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CONTENTS

	Page
Noun Inflexion in Old Sinhalese— <i>Herbert Gunther</i>	... 105
An Unpublished Adakahavanuva— <i>K. C. D. Perera</i>	... 121
The Culavamsa— <i>C. E. Godakumbura</i>	... 123
Yatimahana-Sittuva— <i>C. E. Godakumbura</i>	... 126
Land, Maps and Surveys, in Maritime Ceylon during the Dutch Administration— <i>R. L. Brohier</i>	... 129
Book Reviews	... 138
Annual Report 1948 & Report of the Archaeological Commissioner for the year 1948	... 139
Proceedings	... 142
Publications received and Donations	... 145
New Members	... 146

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# NOUN INFLEXION IN OLD SINHALESE

BY

HERBERT GUNTHER

It is my intention to give a sort of supplement to *Wilhelm Geiger's* monumental work on the Sinhalese language.<sup>1</sup> Although he never lost sight of the importance of the poetical language, which on the whole has a highly artificial character, he did not include it in his grammar. Later on he entrusted me with the continuation of his life work, and it is with a feeling of deepest gratitude towards my late lamented friend that I comply with his wish. On the following pages I present my observations of the linguistic character of the poetical or literary language in connexion with a study of the fourth chapter of Vedeha's *Sidatsangarāva*, omitting only those parts of his grammar which are not concerned with morphology but with syntax.

As to the inflexion of nouns in the poetical language Vedeha states as follows:—

Sūtra 26: "The first case (*i.e.*, the nominative or direct case) is employed when nothing special is to be expressed and when an *utu*-construction<sup>2</sup> is given. In the singular (the endings) are *-ē* and *-ā*, in the plural *-ō* and *-hu*."<sup>3</sup>

I think *W. Geiger* is right in seeing a Magadhimism in the ending *-ē*, which in the older language very often appears as *-e*.<sup>4</sup> In later poetry this ending went out of use. This *-e* is added to the stems of nouns which are derived either from masculine or neuter nouns in Sanskrit. In words of two syllables, if both of them contain the short vowel *-a*, vowel-levelling is achieved, thus *a-a > e*.<sup>5</sup> These forms in *-e* are ambiguous because *-e* is also the ending of the locative case. *denē* KSiI 173, 352 "people" (Sk.P. *jana*); *nelē* KSiI 428 "wind" (Sk.P. *anila*); *dene* KSiI 129, 145, Muv 24 "people", *dū-dene* KSiI 132, 170, 225 "messengers" (Sk.P. *dūta-jana*); metathesis of the members of a compound is not infrequent: *dene-dū* KSiI 167, 223. Examples for nouns from Sk. neuter stems are *venē* KSiI 431, 435 "wood" (Sk. P. *vana*; in verse 452 it is the locative case); *rede* Muv 22 "dust" (Sk. *rajas*); in DhpaGp. 80 *ine nam* is the translation of *ṛnam nāma*.

This ending *-e* is never used when preceded by *-j-* or by a conjunct consonant containing the half-nasal *n*. In these cases either the stem form or the form in *-ā* is used: *sanda* Muv. 26 "moon" (Sk. *candra*); *meraja* Muv 113 "beam" (Sk. P. *marici*); *mē-gajā* KSiI 440 "the cloud as an elephant" (Sk. P. *megha-gaja*).

The ending *-ā* is comparatively seldom used in the literary language. It is, as *W. Geiger* has pointed out, the termination of the oblique case "used for the direct case to distinguish it from the stem form."<sup>6</sup> *e nara-varā* KSiI 205 "this (king), the best among men"; *Kusā himiyā* KSiI 392 "King Kuśa"; *lo-pallā* KSiI 475 "the protector of the earth" (Sk. *loka-pālaka*).



Fallacious are *valā* KSil 439 "cloud" and *samā* KSil 416 "time", both of them are the stem form used for the direct case: Sk. *valāha* > \**valāa* > \**valaa* > *valā* and *samaya* > \**samaa* > *samā*. Nevertheless this final *-ā* was conceived as the ending of the direct case, as if the stem was \**val(a)*, so that by using the ending *-e* with following vowel-levelling such forms as *gana-velē* Muv 136 "a thick cloud" (Sk. *ghana-valāha*) and *gaja-kula-velē* Sas 30 "the cloud like a herd of elephants" resulted.

Although in later poetry forms of the direct case in *-ā* are very frequent and replace the archaism in *-e* there must be made a distinction between the ending *-ā* and an enlargement *-ā* due to rhyme. Whether this final *-ā* is an ending or merely an enlargement is generally to be known from the predicate. If this is in the plural, *-ā* is an enlargement, the stem form being used for the plural. TisS 23:

*dig'ā vadana men gugurati gaja-turangā*  
*rangā pa-pā yeti eli bolānda komal' angā*  
*langā pavati mānda nala suvanda peramangā*  
*mangā satosa laba suba nimiti manarangā*

"Elephants are trumpeting and horses neighing as if they wanted to wish you a long life; young and tender women are walking to and fro displaying their beauty; a fragrant and soft wind is blowing near (you) in front of your path; look at these splendid auspicious omens and be glad of them."

Here *gugurati* is the 3 pers. pl. of the verb *guguranu*, and therefore *gaja-turangā* stands for *gaja-turanga*; it is the same with *yeti eli* from *yanu* and *enu*, so that *komal' angā* stands for *komal' anga* (Sk. *komalānga* "having a tender body"). But *pavati* is 3 pers. sg. of the verb *pavatīnu* (Sk. *pra-ṛt*), and therefore *nala* remains unchanged.

The ending *-hu* of the plural, a shortened form of *-ahu* due to the elision of *-a*,<sup>7</sup> is not very frequent. The elision of the vowel *-a* took place originally after a heavy syllable, i.e., after a syllable ending in a mute consonant preceded by a short vowel. Later on this shortened form *-hu* was added to stems ending in a vowel. *pīlipanhu* KSil 359 "they arrived" (Sk. *pratipanna*); *duṭukhu* Muv 80 "they saw" (Sk. *dr̥ṣṭa*); *pirisuduhadu* Muv 2 "although they are very pure" (Sk. *pari-suddha*). In *evuhu* KSil 153 "they" *-u* is a *svarabhakti*-vowel.

The ending *-ō*, being a contraction of *-ahu*, is the usual one in the poetical language. *bamuṇō* KSil 125 "the Brahmins" (Sk. *brāhmaṇa*, stem form in Sinh. *bamuṇu*); *vana-dev-dū-lyō* KSil 159 "the daughters of the forest deities" (Sk. *vanadevaduhyitrlatā*); *denō* KSil 407 "people" (Sk. *P. jana*, the *-e* in the first syllable is due to the direct case of the singular: *denē*); but *su-danō* ParvS 3 "good people". As is the case with *-ē* the vowel *-ō* may be shortened, if the metre requires it: *muvo* Muv 160 "deer" (Sk. *mrga*); *lyō* Sas 110. TisS 34 "Women" (Sk. *P. latā*); *miyul-angano* Sas 200 "the female deer" (from a Prakritic \**migalla* and *anganā*).

It is interesting to note that Vedeha has nothing to say of the ending *-a* with nouns denoting inanimate objects.<sup>8</sup> This shows that at Vedeha's time the distinction between animate and inanimate objects did not yet



prevail, and this fact is also borne out by the older literature. Therefore Vedeha was also right in asserting that Old-Sinhalese had only two genders *viz.*, masculine and feminine. In all those cases where a noun is ending in *-a*, be it a noun of the feminine gender or be it a noun denoting an inanimate object, this *-a* is either the remnant of the *ka*-suffix or it is the final vowel of bisyllabic stems of the type— which remained unaltered in Sinhalese. The remnant of the *ka*-suffix is met with in *balā-rāsa* KSil 439 “a flock of swans” (Sk. *balāka-rāśikā*) beside the simple *rās* without the *ka*-suffix in *dū-rās* KSil 194 “the crowd of the messengers” (Sk. *dūta-rāśi*); *nisakata* Muv 84 “the lady-like night” (Sk. *niśākāntā*)<sup>9</sup> beside *mihikat* Sas 275 “the lady-like earth” (Sk. *mahikāntā*); *haspela* Muv 129 “a line of swans” beside *hasa-pela* Sas 86 in a compound; in *kaḷaḥasa* Muv 56 “dark swan” the *ka*-suffix is used for forming a feminine noun (Sk. *kālahamsikā*).

At the end of his rule Vedeha states that *-y-* or *-v-* may be inserted before the ending.<sup>10</sup> This insertion takes place only if the final vowel of a stem is the rest of the *ka*-suffix, as in *kumaruwō* HarisS 48 “the princes” (Sk.P. *\*kumāraka*); *sidambuwō* Muv 144 “the women of the Siddhas” (Sk.P. *siddha-ambikā*). If the vowel at the end of a stem is an auxiliary vowel it is elided before the ending, as in *bamunō* KSil 125 “the Brahmins” (stem form *bamunu*). In the case of the *ka*-suffix regressive assimilation may take place; *āmāttō* Muv 120 “the counsellors” (Sk. *\*amātyaka*); *lo-pallā* KSil 475 “the protector of the earth” (Sk. *loka-pālaka*).

Sūtra 27 : “Something that is connected with the action of the agent is called accusative case. In the singular it employs *-a*, *-u*, *-ā*, *-hu*, and *-ta* (as endings), in the plural *-un*, *-na*, *-āna*, *-n*, *-naṭa*, and *-an*.”<sup>11</sup>

Properly speaking *-ta* and *-naṭa* are not the endings of the accusative case but those of the dative case. The examples given by Vedeha show that forms in *-ta* are used with verbs denoting a movement in a certain direction.<sup>12</sup> The authors of poetical works, however, have not always kept to this rule. Thus with the verb *vaḍinu* “to go” both the accusative case and the dative case are used in the same work. HarisS 17: *vuhutu haya-senanga-kura-ron vāda* “having been engulfed (lit.: entered into) the dust raised by the hoofs of the horse troops”, and HarisS 51: *yudamādāta vāda* “having rushed into the midst of the battle.”

As regards the endings Vedeha has misunderstood *-u*. This is by no means an ending but the auxiliary vowel of the stem form. It is quite common in the older language that the stem form is used for any case.

The ending *-a*, postulated by Vedeha, is to be derived from different linguistic materials. In the example given by the author this ending ought to have been described as *-iṭa*, because it is derived from Middle-Ind. *-iṭā* of feminine stems in *-ī*<sup>13</sup>: *miṭa* — P. *mahiṭā*. *satāviliya* Muv 45 “heat” (Middle-Ind. *samtāpa* — *iṭulla*) from *satāvuli* Sas 56. The ending *-a* from *-āya* through *-aya*, *-ā*, as postulated by W. Geiger and which in its form *-aya* was still existing in the language of the oldest cave inscriptions, has disappeared at the end of the Proto Sinhalese period. In the literary language stems in *-a* have the oblique case in *a*, *i.e.*, the stem form is used for all cases. In the modern language, however, there



is an ending *-a* for the nominative and accusative case of the singular with nouns denoting inanimate objects, and here *-a* corresponds to Old- and Middle-Indian *-am*.<sup>14</sup> But it is to be borne in mind that this fact does not hold good for the older language, because in it there was only distinguished between masculine and feminine nouns. A noun denoting an inanimate object was inflected like a noun denoting an animate object: *at-giri-talā pat* Muv 61 "came to the surface of the western mountain" (Sk. *asta-giri-talam prāpta*, P. *atthagiritalam patta*), while the stem form is used in an inscription: *gal-tala aray* EpZ I 64 "having mounted the surface of the rock."<sup>15</sup> In Muv 72 *nubatalā* "the surface of the sky" (Sk. *nabhas-*) is the nominative case, inflected like a noun of the class of animate objects. Therefore several lines of development for this final *-a* are to be assumed.

(1) In bisyllabic stems of the type  $\sim \sim$  the vowel could remain owing to the accent, as e.g. *phala* > *pala*, *bhaya* > *biya*, etc. In this case *-a* is the final vowel of the stem.

(2) Very often *-a* is the rest of the *ka*-suffix. Already in early Sinhalese there was a tendency to form bisyllabic stems of monosyllabic stems by adding the *ka*-suffix, *rās*; *rāsa* (Sk. *rāsi*) *at*: *ata* (Sk. P. *anta*), etc. Here, too, *-a* is the final vowel of the enlarged stem.

(3) Sometimes *-a* is the auxiliary vowel interchanging with *-u*. Whether *-a* or *-u* is used depends upon the preceding or following words. If these abound in *-u*, the auxiliary vowel will also be *-u*. Thus we find in older Sinhalese a strongly developed tendency towards vowel-harmony. Two examples from the Sas will show this:

Sas 85: *genā tara-koṭa anduru bindutu gasā rasatin*  
*hisunu anduru-sunu-van sasalē sarā-sandehi*

"The hare-like stroke in the disk of the autumnal moon, having firmly grasped the darkness and shaking and scattering it with the hand like beams, looked like scattered dark powder." Here the abundance of the vowel *u* is remarkable.

Sas 34: *gana andura vidunā mini-toraṇa-tara e purē*  
*vaḷaba-gini-siḷu-siya van dalanidu-toy-at dākvi*

"The splendour of the door post be set with jewels, dispersing the deep darkness, presented the view of the interior of the ocean with hundreds of flames of the submarine fire, in this town." Here the vowel *a* is prevalent.

(4) In modern Sinhalese, which is strongly under the influence of Sanskrit and in which a change in the conception of gender took place, the Middle-Indian ending *-am* adopted to Sinhalese phonetic rules is added to the stem. That this *-a* is here a real ending is to be seen from the inflexion of the nouns, because this *-a* is added to the rest of the *ka*-suffix, which does not disappear before the ending as the case with the auxiliary vowel. Thus we have *tunu-v-a* "body" (Sk. P. *tanu*, \**tanuka* instead of *tuna*); *vili-y-a* "wrinkle" (Sk. P. *vali*, \**valika*).

The ending *-ā*, derived by W. Geiger from the genitive ending *-āha* in Māgadhi and *-aha* in Apabhraṃśa,<sup>16</sup> is already met with in the older language, in later prose it has become the very ending of the accusative



case. The correctness of *W. Geiger's* derivation is proved beyond doubt by the use of such forms in *-ā* for the genitive case. *Vedeha*, too, gives the endings of the accusative case as those of the genitive case. The old form of the genitive case, which later on became a sort *casus indefinitus*, has thus been preserved in certain connexions. We might even take genitive constructions as pseudo-compounds. If possible, regressive assimilation may take place. In KSiI 475 we have two forms in *-ā*, the one is the nominative case, the other the accusative case:

*amatā pura-piyan pā nan uyan-āsiri* (In *pā*, *ā* is long)  
*e-tara uyan-pallā kefe tutu ē lo-pallā*

"Having invited the women of the town and having shown them the manifold beauty of the park this protector of the earth (*lo-pallā*) delighted the keeper of the park (*uyan-pallā*) at that very moment."

The ending *-hu* for the accusative case is wanting in *W. Geiger's* grammar. This *-hu*, too, is to be derived from the ending of the genitive case. According to *R. Pischel*<sup>17</sup> the most usual ending for the genitive case in Apabhramśa is *-hō*. This ending could remain after the Proto-Sinhalese period, and later on became *-hu*. Forms in *-hu* are very archaic and even in the older literature not very frequent. Sometimes later poetry takes up this archaism, S in ParvS 82 *himihu* "the lord" (Sk. *svāmin*). Examples from the older literature are: *dalaniduhu dakvannā* KSiI 137 "the town" which presented the view of an ocean" (Sk. *P. jalanidhi*), *sisihi* Muv 81 "the moon" (Sk. *śaśin*).

