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A dip into the Past

OR

Matters of Historical Interest

RELATING TO

The Portion of the Singhalese

KNOWN AS

KA-U-RAWA

BY

H. F. & F. FERNANDO.

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FOREWORD.

The following is an historical inquiry into the origin and connections of the people whose name appears on the title-page, and a statement of facts and events in which they are concerned. We have tried to put together whatever information we could lay hands on that was likely to be of interest to them, and have given impartial authority for almost every statement we have made, quoting nothing from the writings of their own people without expressly calling attention to the fact. Some of the points touched, on may seem trivial at first sight, but they are not foreign to our end in view. Others are no more than suggestions put forward for the consideration of those who may have more materials at command. The personal names introduced are merely those of an illustrative character. We take this opportunity to thank a few friends for the information or extracts they have supplied. It is hoped that the perusal of this little work, will help to correct certain misconceptions of Ceylon historians, and while it serves its purpose of interesting its readers in an historic people, it will contribute its share towards bringing about an acquaintance with Indian antiquities. A list of books referred to will be found at the end of this work.

H. F. & F. F.

I. The Kaurava.

Comparative study of languages and traditions has sufficiently established the fact that the ancient Greeks, Romans, Teutons and other European races, came from the same original Aryan stock as the Sanskrit-speaking people of India. At intervals from about 3,000 years before Christ, large portions of them seem to have left their encampments in Western Asia, North-west of the Himalayas, in search of new homes and settlements ; and while the ancestors of the Europeans went westwards, the Indo-Aryans descended on the plains of Northern India, by the western passes of the Himalayas.

In the earlier Vedas, we have a picture of Aryan life among the five rivers of the Punjab, and there, the class distinctions which were in vogue in later times among the people, are unknown (Hunter, 54.) Every head of a family is priest, warrior, and husbandman. But in course of time, these offices became separated, and vested in certain groups of families ; and Aryan society in India settled down into the well-known divisions of Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas, in the midst of the original inhabitants of the country (Hunter, p. 59.)

The Vaisyas were first agriculturists, but soon became the trading class. The Kshattriyas are also called Rajput (Rajaputra), sons of kings or of the royal stock. "The Brahmans seem to have had a long struggle with the Kshattriyas or warriors"—for social precedence (Hunter, 60.) "The Rajpoots and Maharrattas regard the Brahmans with less respect than they are regarded elsewhere" (Nolan, 40.)

The Aryan warrior class had very early divided out into two great families and taken their names after two ancestors

Suriya (Sun) and Chandra (Moon), "which are merely titular names of earthly antediluvians" (Taylor, 1.235)—or perhaps of early post-diluvians. The Chandra or Lunar race established itself round modern Delhi. The Solar branch went more eastwards and founded the kingdom of Ayodhya (Oude). From these, offshoots went forth into every part of India, and nearly all royal houses claimed descent from one or other of these two families, the only other of any consequence being a later Agni-Kula or Fire-race in the South-west. Of the two great epic poems of India, the Mahabharata celebrates the lunar race of Delhi, the Ramayana the solar race of Oudh. The former contains more history than the latter (Elph. 1. 390. Tayl. 1.207); and that alone will concern us here.

"The main story of the Mahabharata deals with a period not later than 1200 B.C." (Hunter, 67). It scarcely occupies a quarter of the whole or about 50,000 lines. The rest is made up of other early legends, and discourses inserted later by the Brahmans, chiefly in their own interest (Hunter, 69). It narrates the struggle between two families of the ruling lunar race, the Pandavas and the Kauravas. "These families alike descended from the Royal Bharata, consisted of two brotherhoods, cousins to each other, and both brought up under the same roof. The five Pandavas were the sons of King Pandu, who smitten by a curse resigned his sovereignty to his brother Dhrita-rashtra, and retired to a hermitage in the Himalayas, where he died. The ruins of his capital, Hastinapura or the 'Elephant City' are pointed out beside a deserted bed of the Ganges 57 miles North-east of Delhi, at this day. His brother Dhritarashtra ruled in his stead; and to him one hundred sons were born, who took the name of Kauravas from an ancestor Kuru. Dhritarashtra acted as a faithful guardian to his five nephews, the Pandavas, and chose the eldest of them (Yudisthir) as heir to the family kingdom. His own sons resented this act of supercession: and so arose the quarrel between the hundred Kauravas and the five Pandavas, which forms the main story of the Mahabharata" (Hunter, 67).

The mention of the Kauravas in the above brings us to our subject. Kaurava is a derivative from Kuru, as Paurava is from Puru. The actual sons of Drita-rashtra and other closely related princes and chieftains, a hundred in round numbers, seem to have taken the name. A parallel to this is to be found in "the 108 warrior chiefs" of the Rajput King of Delhi, of whom he had "64 survivors" at the time of the Afghan invasions of 1193 A.D. (Hunter, 117). The struggle was for the throne of Hastinapura, which had illustrious kingdoms looking up to it, as having supplied them their royal families; such as Magadha, Dwaraca, Madura. (Taylor 1.240, 120). Among other allies, Krishna of Dwaraca joined the Pandavas, the king of Magadha "with 10,000 active elephants" joined the Kauravas (Mahab. Bhishma 60). The leader of the Pandavas was Yudisthir with his brother Arjuna, that of the Kauravas was Suyodhana, also called Duryodhana. The battle was fought on the plain of Kuru-Kshetra; and after lasting some 15 days with immense slaughter on both sides, ended in the victory of the Pandavas and their allies, and Yudisthir ascended the throne; though later smitten with remorse, he became a recluse. Of the surviving Kauravas, a few seem to have settled down peaceably under their cousins; while others, the more prominent ones presumably, became exiles. (Mahab. Stree 22, and another place, where Yudisthir laments the loss of his cousins, killed or expelled). The poem itself is credited to Vyasa and others of the Pandava Court.

We next hear of the Kauravas in Central India (Dalton, Ethnology of Bengal). In the South-east of the peninsula, there were kingdoms founded by princes of their (Chandra) race, before and after the great war, as at Mahabalipur south of Madras, and Madura the Capital of the Pandion Kingdom, which was long governed by viceroys from Hastinapura (Taylor, 1.120, 195). In this direction at what period we know not, they evidently came and settled down, as we shall presently see, until portions of them at different times established themselves in different parts of Ceylon.

The orientalist Nevill remarks in his "Studies": "The Korawa must be carefully distinguished from the Kauravas, who are no doubt a northern remnant of a race that in Ceylon and Southern India, where it forms a distinct caste, still holds a prominent place. The exact period of their migration there is not known, but they begin to be of recorded importance by the tenth century A.D. This caste or race is called in Tamil Karaïar (more about this word later. H.F.), and in modern Singhalese Karawa or Karawa. Karawa is in origin the same as *Kaurava*." Here Nevill goes on to guess at some variants of this word, but he has been misled by a supposed connection between the endings -vara and -rava (cf. Gaz. 275). He continues: "In Ceylon and South India, these Kariar or Karawa as they are now called—Karawa is said to have been the former Singhalese pronunciation—have like their northern kinsmen the Kauravas of Central India (Dalton), maintained their descent to be from the Kuru refugees, who were (exiled) from Kuru-ratta after the defeat of the Kauravas described in the Mahabharata; and there is nothing improbable in the two independent traditions and much in their favour" (Nevill 2. 9).

We next take up a paper read by the late Mr. C. M. Frenando, M.A., L.L.M., Crown Counsel, before the Royal Asiatic Society, on "Two old Singhalese swords," which were in the possession of a prominent Karawe gentleman, Chevalier Jusey de Silva (father of Lady de Soyza). We refer to these swords merely to draw an argument from certain names unsuspectingly preserved thereon. A decipherment of the inscription on these swords was made by Mudaliar Simon de Silva, Chief Interpreter to the Government of Ceylon, and again by the Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell. Both are given in Singhalese in the above mentioned pamphlet (Two swords 1., 15). On page 14 in a note (last line), Mr. Bell gives what was legible in his time of the inscription on a third sword he had seen among the Karawa. Each of them purports to have been given on the occasion of the recipient's appointment to the generalship of the Cotta King's army (Yuva raja senavi dhuraya). In all three, the name Kauravara Adittya

Arasa Nilayitta occurs. In one sword the word Kauravara occurs twice (T. S. 15). In two of them the word 'Arasanilayitta' is preceded by Kuru. Now the name "Kuru Arasa" speaks for itself. But the word Kauravara is evidently the Singhalese style of pronouncing the Tamil Kauravar, as Alaha-Konar became Alaha-Konara, or Mukkuvar became Mukkuvara. Note also the spelling Kau, pronounced as the English *cow*, which is one compound letter in Tamil and Singhalese: and that is the letter in Mr. Bell's transcription of the writing on the swords. This Kauravar is the regular Tamil word for the Mahabharata Kaurava, with the plural or honorific ending -ar. "Kauravar-King of the Kuru race...Kuru-Kulam...or descendant of King Kuru of Hastinapuri" (Eur. Dic., also Winslow). This Tamil origin of the word Kauravara on the sword is confirmed by the subsequent words "Arasa Nilayitta," which are evidently Tamil, meaning 'established by the King.' It is this word Kauravar then, kept by the people concerned in its pure Sanskrit form Kaurava, which became Nevill's Karawe and finally modern Karawa.

These people came to Ceylon in this wise. "When Sri Prakrama Bahu Maha raja," says a Singhalese account, "was reigning at Cotta, a hostile people of the name of Mukkara landed in Ceylon and got possession of Puttalam. Then King Prakrama Bahu wrote to the three towns Canchipura, Kaveri-pattanama, Kilakkare and getting down 7,740 men, defeated the Mukkara and snatched the fort at Puttalam from their hands. The names of those who came as leaders of this army may also be seen in the old manuscript from which we have taken the above:—

Vaccha-nattu-dhevarir

Kuru-Kula-nattu-dhevarir

Manikka-Thalaven

Adhi-arasa-adappa-unnahay

Varna-Suriya-adappa-unnahay

Kuru-Kula-Suriya-Mudhiansay

Arsa-Kula-Suriya-Mudhiansay

Arasa-Nila-itta-Mudhiansay

and 18 Arachivaru.....

“The King rejoiced at the overthrow of the Mukkara, granted to the victorious troops on a thamba-sannasa :—Madhinnoruwa, Ana-olandhava, Munnesarama, Kammala, Thambaravilla, Hunupitiye-veediya (Street), Periamulle-veediya, Kammala-veediya, Kolompiti-maha-veediya (Grand Street), Valle-veediya (Sea Street), Kurana-veediya, and Migomuwa. Among the honours given them were the Ravana Kodiya (flag), Irasanda-Kodiya, Makaraya-Kodiya. Mr. Casie Chitty has recorded that the Makaraya-Kodiya mentioned here belongs to the Karava people. The Irasanda-Kodiya is used as a special emblem to this day (1876) by the Karawa people, namely in Negombo, Colombo, Moratuwa and many other places” (Ithihasa, towards the end).

