himself [on his request] 42 and from the time he received it he seems to have spared no pains to make it as complete a work, as was possible for him to do. Commenting on the Ms. Clough says, “Mr. Tolfrey's chief design seems to have been to render assistance to Europeans in the acquirement of Singhalese for the transaction of business in the different Colonial Offices”. To him this was a very inadequate design for the producing of a proper dictionary. He also expressed the view that, “Europeans who have no particular interest in extending their acquaintance with the languages beyond what is necessary in the mere routine of business, or for the common affairs of life, regard a Dictionary of colloquial Singhalese quite sufficient to meet the wants of the public, but when it happens that not only the language but the general literature of interesting people are so little known to the rest of the world, as we are persuaded in the case with respect to the Singhalese and where there exists so great a scarcity of acquiring a knowledge of either; a dictionary of the language would be imperfectly executed which did not comprehend every class of words whether

40. CNA, 5/8/528
41. His other works are: (1) Reasons why I am not a Buddhist—The false Prophecy and the truth of Jehovah on the existence of God. (2) A Pali grammar and Vocabulary, 1824 (3) The ritual of Buddhist priest-hood—translated from the Pali Kammayavaha etc. (4) Short sermon for scholars in Singhalese (5) Family prayers in Singhalese see also Jubilee Memorials of the Wesleyan Mission - South Ceylon, 1814—1864
42. CNA, 5/108/28
written or spoken, that serves as a medium for the acquirement of information; and having in the course of my proceedings, steadily kept this important object in view, I have but little apprehension that the work will fall under any large share of public disapproval on that account". 43

Writing on the way he organized his work, he says, "My first object was to collect the most correct copies of their approved standard works on philosophy, mythology, history, botany, medicine, astrology, etc., and by a very tedious and expensive process had all the words gleaned out of them affixing to each previous extraction figures of reference to the place where its meaning were to be ascertained". 43 Working thus he completed the work in two volumes. The title page of it read, Dictionary of the English and Sinhalese languages under the patronage of the Government of Ceylon by the Rev. B. Clough, Wesleyan Missionary. The first volume of it was published in 1821 and had the dictionary proper in 628 pages, while the second volume consisting of 852 pages was published in June, 1830. Thus this dictionary which started as a government project ended as a private work under government patronage. In aid of its publication the government gave a grant of paper and ordered one hundred copies of the dictionary for the use of government servants. 44 Although this was the first comprehensive dictionary to be published after the coming of the Britishers, it had no pretension to completeness. Clough himself said, "For the various imperfections which may be found I shall make no apology. Considering that this is the first complete dictionary in the Sinhalese language ever published, to expect a work exempt from all mistakes would be to overrate the power of any ordinary intellect". 45

The second volume of this work, namely the Sinhalese—English dictionary went through a second edition in 1892 and had an abridged edition too in 1898/9. This second edition of volume II which was published in 1892 was at first printed in instalments starting about the end of the year 1887 or the beginning of 1888. 46 In this edition it was also called a "New and enlarged edition" and was done as the earlier one under the patronage of the Government of Ceylon. In its introduction, the Editor, John Scott said that the work had been begun by George Baugh but the greater part of the work was really executed by Rev. Robert Tebb and had the careful supervision of Pandit Bartholomew Gunasekare. 47 Speaking on one of its new features he said, "every Sinhalese word is given in English as well as in native characters. This has been done according to the plan adopted by the Government of Ceylon and now generally followed". 48 This edition had a 748 page dictionary, and an Appendix in pages 749-824. 49 The abridged form of it was the work of Rev. T. Moscrop, another Wesleyan priest, and consisted of 276 pages. 50

43. Preface to Vol. I
44. CNA, 5/108/28
45. Preface to Vol. I
46. Register of Books printed in Ceylon (available at the Ceylon National Archives, Gangodavila, Nugegoda) (hereafter referred to as the 'Register of Books') pt. I, 1885-1888, Item No. 627
47. Sinhalese Interpreter and Chief Translator at the Chief Secretary's Office, Colombo, 1878/1883-1901.
48. Introduction to the 1892 edition
49. see also CLR (1st Series) Vol. 2, pt. 20, p. 156
The next dictionary we have noted in this chronological order is an unpublished work of six volumes. It is presently in the Library of the National Museums, Colombo, and has a note to the effect that it was donated by Mr. Leslie de Saram. The volumes are rather large in size, and measure 38" by 24cm. Although the dictionary should consist of six separate volumes, the Museum library has only five volumes of it. The missing volume (No. 4) has strayed into the Ferguson collection, now in the Library of the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya.

In describing the latter in his booklet entitled “The Ferguson Library” J. H. O. Paulusz conjectured, “But it must have been in preparation after 1838, because the water-mark shows, below the Strasbourg Lily the name W. Sellers and the date 1838. Clough’s Sinhalese—English dictionary had appeared in 1830. It is very tempting therefore to conjecture that this Ms. volume, begun about 1840 is the first effort towards supplementing and correcting Clough and laying the foundation of a new and revised work. Moreover the introduction to the second edition, when it did appear in 1887, clearly stated that Mr. William Ferguson took a warm interest in the revision and gave valuable help. It is quite possible that this original draft had passed into the hands of the Ferguson family. The evidence however is not conclusive”.

In this conjecture Paulusz seems to have erred, because he had apparently missed the fact, that this is not just a single independent volume, but a misplaced one in that of a series. When these six volumes are kept in their proper order, the alphabetical sequence of the volumes and the chronological order of the watermarks in the paper fall into agreement. The alphabetical sequence and the order of the watermarks are as follows:

1. මුස්ථිකා - මුශිකා: JOHN KEY & CO. 1829
2. මුස්ථා - මුශා: J RUMP 1837
3. මුස්ථා - මුශා: J RUMP 1837
4. මුස්ථා - මුශා: W SELLERS 1838
5. මුස්ථා - මුශා: W SELLERS 1838
6. මුස්ථා - මුශා: E HORSNALL 1839

From the foregoing it could be deduced that this work must have been either compiled or transcribed into these volumes during the period 1829/30-1840. If the watermark in the paper is taken as any criterion to judge the period of the compilation of this work, it would seem very unlikely that it had

51. Leslie William Frederick de Saram, 1877-1951; son of F.J. de Saram (Sr.) Educated at Royal College, Colombo, and Clifton College, England; Solicitor of the High Court of Judicature in England, 1900, Proctor and Notary, Ceylon, Member of the Committee of Management, Colombo Museum, 1923-1942, etc.
been started as either supplementing or correcting Clough, since the latter's Sinhalese—English volume was published only in 1830. This dictionary is still incomplete. It seems to have been intended as a Sinhalese—Sinhalese dictionary, but at times the meaning is given in both Sinhalese and English and at times only in English. Some doubtful places have been left blank.