Both the endings *-an* and *-un* are derived from the termination *-ānām* (P. Pkr. *-ānām*) of the genitive case, and as *W. Geiger* has pointed out, "the two suffixes were distributed, so that the ending *-un* occurs in the inflexion of those stems which have *-(a)hu* in the pl. dir. case, *-an* in the inflexion of those stems which have *-ō* in the pl. dir. case."<sup>18</sup> *āmātiyan* KSiI 465 "the counsellors" (Sk. *\* amātyaka*); *pura-piyan* KSiI 475 "the women of the town" (Sk. *pura-priyā*); *tana-hasun* KSiI 324 "the swan-like breasts" (Sk. *stana-hamsa*); *viyatun* ParvS 176 "experienced people" (Sk. *vyakta*); *bujangun* Muv 163 "serpents" (Sk. *P. bhujaṅga*).

The suffix *-n*, taught by *Vedeha*, is, of course, no proper ending, but the rest of Middle-Indian *-ānām*; *ānā*. *Vedeha* has been deceived by the fact that bisyllabic stems in *-a* as well as those stems with *-a* as the rest of the *ka*-suffix form the accusative case by *-an*. Stems in *-u*, this *-u* being either the auxiliary vowel or the *ka*-suffix, have the pl. acc. case in *-un*, and stems in *-i* have it in *-in*, this *-in* being derived from the termination *-īnām*. Owing to such forms as *dana*: (*salelu*)-*danan* Muv 20 "enamoured young men", *kumudu*: (*net*)-*kumudun* KSiI 154 "the lotus-like eyes", *sisi*: (*uvan*)-*sisin* Muv 14 "the moon-like faces", etc., *Vedeha* was induced to see an ending *-n*.

From the pl. obl. (acc.) case again is to be seen that the distinction between nouns denoting animate objects and nouns denoting inanimate objects did not exist in older Sinhalese. While in modern Sinhalese nouns denoting inanimate objects form the plural by *vala*, in the literary language these nouns have the same inflexion as those denoting animate objects *risi-vatun* Sas 22 "things which you like" (Sk. *vastu* P. *vattu*); *nē* (*nan*) *vatun* Sas 50, 140, 163 "many things"; *ratu vatun* Sas 118 "red



clothes" (Sk. *rakta vastra*, the -u in *ratu* is a *svarabhakti*-vowel); *ne māl-idāli* Sas 137 "many bunches of flowers" (Sk. *añjali*); *nan kusuman āra* Sas 159 "having gathered many flowers" (Sk.P. *kusuma*); *piyuman dāhā* Sas 169 "having cast away the lotus flowers" (Sk. *paduma*).

The ending -na is not recorded in *W. Geiger's* grammar. This, too, is the rest of the genitive termination -*ānam*. In Sinhalese Prākṛit -*ana* stands for -*ānam*, -*ānā*. In the same way as the -a- in -*ahu* was dropped after a heavy syllable, so also the -a- in -*ana* could be dropped, if this ending was preceded by a heavy syllable. *giriraja..... suvahasna hangavannā* KSil 140 "creating the appearance of thousands of mountains"; *indu-sāv-suvahasna* KSil 146 "thousands of rainbows"; *piḷimalna* KovS 182 "enemies" (Sk. *prati-malla*, stem form in Sinh. *piḷimal*).

Most difficult to explain is the ending -*āna*. Though this suffix, too, corresponds to Middle-Indian -*ānam* it is quite impossible that the long vowel could have remained after the time of Sinhalese Prākṛit. The only way I see to explain this form, is to adopt Vedeha's opinion, viz., that this long -*ā*- is due to a mere lengthening (*vādi*).<sup>19</sup> Such forms in -*āna* occur in all periods of the literary language. KSil 124:

*Kusā gihi-geyi sarāna tāt karāna menen*  
*ihi māti-varāna maturu-kaḷa guru-varāna me saga*

"This is the song (in which is described) how the parents consulted with the counsellors with in intention that Kuśa might live the life of a householder."

Tis 115—116:

*bata gangulāli-peḷāna pāhādulāna*  
*digu tunga giri-kulāna vilas alāna*  
*babalana daḷa daḷāna mada-gaḷāna*  
*daku mata gaja-raḷāna vana-gaḷāna*

*giri-hisa piḷ ambalāna siki-naḷāna*  
*pipi mā-ruku-peḷāna biṅg' uḍulāna*  
*rāv dena valikulāna vilikulāna*  
*bala miyurambā-doḷāna muva-raḷāna*

"In the forests look at the herds of rutting elephants, from whose (foreheads) the rut is streaming down and whose radiant tusks have the beauty of large high mountain peaks with sparkling waterfalls rushing down.

"Look at the dancer-like peacocks spreading their tails on the top of the mountain, at the blossoming *nālikera*-trees glittering with bees, at the crowing wood cocks and water fowls, at the flock of deer near the rivulets with sweet water." <sup>20</sup>

Sūtra 28: "He who performs an action, whether or no he be charged with it is (called) the agent. In both numbers (this case) employs the same (endings) as those of the accusative, with the exception of -*ṭa* and -*naṭa*." <sup>21</sup>



What has been said in the explanation of the endings of the accusative case holds good for this case, too. But above all, Vedeha did not see that this case is not so much a problem of morphology but of syntax and composition. In all examples given by Vedeha this case is used where we should have a relative or temporal clause. Due to the loss of the relative pronoun in Sinhalese a relative clause is expressed by a participle construction. The subject of the clause appears either in the stem form or in the oblique case, the whole clause thus being more or less a compound. A few examples showing the different "endings" will be sufficient.

(1) The subject in the stem form:

KSil 140: *giriraja lagana hira-saṇḍa suvahasna haṅgavannē* representing thousands of mountains on which sun and moon are "hanging". KSil 273: *davakata saṇḍ' aga vadanā saṇḍā visulū mut' hara men* "like unto a pearl necklace which the lady-like brightness of the day had torn and scattered when entering the fire of the evening clouds" Muv 13: *pura-yōnan uvan-nuvan-pilibimbu diṣṇā minikāta-bit* "the wall beset with jewels, on which the reflection of the face and of the eyes of the beautiful women in the town appeared."

(2) the subject in the obl. case:

Muv 65: *vihirū diva-isi-gaṇā dala-biṇḍu men* "like drops of water sprinkled by the crowd of the heavenly ṛṣis".

KSil 138: *isiḥu silil lūla siyal-ruvan-akara dura-lannā* "surpassing all the jewel mines (appearing) when the sage Agastya had drunk the water (of the ocean)".

KSil 404: *gimanhu pān-somī bon saha-oḍama-lāṭi tāṭu ev* "Like unto a cup together with the tray, from which the heat of summer had drunk the cool water".

KSil 192: *mā-piyan piyadū dū-danan ada himiyā*  
*sīdoraḥi rāṇḍiyā bāv pīlihārī e-tara dānvū*

"At that moment the door keeper announced the fact that the messengers which the parents of the lord had sent, had come and were waiting at the lion gate."

KSil 500: *sura-sidu-kalun lū nuvan-pāhān ada-van-vū* "charming by the bright splendour of their eyes, which the women of the gods and Siddhas spread".

In the above examples the stem form or the obl. case was used in connexion with a perfect participle (except KSil 140), but the same construction holds good for the present participle. Under the influence of the teachings of the grammarians in this case the present participle is considered a passive form. The commentaries always explain the stem form or the oblique case by *visin* with the agent.

(1) subject in the stem form:

ParvS 144: *vāndina lov-āduru munindā.....salu-dā* "the relic of the robe of the prince of sages, whom the teacher of the world honoured". The commentary has *Brahmayā visin* "by Brahmā". for *lov-āduru*



(2) subject in the oblique case:

KovS 273: *anganan dena ranga ranga dula* "having looked at the mode of the dance which the women performed".

The commentary again has *kāntāvan visin* for *anganan* "By the women". Thus following the commentaries we had to translate: "who was honoured by the teacher of the world" and "which was performed by the women".

Sūtra 29: "What is very useful to the success of an action by the agent is called *karaṇa* (instrumental case). (The endings are) *-in*, *-en*, *-nen*, (all of them with or without *-i*), *-ni* also (may be used). In both numbers the same endings are used".<sup>22</sup>

The endings *-in* and *-en*, attached only to nouns denoting inanimate objects, are undoubtedly derived from Old- and Middle-Indian *-ena*.<sup>23</sup> The ending *-nen*, too, is, as was pointed out by *W. Geiger*, an analogous formation to *-ena*.<sup>24</sup> Forms in *-i* are frequently met with in the later poetry due to rhyme. In the older poetry they are often used in order to achieve the necessary number of moras in a verse line.

The ending *-ni* is also to be derived from Old- and Middle-Ind. *-ena*. Originally it was used after a heavy syllable, as was the case with *-in*. Due to the strongly marked accent elision of the first *-i* took place. During the time of the mediaeval inscriptions (8th—12th cent.) the two types of *-in* and *-en* were already confounded, therefore *-ni*, too, may be used after a light syllable. In nouns of two short syllables with short a vowel-levelling is achieved.

(1) *-in*: *satosin* KSil 129: 130 "with pleasure"; *niya-rāsin* KSil 206 "with the rays of their nails".

(2) *-en*: *mudunen* KSil 125 "with the head"; *tambara-venen* KSil 187 "by a wood of lotus flowers".<sup>25</sup>

(3) *-nen*: This ending is very frequently met with in older poetry, later poetry employs it more rarely as an archaism. *rūnen* KSil 126 "with the statue"; *niya-rāsnen* KSil 227 "with the rays of their nails". *bingurāvnen* KSil 268 "With the humming of the bees":

In Sas 110: *kokumannen* "with the sandal paste" this ending *-nen* is attached to the oblique case instead of to the stem form.

(4) *-ini*: The endings with a final vowel are most frequently met with in later poetry, in the older literature they are used sporadically. *piya-basini* KSil 168 "with friendly words"; *vana-sovini* KSil 268 "under the grief of separation"; *lobini* Muv 5 "from a desire"; *pā-rāsini* TisS 7 "by the multitude of palaces"; *vatini* TisS 11 "with the face".

(5) *-eni*: *veḷaleni* KSil 137 "by the river bank"; *piyayureni* Muv 59 "with their breasts"; *tarangayeni* HarisS 79 "by the flood"; *gigumeni* TisS 102 "by the shouting".



(6) *-neni*: *daḷa-raḷa-atneni* Sas 287 "with the hands like fierce waves"; *sandās-pilneni* KSeKh VI, 1 "by the tail of the peacock (or: by the richness of the moon light)".

(7) *-ni*: This ending is very frequent in the older literature, while in later poetry it is rarely met with. Originally restricted to stems ending in a consonant this ending was also used with stems ending in a vowel at an early period. *gigumni* KSil 137 "by the shouting"; *gaja-nāvni* KSil 357 "by the elephant-like ship"; *ihil vasanatni* KSil 361 "with the loose dress"; *rasnī* Muv 12 "by the ray"; *asi-patni* Muv 42 "by the blade of the sword".

Stems ending in a vowel: *viduni* Muv 158 "by the lightning", *pilibimbuni* KSil 179 "by the image"; *mī-podani* KSil 473 "with drops of honey"; *piyavurunī* KSil 509 "with the breast".<sup>26</sup>

The instrumental case of stems ending in *-i* is formed by *-in* (*-ini*). Thus *tunu-sirin* KSi 1184 "with the beauty of the body"; *tunu-sirini* Muv 153. It might be concluded that the ending is not *-in* but *-ni*. I do not think that this supposition is valid, because in these cases a light syllable is preceding the ending, in which case the ending *-ni* cannot be used.

The instrumental case in *-in* from stems ending in *-i* was the cause that also from stems ending in another vowel than *-i* the instrumental case was formed by attaching *-n* simply. Thus it seems as if the oblique case of the plural was used for the instrumental case. But parallel passages show that such forms in *-n* are to be understood as the instrumental case.

Muv 24 *-in*: *pura-ambuwan uvan-sisin udul ē pura-nubē*  
*dene dat somi sarā-sanda-sasa-lē-sanin tora-koṭa*

"Under the impression that it is the hare-like sign in the charming moon above in the sky of the town, illuminated by the splendour of the moon-like faces of the women in the town, people very often awaked."

Muv 58: *-an*: *nāgī bāsa bamanā bamara-kālan avala vimal*  
*supul piyum-ilu bābālī saha-dum dum-kehell'ev*

"The masses of the pure blossoming lotus flowers, surrounded by the lines of bees flowing up and down, looked like a smoking fire."

Muv 71 *-ān*: *paḷa kālum alu sasale pun-sanda-maṇḍale-kalhi*  
*biḷi muhudōrē dun pāhān ada sevel-haraṇen*

"At that time the hare-like stroke shining in the sparkling splendour of the disk of the full-moon was resplendent like moss born in the womb of the ocean moist with glamour."

Sas 46 *-an*: *muvarandavalan avala nala-lola-palu uyan-turu*  
*surasāv vidukālan banda mahamē men gim-eḍi māḍi*

"The trees of the park with branches moving in the wind and overstrewn by pollens destroyed the pride of the summer heat like a large cloud to which a rainbow and a multitude of lightnings were clinging."



But from Muv 158 we gather that in these cases just mentioned the instrumental case is meant:

*ran-liya-vidun avul gal-velehenī sasalā*  
*no-hinī rudu mihindu-sena meden ada daḍāt mudunē*

"The great lion-like thunderbolt intermixed with the gold creeper-like lightnings and the mountain-like clouds did not fall upon the head of the wild and fierce elephants moist with rut."

Sūtra 30: "He who receives a gift and that which belongs to *piṇisa* "for the sake of, for", is called the dative case. In the singular *-hata*, in the plural *-anata* (is its ending). If *-ta* is wanting (the endings of the) accusative case are used), to which *-ta* is added".<sup>27</sup>

The development of the ending for the dative case has been shown by W. Geiger.<sup>28</sup> As in other cases Vedeha did not see that the ending is added to the stem form or to the oblique case.

(1) *-ta* (*-ata*): *mihi-vamiyaṭa* KSil 154 "to the lady-like earth"; *kāt-kulaṭa* KSil 195 "to the family of the Kṣatriya caste"; *muninduṭa* HarisS 74 "to the prince of the sages".

(2) *-hata*: This ending is most frequently met with in the older literature. It is added either to the stem form or to the oblique case.

(a) the ending added to the stem form:

*dana-birinduhata* KSil 139 "to men and women" (the singular used as a collective noun); *madahata*.....*danahata* KSil 245 "to the god of love.....to the people"; *rajahata* KSil 298 "to the king"; *gana-kalhata* KSil 411 "to the rainy season"; *puṭ' hata* KSil 125 "to the son"; *pun-sisi-bimbuhata* TisS 113 "to the disk of the full moon".

(b) the ending added to the oblique case:

*sipihuhata* KSil 100 "to the artist"; *danāhata* TisS 57 "to the people".

(c) the ending added to the infinitive, ending in *-nu*, being the stem form of a noun:

*lovaṭa pihita vanuhata* HarisS 61 "in order to become a support for the world".

In the plural the ending *-ta* or *-ata* is used in all periods of the linguistic development.

*miyurunata* KSil 155 "to the peacocks"; *viyovambuwanata* Muv 55 "to the women separated from their husbands"; *muva-pollanata* Muv 157 "to the young of the deer"; *siyotunata* ParvS 96 "to the birds"; *himin-ambuvanta* Sas 226 "to the married people".

The ending *-hata* is also used with the oblique case of the plural, as e.g. in *nagaram-situ-tumanhata* MayS 158 "to the Lord-Mayors"; *tadagunanhata* ParvS 157 "to those who are endowed with great virtues"; *yatinḍunhata* KovS 36 "to the best among the ascetics"; *dananhata*



HaṃsS 156 "to the people". But these forms occur mostly in later literature.

The ending *-nata*, i.e. the oblique case in *-na* to which is added the dative ending *-ta*, is met with only in the older literature. *dūnata* KSil 122 "to the messengers"; *kal-kalnata* KSil 265 "to the lovely lovers"; *kalnata* KSil 478 "to the beloved women"; *supaknata* Muv 39 "to the friends".

Sūtra 31: "What forms a limit to the continuation of a thing is called *avadi* (ablative case). (The endings are those of the) instrumental case as well as those of the accusative case to which *-gen* is added, excepted are the forms of the accusative case with *-ta* and *-nata*".<sup>29</sup>

The endings of the ablative case, identical with those of the instrumental case, are added only to nouns denoting inanimate objects.<sup>30</sup> What has been said of the instrumental case and its endings holds good for the ablative case, too.

