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PRINCE VIJAYA AND THE ARYANIZATION OF CEYLON

By A. L. BASHAM

[From a lecture delivered before the Curia Historica, University of Ceylon,
27th November, 1951.]

THE LEGEND of Vijaya is interesting partly because it is familiar to almost everyone, and is still implicitly believed by many intelligent people (with mental reservations about the supernatural or unnatural elements in it,) and partly because it is important both to the historian of Ceylon and of India, as containing what the Sinhalese of perhaps as much as two thousand years ago believed about the origin of their culture. It is for this reason that the legend, which as a statement of historical fact must be rejected root and branch, can be made to yield valuable information.

To the legends in the early chapters of the *Mahavamsa*, medieval England can provide striking comparisons. Just as the Buddha was thought to have visited Ceylon, so it was believed that Jesus visited England. This myth, which has no historical justification whatever, incidentally inspired one of the most famous poems in the English language, and it is still believed as an article of faith by a small and fantastic religious organization in England. Similarly, just as the medieval Sinhalese chroniclers believed that civilization was brought to their Island by a refugee prince, Vijaya, in medieval England Prince Brutus, grandson of the Trojan hero Aeneas was thought to have brought civilization to Britain. English chroniclers, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, regularly commenced their histories with Prince Brutus, who was believed to have given his name in a corrupt form to the Island of Britain. By the 17th century intelligent men of letters, such as John Milton, had realized that the Brutus story had no foundation in fact whatever, and it is now forgotten, except by those who study the history of history.

But the analogy between the two stories can be pushed too far. The medieval English chroniclers wrote of events which they believed to have happened some 2,500 years before their own time. The author of the *Mahavamsa* did not relegate the story of Vijaya to the most shadowy past, but believed it to have happened some thousand years before his own day. And, more important, there is every reason to believe that the Vijaya legend is correct in so far as it maintains that civilization was brought to Ceylon from India; that civilization was brought to Britain from Asia Minor is quite impossible. One cannot in fact dismiss Vijaya in quite the same perfunctory fashion as the legendary Prince Brutus.

The Vijaya story is well known in Ceylon, but it will be useful to outline it briefly in the form given in the sixth and seventh chapters of the *Mahavamsa*. Vijaya's great-grandfather was a king of Vanga, who had married a princess of Kalirga. Their daughter ran away from home and joined a caravan going to Magadha. In a region called in the *Mahavamsa* Lada or Lala the caravan was attacked by a lion, with whom the girl fell in love. By the lion she had a son and a daughter. In the boy's sixteenth year the three left the lion's lair and returned to civilization. The son, Sihabahu, ultimately killed his father the lion, and when the old king of Vanga died without heirs became king in his place. He left his kingdom, married his sister Sihasivali and founded a new kingdom at Sihapura, in Lada, the land of his birth.

Vijaya was the eldest son of this incestuous union. As crown prince his courses were so evil that the people urged Sihabahu to put him to death. Instead Vijaya and his 700 followers were exiled, after being humiliated by being shaved over half the head. They were sent to sea in a vessel which landed at the port of Supparaka. Even here Vijaya's followers were so recklessly violent that their lives were in danger from the enraged citizens, so the band of exiles put to sea again. On the day of the Buddha's *Nirvana* they landed at Tambapanni, which was inhabited by yakkhas. Helped by the yakkhini Kuvanna or Kuveni, whom he married, Vijaya destroyed many of the yakkhas and gained a foothold on the Island, where his followers founded villages. Then he grew tired of his wife and, in order to fit himself for the rank of king, sent to the king of Pandu at Madhura for a daughter in marriage; his envoys came back with a princess and many other maidens of good birth, who were married by Vijaya's followers. With the maidens came craftsmen and "a thousand families of the eighteen guilds". Kuvanna was sent away with her two children, and was killed by one of her own people. The two children of Kuvanna fled, and their union resulted in the Pulindas of Malaya.

So an Aryan kingdom was firmly founded in Ceylon, and the yakkhas were driven out into the wilds. When Vijaya died childless his place was taken by his nephew Panduvasudeva, who landed in Ceylon from Vijaya's old home of Sihapura with thirty-two companions, in the guise of mendicant monks.¹ Bhaddakaccana, Panduvasudeva's queen, was connected with the Buddha's tribe, the Sakiyas; she arrived in Ceylon by semi-magical means, and was followed by her brothers.²

1. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. VIII, v. 11-12.

2. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. VIII, v. 18 ff.

This is the *Mahavamsa's* story of the settlement of Ceylon. The author has evidently attempted a consistent synthesis of more than one tradition. Other versions of the story exist, some of which do not even mention Vijaya ;¹ but we may assume that the legend as we have it in the chronicle is that which was believed to be the most authentic in the Island itself at the time of the *Mahavamsa's* composition, and as such deserves special attention.

Attempts have been made to make sense of it by eliminating or rationalizing the improbable elements. Thus Vijaya's grandfather the lion was not a real lion, but a bandit who went by the name of Siha.² This system of rationalizing legend is itself a very ancient one, at least as old as the Greek writer Palæphatus, and quite fails to carry conviction. The lion in the story is a real lion with teeth and claws and mane, and the authors of the legend evidently believed him to be a real lion. To utilize the story for historical purposes we must employ another technique. We must attempt to put ourselves in the position of the author of the *Mahavamsa*, who brought these various floating traditions together and made a consecutive story of them ; we must assume that he believed them to be true, and ask ourselves why he believed them to be true, and why he chose just these elements to make up his connected account of Vijaya's invasion. Thus it may be possible to arrive at some tentative conclusions about the factual basis of the legend.

First we will examine the geographical data of the story, in the hope that it may yield some information about the origin of Ceylon's Aryan colonists. Vijaya's great-grandfather was king of Vanga, which is Bengal, and his great-grandmother a princess of Kalinga, the coastal strip comprising Southern Orissa and Northern Madras. His grandfather the lion had his lair in Lada, which is described as adjoining Vanga and on the road to Magadha or South Bihar, but is also said to be on the seacoast, since Vijaya was sent to sea by his father Sihabahu. Sihabahu's capital, where Vijaya was born, was also in Lada. During his exile Vijaya stopped for an unspecified time at Supparaka, which is the modern Sopara, near Bombay, and then came to Ceylon. Panduvasudeva also came from Sihapura in Lada. Of the women in the story Kuvanna was indigenous, while Vijaya's second bride was the daughter of the Pandu king of Madhura in Southern India ; this clearly refers to the Pandya kingdom of Madura. Panduvasudeva's bride was descended from the Sakiyas, and came from the region of the Ganges. Evidently the author of the legend associated the settlement of Ceylon with all these peoples and places. What special reasons had he for doing so ?

1. H. W. Codrington : *Short History of Ceylon*, revised edition, 1939, pp. 8-9.

2. John M. Senaveratna : *Story of the Sinhalese*, Colombo, 1923, Vol. I, p. 7.

We may first eliminate the connection with the Sakiyas. As in Islam it is considered highly honourable to have some remote connexion with the prophet's family, so among early Buddhist kings efforts were made to connect their families with the clan of the Buddha. The Sakiyas were probably never more than a small hill tribe and tradition had it that they were virtually annihilated just before Buddha's *Nirvana*,¹ but legends of the survival of groups of refugees arose. Among these a well known story connects the Mauryas with the Sakiyas, and thus relates the great Asoka to the Buddha.² Similarly to the monks who preserved and developed the Ceylon tradition it would be impossible that the pious Buddhist kings of the Island should not be connected in some way with the Buddha's clan; so a strain of Sakiya blood was brought into their legendary ancestry by the story of Bhaddakaccana. The addition of her brothers to the list of immigrants would allow other pious noble families in the Island to claim connection with the Buddha. We need suspect no one of conscious fraud in this particular; probably the story began with vague suggestions mooted by bhikkhus in close touch with the kings of Ceylon, and was soon developed until it was implicitly believed.

Similarly it is possible that the great-grandmother of Vijaya was made a princess of Kalinga because of the connection of that region with Ceylon in later times. Before the *Mahavamsa* was written the *Dantadhatu* was brought from Kalinga, in the reign of Siri Meghavanna.³ It is likely that about this time suggestions of earlier connexions with Kalinga should have been made, which resulted in a character from Kalinga playing a minor role in the legend. In any case there is reason to believe that in the early 6th century B.C., when, according to the chronology of the legend, Vijaya's great-grandmother must have lived, Kalinga was quite uncivilized, or at least unaryanized.⁴ We may reject any historical connection between the Aryan settlers of Ceylon and either the Sakiyas or Kalinga.

Kuvanna and the yakkhas are easily explained. It would, I think, be universally agreed that they represent the aboriginal

1. *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, pp. 346-9, 357-61.

2. *Mahavamsa Tika*, p. 183.

3. *Mahavamsa (Culavamsa)*, Ch. 37, v. 92-97.

4. Some Indian historians would disagree with this statement, (e.g., H. C. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., 1950, pp. 87-88). But the *Baudhayana Dharma Sutra* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV, 1, i, 30-31) mentions Kalinga as an impure land to which Aryans should not go. This seems to me strongly to indicate that at this time it was not Aryanized. If, as is shown below, even Bengal was outside the pale of Aryan culture, it is very unlikely that Kalinga, which was much further from the centre of Aryan influence, should have been within it.

inhabitants of the Island. Indian and Sinhalese traditions alike agree that before the arrival of the Aryans Ceylon was peopled by demons, whether rakshasas or yakkhas. Therefore it was inevitable that, according to the legend, Vijaya should have met yakkhas on his arrival. The story of Vijaya's two children by Kuvanna settling in Malaya and becoming the ancestors of the Pulindas seems to me to have evolved in order to account for the existence of some half wild mountain tribe, which had absorbed some elements of Aryan culture, and perhaps also of Aryan blood. Geiger believed that the word Pulinda was "here evidently a name of the Waddas".¹ This is unlikely, since the yakkhas themselves probably represent the Vaddas, and the Pulindas are specifically stated to be only yakkhas on their mother's side.

Equally easy to account for are Vijaya's second wife, the princess of the Pandyas, and her enormous retinue. Dravidian infiltration into Ceylon must have been going on from the earliest historical times and probably before. The story of the princess arose from the need to account for the presence of Tamils in Ceylon, and to provide them with a place in the social and ethnic structure.

We are left with three place-names unaccounted for—Vanga, Lada, and Supparaka. The identification of Vanga and Supparaka is without question, and has already been given. Lada presents problems however. It is generally thought to refer to Lata, the region near the mouth of the Narmada, with its important port of Bharukaccha. But Lada is said in the story to adjoin Vanga, and to lie on the road between Vanga and Magadha. On this geographical basis it might be suggested that Lada of the *Mahavamsa* represents Ladha or Western Bengal. But the story clearly states that Lada adjoins the sea. Both Ladha and Vanga were aryanized at the time of the Buddha. We have good evidence for this in a Jaina tradition which describes Mahavira as having visited Ladha in order to work off his *karma* by suffering the insults of the barbarous non-Aryan inhabitants.² If Ladha was not civilized it is unlikely that Vanga, further to the East, should have been so. If it be objected that this tradition may be inaccurate, it yet indicates that even after the time of the Buddha and Mahavira both districts of Bengal were thought of as comparatively uncivilized.

Perhaps we can account for the inclusion of Vanga also. The authors of the legend were Sinhalese monks, who had but a vague knowledge of Indian geography. We must realize how difficult it must have been in those days without maps for one who had not travelled himself to have any clear idea of distances or directions. Vijaya was an adventurer who carved out a new kingdom for

1. *Mahavamsa* Translation, p. 60 n. 5.

2. *Acaranga Sutra* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXVI), 1.8.3.2, with footnote. V. also *Avasyaka cūrna* of Jinadasa, Ratlam 1928-9, p. 296.

himself. It was but logical that he should have inherited his adventurous nature from his father, who therefore must also have founded a new kingdom. Thus Sihabahu's original home was not Lada, but some country contiguous to it. The author of the story had heard that Vanga was adjacent to Ladha. He confused Ladha and Lata and decided that Vanga was the first home of Sihabahu. I do not feel that the fact that Vijaya's great-grandfather is said to have been a king of Vanga and his great-grandmother a princess of Kalinga is sufficient evidence to postulate two streams of invasion, the first, "probably mainly Dravidian, from Orissa and perhaps "Southern Bengal", and the second, mainly Aryan, from Sihapura in Lata and Sopara.¹ It is clearly stated that Vijaya came from Lada, after stopping at Supparaka. Vanga and Kalinga were given a minor place in the story for other reasons.