The last dictionary to be published during the first half of the 19th c. was that of Bridgnell. He too was one of the Wesleyan missionaries in Ceylon during the period 1822-1849. His work entitled A Dictionary, Sinhalese—English had consisted of 371 pages. It had been published about 1847, and no copies seem to be available today.

The second half of the 19th century, is as fruitful as the first half in dictionary production. Further, in this latter half we see the welcome coming in of Ceylonese themselves in the pursuance of this task. Even during the earlier period the Sinhalese had interested themselves in this field, but it seems to have always been in a secondary capacity, as seen for instance, in the history of that of Clough.

The first dictionary to be published during the second half of the 19th century, was one by Rev. Nicholson. He too was a Wesleyan missionary who came to Ceylon in 1861 and worked mainly in South Ceylon. His work entitled, A Dictionary English and Sinhalese was a pocket dictionary of 646 pages. This dictionary which had consisted of about 14,000 words, seems to have had a remarkable number of reprints, some of them perhaps abridged. The latest I've seen is the 11th edition of 1948. In the introduction to the first edition, as reprinted in that of 1948, Nicholson says, “In preparing this volume, I have been desirous to supply a useful book at a reasonable price and obtain myself, by the exercise of preparation, a more extended knowledge of the vernacular languages of Ceylon; no one therefore, will, expect to find proofs of scholarship in this work”. Further, in the introduction, to the fourth edition he says, “A second part in Sinhalese and English, will be issued next year”, but I have not come across any other reference to this second part, nor have I been successful in seeing a copy of it. In addition to this Nicholson had also published in 1866 a work entitled, A Vocabulary English—Sinhalese consisting of 32 pages.

The next in order of publication is not a dictionary proper, but a vocabulary. This, of course, is a work limited in scope than a dictionary, but nevertheless as it is one of the earliest works of a Ceylonese lexicographer in the

54. see Jubilee Memorials of the Wesleyan Mission—South Ceylon, 1814-1864. He was also the author of an English Grammar in Singhalese and English
55. JDBU, Vol. 27, No. 3, Jan. 1938, p. 100
56. Kindly given for examination by Mr. O. A. Jayaratna, of the C.L.S. Bookshop, Pettah, Colombo.
57. Kindly sent for examination by Mr. A. Karthigesu of the Audit Office, Colombo. The dictionary measured 16½ X12½ cm. and had 333 pages.
58. Blue Book, 1866; Register of Books pt. II 1888-1892, item No. 993.
19th century, it has been noted here, This vocabulary was compiled by Rev. C. Alvis, a Sinhalese Wesleyen priest. He incorporated this vocabulary in his work entitled, "The Sinhalese Hand-Book in Roman Characters". Part three of this book consisted of the English—Sinhalese vocabulary in pages 93 to 155, and part four consisted of the Sinhalese—English vocabulary in pages 157 to 237. This must have been printed for the first time, somewhere before 1880, for the latter year saw it being printed for the second time.

After this, in 1885, a small work of 96 pages entitled an English Sinhalese Pronouncing dictionary containing a copious selection of Scientific and other terms for general use, was published. It was compiled by one D. S. de Silva, and was printed at the Pararuka Press in Pettah, Colombo. A few years later in 1889, the Christian Vernacular Education Society published an Ingirisi saha Sinhala Katakiiramata upakaravu Vacana Pota. This must have been more of a vocabulary than a dictionary proper, but apart from the reference to it, I have not been able to get any bibliographical details of it. Another small work, but well known among Sinhalese linguists and lexicographers is the Sabdamuktavaliya hevat Sinhala Akārādiya, prepared by Weragama Punchy Bandara, and published in 1890. The other such known work is the Elu Akārādiya or Suddha Sinhala Akārādiya a work of about 208 pages compiled by Hendrick Jayatilaka in 1895. The latter Akārādiya is only a glossary of Sinhalese classical words.

But the most important dictionary of this half century was that of Carter. Charles Carter, a Baptist missionary arrived in Ceylon in 1853 and stayed here for 28 years. It was during this period that he compiled his dictionary for which he is still remembered. Carter seems to have engaged himself in his work for a long time, for in a post-script to his preface, which he wrote in 1891, he said that, "The work was begun in September 1881 and had been exclusively engaged in for the last four years". That he had taken considerable pains over this is without doubt. In his preface he says, "It is now sixty-eight years, since the first English—Sinhalese dictionary making any pretence to completeness, was first published by the Rev. B. Clough, Wesleyan Missionary. Since that time the language has undergone some changes, the most important being those which have taken place during the past twenty

60. He is probably the person bearing the same name as the Proprietor and Editor of the paper Kavata Dutaya (1889-1891)
61. Register of Books etc. pt. II, 1885-1888, Item No. 90.
63. Bodhinayaka Dharmalankara Pandita Mudiyanelage Weragama Punchy Bandara 1856-1892. He was a pupil of Rev. Hikkaduve Sri Sumangala Thera; was the author of a number of publications and was also the first Editor of the Sarasavi Sandarasa (1880-1933). For his publications see वर्णमाला, विद्वेष्ठाल, राजस्व संस्कृति, 1961 p. 651
64. Hendrick Jayatilaka Appuhamy was, a pupil of Rev. Hikkaduve Sumangala Thera (1826-1914). Preface to the Second Edition Vol. I. Among his other works are (1) A Vernacular Grammar (2) Sinhalese—English Lesson Books on Otendorff’s system, (3) Sinhalese words reduced to Conjugations (4) The Bible into Sinhalese.
years by the introduction of many words from Sanskrit and the ancient Sinhalese literature, and by the settlement of the orthography of a large number of words which, through the copiousness of the alphabet, had come to be written in a variety of ways. There has also been a considerable progress made in accurate knowledge of Sinhalese by Europeans since Clough's work was first issued, so that an improved English—Sinhalese Dictionary adapted to present circumstances has long been much needed. The compiler of the present work felt this many years ago, and submitted a specimen of what he thought was required to some native friends, who expressed very decided approval of it and urged him to proceed with the work. The actual accomplishment of the task, however, was impracticable at the time, and little more than mental preparation was possible besides the increased preparedness, the writer keeping the object in view, which naturally resulted from his long—continued intercourse with the natives, his constant use of the language, both in public and private, and especially from his necessarily critical use of it in literary work, necessitating discussion with native Scholars, the whole of which was carried on, and that for many years, through the medium of the Sinhalese language alone". 