The above passage is a note in a Singhalese Ithihasa (History) edited in 1876 by a Karawe Buddhist monk, Sri Sumangala Weligama Unnanse, who was afterwards employed by the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Bruce, to translate the Sanscrit Hetopadesa. We have tried to keep as close as possible to the Singhalese spelling of the names. But it is plain, though the writer is hardly aware of it, that all the leaders mentioned in the extract have Tamil endings to their names. The whole is a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil, with an attempt at Singhalese-ising. More of it shortly. A very similar passage has been recently quoted by Mr. F. E. Gooneratne, the Mohotti Mudaliar of the Galle Atapattu, from some ancient authority of his own, where the very same account is given with the identical names, though he makes a sad hash of these names through his ignorance of Tamil. (Goon. in Ceylon Indep.) The name of the King who invited them, is given in both as Sri Prakrama Bahu of Cotta. This must then be Sri Prakrama Bahu VI who was the first of the name to reign in Cotta (1415-1462 A.D.)

The fight between the Kaurawa and the Mukkuvar, or as they call themselves *Mukkuger*, is thus recorded by Mr. Casie Chitty. “From the information I have been able to collect (from them) it appears that the place where the Mookwas first landed was Kudremale, whence they emigrated to other

parts of the Island, and in course of time formed several settlements. Sometime after the arrival of the Mookwas in the district, their Chieftain named Vedi Arasen, had to contend with a rival called Manikka-Taleivan (cf. p. 5), who then presided over the people denominated Karreyar, and then possessed a settlement on the south side of the district" (Gaz., 276.) In the above the people are called Karreyar by the Tamil gentleman, but in another place (Gaz., 157) he spells their name differently. Their real name, however, occurs in an "Account of the Mookwas as related by themselves," by an English writer on Ceylon with a name like Pearce perhaps (not Pridham, p. 466, where Casie Chitty is reproduced.) Here on the left hand page, at the bottom, about the last line but five, the Mookwas relate that 'they were attacked by a certain people called *Kaurava*.' Note the spelling; and in connection with this name, it is worthy of notice that at this day in South India at Karang-Kadu near Paumben, there is a body of very 'particular' people who are still called Kauravar, and in Jaffna town there is a people of some importance called Kuru-Kulam, and in Mantotte near Mannar there is an agricultural people also of this latter name. In the fight, one captain seems to have fallen. "The commander, Manuku Talawandha, gained the victory but fell in the engagement" (Goon. in Indep.) The Mookwas were forced to keep beyond Puttalam and Prakrama Bahu got possession of the place; though later about 1545, they possibly obtained leave from a Singhalese King to remain in that neighbourhood (cf. Gaz., 281). The Kaurava for their services were allotted lands as mentioned above. "In recognition of the valuable services of these chiefs, the following villages, and whole streets in Meegamuwa were granted to them....with the three flags, Rawana Kodiya, Era Sanda Kodiya, Makara Kodiya" (Goon. in Indep.)

The above-named Mookwa Chief, Vedi Arasen (learned King), had another brush with a party of Kaurava at sea, shortly before or after the land fight. "The Thulukkuvar under their leader Mcera and the Mukkuvar under their Chief Vedi Arasen infested the seas and committed piracies. At that time, Kannakai, the

daughter of Manakar of Madura was about to be given in marriage to Kovalan the son of Masaththa, and her father wrote to the Cholan (King of Chola) for naka-ratnams or snake-gems. The Cholan despatched an expedition under a Kuru-Kula Captain to go to Ceylon and procure the gems. This Captain defeated the Mukkavar and the Thulukkar, of whom the first went to Batticaloa and formed a settlement at Ilanthai-Kadu, while the other took refuge at Vidathal-tivu." (A writer preserved in Brito, p. 32.)

These Kuru-Kula Captains seem to have been in pretty frequent demand in those times for expeditions and the like. We have just seen how the King of Cotta got them down, and how the Chola Raja employed them. Later, some of those who had remained behind in East India, were of service to the Naiques of Tanjore, and the kings of Jaffna. In the time of the Portuguese, about 1618, long after the Kaurava settlement in these southern parts of Ceylon, Chankili of Jaffna wrote to Tanjore for assistance, and the Naique sent him a band of fighters consisting of moors and others (Pieris, 2. 123 & f. 23) commanded by a Chief-tain called Varana Gulata, which must be the Kaurava name Warnu-Kula-Aditta (cf. p. 26). South Indians had by now, in their common parlance, mixed up these people with various other Northerners who had come down. This Chief is again referred to in 1621 as Chem Nayque (Pieris, 2. 134 & 520), and spoken of as "having been nominated by the Naique of Tanjore, Governor of the Kingdom which they expected to conquer" (Pieris, 2. 137), Chankili being now a prisoner in Goa. The Chief was surprised and slain in a nocturnal attack by the Portuguese. Before this time and after, other bands of soldiers were brought, or colonists came to Jaffna, who seem to have been generally commanded by these Kuru-Kula Captains. From these commanders and their relations claim to be descended the small community calling itself Kuru-Kulam in Jaffna town. Mr. Casie Chitty in 1834 notices the existence of this name in Jaffna. Again, shortly after the Portuguese had established themselves in Colombo, Negombo and elsewhere "Kuru-Kula-Suriya Wijayabala Don Philip Carlan was called to the offices of *Major-General*, and Chief

Justice of Negombo, by the Portuguese Government, about 1519." (A corresp. in M. L. Oct. 14, 1917, quoting from a Kaurawa Magazine). Later about 1658, the "Dutch Viceroys of Colombo sent Anthony Amral as Governor of Jaffna and one Andirado a man of the Kuru-Kula . . . as Amral's Mudaliar" (another writer in Brito's Collection, p. 34.) The full name of this Mudaliar is given as Warnu-Kula Adittya Arasa Nilayitta Don Manuel Andradi (A corresp. in M.L.). Prior to his appointment to Jaffna, he was "Subaldar" in Colombo, and commanded the Dutch Lascarins against Raja Singha II. "Manuel Andrado and his Lascarins were near Kalutara." (Pieris, l. 454.) Again, "It is generally believed that the villages of Padivita and Ambana in the Matale district were originally granted by the Lion-hearted King Raja Singha I, to two Karawe Mudalis of Maha-veediya and Valle-veediya in Negombo for their distinguished services. Be that as it may, the present Arachchila of Padivita is a good specimen of a descendant of a Karawa Warrior-Chief of olden times" (Goon. in Indep.) Portuguese and Dutch records will supply us with other instances of the display of military talent by members of the Kaurawa race.

About the history of these people, after their settlement in these parts, which we have spoken of above, it is not easy to get at anything reliable. European writers on Ceylon are mostly engaged in recounting the customs of the interior (Knox l., Lee, 60 note.) What little there is in them of the maritime people is often from prejudiced, unfriendly sources (cf. Goon. in Indep.) One enterprising appendix-writer about 1809, divides them into six classes by the kind of nets, etc., some of their fishermen used. But perhaps the writer himself makes it sufficiently clear that this division referred only to the commoner sort among them, for, after speaking of the honours their principal men were entitled to, he goes on to add, "Besides these, there are other chiefs and persons of dignity . . . and persons liable to service, to wit: Patabendas, Totte-hewayas, Nanayankarayas," etc., six classes in all, the later ones consisting of dhony(boat)-men and others. Of these, the first were probably all connected with their chiefs in each district, the second seems to be a Singhalese name for

'warriors of the ports' (cf. Goon.), and the third is one of their old Tamil names meaning 'the honourable or wealthy class.' As for their 'services', hardly anything is said about the first two, but about the third the writer is more explicit: "They are liable to no service whatever, with the exception of some honourable employments, which are to be performed by them as well as some others, of a very trifling nature, which they must be specially ordered to perform" (Appendix to Burnand's Memoir on Ceylon M.L.R. 4. 26). The next three divisions were under certain obligations to their chiefs. Elsewhere one class is spoken of as the Karawa proper, and as having been the recruiting ground of the "Mudaliars and Arachchis who were their chiefs in war" (Pieris, 1. 499). But all these are late and somewhat "arbitrary divisions" (Pieris), limited to the Singhalese-speaking districts, and take no cognisance of their clan-system, as it still obtains among the Tamil-speaking Kaurawa from Negombo to Chilaw (cf. Pieris, 1. 500.)

In some passages quoted above, we have come across the name Karaiar. There are certain people in East and South India known by this name. But as for their connection with the Karawa this much is clear, that all of them are not Karawa or Kaurava as some writers seem to imply. Karaiar means coast-people (Thur., 6. 177.), and Kauravar as we have seen is the Tamil name for the Mahabharata Kaurava. If some of these latter lived in coast towns, Tamil writers could easily have mixed up the Kauravar-coast-people, with other coast-people of South India, as Portuguese and Dutch writers later mixed up the Tamils with the Malabars owing to similarity of language (Prid., 463), and the local Mohamedans with Moors owing to similarity of religion; and as others now, from a mistaken idea of the meaning of the word, apply the name Karawa to some who are strangers to it. On the other hand, the Jaffna Dictionary of the American Mission as late as 1842, describes the Karaiar merely as "a certain" class of people, and Rottler (1838) gives two meanings for the word: inhabitants of the coast, boatmen; and Winslow writing from Madras in 1860, calls them a "respectable" class of fishers, evidently struck by something in a certain section of those whom he had

been taught to call by that name. All these are very late authorities, in whose time large numbers of the Kaurava too had become coast people and had begun to be classed by Tamil writers as such. In the somewhat more ancient Sudamani Nigandu (not much earlier than 1500 A.D.), among the names of coast people, though the Parather are mentioned, the name Karaiar does not occur (Nigandu, 49); but according to Mr. Casie Chitty (Gaz., 235) the original country of the Karreyas is given in the Nigandu as Kuru (whence perhaps their name): but this Kuru-thesam "the country of Delhi" (Eur. Dict. Am. Dic.), is the country of the real Kaurava, thus showing that, of those who were called Karaiar at the time (about 1500 A.D.), some must certainly have been the ancient Kaurava; but not necessarily all of them, though they may even have come from Kuru-thesam; for, Kaurava as we have seen has a definite meaning. One other fact which might be noticed here is, that the title of the headmen of certain divisions of Indian Karaiar is the same as that which was used among some of the Kaurava in these parts: namely, Patengatyn, which is the Tamil Pattang-Katti(na)—"one who has received the royal investiture or a high dignity, chief of village, etc." (Eur. Dic.) Pattam means a band round the head or crown, Kattina means 'bound.' The title also occurs in connection with the Pandyan court; for, Prince Vickrama Pandyan, the last of the Pandyan dynasty, on becoming a Christian, is said to have "sent his Pattankattis or ambassadors to the Portuguese authorities at Cochin to obtain the promised assistance" (M.L. July 14, 1914.) In Colombo, the name was Singhalese-ised into Patabenda, and we frequently hear of it in accounts of the Portuguese period. At the time of the Portuguese arrival, not a few of the notables of Colombo proper were of the Kaurava race, and what is given as the Singhalese custom (Pieris, 1. 102) of conferring rank by fastening a band of gold or silk round the forehead was, no doubt, Kaurava in origin (cf. p. 12), or at any rate Aryan. This is how the name Patabenda was long confined to the Kaurava Chiefs (Pieris, 1. 521.) The Maha-Patabenda of Colombo in 1575, Pencutti Arachchi (which name is like the Waikal, Ponnacuttige) was put to death by the Portuguese on

a charge of corresponding with Mayadunne (Pieris 1. 197.) Among the "Singhalese nobles," who took the oath of allegiance to the King of Portugal, in 1597, in consequence of the last will of King Don John Darmapala, one was a Pattangatti Thome Rodriguez, representative of the Karawa (cf. Pieris, 1. 312. 560), and there were also a Mudaliar and an Arachchi among them, which Tamil titles (p. 19) were probably at that time still restricted to the same people. This Kaurava custom of "tying a band of gold" must have been adopted by some of their neighbours in India, as it was here in Colombo, with the name along with it. This is probably the reason for the occurrence of the title among certain others besides the Kaurava.