Thus of the places and peoples of the story we are left with Lada and Supparaka. Lada seems certainly Lata, on the west coast, and the fact that it is said to have been Vijaya's birthplace indicates the existence of a very widespread tradition of Aryan immigration from that region. The reference to Supparaka is very remarkable. According to Geiger's translation of the *Mahavamsa* : "The men, women and children sent forth separately, landed separately each (company) upon an island, and they dwelt even there. The island where the children landed was called Naggadipa and the island where the women landed Mahiladipaka. But Vijaya landed at the haven called Supparaka, but being there in danger by reason of the violence of his followers he embarked again".² Those who develop a settled legend from floating traditions revel in regularity and symmetry in their accounts. We are told that each of the three companies landed upon an island and we would expect to read that "the island where Vijaya landed was called Lankadipa". Instead he landed not on an island, but at the haven of Supparaka. The author of the *Mahavamsa* must have had some very special reason for breaking the regularity of his story by the inclusion of Supparaka ; we have no knowledge of any close connexion between Ceylon and Supparaka in later times, which might have made it necessary to include Supparaka in the story. I conclude therefore that it was mentioned because of the existence in ancient Ceylon of a tradition so widespread and strong that it had to be included in the story, even at the expense of symmetry.

Thus, after an examination of the place names in the legend, it would seem that Lada and Supparaka are the only ones which cannot be ascribed to later interpolation. The early Sinhalese

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, 1922, p. 806.

2. *Mahavamsa* Translation, p. 54.

had strong traditions that their ancestors came from the western coast of India. Invaders from the East there may also have been. An early Aryan outpost seems to have been Tamalitti, in the Ganges delta, whence, ships sailed for Ceylon at an early period. But the weight of the Vijayan legend is on the side of the west coast.

Against this view linguistic objections might be raised. The language of the early Sinhalese inscriptions seems to have been influenced by the Eastern or Magadhi form of Prakrit. Thus they contain sporadically the Magadhi *e* termination in the nominative singular of nouns, and often employ the letter *śa* in place of *sa*.¹ But these facts may perhaps be accounted for by the influence of Magadhi, the Mauryan official language, on the Sinhalese court language at the time of Asoka.

On the other hand the frequent substitution of *ha* for Indo-Aryan *sa*, which exists in the Sinhalese language to this day, suggests a Western source, and even reminds us of the Iranian dialects where the mutation is regular.

Further evidence can be produced to connect ancient Ceylon with Western India. Thus the term *gamani*, which occurs in so many ancient Sinhalese royal names, is found only occasionally in Pali texts, and is very rare in later Sanskrit. But it is a word common in the Vedas and Brahmanas, where the *gramani* was an important officer of the raja or tribal chief, perhaps the leader of a clan or sept of the tribe rather than a village headman. The use of this word in Ceylon perhaps points to a settlement of the Island at a very early period, when it was still common in India. It also strengthens our conclusion that the settlers came from the West, for it was in Western India that the term was widely used in the pre-Buddhist period.²

Among the earliest royal inscriptions of Ceylon is that of Tissa Abhaya, who is identified by Wickremasinghe with Lajji Tissa of the *Mahavamsa*.³ This king is believed by Dr. Mendis to have come to the throne in 119 B.C.⁴ In the inscription he refers to his father Gamani Tissa as *maharaja*. But in India at this time the term was only used by the Indo-Greek kings of the North-West.⁵

1. On this see further Geiger : *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, Colombo, 1938, pp. 1-3. Geiger ascribes the Eastern element in Sinhalese to an invasion from Eastern India after that from the West.
2. I owe much of this paragraph to a stimulating conversation with Dr. G. C. Mendis.
3. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 142.
4. *Early History of Ceylon*, 5th ed., p. 121. *University of Ceylon Review*, V, Pt. I, p. 52.
5. Cf. D. C. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions* . . . , Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 232, n. 3

The Mauryas and Satavahanas were simple *rajas*. Heliodoros, the ambassador of the Greek king Antialcidas of Taxila to the Sunga king Bhagabhadra, the most powerful Indian ruler of his time, refers to his own master as *maharaja*, but the king at whose court he resides is a mere *raja*. The pillar inscription of Heliodoros is approximately contemporary with that of Tissa Abhaya. Thus it seems possible that the term *maharaja* was introduced into Ceylon from North-Western India, and that the tradition that the Aryan settlers of the Island came from the West was strengthened by later contacts.

A further striking point of contact with North Western India is in the importance of the king's brother in the affairs of the kingdom. We find the same phenomenon among the Iranized Saka kings of the North-West at the beginning of the Christian era, and the brother-to-brother succession, which was frequent if not regular in the Island, can only be paralleled in India by the succession of the Saka rulers of Ujjain.¹

A further connection with the West is in the very name of the Island, for which the fantastic and rather repulsive story of the princess and the lion was intended to account. If we are to believe that the band of Aryans who brought their culture to the Island were "the Sinhalas or Lion tribe",² we must accept this as suggesting that they emanated from Western India, where in ancient times the lion was quite common, rather than from the East, where it was not known.

A further point of the legend that we must try to elucidate is the account of Panduvasudeva. Why was it necessary for the myth-maker to bring him from Lata to take over the throne on Vijaya's death? I suggest that he had other traditions to deal with as well as that of Vijaya, one of which was that the Island was colonized by Panduvasudeva; he harmonized the two by making Panduvasudeva Vijaya's nephew. The story suggests that there was more than one wave of Aryan immigration, and that the second wave came from the same part of India as the first.

The last aspect of the legend with which I wish to deal is the character of Vijaya. In a legend such as this, developed in pious monastic circles and intended for edification, one would expect Vijaya to be a paragon of all the virtues; but he is nothing of the kind. He and his followers do "intolerable deeds of violence" until they are expelled from Lada, and at Supparaka Vijaya is

1. *C.f.* A. S. Altekar in *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, Lahore, 1946, p. 50
2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, 1922, p. 606.

“in danger by reason of the violence of his followers”. His conduct towards the yakkhas in general and Kuvanna in particular is most reprehensible, and his father and grandmother are not without fault, not to speak of his grandfather the lion.

It seems to me that the monks who incorporated the story into their chronicle would have liked to make Vijaya noble and virtuous, but were working with popular traditions too strong to gainsay. The Sinhalese of ancient days believed that the founders of their civilization were not peaceful pioneers or even refugees, but pirates, exiles, criminals, and freebooters, and they may have been right. It may be that one of their most successful leaders was called Vijaya, but of this I am very doubtful. The name, which means “victory”, is just what one would expect in a legend of this sort. As we have said, certain other stories of the colonization of Ceylon ignore him completely.

In my opinion Vijaya is not an individual, but a type, the bold and ruthless Aryan pioneer, who was one of the elements responsible for the spread of Aryan culture all over India and beyond. The other element is perhaps typified by Panduvasudeva, who is said to have landed in Ceylon with his followers in the guise of religious mendicants. These two Aryan types, the man of action and the man of thought, together no doubt with Dravidian and aboriginal elements, produced the great civilization of Ceylon.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SINHALESE-FOREIGN RELATIONS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

By NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA

PROBLEMATIC

CEYLON,¹ THE Pearl of the Orient, the gem in the Indian Ocean, has been known to the ancient people of both East and West. Beautiful legendary tales woven around, perhaps historical reminiscences, are current with the Sinhalese of the present day. Some of these stories of a religious or historical nature have been also recorded in the literary and historical works of ancient Ceylon and have been preserved to this day. Some of these are not without deep interest and historical value.

The historical period of the Island begins with the arrival of Prince Vijaya. From thence onwards Indian contacts grew. The records improved and the history becomes truer and more reliable. These contacts were of a multifarious nature, both pleasant and unpleasant, and induced by social, cultural, religious and commercial or hostile motives on either or both sides.

An old chronicle² has recorded that "from very early times this Lanka was colonised by people from Jambudvipa". The next legendary figure we come across is Ravana who was defeated in Lanka by Rama the hero of the Ramayana. The kingdom was handed over by the victor to King Vibhisana of Kelaniya. The *Ramayana*³ seems to portray most of the geographical outlines of the island approximately. The *Dipavamsa*⁴ has also preserved such traditional lore. Then Yakkhas and such other primitive tribes like Nagas were, for certain, living along a belt of country extending from Kelaniya as far as Nagadipa⁵ near Mannar. These people⁶

1. The list gives some of the names which have been applied to Ceylon by various persons from time to time: Tambapanni, Sinhala-dipa, Sinhaladvipa, Lanka, Lankadvipa, Ilam, Isia-lan-shan, Palaesimundu, Salica, Sarandib, Seilan, Seng-tia-la, Serendib, Seyllen, Sieladiba, Silan, Si-lan, Singaldib, Sinhala, Sirandib, Sylen, Taprobana, Taprobane.
2. B. C. Law: *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 455.
3. S. Narayana: *Ramayana*.
4. *Dipavamsa* gives the length of the Island as 32 yojanas which is nearly correct. *Dipavamsa: Text and translation*, H. Oldenberg.
5. It is natural for early travellers to describe peoples of new areas as barbarous and sub-human. See *Assavalaha-Jataka: Cowell & Rouse*. Vol. II, p. 89-91.
6. The modern jungle tribes of Veddas bear a close resemblance to the primitive tribes of South India. *Census of India: Vol. I, pt. 1*, p. 444.

must have migrated from South India long before the Vijayan invasion. The language of the Yakkhas and Rakkhasas was said to have been Andhra.

The Buddha legend is woven into the ancient legendary fabric without any discrepant threads manifesting on the original pattern. The Yakkhas, Rakkhasas and Nagas constitute the aboriginal population still. The Buddha¹ is said to have visited Ceylon on three occasions. Further, scattered throughout the Buddhist legends may be found a hint about the coming events of the future. Synchronised with the Parinirvana of the Tathagata is the event of the arrival of Vijaya. Being banished by his father, Sinhabahu of Sinhapura in Lada of the Vanga country for acts of lawlessness, Vijaya accompanied by 700 followers lands at Tambapanni² in Ceylon, having touched at Supparaka on the voyage.

He was an adventurous Kshatriya Prince who overpowered the island population and subjugated the inhabitants with the help of an intriguing woman named Kuveni.³ Later he banished her and made arrangements to invite an Aryan princess from India. Messengers were sent with a letter to woo the daughter of the King of Pandu for himself and other maidens for the rest of his company. The company arrived at Madhura⁴ by ship with the king's daughter and other maidens. Craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds accompanied the party to Mahatittha in ships. Since this event Vijaya continued to send to his wife's father annually a shell pearl worth 200,000 pieces of gold.

Anthropological data so far available help to establish the early occupation of Ceylon by peoples of rude cultures as represented today by some of their still surviving descendants. It is certain that during ancient times the whole island could not have been peopled by them but that only the north-west and south-west areas formed their settlements. Just as people arrived from the west, even so early settlers may have arrived in the island from the east.

This least suspected source of racial infiltration from the east may be looked for in the far away Indonesian⁵ group of islands. The people may have entered the south-east coast also in a series of

1. *Mahavamsa* : Eng. Translation, W. Geiger, 1912. Ch. I, vv. 21-32.
2. This may be a small island near Mannar.
3. Kuveni was a Yakkha princess, the daughter of a chief. She won over the Island to Vijaya by betraying her own people. Two children were born to her by Vijaya.
4. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. 7, v. 49-74. The city has not been identified.
5. The Polynesians were famous seafarers and they had large boats that could undertake distant voyages. The Indonesians belonged to this stock.

waves.¹ Little racial but more cultural evidence is available about such people although both may be considered by some to be negligible. The racial elements may be a trace of Mongolian features that has often been suspected among the Sinhalese. The cultural elements were presumably the technique of tool making, outrigger canoe,³ coconut,⁴ masks,⁵ mode of wearing the lower garment,⁶ and the crocodile cult.⁷ All of these may be detected by a careful observation even today. When these people came to Ceylon is not known. How they came may be inferred as the outrigger which is found in Ceylon, and west coast of South India,⁸ as far as Madagascar, can be attributed to them. Such a racial strain and a similar culture may be found along the Malabar coast.

Each area had access to the coastal belt with a sea port⁹ of its own. The Vijaya legend refers to the inhabitants of Ceylon during the 5th century B.C. as Yakkhas and Rakkhasas.¹⁰ There were also Nagas.¹¹ The early descriptions agree in essentials with the characteristics of the primitive tribes as are found now. The state of society obtaining at the time was not by any means a static one. It was probably nomadic but with an element of seasonal permanence. There were fishermen, hunters and agriculturists owning cattle and dogs. Rice and gruel formed their food. They drank ferments made from the juice of the palm tree. The women carried their children on their hips and knew the art of enticing men.¹²

The details of the legends and the authenticity of historical references can be best left to the historian to be proved or disproved. Even with the facts so far established by historical research it is difficult to deny the arrival in the island of one wave or a series of

1. This area extended from Tissamaharama as far as Mahiyangana.
2. The stone implements found in the South-east area bear a resemblance in shape, material and technique to those of Malaya.
3. The outrigger canoe is found in Ceylon, Malabar Coast, and Madagascar. It is not known in the east coast of India. The distribution of the coconut is also within the same area.
4. Compare the Polynesian word *oru-u* with the modern Sinhalese word *oru-va* meaning a boat.
5. Ceylon demonological masks show an affinity to those of Indonesia.
6. The Sinhalese women also wear the single cloth above the breast. The men sometimes tuck up the cloth in the fashion of the Polynesians.
7. A spoon made of a crocodile tooth is used at the ceremonial feeding of a child. Love for the crocodile is found in folklore.
8. *Census of India* : Vol. I, pt. I, 1931, p. 444.
9. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. 6. See details of the landing of Vijaya. Also it is possible that another important port was in use near Tissamaharama.
10. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. I, v. 20. Also see *Valahassa Jataka*.
11. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. I, v. 47, 84.
12. *Valahassa Jataka*, p. 89-91.

waves of people belonging to a higher culture than that then obtaining in this Island. These groups of immigrants arrived in bands and in all probability belonged to the Aryan stock. As time progressed they invited more and more settlers, married women from their homeland and established a society which contained various elements professing divers arts and crafts.