He also says, "It would be unfair to demand absolute perfection in a work of this sort; and there is, of course, room for difference of opinion as to whether something might not have been added here or something omitted there, or whether in some cases a different rendering might not have been given. It would be vain to expect the entire approval of every one, but if the work is free from serious errors, is generally accurate and sufficiently full in its English vocabulary and its Sinhalese renderings, and is a considerable advance upon its predecessors, then its issue is justified, and it may fairly claim a favourable reception at the hands of those who need such a work".66

This dictionary was first published in six instalments between 1889 and 189167. It was printed at the Ceylon Observer Press, at Government expense,68 and was issued as a complete work only in 1891.

Although L.E.B. (L.E. Blaze)69 in an article written to the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union70 said that Carter followed this English—Sinhalese dictionary with that of a Sinhalese—English dictionary in 1899, it looks as if it's a factual error. I have not been able to find any such dictionary printed in that year, nor any other evidence for such a publication in 1899. Although the Register of Books, maintained by the Registrar of Books and Newspapers

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67. Register of Books etc., Item No. 862 A—Contorted, 29.6.1889
   —do— 978 Contortion—Feud, 6.2.1890
   —do— 1087 Fued—Lark, 31.5.1890
   —do— 1231 Lark—Prance, 2.12.1890
   —do— 1457 Prank—Spur-wheel, 29.6.1891
   —do— 1600 Sputter—Zymotic, 19.19.1891
68. Postscript to the Preface.
69. Louis Edmund Blaze 1861-1951. B.A. (Calcutta). Educationist, founder and Principal, Kingswood College, Kandy, and the author of A History of Ceylon for Schools, etc. see JDBU, XL/14, 1951
70. JDBU, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, Jan. 1938, p. 100
and the section on Publications in the Blue Books, cannot claim completeness in their lists of publications for a given year, yet they are two places where a reference would have occurred if a publication of this nature was done. But both these produce negative evidence. Even the Ceylon Observer for the years 1899-1900 which have many advertisements for the English—Sinhalese dictionary of Carter, has no reference to this Sinhalese—English dictionary of his.

Further, when this Sinhalese—English volume was published in 1924 edited by John A. Ewing, it made no reference whatsoever, to an earlier edition published in 1899. On the contrary the preface says, “The author (Carter) who commenced the work in 1892 has put into the compilation what would equal ten years consecutive labour”. It further says that, “the Manuscript has been subject to the scrutiny of competent scholars, who contributed valuable suggestions and corrected the work at the press”, and that, “Mudliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, late of the Registrar General’s Office, Editor of the Jhanadarsaya, the author of a Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese language to whom the manuscript was submitted etc. (emphasis is mine). Here the use of the word manuscript makes it quite clear that upto 1924 the attempted Sinhalese—English dictionary of Carter did not go into print, and was first published only in 1924.

This too was the same in size as that of the first volume i.e. 28 x 18 cm. and had the dictionary proper in pages 1 to 733, an Addenda in page 733, and an Appendix of Botanical names in pages 734 to 806. The English—Sinhalese dictionary had a revision too in 1936, and was done by D. E. Hettiaratchi, now Professor of Sinhalese, at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya. In the preface to this edition, Stanley F. Pearce says, “The work of revision was first entrusted to Mr. Julius de Lanerolle by the Rev. J. A. Ewing of the Baptist mission, but owing to pressure of work, Mr. de Lanerolle was able to revise only the first hundred pages, the rest of the work being entrusted to Mr. Hettiaratchi whose own note follows this preface”. This dictionary has remained one of the standard works to date.

71. For an account of him see रेडियाव 21/10/1916
72. Abraham Mendis Gunasekara Vijayasiriwardena Vasala Mudaliyar 1860-1931. He was Sinhalese Translator at the Registrar General’s Office, Colombo, Editor of लक्ष्मी (1891) अलब्बुम (1896) and other works. see अलब्बुम, अलब्बुम रेडियाव II, (1966)
73. Preface p. III
75. Don Elaris Hettiaratchi, B.A., Ph.D. (Lond); M.A., Ph. D. (Calcutta); presently, Prof. and Head of the Dept. of Sinhalese, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya.
In a chronological order the next publication is the *Elu Akārādiya* by Hendrick Jayatilaka, which has already been referred to along with the Sabdamuktāvaliya. Then, in 1897, another vocabulary called *Mehe Varen* was published. Its full title was, *Mehe Varen or the Sinna Durais' Pocket Sinhalese guide being a Sinhalese translation of Mr. Ferguson's* 76 *Inge Va*. The purpose of it, as explained in the title was to teach Sinhalese to Assistant Superintendents (of tea and rubber plantations). This too had three editions and the last edition in 1926 was an enlarged one of 254 pages.

But the year 1897 was a much more significant year in the history of Sinhalese lexicography. In that year, a foreigner, but no less a person than Professor Wilhelm Geiger himself published an *Etymologie des Singhalesischen*. Commenting on this Sir D. B. Jayatilaka 77 says, that it was the "First attempt made by any modern scholar, European or Ceylonese to compile a scientific vocabulary of Sinhalese words".

The last work for the century was not a dictionary proper, but a vocabulary; yet its interest lies in the fact, that it is the first Tamil—Sinhalese vocabulary on record. Entitled a "Tamil—Sinhalese vocabulary", it was edited by one M. R. Velayuthan, and consisted of a mere 16 pages.

In contrast to the 19th century, the first half of the 20th century saw the publication of a considerable number of dictionaries. After almost a century of preparation, now the country had a fairly good background for scientific production of dictionaries, and for the first time we see attempts at dictionary publication, not only for the benefit of public servants or missionaries, but for the stabilisation and the clarity of the language. The science of dictionary making had taken firm root, but the first fruits began to appear only about 1929.

The first dictionary of the 20th century was a 916 page *English—Sinhalese dictionary* by A. M. Gunasekara 78 published in 1905. The counterpart of this the *Sinhala—English dictionary* was published only in 1916 and was a little more extensive than the first volume. It had the dictionary proper in 1031 pages and a supplement in pages 1032-1120. The *English—Sinhalese dictionary* went into a second print too in 1925.