Further, speaking of the so-called Pattanavar (townsmen) or Karaiar, in East India, in and near Madras, Thurston writes: "They have two main divisions, Periya and Chinna (great and small)...Some of them give themselves high-sounding titles: Ariyar, Ayyayirathaleivar (the 5,000 chiefs), Ariya-nattu-chetti (chetties of the Ariyar country), Acckû Vellala, Karai-turai (sea-coast) Vellala, Varuna-Kula Vellaia or Varunakula Mudali after Varuna the god of the waters, Kurukula Vamsam after Kuru, the ancestor of the *Kauravas*" (Thurst., 6. 178.) These are significant names, and occurring in the neighbourhood of ancient Canchipuram, they are a sufficient indication that there were Aryan Kshattriya clans in the places whence our Karawa families had been recruited in ancient times (p. 5). Some of these people in Madras are evidently, in origin at least, the same as here. They still retain the custom of the "maternal uncles tying flat silver or gold plate, called *Pattam*, on the foreheads of the contracting couple" (Thurst.) The non-Christian portion of them are Saivaites, and cremation is still in vogue, which was the Aryan method of disposing of the dead. They have in full vigour their ancient "panchayats" or councils, which among them "is no empty powerless body....Even when disputes are settled in courts of law, they must come before the council...." (Thurst.) The names given above show us that there are various classes among these people, remaining distinct enough among themselves, though

they are jumbled together by outsiders; and that, in earlier times (though perhaps in a lesser degree now) they had been engaged in a variety of occupations and adopted corresponding Tamil names. Some had become carpenters (Thurst., 177), and it was probably they who sent out their skill here to Moratuwa. Others had become merchants and farmers and called themselves accordingly Chetties and Vellala, but of the Ariyar country for the sake of distinction; others had taken to some form of machine-work perhaps and called themselves Acchu-vellala, while others whatever their occupation were content with their ancient names of Ariyar (i.e., Aryans), Kurukula Vamsam and Kaurava.

From all this, the conclusion is that the Tamils in course of time had come to include under the general names of townsmen, coastmen, etc., most of those who had come from Kuru-thesa (Ariya-nadu) and the neighbourhood; among them were many clans of the real Kuru-Kula and Kaurava, with other bands of lesser note; and these latter living side by side with the rest, had kept up the custom of living under the same chiefs as the former, for a long time, as they had done in the old country. Thus the General Varana Gulata, called "Chief of the Carias, the most warlike race in the Naique's dominions" (Queiroz, 514), who "appeared off Tondimannar, at the head of a body of Wadakkaru" (i.e. Wadugar or Telugu-Tamils), could well be commissioned by the Naique of Tanjore to be Governor of Jaffna (Picris, 2. 137.) As time passed, large numbers of the Kaurava too had taken up their abode in the coast towns of India, great centres of trade; some had remained in the courts of Canchipuram and Tanjore; others had become merchants and large owners (maha-marakkalar) of trading vessels and boats, manned originally by their many dependents, and later by some of their own less fortune-favoured people as well (cf p. 38 and Thurst. 183); and as they increased in numbers, as their sloops (yathira thonics) were being ousted by European vessels and steam-ships, the poorer sort who were living along the coast took more and more to minor occupations upon the sea (as other races have learnt to do even here)—and thus the Kaurava too in some places and by some people began to be included among coast-people and called Karaiaar. But before this process was well on its way, when they were invited over in accordance with their well-remembered origin, to establish a 'military colony' in Ceylon about 1415 A.D., the

poorer classes came along with the more influential classes among them, with the name Kaurava still unaffected by change of abode; and this name has clung to them until this day, in spite of Portuguese writers sometimes speaking of them as the "nation of the Careas, who inhabit the ports of the sea of Ceilao" (King of Portugal's letter to his Viceroy. Pieris, l. 501.) The real Kaurava may be distinguished from ordinary Karaïar or coast-people in South India and elsewhere, by their ancient family-names or marriage-relations.

Besides the name Karaïar, Portuguese writers, from seeing the occupation in their time of a considerable number of those who went under the name of Karawa in their coast kingdom, have often spoken of them indiscriminately under the name of 'fishers'; and Dutch and English writers have followed suit. But this name applies only to those of them who are actually engaged in that occupation, however numerous they may be. What may be true of the latter or of some stranded families of them, is not always true of the Kaurawa. On the other hand, some Singhalese writers have attempted to mix them up with certain classes of their own people, by means of ingenious derivations and the like. But, as will have been seen by now, these people are, strictly speaking, different from the Singhalese, and as such they do not come under any of the latter's ancient classifications. A good half of them still talk Tamil, but they are not Tamils either (cf. p. 35). They are Singhalese in so far as they came to help them to fight their battles and have cast in their lot with them, and in most places spontaneously acknowledged the central authority of the Cotta Kings who had got them down and given them lands; and also as hinted above, by reason of their North-Indian relationship with the Suriya race King and nobles of Ceylon (p. 2, 30.) This will become clearer, as we proceed. But now, the very fact of large numbers of their poor adopting a sea-faring life in the enervating climate of the tropics, might merely be another proof of their Northern and warrior origin, for it must be remembered that occupations on the deep sea require a daring and a dexterity somewhat different from what is needed for most avocations on land. It also suggests that these

people were indeed exiles, forced or willing, who came upon lands already occupied by others, and rather than become freebooters or servants of any master, they decided to rely on the strength of their arm and the native courage of their race, to get for themselves their requirements and even their delicacies from far off or near. Moreover, in choosing an ocean-faring life, their common people seem to have been actuated also by what look like certain accepted notions of the honourable in plebeian employments. Barradas is speaking of their ordinary folk as he saw them at Moratuwa (1613 A.D.), when he says : " they fish only in the ocean, and not in the river : not (even) in the winter, when the sea is impracticable, in spite of the greater need which presses on them, for they consider it a degradation, and certainly what causes wonder in this and other people of this kind is, that (even their poorest...) have so many points of honour, that they would rather die, than go contrary to it " (M.L.R. 4. 132). The great Pandyan King gloried in his fish-flag (Taylor, App. 29), and because of it was known as " the Fisher " (Winsl. Meenavan). He was also called " Cherpan," which was a title peculiar to kings of maritime people (Winsl.). " A pair of fishes is one of the 21 insignia of Indian royalty " (Eur. Dic. Inai-kayal). The royal Makara is usually described as a "*marine monster*" (Eur. Dic.) Marshman states that, whatever the present state of opinion in India with regard to crossing the sea, it was Hindoo sailors from Magadha who took over to Java the Hindoo religion with the fourfold division of caste about the year 75 B.C. (Marsh. 1.17). About 1100 A.D., the Pandyan " King Kavalayananthan reigned 4 years. Being accustomed to carry on commerce by sea, he acquired great riches : but on one occasion sailing on board ship, a great storm arose, by reason of which the ship foundered and he perished " (Tayl., 1. 201) ; and according to Tennent " Fa-Hian, the Chinese traveller recounts the conduct of the *Brahmins* as merchants and *seamen*, practices and pursuits utterly at variance with the sacred character which they now arrogate " (Ten., 92). While then the ordinary classes of Kaurava, influenced probably by prevailing notions, resolving at any rate even in poverty

to have as much individual independence as possible, became sailors in many places and took to various kinds of maritime occupations and trade overseas, some even from these southern parts "travelling from Nigumbo to the opposite coast of Madure and Choromandel, being bold seamen" (Dutch Governor Goens, C.L.R. 1. 45), or for other reasons confined themselves by whole clans to agriculture as at Mantotte (where they claim the same origin), or on their arrival here (as before) took to woodwork as some at Moratuwa, or paddy cultivation as at Tarala, or arrack-distilling as at Kalutara, Moratuwa, Marawila (Gaz., 158), or gemming as at Ratnapura, according to the places they lived in; there has always been a higher and leisured class among them (cf. p. 10 top) who were the 'ship'-owners and capitalists of their times in these parts, and who gave, from of old, Patabendas and Mudaliars to their people, and Kuru-Kula Captains and Kauravara Generals to rulers in India and Ceylon.

We must now go back to the extract from Sumangala given on page 4.

Firstly, the mention of Sri Prakrama Bahu of Cotta gives us a date subsequent to 1415 A.D. as the time of the Kaurava people's arrival in Ceylon. This was about the time that "the accession of Sri Prakrama Bahu VI had put an end to the virtual interregnum which followed the Chinese invasion of 1408 A.D." (Bell, 81). There is no indication that there were any of these people from Chilaw to Galle before this time. "How recent their settlement is appears to be indicated by the fact, that they have not had time to forget the traditions they brought with them from the continent, as may be seen from the (above p. 12) passage from Thurston" (Pieris, 1. 499). It is possible that there were some among the Aryan warriors of 1270 and 1302 spoken of in the Mahawansa, p 312 (Two swords, p.7), but it is not likely. These latter were probably of the Suriya race as claimed on page 6 of "Two swords," whereas the Kaurava were primarily of the Chandra race. The only date on the swords on which all readings