POLITICAL

The first reference made to South India in the Sinhalese historical records is to two Damilas, Sena and Guttika,¹ (177-155 B.C.) sons of a freighter who brought horses² to Ceylon. They invaded the land with a large army, defeated King Sura Tissa and reigned for twenty-two years until finally expelled by Asela (155-145 B.C.). The next powerful intruder from South India was a Damila named Elara³ (145-101 B.C.) from the Cola country who seized the Northern Kingdom and ruled for 44 years. He was a just and virtuous king who managed to live on friendly terms with the bhikkhus as well. Strangely enough of all these incidents as well as those of Sena and Guttika, Pulattha⁴ and others and of the infamous career of Anula Devi⁵ (c. 40 B.C.) who had a succession of Tamil paramours, no trace is found in Tamil literature except the legends of a prince and calf placed in the reign of Manu.⁶

Dutthagamani (101-77 B.C.), the Sinhalese national hero of the *Mahavamsa* epic fought Elara⁷ not merely to bring about political unity and expel the invaders but most decidedly to re-establish the Doctrine of the Buddha. He gained complete success and fulfilled his mission. He erected many fine monuments some of which remain to this day and even preserve on them ancient artistic manifestations worthy of the best Indian tradition. The South Indians started trouble again. This time seven Damilas⁸ landed with troops at Mahatittha in about 44 B.C. The king of Ceylon who was Vattagamani Abhaya fled with his queer leaving the capital at the mercy of the invaders, apparently Pandiyans. Five

1. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. 21, v. 10.
2. Sindhu horses formed the best breed. Mention is made of horses being brought to the Island from time to time. It is also said that the horses for the king were duty free. See Cosmos Indicopleustes—*Topographia Christiana* written about 545 A.D. in *Foreign Notices of South India* by Nilakanta Sastri, pp. 89-91.
3. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. 21, v. 13-14, also 18-19.
4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 33, v. 56.
5. *Ibid.*, Ch. 34, v. 19f.
6. Nilakanta Sastri : *Colas*, p. 34-35.
7. *Mahavamsa* : Ch. 25, v. 17.
8. *Ibid.*, Ch. 33, v. 39.

of them remained and each ruled in turn until the last of them was expelled by the exiled king who staged a come back to resume the reins of government. When Ila-Naga¹ (93-103 A.D.) was dethroned by the Lambakannas he fled to India. On his return with an army three years later he won back the throne.

During the reign of Vankanasika Tissa (170-173 A.D.) a Cola king named Karikal invaded Ceylon, spoiled the country and took away 12,000 prisoners.² The great irrigation schemes of the Kaveri river may have also enticed a large number of the Sinhalese to the Indian Continent. It is very likely that a stream of people kept on going up and down between the Kaveri ports and Ceylon. The lure of wealth may have attracted them as these cities were rich and flourishing then.

The *Rajavaliya* records a tradition of the daring counter invasion undertaken by King Gaja Bahu, son of the former king. He threatened the Cola king and brought back with him not only 12,000 Sinhalese prisoners but also double this number of Cola captives. He settled these men³ in various parts of the island. A Tamil epic⁴ of the Sargam period mentions the presence of King Gaja Bahu on the occasion of the celebrations of the temple built for the Goddess Pattini in the Chera capital. The *Mahavamsa* makes no mention at all of this interesting episode which clearly establishes the borrowing of cultural traits by the Sinhalese. It also establishes the close contacts of the two areas.

Two embassies to China are also mentioned. One took place during the reign of Mahanama⁵ in 427 A.D. and the other in the reign of Kasyapa I⁶ in 527 A.D. Moggallana I betook himself to

1. Ed. B. Gunasekera : *Rajavaliya*, Colombo, 1912, p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

3. The Demala-gatturus in the present Sinhalese population are believed to be these men. They are found scattered in the Island.

4. See *Silappadikaram* : Canto 27 ; II, 127ff, for the Kannuki legend and the association with Gaja Bahu. The king is referred to by name as being invited for the ceremony. See also Krishnaswamy Aiyangar : *Manimekalai*, p. 40. To the same king is attributed the bringing of the jewelled anklets of Pattini—a popular cult in Ceylon—and also the insignia of the gods of the Four Devas. He also brought back with him the bowl relic of the Buddha which had been removed by the Damilas during the reign of Vattagamini Abaya.

5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Oxford University Press) Vol. III, p. 12. Also Sylvan Levi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 412-20 and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, Vol. 24, No. 68, p. 107.

6. Geiger : *Mahavamsa* Translation. Intro., p. XI, f.n. 2.

Jambudvipa in 526 A.D. to find troops and returned in the 18th regnal year¹ of Kasyapa I.

In the sixth century Kalinga revives the ancient memories when its king² sought sanctuary in Ceylon and became a monk. This happened in the time of Aggabodhi³ II (658-687 A.D.). Then Aggabodhi III (680-690 A.D.) betook himself to India, deserting everything. Later with the help of Damilas he recovered the kingdom again.

A confused account of the conquest or invasion of Ceylon by the Pallavas⁴ finds mention in certain records. But so far as the Sinhalese tradition⁵ goes only a Prince Manavamma (729 A.D.) is referred to as having fled to India with his queen where he took service with the Pallavas. Later he returned with Pallava help to recover the throne but was again compelled to leave the island. It is also said that he came in boats and defeated Hatthadatha II (703 A.D.) and ruled as king. This contact with the Pallavas seems to be almost certain whatever the accounts may say. This is a very important fact since here again one may notice the contact with the south-east area of India. However such a contact with the Pallavas was possible during the Mamalla period (625-690 A.D.) since the artistic manifestation of this period seems to have been indelibly impressed on the stone sculpture at Isurumuniya⁶, Anuradhapura.

Another embassy to China was despatched during the time of Aggabodhi VI⁷ (c. 721 A.D.). It appears that a Pandyan⁸ invasion established foreign rule at Anuradhapura for 26 years (491-516 A.D.). The Sinhalese fled to Ruhuna. Dhatusena (516-526 A.D.) succeeded in forcing the Tamils out of the island. This event has not found confirmation by external evidence.

1. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 38, v. 87.
2. *Ibid.*, Ch. 42, vv. 44-46. Also see H. W. Codrington : *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 35.
3. *Ibid.*, Ch. 44, vv. 94, 105, 126.
4. H. W. Codrington : *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 36. Sinha Vishnu (570-600 A.D.) claims victory over the Sinhalese among others. His grandson Narasinhavarman says that he enabled Manavamma, a Sinhalese prince to conquer Lanka (625-645 A.D.) See also Vincent Smith : *Early History of India* (4th ed.), p. 994-95.
5. *Culavamsa* : Ch. 47.
6. Ananda Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 158. Note the site and style here and Tissa-weva lake in N.-C.P. where the extraordinary carvings of elephants so similar to the Pallava style may be seen.
7. Sylvan Levi : *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 412-21.
8. *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 29. Also *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, vv. 11-12.

During the First Empire and in the reign of Sri Mara Sri Vallabha¹ (815–862 A.D.) Pandyan power was extended even to Ceylon, having defeated the Sinhalese king.² The *Mahavamsa* puts this down to the reign of Sena I (846–861 A.D.), but the counter invasion staged by Sena II³ (846–861 A.D.) against the same king finds no confirmation in the Indian Copper Plates.

Thereafter, the Pandyans maintained friendly relations with Ceylon, united in the common purpose of checking the expanding power of the Colas. Sinhalese help was solicited during the reign of Kassapa V,⁴ and a well equipped army was despatched to check Parantaka I, the Cola king (c. 998 A.D.). But the once vanquished Pandyan King Rajasinha II who now attempted to give battle with the allied forces was completely routed at Velur (c. 920 A.D.) and fled to Ceylon during the reign of Udaya III.⁵ However finding his mission unsuccessful, Rajasinha left for Kerala leaving his Crown jewels and other regalia with the King of Ceylon. The Pandyans and the Sinhalese continued to maintain friendly relations, having both undergone a common degradation under the Colas.⁶

Now the Colas began to dream of overseas imperial possession. Parantaka I⁷ (907–53 A.D.) invaded Ceylon without success. He attempted a second time but failed again in the reign of Udaya IV⁸ (945–53 A.D.). During the reign of Sundara Cola another expeditionary force⁹ landed in Ceylon (959 A.D.) and failed. Finally, Sena V¹⁰ handed over the country to the Damilas and left. Polonnaruwa was then made the capital.

1. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 68–72. *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 37.
2. The Pandyan king took away all the king's treasures, plundered the viharas and spoiled the jewels. Later a peace was arranged. See *Culavamsa*, Ch. 50, vv. 12–37.
3. *Ibid.*, Ch. vv. 42–42. The Senapati invaded the Pandyan kingdom, entered Madhura, pillaged the city, collected all the treasures removed from Ceylon, spoiled the palace and defeated the king. Having set up the king's son on the throne he returned.
4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 52, vv. 70–78. For inscriptional evidence see Hultzsch *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* 1913 p. 526.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 53, vv. 5–10.
6. Nilakanta Sastri : *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 129–33.
7. Nilakanta Sastri : *Colas*, p. 143.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 148, Udaya IV refused to return the regalia but when the country was invaded he fled with it. Later a Sinhalese army entered the borderland of the Cola country and by threats obtained the booty taken from Ceylon. Also see *Culavamsa*, Ch. 53, vv. 40–43.
9. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 54, v. 12. Apparently this was Parantaka II.
10. *Ibid.*, v. 64, 66

Rajaraja I (958-1012 A.D.) invaded Ceylon during the reign of Mahinda V who ruled at Anuradhapura. The king left the city which was sacked. The Colas made Polonnaruwa the capital. The conquest was completed by his son, Rajendra I (1017-18 A.D.). The Colas not only removed the Sinhalese crown but even the king² and queen. They erected many temples and devales at Polonnaruwa and re-named the city Jananathapura. Ceylon became a division of the Cola empire.

Prince Kitti unified the scattered forces and made a bold bid to win back independence from the Colas³ but failed (c. 1058 A.D.). With the accession of Kullottunga I, there followed civil war in the Cola empire. Kitti, now entitled Vijaya Bahu I attacked again and won complete victory (1070 A.D.). The next great monarch was Parakrama Bahu I (1153-86 A.D.). He restored complete unity and eliminated external and internal cares. Nevertheless, his alliance with the Pandians necessitated the sending of a large force under a general to fight against the Colas.⁴ A series of battles ensued with varying successes. Finally the Sinhalese withdrew with much booty. Parakrama Bahu I was forced to send a naval expedition to Burma⁵ in order to avenge an insult to his emissaries. The King of Burma was defeated and friendly relations resumed as before. The king settled down to a plan of reconstruction and a period of peace and prosperity prevailed.

RELIGIOUS

Almost for a century and a half after the arrival of Vijaya there is no recorded evidence of any intercourse between India and Ceylon. We must assume that nothing remarkable took place except the prevalence of normal friendly contacts. During the reign of Devanampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) good political relations and friendly associations prevailed between the Sinhalese King and the Indian Emperor, even without seeing each other.⁶ The King of Ceylon sent four persons as envoys with large presents. This journey from Jambukola⁷ to Pataliputta lasted fourteen days,

1. *Colas*, pp. 205-206, 231. Apparently there is some confusion about this king and his successors in the *Culavamsa*.
2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 55. The whole chapter is devoted to the pillage of Lanka. But the Cola inscriptions remain silent on this point. See *Colas*, p. 239.
3. *Colas*, p. 303.
4. *Colas*, p. 129-32. This is not corroborated by the Tamil evidence. It is doubtful if the success was so complete as the Sinhalese version has it. See *Culavamsa*, Ch. 76, vv. 76-85, 86-101, also Ch. 77.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 76, v. 10. Also *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 325.
6. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 11, v. 18.
7. Jambukola was a port in North Ceylon. It took seven days from here to the Indian port of Tamalitta. From there the journey lasted another seven days.

seven days on sea and seven by land. The Emperor Asoka bestowed gifts and honours and sent back the envoys.¹ If Tambapanni² can be taken to mean Ceylon then Asoka himself mentions Ceylon twice in his inscriptions. Later the Emperor Asoka exhorted the Sinhalese King Devanampiya Tissa to embrace the Doctrine of the Buddha.³

For this purpose the Thera Mahinda⁴ was sent on a mission to Ceylon in the company of Sumana, Bhanduka and four others. They met the king near the Missaka mountain and converted him. Mahinda was aware of the possibility of communicating with his father,⁵ the Emperor Asoka. He therefore despatched messengers as and when he required. On one occasion he sent Sumana to bring relics to be enshrined in the proposed dagoba.⁶ Many religious buildings were erected by Devanampiya Tissa in the cause of Buddhism. Thus the new religion became firmly established in the Island.