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76. see f.n. 53.
77. Don Baron Jayatilaka, 1868-1944; B.A. (Calcutta), M.A. (Cantab), Member Legislative Council 1924-1931, Member State Council 1932-1942; Bar-at-Law, Advocate; was Principal, Dharmaraja College, Kandy 1896-1898, Vice-Principal, Ananda College, Colombo 1898-1902 and Principal 1902-1908, President, Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) 1935, etc., etc.; religious, social and temperance worker, politician, scholar, writer; see JRASCB, Vol. XXXVI. No. 97, 1944, p. 237-8 and "Sir D. B. J. and the Sinhalese national movement" (1961) p. 654 (A biography of Sir D. B. J. is presently being prepared for publication by the Y.M.B.A., Colombo.)
78. see f.n. 72
During the first ten years of the 20th century, there were also published a few vocabularies, but the most notable ones among them were an English—Sinhalese—Tamil vocabulary by W. A. de Silva and a Hindustani—Sinhalese Grammatical vocabulary by G. W. Bibile. The first was an eighty page book which saw the third edition in 1910. The second, was a similar one of 24 pages, and was also first published in the same year. In 1922, the first Sanskrit—Sinhalese dictionary consisting of 233 pages was published, by W. James Fernando. A few years later, in 1926, A. S. Perera of Kadawata compiled a Sabdāvaliya or Sinhalese dictionary consisting of 480 pages. This was the first Sinhalese—Sinhalese dictionary to be published, since the earlier one to which reference was made, still remains a Ms. Shortly after this, in 1929, Rev. Būrukgamuve Rēvata published another Sinhalese—Sinhalese dictionary entitled Sabdārā ratnākara hetav Sinhala Maha Akūrādiya. The preface to this says, it was compiled about 35 years back, but remained unpublished for a long time, until H. S. Perera, the Editor of the Sarasavisandarāsa started publishing it by instalments and completed it in 8 issues. It had a second and revised enlarged edition too, running into 685 pages. This same year saw the publication of another dictionary, which was a Sanskrit—Sinhalese lexicon called Sanskrta Sabdiirnavaya by Ven. Welivitiye Sōrata. In his preface he says that he had three collaborators in this work, namely Ven. Kalukondayāve Pandita Pragāsākara Thera, Ven. Dehigaspė Pandita Pragāsākara Thera, and Ven. Palannoruvė Pandita Vimaladhamma Thera. Although this dictionary had been thought of as a comprehensive work, only one part consisting of 411 pages was published. Referring to an earlier work it says, "There exists, too, a list of short words with their Sinhalese equivalents, compiled evidently in the dark ages of Sinhalese literature. But it abounds in error and its number of words certainly does not exceed five thousand." Whether this reference is to a published work or not is uncertain.

80. Wilmot Arthur de Silva 1869-1942; Veterenary Surgeon; Minister of Health in the Board of Ministers, Temperance worker, philanthropist, Oriental scholar and Editor of many journals see also Abesooria, Samson 'Who's Who of Ceylon', (1928); Sudu Ceylon 1966 pp. 529-543
81. Landed proprietor, Grandpass, Colombo.
82. Ayurvedic Physician, Panadura
83. 1870-1956; Head priest at Subadharama Viharaya, Gangadawila, Nugegoda; scholar and author of many works; see Sudu Ceylon 1966 etc.
84. -1914; He printed and published the 'Sarasavisandarāsa' for the period 1893-1909; was Proprietor and Editor of the 'Dinamina', 1909-1914. see Sudu Ceylon 19/12/1914
85. 1897-1963. Pracina Pandita; well known scholar and author; started his academic career as Teacher at the Vidyodaya Pirivena in 1923, became it's Vice-Principal in 1936 and later was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University of Ceylon, in 1959. see Sudu Ceylon 19/12/1914
86. Presently, Principal, Vidyodaya Pirivena, Maligakanda, Colombo; scholar, author of Sudu Ceylon 1966 etc.
87. 1899-1966; B.A. (Hons) Lond.; Ph.D. (Ceylon); Pali and Sanskrit scholar
88. 1900-1966; Pracina Pandita, Aggamaha Pandita (Burma) Sahitya Cakravarti (Vidyalankara); Vice-Chancellor, Vidyodaya University of Ceylon, 1963-1966.
This was followed in 1931, by another unfinished dictionary. It was a *Pali—Sinhala Akaradiya* by Rev. Börukgamuve Sri Rāvata, which too saw only one part in print. Then in 1934 J. Edmund Perera Maldeniya produced a *Modern English—Sinhalese Pronouncing Dictionary*, and the preface to it says, that its Ms. was revised by a J. Samuel Ranabahu. This same dictionary had an abridgement of it published as a school edition in 1951. Another useful dictionary which was published in 1936 was a *Dictionary of Proverbs of the Sinhalese*, including their Adages, Aphorisms, Apologies, Apotheosis, Bywords, Dictums, Maxims, Mottoes, Precepts, Laws, and sayings together with the connected Myths Legends and Folk-Tales prepared by John M. Senaveratne. This dictionary proper consisted only of 167 pages.

The next work which was published in 1935, was really the result of the first scientific attempt at dictionary making in Ceylon. The preface to this dictionary gives the history of the project in brief and I make no apology to quote in extenso the relevant paragraphs from it. "As long ago as 1881 the late Sir Charles Bruce, who was then Director of Education, referred to it (a scientific dictionary) as "the greatest need felt in Ceylon". The idea of compiling a Sinhalese dictionary on scientific lines was first mooted by Dr. Reinhold Rost, the eminent Orientalist and Librarian of the India Office. He wrote to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society urging them to undertake the compilation of such a dictionary. In his letter to the late Sir John F. Dickson, who was then President of the Society, he said, "Is there no chance of a new Sinhalese Dictionary being taken in hand, which shall pay due attention to etymological definitions as well as proverbs etc.? Such a work would mark an epoch in Oriental Philology which would be worth all the combined efforts of your Asiatic Society". Dr. Rost's letter was read at a General Meeting of the Society held on October 4th, 1884, at which the Governor of Ceylon presided. A full discussion followed and a Committee was appointed with Dr. R. S. Copelston, then Bishop of Colombo and subsequently the Metropolitan of Calcutta, as Chairman to take necessary steps in the matter. Other members of the Committee were Rev. Vaskaduve Subhūtī Nāyaka Thera, Mudliyar B. Gunasekara and W. P. Ranasinha. These scholars apparently undertook first to index various important Sinhalese texts from the earliest inscriptions downwards and prepare "glossaries" from which to draw materials for lexical articles. It was decided to take Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary as a model. But in the course of a year the Committee achieved little more than the production of a Specimen Vocabulary, and not long after the whole undertaking was given up".