The forms in *-gen* are mostly restricted to nouns denoting animate objects. This *-gen* is added either to the stem form or to the oblique case.

(1) *-in*, *-en* with nouns denoting inanimate objects:

*Kalugangin e-tera* ParvS 61 "on to the other shore of the Kalugaṅga river"; *me puren gos* HaṃsS 7 "having gone from this city".<sup>31</sup>

(2) *-gen* with nouns denoting animate objects:

*āsuva labayi sura-āduran-gen-ut tuti* HaṃsS 194 "having heard (their words) he is praised even by the teacher of the gods"; *pāhāsara ruv-āti vara anganan-gen nu-mutu* TisS 99 "not deficient in charming women of radiant bodily beauty".

Sūtra 32: "The genitive case is used for differentiating objects related to each other. (The endings) are the same as all those of the dative and accusative case, to which *-gē* may be added".<sup>32</sup>

Vedeha teaches three different categories of forms of the genitive case, of which one is identical with the dative case. In this case we have not to deal with a morphological problem but with a syntactical and psychological one. It would be interesting to find out why the dative case is considered as the genitive case.

As regards those forms, which are identical with the accusative case according to the grammarian, Vedeha again did not see that these are either the stem form or the oblique case, historically derived from the Old- and Middle-Ind. genitive case in *-ānām*, *-ānam*.

The genitive-affix *-gē* is, properly speaking, the locative case of Sk. P. Pk. *geha*, i.e. *gehe* "in the house of". This affix, already met with in the 9th century, is added to the stem form as well as to the oblique case of a noun. In classical poetry it is not very frequent, its use being more restricted to the modern language and to prose.



As regards those forms without *-gē* we have either the stem form or the oblique case. When the stem form is used we have a simple *tatpuruṣa*-compound. The position of the single members of such a compound is rather free. This slackening of the laws of forming a compound is the direct continuation of a process beginning in the Middle-Indian period.

In those cases where the oblique case is used for the genitive case this obl. case has preserved its old meaning, because it has developed from the Old- and Middle-Ind. genitive case. When later on this oblique case obtains the affix *-gē* we have a circumscription of the genitive case, a fact known from later Sanskrit also.

(1) Forms in *-gē* are met with in the poetry of the 14th century onward. For metrical reasons this *-gē* may be shortened to *-ge*.

(a) stem form and *-ge* :

*me nirinduge* ParvS 31 "of this king"; *surā-rajū-ge* ParvS 185 "of the king of gods"; *rajugē* HarisS 33 "of the king".

(b) oblique case and *-gē*. In the plural the oblique case is always used before *-ge*:

*madahuge* TisS 171 "of the god of love"; *anganange* ParvS 128 "of the women"; *āduraṅgē* HarisS 185 "of the teachers"; *anganangē* HarisS 107 "of the women".

(2) The oblique case as genitive.

(a) Singular :

*madinduhu dū* KSil 171 "the daughter of the king of Madra"; *manā rāṇḍavī naravarā* KSil 263 "delighted the heart of the king"; *sisiḥṇu sasālē* Muv 19 "the hare-like stroke of the moon"; *niṣayurā sasālē* *hun vilas pā* Muv 37 "revealed the beauty of the moon from which the hare-like stroke had disappeared". *maran'āl'hu a'hi* Muv 118 "on the trunk of the death-like elephant".

(b) Plural :

*mahatun pin* KSil 134 "the virtues of great beings"; *rupun ambuwan ās* Muv 35 "the eyes of the women of the enemies"; *pura-yōnan bāma-sāvhi* KSil 143 "on the bow-like brows of the women of the town"; *sudanān guṇa* TisS 64 "the virtues of good people"; *hayan kura-ron* MayS 7 "the dust (raising from) the hoofs of the horses".

The archaic ending *-na* of the oblique case is found in *surakalna vat* KSil 188 "the faces of the women of the gods"; *piripatna yasa* KSil 330 "the fame of the adversaries"; *surakalna piyō* KSil 358 "the efforts of the women of the gods".

In later poetry the oblique case of the plural may be enlarged by *-a*. *hāru-ralāna.....kopul-piṭa* TisS 103 "on the cheeks of the crowds of pigs"; *nada sālalihinīyana* KovS 5 "the cry of the Maina birds"; *sīdambuwana.....pada* KovS 210 "on the feet of the women of the Siddhas".



Stems in *-i* form the pl. obl. case in *-in* :

Sas 116 : *dāka himin ālkalata lotmal ihilat-no-ma-vana*  
*kal hānga tosin kal-salakuṇṇu vanev simbi kal*

" Having seen the flower of the Lodh tree like a sign for the approach of the cold season the women remembering the time (of the embraces by their husbands) kissed (their lords) enrapturedly, so that the embracing hands of their lords might not slacken ").<sup>33</sup>

Sūtra 33 : " What is carrying the action of the agent or of the instrument is called *adara* (locative case). In the singular (the endings are) *-ehi*, *-ē*, *-hi*, *-ā*, in the plural *-anhi*.<sup>34</sup>

The ending *-ē* very often appears as *-ē* mostly in the older poetry. As is the case with the nominative case this *-ē* achieves vowel-levelling in bisyllabic stems with short *a* in each syllable. This ending *-ē* is a contraction of *-ehi*, probably derived from the loc. of *-as-stems*. The ending *-ā* is according to *W. Geiger* nothing but a phonetic spelling of short *-e*.<sup>35</sup> The ending *-hi*, due to an elision of short *e*, was originally restricted to consonantic stems, i.e. stems ending in a heavy syllable. Later on it was also used with nouns ending in a vowel.

The ending *-anhi* is a hybrid formation. It is, of course, *-hi* added to the oblique case of the plural. With the exception of the example given by *Vedeha* and with Sas 64 : *veheranhi* " within the vihāras " I have not met this form elsewhere.

(1) forms in *-hi* :

*levhi* KSil 134 " in the world " ; *gab'hi* KSil 239 " in the womb " ;  
*mahavēhi* KSil 128 " on the main road " ; *tunuhi* Muv 215 " on the body " ;  
*kumuduhi* Muv 87 " in the lotus " .

(2) forms in *-ā*. Such forms are very frequent in the older literature. In later poetry they are more or less an archaism.

*vadan-magā* KSil 135 " on the tongue " ; *hatā* KSil 164 " on the hand " ;  
*iśā* Muv 6 " on the head " ; *mudunā* ParvS 8 " on the head " ; *vilā*  
*KovS* 38 " in the pond " ; *siṭā* HarṇS 76 " in the heart " .

(3) forms in *-ā* and *-ehi* are found in all periods! of the language. In later poetry they replace the older ones in *-hi* and *-ā*.

*puravere* KSil 129 " in the beautiful town " ; *puraverē* Muv 13 ; 33.  
*mudune* KSil 132 " on the head " ; *nuba-talā* KSil 273 " on the surface of the sky " ; *mene* KSil 156 ; *menchi* Mav 5 " in the mind " ; *nubaturē*  
*ParvS* 50 " in the sky " ; *sandahi* ParvS 2 " at that time " .

(4) The ending *-a* postulated by *W. Geiger*<sup>36</sup> for the modern language and omitted by *Vedeha*, begins a very late date. As no critical editions of the earlier Sinhalese texts are existing it is impossible to say whether locative forms in *-a* belong also to the early texts. I have met such forms only in Muv 37 : *dasanudesā* (the same form also in Sas 60) " in the different regions and sub-regions " and in Sas 129, 284 *hisa* " on the head " . As far as I can see the ending *-a* is the ending of the oblique case or the stem form which may be used for almost any case. In the *Sandēsa* poetry locative forms in *-a* occur very often :



*me pura* KovS 16 "in this town"; *guvanata* KovS 37 "in the sky"; *pipipiyum-hisa* HaṃsS 3 "on the top of the blossoming lotus"; *ge-dingu-vila* ParvS 7 "on the large lake near the house".

In the plural the locative case is formed by *-vala*:<sup>37</sup>

*āl-ket-vala* KovS 50 "on the rice fields"; *salpīlundu-vala* TisS 50 "on the displayed goods of the bazaars".

Sūtra 34: "Calling someone into one's presence is called *alap* (vocative case). In the singular (the endings are) *-ā, -a, -ā*, in the plural *-in, -en, -nen*, to which *-i* may be added. *-nī*, too, (is an ending of the vocative case)"<sup>38</sup>

For the development of the endings of the vocative case *W. Geiger's* remarks are to be looked up.<sup>39</sup> There it is stated that *-i* is added to the obl. case in *-un* and *-an*. By umlaut *-a-* is changed to *-e*. Instead of *-i* the vowel *-ē* may be used, which then is shortened to *-e* or *-ā*. The ending *-nen* is derived from the rare ending of the oblique case in *-nan* through *\*-nani > \*-neni—\*-nen*. The ending *-nī* is due to an elision of the vowel *-a/e*. The ending *-in* (*-ini*) is interesting. As was pointed out by *W. Geiger*,<sup>40</sup> (the pronunciation of *i* as well as of *u* seems to have approached *ū* very early). Therefore we find vocative cases in *-in* (*-ini*) with nouns having the oblique case of the plural in *-un*. The endings *-a* and *-ā* (to which Vedeha might have added *-u*) are, of course, the final vowel of the stem form or of the nominative case.

(1) stem form as vocative case:

*nara-pavara* KSil 201 "oh king"; *ma mitura* ParvS 5 "My friend".  
*naranindu* KSil 129 "oh king".

(2) true vocative cases:

*himiyeni* KSil 538 "oh lord"; *yeheliyeni* KSil 165 "oh friend";  
*bamanen* KSil 201 "oh ye Brāhmaṇas"; *miturinduni* ParvS 192  
"oh dear friend"; *surinduni* ParvS 194 "oh king of the gods";  
*sabandini* KSil 546; KovS 103. "oh friend" from an hypothetical  
*\*sabandūni*.

The vowel *-ē* may also be used instead of *-i*.

*sabandinē* HaṃsS 69 "oh friend".

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Wilhelm Geiger*, A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, Colombo 1938. In the following notes this work is quoted by author and number of paragraphs.

<sup>2</sup>*utu*=Sk. *ukta*. By this term Vedeha will state that the verb is in the active voice and therefore the subject in the nominative or first case. In Indian conception the subject is in the agent case and the verb in the passive voice.

<sup>3</sup>*bajanuyē pera-vibat no-veses i padata utu vala*  
*eka-basā ē ā vanuyē yaḥā ō hu ve buhu-basā*

<sup>4</sup>*W. Geiger*, §95, 1.

<sup>5</sup>*W. Geiger*, §21.



<sup>6</sup> W. Geiger, §95, 1.

<sup>7</sup> W. Geiger, §98.

<sup>8</sup> W. Geiger, §107, 1.

<sup>22</sup> "kata woman (P. *kantā*)" in W. Geiger, §40, 1 is certainly a misprint for the correct *kat*. The stem *kat* is born out by KSil 458; Ruv 255.

<sup>10</sup> By Vedeha this rule is called *agam* and treated in Sūtra 11 of his grammar.

<sup>11</sup> *yutu katu-kiriya hā padarut bejē kam nam*  
*ekatā a u ā hu ta, un nāna n naṣa n buhu-basā*

<sup>12</sup> *raja-geṭa pīvisi māti-geṇē* "the crowd of the councillors entered the palace of the king: *ruknata nāget sāmuvō* "the monkeys climb the trees.

<sup>13</sup> W. Geiger, §103.

<sup>14</sup> W. Geiger, §107, 1.

<sup>15</sup> W. Geiger, §107, 1.

<sup>16</sup> W. Geiger, §95, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Pischel, *Grāmmatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, §366.

<sup>18</sup> W. Geiger, §§95, 4; 100; 104.

<sup>19</sup> This rule is treated in Sūtra 15 of the *Sidatsangarāva*.

<sup>20</sup> The ending *-nan* taught by Vedeha I have not yet found in literature. Therefore I can only give the example by Vedeha: *sēnan buhu manannē* "respect wise people highly!

<sup>21</sup> *meheyum lada-no-lada kiriya karanuyē katu nam*  
*de-beshi yodā samasē ta-naṣa vinā kam-vibat*

<sup>22</sup> *kiriya-sāpayīmehi ivahal katu karaṇa nam*  
*in en nen i-yūu-viyutu de-beshi sama ni-da*

<sup>23</sup> W. Geiger, §107, 2.

<sup>24</sup> W. Geiger, §109, 2.

<sup>25</sup> In *dāyan* KSil 658 "by the messenger" -y- is inserted between the two vowels of the stem and of the ending.

<sup>26</sup> *bingu-rāvuni* TiS 56 "by the humming of the bees. Here -u- in *rāvuni* is a *svrabhakti*-vowel, the stem being *rāv*.

Besides such forms in -i (-*ini*, -*eni*) also forms in -a (-*ina*) and -a (-*inā*) occur:

Sas 254: *itī sitat e utumā Sak paṇḍāmbulsal-asuna*  
*hunu vata kim-eka ho-yi netina daḷa-dan-doḷa diṭu*

"When he was thinking thus and when (by this thought) Indra's throne became hot, Indra thought: "what might be the reason for this and he saw the desire of the Great Being to make a large gift with his eyes.

Sas 284: *saḷu hisa sisāḷu oṣaḷa dev sāna-gosinā*  
*vana dala-nidu no-vena daḷa-raḷa-ḷa-gigum gat*

"The forest, in which the gods had assembled and waved their clothes round their heads, was by their joyous shouts by no means different from the deep roaring of the waves in the ocean."

<sup>27</sup> *dan-ā labanuyē piṇisa nisi hā sapadan*  
*haḷ' ekalā anata buhu-basā ta nāta ta-yedū kam-vibat!*

<sup>28</sup> W. Geiger, §112.

<sup>29</sup> *pada-at-pāvātmaḷa hīm-vūyē avadi nam*  
*karaṇa-vibat-da gen-yut ta-naṣa vinā kam-vibat*

<sup>30</sup> W. Geiger, §109.

<sup>31</sup> Examples from the older literature are:

-in, Sas 22: *rīsi-vatun ganva-yi e pura-kal hanḍevā rasunen*  
*kava sasala-dada-atsan vahasin suran kāndi ev*

"The lady-like town shouting, as it were, with the bells of her girdle: "Take whatever you like", and having made a sign with her hand-like waving flags appeared as if inviting the gods from the heaven."



-en, Muv 80: *lalana hiyambuwālen galat ās'hī sinduvara-ron*  
*etara no-ma duṭuhu piyō pāhāsara vaṭora sepiyan*

"When the dust of the lotus flowers fell from their waving curls into their eyes, the lovers did not see the radiant round thighs of their beloved women."

-nen, Sas 151: *nāngī kemen hiru sayurū-to-atnen diṣi*  
*nilapaṭatuwen paḷa-kala digu-vamiya miṇikāta van*

"When the sun, slowly rising from the womb of the ocean, became visible, it looked like a jewel of the lady-like earth, taken out from the dark jewel-box."