Later, the king on instructions from Mahinda sent his nephew Ariththa to Asoka in order to bring a branch of the sacred Bodhi tree as well as accompany the Theri Sanghamitta⁷ to Ceylon. The journey was undertaken by ship and the ports mentioned are Jambukola and Tamalitti.⁸ The company consisting of a large number of followers belonging to various clans and professing diverse crafts arrived in the island.⁹ The Theri and her company were delighted at the royal welcome. Having fulfilled their life's greatest and noblest mission Mahinda and Sanghamitta passed away during the reign of Uttiya (207-197 B.C.).

It is mentioned that at the beginning of operations on the Ruvanveli dagoba vast numbers of monks from the Buddhist kingdom of Northern India¹⁰ came to Ceylon with gifts to the king. We have a very interesting record belonging almost to the same period of a pious Sinhalese Buddhist who visited Buddha-Gaya and recorded

1. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 11, v. 36.
2. Rock Edict XIII, amongst the countries to which he had sent missionaries. Rock Edict II amongst those lands for which he had provided for the distribution of medicines.
3. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 11, v. 34-35.
4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 12, v. 7.
5. *Ibid.*, Ch. 15, v. 23.
6. *Ibid.*, Ch. 17, v. 10.
7. *Ibid.*, Ch. 18, vv. 6-8. She was the brother of Mahinda.
8. Jambukola probably by this time had become the royal port. Tamalitti continued to be the port of embarkation to Ceylon.
9. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 25.
10. *Ibid.*, Ch. 29, vv. 29-43. The kingdoms mentioned are Magadha, Rajagaha, Vesali, Ujjeni, Kosambi, Ptolemaia, Kasmira and Vindhya.

a donation in the following terms : " Bodhi rakhita ta(m)bapa(m) nakasa danam ".¹ Both bhikkhus and laymen are mentioned as going on religious pilgrimages to Gaya to worship at the Bodhi tree.² There follows a period of inactivity at home. At least no religious contacts are mentioned whereas in other spheres much intercourse resulted.

During the second and third centuries A.D. religious intercourse between Ceylon and the flourishing Kistna area commenced on a large scale. It may be that such relations existed long before but the flourishing commerce may have intensified the contacts in all spheres. Buddhist pilgrims, missionaries and monks went up and down, each imbuing and imparting new ways and means of establishing Buddhism. Art played a prominent part in such propaganda. Undoubtedly what prevailed at the Amaravati cultural centre may have been introduced at this time. Unmistakable proof of Sinhalese religious intercourse is furnished by a Prakrit inscription discovered at the Buddhist site of Nagarjunikonda.³ This record throws considerable light on this period of Sinhalese Buddhist history specially in so far as its associations with the mainland are concerned. This gives information about the history of art as well.

The second apsidal shrine at Nagarjunikonda was raised by a simple female devotee, Bodhisiri by name. She did not belong to the royal house of Ikhakhus.⁴ The shrine is further stated to have been dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted certain kingdoms.⁵ Two religious foundations are mentioned, one of which was Sinhala Vihara.⁶ It must have been a convent founded by a Sinhalese or more probably meant for the accommodation of Sinhalese monks. Also there is another dedication to two sects, viz., Aparamahavinaselīya and Puraselīyas.⁷ It can be that the two Ceylon sects Pubbaselīkas and Aparaselīkas originated from the two Indian convents or *vice versa*.

1. Ananda Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 158.
2. B. C. Law : *Buddhist Studies*, p. 477. Rasavahini mentions a number of stories of pilgrims going to Buddhagaya.
3. J. H. Vogel : *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, No. 1 pp. 1-37. Inscription F., p. 8-10, datable to II-III century A.D.
4. Iksvaku, Ikhaku, Okkaku were descendants of an ancient race in the Telugu country.
5. Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Chilata (Kirata), Vanga, Vanavasi, Yava, Damila, Lura and the Isle of Tambapanni. See *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 12, p. 82. *Dipavamsa*, Ch. 8, *Milinda Panha* (ed. Trenkner), pp. 327-31, also refers to some of these places.
6. This Ceylonese convent appears to have contained a shrine with a Bodhi tree. And also a cetiya ghara had been dedicated to the fraternity of Tambapanni. This establishes the close relationship between the Buddhist community of Dhannakataka and their co-religionists in the Island of Ceylon.
7. Nagarjunikonda Insc., No. 5 ; C. I. line 20 and E line 2.

The tradition of founding monasteries at important religious centres for the convenience of monks seemed to have persisted into later times. King Sri Meghavanna (362-389 A.D.) sent two monks (one being his own brother) to Buddhagaya to visit the monastery built by Asoka and to pay homage to the Diamond Throne of the Buddha. The envoys were badly treated. Thereupon the king, with the approval of Emperor Samudragupta, erected a splendid three storeyed convent near the holy site. This fact is recorded in a copper plate in India¹ (c. 360 A.D.). Another event is recorded in this reign. Guhasiva, King of Kalinga, despatched to Ceylon the Tooth Relic² of the Buddha in the custody of the beautiful Princess Hemamali. Around this grew many glamorous festivals. Special temples were built for housing it. A unique significance began to develop around it.

For a period of almost three centuries (III-VI A.D.) Ceylon may have enjoyed a deal of political quiet and freedom. Religion began to engage the attention of the Islanders. We also learn of the visits of scholars and religious missionaries. But the new movement was not to the liking of the Buddhists altogether as the Mahayana form of the Doctrine began to be introduced. An opposition continued throughout championed by the orthodox Mahavihara monks. It was not completely a new thing. For as early as 100 B.C. Mahayana influenced Ceylon for the dissension between the Mahavihara and the Abhayagiri may have been caused by it. And the disciples of Acarya Dhammaruci³ found a home in Ceylon. It may have come here from South India.⁴

During the reign of Voharaka Tissa (269-291 A.D.) the Vaitulaya-
vadins entered Ceylon but their doctrines were suppressed by the monks of the Mahavihara.⁵ Later a Cola monk named Sanghamitta led a band of Vaituliyavadins and started trouble when Gotaka Abhaya⁶ (309-322 A.D.) was king. When Jettha Tissa (323-333 A.D.) became king, Sanghamitta left but returned in the reign of his successor Mahasena (334-361 A.D.). At the time of King Dhatusena⁷ (516-526 A.D.) the Mahayana flourished and

1. V. A. Smith : *Early History of India* (4th ed.), p. 303. The embassy from Ceylon took place during the reign of Samudragupta during which period the Sinhales King may have ruled.
2. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 92. Also see the *Dathavamsa*, a later Pali work, which gives the whole story in detail.
3. H. W. Codrington : *Short History of Ceylon*, p. 22. This teacher belonged to the Vajjiputta Nikaya of Pallarama, in South India.
4. Mahayana Buddhism was very popular in South India from early first century A.D., Nagarjuna of the Andhra kingdom gave this Doctrine an authoritative form in II A.D.
5. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 36, v. 41.
6. *Ibid.*, Ch. 37, v. 92.
7. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, vv. 75-77.

the Dhammarucikas were in possession of the Mahavihara as well. Prince Silakala¹ (390-603 A.D.) who was educated at Buddhagaya brought to Ceylon the hair relic of the Buddha during the reign of Moggallana I (552-570 A.D.) and himself encouraged Mahayana when he was king. From Kasi came a merchant named Punna bringing the Dhammadhatu.² Again we learn of Jotipala³ refuting the new Doctrine. At the time of Sena I (826-846 A.D.) a Doctrine known as Vajiriyavada⁴ was introduced. The expounders of the Nilapata Darsana⁵ appear during the rule of Sena II (846-880 A.D.). From now onwards no mention is made of Mahayana influences.

Religious intercourse with Purma finds mention in the reign of Vijaya Bahu I. He sent to the king in the Ramanna⁶ country costly treasure. With the help of monks from the Aramana country the king effected the purification of Buddhism under the three Nikayas. Pegu in lower Burma also had maintained friendly relations from early times. Exchange of presents and visits were kept up with one break that too was later adjusted.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

Vijaya's party contained no women and it is most likely that the newcomers mixed freely with the society existing in Ceylon. Such a drawback was made good by inviting their own kinsfolk from India. Communications between the two lands existed and made possible social and cultural contacts. Vijaya's nephew arrived from India to succeed him on the throne. A year later Bhadda-Kaccana, daughter of Sakka⁷ Pandu, came as his royal bride. Her party⁸ consisting of her 6 brothers and 32 maidens came in boats. At this time rivers in this island formed important highways. From an early time two clans of Aryans are believed to have established themselves on the land.

1. Ibid., Ch. 39, vv. 46, 49-50.
2. Ed. W. F. Gunawardena : *Nikayasangrahaya*, Colombo, 1908. He was a Ceylon merchant who went to Kasi. See *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 37.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 42.
4. *Nikayasangraha*, 1, Colombo ed.
5. Ibid.
6. Burma was also known as Aramana and Ramanna. See *Culavamsa*, Ch. 58, v. 8, and Ch. 60, vv. 5-8 ; *Pujavaliya*, *Rajavaliya* and *Nikayasangrahaya*. Also *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 253. For further details see *Culavamsa*, Ch. 76, v. 10, and Ch. 80, v. 7.
7. The Sakyans were very prosperous and formed one of the most advanced communities in Magadha.
8. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 8, v. 23.

The local population also played an active role. Borrowing on the part of both peoples now living in the island necessarily took place but the two communities existed in a large measure as two distinct entities. Powerful chiefs of the aboriginal tribes remained independent until they in turn were also absorbed gradually into the common stock. The Aryan rule spread under new chiefs. However a certain animosity also prevailed between the Aryans themselves. This led to dynastic disputes from time to time as was clearly seen from the life of Pandukabhaya.¹

During the time of Pandukabhaya the country had advanced considerably. *Mahavamsa*² has preserved to us glimpses of the life of the times. It speaks of an organised society, an advanced culture, aesthetic refinement and political sagacity. The rule was based on democratic principles. There was religious tolerance. The achievements of this age (377-307 B.C.) seem remarkable even when measured by modern standards.

The social and cultural conditions obtaining in Ceylon immediately preceding the introduction of Buddhism may have been sufficiently advanced as to make it possible for the new religion to be favourably accepted by society. All knowledge was in the hands of the Brahmins. Writing was known as is testified to by the ancient Brahmi inscriptions. Arts and crafts naturally flourished for many families belonging to such professions arrived in the island from time to time. People were educated to some extent and would have professed some understanding of the religions prevailing in India.

New ideals, be they religious, cultural or artistic find a ready reception at the hands of a people living in a period enjoying leisure and freedom. Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon exactly at such an opportune moment when the predisposing factors necessary for the success of a new religious movement were prevailing. The social and religious susceptibilities of the Islanders were yearning for consummation.

The devotion to the new faith by royalty as well as the combined laity helped the erection of a series of monuments. Master builders carried out the constructional undertakings. There were many types of buildings. The architectural presentation was North Indian as was also their embellishments. The new scheme of things would have called for a great drive in cultivating as well as popularising art and architecture which at this time may have been wholly inspired by North Indian models not altogether uninfluenced

1. *Ibid.*, Ch. 10, vv. 64, 73.

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. 10, vv. 80-102.

by the popular traditions as well. The new doctrines helped to level down the social distinctions and shape a common pattern of society. Trade, learning, cultivation, arts and crafts were the professions of the period.

The practical aspects of the religious life, worship and belief paved the way for the foundation of vast endowments required for the construction of public buildings, religious institutions and monastic abodes. Although some monks preferred a deeply religious life in forest retreats and lonely caves there were monks and nuns living in city establishments supported and maintained by the laity. The ever growing prosperity of the commercial community was directly responsible for the prosperity of many charitable institutions from the very early times. Gifts were bestowed by monks as well as merchants¹ who also helped to found viharas.² The commercial class was an organised unit and it is likely that the most influential personalities counted among their number. Such a guild of merchants with whom fixed deposits were made in cash and kind with the interest to be spent finds mention as early as the 4th century A.D.³ The temple moneys were invested with the merchants on whose punctuality of paying interest depended their maintenance.⁴

The traditions and practices of the ancient culture of the land fused with the new, having satisfied the eye and mind of the laity by their picturesque setting and appealing nature. Ceremonies and rituals associated with the dagobas, Bo-tree and Tooth Relic formed occasions for annual festivities.⁵ The king, nobles and people enjoyed such occasions. Such public occasions⁶ beset with grandeur and elaborate pompish ceremonial pleased the mind of the people. The land was rich, probably the result of profitable trade and the people spent lavishly. Intercourse with the rest of the world was easy and frequent.