89. Sometime editor of CLR.
90. John Frederick Dickson, C.C.S. (1859-1885) He was the first Government Agent of the N.C.P., and later retired as Acting Colonial Secretary. He was also a Pali scholar and made translations of the *Patimokkha* and the *Upasampada Kammavaca* see also "Tous-saint" pp. 139-140.
91. 1835-1917; Chief priest, Saddhamma Vansika Nikaya of the Amarapura sect; did also edit the *Pali Nighanduwa* and the *Nighandu Suciya*.
92. William Perera Ranasinha; 1836-1927; Scholar, author, journalist and lawyer; see also 8.4.1916
"All interest in this important matter seems to have then died out and for nearly forty years nothing further was done in connection with the production of a Sinhalese Dictionary on modern lines."

Although Julius de Lanerolle says, "that after a long period of inaction it was Sir Cecil Clementi who, as President of the Society, brought the matter to the forefront and gave it the practical shape which it took immediately after his departure from the Island", it seems to be more correct to concur with the opinion expressed by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in the introduction to the Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language. There he says, "To the late Vasala Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasekara belongs the credit of pressing the question again to the forefront after it had lain forgotten for so long a period. This statement too is accepted by Mr. de Lanerolle, but he gives it only secondary importance. Continuing Sir, Baron says, "In 1923 he wrote strongly on the subject to the Director of Education who referred the question to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society after careful consideration, appointed a Committee to report upon the whole matter. The Committee consisting of R. Marrs (Chairman), A. M. Gunasekara, D. B. Jayatilaka, S. Sumnagala Thera and W. F. Gunawardhana submitted its report in May, 1925, and in 1926 the Society finally decided to undertake the compilation of a new Sinhalese Dictionary mainly on the lines proposed by the Committee". To aid this decision of the Society it also had the views of Prof. Geiger, who, on request submitted a report on the project, dated 3.2.1926. To work out this scheme a Board of Editors consisting of D. B. Jayatilaka as Editor in Chief and Messrs W. F. Gunawardhana and A. M. Gunasekara as Co-Editors and a Managing Committee consisting of Messers L. J. B. Turner of the C.C.S. as (Chairman), C. H. Collins of the C.C.S., E.W. Perera, W. A. de Silva, Dr. S. C. Paul, Professor R. Marrs and Mr. A. N. Weinman (Hony. Secretary) were appointed.

93. M.A. (Oxon); Colonial Secretary 1922-1925
96. Rev. Suryagoda Sumangala Thera (later Mr. S. Sri Suryagoda); B. Litt (Oxon); Lecturer in Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese, University College, Colombo, 1922-1926; also, sometime Principal, Paramadhamma Cetiya Pirivena, Ratmalana; dabbled in Politics in his last days.
97. William Frederick Gunawardhana 1861-1935; entered government service as a clerical servant in 1888, and retired in 1922 as an Examiner in Native Languages; Oriental scholar and author; has many publications to his credit.
98. JRASCB (N.S.) Vol. I, 1950, p. 15
99. Lewis James Barneston Turner, M.A. (Edin); C.C.S. 1908-1933; Scholar, author, with many works to his credit; see JDBU, vol. XXIII, No. 3, 1933, p. 142 & Ceylon Civil List.
100. Sir, Charles Henry Collins, B.A. (Lond); C.C.S. 1910-1948; he retired in the capacity of 'Adviser to the Government' in Independent Ceylon; see Ceylon Civil List.
101. Edward Walter Perera, 1875-1953; Bar-at-Law, Advocate, Member, Legislative Council and State Council, sometime President, Ceylon National Congress and Sinhalese delegate to England 1915-1919; etc.; scholar and author;
102. Samuel Chelliah Paul, 1872-1942; M.D. (Madras), L.R.C.P. (Lond), F.R.C.S. (Eng.) Surgeon. Registrar, Ceylon Medical College
Then in 1928, in pursuance of a resolution passed at the seventh International Congress of the Orientalists at Oxford, a consultative Committee of Comparative Philologists and a London Committee to aid this compilation was formed. But as the work progressed, it was found that the advice and personal direction of a competent scholar was essential in framing the general plan of the Dictionary and laying down the principles to be followed in the treatment of words, and they decided to invite Prof. Wilhelm Geiger, of Munich to visit Ceylon and later on invitation he consented to hold the position of Director in the Editorial Board.

According to the scheme of work agreed upon, two editions of the Dictionary were to be published. One a Sinhalese—English edition and the other a Sinhalese—Sinhalese edition. As Mr. de Lanerolle says, although the Dictionary establishment under the Society was never properly or adequately staffed by 1941 it had issued six parts of the Sinhalese—English edition and five parts of the Sinhalese—Sinhalese edition. Then complying with a decision made by the Committee which looked into the matter of commencing a Sinhalese Dictionary, that the project should be handed over to the University when it comes into being, it handed over the project to the University in October, 1941. The only working Editor of the Dictionary at that time, namely Julius de Lanerolle, too, went with the Dictionary to the University; but his initial period there was short lived. When it was suggested that the Sinhalese Dictionary should become an adjunct of the Sinhalese Department, Lanerolle disagreed; further as his suggestions for its organization and his terms of employment too were not approved and granted respectively, by the University, he resigned his post in 1944. From 1944 to 1949, the Dictionary Office functioned under M. D. Ratnasuriya then Professor of the Department of Sinhalese. It was during this period that it was decided to postpone the original scheme of work and to bring out instead a Shorter Sinhalese—English Dictionary.

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104. JRASC (NS), Vol. I, 1950, p. 21
105. A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language
II 1936
III 1938
IV pp. 123-170; 1939
V pp. 171-218; 1940
VI pp. 219-266; 1941
(vii—xvi; 1959-68)
II pp. 41-88; 1938
III pp. 89-136; 1939
IV pp. 137-184; 1940
V pp. 185-232; 1941
108. B.A., Ph.D. (Lond), F.R.A.I.; Professor of Sinhalese, University of Ceylon, Colombo, 1945-1951
The Part I of this Shorter Sinhalese—English Dictionary, was published in 1949. According to its preface it was started as a Concise Sinhalese—English Dictionary under G. P. Malalasekara, but was later published as the Shorter Sinhalese—English Dictionary edited by M. D. Ratnasuriya and P. B. F. Wijeratna. This work met with adverse criticism, as one not up to the standard and also as something which ought not to have been started at the expense of the main work. The subject came into discussion in Parliament and it was suggested that even a Committee may be appointed to inquire into its working. Due to these criticisms, the University itself attempted to reorganize its working scheme and Professor Ratnasuriya sought to form an external advisory body too, to continue the work. But this too does not seem to have met with much approval, and by the end of the year the University decided to set up a Dictionary Office independent of the Sinhalese Department, and invited Lanerolle to be its Editor, on his own terms. Thus Lanerolle came back to the Dictionary for his second and final period of office, in 1950. Now, the production of the Shorter Sinhalese—English Dictionary which was to consist of five parts, was given up, and the main scheme of work was resumed.