32 *sabanda vesesana vata un-un piḷibada vatnen*  
*sapadan-kam-vibat sav ge-yutu-viyutu-dā sama vē*

33 A genitive case in -in in later literature is *mādē kivin* TisS 22 "in the middle of the poets".

34 *katu-kam-bāri kīriya davanuyē ādara nam vē*  
*eka-basā ehi ēhi ā buhu-at-basā anhi vē*

35 W. Geiger, §107, 3.

36 W. Geiger, §107, 3.

37 W. Geiger, §101, 1 and 2.

38 *eviyū alap nam āmatum tamā amu-karā*  
*ā a ā ekaḷā buhubasā in en nen i-yutu dā nī*

39 W. Geiger, 106, 2.

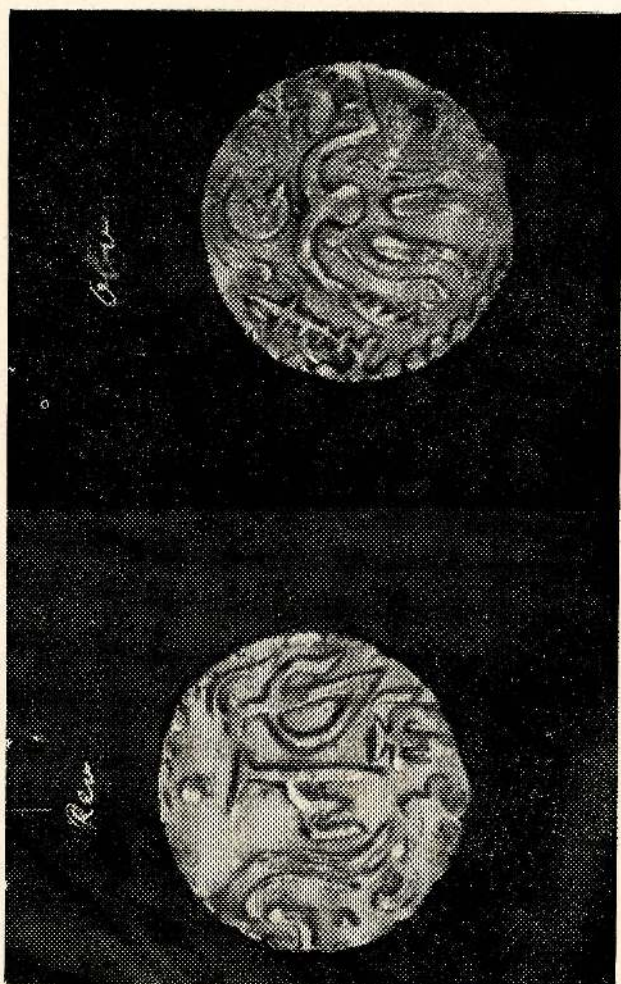
40 W. Geiger, §31.

**Note.** Owing to the lack of diacritical marks the semi nasals of *m*, *n* and *ṇ* have not been indicated in the Sinhalese words occurring in this paper.











## AN UNPUBLISHED ADAKAHAVANUVA

(With One Plate)

BY

K. C. D. PERERA, L.M.S. (Cey.)

THE following is a brief note of an Aḍakahavanuva from the collection of the writer.

This is a small Sinhalese gold coin which may be assigned to the period 850---950 A.C.

*Obv*: Basically similar to the Colombo Museum specimen, which is figured in Codrington's Pl. iii, No. 55, but with minor differences.

The head is ovoid and distinctly larger with prominent eye and nose; left arm bent and held away from the axis of the body; forearm bent at right angles to upper arm. Left hand holds a Vase with a Chank above.

*Rev*: Similar to Cod. Pl. iii, No. 55 with the exception of the legend which reads:—

SRI LAM KI KĀ

A "quatrefoil" to the left of the small KĀ.

Diameter: 0.7 inch.

Weight: 34 gr.

Sp: gr: 14.150.

The legend is in Nāgarī characters of the 9th Century.

The formation of the Sri is elaborate as in the Kahavanuvās of this series.

The second akṣara is Ki (Vide Buhler's—Palaeographic Indische—Tafel v—Column vi).

The significance of the so called "Quatrefoil" is not clear. It reminds one of the Ujjain Symbol of the Āndhras and may have been a Buddhist Symbol which was common to Āndhradeśa and Sri Laṃkā.

When Codrington published his monumental work, "Ceylon Coins and Currency", only a solitary Aḍakahavanuva was known and the learned writer conjectured that the small KA of the legend in the Colombo Museum specimen (Cod. pl. iii, No. 55) probably stood for "one" in accordance with the Kaṭapayādi System of notation, and that "the half kahavanuva perhaps may have been the theoretical unit of the Sinhalese coinage."

The discovery of the Aḍakahavanuva which is the subject of this note, makes it now clear that the terminal small KA or KĀ is a part of the legend itself.

The writer is not aware of Sri Laṃkā being referred to as Sri Laṃ Ki Kā in any inscription.



But reference to Indian Epigraphical Records provides a possible explanation. For instance Aparānta, "The Western Border" or the Northern Konkan is referred to as Aparāntikā in the Kanheri inscription of Māthariputra Svāmi—Sakasena.

Aparāntikā is clearly the adjectival form of Aparānta (Vide E. J. Rapson's Catalogue of Indian Coins—p xxxii).

Thus by analogy the adjectival form of Sri Laṃkā would be Sri Laṃ Ki Kā, which is obviously a variant form of Sri Laṃ Ki Kā.

The legend in the Colombo Museum specimen which reads Sri Laṃ Kā Kā, should be attributed to a Die Cutter who was not quite conversant with the Nāgarī script.

As Codrington pointed out, the Sinhalese Die Cutters were frequently ignorant of Nāgarī characters, and committed many blunders with which collectors of Ceylon Coins of this period, are so familiar.

The Adakahavanuva is of the highest rarity and only three specimens are known, the provenance of all being Anurādhapura. Reference has been made to two specimens—the third specimen is in the collection of Mr. W. H. Biddell and is essentially similar to the Colombo Museum specimen.

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 Paranavitana S. J.R.A.S. (C.B.) Vol. xxxv, No. 96 Pt. iv. p. 162.  
 Rapson E. J. Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc. 1908.



## THE CŪLAVAMSA

### its authorship and date

BY

C. E. GODAKUMBURA

It is generally believed that the first portion of the Cūlavamsa, (that is the portion from Ch. 37, v. 57 to Ch. 79, v. 84 of the Mahāvamsa = Cūlavamsa I) was composed by a thera named Dhammakitti during the reign of Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya (1225—1269 A.D.) Speaking of the period of Parākramabāhu II, Wickremasinghe says that many important works were produced during his reign and adds "Dhammakitti-thera continued the compilation of the Mahāvamsa, under the title of Cūlavamsa, from the date in which Mahānāma had relinquished it to the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153—86 A.D.), and was probably prevented only by death, or by political disorder, from continuing the chronicle to his own times."\* Geiger, too, on the evidence of the manuscripts which he has consulted in connection with the edition of the Mahāvamsa and the Cūlavamsa, has come to the conclusion that Dhammakitti's work ended at chapter 79, v. 84 that is, after the description of the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153—1186 A.D.)† Copleston has taken this part of the Cūlavamsa as the Parākrama Epic.‡

Two questions have to be taken up here. (1) Is the whole of the Cūlavamsa I the work of one author? (2) Can the tradition that no portion of the Cūlavamsa existed before the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1225—1269) be accepted? (3) A further question may arise. Did not Mahānāma write the history upto his own time, that is the reign of Moggallāna I (552—570)?

Geiger has discussed the evidence of the manuscripts fully. Even when the language and style of the various chapters of the Cūlavamsa I is considered no great difference is noticed between the earlier chapters and the portion dealing with the story of Parākramabāhu I (Chapters 61—79). The latter contains numerous figures (*alaṅkāras*) like those of the Sanskrit *kāvyas*. There are long compounds and words adapted from Sanskrit. This, however, is not a peculiarity of the chapters which relate Parākramabāhu's story. The Sanskrit *kāvya* style is apparent in the very first chapter of the Cūlavamsa, (Mhv. Ch. 37). In the stories of King Buddhādāsa there are highly ornate verses, for example Ch. 37 v. 37. There are very long compounds, and the vocabulary is Sanskritic. One might, therefore, accept that the Cūlavamsa I is the work of one and the same author. The possibility of this part been composed by different authors during different periods is not ruled out.

Positive evidence has now been found to prove that the Cūlavamsa existed before the reign of Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya. There is a reference to the Cūlavamsa in the Sinhalese Introduction to the Pāli poem, the Dāthāvamsa, which was composed in the year 1210 A.D., that is, during the reign of Queen Līlāvatī, Parākramabāhu's chief queen, and the minister Parākrama of the Kālanāgaravamsa. This is the passage we are concerned with.†



## SINHALESE TEXT

‘මෙහි මහවස රාජපරමපරාධ ඉකුත්ව සුඵ්වසට ආදි’ කිත්තිරිමේ රජපුරාවත්ට තවවත්තෙහි දහතුනුමාරයන් මෙලක්දවට දළදා වහන්සේ කාලිඞ්ගයෙහි සිට වඩාගෙනාකල්හි ඒ කිත්තිරිමේරජතුමා නියෝගයෙන් එසමයෙහි සිංහලකවින් මිසින් බුදුන් පිරිනිවිතැන් පටන් මෙලක්දවට වඩනා අතුරෙහි දළදාවහන්සේගේ කථාප්‍රබකිය ගෙන<sup>3</sup> හෙළිකවින් කරනලද දළදාවංශ නම් කාව්‍යය බලා සුඵ්වස කරන ආචාරීන්වහන්සේන් දළදාවහන්සේ<sup>4</sup> වැඩිනියා ගාථායෙන් කියා දළදාවහන්සේගේ සෙසු කථාව<sup>5</sup> දළදාවංශයෙන්ම දතසුතුයයි කී හෙයින්\* ඒ එළි දළදාවංශය නිශ්චයයි ප්‍රමාණකොට<sup>6</sup> පරිනිදිළාණ සූත්‍රයෙහිත් දළදාවහන්සේ කාලිඞ්ගයට ගියනියාවත් පෙනෙන හෙයින්† මෙහි කථාවත් බුදුන් පිරිනිවිතල බෙම නම් තෙරුන් වහන්සේ කාලිඞ්ගයට දළදාවහන්සේ ගෙනගියයි යනුහෙයින් ඒවා හැඟෙනහෙයින්ද මේ දළදාවංශකථාව ප්‍රමාණකොටගෙන ඒ දළදාවංශය පරණහෙළියෙන්<sup>7</sup> කළහෙයින් සිංහලවාසීන්ටත් අජිඨ දුග්ඛීට හෙයින් ඇසීමෙන් වන ඵෙහලොකිකපාරලොකිකඅජිඨයකුත් සුලභවී<sup>8</sup> නොපෙනෙනහෙයින් හා දිව්‍යානුරාගයෙහි ඇත්තවුන්ටද මේ මගබහාමාවෙන්<sup>9</sup> කළකල ඒ මධුරකථාශ්‍රවණයෙන් ජනිතවූ ප්‍රණය සභාරයෙන් වන ඵෙහලොකිකපාරලොකිකඅජිඨදෙක සම්මිප්‍රකාරයෙන් ඇතිහෙයින් හා මේ දළදාවංශකාව්‍යයෙහි කථාව ගෙන මගබහාමාවෙන් ගාථාබකිකවශයෙන් මේ දළදාවංශය කොට බාලව්‍යසාහසිය පිණිස සැකෙවින් මෙහි පද්‍යාදි කියනුලැබේ.

## TRANSCRIPT

mehi mahavasa rājaparamparāva ikutva sūlūvasaṭa ādi Kitsirime-rājjuruyaṇṭa navavannehi Danta-kumārāyan me Lak-divaṭa ḍaḷadā-vahansē Kālingayehi siṭa vaḍāgenākālhi ē Kitsirimērajahugē niyogayen e samayehi Simhala-kavīn visin Budun pirinivi-tān paṭan me Lak-divaṭa vadanā aturchi ḍaḷadāvahansēgē kathā-prabandhaya gena Heḷu-kavīn karanalada Ḍaḷadāvamśa nam kāvyaya balā Sūlūvasa karana ācārīn-vahansēt ḍaḷadāvahansē vāḍi niyā gāthāyen kiyā ḍaḷadāvahansēgē sesu kathāva Ḍaḷadāvamśayen ma datayutuyayi kī heyin ē eḷu Ḍaḷadāvamśaya niścayayi pramāṇakoṭa Parinirvānasūtrayehit Ḍaḷadāvahansē Kālingayaṭa giya niyāvat penena heyin mehi kathāvat Budun pirinivikala Khēma nam terunvahansē Kālingayaṭa Ḍaḷadāvahansē gena giyayi yānu heyin ē hā hāgena heyin da mē Ḍaḷadāvamśa-kathāva pramāṇakoṭa gena ē Ḍaḷadāvamśaya paraṇa Heḷuyen kaḷa heyin Simhalavāsintat artthaya durghaṭa heyin āsīmen vana aihalaūkikapārālaūkikaaratthayakut sulabhava nopenena heyin hā dipāntarayehi āttavunṭada mē Magadha-bhāsāven kaḷakala ē madhurakathāśravānayan janitavū puṇyasambhārayen vana aihalaūkikapārālaūkikaarattha deka sarvvaprakārayen āti heyin hā mē Ḍaḷadāvamśa-kāvyayehi kathāva gena Magadha-bhāsāven gāthābandhanavaśayen mē Ḍaḷadāvamśaya koṭa bālavvutpattiya piṇisa sākevin mehi padārttha kiyanu lābē.

\* Cūlavamsa, 37, — 92—93, † Dighanikāya. P. T. S. ed. II, P. 167. Printed. ed. adds; පුරාණයන් මිසින්; 2. A. N. ආ; 3. A. N. omits ගෙන; 4. A. N. දළදා 5. A. N. තෙසකථාව සහිත කළහෙයින්; 6. A. N. ඒ එළිවංශවිනිශ්චයයි ප්‍රමාණ කොට; 7. R. ප්‍රකරණය හෙළිවෙන්; 8. A. N. සුලභ, 9. A. N. R. බෙමොගබහාමාවෙන්.



## TRANSLATION

"After the end of the Great Dynasty, when they brought the Tooth Relic from Kālinga in the ninth year of King Kit-siri-mē, the first in the Lower Dynasty, at the order of the king the Sinhalese writers of the day recorded in Sinhalese the history of the Relic from the Parinirvāna of the Buddha to its arrival in Ceylon. The author of the Cūlavamsa who had read this History of the Tooth compiled by Sinhalese scholars alluded in verse to the mere fact of the bringing of the Relic and added that one should refer to the Daḷadāvamsa for the details of the story. I, therefore, have taken this Sinhalese History of the Tooth as my authority. Further it is gathered from the Parinirvāna-sūtra that the Tooth Relic was taken to Kālinga. This History also states that at the demise of the Buddha a Thera by the name of Khema took the Relic to Kālinga. As these two statements agree with each other, I have taken this History of the Tooth Relic as authoritative. This Daḷadāvamsa (History of the Tooth) which is composed in Old Sinhalese is not clearly understood even by the people of Siṃhala. There is, therefore, very little benefit—whether mundane or transcendental—in reading that work. Moreover, when this story is narrated in the Māgadhi tongue even those who live beyond this Island will achieve this twofold gain in everyway as they will gather manifold merits by hearing the beautiful story. Therefore, taking my material from the (Sinhalese) History of the Tooth, I have composed in Māgadhi verse this Dāthāvamsa; and for the understanding of the immature ones I shall begin this brief literal exposition (in Sinhalese)."

The above passage, the authenticity of which is beyond doubt, clearly shows that the events after the reign of Mahāseṇa (334-361 A.D.) had been chronicled and the continuation of the Mahāvamsa was known as the Cūlavamsa, before the reign of Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya.

Internal evidence of the Cūlavamsa I also indicate that Parākramabāhu I had the history of his great deeds recorded before he died. A very comprehensive account of the works of the king are given in chapters 78 and 79. After that the account ends abruptly. There is nothing about the end of this great monarch. The king had his great deeds chronicled during his life time, and to those who continued the history he was not of great importance. They had forgotten him. It may, therefore, be taken that at the time when the Dāthāvamsa was composed, the 'Epic of Parākrama' was in existence.

The passage quoted here makes it necessary for us to take the Cūlavamsa as a separate work from the Mahāvamsa. It is difficult for one to take that Mahānāma continued the history to his own day, that is, the period of Moggallāna I, even when internal evidence, such as the narrative of events in the life of Dhātusena, is considered. Mahānāma is also referred to in the third person at Chapter 39 verse 42. Judging from the style of the work, it is very unlikely that the author would have referred to himself in the manner of this narrative.

It is hoped that the attention of scholars will be drawn to the passage quoted in this paper in their study of the chronicles of Ceylon.

## NOTES

\*Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 560—61.

†Geiger, Cūlavamsa I, 1925, Introduction III, Cūlavamsa, translation I, 1929 Introduction.