are agreed is that on the second sword, 1959 of Buddha, or 1416 of our Lord ; and Sri Prakrama Bahu himself is mentioned as the donor. Again, all the swords claim to have been given at Jayawardhana-pura or Cotta ; but Cotta was founded only in 1371 A.D. and became the seat of Government only under Sri Prakrama Bahu, about 1415. Besides the "Aryan warriors" of 1270 and 1302 would hardly have retained the Tamilised names Kauravara and Arasa-nilayitta. Further, on one of the swords, in what Mr. Bell calls "an approximately accurate translation of the record on the sword" given by some earlier writer (Two swords, p.15, note), King Kuda-Akbo is mentioned as granting it to Kauravara etc. Ile Naga, on appointing him Second King about 600 A.D. at Jayawardhana-pura (Cotta). Mr. Bell rejects the date and says that the characters of the inscription are too late for Akbo I (564-598 A.D.). But in the list of Kings given by Philaethes from Valentyn (Phil. 341), one Akbo-raja is actually mentioned in place of Sri Prakrama Bahu, as having reigned from 1396-1447, in succession to another called Akbora-raja. This Akbo-raja is evidently the Kuda Akbo of the sword, and was either Sri Prakrama Bahu himself or his son. Again, Bell mentions a third sword (Two swords, p.14, note), whose inscription was illegible in his time except for part of the grantee's name (Kauravara Aditya Arasanilayitta) and the King's name "Prakrama Bahu *Maha Raja*." But an earlier writer Mr. Bell refers to, had read the King's name as Sahittya *Pandita* Prakrama Bahu who granted the sword at Cotta in 1792 of Buddha (1249 A.D.) to Kauravara etc. Cumara Tamel. Here too, the date must be rejected, as the name Tamel is the same as De Mel, a Portuguese name taken on conversion to Catholicism ; but King *Maha Pandita* Prakrama Bahu Raja does appear in Valentyn's list (Phil., 341) as reigning in 1515 A.D., and Casie Chitty gives another *Pandita* Prakrama Bahu in 1471. Thus, there seems to be little doubt that all these swords are posterior to the accession of Prakrama Bahu VI. Everything, therefore, points to the grantees of the swords having been the Arasa-nilayitta Mudaliar of our extract from Sumangala, or his descendants ; and

to the date 1415 A.D. or thereabouts, as the time of the Kaurawa people's appearance (of the largest portion of them at least) in Colombo, Negombo, Moratuwa, etc. But we will not ourselves be too positive about this date for the present.

Secondly, as for their numbers, the constant tradition in Negombo and elsewhere, along with their immemorial clan-system, makes it clear that it was a large colony of families that came down, as was often done in those times (Cf. Queiroz, 524. Pieris, 2. 138). Some of the fighters, under Manikka Talaven were told off to deal with the Mukkuwas, and the rest settled down along the healthy coast-region. On hearing of their successful settlement, other parties of their relations followed them soon after. Both from the original arrivals and from later additions, they soon spread into the western seaport towns, and developed the trade, and the fishing and coconut industry of these parts; and in some places, they are said to have coalesced with the descendants of Thakura, the leader of the "Aryan warriors" mentioned in the Mahawansa, the slayer of the usurper Mitta (Mahaw. 314, Cf. T.S.7). This last statement is based on a Singhalese *ola* writing reproduced in "Two swords" and considered genuine by Mudaliar Simon de Silva (T. S. 11.), which was in the possession of a well-known family of Moratuwa who claim descent from Thakura; and according to this *ola*, Thakura was the chief of "a colony of Kshattriyas of the Aryan race who came (about 1250 A.D.) from the Rajput city of Jeypore in India, and settled in a village which they purchased in the vicinity of Hastisailapura.... He was of the line of the Aditya Artha Deva" and one of his descendants, the immediate ancestor of the family in question, was known as "Aditya Bandara" (Two swords, 5.6.). The preservation of these latter details renders the claim not a little plausible, for many *Adityas* are mentioned among the A.D. eighth century Ranas of Mewar in Rajputana (Tod., 1.46), and the name *Thakur* is still in use there. "The modern divisions of Rajpootana are (five) Judpore, Jaipore, Odeypore, etc. The Governmental peculiarities of the native states into which this great, but not very productive province seems

in all ages to have been broken up, resemble those of the feudal system in Europe. Each district, however small, was a sort of barony, and every town and village acknowledged a lord or *Thakoor*. These feudal barons rendered nominal, and sometimes real allegiance to the sovereign, or whoever else claimed presumptive authority over them" (Nolan, 118).

Thirdly (reverting to our extract from Sumangala), we get the towns from which the Kaurava came in the time of Prākrama Babu: Kanchipuram, Kaveri-pattanam, Kilakkare. The first, meaning "golden city," a little south of Madras, away from the coast, was a sacred city and capital of the Chola Kings. Kaveri-pattanam, the chief town on the river Kaveri, was a great trading centre, like the next place Kilakkare, meaning "east-coast," which lies at the very South-east, near Ramnad.

Fourthly, we are favoured with the names of their leaders. Leaving the first two for later consideration, we come to Manikka-Talaven. This is the Captain of the Mookwa tradition (p. 5). This must have one of the chief Generals of the King who sent them out, whether it was their own or the Cholan Raja (cf. p. 8.), as the technical Tamil name for the King's own general is Padei-thalēivan, "head of the army, one of the assistants of the King" (Am. Dic.) Next Adappa-unnahay and Mudiansay, are for Adappanar and Muthaliar. The former word as late as 1860 meant "chief of village, honorific title among Paraver" (Eur. Dict.) Those who came from the very South-east and had been living near the Paraver seem to have taken this title for some of their headmen, and brought it over with them. Adhi-arasa-adappanar, therefore means, "chief descended from Adhi-arasa," which last is Sanscrit for ancient-king, and was the title of a line of kings in North India (M.L., July 14, 1914). Mudaliar means "first man," and it is probably from the Kaurava that this Tamil name has remained on among us, their influence upon their surroundings having been somewhat greater than is generally supposed; and so with the next word Arachchivaru, which is for Araichi "inspector, sheriff" (Eur. Dic.).

Fifthly, the places mentioned here as having been given by the King, seem to be only those where large tracts of land were allotted. Some of the Kaurava leaders with their people, were apparently kept closer to the seat of Government, as large numbers of them have all along lived in Colombo, Moratuwa, etc. But more probably, the list mentions only the places which were secured by them under special privileged conditions, since the tradition in the very places enumerated here, especially in the coast-region from Negombo to near Chilaw, has always been, that before the arrival of the Portuguese, there was no interference in these parts from any outside authority, the people having their own chieftains. We have seen in an earlier quotation how even Manikka-Talaven is said to have "*possessed a settlement*" in the south side of the district' (p. 7). Thus the Tamil language stood undisturbed in these parts and the people had remained Hindoos until their conversion to Christianity. Besides, the absence of any Singhalese records of *exercise* of authority over these parts prior to the Portuguese arrival (between 1410 and 1519), is in itself significant. This need not be surprising, for, as late as 1656, there were Pattangattis still in parts of South India or Ceylon with sovereign rights over their people, and able to give or refuse assistance to royal applicants, as may be gathered from the fact that when Raja Singha II was preparing for war against the Dutch, "the Pattangatin of Coquille was also approached on behalf of the King" (Pieris, 2. 454). But even where they had come to acknowledge the authority of the ruler in whose territory they lived, they had Adigars and Mudaliars of their own (Pieris, 1. 500) and were ruled directly by them; and this system had been kept up more or less unchanged until about 1840. It is a vestige of their ancient privileges which Cordiner has preserved in his account of the Dutch method of Government. "The country dependent on Colombo was divided into eight Korles, and each Korle was placed under the jurisdiction of a Modlear or native Chief.... These different Korles were under the superintendence of a civil servant of the company called a *dessauve*. The name and functions of this officer are derived from the Candian

language and institutions. He was charged with the ordinary correspondence between Government and the court of Candy. As a judge he was obliged to hear and decide all the complaints of the inhabitants, who were not satisfied with the award of the Corle Modelear. Only one class of people was excepted from his jurisdiction. These were the fishermen of Colombo and the neighbouring river Mootwal, who were placed under the Secretary of Government." (Cord. 1.69). Writing in 1809, the continuator of Burnand's Memoir on Ceylon says of what he calls the "Fishermen Mudaliar." "His duties are nearly the same as those of the Korle Mudaliar, though not so laborious," and part of the Korle Mudaliar's duties were "to execute all judicial processes of the different courts of justice connected with his Korle. He is the person through whom the collector performs all and every sort of Government service in it" (M.L.R. 4. 54). Another fact that is not without its bearing on our subject is, that even in the Singhalese-speaking districts, where some of the Kaurava had adopted Buddhism as their religion, no Singhalese king had tried to interfere with the 'life-destroying' occupation of so many of their common people.

Sixthly; there is mention in the extract, of certain "Kodi" or flags. The first is the flag of ancient Ravana, King of Ceylon, but we hear no more of it, though there is sometimes mention of a lost book called Ravana-Rajavaliya. The other two, namely the Irasanda flag and the Makara flag, with the Muthukudai, the two Alavattams, trident, sword, bugle, drum, and kettle-drum, form the ten insignia of the Kaurava people referred to by Bell (in "Two swords," p. 15, note), and are still largely used among these people especially south of Colombo, at weddings and funerals, and are pretty well-known. Most of them still retain their ancient Tamil names even among the Singhalese-speaking Kaurava. It was also these latter, who brought into general use the low-country-Singhalese comb with its suggestion of a coronet, wherever they got it from. The Portuguese writer Barradas, speaking of these people as he saw them at Moratuwa (1613) "gives what is pro-

bably the earliest account of a Singhalese wedding from the eyes of a European spectator" (Pieris, 1. 499.) "The company consists of all the friends and relations. The wedded pair come walking on white cloths, with which the ground is successively carpeted and covered above with others of the same kind, which the nearest relations hold in their extended hands after the fashion of a canopy which protects them from the sun, and the bride is carried in the arms of the nearest relative, and when this one tires another takes his place. The symbols that they carry are white disks and candles lighted in the daytime, and certain shells which they keep playing in place of bagpipes. All these are Royal symbols, which the former Kings conceded to this race of people, that being strangers they should inhabit the coasts of Ceilao, and none but they or those to whom they give leave can use them" (Barradas in M.L.R. 4. 132.) To explain now some of these symbols: (1) Muthukudai is Tamil for pearl-umbrella, which is one of the so-called three-umbrellas (Eur. Dic. Mukkudai.) (2) Alavattam is "a kind of fan which is carried before the great" (Eur. Dic.) (3) The Makara, is one of the 21 insignia of an Indian King (Eur. Dic. Arasa-chinnam.) The Kaurava in the Mahabharata lead their army sometimes in Makara-array, and the translator adds a note "Makara, a fabulous aquatic animal resembling an alligator" (Mahab. Bhishma 258.) The Makaram seems to have been painted in various ways, but always as a monster. "Makaram—marine monster; Makara-kodi—the flag of the monster-fish" (Eur. Dic., Winsl.) The ordinary fish-flag was the emblem of the Pandyan King (Winsl.), in sign of authority over the sea (Taylor, App. 29) or of his origin from some North-Indian 'god' of the waters (cf. p. 27) But the 'Makaram' we are concerned with, consisting of a combination of six or seven animals, must be the Wira-Makaram: "Flag representing the marine monster 'Makaram,' which is carried before Kings who *having traversed the ocean* have taken the town or country of their enemies" (Eur. Dic.) Compare the Kaurava names Warnakula-Wira-Suriya, Wira-Warna-Kuru-Kula-Suriya, Guru-Kula-Ratna-Wira-Suriya. Early writers on the Ceylon Kaurava speak of this flag as *Magheere* (M.L.R. 4. 54.