Religious missions passed to and fro and many new doctrines also reached Ceylon. Closest contact was maintained with the

1. An inscription belonging to 10th century A.D. bears this out, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 192.
2. The Teriyai inscription states that the Hirikanda viharaya was founded by the companies of merchants in the 7th century A.D., *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 154-159. Queen Lilavati caused the platform to be built by traders of diverse countries in XII A.D. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 181.
3. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, No. 17. Tonigala Inscr. c. 362 A.D.
4. *Ibid.*, for further examples of such endowments see *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. 6, Vol. II, p. 177.
5. B. C. Law : *Buddhist Studies*, p. 529-46, various religious festivals are historically treated. Fa-Hian described one such in detail.
6. Nilakanta Sastri quoting Fa-Hian : *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 71-73.

Kistna area. Certain aspects of the Mahayana form of Buddhism appealed strongly as it created the necessary atmosphere for the growth of popular festivals and worship of images of the Buddha and Bodhisattavas. New cults such as those pertaining to fertility had a real interest for the people. One such was the Pattini cult.

Literary activity also flourished. Buddhist scholarship and literature earned a name and reputation that even attracted foreign scholars. The spirit and culture of Buddhism supplied a new awakening. Scholars and poets held a position and favour even with the court.¹ Special mention is made of twelve poets living during the time of Aggabodhi I² (625 A.D.). A description of a merchant's wife parading in her balcony is strongly reminiscent of Sigiriya ladies. It runs thus : " The wife of the merchant stood in the beautified terrace of the mansion, gazing at the festival, showing half her body leaning against the body of an attendant. She was accompanied by a host of servant maids. She wore ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, armlets and anklets."³

The peace was broken by rival claimants to the throne from within and South Indian aggressors from without. The Pandians and Colas left their impress on Sinhalese society in many ways. Some invaders may even have settled down at times, married local women and got absorbed into the Sinhalese society. The experts among them may have found work in assisting the Buddhist community in their new undertakings. It was probably the case with the Pallavas,⁴ Kalingas,⁵ and later Pandians and Colas. The kings at times were in the habit of distributing gifts among foreigners.⁶

Out of this stress and storm engendered by wars and destructive forces within the Sinhalese society emerged successfully to enjoy a period of leisure. It is true that the culture suffered loss. The monuments were spoiled. And all that was dear to the people disappeared. The country found a great leader in the person of King Parakrama Bahu I. The people found contentment and happiness once more. Art and architecture found expression. Literature developed. Buddhism flourished and king and noble alike extended their patronage to the worthy undertakings of the people.

1. King Buddhadasa wrote a Sanskrit work, was master of medicine and established a hospital in each village. Kumara Dhatusena, if not a poet himself, had close friends who were poets.
2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 42, v. 13, see *f.n.* 2.
3. *Rasavachini*, p. 139. Nandivanija Katha.
4. Longhurst : *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1936, p. 16.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 54, v. 9.
6. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 125.

TRADE AND TRAVEL

“Buddhist literature¹ abounds in allusions to sea voyages and traders visiting Pabylon, India, Ceylon and the Golden Chersonese (Suvannabhumi) during 6th century B.C.” The only visitors to the island of Lanka at that time were traders and shipwrecked mariners.² The ships of those days were able to hold three, five and even seven hundred persons,³ carrying a maximum load of 200 tons. Even the Indian mariner with his shore sighting birds⁴ sailed probably never more than fifty miles away from land. The voyages were coasting voyages. A few of the earliest ports,⁵ in India and Ceylon are mentioned. These were located on the western coast of India and Ceylon. The trade was a form of barter in which a coinage,⁶ also may have been used as a medium of exchange. The traders sought the safe harbours as well as obtained ivory, pearls, mineral and precious stones from Ceylon. No annoyance was caused to the islanders and friendly relations prevailed in those early times of commercial travelling.

From the third century B.C. there are Greek accounts about Ceylon. The earliest is written by a Greek named Kallisthenes.⁷ Onesikritus⁸ writes but his account seems fabulous. Megasthenes⁹ refers to the pearls and gold, wild beasts and elephants in the 3rd century B.C. Eratosthenes¹⁰ also writing in the 2nd century B.C. mentions about Ceylon. The version of Strabo¹¹

1. Vijaya's company and the mariners in the Valahassa Jataka were such persons.
2. H. G. Rawlinson : *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 5. See Mahajanaka and Sanka Jatakas. Also Mukherji : *Indian Shipping*, Ch. III.
3. *Ibid.*, Jatakas.
4. *Digha Nikaya* : Kevaddha Sutta.
5. Bharukacca, Suppara, Kalyani, Nagadipa, Sirisavatthu or Sirivatthupura, are some. Oldenburg : *Dipavamsa*, p. 161. Naggadipa and Mahilarattha mentioned therein have not yet been identified. The *Mahavamsa* also mentions these.
6. The Ceylon "puranas" (coins known as cl'lings) are not unlike those found in India and the modern view is that these are very old at least 500 B.C. H. W. Codrington : *Ceylon Coins and Currency*.
7. He was a member of Alexander's party that came to India. He adds that the account was given to him by a Theban scholar who had been to Taprobane. See J. W. Macrindle : *Ancient India*, p. 179.
8. A pilot of Alexander. H. G. Rawlinson : *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 152.
9. Nilakanta Sastri : *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 42.
10. The learned President of the library at Alexandria during the time of the Ptolemies.
11. *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 47.

appears imaginary whilst that of Pliny¹ supplies no new information. Nevertheless Greek traders, travellers and scholars knew Ceylon, her position and her goods.

Further references to merchandise from overseas² and ships abandoned³ or laden with manifold gems⁴ or wrecked near the shore⁵ are found in the *Mahavamsa* and later Sinhalese literature. There is the story of a Roman revenue collector ship-wrecked on the coast⁶ of Ceylon. It is believed that Java at one time may have been peopled by men from the Gujerat⁷ coast. Above all an embassy⁸ from Ceylon is said to have arrived in Rome during the rule of Emperor Claudius.

The shores of the Tamil countries on the eastern sea of India flourished during the early Christian era. The men responsible for the prosperous trade belonged to the Andhra, Pallava and Cola kingdoms. They were clever navigators. The following ancient ports are mentioned as the best known ones. They are : Kola Pattana,⁹ Puhar,¹⁰ and Kaveri Pattanam.¹¹ Vogel¹² attributes the success and prosperity of the Kistna area as well as the flourishing position of Buddhism to the munificent lay devotees of the commercial community.

The other race of clever seafarers were the Pallavas¹³ (300–800 A.D.). As a great maritime power they are too well known by their ancient colonial empire in Java and Sumatra. They also may have sent expeditions to Ceylon. It was such wealth earned from commercial enterprise that helped them and the royal masters to raise magnificent monuments. It is impossible to imagine that Ceylon completely escaped their mighty influence. The regular

1. *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 49–51.
2. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 23, v. 24. Also Rasavahini stories of merchants and *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 192.
3. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 22, v. 49.
4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 22, vv. 60, 64.
5. *Ibid.*, Ch. 11, v. 9.
6. A freed man by name Annius Plocamus is said to have landed at Hipporos (Kudramalai).
7. Mookherji : *History of Indian Shipping*, pp. 150–51.
8. *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, p. 109.
9. *Milinda Panha—Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, p. xiv, and Vol. II, p. 269. See also *Colas*, p. 32–33. This may have been Kaveri Pattanam.
10. Nilakanta Sastri : *Colas*, pp. 32–33.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33. Sinhalese literature mentions the great irrigation schemes at this site.
12. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XX. No. 1, p. 10, also see p. 9.
13. Longhurst : XXX A.S.C.A.R., 1936, p. 13.

connection between Bengal and Ceylon was maintained through the harbour at Tamralipti. Magadha was also thus associated. This continued down to the thirteenth century A.D.¹

The ships engaged in sea borne trade acted as a regular transport service for all kinds of other persons such as scholars, missionaries, monks, artisans and travellers. This fact needs great emphasis as this alone made possible cultural diffusion and exchange of new ideas between China on the one hand and Greece and Rome on the other linking together in one powerful network the East and West coasts of India. Ceylon stood midway though influenced mostly from the West.

One of these travellers was the celebrated Chinese historian Fa-Hian (399–413 A.D.) who arrived at Anuradhapura in about 410 A.D. A useful account² of the island, its condition, religious practices, existing festivals has been left by him. He refers to art as well. A century later came the erudite Pali commentator, the monk Buddhaghosa³ from North India. Then followed from the South, Bhikkhu Dhammapala. A less known visitor was Gunavarman⁴ who after some time left for China *via* Java. Cosmos,⁵ a sixth century writer has left a very authentic record of the island and its trade. According to him the trade route⁶ was such that ships must touch at Ceylon which thereby became a distributing centre from its very positions.

Roman coins⁷ have been found at almost every petty port in Ceylon. The growth and circulation of metallic currency was rapid. This fact confirms the wide distribution as well as the extent of this commercial intercourse carried out by the Romans in the island. This currency seems to have gone out of use after the 7th century A.D. But it is likely that Roman agents resided in

1. Sunit Kumar Chatterji : *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 72–73.
2. Record of the Buddhistic Kingdom : Record of the Western World. See *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 67–73.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, vv. 215–246. He arrived in the reign of Mahanama.
4. *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 77, 81. He came between 367–431 A.C.
5. Indicopleustes : *Topographia Christiana* written about 545 A.D. See *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 88–91.
6. Sindhus, Orrhotha (Sorath, Surestra, Gujerat), Kalliana, Sibor (Chaul), Male which has 5 marts, viz. : Parti, Mangaronth (Mangalore), Salopatana, Nalopatana, Pandopatana. Then out in the ocean for 5 days and 5 nights lies Silediba. Then again farther away on the mainland lies Marallo : Then Kaber (Kaveripattanam). Next Clove Country. Next China.
7. Codrington : *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Ch. IV, p. 31 *et seq.* For list of sites see pp. 32–33. Also see John Still—Roman Coins in *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*, Vol. 19, No. 58, 1907.

Ceylon. One unique find spot was Sigiriya.¹ It was really during and after the 7th century A.D. that Ceylon came in for a great deal of importance. While the Tamils handled the carrying trade the Sinhalese acted as intermediaries.

After the 7th century A.D. the western trade fell into the hands of the Arabs whilst the Tamils and the Chinese kept on in the East. There was a trade route between India and Java² via Ceylon. Before the end of the 7th century A.D. a colony of Muslims³ had already established themselves in Ceylon. A succession⁴ of Chinese and Arab travellers coming via India entered the island after this time.

The foregoing historical survey reveals three possible sources of contact with early Ceylon, viz., North Indian, South-West Indian and a South-East Indian. Of these the earliest influences entered the island from the east of India and lasted until about a century before the Christian era. Its form was purely cultural and social and the traits of such contacts we see in the racial make up and Buddhist art of ancient Ceylon. The next coursed along the coastal belt and travelled direct. This however was during early times. But, later elements from the same second sphere came across the land. On its way to the south the elements became absorbed in the more powerful elements of the south-east sphere, which helped to tone down most of the special features.

The third which to judge from all records remain the most active lasted from early Christian to later times and influenced the Island considerably. Not only was this drive helped by traders but the people themselves saw to it that the art and society conformed to what was obtainable in the original sphere. The early phase of this culture belonged to the Andhra kingdom and the results of the cultural impact are to be traced in the early sculpture of Ceylon. But the early traits of this Andhra culture have escaped notice and their features in art specially painting elude observation. In all likelihood such elements exist and should be looked for in any examination of the ancient culture of the Sinhalese.

1. Out of a total find of 1687 coins 1675 happened to be Roman.
2. *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 136. Sailing from Sumatra one knows that one is nearing Si-lan by continual flashing of lightning.
3. *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 2.
4. Yuang-Chwang, c. 619 A.D. See *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 104. It-tsing 645 A.D. Ibid., p. 112. Kien-tchen. See Ibid., p. 118, and Chan-ju-kua see Ibid., p. 136 (1225 A.D. for both). The Arabs were Ibn-Khuradbeh (844-48 A.D.). *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 119, two unknown writers (851 A.D.)-Ibid., pp. 122-25 and Alberuni 1030 A.D. Ibid., 131-2.

The later phase of the influence from the same sphere manifests in the artistic traditions as well as the social factors. This was simply the Gupta tradition which remains as clear in Ceylon as in India. Never heless it travelled to Ceylon through the agents of the last sphere. It is again this same sphere that continued to influence till very late times so much so that the society began to be moulded according to the South Indian standards, having less consideration for the North. Such a feature dominates the culture and society of later times and is most marked during the twelfth century Ceylon.

THE FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMERCE OF ANCIENT CEYLON.