‡J.R.A.S.C.B., No. 44, 1893, p. 60.

\*\*The passage is found in the printed edition, Colombo 1915. I am grateful to Dr. S. Paranavitana for drawing my attention to it. All three manuscripts at the Colombo Museum (P. 15, A. N. 7 and B. 3) contain it.



## YAṬIMAHANA SĪṬṬUVA

BY

C. E. GODAKUMBURA

IN the village of Yaṭimahana in Galboḍa-pattuva of Galboḍa Kōralē, in the District of Kāgalla, there is rock Temple by the name Bululeṇagane (perhaps also called Buluvanagane). The temple dates from the period of the kings of Kandy. According to tradition the temple was built by Vimaladharmasūriya II (1687-1707). H. C. P. Bell in his report on the Kegalla District (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, XIX-1892, Colombo 1904, p. 40,) under Buluvanagane says that "the *sannasa* belonging to the temple is said by the priest to have been removed to Maraluwawa temple, in Seven Korales", and adds in a foot note, "Inquiry through the Government Agent, North-Western Province, failed to confirm this assertion".

During the course of investigation at the temple the incumbent bhikkhu K. Atthadassi Thera, handed over to the writer an *ola deed*. It is not known whether this document identical with the one referred to by Mr. Bell. The text of the present *deed* is as follows:—

## TEXT

සවසනි ගකවසීච්ඡාදනසාන්සියහසට පැමිණි මෙ වසීගෙස  
වෙසගපුරපසලොස්වක්ලත් බද්ද ගල්බඩපතනුවෙ යවිමහනෙ  
රත්නැක්ගෙහි පභුවෙ කපුකොටුවෙ දෙනිය ලොකුරත්නැකල අසවද,  
භුකතිවිද පුජාකරනට කී නිසා එම රත්නැකලට මෙනුවට උපන්  
කථිඇත්තා කියන මාමිසින් කපුකොටුවෙදෙනිය වී දෙලොලාසෙ  
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නම් වෙති. සිඬිරසනු.

## TRANSCRIPT

svasti. śakavarṣa-ekvādahassatsiyahayaṭa pāmiṇi me varṣayehi vesaga-  
purapasalosvak lat badādā galbaḍapattuve yaṭimahane ratnākgeyi  
panguve kapukoṭuvedeniya loku-ratnākala asvaddā bhuktivinda  
pūjākaranta kī nisā ema ratnākalaṭa venuvata upan kaluāttā kiyana mā  
visin kapukoṭuvedeniya vī dolollāse vapasariya yaṭimahane vihāreṭa  
pūjākalāya. vihāre gāvādi rātri-baṇak kiyavā devenidā sivuru pūjāvaṭa  
ekvū saṃghayā da kāppitipale rālahāmi da mema yaṭimahane siyaludenā  
da venat bohodena dāni pūjākalāya. me pin utunvū mahavahasalaṭa











ayitivēvā. ē āra raṭa lat disāpati-mahattānaṭa ayitivēvā. me pidivillaṭa avulak uddharanayak kala kī kenek āt nam satara-apāye vāṭi goḍa nuduṭuvāhu nam vet, satara-karāve mas mārū pavu gattāhu nam vet. miṭa sahāyavū yuktāyukti dannā vākta uttama pinvat kenek āt nam śakra-sampāt ādivū divya-sampattiya da cakravarttirājja-sampāt ādivū manussa-sampattiya da samyaksambodhisamadhigamādivū nervāna-sampattiya yī yana trividhasampattipratilābhayaṭa pāminennāhu nam veti. siddhir astu.

paṅguve=paṅguve, deniya=deniya, kalāya=kalāya,  
rājja--rājya, sambodhi--sambodhi  
pāminennāhu=pāminennāhu

### TRANSLATION

Hail! On wednesday the full moon day of Wesak in this year one thousand seven hundred and six according to the Śaka-Era, I Kalu-āttā, daughter Loku-Ratnāka offered the Kapukoṭuve-deniya, twelve *lāhas* in sowing extent, the share of the Ratnāk family of Yaṭimahane in the Galbaḍa-pattuva, to Yaṭimahane Vehera, I was enjoined by the aforesaid Ratnāka to convert the land into a field, and having enjoyed it, to make an offering of it. I had a sermon preached in the vicinity of the Vihāra one night and the offering was made with the knowledge of the Bhikkhus who came to receive the offering of robes on the next day, Kāppitipale Rālahāmi, all the villagers of Yaṭimahana, and many others. Let these merits accrue to the reigning king, and also to the Disāpati, the chief of this district. Should anyone cause by deed or word any trouble or disturbance to this offering he will fall in the four hells and will not see a way of escape. Their sin is equivalent to killing fish in the four shores. The clever, noble and meritorious people, the discerners of good from evil, who have taken part in this gift shall attain to the three fold gains, namely, divine attainments such as the wealth of Sakra, human attainments such as the wealth of a Cakravarti and the attainment of Nirvāna such as the realization of the highest Truth. Let there be gain.

*lāha*: a grain measure, see: Codrington at Epigraphia Zeylanica,

Vol. IV pp 43-49

*sannasa*, a deed, grant. (Skt. *saṃjñā*+*haṃsa*, 'swan' See: *Haṃsa-sandēśa*: verse 2, line 4)

*sīṭṭuva*=*dānapatraya*: ordinary deeds of gift.

*Ratnāk* Ratnāyaka (Note the change of *nāyaka* to *nāka*.)

*ratnāka-la*, *la* is an honorific suffix

*mahavahasala*, lit. the residence of the king, therefore the word has come to mean the royal household, and, ultimately the king himself.

*vākta*=Skt. *vyakta*

*nervāna*=*nirvāna* influenced by the adjectival form *nairvānika*

The document is of some interest for the study of the language of the eighteenth century. The use of the cerebrals and dentals is not regular. Semi-nasal signs are used to denote full nasals. Compound consonants are used to write Sinhalese words too, and not only in the *tatsamas* (borrowed words). There are both Pali *tatsamas* as well as Sanskrit



*tatsamas*, e.g. Sanskrit; *cakravartī*, *divya* etc.,. Pali; *manussa*. Forms like *vākta* and *nervāna* show how Sanskrit words have 'developed' in the mouths of Sinhalese speakers of the period. The rule of *Sandhi* is violated in *yuktāyukti* where according to the laws of combination in Sanskrit it should be: *yuktyāyukti* (*yukti*+*ayukti*).

The passive construction with the third case (instrument of agent) *mā visin pūjā kalāya* stands in contrast to: *mā visin pūjā karanaladī* as in the modern literary use.



## LAND, MAPS AND SURVEYS, IN MARITIME CEYLON DURING THE DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

A lecture by R. L. Brohier, under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society,  
(Ceylon Branch)--22nd July, 1949.

THE Mahāvamsa discloses that twenty-four hundred years ago, the Island which is Ceylon was divided into three parts. It also states that the territory within these three regional limits was further divided and demarcated, and that "village boundaries were established over the whole of Lanka." This geographical delimitation implies that the knowledge of fixing metes or limits, under which mankind has suffered from time immemorial, is of particularly great antiquity in Ceylon. Circumstantial evidence moreover disclosed that it was expanded to include a predetermined system of heights and distances on which irrigation works, roads and towns were set out.

Nevertheless, subject to an exception I shall make later, no single case has been brought to light where terrain or boundary was delineated on a draft or plan. We are consequently compelled to look to contributions made by Western nations for tangible evidence of the cartographical conceptions of Ceylon in past ages and the evolution of the cadastral map.

As a background to my subject let us take a look at the land-form called Simoun-dou, based on a crude conical projection which Ptolemy, in the 2nd century of our era, renamed Salika.<sup>1</sup> Geographers called it Taprobane, and in modern times call it Ceylon. It reveals the knowledge and ignorance of the sailors and adventurers who supplied material which helped to the construction of the map. Little advance was made by the Arabian cartographers who established contact with Ceylon between the 8th and the 11th century. This is the Serenda and Serendib of Edirisi, corrupted to Selendib, ("dib" from *Dive*, Arabic meaning Island), and Selan, hence, Ceylon.

The incentive to travel, promoted by the discovery of the sea-route round the Cape drew many men from many countries to these shores, and Ceylon began to receive notice in a wide range of maps.

At the end of the 16th century, Cypriano Sanchez, a Spaniard, produced this map, which showed Ceylon in the shape of a rectilinear pentagon. Much of the interior was described as "abandoned country" or "impenetrable forest." A note on the map testified that it was given to Gerhard Kremer (*latinised* Gerardus Mercator), for insertion in his famous atlas. It was part of the policy of the Portuguese to keep their charts of the Eastern Seas secret and to permit no information regarding the route to be published.<sup>2</sup> However, it was apparently impossible to conceal such knowledge. On the 17th of April 1592, the bookseller Cornelis Claesz of Amsterdam informed the States-General that he had obtained twenty-five charts of the African, Indian and Chinese seas from the scholar Peter Plancius, who in his turn had procured them from the Cosmographist Bartolomeo de Lasso who occupied an official position in Spain. Several trading Companies were soon afterwards formed in the Netherlands and sent to the East.

Despite the ornate cartography which was a characteristic of Portuguese maps and plans, this was how Ceylon was depicted by them in the 3rd decade of the 17th century.



Not long after the Dutch acquired possession of the Portuguese in territory in Ceylon (1658), a revised Dutch edition of the map by the Spaniard Sanchez, with a title: " *Insula Zeilan Olim Taprobana nunc incolis Tenarism* " was issued.

No copyright law existed at the time and anybody seemed at liberty to copy somebody else's map ungrudgingly. This Dutch map transformed the earlier map basically retaining the Portuguese descriptive notes, and was the nearest attempt to show Ceylon in true physical shape and proportion. About the same time, another map of French origin and similar in most respects to the map last mentioned, was produced by Sieur Sanson, Geographer Royal. The legend described it as: " Ceylon and the Maldives—The Island of Ceylon which is the Taprobane of the Ancients."

" An Historical Relation of Ceylon ", containing the autobiographical notes of Robert Knox who was held captive by the Sinhalese King for 19 years, inspired " a new map of the Kingdom of Candy Uda in the Island of Ceylon." It illustrates the political and geographical conceptions of Ceylon in the decade anterior to 1679, and traces " the way of the Author's escape."

Between 1681 and 1754, no less than four maps of Ceylon were issued by Continental publishers. The first of these was associated with a family of art dealers and engravers, and the largest map-producers at the time in Amsterdam, Nicholas Visscher. Whereas the detail on the coast and maritime belt were specially copious, the detail within the territory of the Sinhalese King, was remarkably meagre.

The second map in chronological sequence was based very closely on Visscher's production.

The third map was a production by De Lisle, a Frenchman, who was largely responsible for advancing cartography to an exact science. It is dated 1722. In this map Ceylon is divided into 6 provinces and described respectively as: The Kingdom of Jaffnapatan, the country of the Veddhas, Batticaloa or Maticaloa, the Kingdom of Kanda Uda and, the Cinnamon country formerly called the Kingdom of Cota.

The fourth map, published in Amsterdam by Isaak Tirion, is a revision of the earlier map by De Lisle. The Kandyan hill province is described as Kanda Uda, and the mountain capital of Sinhalese royalty is spelt in the modern manner, " Kandy ", for the first time.

While these maps of Ceylon were being evolved on unscientific principle and chiefly by effecting amendments on earlier productions for inclusion in atlases which found their way into continental book-shops; a new era in mapping and land-surveying had been inaugurated by the Dutch Government of Maritime Ceylon.

The first known attempt at Topographical mapping was confined to the northern peninsula. This is a small section of a large plan drawn on a scale approximately 1 inch to  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile.<sup>3</sup> The map was apparently meant for the orderly and efficient conduct of church and civil affairs. This is borne out by the title: " Map of the four Jaffna provinces and the adjacent islands, inhabited and uninhabited exhibiting the size of each



province, the number of churches and villages situated within each of them, together with their names, main roads, tanks and elephant stalls ; all of which are separately depicted, each church being shown along with its village by a particular colour ; further, the little blue ovals represent water-tanks."

The elephant brug or elephant bridge, on the island of Karaitivu, marks the spot from which all the elephants captured in the Vanni and housed in the numerous Elephant stables shown on the map, were loaded into boats and shipped to India.

It is noteworthy that this survey on decided topographical lines, in keeping with the modern style, was produced 25 years before the first known topographical map was issued by the French, and 31 years before the first sheet of the British one-inch-to-a-mile map was published.

Surveys of strategic positions and of fortifications illustrate another class of work on which the Dutch largely employed their staff. Both the military and civic planning of Colombo, Trincomalee, Jaffna and Galle, were featured on several plans, at intervals, in the latter half of the 17th and during the 18th century. This is reduced from a map showing the fortress of Galle. Maps in this class almost reached modern standards in a production by Lieut. and Land Surveyor, P. Foënanter of "The Fortress of Colombo.....surveyed and mapped in the year 1785."

Towards the latter half of the 18th century a strained peace which had successfully avoided war between the Dutch and the Sinhalese, was broken. Consequently, from concentrated attention on surveys confined to the sea-board of Ceylon, the staff turned their attention to mapping terrain beyond their frontiers, and such other details which would help the movement of troops. This resulted in the production for the first time of a "Map of the Island of Ceylon on which are set down the roads of the interior according to information supplied by various inhabitants familiar with the country."

The information which was brought to the knowledge of the surveyors in these expeditions appear delineated to great advantage. The value of the map was enhanced by notes indicating the distance and marching time from one post to another, but of greater significance is the insertion of the international boundary established by the Treaty of 1766 between the Dutch and the Sinhalese King, when they patched up a peace.<sup>4</sup>

This treaty which caused much embarrassment even up to early British times, secured to the Dutch sovereignty over all the sea coast which was hitherto not in their possession. Those areas are shown coloured purple, and are described in the treaty as extending "to the breadth of one Chingalese mile inland, more or less as the situation of the hills and rivers will permit."

There were two important concessionary clauses. One granted permission to "all the King's servants and subjects" to fetch, without payment, "as much salt as they please from the *Leawayas* and other salt pans....." The other stressed that "as it is not the Company's intention to enrich itself at the expense of His Majesty's revenue," an



annual payment would be made "of the same amount as was formerly received by him from the countries ceded."

The Treaty moreover provided for Commissioners to be appointed by both parties "to limit the boundaries of the ceded country." A translation reads the "measuring should commence from the high water mark on the continent (sic), not comprehending there under the small islands .....

Very detailed instructions were issued by the Dutch Governor Iman Willem Falck to Adrian Moens, a Senior Merchant and Pay Book-keeper, and to Christian Constantyn Wolforth, who were appointed Commissioners on the part of the Dutch East India Company for settling this political boundary.

Recent research carried out by me in the Madras Record Office has brought to light from a folio of Secret Consultations,<sup>5</sup> an attested translation of these instructions. They are of outstanding historical importance. Apart from showing Dutch ambitions and the motive underlying the carefully selected and deliberate wording of the Articles in the treaty, they reveal the delicate manner in which the Dutch endeavoured to secure to themselves the fullest ultimate advantage.

The 3rd Instruction on the list reads: "As by the Treaty one Chingalese mile inland from the sea-shores of the King (always when the situation of the hills and rivers permit) have been ceded, we must inform you for your guidance that by a Chingalese mile (which is of uncertain length, as at one place it is 2 hours and at another  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours walking) we understand an extent of 3,000 roods or 36 thousand feet Rynland measure, equivalent to 7 thousand two hundred Geometrical paces, or as much as a good walker can march in 9 quarters of an hour, you need not say anything else to the Candian Commissioners about this measure than that it was the average length which the Candian or other Cingalese used to call a mile."

The 5th Instruction reads: "The Candians will certainly endeavour to comprehened (sic) the peninsula Navekarre (*i.e.* Kalpitiya) in the Chingalese mile, you are directed to avoid this as many of the salt pans of Puttalam would then fall into the King's territory. In the second case they might want to start measuring from the East shore of the lake of Putalany and by keeping Navekarre would have an opportunity of keeping a communication and trade with the Continent.