Pieris, l. 500), which is the Tamil *Makira-kodi*. The King of Cotta was seated under the *Makara-torana*, when he received the first Portuguese Ambassador (Piéris, l. 40); and in the picture of the Makara Torana given in Bell's Kegalle Report, p. 49, the two Makaras are identical in design with the figure on the Kaurawa flag. (4) *Irasanda-kodiya* is Singhalese for Sun-moon flag. This flag is represented on one of the swords above mentioned, as deciphered by H. C. P. Bell (T.S., 15.) It is symbolical of the connection between the Suriya and Chandra (sun and moon) races. From ancient times, the mother of King Kuru himself having been the daughter (descendant) of Vaivaswata or Suriya (Mahab. Adi 284, 285.) Compare the significant additions in the common clan-names Kuru-Kula-Suriya, Warna-Kula-Suriya, Mihidu-Kula-Suriya, Arasa-Kula-Suriya, etc., the first three still remaining as distinct clans in Negombo (Pieris, l. 500.) The suffix in the name of the 'god' Rama-Chandra has a similar origin. The Sun-moon flag thus became the badge of what came to be called the Soma-Suriya-Wangse, which was the "race formed by the intermixture of the Chandra and Suriya races" (Eur. Dic.) This Sun-moon flag was also used before the arrival of the Kaurawa by some people in the Four Korles. "The people of this Disawani were considered the most noble of all in Ceylon....and even in the time of the Portuguese, some of the families as for instance the Kiraweli, were recognised as representing the true royal stock....The martial prowess of the men of the Four Korales was always recognised, and their Maha-kodiya, emblazoned with the *Sun* and the *Moon* was allotted the place of honour in the van of the army" (Pieris, l. 316. 322.) This flag is said to have come to Ceylon thus: "When the god-king Rama proceeded from Devundara (Dondra) to Alut-nuvara in great state with a fourfold army like unto the festival of the gods, the flag emblazoned with emblems of Sun and Moon was borne in front. Since then the Four Korles have held chief rank" (Ancient verses in Bell, 126.) But how it came to be used particularly in the Four Korles is sufficiently indicated by the following tradition preserved in the "Kadaim-pot," in the midst of some confusion

arising from an attempt to find an ancient derivation for what in all likelihood is a comparatively recent name: "In old times, after the Rawana war, from *Kuru rata* there came to this island a queen, a royal prince, a rich nobleman, a learned prime minister with their retinue, and by order of King Rama dwelt in the place called on that account *Kuru-rata*" or *Kuruva* in Four Korles (Bell 2. cf. Uph. 1. 228, 2. 231; Prid. 49.) It may be added here, that this sun-moon flag of the Four Korles, as painted in Bell's Kegalla report, is different in design from that of the Kaurawa; but there is one on the walls of the Kandyan palace, worked large to the left of the main door as you enter, which is identical with the Kaurawa flag, as still used. (5) Besides the above, the higher classes of the Kaurawa had other marks of honour, some of which are mentioned by the appendix-writer above referred to. "They are also permitted to use chank shells; they use talipots or saty's, are titled by King or Government of the country..are carried in palanquins....with the beat of tom-toms, and use the double or irette talipot, a coloured shield, a Jawala-pandam (daylight-flambeaux), elephants, and other distinctions according to their respective deserts" (Append. to Burn. Memoir, M.L.R. 4. 26, cf. Pieris, 1. 500.) "They have military officers amongst their number, and some may fill the place of *Adigar* if they have merited it by their conduct. They are honoured by the King with different titles, according to their offices: and are carried in palanquins while little drums are beat on the way, with other circumstances of ceremonious parade" (Phil., 327.) The significance of these symbols in ancient society may still further be seen by the following: "The chank and chakram (shell and discus) were Vishnu's emblems" (Taylor, 1. 215.) "Chanques are likewise used entire to sound as a horn at funerals and are employed for other purposes in religious ceremonies. A chanque opening to the right hand is highly valued by the natives of India, and, being rarely found, always sells for its weight in gold." (Cord. 2. 7.) "At festivals and on all public occasions, when they (the Kandy Adigars) were carried on *elephants* or in *palanquins*, or in carriages, the first Adigar had, in addition to the attendants upon the horses palanquins, etc.,



24 whip-crackers, and 50 or 60 spearmen in a peculiar dress... a *kettle-drum-bearer*, a *torch-bearer*.....; near him were two men bearing *talipots*, large *triangular fans*, and ornamented with tale" (Prid., 355.) In the reign of Dharma Prakrama Bahu of Cotta (1515), a rebellion having been suppressed, "the rebel (Wickrama Bahu, Prince of Uda-rata) submitted, and in token of homage sent his *parasol* and white *shield*, emblems of royalty" (Pieris, 1. 45.) The 21 insignia of an Indian King were: "A crown, an *umbrella*, a kind of *fan*, an elephant-driver's hook, a *tambour*, a *chakram* (*disc*), an elephant, a flag, a fort, festoons (*thorana*), a water-pot, a wreath of flowers, the *chanku* (*bugle*), a sea-fort, the *makaram*, a tortoise, two river-fishes, a lion, a *torch*, a bull and the throne. All these are preserved in the palace of an Indian King" (Eur. Dic.), being symbolical of various powers and privileges; and what is perhaps more to our purpose, "according to Ehelapola, the five insignia of Singhalese royalty (in his time) were: a *shield* of chank colour, the *Mutukude*, the Ran-Kaduwa (*gold sword*), the Chamaraya, and Mirivedi-sangala" (Pieris, 1. 453.) "The Chamaraya was a sort of large *fan*, made from the root of a fragrant grass, and used to fan kings or great men" (Sing. Dic.); it thus corresponds to the *alavattam* of the Kaurawa. The 'Mirivedi-sangala' was a pair of sandals; and it is remarkable that a pair of sandals and the crown-like comb had long been common articles of dress only in the low-country. Certain words in the above have been italicised with a purpose. It is needless to labour the point. Most of these insignia and honours were enjoyed only by the very highest in the land (cf. Prid., 360), besides the Kaurawa; and in the case of the latter, any 'limitations' in their use, either referred to their common people (cf. p. 22), or will be found to be of later invention. Some of the above-mentioned flags and symbols had evidently been brought by them from India, as shown by their Tamil names; and the others had been granted them on their arrival by the Singhalese Kings, who had learnt their origin and had received them accordingly, whatever "historians" may have written of them later.

It might be of use to give here certain names that will illustrate some of the above remarks. The following are the surnames of some of those who held office together among the Kaurawa of Colombo, in the early days of British rule (Govt. Alman.):—

Fernando Warna-Kurukule-Aresekula-suriya Mudaliar
De Andrado Aresekule Wijeyaratne Mohandiram
Fernando Weera-Warna-Kuru-Kula-suriya Mohandiram
Fernando Aresekuleratne-Kurukula-suriya Mohandiram.

A little later, we get the name, De Silva Warnesuriya-Kurukule Wijeyaratne Mohandiram. Similar names are to be found among the Korle Mudaliars of later times: Mendis Aresekula-suriya, Fernando Kirthisinghe Kurukula-suriya, De Fonseka Warnesuriya-Aresekularatne. The portions 'hyphened' above are their original clan-names, which bear marks of the intermingling of the various clans or kula. About the same period as the first four (early British), among the Kurukulam of Jaffna, these names occur: Arasa-nilayitta Canekerayen-Mudaliar and Maniagar, Warnakula-suriya Mudaliar, Arasa-nilayitta Kurukula-suriya Mudaliar, etc. Earlier, about 1790, in Dutch times, a Committee was appointed by the Catholic Authorities to administer the affairs of St. Mary's (Cathedral) Jaffna. On this committee (Cent. 5) the first name is Kuru-Kula-Suriya Mudaliar, the 8th Warnakula-Adhittan (cf. p. 8). Under the Dutch again in Jaffna, 1790, Warnakula-Suriya Arasanilayaitta Don Diego Mudaliar was Respadore (Cent. 32), a kind of general manager in almost all Government dealings with the people. With this compare the name of the Dutch Maha-mudaliar of "Chilaw to Galle" (1720) Warnakula Adittya Arasanilayaitta Siemon Ta Mel (or de Mel) known as the Cammala Maha Modliar (Dh. 17.) In the time of the above Respadore, a certain Don Philip Vellalen of Tellipalai (Jaffna) wrote a religious poem called Gnananantha Purana, about 1823. There the author speaks of his patron as "Don Diego Mudaly, prince of Kuru-Kulam, the distinguished ornament of Kuru-Nadu" (verse 10 and 65 cf. Cent. 27.) This gives us the Jaffna tradition.

We may here explain the name on the sword of 1416 as read by H. C. P. Bell, "*Kauravara Adittya Kuru Vira Arasa Nilayitta Maha-naga*." The first word is the racial name as already stated, and in early use is the same as Kuru-Kula (Eur. Dic.) The second, Adittya, is a Sanskrit word, to understand which we must go to Sanskrit mythology, but there is history under it. Adittya means "the gods, the sons of Aditti, one of the spouses of Casibabrama, and by him mother of all the inferior gods" (Eur. Dic.), inferior, that is, to Brahma. The gods spoken of here, we may safely take to be the Aryan Kings of old. "The son of Brahma is Casyaben: and *Atithi* is the daughter of Daksha, and the son of these two is Suryen" (Taylor, 1. 213.) Thus Suriya was the first Aditiya, who transmitted his name to his descendants, the Suriya Wansa. Kaurava Adittya is accordingly another form of Kurukula-aditya or Kuru-Kula-suriya. Compare Warnakula-aditya and Warnakula-suriya. The third word in the name is Kuru, which probably comes from the fact that in the Maha-bharata, the Kaurava are spoken of as Kurus, each one being a Kuru. Of the remaining words 'Vira Arasa' means 'mighty King' and 'Nilayitta' means 'established, appointed' (Eur. Dic.); and Maha-naga must be the personal name meaning the elder Naga, as the name on the other sword is Ile Naga, which is Tamil Ilaya Naga or the Younger Naga. The whole name on the sword will thus be: 'Maha-naga, a Kuru of the Kurukula-aditiya race, established by the mighty King,' whoever this King was, perhaps the Chola Raja who was himself of the Suriya-race (Taylor, 2 App. 23.) The word Adittya appears also in the name of Wickrama-adittya of the Chandra race, "the celebrated king of Oujein (in Malwa, south of Delhi), from whom an era is reckoned commencing 56 years before the Christian" (Wins. & Eur. Dic. & Tod. 46); and as already noticed, Adittyas were on the throne of Mewar in Rajputana, as late as the eighth century A.D. (Tod., 46.) With regard to the origin of the first part of the name, Warnakula-aditiya, we have seen Thurston's suggestion that it comes from Varuna, the god of the waters; but the mundane origin of this god is sufficiently indicated in the

prayer of the ancient North Indian coronation ceremonial : " With these waters which are happy . . . which increase the royal power, the immortal Prajapati sprinkled Indra, Soma sprinkled the *royal Varuna*, and Yama sprinkled *Manu*, with the same sprinkle I thee. Be the ruler over kings in this world." (Aitareya Bhahmana 8. 7. Dutt. 1. 149.) Soma is another name for Chandra, and the above association of the royal Varuna with Soma is suggestive of the existence of a Varuna-kula closely connected with the Somawangse or Chandra race. Likewise, the '*Manu*' of the above prayer was, no doubt, the originator of the Manukula-suriya clan (cf. Wins.), whose name occurs in modern times in the same quarter as the Varuna-kula.