Coming back to the chronological sequence, we find a work entitled a Standard English—Sinhalese Dictionary published by C. E. Godakumbure and Lionel Lokuliyan in 1941. It is a rather small work running into only ninety pages. The same year saw another Sinhalese-English Dictionary entitled Basic Words. The editor of this was Adolph Myres and the work had 313 pages for its 850 basic words. Although termed a Dictionary it is really one in a series of books entitled the "Basic Way to English". Although not termed a Dictionary the most important publication of the year was a work of 166 pages called an "Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language", compiled by Wilhelm Geiger. In its prefatory note, Lanerolle says "Since the appearance in 1897 of Prof. Wilhelm Geiger's Etymologie des Singhaleischen a large number of Sinhalese lithic records and many important, classical texts have been carefully examined and edited by competent scholars. With the new materials thus made available, and in the light of studies in Indo-Aryan Linguistics, carried on in the meantime by himself and other specialists like Professors R. L. Turner, J. Block and S. K. Chatterji, the author (Geiger) revised the above glossaries and..."
prepared the present enlarged edition. This as well as his Sinhalese Grammar (1938) he considered as a part of his work on the Sinhalese Dictionary and gifted it, as he had already done the Grammar, to the Dictionary Managing Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch”.

The last two years of this half century saw the publication of a number of other dictionaries. In 1949 A. P. de Zoysa\textsuperscript{116} published a \textit{Sinhala-English Dictionary}. It is a rather extensive work running into 2020 pages in two volumes. The author in his preface says, that his intention in producing this Dictionary had been to assist the people in learning the language in an age when it has been considered that Government as well as other work should be done in the national language. Perhaps it was in the furtherance of this idea that he published another, \textit{A Concise English Sinhalese Dictionary} or a \textit{Concise Sinhala English Dictionary}, of 416 pages. Another work of this year was the \textit{Standard English Sinhalese Dictionary} by Julius de Lanerolle. This too was in two volumes and had 1003 pages. As said in its preface, one of its outstanding characteristics was the rich supply of synonyms. He says that within an entry, the synonym referring to the same shade of meaning have been separated by a comma, while different shades of meaning are listed between semi-colons. Sinhalese rendering of the more important idiomatic phrases have been given wherever possible, but this can by no means be exhausted in a book of this size. Certain provincialisms, as well as colloquial uses, found in modern Sinhalese were also given in their appropriate places. The order in which the synonyms are given is from the classical to the popular\textsuperscript{117}. A further dictionary published in 1949 was an \textit{English-Sinhalese Dictionary} by Dr. G. P. Malalasekara, done with the intention of “producing a good dictionary”. It is a one volume work and has 936 pages. The last one to be noted for the year is a \textit{Tamil-Sinhalese Dictionary} prepared by Rev. Pandit Hisssalle Dharmaratana.\textsuperscript{118} Although this had been planned as a work of several parts, so far only one part consisting of 80 pages has been published.

The last year too of this half century seems to have had as many publications as in the previous year. It started with a \textit{Gunaseka English-Sinhalese Pocket Dictionary} of 496 pages compiled by Maitipe Sirisena and was followed by \textit{Lawco’s English - Sinhalese Dictionary} of 347 pages, compiled by C. Lawrie de Zoysa, and printed at the Lawco Press, Colombo. Then in June 1950, Rev. A. P. Buddhadasa Thera\textsuperscript{119} published his \textit{Pali Sinhala Akārādiya} of 168 pages and containing more than 17000 words. This filled a much felt lacunae in Pali—Sinhalese lexicography. In his preface the Rev. Thera says, "It was necessary because it was urgent to the needs of a growing number of Sinhalese who want to study and use the Pali language in their daily life. The Pali Living Veda has a large number of words which are used by the Sinhalese people today. It was necessary to have this material in Sinhalese, and to keep this material as close to the original Pali as possible."

\textsuperscript{116} Agampodi Paulus de Zoysa, b. 1890 - , B.A., Ph.D. (Lond), Bar-at-Law; Member, Legislative Council etc., scholar, author \textit{Sinhala Panjika (1960)}

\textsuperscript{117} B.A. (Hons), \textit{Practica Pandita,} (Sinhalese, Pali, Sanskrit, Tamil): Vice Principal, Saraswathie Pirivena, Balagalla, Divulapitiya.

\textsuperscript{118} Rev. Polwatte Buddhadasa, 1887-1962; Pali scholar, sometime Lecturer, Ananda College, Colombo, and also at the University College, Colombo; author of several Pali Books;
A further work of the year by the Gunasena firm of Publishers was the *Gunasena English—Sinhalese Pronouncing Dictionary* also done by Maitipe Sirisena. It is in two volumes and the dictionary proper consists of 1962 pages. Both these volumes have a miscellanea at the end of the volumes which gives information like, the Cries of Birds, Beasts, Popular Places associated with Popular Things, Similies and Homonyms etc. This section at the end of volume I is in pages I-XXXVI and at the end of volume II in pages 1963 to 2007. Another such work of the year, and the last to be noted, was *Wahids' English—Sinhalese Pronouncing Dictionary* compiled by S. P. Perera and Sunetra Vittachchi. It was a smaller publication having the dictionary in pages 1 to 804.

This chronological survey of published, recorded and available Ms. dictionaries of the period 1800—1950 has been confined to works where Sinhala constitutes one of the languages in a bi-lingual or multilingual work or where it is only Sinhala—Sinhala. No attempt has been made by me to deal with the technical aspects of dictionary compilation or to evaluate these works. This subject could be an ideal field of research for a person so interested.

119. Teacher, Ananda College, Colombo, 1934 - 1950; - Administrative Secretary Buddhist Theosophical Society, Colombo.
120. nee de Silva, B.A. (Lond), wife of Tarzie Vittachchi, Journalist; daughter of the late M. W. H. de Silva Esqr., Q.C., Minister of Justice, etc.
Appendix I

Hans Plase, Sloane Street.