For these reasons you must strictly adhere to the Treaty, and commence measuring from the High Water mark so as the Treaty says, without comprehending (sic) thereunder Navakerra and the small islands and upon the retention of which we may and must insist, as the King by keeping the revenue, loses nothing by the cession."

Instruction 6 reads: "Although our interest demands that we should give the freest construction to the measuring of the shores, you may content yourself with a little less than 3,000 roods if you think that you can thereby please the Candian Commissioners. The Putulam road must however be absolutely ceded to the Company as the sea-shore and the salt-pans are the Company's only objects."



Instruction 7 reads: "In order not to be deceived with respect to the situation of the salt-pans, you must consult the Officers Commanding at Puttalam and Chilau and the confidential native chiefs of those places, and although all reports agree that almost all the salt pans will accordingly to the above measurement fall within the Company's limits and that those beyond can be rendered useless, you must, if contrary to expectations it is found otherwise with respect to some important salt pans, be prepared with means to comprehend (sic) them under the Company's jurisdiction, by taking something more there from the Candians and less in other places where there are no salt pans far inland, without letting them perceive it, *which the surveyors will no doubt find sufficient opportunities of doing.*"

The 9th Instruction reads: "The measurement should be continued northward till where the territory of Jaffnapatam undeniably begins. We send 4 Chingalese carpenters with you to cut down trees for limit posts, on which at one or more sides the mark of the Company (—) must be branded, and if possible we wish that those posts be placed at every 300 roods distance on places where they could easily be perceived."

The Commissioners met agreeably to the 4th Article of the Treaty. Apparently there was much discussion but a final decision was not reached.<sup>6</sup> Consequently while the Kandians never accepted the Treaty as definite, the Dutch kept possession of the entire coast and were or considered themselves masters. Cartographical evidence discloses that they did proceed to delimit the territory by examination on the ground and by survey. Whether the boundaries were defined in the manner prescribed by Instruction 9, or not has not yet been established by research.

The Du Peron Map published 23 years after the Treaty, bore the legend that it was "improved so far as concerns the possessions of the Hon'ble Dutch Company and in particular so far as affects the sea board.....ceded to the Company by the peace of 1766."

The territorial boundaries were again depicted on the Burnat—Altendorff map, which was the last geographical map of Ceylon issued in the Dutch period. It was this territory in the maritime portions of Ceylon which the Dutch surrendered to the British in 1796.

From these examples which illustrate in conspicuous degree the results of early scientific enterprise in mapping Ceylon we turn to those branches of survey relating to social control of land. Here again, the Dutch made history.

The land tenurial system in Ceylon as constituted by Custom in ancient times, continued unchanged even after the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, and as long as the foreigner was an ally or an enemy. Early in the 17th Century the Portuguese set about registering the individual holdings. These they compiled in registers or Tombo, which they supplemented with a register called *foral* showing quit-rents payable to the King of Portugal.

There is no evidence that any organisation had been set up in the Portuguese period for delineating land or property boundaries on a draft or plan, either on a revenue or on a development basis. Consequently,



when the Dutch followed the Portuguese they did not succeed to any land plans, but borrowed the system of registration and tenure, and used it during the earlier half of their administration. Thereafter an attempt was made to replace it by a more progressive tenurial system eliminating the village lord.

The motive for this change would appear to have originated from the instructions left by one of the Dutch Governors, Van Imhoff, to his successor. Having outlined the evils of the system in vogue, whereby the chiefs were rewarded with revenues of villages *en bloc* and with gifts of lands, he stressed that "liberality such as this, is like giving away not only a branch from a tree where another will grow again, but like cutting its roots and allowing the tree itself to die." "Lands," he declared, "should never be entirely given away."<sup>7</sup>

It therefore came about that alienation of land was suspended, the *accomodessans* or grants in the possession of a deceased holder were taken back, and by a system of leasing direct to the husbandman, were turned to the profit of the Company.<sup>8</sup>

This new system naturally raised the essential need for a revision of the *tombos*, and largely through the initiative taken by Governor Van Imhoff, a regular system for compiling *tombos* of the lands in the Dutch territory of Ceylon was introduced.<sup>9</sup>

The Dutch Government was initially of a military character and composition. Their surveyors were army personnel.<sup>10</sup> When the last of the Portuguese forces were expelled and a regular civil administration was set up, they were formed into a civil department with a *Bas Landmeter* or chief surveyor at the head.

Apparently, with a few very stray exceptions, the term survey as applied to the registrations, effected by the earlier Dutch *Tombos* merely implied an inspection of the various lots. Extensive areas of smaller allotments were scheduled on what were termed *poth-olas* which were issued to an overseer.

One Dutch Governor after another, commenting on the facilities afforded for the fraudulent alteration of *olas*, stressed that, in order to bring the system of *Tombo* registration to perfection, an accurate survey, in the sense of measuring each lot with a view to drawing a plan and fixing the boundaries between properties, was very necessary.

This was accordingly enforced when the Dutch introduced their new system of tenure in 1740, and for the first time in the history of the Land Tenure and Land Laws of Ceylon, a figure of the land was used as an accessory to a land grant. This development illustrates the beginning of the conflict between the actual settler and the speculator interest. It deserves some notice.

The Netherlands East India Company as represented by the Government in Ceylon, was a trading concern. Profit was naturally always kept in view. Although they had used their initial systems of registration of land as a source of income, just as their predecessors the Portuguese, and before them the Sinhalese had done, they came to realise that the character of the ancient land system which regulated the use of land by man, had changed.



Land was becoming a dominant economic question. Offset by the encouragement given to the cultivation of commercial crops on a systematic basis land had acquired greater value. It was apparent to the Government that by preserving the rights of the Government to land on a more flexible, firm and free policy, by preventing speculative claims, and by demarcating boundaries to prevent encroachment, a greater source of revenue will accrue. Hence the origin of the Dutch *Laand-Kart* which was attached to all grants of land made by the Company when the tenure was revised.

During the first five years working of this new system, the surveyors had no standardised instructions. This lack of method and command was subsequently remedied by a Council Resolution which enforced rules for surveyors for measuring "land and gardens."<sup>11</sup> This instrument throws considerable light on the methods of surveying in Ceylon during the Dutch administration. Its primary function was to prevent fraud. Citing that the first care of the surveyors was to render "willing and faithful service and to ensure that their plans bear witness of greatest circumspection", by which was possibly meant accuracy, the instructions went on to stress the absolute necessity for vigilance to ensure that no "avaricious persons obtain deceitfully by false declaration or underhand means, certain lands to the prejudice of the Company," and directed, moreover, that "should such cases be discovered by the surveyor in the course of his survey" he should bring them to notice "on the penalty of forfeiture of his office" if he fails to do so.

An entry in the Council Resolutions 14 years later shows these orders revised and amplified<sup>12</sup> on the orders of the Governor and as he said: "according to the needs of the present times." These amended instructions afford the earliest reference to "private surveys" of lands either gifted or sold for the preparation of deeds.<sup>13</sup>

Generally speaking, on a comparative summary of historical evidence the introduction of the property plan which had little history in Ceylon before the Dutch recognised its importance, coincided with a time of social change. Town planning and civic development were engaging much attention, and the cadastral survey within the enclosure of Village, Pattu and Korale which was also introduced about this time on a progressive system, point to social problems which called for survey plan and a record of limits and boundaries. Special mention has been made in that connection to the need for measurement in order to appraise the effect on property for siting "schools and resthouses, as well as for the cutting of canals." There thus grew in the Dutch period a very able class of land and engineering surveyor.

From records recently discovered and translated we moreover learn that the Dutch surveyors were of two classes, namely, the *Landmeter* and the *Rooimeester*. The former was exclusively concerned with measurement of land. The latter was a quantity or building surveyor, corresponding to the modern Chartered surveyor.

The instructions to the *Rooimeester* support the remarks regarding social change, and afford much evidence of the attention paid to town and country planning. They deal with building, local drainage, and assessments.



The cadastral surveys already alluded to, gradually spread throughout the maritime provinces. The attempts to get on with the surveys in the Districts round Colombo appear to have been less successful. Governor Loten writes in this connection: "the refractoriness of the inhabitants caused this useful work to be interrupted."<sup>14</sup>

Governor Schreuder commenting on the cadastral surveys in 1762 says: "I am somewhat in doubt as to whether that important work could be brought speedily to a finish, as the villager does not gladly see the surveyor on his land and now and then has actually opposed them."<sup>15</sup>

It is noteworthy that what was described nearly two centuries ago as an "important work" has yet remained unaccomplished.

\* \* \* \*

This, Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen that completes my references to Land Maps and Surveys in the Dutch period. However, before I conclude this Paper, I should like to correct my statement that no map of the Sinhalese period has been traced.

Strangely, within the past fortnight, I chanced, while on inspection, on a map in the possession of a Government Surveyor, Mr. R. T. Samarasinghe, which on evidence and investigation so far made, appears to be an unique exhibit of Sinhalese cartography in the Kandyan period. (This map represents certain lands and terrain of the country near Elahera. The conception of the topography depicted is remarkable. It is oriented by figures of the Sun, the Moon indicating East and West respectively. This central feature is described as Ambangangawa. (.....) This is the Elahera Canal. Note the conventional sign used to indicate the sluices written *hora-uva*, although commonly pronounced today *horrova*. This is another short channel from the Amban Ganga, which was recently discovered and takes off from what is described as the Talagoda Amuna.

This feature is a tributary of the Amban Ganga, and its source is described as Gendagan-gala, literally, Sulphur rocks.

This is remarkable. The feature represents the Kalu Ganga which rises in what we today call the Nitre Cave District. This district was exploited largely by the Sinhalese for manufacturing gun powder. This feature settles a much disputed point and proves that the channel from the Hat-tota Amuna, did reach the Amban Ganga.

The lettering on the map can be read only in broad daylight. Distances are given in *gouwas*. The writings and detail are in three different colours—including the indigo or light blue very rare in Sinhalese art. The drawing is on a woven fabric, with its surface specially treated for writing and colouring.

Mr. Samarasinghe has given me the following history regarding the map: About 1935, whilst out camping in a village called Attara-gal-lewa, an old Veddah type of man residing in a hamlet a few miles deeper in the jungles, presented this cloth map to me. He told me it was found in a well-sealed earthen vessel by some jungle folk in search of treasure among some ruins, and that this is a plan during the days of Godopora Maharaja.



The correct name would be Godopola Maharaja, brother to Rajasingha the II. Pending further investigation the map may be provisionally accepted as a 16-17th century production.

His Excellency, The Governor General, said:

We have just listened to a most remarkable paper distinguished for great erudition and research. Amongst the many interesting things which he has brought to our attention I think there stands out the fine record of the Dutch administrators. They seem to have been the founders of modern geography Mr. Brohier has achieved a great reputation for his learning and knowledge. I hope that he will find time to contribute many more such papers and that, in due course, they will form the basis for a great history of Ceylon, and particularly of a social history, such as the "English Social History" by Professor Trevelyan. I have recently read with very great pleasure Mr. Brohier's paper on The Interconnexion of the Tanks and Reservoirs in the Island and I also recall with admiration the splendid work he did as Secretary to the first Delimitation Commission. (See P. 40)

## NOTES

<sup>2</sup>Furnivall, Netherlands India, p. 20, "They were able to find their way about because, !Thomas Stevens, the Jesuit missionary who went to India in 1579 says: there is not a fowl that appeareth or sign in the air or the sea which they have not written down.

<sup>3</sup>Supplement Leupe, No. 328, Original in the State Archives at the Hague.

<sup>4</sup>Dated 14th October 1766, For full text see: Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives, page 133 et seq: R. G. Anthonisz.

<sup>5</sup>Annexure to a letter dated 26th June, 1796; by Major Gen. S. Stuart to the Hon'ble Lord Hobart. Madras Record Office, Folio, Secret Consultations, pp. 177—227.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.* Stuart to Hobart.

<sup>7</sup>Memoir, Van Imhoff, 1736—1740 (translation by S. Pieters! pp. 26 et seq.

<sup>8</sup>Extract from a letter dated 24th September, 1745, in which the Government of Batavia lays down clearly its revised policy as regards the alienation of Crown Lands in Ceylon:—"The case may be mentioned of that in the village Bommerie, where sale took place notwithstanding that in the year 1740 positive orders had been issued from here totally forbidding any alienations on such a footing..... the land must be recovered by the Company.....all other lands sold or alienated since the order.....must in like manner be taken back.....so also must all the mistakes previous to that be remedied in a suitable way." (Report on Dutch Records—Anthonisz R.G., 76).

<sup>9</sup>Minutes of the Governor in Council, Feb. 1740, Folio 2784 Ceylon Archives.

<sup>10</sup>Council Resolution 2nd July, 1703. Folio D.R. 38, page 178, Ceylon Archives

<sup>11</sup>Folio D.R. 95, (Council Res: 29th April 1745) Ceylon Archives.

<sup>12</sup>Folio D.R. 126, Council Res: 3rd Oct. 1758) Ceylon Archives.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.* clauses 23 and 24.

<sup>14</sup>Selections from Dutch Records, Memoir Lotus, trans. by E. Reimers, M.B.E.

<sup>15</sup>Memoir Schreuder, p. 56.



## BOOK REVIEWS

SIR WILLIAM JONES, BICENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH COMMEMORATION VOLUME, 1746-1946. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA, 1948. PP XIX 173, 10" x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ . 9 PLATES, (2 COLOURED).

This beautifully got up volume is introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rama Prasad Mookerjee, and it contains a Foreword by Kalidas Nag, the General Secretary of the Society in which he gives an account of the contribution of early European scholars towards oriental learning. The first section of the volume consists of messages received by the Society on the event of the Bicentenary, from individuals and institutions. Many scholars of repute and institutions of great standing have sent their felicitations.

The more important part of the Journal from a scholastic point of view,—although printed in a type much smaller than that used for the first section—is the Second Section (Symposia) which contains the Bicentenary address on William Jones delivered by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, papers on William Jones and other learned articles on important topics.

Chatterji in his address has given a comprehensive account and a full appreciation of the works of William Jones in various branches of scholarship—Indian, Arabic, Persian, Chinese and Tartary.

Others estimate Sir. William Jones' contribution to English Literature, apart from his services to Oriental learning. Satiyendra Nath Ray in his paper on "William Jones's Poetry, gives an account of *British Indian Poetry* and vindicates Jones's place in English Literature. R. K. Das Gupta's talk on "Sir. William Jones as a Poet, deals with the same theme. Priyaranjan Sen also has contributed a paper on the same subject.

There now remain the following seven papers dealing with subjects in which the Society is interested. R. C. Majumdar in his paper on "Indian Culture as a factor in the World Civilization" while discussing the contact between India and the outside world has given an account of the spread of Indian Culture in Asiatic countries and beyond. Paul Ley's lecture on "Recent Archaeological Researches by the Ecole Francaise D. 2 in Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, French Indo-China between 1940 and 1948" given before the Society is reproduced in full. M. Hamidullah in a few well arranged paragraphs has assessed the contribution of "Islamic Culture as a factor in World Civilization". In his paper on the "Prehistoric Culture and India," K. P. Chattopadhyay discusses the remains of ancient man and his tools and survivals of past social organization and old techniques of material culture in India. B. S. Guha, in a short article on the "Racial Types in Prehistoric India," attempts to find a link with the Early Man in India and the ancient man in Java and China. There are also accounts on "Three Bhubaneswar Inscriptions belonging to the Collection of Hindoo Stuart", by P. Acharya and "Burmese Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society Library by W. S. Desai.

The Volume ends with a statement of what has yet to be completed of the work begun by William Jones. A variorum edition of *Sahuntala* has to be made. "The problem of Kalidasa's age will have to be solved."