The following extract from a local Kaurawa magazine, 'will bring us nearer home, and give us occasion for further remarks, as it preserves some more names of Kaurawa notables (cf. also M. L. Oct. 14, 1907) :

1. " In the days of Bhuvaneka Bahu Maha Raja, Ran-patabendi Kuru-Kula-nattu Bandarasamy was appointed Senapathi (General) of his forces.

2. Under the same King, Lindamulagay Pedro da Silva Mudaliar was appointed Agra-senapathi (Chief-General).

3. In 1590, Warnakula-aditiya Arasa-nilayitta Manuel Dias Andradi was appointed Prime Minister (Maha Adigar) by Don John Wimala-Dharma-Suriya, King of Kandy.

4. In 1634, Raja Singha II. appointed Wetta Singha Parada-Kula Suriya Maha Goranda Mudaliar to the office of Maha Disawa and Maha Adigar of the Palace.

5. Under the same King, Warnakula-Suriya Welleke Mudaliar was "Maha Disapati."

As for the historical accuracy of the above statements, we have not been able to get confirmatory evidence for all of them. The first name reminds us of Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir of our extract from Sumangala (p. 5). The second takes us back to the claim of descent from Thakura (p. 18) ; and Valentyn mentions

a Bhuvaneka Bahu who reigned from 1519 to 1580 (Phil. 341). and the Portuguese historian De Couto mentions a Pedro de Silva Mudaliar as doing yeoman service on the bridge of Matacore in the campaign of the allied Portuguese and Singhalese forces against Raja Singha, in 1588 (T.S. 11). The third is a name involving greater difficulty. About the very date mentioned here, Don John Wimala-Dharma-Suriya of Kandy did appoint a certain "Manuel Dias, his Maha-Mudaliar over the heads of all his Singhalese officers; and the first-fruits of his promotion was an attack in June on Correa whom he defeated with heavy loss" (Pieris, I. 362). But this Manuel Dias is spoken of by Dr. Paul Pieris as a Portuguese. Philalethes, however, refers to him thus: "A Modelaar, named Manuel Dias, of great consideration in Kandy and who had *formerly served in the army of the Portuguese* Chief Don Pedro, was at this time in high favour at the court of Don John. He...feigned that he had formed a scheme for the assassination of Don John. This proposition rendered him a very *welcome visitor* to the Portuguese" (Phil. 73). Pridham also speaks of him as "having *formerly served in the Portuguese army.*" (Prid. 102). The words in italics would scarcely suit him if he had been a Portuguese by nationality. Besides it is hardly to be supposed that the king of Kandy would have trusted his army to a Portuguese, in a war against the Portuguese themselves. Anyhow, the Gahapati-vibagaya, an account of the chief families in Ceylon, by Mr. M. Dharmaratna, Editor of the Lakmini-pahana, speaks of "Manuel Dias, as a distinguished member of the *Kaurava-gothra* (race)...the first Adigar of King Wimala-Dharama-Suriya" (Dh. 17). The 4th name is thus given in the above Vibagaya as of the same race as Manuel Dias: Wetta Singha Adhi Arasa Paradha-Kula-Suriya Mudiansay who lived at Tamankadu" (Dh. 17). This 'Adhi Arasa' as has been said above (p.19) was the title of a line of Kings in the North of India, as well as of one of the original Kaurawa Chieftains of Prakrama Babu's time (p.5); and the name 'Paratha-Kula-Suriya' harks back to the *Maha-bharatha*. More of it presently. The date 1634 need not puzzle us, for though Raja Singha was recognised as King only in 1636, he had been administering the

Government for a long time before that date (Pieris, 1.201); besides Valentyn even starts his reign in 1632 (Phil., 341). About the fifth name nothing can be found.—To the above may be added the name of another Kaurawa warrior, who put up a gallant fight for his country's independence from the year 1603 to 1620: Antonio Barreto or Kuruwita Rala. "It was here (Attapitiya) that Antonio Barreto, soon destined to be the terror of the Portuguese, first figured prominently by the courage, with which he, assisted by Pedro Barreto and some other of Samarakoon's men, resisted the King's forces." Soon, however, he raised an insurrection in the camp of the Portuguese and joined the Singhalese King. Later in 1613 "a small Singhalese fleet commanded by Barreto's nephew sailed out of Cottiar, and was successful in capturing several Portuguese vessels off Negombo, Mannar and Chilaw" (Pieris, 1. 422). About this time the Queen Donna Catharina died, and her death was followed by the serious illness of the King Senerat himself. Thereupon he "appointed the Princes of Ouva and Migomme guardians of his young sons and the princesses the daughters of the late King" (Perc., 25). "He was carried to Diyatilleke, where on August 18, a great council was held and Kuruwita Rala and Migomuwe Rala were appointed guardians of the young prince Kumara Singha, and Regents in case of the King's death" (Pieris, 1. 422). This Kuruwita Rala is described by Queyroz (p. 480 and Pieris, 1. 385) as the 'son of a Pescador' or fisher, which in his language stands for Karawa. He is said to have been in the service of Samarakoon, the Singhalese general of the Portuguese, and "by his courage and skill in war rose to be the Prince of Oūvah" (Pieris, 1. 385), and on this occasion was appointed Regent of the kingdom. The Singhalese Kings and nobles of those times, "who would recognise no King save one of the race of the Sun" (Pieris, 1. 266), evidently differed from Portuguese historians in their views of some of these 'Pescadores.'

There now remain the two names of the original Kaurawa leaders to consider: *Vaccha-nattu-thevarir*, and *Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir*. The first is Tamil for Lord of Vaccha-country, and the

name Vaccha-nattu-thevagay, is still used by some Kaurawa families at Kalageddi-Hena in Sina Korle. Turning to our Dictionary, we read "Vaccha-pattanam, ancient town of the North of India, called also Kausambi, capital of Nemi-sakkiran, King of Hastinapuri, who transferred his capital to Causambi or Vaccha-pattanam" (Eur. Dic.). On reference to the list of Kings of the Chandra dynasty (some 75 names of this line have been preserved, nearly the same as for the Suriya line. Taylor, l. 231), we find that the founder was Putha, the son of Chandra (occasionally given as the son of Suriya, Sura-suthan. Eur. Dic.). The 6th in descent from Putha is Puru, from whom came the Paurava. "The name Porus (the king who resisted Alexander the Great about 325.B.C.), which without hesitation we reduce to the Indian Puru, alone seems to yield a ground of inference as to his having been a remnant of the royal house of Hastinapuri or boasted family of ancient Puru" (Taylor, l. 244). The 15th in descent from Puru is Dushmanta, who married the Brahman lady Sakuntala, the heroine of Kalidasa's drama. Their son was Bharatha (about 2000 B. C. Wilford), the founder of *Baratha-Kula*, from whom the royal line came to be called Maha-Bharatha. "Kumari was the name of the daughter of Bharatha, to whose share the southern division of Bharata-varsha or India fell, and from whom the southern extremity of the peninsula was called Cape Comorin or Kumari" (Winsl). About the 5th in descent from Bharatha is Hastin (1900 B.C.) the builder of Hastinapura, thenceforward the capital. The 4th in descent from Hastin is Kuru (1800 B.C.) the father of *Kuru-Kula*. After him the whole line was often called by his name. "The kingdom of Magadha was founded in Behar by Sudharma, a son of Kuru" (Taylor, l. 240). The 15th in descent from Kuru, about the 45th from Putha is Pandu, with his brother Dritarashtra, from whom came the Pandavas and Kauravas of the great war. The 8th from Pandu is Nemi-chakra (1150 B.C.), the one we are in search of, who changed his capital to Vaccha-pura, whence came the Chieftain Vaccha-nattu-thevarir of our extract. This Vaccha-pura or Causambi was one of the towns visited by the Chinese traveller, Houen Tsang, in 645 A.D. (Dutt.).

The next name Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir is sufficiently clear. But some quotations from our South Indian Tamil Dictionaries will not be amiss :—

Kuru-Kulam—Parathar Kulam
 Parathar—Kuru-Kula-Vendhar
 Pauravar—Kuru-Kula-Vendhar
 Kauravar— do do do (Am. Dic.)

These words are often used as synonyms in speaking of the Chandra race. To understand them better, see previous paragraph. The word “vendhar” attached to Kuru-Kula above, is the plural of *vendhu*. “king, sovereign.” Here is an extract from another Dictionary :—

Kuru-Kulam. . race of Kurus, posterity of King Kuru.
 Kuru-Kula-Vendhar. . Kings of the dynasty of Kuru, ancient King of Hastinapuri. His name was given to his descendants the Kurus or Kauravar, *especially* to the children of Thiritha-rattiran (cf. p. 2.)

Kauravar. . King or descendant of the race of Kuru.
 Kuru-thesam. . the country of Delhi (Eur. Dic.).

The last word is the same as Kuru-nadu which appears in Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir.

A recent letter from the Rev. J. Royer of Topu contains a passage, which, being serviceable to our purpose of identification, we make no apology to reproduce here. It refers to a certain “Plate,” which the Kuru-Kula-Suriya clan of Negombo is said to have been in possession of until very recently, which they had brought with them when they came from India. About 1850 “they say it was lent to the Kuru-Kulatthar of Hiniduma Pattu S.P., and never returned. It was not a gift by the Kandyan King, but an old thing of the clan, before its removal from Madure to Ceylon. If what Father Vistarini told me is correct, this plate was very old and very valuable as historical proof of the Kuru-Kulatthars alias Kauravars” (Rev. Royer, 25.3.19). It would be interesting to know whether the Madhure spoken of here, was the ancient city in the North near Delhi, modern Muthra, or the one in the south named after it (cf. Eur. Dic.) the capital of the

Pandian kingdom ; the latter is the more likely. It may be noted here in passing that in the south of India, the sacred thread which the Brahmins wear, is often called Kuru-Kula-nool, whatever the reason ; but the like of it is known to have been in use in Negombo in olden times.