II-ANCIENT CEYLON AND ITS TRADE WITH INDIA

By B. J. PERERA

THE CLOSE proximity of Ceylon to the sub-continent of India and the Island's strategic position to the south of it, gave Ceylon from very early times an important place in the oceanic commerce of the mainland of India. The earliest conditions of trade between the two countries will always remain a matter of conjecture. The earliest references to commerce between the two countries which are found in the *Mahabharata* and the Pali canonical literature, indicate a state of commerce which must have seen at least a few centuries of development.

Unfortunately it is not possible to estimate the date of these sources. The traditions contained in them may have existed for many centuries in an oral form before they were put into writing. There is a growing opinion that the Aryan colonization of Ceylon took place long before the date given in the *Mahavamsa*. Usually the migration of a people from one country to another, is due to the pressure of invaders, or over-population, or internal dissensions. None of these causes appear to have forced a section of the Aryans to leave their mother-country and settle down in a distant land. A more plausible explanation is that the Aryan colonization of Ceylon was the result of peaceful penetration, growing out of a colony of traders who were regularly reinforced from India, and freely mixing with the natives in Ceylon. The superiority of the Aryan civilization would have led to the quick spread of the Aryan language and way of life among the native population. Evidence in support of this view can be adduced from the *Mahavamsa* account of the coming of Vijaya. Vijaya while sailing to Ceylon is said to have touched at Supparaka, an important port along the Western coast of India¹. This statement cannot be reconciled with the statement in the *Mahavamsa*, that Vijaya's original home was on the Eastern coast of India. It may suggest the existence of a racial memory of the port as the original home of at least some of the Aryans. Philological evidence too points out that the early Aryan settlers of Ceylon came from both coasts of North India.² The

1. Ed. W. Geiger : *Mahavamsa* (P.T.S. Edition), Ch. VI, v. 46.

2. P. B. F. Wijeratna : "The Phonology of the Sinhalese Inscriptions up to the End of the 16th Century," in *Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies*. Vol. XI, 1943-1946.

suggestion that the Aryan colonization of Ceylon was the result of an intimate commercial intercourse with India is further supported by two widely different sources. The *Divyavadana* states that Vijaya was the son of a merchant of North India.¹ While according to Fa Hien, Ceylon "had originally no inhabitants but only demons and dragons dwelt in it. Merchants of different countries came here to trade . . . but in consequence of these visits men of other countries hearing of the delightful character flocked there in great numbers and so a great kingdom was formed".² The legend contained in these two works have a truer ring about them, and it may contain an earlier version of the Aryan colonization of Ceylon than the one contained in the *Mahavamsa*.

One of the earliest references to the commercial intercourse between the two countries is contained in the *Valahassa Jataka*, which tells the story of some Indian merchants who were wrecked in Ceylon. As no place names occur in the story, it is possible that in this period Ceylon was as yet *terra incognita* to the Aryans of North India.³ With the march of time however we get increasing references to Ceylon in Indian literature, reflecting an increasing intercourse between the two countries. The *Maha Niddesa* contains a stock list of places visited by Indian merchants, and Tambapanni is one of them.⁴ A passage in the *Sabha Parva* of the *Mahabharata* states that the King of Ceylon sent as tribute to King Yudhishtra, "the best of sea born gems and pearls".⁵ This shows that even at this very early date Ceylon was exporting gems to India. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* too has mentioned Ceylon as a source of gems.⁶

It is possible that Ceylon's earliest trade was more with North India than the South. This may have been due to the development of shipping and commerce by the Aryans earlier than the Tamils. Moreover the Aryan states of the earlier period attained a higher standard of material culture than that of the Tamils and consequently there would have been a readier market for the luxury goods of Ceylon in North India than in the South.

The first substantial evidence of Indo-Ceylon trade relations is found in Pliny's *Natural History*. Writing as early as the 2nd century A.D. he states : "The sea between the Island and the

1. Ed. E. B. Cowell & R. A. Neil ; *The Divyavadana* (C.U.P. 1886), p. 523.
2. S. Beal : *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Introduction, p. lxxix.
3. Trans. W. H. D. Rouse : *The Jataka* (C.U.P. 1895), Vol. II, No. 196.
4. *The Maha Niddesa* (P.T.S. Edition), p. 154-155.
5. Trans. Pratap Chundra Roy : *The Mahabharata*, Sabha Parva; (1883), p. 146.
6. Trans. R. Shamasastri : *Kautilya's Arthashastra* (Mysore, 1919), p. 83.

mainland is shallow, not more than 18 ft. in depth but in certain channels so deep that no anchor can hold the bottom. For this reason ships are used that have bows at each end so as to avoid turning about while negotiating the narrows of the channels; the tonnage of these vessels is as much as 3,000 barrels. The Cingalese make no observation of the stars in navigation, indeed the Great Bear is not visible; but they carry birds on board with them and at fairly long intervals set them free, and follow the course they take as they make for land".¹ This latter information of Pliny is corroborated by an entirely different source. A passage in the Pali work *Kevaddhasutta* runs thus: "Long ago ocean going merchants were wont to plunge forth upon the sea on board a ship taking with them a shore sighting bird free. And it would go to the East and to the West and to the South and North and to the intermediate points and rise aloft. If on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither it would go, but if not it would come back to the ship again".² Even prior to this Strabo has mentioned that Ceylon exported ivory, tortoise shell and other merchandise to the markets of India³. In the 3rd century B.C., Ceylon was also exporting elephants to India. "Those Island elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland and in appearance larger and may be pronounced to be in every possible way to be more intelligent. The Island exports it to the mainland opposite in boats, which they construct for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickest of this Island and they dispose of their cargoes to the King of Kalinga".⁴

Exports from Ceylon reached even the northernmost countries of India. The *Rajatarangani*, the Sanskrit chronicle of Kashmir mentions that cloth manufactured in Ceylon was worn by the queen of the land.⁵ The export of cloth is attested to by the *Tirthakalpa*, a Prakrit work where it is stated that a large quantity of cloth was taken to Baruchacca by a merchant of Ceylon.⁶ These references cannot be taken as authentic history, but they certainly do reflect the conditions of the time. Writing very much earlier, the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* states that Ceylon produced muslins.⁷ Unfortunately the economic development of Ceylon is still an unthumbed page in Ceylon history and it is not possible to say whether this cloth was manufactured in Ceylon or whether it was part of the entre-pot trade of the Island.

1. Trans. Rackham : *Pliny's Natural History*, Bk. 6, para. 23.
2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, 1899, p. 432.
3. Trans. Jones : *The Geography of Strabo*, p. 271.
4. J. W. McCrindle : *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrain* (London 1877), p. 173-175.
5. Trans. R. Sitaram Pandit : *Rajatarangani*, Garga I, vv. 294-97.
6. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-6, p. 144.
7. Trans. W. H. Schoff : *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (London, 1912), p. 47.

Tamralipti in Bengal appears to have been the chief port in North-eastern India for Ceylon. The Pali literature of Ceylon contains several references to voyages made to and from this port.¹ It is not specifically stated that the object of these voyages was trade, but we may safely assume it to have been such, since one can hardly expect special ships to have been fitted out for embassies or to serve the needs of a few passengers. Fa Hien too embarked for Ceylon on board a merchant vessel bound for Ceylon at this port in the 4th century.² In the 4th century when the Kalinga prince bearing the Tooth Relic was coming to Ceylon it was on a merchant vessel from Tamralipti that he made the trip.³ The *Ratnavali* a popular Sanskrit play attributed to Sri Harsha has a reference to a merchant from Kausambi who was returning from Ceylon.⁴ All these go to show that there was a brisk trade between the two countries.

With the ascendancy of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean and the invasion of North India by the Muslims, the trade between North India and Ceylon decreased considerably. Except for a few references to North Indian merchants in Ceylon in post canonical Jaina literature, the history of commercial intercourse between the two countries is almost a blank.⁵

The curtain of darkness imposed by the Muslims was lifted by the Mongols, who after their capture of Baghdad in 1258 A.D. allowed some of their allies in Europe to trade with the East. The writings of these European traders and travellers, who now began to come to the East in comparatively large numbers, shed a welcome light on Ceylon's trade with North India. These writings speak of the trade that now re-appeared between the two countries. Elephants, cinnamon, precious stones, ivory and areca were the chief exports, while cloth, sugar, rice, gold and perfumes were the chief imports.⁶ To Cambay, Ceylon exported elephants and cinnamon while importing cloth. Cambay appears to have been the chief source of cloth, and till very recently a variety of cloth which got its name from Cambay was very popular among Sinhalese women. Both Rodrigues and Barbosa refer to the import of cloth

1. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. XI, v. 23, 38 ; Ch. XIX, v. 6ff.
2. James Legge : *Records of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 100.
3. Ed. Widurajothi : *Dathavanso* (Kalutara, 1932), v. 324.
4. Ed. M. R. Kale : *Ratnavali of Sri Harshadeva*, p. 4.
5. Silakala : *Acaranga Commentary*, 6, 3.
Vimalasuri : *Paumachariya*, 99, 51.
Daneshvara : *Surasundarichariya*, 13, 25.
6. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Series, Vol. 44, p. 109-120.

from Cambay.¹ There is also a reference in the *Paravi Sandesa* to cloth imported from Gujarat.²

Ceylon's trade with South India was equally important as its trade with North India. One of the ancient names for Ceylon appears to have been the result of this close commercial connections between the two countries. It is a well known fact that the term Tambapanni applied to Ceylon in Pali literature, was also the name of a river in South India. At the mouth of this river was the port of Korkai, famous for its export trade in gems. These gems were certainly taken there from Ceylon, as the hinterland of this port does not produce gems. Thus Ceylon would have been known in North India chiefly as the source for the mart at the mouth of the Tambapanni river. This could have led to the transfer of the name of the river to the Island with which it was so closely connected.³ The fact that there was a large scale export of gems to South India, is seen from the alternate name, Ratnadvipa, given to Ceylon in the *Manimekhalai*.⁴ We know that the name Ratnadvipa cannot be merely a spurious one as this name is mentioned as the ancient name for Ceylon in the *Saddharmalankaraya* as well.⁵

In the earlier stages, Ceylon's trade with South India was a part of the trade which the latter country carried on with the Roman Empire. The provenance of the earliest Roman coins, and the nature of the descriptions in Greek and Roman literature shows that in the earlier phase of Rome's trade with the Orient, they did not come to Ceylon but were content to receive their wares at South Indian ports. This state of affairs however changed in the 5th century when Indian ships came to Ceylon to sell their goods to Persian merchants. According to Cosmas, Ceylon was the entrepot for the commerce which passed across the Indian Ocean.⁶ This evidence of Cosmas is also attested by Procopius the Roman historian who was a near contemporary of Cosmas. According to this writer the Persian merchants bought their wares of silk from Indian merchants who brought them to Ceylon.⁷

1. *The Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, pp. 84-87.
2. Ed. Siri Sunandasabha : *Paravi Sandesa* (Matara), 1925), v. 158.
3. For discussion on subject see "Recherches sur la Géographie Ancienne de Ceylan," by E. Burnouf in *Journal Asiatique*, 1857, No. 1, a translation in English is found in the *Ceylon Literary Register* (Third Series), Vol. I.
4. Ed. Krishnaswamy Iyengar : *Manimekhalai*, Canto XI, v. 21-26.
5. Ed. Sorata : *Saddharmalankaraya*.
6. J. W. McCrindle : *Christian Topography of Cosmas*, p. 364-372.
7. *Procopius, Persian Wars*, Trans. H. B. Dewing (Loeb Classical Library) Bk. I, Ch. 20, secs. 9-13.

From South Indian literature we get one interesting reference to trade with Ceylon. The *Pattinapalai*, a Sangam age work, refers to the bringing of food stuffs to the port of Puhar (modern Kaveripattinam.)¹ Pliny's reference to trade with the Seres has been interpreted as a reference to China, but this is hardly possible as Ceylon's trade with that country came at a very much later period. Seres is most probably a corruption of the term Chera, one of the ancient states of South India. South Indian merchants appear to have wielded much power and influence in Ceylon. Sena and Guttika who invaded Ceylon in the 1st century A.D. were horse dealers from South India.² In the Tamil householders terrace inscription of the pre-Christian era, we hear of one Karava who is described as a sea captain.³

A veil of darkness descends on the South Indian scene in the 4th century as a result of the Kalhabra interregnum. From this time onwards up to the 7th century when the Pallavas and the Pandyas re-asserted their independence, we have almost no reference to the commercial intercourse between South India and Ceylon. From the 7th century onwards both political and economic connections between the two countries began to develop apace, and reached unprecedented proportions in the period of Chola ascendancy. In ancient times, political causes were often given as the cause of international conflicts, for in those days the underlying economic cause were seldom understood. Perhaps, if it was not for the immense profits that could be reaped by the control of Ceylon's trade, and the power and influence that could be got by the possession of the international port of Mannar, the Cholas would not have been so ready to deploy their troops in Ceylon while they were so badly needed on the home fronts.