May 8th 1815

Sir,

It is often the perplexing fate of an author to find his gratitude and his judgement at variance, and to be left in doubt, whether to obey the dictates of his head or the impulses of his heart. I have no such dilemma to encounter a strong sense of obligation conferred with all the enhancement derived from kindness leads me to introduce this compilation to the world, if that be not too comprehensive a term for the few who will consult it, under the sanction of a name the best calculated to give credit to such a work.

The idea of endeavouring to form a Dictionary that might assist the Singalese part of the Population of Ceylon, recently subjected to our dominion, in acquiring the language of their new rulers, and at the same time facilitate its attainment by the servants of Government, was entirely your own. The work was begun, and for some time carried on, under your protecting roof, the appropriate asylum of all that relates to literature, and it formed a part of that comprehensive system of policy by which you eminently succeeded in conciliating the natives of the Country to the mild and just Government, of which you were the faithful representatives.

On my arrival in Ceylon in September 1801, recommended from home to fill one of the higher situations under His Majesty's Government about to be established there, I had the happiness to be received as your guest, and I found the embryo of this Dictionary in the hands of an enlightened and highly respectable foreigner, a member of your family, who assisted by some of the best informed natives, was employed in compiling it with that zeal and intelligence which he was soon after called upon to display in the discharge of other and more important duties. You recommended me from the first to be present during these inquiries as one of the best means of becoming acquainted with a language the difficulties of which had deterred many abler and younger men from its cultivation, and thus the charge of completing the work ultimately devolved upon me.

By the appointment of president of the provincial court of Colombo, which you selected me to hold in 1802 and which I retained till towards the end of the year 1805, you afforded me an opportunity of hearing the Singaleze language spoken and interpreted the whole day for some years and enabled me to observe what advantage in point of accuracy and what saving in point of time would result from the judges of the native courts being conversant in the languages of the suitors.

I should far exceed the bounds of a dedication were I to attempt to enumerate all the measures you employed to enlarge our communication with the natives, or to dwell on the benefits which have resulted from your efforts, but it is impossible for me to pass over in total silence what I have derived such essential assistance from in the prosecution of this work, the institution you formed at Hultsdorp, under your immediate supervision, for instructing the sons of the Principal Moodiliars & Head Men in the English Tongue. To this seminary, still existing, the supreme court, the provincial courts and the collectors of Revenue are indebted for their interpreters. The two young men who acted in this capacity under me assisted in the formation and revision of this dictionary to the hour of my departure from Ceylon in 1809.

I am fully aware that, notwithstanding this and much other able assistance, it still retains imperfections which must necessarily attend a first attempt of such a nature, but I can conscientiously venture to assure you, Sir, that nothing is wanting to it that the assiduity and faculties of its compiler and the means afforded him of rendering it in any degree worthy of your patronage could supply.

To that patronage I am exclusively indebted, after the close of the work, for its introduction to the notice of His Majesty's Government, whose liberal remuneration has amply rewarded all my labours, long and wearsome as they have been.

Nor is it a small part of the compensation derived from them that they have afforded me this public opportunity of expressing the high esteem and respect with which I have the honour to subscribe myself.

Sir,
Your much obliged and sincere humble servant,

S. Tolfrey.

*  CNA  4/3/343 -357
Preface

The language to which the following work is a Dictionary is that spoken, and for the common purpose of intercourse written, by the largest portion of the native inhabitants of Ceylon, now under the British dominion, as well as by the whole of the Candians, a distinct nation occupying, independently of our Government, the interior and mountainous part of the Island.

With the exception of such words as have been borrowed from the Portuguese and Dutch, and recently from the English, to represent the inventions, customs and habits they have acquired from Europeans/the knowledge and use of which are principally confined to the conquered territory/there is little difference between the dialect of Candy and of Colombo.

The vernacular language of both is called Singaleze, or more properly the Sinhala language from Sinha a Lion an epithet which it has acquired from the fabulous descent of Vijeya Raja, the remote founder of the Candian Empire, from this King of the Forest.

This vernacular tongue is merely a branch of a more rich and copious language called Elu. which latter is itself divided into three roots or component parts. The first of these is said by the native grammarians to be indigenous to the Island and is distinguished by the name of Nipan. The second is the Magada or Pali and the third the Saku or Sanscrit.

It might be deemed presumption to attempt to derogate from the veneration in which the Sanscrit has been held by the most eminent authorities, as the parent of all oriental dialects. In tracing the Singaleze to a source which may possibly rival it in antiquity it is my intention only to show the origin whence according to its own expounders, it derives its present construction. If, however, any argument as to the seniority of these three ancient languages were to be drawn from the simplicity of their respective elements it would apparently be in favour of the Nipan. Its Alphabet is composed of only thirty letters—ten vowels and twenty consonants—The Pali contains forty one letters—eight vowels and thirty three consonants which include those of the Nipan. The Sanscrit as is well known consists of fifty letters—sixteen vowels and thirty four consonants comprehending the whole of the nipa and pali alphabets.

This excess of the sanscrit over every other language in the number of its letters, Mr. Halhead, in the elegant preface to his Bengal grammar informs us is esteemed by its Professors as an incontrovertible argument of its antiquity and superiority, but I own that so far as relates to its antiquity, the multitude of its letters in my mind leads to an opposite conclusion: for I am inclined to consider that course to be the more probable which proceeds from what is comparatively easy to which is complex and difficult and that language whose elements are the fewest and the most simple to be the oldest or first formed.

But whether the Sanscrit be the parent or the offspring of either of these kindred tongues, or that all three proceed from one common and hitherto undiscovered ancestor, there can be no doubt of their mutual affinity. The peculiar arrangement of their alphabets, the original identity of the sounds and the co-ordinate sequence of the letters representing them, are features of family likeness not to be mistaken. It is equally certain that the Elu is compounded of the three & that it has been gradually formed by the commixture of the languages of the invaders and the invaded.

The Singaleze of which this dictionary is principally illustrative, is immediately deduced from or more properly constitutes a part of the Elu language to which it bears the same relation and resemblance that the Dutch does to the German. In consequence of this analogy they are not unfrequently discriminated by Europeans as the high and low Singaleze. The alphabet of both these dialects is the same adapting itself to the words incorporated from the Pali and Sanscrit it is co-extensive with the latter as to the number and power of its elementary parts, and indeed precisely resembles it in every respect excepting the formation of its letters.
The beautiful character in which the Singaleze is written, consisting entirely of segments of circles is of a more modern origin than the language itself, and is attributed to one of their Kings, but which of them and when he reigned is a matter of some doubt.