Further, the two Chieftains, Vaccha-nattu-thevarir and Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir, are given the place of honour at the head of the list (p. 5). The form of their name suggests that it could not have been very long before they came over to Ceylon that these two at least, arrived at the court of Canchipuram or Madure, whether as exiles from their Northern country or at the head of a warrior clan. If they were merely descendants of those who had left the North so long ago as the great war, it is not at all likely that those names would have been retained in that form ; nor would their people have so long persisted in their disinclination to call themselves Tamil, even where they speak the Tamil language as from Negombo northwards (Pieris, I. 500) ; these and other reasons make it unlikely that any of these people were in east India south of Madras, or in the near north of it, before 1200 or 1300 A.D. Speaking of the date 1000 A.D. Nevill says : " This date agrees with the first recorded importance of the Kaurava race in Ceylon (?) and South India " (Nevill II). This must be taken to mean merely that before 1000 A.D., the Kaurava are not heard of in these parts ; but there is no proof of their existence at this early date even in South India, not to speak of Ceylon. But about 1200, many of the " Rajput clans in Northern India," being defeated in a battle with an Afghan invader, " quitted their homes in large bodies rather than submit to the stranger, and founded the military kingdoms which bear their name, Rajputana, to this day " (Hunter, 118). Some of these clans apparently moved down southwards on this occasion. It was shortly after this, about 1250, that Thakura is said to have brought his colony of Aryan warriors from Jeypore to Ceylon (p.18). Later in the 14th century, there was perhaps another exodus, headed by Vaccha-nattu-thevarir and Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir and their like, who came

to Canchipuram, and thence eventually to the court of Prakrama Bahu. Further, the mode of Government of these clans in East and South India, before the long arm of Britain reached them, seems to be indicated by what is said of the kingdom of Vijayanagar on its dismemberment. "The battle of Talikot (1565) marks the final downfall of Vijayanagar as a great Hindu kingdom. But its local Hindu chiefs or *Nayaks* kept hold of their respective fiefs, and the Muhammadan Kings of the south were only able to annex a part of its dominions. From these *Nayaks* are descended the well-known Palegars of the Madras Presidency and the Maharaja of Mysore... The independence of the local Hindu Rajas in Southern India throughout the Muhammadan period is illustrated by the Manjarabad family, a line of petty Chiefs, which maintained its authority from 1397 to 1799" (Hunter, 130); though probably neighbouring princes *claimed* suzerainty over them. Compare with this the name of Chem *Nayque* or Varuna Kulatha, the 'Regulo' of the Tanjore 'Careasz.' Another instance of the same would be the "Pattangattin of Coquille," who was considerable enough to be approached on behalf of the Singhalese King, in 1656. (Pieris, 2. 454).

It might be superfluous to add here that, though there is so much Tamil in the above Kaurava names, the people in question are not Tamil, that is, not Dravidian or Telugu. They are Kaurava plain and simple, a branch of Aryans of the Chandra race, who, intermingling with the Suriya, formed the Soma-Suriya Wangse (cf. p. 23) of ancient Indian records. Hence the various clans, Kuru-Kula-Suriya, Arasa-Kula-Suriya, Mihidu-Kula-Suriya, Warna-Kula-Suriya, Paratha-Kula-Suriya, Manu-Kula-Suriya, and certain others of whom we have now little trace through their names having been long disused by reason of their growing cumbrousness (cf. p. 26). Of these clans the first alone seems to be the Kuru-Kula strictly so called, the rest being kindred Chandra-Suriya tribes, all known by the general name of Kaurava. Any discrepancies in their physique are sufficiently accounted for by the influences of time, climate and occupations. Kaurava or Karava is not

properly a caste-name, but a racial name like Mahratta or Rajput. Tamil is a language which they picked up and changed some of their titles into, at the time of their sojourn in East India, as they have here picked up Singhalese, their own ancient language being the language of the Maha-bharata,—Sanskrit. This is the reason why, while the Kuru-Kulam of Jaffna which in origin at least is the same as here, has come to call itself Tamil, and the Kaurawa south of Negombo call themselves Singhalese and are prominently so, the Tamil-speaking portion of these same people between Negombo and Chilaw, to the amusement of lawyers and other learned men, (Pieris, l. 500), decline to call themselves Singhalese or Tamil, but Kuru-Kulam in Negombo, and Kauravar or sometimes Kariar elsewhere, using the last name as if it meant 'the people of Kara or Kuru land' (cf. p. 11), though for all practical purposes they are now Singhalese.

Anyone who knows them, whether in Jaffna town, or in Chilaw, Marawila, Negombo, Colombo, Moratuwa, Panadura, Kalutara, etc., will grant, that whatever they lack, they still retain something of what Hunter calls the "inextinguishable vitality of the military races" of India (Hunter, 120). The well-known J.P. Lewis, C.M.G., retired C. C. S., reviewing a recent book on Ceylon, says: "As distinct from the nominal, the real hero of the story is Dr. Fernando, who, as his name indicates, belongs to that energetic and enterprising section of the Singhalese race—that portion of it too which more readily than any other assimilates European ways—the Karrawa" (J.P.L. in "Times of Ceylon," Oct. 11th, 1917).

To sum up the main theme. The retention of the extraordinary name Karawa, the reference to Kuru-thesam in the Indian Nigandu, the remarks of the Oriental scholar Nevill on their origin, the Kauravara of the swords, our extract from Sumangala and its tallyng with the Mookwa tradition of a struggle with the Kaurava; the existence of scattered remnants in Central, East, and South India, still called Kauravar and Kurukulam; the use of the Makara flag and the Sun-moon flag, the Muthukudai and other insignia; the evidently Sanskrit and North-Indian origin of names like

Adittyā, Vaccha-(nattu)-dheva, Kuru-Kula-(nattu)-dheva ; their constant warrior traditions and average muscular build still ; the clan-names yet in general use among them and among them alone, the names well according with what we might expect of the Soma-Suriya Wangse ; the fact of their use in ancient times when names could not be assumed lightly, and the existence of some of these clans themselves at the present day ; the light thrown on all by our Dictionaries ; even traditions like those recorded in *Rifles Officer* 1. 386, line 7—all this, taken together is, to say the least, more proof than any pedigree-hunter ever advanced, that the real Karawa and Kurukulam of these parts, considered as a whole, are the ancient Kaurava and Kurukula of the Mahabharata, their existing Suriya-clans being the hitherto unabsorbed survivors of the various septs that formed the old Soma-Suriya or Chandra-Suriya Wangse of Kuru-land—who are thus found to have been continuing on amongst themselves, except in a few places perhaps, for the last 3,000 years and more, having had until recently their own Chiefs, Patabendas and Mudaliars, under all changes of central Government.

II. Their Conversion to Christianity.

In the year 1505, the Portuguese landed in the island for the first time, and by about 1518 they had established themselves in Colombo. The king of Cotta made a treaty with them; and though differences arose, the people in the coast regions soon recognised the futility of fighting with their old-world weapons against fire-arms, in an open country. But what gradually won over the Kaurawa people more than anything else was the religion the new-comers taught them. Their independence of their surroundings was again emphasised in their almost bodily embracing Christianity.

Sir Emerson Tennent in his *History of Christianity in Ceylon* writes: "Cordiner must have been but imperfectly informed when he states that the Portuguese compelled the natives of Ceylon to adopt the Roman Catholic religion without consulting their inclinations, and that the Dutch unlike them had refrained from employing open force.... On both points the historic evidence is at variance with these representations. I have discovered nothing in the proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon to justify the imputation of violence and constraint" (Tennent, 65.) "One fact is unquestionable that the natives became speedily attached to their ceremonies and modes of worship (Catholic), and have adhered to them with remarkable tenacity for upwards of 300 years" (Ten., 67.)

Speaking of the introduction of Christianity into Ceylon Dr. Paul Pieris says in his *History*: "The Karawa, colonists from South India, who had in course of time been absorbed among the Singhalese, occupied the sea-board of the island, where the fishing industry was almost exclusively in their hands. The readiness with which the caste welcomed Christianity whether in South India, or the Tamil or Singhalese-speaking districts of Ceylon is very remarkable, and is perhaps significant of the capacity which it possessed for acting as a corporate whole. Early in 1556 in one of these outbursts of enthusiasm Xavier had which fre-

quently witnessed, the entire caste decided to accept the new religion, and seventy thousand of its members headed by their chief or Patabenda, took refuge within the fold of the Church " (Pieris, 138).

Before him, Tennent in his History of Christianity had written. " There is something remarkable in the circumstance " of these maritime people " being everywhere the earliest and most eager converts to Christianity in India : so much so as to make it questionable whether it be only an accidental coincidence, or the result of some permanent predisposing cause. The Parawars of Cape Comorin were the earliest proselytes of St. Francis Xavier ; and have been the most faithful and abiding of his converts. It was by the fishermen of Mannar that he was invited to Ceylon in 1544, and notwithstanding the martyrdom inflicted by the Rajah of Jaffna. Again it is among the Karawe that the Roman Catholics have at all times been most successful in their efforts to Christianise " (Tenn., 10).

Tennent might have wondered a little more, if he had known that the Paraver or Parather he speaks of, claim to be the descendants of the Bharata of the North ; and if their claim be true (see Winslow under Parathan) then the Karawa or Kaurava, and the Parather who are described as " merchants " and " inhabitants of the coast " (Eur. Dict.), are the only two *races* in South India which represent the Chandra race of Delhi, and they happen to be the two which showed eagerness for the Christian religion.

This ' weakness ' for Christianity has shown itself in other places too, in later times, among clans of Kaurava name. It is recorded in a judgment of the Madras High Court of Judicature that in the 18th century, some owners of trading boats and boatmen " belonging to the Curukula Vamsha or Varunakula Mudali . . . ' who were residing at Chepauk in the city of Madras, had embraced Christianity and worshipped in a chapel which had been erected by voluntary contributions. In 1799, the site of their village

was required for public purposes, and they obtained in lieu of it a grant of land at Royapuram, where a chapel was built. Partly by taxes levied on boatmen and partly by tolls they were allowed to impose on persons for frequenting the Royapuram bazar, a fund was formed to provide for their spiritual wants.... In 1829, a portion of this fund was expended in the erection of the Church of St. Peter, Royapuram..., etc." (Thurs., 6. 186). These people are of course Catholics, and one of them the late Pragasa Mudaliar had been knighted by the Portuguese Government, and was for some time the representative of the Madras Corporation in the Legislative Council; and another, Rai Bahadur M. J. Ruthnaswamy, was the Manager of H. E. H. the Nizam's State Railway.

But to come back to Ceylon. In the early days of Portuguese rule, the work of conversion went on apace, and "from Negombo northwards the prevailing language was Tamil, and it was these people who were found most ready to embrace Christianity." (Pieris, 1. 319).

Sir Emerson Tennent notes these and similar facts, and is at a loss to account for them. Elsewhere in the same book, speaking of the spread of the Christian religion, he observes: "The line of its march was most triumphant where the progress of instruction had been the most marked and successful. Its first churches were planted in the educated circles of Asia Minor and Greece, and in remoter districts and villages, its progress was so comparatively slow, that four centuries after the birth of its Founder, the last refuge of parting idolatry was among the *pagani* and rustics.... But not only are the most civilised races the first to receive Christianity: they are likewise the most enduring and consistent in retaining and preserving it in its pristine integrity." (Ten., 272.)