During the Chola period the trade of Ceylon was dominated by the Cholas. The Valanjayara, an important sub-section of the Velaikkara community were the traders. They were so influential that the shrine of the Tooth Relic was entrusted to their care.⁴ Although their activities were mainly in Raja Rata they did not restrict themselves to it. We hear of one Sevagattevan, a Valanjayar from South Ceylon who set up an image of Parvati at an South Indian temple.⁵

1. *Pattinapalai*, v. 24.

2. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 21, v. 11.

3. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (Kern Institute), Vol. 13, p. 13

4. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras 1913, para. 27.

5. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras 1914, No. 406.

After the decline of the Chola Empire, the Pandyan attempted to control the Island's trade. In the reign of King Bhuvaneka Bahu I (1284-1291 A.D.) Ceylon was invaded by one Aryachakravarty¹. He was a general of Kulasekhara, the Pandyan King. Very soon, either this general or one of his successors bearing the same name, was expanding southwards and had encampments at Chilaw, Negombo, Wattala and Colombo, which were the principal ports of the Sinhalese kingdom.² The aim in occupying these ports may have been to prevent Sinhalese traders from dealing directly with the Arabs and Chinese. The merchandise of Ceylon could be diverted to South Indian ports, and the Indian merchants would have been able reap a considerable profit by acting as the intermediaries. A Chinese work states that the pearls of Ceylon were taken to Dharmapatanam, and that if the Sinhalese tried to deal with the Chinese merchants directly the traders of Jurfattan would undersell them.³ But there was another reason which would have made it desirable for the South Indians to possess the ports of Ceylon. There is reason to believe that before Aryachakravarty became the master of these ports, they were possessed by the Moors. Ibn Batuta informs us Colombo was in the hands of a saracen named Jalasty.⁴ Marignolli writing about the same period states that Pervilis another port of the period was controlled by Saracens.⁵ From another Arabic work we know that one Malik Kafur, alternatively referred to as the Governor and King of Ceylon, sent some female slaves to the Sultan at Delhi, so that he may ingratiate himself with the Sultan.⁶ All this tends to show that in the period between the abandonment of Raja Rata and the rise of the Kotte kingdom, at least some of the ports were held by the Moors.

Another important point which emerges from the evidence before us is, that the native rulers far from opposing the Moors actually tolerated if not encouraged them. The Moors were allowed to have a mosque in the Sinhalese capital, and travel at will within the country.⁷ More than one Arabian writer refers to the perfect tolerance extended to all people in the practice of their faith.⁸ Then we have the absence of any mention in the local chronicles of a clash with the Moors, which would have certainly occurred if

1. Ed. W. Geiger : *Culavamsa*, Ch. 90, v. 44.
2. Ed. W. F. Günawardana : *Nikaya Sangrahawa* (Colombo, 1908), p. 26.
3. Rockhill, Notes : *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XVI, p. 464-65.
4. Ed. H. A. R. Gibb : *Ibn Batuta, Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 254-60.
5. Col. Yule : *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. II, pp. 357-371.
6. Trans. B. De : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 263.
7. *Ibn Batuta*, p. 254-60.
8. E. Renandot : *Ancient Accounts of India by Two Mahometan Travellers*, pp. 83-84 ; and Elliott : *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 10.

the Moors were holding the ports without the consent of the king. Then again, the garrisons at the ports could not have been maintained against the king, for, had it been so, the king could have defeated the aims of the Moors in holding these ports by simply prohibiting his subjects to deal with them. It would be carrying scepticism too far to deny that there is a kernel of truth in the living tradition regarding Gale Bandara of Kurunegala. According to this tradition, the son of a king by a Moor wife was assassinated at the capital. Even more important is the evidence of Marco Polo. In his account of Ceylon, he states : " The people of Seilan are no soldiers but poor cowardly creatures, and when they have need of soldiers they get Saracen troops from foreign ports".¹ We have no other evidence to show that the Sinhalese ever employed Moors in their armies. The only possible explanation of the above statement is that Marco Polo made the very understandable mistake, of considering the Moor garrisons at the ports as being employed by the king. The position therefore appears to be that the native rulers were content to sell their merchandise to whatever traders were at the ports, which had the status of " spheres of interest ", over which foreign nations fought each other. Possibly the native rulers preferred the Moors, as their control of the ports had less likelihood of being extended to the areas of production.

That there was rivalry between the Moors and South Indians is evident. When Ibn Batuta put in at a port in Ceylon the sailors informed him : " This port is not in the territory of the Sultan whose country can be safely visited by merchants. It is in the territory of Sultan Ayri Shakravarty who is an evil tyrant and keeps pirate vessels".² According to Batuta, Colombo was in the hands of the Moors in the fourth decade of the 14th century. In the reign of Bhuvanekabahu IV, (1346-53) it was in the hands of Aryachakravarti.³ Evidently the port changed hands after a struggle between the Moors and Aryachakravarty.

In this struggle between the Moors and South Indians, the Sinhalese kings do not seem to have intervened. The period between Aryachakravarti's attack on Subhagiri, in, or just after the reign of King Bhuvaneka Bahu I, (1273-1284) and the final expulsion of Aryachakravarty by Alagakkonar, is covered by several Sinhalese chronicles besides the Pali *Culavamsa*. But in none of these works is there a suggestion of opposition to the expansion of Aryachakravarti along the south-western coast. At one time he had encampments at Chilaw, Puttalam, Wattala and Colombo.⁴ The only

1. Yule & Cordier : *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 314.

2. *Ibn Batuta*, p. 254-60.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, p. 2C.

explanation for this silence is that the Sinhalese rulers did not wish to intervene in a Moor-South Indian quarrel. This struggle between the South Indians and the Moors must have been another aspect of the Hindu-Muslim struggle in South India. The Vijayanagara Emperor, Virupaksha II, is stated to have ordered a general massacre of the Arab merchants in Goa.¹ The succeeding Vijayanagara rulers had to reverse this policy, as the Arabs were their sole source of horses which were in great demand for their use against the Muslim states of the Deccan. Still the Vijayanagara rulers could have followed a policy of hostility towards the Moors in Ceylon where they did not have similar benefits to lose. It is possible that the invasions of Ceylon claimed by Vijayanagara kings, not admitted in the Sinhalese chronicles, were really raids on the ports of Ceylon held by the Moors.² The Hindu-Muslim struggle in Ceylon came to an end when Alagakkonar, the strong man of Ceylon of the 14th century, built a fort commanding Colombo, and did away both with the South Indians and the Moors.³

One of the last incidents in the political aspect of Ceylon's trade with India was the raid by King Parakramabahu VI (1410-1468).⁴ This invasion was the result of the plunder of some Sinhalese ships by one Virarama of Ayapattanama. The reign of King Parakrama Bahu VI saw a respite from foreign invasions and internecine warfare, and the king was able to unite the whole Island and bring about a certain measure of stability. Therefore he was able to turn his attention to the foreign trade of the Island which was a source of income long neglected by his predecessors. His attempts to develop once more the Island's shipping and commerce, must have been opposed by South Indian merchants who reaped a rich harvest from the monopoly of Ceylon's trade.

One of the chief imports of Ceylon from South India after the 10th century was rice. It is popularly believed that Ceylon exported rice to India in ancient times, and that Ceylon was the granary of the East. This certainly is a myth which has no historical foundation. We are aware of only one reference to Ceylon having exported any foodstuff to any country. In an ancient Tamil work it is stated that foodstuffs from Ceylon were brought by ship to the port of Korkai.⁵ But the content in which the reference occurs suggests that this allusion was made, more to show the importance of this port, than to record a historical fact. On the other hand

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch*, Vol. IX, p. 227.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, p. 105. See also *Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz*, trans in Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 301.
3. *Nikaya Sangrahava*, p. 28.
4. Ed. D. B. Jayatilaka : *Parakumba Sirita* (Colombo, 1922), v. 53.
Ed. B. Gunasekera : *Rajavaliya*, p. 48.
5. *Pattinapalai*, v. 24.

there are several references to famines in Ceylon. Famines are recorded in the reigns of King Duttha Gamini (101-77 B.C.), Kunchanaga (248-49), Sri Sanghabodi (307-309), Upatissa II (522-524), Parakrama Bahu II (1236-1271).¹ But these are only the recorded instances of famine in Ceylon. One of the most devastating famines that occurred in the Island has not been recorded in the *Mahavamsa*. This occurred in the reign of Vattagamini (43-17 B.C.). The Pali commentaries have preserved for us some details of this famine, during which thousands died of starvation.² There may have been many other famines of a local nature which have not been recorded. The writings of foreign travellers and geographers contain several references to the import of rice to Ceylon from South India. Unfortunately, this type of literature does not go beyond the 8th or 9th century, and therefore it is not possible to state whether rice was an import before that time. But rice was certainly imported, long before the abandonment of Raja Rata with its wonderful system of artificial irrigation and its extensive paddy fields. Ibn Khurdadbeh writing in the 9th century states of Babattan (identified as Srikandapuram): "Rice is produced here and exported to Sarandip".³ Khurdadbeh's evidence is also supported by Edrisi: "It (Srikandapuram) produces rice in large quantities and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandip."⁴ Barbosa states: "Of rice there is but little, they bring the more part, hither from Charamandal".⁵ The import of rice from Burma must have increased considerably after the drift of the population from Raja Rata to the south-west. After the abandonment of Raja Rata there was a significant change in the economy of Ceylon. The Island which till then was more or less self-sufficient, began to depend on India for its essential needs while exporting cinnamon, gems and elephants to pay for these goods. As a result there must have been a general shortage of rice in the country. "This land is well provided with everything except that there is a shortage of rice".⁶ Ceylon was so dependant on Vijayanagara for its supplies of rice that according to Varthema, Ceylon paid tribute to the rulers of Vijayanagara on that account. "Rice does not grow in this country but it comes there from the mainland. The Kings of the country are tributaries of the Kings of Narsingua on that account".⁷

1. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 32, v. 29 ; Ch. 36, v. 20, 74 ; Ch. 37, v. 189 ; Ch. 87, v. 1.
2. *Samyuttanikaya Atthakatha* (P.T.S. Edition), Vol. III, p. 111.
Sammoha Vinodani (P.T.S. Edition), p. 445.
3. S. M. H. Nainar : *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of South India* (Madras 1942) p. 25.
4. *Ibid.* p. 41, f.n. 56.
5. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, p. 109-20.
6. *The Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, p. 84-85.
7. *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema*, Hakluyt Series, Vol. 32, p. 189-193.

Horses too were imported to Ceylon from South India. As South India itself imported horses for its own use, this must have been part of the "carrying" trade done for the Island by South Indian merchants. Sena and Guttika who invaded Ceylon in the 2nd century B.C., were the sons of a freighter who brought horses hither.¹ It was also a horse dealer from South India who informed the Chola king of the chaotic conditions in Ceylon at the time and brought about the invasion of the Island in the reign of King Mahinda V (981-1029).² The horses supplied by the South Indians may have been from the Indus Valley, whence the name Sindu or Saindava, often met in Sinhalese literature. Velumana's horse was of this variety.³

Cloth was another import from South India. The very word (*redi*) appears to be a word of Dravidian origin.⁴ This word which means a coarse cotton cloth is used in Sinhalese to designate cloth in general. The word (*renda*) which in Sinhalese is the name for lace, is also a word of Dravidian origin indicating that they were originally imported from South India.

The chief export to South India was elephants. Elephants were in very great demand by the rulers of Vijayanagara for use in their wars with the Muslim States of the Deccan. The usual sources of elephants for India being in the hands of the Muslims, there must have been a very great demand for the Ceylon elephants. We know from an Arab source that the kings of Vijayanagara had a predilection for horses and elephants. "The kings of Bisanagar have always liked, for show, to have many horses in their stalls, and they always had eight or nine hundred horses and elephants".⁵ Tippa, the Sultan of the Telegu country is stated to have imported elephants from Ceylon.⁶ Writing about the middle of the 15th century, Abdur Razzak informs us that elephants were exported to India from Ceylon.⁷ Barbosa states: "And in this Island are reared many elephants which the king has caught and tamed. These he sells to the merchants of Charanandel, of Narsingua, Malabar, Daquem and Cambia, who come hither to seek them".⁸ The boom in the elephant trade was so great that elephants appear

1. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 31, v. 11.

2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 55, v. 13.

3. For a list of references to horses in the *Mahavamsa* and *Culavamsa* see Index on p. 324 at end of *Culavamsa*, Vol. II.

4. *Tamil Lexicon* (produced under the Authority of the University of Madras), Vol. 6, p. 3431a.

5. Fernao Nuniz, quoted in Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 373.

6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, p. 12.

7. Major: *India in the 15th Century*, p. 20.

8. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, p. 105-120.

to have been shipped from several villages along the south-western coast. In the village of Maggona which has scarcely any port facilities to boast of, there is a rock some distance away from the shore called "yanai vilundana," the place where the elephant fell. This shows that elephants were exported even from this place though it was certainly not a port.