C. E. G.

# CEYLON GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, VOL.III, NOS. 2, 3, 4.

With the issue of Vol. 3, the Society has broken out into print whereas formerly its journals were cyclostyled. To run a Society of this nature is by no means an easy task and the present president with his usual push has roped in as many scientists as he could to contribute articles to the magazine and has obtained a grant from Government. Geography an only lay toll from the works of scientists and use this knowledge to shake its deduction. So the Geologists have given us the Mineral Wealth of Ceylon, the Meteorologist the weather and climate; then follows the digestion of these facts and the application in the Effective rainfall, vegetation and climate and the Geographical accounts of the Nitre Cave and Hambantota areas. A timely article by Professor Le Bon on the Changing Balance of Asia reverts our attention to ourselves and the black and yellow nations of the N. East Middle East and Far East. Mr. H. A. Stammers Smith discourses on Geonomy placing all the sciences of geophysics, geomorphology, palaeontology, palaeogeography etc. between



Geodesy and Geography under this heading. He then philosophises from this vast subject to cause in the reader much thought. The Cartographer president started off with maps in No. 1 and then gave us a short resumé of his books on Ancient Irrigation. I congratulate all the authors and officials for the stimulating articles which I hope the younger members of the Society will follow up. A.M.C.

## ANNUAL REPORT 1948

### The Council

Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.J. was elected Vice-President in place of Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, (who retired by seniority) and Mr. K. Vaithianathan, C.B.E., Hony. Treasurer; the Secretaries continued unchanged, and Messrs. H. H. Basnayaka, E. W. Kannagara, Deraniyagala, Ratnatunga and Dr. Nell were placed among the Ordinary Members.

Sir C. H. Collins, our President, left the country on his retirement from the Public Service, and the Council elected Mr. S. A. Pakeman, O.B.E., M.P., to act as President. Our Vice-Patron Sir John Howard, has resigned from the Society, also on leaving the country.

### Meetings

At the annual general meeting held on 28th, May 1948, Dr. Paranavitana gave an address on The Upulvan Shrine at Devi Nuvara, illustrated by lantern slides, which aroused much discussion: a summary is published in Part Two of Vol. xxxviii of the journal.

At a meeting on the 11th October Mr. Deraniyagala's paper on some hitherto unreported paintings from Sigiriya, Mr. Paulusz's translation of Andriesz's Narrative of Ceylon 1648; and the Hony. Secy. Note on Alexander Mosses's painting of Two Bhikkhus in England, were read, all three are printed in the same part ii of the Journal along with Kapuruhami R.M.'s valuable Notes on the Rata Sabhawa and Nagel's report on the Vanni 1793. Part i was mainly devoted to the translation of Jonville's French Journal of Macdowall's expedition 1800, placed at the Society's disposal by Mr. Martin Russell, with two notes by the Hony. Secy., the first dealing with the Dutch Painting of the reception of the Sinhalese Ambassadors in 1766. This painting which was exhibited at the meeting, is now on loan at the Museum.

The Council met four times during the year.

### Membership

On 31st December 1948 our membership stood as follows:--

Honorary	...	...	...	1
Life	...	...	...	68
Ordinary	...	...	...	230

a total of 299.

We have lost by death among others:--

Mr. J. P. de Fonseka, J.P. D.Litt. (Ottawa) and [Mr. P. T. Pandita Gunawardena.

### Our Prospects

As will appear from the statement of accounts, a Parliamentary grant has relieved the strain of the last six years, during which impecuniosity, want of suitable accommodation, and lack of staff were solely felt. The Minister for Education has very kindly placed at our disposal a more satisfactory set of rooms than the wooden building in the Museum premises which was in constant danger from the ravages of termites; and our Library and Office are now established at the Training College Buildings, Thurstan Road. We desire to place on record our grateful thanks to him for coming to our rescue, and to the Director of Museums for sheltering us within the Museum grounds for so long.

As a result of our bad financial position, we were not able to offer to a clerk an amount adequate to meet the cost of living, and at one period of the year we had to do without a labourer. Mr. K. D. A. Wijesinghe was appointed as clerk in



September, and held the position for the remainder of the year, after which he obtained a better post. During this time he did very good work and it may confidently be hoped that there will be a rapid and marked improvement in 1949, particularly in respect of restoring the Library to order, on which a start has already been made.

School learning is enthusiastically welcomed in every quarter, but this enthusiasm does not seem to have extended to the type of research which has in the past furnished contributions to our Journal. Presidential appeals repeated at many meetings have failed to stimulate production, and at the moment no such papers are available.

Mr. Deraniyagala was invited by the University of California to join its African Expedition and spent six months in searching for fossils through the Libyan Desert as far as Lake Rudolph. Dr. Paranavitana has kindly furnished a Note on the work of the Archaeological Dept. during the year, and this is annexed to the present report.

## REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMISSIONER FOR THE YEAR 1948

The activities of the department are now extended to every province in the Island. There are regular stations with permanent officers and a labour gang at Anurādhapura, Mihintale, Polonnaruwa, Mādirigiriya, Jaffna, Sigiriya, Paṇḍuvasnuvara and Yapahuva. Excavations and conservation works were also carried out at Dondra, Galle, Dādigama, Padavigampola, Sītāvaka, Arankāle, Kalpitiya, Myliddi, Accuvēli, Ambākke and Kandy. A number of inspections were made in the Vavuniyā, Anurādhapura, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Badulla, Mātālē, Kāgalla, Kurunāgala and the Chilaw Districts.

The work of the greatest importance at Anurādhapura were the various excavations carried out at the Dakkhina-thūpa. Tons of debris which had fallen from the upper portion of the monument when it collapsed were cleared leaving only a sector in the northwest. When debris in the south-western side was removed a long epigraph written on the stone paving was discovered. The inscription is 46 ft. and it records a list of lands dedicated to the *tisa-maha-cetiya* in the *dakṣiṇa-vihāra* (Southern Monastery). This epigraph has helped us to identify the monument so far known as the Tomb of Elāra to be the Tissa-mahā-cetiya built in the Dakkhina-vihāra by King Valagambāhu (c. 89—77 B.C.) Various investigations were made in the compound (*maluva*) of the monument in order to find out the various stages in which the *dāgāba* was built and improved. The relic chamber of the *dāgāba* which had been previously rifled by treasure hunters was reached by removing the debris which had fallen into the breach made by the thieves. From the position of the old relic chamber a pit was dug to the original ground level, that is about 34 feet from the level of the uppermost *pēsāva* and 13 feet from the level of the stone paving. The pieces from the stones of the relic chamber was heaped up in this passage. On the original ground level there were patches of charcoal. Ash and charcoal were also found here and there up to a level of about 20 feet above the level of the original ground. These finds allows one to come to the conclusion that the monument was built on a cremation ground. By comparing evidence from the monument itself with the literary evidence from the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Saddharmalaṅkāra* it is possible to come to the conclusion that the monument so far taken to be the Tomb of Elāra is nothing other than the Dakkhina-thūpa which was built on the platform (*mālaka*) where Dutugāmuṇi's body was cremated.

Among various other works carried out at Anurādhapura the laying out and conservation of the Royal park at Tisā-vāva should be mentioned. The excavation and conservation of the miniature channel which brought water to the park from the sluice of the Tisā-vāva was nearly reached completion.

At Mihintale the conservation of the Convocation Hall (Pali: *Sannipāta-sālā*) was completed. This is an interesting building with a pillared hall. A start in the restoration of the Protected Monument, the Mahāsāya, also has been made.

At Mādirigiriya the house of the reclining Buddha image, known popularly as the "Hospital", was excavated and conservation work was begun.

Great progress has been made in the excavations at the site of the Ālāhana parivena to the east of the Lankātilaka at Polonnaruwa. Nearly the whole lay out of this



group of buildings described in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (ch. 78, vv. 48—52) has been exposed and conservation work begun. A pillar inscription found at the site establishes the identification of the group of buildings.

Further measures have been taken to protect the mural paintings at the Northern Temple (*Tivaṅka-piḷimagē*) which had been chemically treated previously. Other works at Polonnaruwa include the restoration of the ancient tank near the Galvihāra, and the conservation of the baths near the Rest House.

The main interest of Sigiriya so far has been the frescoes in the pocket of the rock. The interest of the place as an early military fortification of the Sinhalese had been neglected. During the past few years the department has been engaged in making excavations at the gateways of the wall and in the moat. The conservation of the Southern gate which has been exposed was completed during 1948. Excavations were made at the western entrance, and when the moat at this spot was examined evidence was found that a drawbridge had been used at this spot to cross the moat. The rebuilding of the stone facing of the moat, the projections for the drawbridge and steps leading to the city were begun. A trial excavation on the north-east of the moat disclosed a wier (Sinhalese: *diya pānnuma*), which shows the skill of the Sinhalese people in dealing with water. During the latter part of the year a beginning was made in the conservation of the remains of the palace on the summit of the rock, which had been excavated by Bell a few decades ago.

Work at the site of another rock fortress, namely Yāpahuva was begun at the end of the year. The outer line of defences and the moat was cleared. The eastern, southern and western gateways were excavated.

Partial excavations were made at the Koṭavehera at Dādigama in order to try the theory of Codrington (H.W.) that this monument is the Sūtiḡharacetiya which Parākramabāhu I (1153—1186) built to mark the site of the room in which he was born (Mahāvamsa ch. 79 v. 61). The size of the bricks and the type of mouldings were found to belong to the Polonnaruwa period. An investigation was also made at the Koṭavehera at Dālivala and this monument was found to be at least as old as first centuries of the Christian era. It has been possible now to accept the theory which was first propounded by Codrington that Puṅkagāma (Dādigama) was the birth place of Parākramabāhu I.

At Parākramapura (Paṇḍuvasnuvara), conservation was begun at the remains of the palace which had been excavated and laid out the previous year. The main entrance, that is the eastern, was excavated and conserved. A large portion of the moat and rampart on the eastern side was excavated.

The department has during recent years devoted some time to the study and conservation of monuments belonging to the more recent centuries, the monuments of the Kandy period.

The work of reconstruction and the conservation of what remained of the old wood-work of the *maṇḍapa* of the *Ambākke dēvāle* was completed during the year. A full photographic record was made of the carvings on the pillars and other architectural members and casts were prepared of some of the more important carvings. The reconstruction of the *dēvāle* has furnished the department with much valuable information regarding the technique of the master carpenters (*mahācārya*) of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Investigations were made at the former residence of the Government Agent, Central Province, with a view to find out how much of it was the "Old Palace" and what had remained in it of the Kandyan architecture, sculpture and art. The outward appearance of the building as it stands now has very little of Kandyan architecture in it. The roof and the porch are in the Dutch style of the low-country. The pillasters hanging in the air are no specimens of Sinhalese architecture. During examinations into the structure of the building it was observed that at least in some places the building would have been considerably higher than what it is now. Trial trenches opened by the department have revealed the existence of fine mouldings in a well preserved condition under the floor of the present porch. In order to find out what remained of the Kandyan plastic art the whitewash and plaster applied year after year for more than a century by the P.W.D. were removed from some sections of the front walls. This revealed that the friezes of animals which resembled rabbits from outside were majestic figures of lions executed perfectly in *terra-cotta* in the Kandyan style. Continuous whitewash has been able to convert a ferocious animal to a very mild one. The mouldings of the pillars and walls buried beneath the modern plaster are excellent examples of Kandyan



workmanship. The investigations are sufficient to say that when the former residence of the Government Agent, Central Province, is referred to as the "Old Palace" that both words "Old" and "Palace" need a great deal of qualification.

The department has been trying its utmost to make the ancient monuments early accessible to the public, and the construction of a number of valuable roads have been undertaken. Those under construction in 1948 were, a road from the end of the Irrigation road at Hingurakgoda to Mādirigiriya; at Poḷonnaruwa along the old road east of Ālāhaṇa-parivena by the Galvihāra to join the road to the Northern temple, a road round the moat of the fortification at Sigiriya and a similar road at Yāpahuva.

Since the coming into force of the Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940, an attempt has been made to preserve for posterity even monuments under private ownership. The following monuments were 'protected' under this ordinance during the year: Kotavehera at Dālivala in the Kāgalla District, the nā trees at the Doḍanvala *devāle*, the Pond known as Jamnari in Jaffna, the Portuguese Church at Myliddi in the Jaffna Peninsula and the Palace of Vidiye Baṇḍāra in the Kalutara District.

The site of the statue of the Buddha at Ataragallāva near Mahuvēyāya in the Mātālē District was proclaimed an Archaeological Reserve during the year. The ancient site at Kantharodai in the Jaffna Peninsula and the land known as vehera-kanda at Baddēganē within the limits of Kotte U.C. were acquired.

## MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETINGS

7th March, 1949

*Present* :—Acting President, (Mr. S. A. Pakeman), 10 members, the Treasurer and the Honorary Secretaries.

The acting president reported the transfer of the library from the Museum premises to Thurstan Road.

*Other matters discussed* :—The printing of the Extended Mahāvamsa in the Sinhalese character. The Centenary Celebrations and the draft of the Annual Report. 33 new members elected since the last meeting was tabled.

The following nominations were agreed upon to fill the vacancies in the Council:—

President :—Mr. S. A. Pakeman; Vice Presidents :—Messrs. P. E. P. Deraniyagala and R. L. Brohier; Honorary Treasurer :—Mr. A. H. M. Ismail; Honorary Secretaries :—Mr. K. Vaithianathan and Dr. C. E. Godakumbura.

The following ordinary members were also nominated :—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. P. Wijeyeratne; (2) Mr. S. J. C. Kadirgamar; (3) Dr. S. Paranavitana; (4) Dr. G. C. Mendis; (5) Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz and (6) Professor K. Kanapathipillai.

The following were proposed by Dr. Paranavitana for election as Honorary Members :—

(1) Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Leiden, Holland; (2) Professor R. P. Turner, London; (3) Dr. B. C. Law, Calcutta, India and (4) Professor Helmer Smith, Sweden.

Col. Neil Shockman, M.B.E., E.D., and B. Edwin Rodrigo were appointed Clerk and Attendant respectively.

A vote of thanks to the retiring Honorary Secretary, Dr. P. E. Pieris, was proposed by the President for his services since September, 1943.

21st March, 1949

*Present* :—The Acting President, (Mr. S. A. Pakeman), 9 members, the Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretaries.

A Sub-committee consisting of Mr. S. A. Pakeman, Dr. C. E. Godakumbura and a member with a scientific knowledge was appointed to go into the question relating to the organization of the library including the fixing of the hours of opening.



Dr. S. Paranavitana's proposal for lectures in Sinhalese and Tamil was considered and a sub-committee consisting of Dr. S. Paranavitana, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris and Dr. C. E. Godakumbura as Secretary and Convener was appointed to submit a definite scheme.

The Report of the sub-committee on the Centenary Celebrations was tabled.

Covering sanction was given to the Honorary Treasurer for the following expenditure :—

(1) Times of Ceylon bill of Rs. 55/65 for printing rules; (2) Ceylon Observer bill of Rs. 1059/25 for printing the Journal; (3) Supplementary Vote of Rs. 16/- for re-arranging books and shelves; (4) Rs. 200/- Auditors' fee for 1948.

Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris's offer to read a paper on "Paul Hermon, a Dutch Physician and Naturalist in the Dutch Government in Ceylon of the early part of the 17th century" was accepted.

The resignations of Sir John Howard, (Vice President), and Rev. Fr. S. I. Pinto were accepted.

17th June, 1949

*Present* :—The President, (Mr. S. A. Pakoman), 9 members, the Hony. Treasurer and the Hony. Secretaries.

1. It was agreed that there was no necessity to appoint a member of the Council as a third member of the Library Sub-Committee. The two members of the Sub-Committee might seek such advice as was considered desirable from a suitable person with sufficient knowledge of the subject or invite him to serve on the Sub-Committee.
2. The payment of Rs. 200/- to the Auditors was considered too high for the work done in the present state of the finances of the Society. It was agreed that Mr. K. Vaithianathan might interview the Auditors and endeavour to have the fees substantially reduced.
3. The question of asking for a further special grant of Rs. 5000/- from Government for binding the books and improving the library was discussed. The Chairman undertook to interview the Minister of Education to explore the possibility of increasing the grant during the Committee Stage of the Budget.
4. 19 Members were elected.
5. On the proposal of the Hon'ble Mr. E. A. P. Wijeyeratne, it was agreed :—
  - (a) that some steps be taken to have lectures more frequently;
  - (b) that the Council should meet at least once in two months.
6. Dr. Godakumbura reported to the Council that he anticipated good prospects of the balance of the Extended Mahāvamsa in Roman character being sold early.
7. In the absence of Dr. Malalasekera the question of negotiating with the Mahabodhi Press about the publication of the Extended Mahāvamsa in the Sinhalese character was postponed.
8. A report from Mr. Kadirgamar on the question of income tax was read and it was agreed that nothing practical could be done with regard to securing exemption for the Society.
9. The proposal to insure the Library against fire and theft was considered and it was decided to obtain quotations from reliable firms.
10. The resignation of Mr. A. M. Hare was accepted.
11. A letter from Mr. Kadirgamar reporting his attendance at the Calcutta R.A.S. meeting was read.



# MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF 28th MARCH, 1949

*Present* :—The President, (Mr. S. A. Pakeman), 75 members and 5 visitors.  
The Annual Report was adopted.

The Honorary Treasurer presented and explained the audited statement of accounts for 1948.

The names of 66 new members elected since the last general meeting were tabled.

The following were elected Honorary Members :—

- (1) Professor J. Ph. Vogel ; (2) Professor R. L. Turner ; (3) Dr. B. C. Law and
- (4) Professor Helmer Smith.

The following were elected to fill vacancies in the Council :—

President :—Mr. S. A. Pakeman ; Vice-Presidents :—Messrs. P. E. P. Deraniyagala and R. L. Brohier ; Joint Honorary Secretaries :—Mr. K. Vaithianathan and Dr. C. E. Godakumbura ; Honorary Treasurer :—Mr. A. H. M. Ismail.

Ordinary Members :—

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. E. A. P. Wijeyeratne ; (2) Mr. S. J. C. Kadirgamar ;
- (3) Dr. S. Paranavitana ; (4) Dr. G. C. Mendis ; (5) Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz ;
- (6) Professor K. Kanapathipillai and (7) Mr. M. D. Raghavan.

The President on behalf of the Society expressed their appreciation of the arduous duties performed for many years by the retiring Honorary Secretary, Dr. P. E. Pieris and proposed a vote of thanks.

Lecture by Dr. P. E. Pieris on "The Prince Dore-Svamy and the 1817 rising."

Minutes of the General Meeting held at the Museum Lecture Hall, on Friday, the 22nd July, 1949, at 6 p.m.

*Present* :—The President, Mr. S. A. Pakeman, after presenting the Members of the Council to the Patron, His Excellency the Governor-General Rt. Hon. Lord Soulbury, P.C., G.C.M.G., M.C., formally invited him to take the chair.

There were 82 members and 40 visitors present.

His Excellency said he was grateful to the Society for inviting him to be their Patron and accepted the invitation with pleasure.

*Minutes* :—The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the 28th March, 1949 were read and confirmed.

*Donations* :—The Society expressed its thanks to Dr. A. Nell for the donation of Journals of the Parent Society, of the Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society and of the Folk-Lore Society.

*New Members* :—The names of 19 new members elected since the last General Meeting were tabled.

- (1) Messrs. W. D. Pinto-Jayawardena (2) B. A. D. Weerasinghe (3) I. B. Karunatilaka (4) L. Edirisinghe (5) R. A. K. Perera (6) E. R. Eratne
- (7) E. L. W. de Zoysa (8) D. C. S. Waidyaratna (9) P. A. Silva (10) M. Zubair-Omar (11) A. B. Mendis (12) S. W. Atukorala (13) D. L. P. Jayasuriya (14) R. M. Samaranayake (15) A. W. Nadarajah (16) S. Jayaveerasingham (17) E. E. C. Abayasekera (18) A. Sittampalam
- and (19) Mudaliyar A. C. G. S. Amarasekara.

*Lecture* :—Mr. R. L. Brohier, O.B.E., read a paper on "Land, Maps and Surveys in Maritime Ceylon during the Dutch Administration."

Mr. S. A. Pakeman, The President, and Mr. J. F. Wilson, Surveyor-General and Dr. A. Nell offered some remarks. (See P. 137)

His Excellency concluding the proceedings stated :—"It is of paramount importance to the new Ceylon that has come into being that a learned Society such as this should flourish.



"By its means Ceylon will be assisted in the work of re-discovering and reviving the foundation of her culture, her art and literature and history.

"I am confident that Ceylon is on the threshold of a wonderful renaissance and that her independence has opened the door to the untrammelled growth of creative activity that can only develop in a free country and that cannot expand in the shade of alien control."

**Publications Received for the Period 30th October, 1948 to  
15th September, 1949**

Man, Vols. 48 and 49, Articles 129—165 and Articles 1—116; United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey Water Supply Papers 955 and 966, Geological Survey Bulletin, 959 A to D Jan./Sept. 1948; Indian Minerals, Vol. 1 No. 3 and 4, Vol. 2 No. 1—3; The Ceylon Trade Journal, Vol. 13, No. 11, Vol. 1 Nos. 1—9, Supplement January, 1949; Endeavour, Vol. 7 No. 28, Vol. 8 Nos. 29—31; University of Ceylon Review, Vol. 6, No. 4, Vol. 7 Nos. 1—3; Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol. 23 Part 3; Ceylon Journal of Medical Science, Vol. 1, Part 1, Vol. 6 Part 2 Section D; Bulletin De L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Tome 43; Royal Geographical Society of Australia, South Australian Branch, Vol. 49; Transport Conditions in Ceylon, Vol. 3; The Engineering Association of Ceylon, Transactions for 1948 Part 1; Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon, Vol. 39 No. 1—3; Ceylon Health News, Vol. 13 No. 5—6; Journal of the Maha Bodhi Society, Vol. 56 No. 10 and 11, Vol. 57 No. 1—6; Blumea, Vol. 6 No. 1 p. 1—336 of 1948; The Middle Way, Vol. 23 No. 4, Vol. 24 No. 1 and 2; Journal of the Royal Empire Society, Vol. 39 No. 6, Vol. 40 No. 1—4; The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. 34 Parts 1—4; Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. 10 South Indian Inscriptions (Text); Courrier De France, October 1948 to June 1949; American Journal of Philology, Vol. 69 Whole 275 and 276, Vol. 70 Whole 277, 278 and 279; United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey Professional Papers 213 and 214 B; The United States Quarterly Book List, Vol. 4 No. 3—6, Vol. 5 No. 1 and 2; United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Statistics 1947, Year book of agriculture 1948, Chronique D Indochine, Dec. 1948 to July 1949; Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. 21 No. 64, Vol. 22 No. 65, Theses Supplement No. 10, 27th Annual Report 1947—1948; Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 110 No. 7—13, Vol. 111 No. 1—3; Smithsonian Institute, Annual Report 1947, 65th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1947/1948, Report of the U.S. National Museum 1948; Royal Society of New South Wales, Journal and Proceedings Vol. 72 Part 1.

Ceylon Geographical Society Bulletin, Vol. 3 No. 2, 3 and 4; Bibliography of Periodical Literature on the Near and Middle East, Vol. 7 and 9; Free Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Vol. 1 No. 2; Sierra Populca Speech, Publication No. 8; Elliptic Function Tables, Vol. 109; Hand Book of South American Indians, Vol. 4; Social Thought in Bengal, 1757—1947; The Periodical, Vol. 27 No. 223, Vol. 28 No. 224 and 225; Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. 38 No. 4 (New Series); Verslagen Omtrent Srijks Oude Archieven, 1942 Series 15, 1946 Series 19, 1947 Series 20; Worship of the Triple Gem; Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 25 Part 8; The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 24 No. 3 and 4, Vol. 25 No. 1; Journal of the Andra Historical Research Society, Vol. 16 Parts 1—4; Luzac's Oriental List and Book review, Vol. 60 No. 1; Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen, (1) Dampati Lalangon, (2) Bud Heidkundig Verslag 1941—1947; Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-Land-Envolkunde, Vol. 83 Parts 3 and 4, 1948, Vol. 83, 1949; Bulletin De La Societe Des Etudes Indochinoises, Tome 24 No. 3 and 4; Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Vol. 100, 1948, Natulae naturae No. 201—211; Proceedings of the California Academy of Science, Vol. 24 8—11, Vol. 26 1—6, Annual report for 1947; Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch, One Journal; Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 13 Part 1; A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, Madras, Vol. 6 D No. 2174—2725; Cobetckoe Boctokobeaenne, V. 1948, (Russian); Spolia Zeylanica, Vol. 25 Parts 1 and 2; Map of Colombo in Historical Series, Portuguese Period, No. 2 Abhidamma Studies, Researches in Buddhist Psychology by Nyanaponika; Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 25 Parts 1 and 2; Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, "Sir William Jones Bicentenary" Vol. 1746—1946; The Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current



Acquisitions, Vol. 6 No. 2; Tamil Lexicon (University of Madras), Vol. 1 Part 2, Vol. V Part 3, Supplement Parts 1—3; Epigraphica Zeylanica, Vol. 1 Parts 2, 3 and 4, Vol. 2; Vol. 3 and Vol. 4; Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland New Series Vol. 11 and 20, 1917 Parts 1—4, 1919 Part 2, 1926 Part 4, 1935 Part 2, 1936 Part 3 and 4, 1939 Part 1, 1946 Parts 3 and 4.

### Donations

*Dr. A. Nell*—Indian Art and Letters, 1925 Vol. 1, 1926 Vol. 2, No. 1; New Series, 1927 to 1948, Vol. 1 to 4 and Vol. 18, 21 and Vol. 22 No. 1; Quarterly Transactions, of Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 47—59; R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland 1941, Parts 1 to 4, 1942, Parts 3 and 4, 1943, Parts 1 to 4, 1944, Parts 1 to 4, 1945, Parts 1 and 2, 1947, Parts 3 and 4; Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1873 Jnl. No. 18, 1905, Vol. 18, Jnl. 56, 1908, Vol. 21, Jnl. 61 and 62, 1909, Vol. 22, Jnl. 65, 1942, Vol. 35, Jnl. 95 and 96, 1944 Vol. 36, Jnl. 97; Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, 1930, Vol. 3 No. 1 and 2, 1931, Vol. 4 No. 1, 1932, Vol. 4 No. 2, 1931, Vol. 5 No. 1 and No. 2 (Supplement); Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology, 1940, Vol. 3; Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1919—1920, Journal of Indian History, 1932, Vol. 11 Serial 32 Part 2, 1932, Vol. 11 Serial 33 Part 3.

*Mr. H. C. Wijesinha*, Two Ola Manuscripts, (Pali in the Sinhalese Character);  
(1) Samantakūṭa-vapṇanā.  
(2) Rasavāhini;

### BOOKS AND PERIODICALS (SINHALESE)

දෙවුන්දර ඉතිහාසය (ලිලිසේන) 1949; සමුපකාරය

The following members were elected since the issue of the last Journal:—

#### Life Members

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mr. B. H. De Zoysa                | 4. Mr. R. H. De Mel                    |
| 2. Mrs. S. E. Wijegooneratne, M.B.E. | 5. Mr. J. A. D. Victoria, C.B.E., J.P. |
| 3. Mr. G. W. Ranasekere              | 6. Dr. H. C. P. Gunewardene, F.R.C.S.  |

#### Transferred from ordinary members to life members:

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 7. Mr. Richard De Silva             | 8. Dr. C. E. Godakumbura                  |
| 9. Mr. E. W. P. Jayasuriya          | 10. Mr. C. A. Marasinghe                  |
| 11. Mr. J. Tyagaraja                | 12. Mr. H. W. Tambiah                     |
| 13. Mr. L. C. VanGeyzel             | 14. Gate Mudaliyar S. T. P. Rodrigo, J.P. |
| 15. Mr. A. H. M. Ismail, M.A., J.P. |   |

#### Non-Resident Members

Mr. U. V. Sektaramaiya, B.A., B.L.

#### Ordinary Members

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| 1. Miss Indrani Savundranayagam B.A....   | 7th March 1949 |
| 2. Miss Chitra Wickramasuriya B.A. ...    | do             |
| 3. Miss S. Dissanayake, B.A. ...          | do             |
| 4. Miss Minette De Silva, A.R.I. B.A. ... | do             |
| 5. Mr. D. G. O. Vajirapani, M.A. ...      | do             |
| 6. „ M. Chandrasoma, B.A., C.C.S. ...     | do             |
| 7. „ T. D. Jayasuriya, J.P., M.A. ...     | do             |
| 8. „ V. D. V. Mahatantilla, B.A. ...      | do             |
| 9. „ E. T. Kannangara ...                 | do             |
| 10. „ Francis Jayatilleke ...             | do             |
| 11. „ E. de Z. Siriwardena Rajapakse ...  | do             |
| 12. „ E. Ranawake ...                     | do             |
| 13. „ R. N. Gunaratna ...                 | do             |
| 14. „ J. D. A. Perera ...                 | do             |
| 15. „ B. J. Perera, B.A. ...              | do             |
| 16. „ V. Nalliah ...                      | do             |
| 17. „ H. A. J. Hulugalle ...              | do             |
| 18. „ L. P. Goonetilleke ...              | do             |



19.	Mr. D. T. Devendra	...	7th March, 1949
20.	" W. M. W. De Silva, B.A.	...	do
21.	" W. J. Fernando, B.A.	...	do
22.	" D. C. Goonawardene, M.A.	...	do
23.	" H. D. J. Gunawardene, B.A.	...	do
24.	" B. R. N. Jayasena	...	do
25.	" P. L. Perera	...	do
26.	" K. S. Seneviratne	...	do
27.	" K. M. S. Rodrigo, B.A.	...	do
28.	" D. Arampatta, B.A.	...	do
29.	" E. S. Mohatti	...	do
30.	" A. W. W. Alwis	...	do
31.	" E. V. R. Samarawickrama	...	do
32.	" W. D. Pinto-Jayawardhan, B.A.	...	21st March, 1949
33.	" B. A. D. Weerasinghe	...	28th March, 1949
34.	" I. B. Karunatilaka, B.A.	...	do
35.	" L. Edirisinghe, B.MUS.	...	do
36.	" R. A. K. Perera, B.A.	...	do
37.	" Pundit S. Ambalavanar, B.A.	...	do
38.	" E. R. Eratne, B.A.	...	do
39.	" E. L. W. De Zoysa, B.A.	...	do
40.	" D. C. S. Waidyaratna	...	do
41.	" P. A. Silva, B.A., C.C.S.	...	do
42.	" M. Z. Omar	...	do
43.	" A. B. Mendis, F.R.I. B.A.	...	do
44.	" S. W. Atukorala	...	do
45.	" D. L. P. Jayasuriya	...	do
46.	" R. M. Samaranyake	...	do
47.	" W. N. Arumugam	...	do
48.	" S. Jayaveerasingham, B.A.	...	do
49.	" E. E. C. Abayasekera, B.COM.	...	do
50.	Mudaliyar A. C. G. S. Amerasekara, O.B.E.	...	do
51.	" A. R. Hathy	...	21st October, 1949
52.	" M. F. A. Caffoor	...	do
53.	" N. P. Fernando, J.P.	...	do
54.	" W. Abeysondera	...	do
55.	" C. Nadarajah	...	do
56.	Miss D. S. Wickramage	...	do
57.	Miss Y. Abesinha	...	do
58.	Miss K. Samaraweera	...	do
59.	Mr. U. D. Jayasekera, M.A.	...	do
60.	" M. S. S. Casie Chetty	...	do
61.	" S. U. Somasegara, M.A.	...	do
62.	Dr. J. R. Blaze, M.D.	...	do
63.	Mr. P. C. Palipane	...	do
64.	" B. L. S. Silva, B.Sc.	...	do
65.	" B. Jeevunjee	...	do
66.	" S. Somasundaram	...	do
67.	" H. W. Senanayake, B.A.	...	do
68.	" C. E. H. Amerasekera, C.G.S.	...	do
69.	" V. C. Jayasuriya, B.Sc.	...	do
70.	" A. A. Witanachchi, B.A.	...	do
71.	" Senator A. R. A. Razik, O.B.E.	...	do
72.	" Charles Mathew Fernando	...	do
73.	" J. Cyril Baptist	...	do
74.	" M. Henry Pieris, M.P.	...	do
75.	" T. B. Poholiyadda Dissawe	...	do
76.	" K. J. Jayaratne	...	do







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