Sir Emerson might have tried some such reason as the above, as a partial solution to the puzzle of Kaurawe conversion; but it does not strike him to do so, because he has been carried away by appearances and misinformed as to their origin. Their own

explanation is, that there was pretty high intelligence among their people then, as there is said to be among their descendants now ; even their poor had had, besides certain traditional institutions, the civilising influence of commercial intercourse ; there was a large proportion of lettered people in their ranks even in those days, Tamil books coming to them from their last home ; their leaders like Vaccha-nattu-thevarir and Kuru-Kula-nattu-thevarir or their immediate descendants were of the ancient race of Delhi, likely to have some noble sensibilities in them, and capable of rising above the superstitions of the crowd ; they were warrior-chieftains accustomed to take common counsel and concerted action. It need not then be so very surprising that, in God's great mercy, at one stroke " 70,000 of its members headed by their Pata-benda, took refuge within the fold of the Church." Anyhow the very fact of their eager conversion was evidence, that on the whole they possessed certain valuable qualities of head and heart, and could feel thankful that in all their wanderings they had been brought here to be given the gift of the Christian religion.

It was at this time and later as others were being baptised that the Kaurava people, and certain others, took the Portuguese surnames of Fernando, Perera, Pieris, etc. Through them, Tamil words like Moopu, Muhappu, Annavi, Kanikka, Pandal, Avasta, have got into the Singhalese Catholic language. It is probably from them that the Portuguese learnt the names of Cotta (Tamil for fort), Peria-Cota, Kalu-turai (port), Pan-turai, etc., and Mudaliar.

The sincerity of their conversion was soon put to the test in their descendants. They had almost everywhere taken so kindly to the new religion, that in 1605, a priest who had been in Moratuwa, Father Eulitius, writes home to Portugal : " Seventy, who had not yet become Christians were instructed and baptised.... For, nowhere in Ceylon are there such fervent Christians as in Morotto.... If any stranger comes to the village, the people exhort him to become a Christian " (C. A. 2. 1, 2 & 24). The same might have been said of many another place along the coast. But in 1643 the Dutch took Negombo, and in 1658 Colombo, and as soon

as they had established themselves, they set about "reforming" the Catholic religion. They tried their hand at it unremittingly for close upon a hundred years. Speaking of the Dutch treatment of Ceylon Catholics in general, of whatever race, Tennent writes: "Their own records are conclusive as to the severity of their measures and the ill-success by which they were followed" (Ten., 65). "They ventured to enforce a series of measures designed not merely for the restraint of priests but for the actual extinction of the Roman Catholic religion in Ceylon" (Ten. 68). "And if any evidence were wanting as to their oppressive and compulsory policy towards the Roman Catholics and their priesthood, it may be found in the Legislative Acts of the British Government, one of whose earliest measures was to repeal the penal laws enacted by the Dutch" (Ten., 65.) This repeal was made in 1806, on a petition of the Catholics "a peaceable body of His Majesty's subjects."

But long before this, after enduring untold annoyances, "In 1750," (writes Sir Emerson Tennent), "The Roman Catholics of this place—Negombo and its environs—assumed sufficient courage to lay before the Government (Dutch), the grievances and disqualifications under which they laboured, and to entreat a reconsideration of its policy with a view to their relief. They complained that being sincere believers in the tenets of their own Church, which had been espoused by their forefathers 200 years before, it was a violence offered to their consciences to be compelled, under penalties to send their families to be instructed in doctrines which they reject, and an offence to their feelings to hear them rehearsed by their children on their return home from school. They admitted frankly that whilst in terror of the law, and to avoid fines imposed by Government, they so far conformed as to have their children baptised by the ministers of the Reformed Church; they were nevertheless in the habit of having the same children baptised a second time by the clergymen of the Church of Rome. They lamented that being compelled to deny in public doctrines which they cherished in their hearts, this perpetual conflict between their secret convictions and their public profession

endangered the salvation of their souls : and they earnestly prayed to be admitted to liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion which no compulsory avowal of Protestantism could ever induce them to abjure " (Ten., 59).

Reverend Palm tells us from the records of the Dutch Consistory that this memorial was written in Tamil (R.A.S. 1. 3. 64) : that is, by the leaders of the Negombo Kuru-Kula-suriya and probably the Warna-Kula-suriya, the town proper having been almost exclusively in the hands of the former until very recent times. Palm adds that the memorial stated besides that " although they had been taught in the schools to deny, yet they still believed and practised what Romanists teach on the following tenets, namely the Seven Sacraments—Transubstantiation—Good Works—the Virgin Mary—the Crucifix and images " (Palm 1. 67 R.A.S.) Mgr. Zaleski gives us their words in part : " We are tired (they said) of the present state of things. Strongly attached as we are to the Catholic faith to which our ancestors were converted two centuries ago, you force us violently and under severe penalties to send our children to Protestant schools, where they are taught a doctrine which we condemn, and we must hear with disgust our own children when coming from school repeat the false and perverse tenets, which they have learnt there. You oblige us to have our children baptised by Protestant ministers. Some of our faith have been terrified into obeying you, but they brought the children to your ministers only after they had been baptised by a Catholic priest. Some fearing your unjust laws went to the Protestant service, but at the bottom of their hearts they always remained Catholics. You force us to renounce our faith, but no forced abjuration can root out from our hearts this faith to which we are invincibly attached. Such a state of things troubles our conscience, imperils our salvation, and we will not suffer it any longer." (Zaleski, 151).

" The Governor astonished at such daring laid the petition before his council " (Zal.), who submitted it to the Consistory.

The latter advised stringent measures and exemplary punishment and the exclusion of Catholics from the 'headmanship'; but the Governor and Council declared they would refer the matter to Batavia, and "after rebuking the Consistory decided to overlook the petition of the Negombo Christians, to ignore it simply and leave it unanswered" (Zaleski).

"The (above) prayer of the Roman Catholics (Tennent again) was however rejected, and the exasperating though ineffective policy of exclusion and compulsion was still openly pursued. Reaction and retaliation were the natural consequences. Emboldened by a sense of their own numbers and physical strength, the Roman Catholics ventured on a more ostentatious display of their influence over the people. They erected places of worship at Kaltura within a few miles of Colombo and commenced their public celebrations of their festivals with all the accustomed paraphernalia and parade. The Government caused the leader of this movement to be (apprehended, brought to Colombo. Palm) and banished to Tuticoreen on the Coromandel Coast..... Serious disturbances followed, and for some years afterwards, the districts round Colombo were the scene" of a series of insults and assaults by the aggrieved party upon the other (Ten., 60). "At Negombo, the Romanists persecuted (their opponents) reviled them and spoke disrespectfully, etc." (Palm). Seven years afterwards there was another uproar a little north of Negombo. Government had sent a party to pull down certain temporary Catholic places of worship. They were attacked first by a group of women and afterwards near Topu by 1,000 men "principally fishers," and when Government sent a stronger force, they found the place deserted, and their 'thonies' ready, prepared to sail off with their families (Palm R.A.S. 1. 3. 66).

"This state of things lasted for a few years, at the end of which, tired out and often beaten (the Dutch relaxed their coercive efforts). The incident of Negombo had shown them the strength of the Catholics.....who were numerous and well-organised" (Zal.).

¹¹ These events seem to have partially opened the eyes of Govern-

ment to the inutility of persecution as an instrument of conversion : a reaction immediately followed in favour of a more enlarged toleration, and under the three latest Dutch Governors..... the penal laws ceased to be rigidly enforced and priests were allowed to reside in Dutch territory, though not permitted to exercise their functions within a certain distance of fortified towns." (Ten., 61). Previous to this, a few priests like Fathers Vaz and Gon-salvez had ministered to their people at the risk of their lives or liberty.

But, though violent measures had mostly ceased, the native proponents and Krankbezoekers were still kept busy. Dutch observers of the period, quoted by Palm, referring to their religious campaign, said : " As to the character of the Singhaliese (it was remarked), those living more inland though poorer were more regular at school and in general more hopeful than the maritime people, while the Malabars who were most Roman Catholics were still worse, though with greater advantages both as to intelligence and to means and facilities afforded by Government " (R.A.S. I. 65 or 70). Malabar generally stands for the Tamils of Colombo and perhaps chetties, and the people of the Northern Province ; but this writer has in all probability mixed up the Tamil-speaking Kaurava from Negombo to Chilaw with Malabars ; thus only could he speak of the Malabars being " most Roman Catholics." Besides, consequent upon the Negombo petition, the clergy are said to have " agreed for the purpose of instructing the people and reclaiming them from popery, to hold weekly meetings and catechisings in private dwellings in the Malabar language " (Palm, R.A.S. I. 64). The same is to be inferred from Valentyn's reference to the school in Negombo, which is otherwise interesting. In October, 1704, the Predikanten reported to Governor Simons : " Negombo Malabar School—the school children examined out of the old Catechism answered really well, but in the examination the people who were very few in number, scarcely half of them appearing made an exceedingly poor show, only 6 or 8 of the whole, giving answers to any of the questions. From the rest no answer could be got. One of these on being questioned confessed that

the priests had forbidden him to answer. The master of the school Manuel de Melo and his under-master Diego Teixeira had learnt the three Malabar Catechisms. On being examined in connection therewith, they gave ready answers. This school is very badly situated" (Val. 426. C.L.R. 4. 53). They also add that "at 'Chunampiti' they learnt that the Romish priests often went to Negombo and held service in the house of a Dutch lady, the widow of a freedman," whose name they could not learn (C.L.R. 4. 53). This was in 1704, and is recorded here as typical of what took place in most Catholic districts. The authorities soon became more vigilant and strict everywhere, and we have seen the measures they adopted and the disaffection that followed upon them.

The end of it all was that "At Jaffna in particular, and among the Tamils and 'Karawa' along the Western coast, the ascendancy (of Catholicism) was neither weakened by persecution nor undermined by corruption" (Ten., 50). Here again the name 'Tamils' will be found to refer in great part to the people along the coast from Negombo upwards. In Jaffna too and Mantotte, the people claiming the name Kuru-Kulam, had been prominent in their attachment to the Catholic faith, throughout this trying period (cf. Ten., 68); and the President Moopus of the Jaffna Cathedral have always been from their ranks (cf. Cent.) Thus, in spite of the zeal of the Hollander, the vast majority of the Kaurava people, along with many other Christians, continued to remain "incurable papists." Neither intimidation, nor bribery, nor fines and imprisonment and worse, could shake their faith, God be thanked, when once they had understood what that faith meant; and though a few unfortunate defections seem to have taken place later among the descendants of those who weathered the storm, or perhaps merely of the original converts, some of them now professing a religion fairly incompatible with their occupations, yet by far the larger number still remain devoted, if at times boisterous, adherents of the Catholic Church; and altogether, the history of the Kaurava is no small portion of the general history of the Catholic religion in Ceylon.

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Note.—Plain p. refers to pages of the present book.