This work does not profess more than to explain the existing language spoken, and for common purposes written, by the Candians and Singaleze, but it will be found to contain numerous Elu words which, to those who have no other knowledge of their native tongue than what they derive from oral discourse, will be perfectly unintelligible. Among these Elu words will be found many connected with the Religion and customs of the natives, and some explanatory of the animal vegetable and mineral productions of the Island. In the branch of natural history, however, the explanations are very imperfect, and in this and other instances the compilation will call for all that indulgence which a difficult and tedious undertaking, carried on under many disadvantages, may hope to receive from the liberal and ingenuous compiler, should be the first of its kind.

It is indeed most extraordinary that the language of so celebrated an Island, the coast and occasionally the interior of which have been in the possession of Europeans upwards of three hundred years, should still be so little known, and that this humble attempt to bring together the materials for a Singaleze Dictionary, should be the first of its kind.

It does not appear that the Portugueze were at all solicitous to acquire and communicate the languages of those whom they conquered, and over whom they so long ruled.

The vestiges of their once extensive and powerful dominion in the East are perhaps more strikingly shown in the propagation of their own Religion and Language, which with some corruptions to both, continue to survive the long lost influence by which they were spread.

The use that the Catholic Priests from Goa are still able to make both in Ceylon, and other parts of Asia of their own language for the dissemination of their religious tenets, so long after the downfall of the Portuguese Empire in the East, ought to impress us with a sense of the importance of perfecting this medium of intercourse with the natives as one of the best means of inculcating a purer form of Christianity and one or more likely to attach our new subjects to the interests of the British Government.

That this Dictionary may contribute towards this imperious duty by diffusing the knowledge of that language in which alone the word of God is now preached by our ministers to the natives, and by facilitating the attainment of it to these preachers themselves and thereby rendering them better able to fulfill their sacred mission is one of the most animating hopes of its compiler.

There is no part of the East where a more stupid and disgusting idolatry prevails than in Ceylon, nor where the Christian Religion has been so successfully taught and introduced into practice. The Buddhists have not the same inviolable attachment to their modes of worship, nor the same idea of disgrace connected with its desertion that the Hindoos have, and by persevering in the paths of our predecessors the Portuguese and Dutch, so wisely followed up by our own Government of establishing schools in the principal Villages, there is every reason to hope from the slow but sure influence of education and encouragement, and above all by example that a purer faith may be generally substituted for the worship of their Idols and their Demons.

Having urged this paramount consideration it is superfluous to dwell upon the obvious policy of inculcating the knowledge of that which may constitute the medium of interchange between the governed and those to whom they are subject. If this stood in need of any elucidation a more striking example could hardly be adduced than the fact that when Mr. North gave audience to the ambassadors from the King of Candy at Colombo in 1802, his Excellency was under the necessity of conferring through a native interpreter, on whose single fidelity the whole subject of the Embassy depended, as well as the development of a most extraordinary abuse of trust by the Ambassadors.
It is but just, however, to state that the Government of Ceylon has long since been relieved from this hazardous mode of interpretation, by the substitution of a more safe and confidential channel of communication.

But as it cannot always retain the services of its present able interpreter and translator, Mr. D'Oyly, the means of surmounting the impediments to the knowledge of the Singalese and of enabling others to supply his place are not to be neglected or undervalued because his assiduity and talents have rendered them in one rare instance, superfluous.

Our immediate predecessors the Dutch were fully aware of the importance of enlightening the minds of its natives both in a religious and a political point of view, and they neglected no means calculated to promote either object.

A Singalese Grammar was composed by Ruell, a Dutch clergyman at Colombo in 1699 and published at Amsterdam in 1708. About 40 years later the four Evangelists were translated into Singalese and printed at the Government Press in Colombo. By the year 1783 the whole of the new Testament and some portion of the old, had been translated by the Dutch clergy and published by the Government for the use of the native schools.

These translations are now out of print, but happily for the cause of religion, a Bible Society was instituted at Colombo in 1812, under the auspices of His Excellency Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Governor, and Sir Alexander Johnston, the Chief Justice of the Island, assisted by the resident chaplains and some of the principal civil and military servants of the establishment. At the instance of this Society and by the authority of Government a new translation of the Scriptures into both the Pali and Singalese languages has been undertaken by a member of this association, whom it would be indelicate in me to name and part of the work is by this time printed.

If I abstain from dilating on the advantages likely to result to the views of this Institution from the steady application of his unwearied zeal and superior talents to this pious and useful work it is only from the fear that a suspicion of undue partiality may attach itself to the commendation which might weaken the impression of merit, that requires no such aid, & which is already universally felt and acknowledged. Should it please God to spare his life and health, I have the comfort of confidently hoping that whatever the defects of this Dictionary may be, his endowment of diligence and accuracy of research will eventually supply.

In the mean time if by the publication of this work either the cause of religion can be supported, the interests of Government advanced or the condition of the natives, as affected by both, in any way ameliorated;—if the civil and military servants of His Majesty can be at all assisted in the attaining of those objects which are thus intended to be facilitated;—if above all, it should be instrumental in promoting the still higher duties devolving on the ecclesiastical establishment, I shall, even under the consciousness of all its defects, have at least the satisfaction of reflecting that I have not wholly misapplied my time, or been unmindful of a duty which as a member of society and encouraged by so distinguished a patron, it became me to endeavour to perform.
Appendix II*

List of books required from Matara to assist in the compilation of a Sinhalese Dictionary.

- Amera Sinha Sanne
- Sanscrata Akaradi Nighandu
- Wayde Akaradi Nighandu
- Daiwagnya Mukha Mandane
- Ruwan Mal Nighandu
- Nama Waliya
- Piyum Malawa
- Elu Akaradi Nighandu

*C.N.A. 6/520B/759

Appendix III*

List of classes from whom it would be desirable to obtain a Memorandum of words used in the exercise of their respective callings including those used by the several Subdivisions of each class.

- Vellals
- Fishers
- Durawas
- Gold, Silver, Iron Smiths and carpenters
- Brass Founders
- Taylors
- Potters
- Barbers
- Washerman
- Berawas or Naikaittas
- Hackoras
- Hoonnas
- Paduwas
- Hinnawas
- Olihahs
- Palliachs
- Kinnereahs
- Rodiachs

*C.N.A. 6/520B/761