In Ceylon's trade with India, it appears that the Indians took the initiative. The *Amuktamalayadi* of Krishnadevaraya states that the elephant dealers were natives of India.¹ King Bhuvaneka Bahu I in a letter to the King of Egypt refers to the fact that the merchandise of Ceylon was taken to that country by Indian merchants.² Besides, though there are plenty of references to Indian merchants in Ceylon, we have very few references to Ceylonese merchants taking an active part in the Island's trade with India. There are however a few references to Ceylonese merchants. Rodrigues states: "It has a few ships of its own, and they trade from Quilon and from Bengala to Cambay."³

That culture follows trade is an axiom of history. In those days when there were no passenger ships, monks, students and travellers had to make their journeys across the ocean in merchant vessels. The Mahayanic work, the Dharmadhatu was brought to Ceylon by a merchant who was returning from Benares.⁴ Indian influence was strongest at the ports. Each port with a Tamil colony had a Hindu temple. Therefore these ports became centres of Hinduism whence the native population absorbed much of their Hindu practices and beliefs. More than one reference in the *Mahavamsa* leads us to believe that Trincomalee was the centre of Tantric cults, which was undoubtedly the result of contact with the Andhradesa.⁵

If we analyse the Indian influences on Sinhalese sculpture and architecture, we see that it is those centres which are closest to the sea-ports of India that have influenced Ceylon most. We have no examples of Rashtrakuta and Chalukya sculptures in Ceylon, for those two dynasties did not build any navy, nor have much commercial intercourse with Ceylon. On the other hand, there are several sites in Ceylon which contain sculptures executed in the Pallava style, which had its centre at Mahabalipuram, itself a coastal town.⁶

1. *Amuktamalyada* of Krishnadevaraya, 4 : 258.
2. Quatremere : *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 59-60. Trans. in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, Vol. 28, p. 82-85.
3. *The Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, pp. 84-87.
4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 38.
5. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 41 ; *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 80 ; Ch. 57, v. 52.
6. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report 1936*, p. 16.

Ceylon also had close connections with the Andhradesa, and consequently we find several sculptures in the Andhra style in Ceylon.¹ The image of Avalokitesvara found at Weligama is also interesting. Weligama was neither a capital nor a centre of Buddhism in the early period. Therefore the existence of this unique piece of sculpture must have some connection with its importance as a port. Perhaps if there was no regular sailing of ships from the Indian ports to Ceylon, and the assurance of support from their countrymen who had settled in Ceylon for purposes of trade, Indian craftsmen may not have been so willing to seek employment in a foreign land. Moreover the chief exports of Ceylon were royal monopolies, and consequently would have entailed much diplomacy between the king and traders. Therefore it is possible that these merchants from India also acted as the suppliers of skilled craftsmen from India.

In areas which were once ports we find a large stock of Tamil words. In the coastal belt of Ceylon we find that there are a large number of place-names in Tamil, e.g., Maradana, Nalluruwa, Nagamuttu Kanda, etc., all in Sinhalese-speaking districts. Even the very names of the ports have undergone a change. The names Kalutota, Matota and Bentota became Kalutara, Matara and Bentara, the Sinhalese "tota" giving place to the Tamil equivalent "turai." In the *Mahavamsa* we have a reference to the rock basin Naga catukka at Mihintale. This name is very reminiscent of names like Bhuta catukkam in the Andhradesa, with which Ceylon had very intimate connections in early times.²

The trade with South India has given the Island at least one of its major communities, the Ceylon Moors. The very fact that they speak Tamil and not Arabic indicates that they had originally settled in South India. In fact Barbosa states: "Many Malabar Moors come to settle in this Island by reason of the great liberty which they there enjoy"³ Another community that is a survival from Ceylon's commercial inter-course with South India is the Ceylon Chetty community. The word Chetty is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit term Sreshtin, a member of a merchant guild.

Note:—This article is the Second in a Series on the Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon. The first article on "The Ports of Ancient Ceylon" appeared in Vol. I. No. 2. and the third will deal with "Ancient Ceylon's Trade with the Empires of the Western and the Eastern Worlds". Ed.

1. S. Paranavitana: "Examples of Andhra Art recently found in Ceylon" in *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XI.
2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 236.
3. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, p. 109-20.

SOME ASPECTS OF KINGSHIP AND THE ADMINISTRATION IN 4-6th CENTURY A.D. CEYLON

By W. A. JAYAWARDANA

The King

The Position of the King

The king was the supreme head of the administration and to all appearance he was autocratic and exercised unlimited powers ; but in reality the case was quite different, there being several recognised institutions with which he had to reckon in normal circumstances.

The kings did not ordinarily ignore the established customs and traditions. The decrees of former kings were generally followed and adhered to by their successors.¹ Various officers of the administration wielding considerable power, particularly the high dignitaries like the ministers and the commanders of the army, exercised a certain amount of restriction on any indiscriminate use of their powers.² The bhikkhus too, as the custodians of the religion, exercised much influence and it was the endeavour of kings in normal circumstances to win them over and solicit their help.³

This being the case, the decisions and actions of kings were usually moderated and tempered, and the public well-being was regarded as their general guiding principle, although individual acts of despotism were not unheard of. That this was so can easily be followed from the discussion of the activities of kings of this period in the *Culavamsa*, and particularly from the instances quoted below. Even when the extreme compassion of Mahanama prompted him to set a criminal free, he did so only in secrecy, with the necessary precautions to give the appearance that the criminal was duly punished, fearing otherwise, as it would appear, the reproach of the people that his conduct was not conducive to the

1. Vide *Culavamsa Translation*, I, p. xv.

2. P. 210f.

3. Refusal on the part of the bhikkhus to accept a vihara from the parricide Kassapa (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 12f) and Moggallana's visit to the three viharas immediately after his victory and the ready welcome given to him by the bhikkhus may be noted (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 29f). Several instances can be cited from the *Mahavamsa* and *Culavamsa* in which the influence of the bhikkhus was brought to bear in political matters (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 24, v. 50f : 33, 17f ; *Culavamsa*, Ch. 60, v. 87f, etc.).

promotion of public safety.¹ Upatissa I, did not employ his subjects even in the construction of religious buildings as he feared that they would be estranged from him,² while Moggallana II, preferred to risk his own life in personal combat rather than involve innocent subjects in a war.³

Thus the cumulative effect of all these institutions was that they, at least to an extent, counter-balanced the position of the king and brought about a synthesis of what we may call a "benevolent despotism", and as such, even in the likely absence of a constitution in the modern sense or of a popular assembly, the kings do not seem to have ordinarily exercised unmitigated autocratic powers.

The efficiency of the administration depended greatly on the personality of the kings who controlled the reigns of government. We have a clear instance in the reign of Kittisirimega where the failure of the king to carry out the administration efficiently, resulted in the resorting to bribery and corruption by the officials and to the oppression of the people.⁴ Unfortunately for us we have no definite idea as to the king's actual share in the administration although it must have been quite considerable. Nor are we fully aware of the extent of the functions of the administration.

Royal Titles and Epithets

The king as the sovereign head of the state was referred to both in the chronicles and the epigraphs by various titles and epithets of royalty.

In the Pali chronicles, the king is invariably referred to by the common term "rāja" (king). Other terms used in the chapters of the *Culavamsa* dealing with the kings of the present period are : "rajavaro"⁵ (noble king) ; "narindo"⁶, "naradhipo"⁷, "narissaro"⁸ (lord of men) ; "naruttamo"⁹ (noblest of men) ; "narapalo"¹⁰ (protector of men) ; "narasabho"¹¹ (the "bull")

1. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 205-206. The punishments due to the criminal were given to a corpse secretly fetched from the burial ground.
2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 184.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 46f.
4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 64-68.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 115.
6. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 112.
7. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 178, 198 ; Ch. 38, v. 87 ; Ch. 41, v. 65.
8. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 56, 65 ; Ch. 38, v. 103 ; Ch. 41, v. 85, 102.
9. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 51.
10. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 161 ; Ch. 38, v. 7 ; Ch. 39, v. 1.
11. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 81.

among men); "bhūnipo"¹, "bhupalo"² (protector of the earth); "bhupati"³ (lord of the earth); "mahipālo"⁴ (protector of the earth); "mahipati"⁵, "dharanipati"⁶ (lord of the earth). The diminutive "rajaka"⁷ (kingling) has been used for the parricide Kassapa obviously in contempt.

The use of these terms in the chronicles appear to have been determined more by exigencies of metre than by any other consideration and it may not be quite appropriate to take these expressions in their literal meaning as they seem to have been used merely as synonyms of "raja".

The epithets and titles used in the epigraphical records of this period are more informative. The phrase "Mapurumu Budadasa Budasa . . . Maharaja Apaya" occurs in two of the edited inscriptions of the period.⁸ "Mapurumu" or "mapurumuka" or their variants "Mapurumuka", "mapurmuka", "mapurum", "mapurumu", etc., are commonly found in inscriptions, standing alone or with other epithets in front of the king's name. Sometimes the king is referred to by this epithet in the body of the inscription.⁹

"Mapurumu", (Skt.) "Mahapramukha", (Pali) "Mahapamukkha", is taken as one of the old official names which had now become meaningless but has continued to be used as a title.¹⁰

The epithet "Budadasa" (Pali, Buddhadasa) means "servant or slave of the Buddha". It may be noted here that one of the kings who is known to have borne this epithet was the Indian adventurer Khuddaparinda—Budadasa La Parideva.¹¹ In the *Culavamsa* one king is known by the personal name Buddhadasa—

1. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 170; Ch. 38, v. 89.
2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 170; Ch. 38, v. 95.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 51, 109, 179, 210; Ch. 38, v. 5, 109.
4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 33; Ch. 41, v. 92.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 95, 105, 122, 145, 152; Ch. 41, v. 91.
6. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 248; Ch. 38, v. 76.
7. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 88.
8. Anuradhapura Slab Inscription of Khuddaparinda, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV, p. 114f; Nilagama Rock Inscription of Dala Mugalan, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV, p. 294f.
9. As in the case of Buddhadasa in Ruvanveliseya Pillar Inscription of the reign of Buddhadasa, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, p. 122.
10. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, pp. 122-23. In this connection it may be of interest to note the other terms like Jetthaka, Gamani, Gotha, Seniya etc., which are supposed to have denoted old official titles before the kings assumed role of absolute monarchs but which have since come to be used as proper names, or parts of proper names.
11. Anuradhapura Slab Inscription of Khuddaparinda, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV, pp. 112-114.

the famous physician king who according to the *Culavamsa* author was a mine of virtues exemplifying in his person the life of a Bodhisatva.¹ It is possible that even in the case of this king, "Buddhadasa" was only an epithet although the *Culavamsa* gives it as his proper name.²

"Abaya" and its variant forms like "aba", "apaya", etc., are commonly used in inscriptions of this and both preceding and succeeding periods. It is used sometimes before "Maharaja" or "raja" as in the case of Sarimekavana-aba-Maharaja,³ where it appears to be a part of the proper name and very often after "Maharaja" or "raja" where it seems to have been used as an honorific suffix or a title.⁴ Dr. Paranavitana says that it is of the same position as of "pa" in "rajapa" of medieval records and that it may be derived from (Pali) "Abhaya" or it may represent (Skt.) "Aryapada".⁵

The epithet "Tiripali" (and also "Taripala") which was used for Mahanama in inscriptions and the names Sirinvasa, and Sirikudda by which he was known in the contemporary works *Sarantapasadika* and *Dhammapadattakatha* respectively may also be taken as honorifics.⁶

The epithet "Tiripali" is equal to Pali "Siripalita" which means "protected by the Goddess of Prosperity".⁷

1. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 105f.
2. The king who is known as Buddhadasa in the *Culavamsa* is referred to by the name Mahasena alone in one of the inscriptions attributed to his reign (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, p. 121fn 4; p. 124) while another inscription refers to him as Budadasa Mahasena (*Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, p. 122) where "Budadasa" stands as an epithet. As such it may be suggested that the *Culavamsa* used as the proper name only the epithet that was used by the king.
3. Tonigala Rock Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, p. 172fn, 2, p. 177.
4. Ibid. Anuradhapura Slab Inscription Khuddaparinda, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV, p. 114; Nagarikaanda Rock Inscription of Kumaradasa *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV, p. 123; Nilagama Rock Inscription of Dala Mugalan, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* IV, p. 294.
5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, p. 124. Because of its occurrence before the name of the king (Tonigala Rock Inscription, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, p. 177) the term "Puviya" had been taken as a royal epithet and rendered to mean the Elder or Senior deriving it from the Sanskrit "puruiva" or "purvija". But it has been now shown that it is not a title but merely a term introduced for purposes of dating and may be rendered as "date" or "time" (vide *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, p. 179).
6. *Sikhalalandavinisa* (Col. ed.) 1934, Intro. p. II, *Pali Literature in Ceylon*, p. 96; *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, pp. 5-6.
7. Tiri = (Pali) Siri = (Tamil) Turu = "Goddess of Prosperity", pali = (Pali) palita = "protected" (vide *Ceylon Journal of Science* II, p. 19). The same sense is conveyed by the other two epithets "Sirinvasa" and "Sirikudda", which means the "Abode of the Goddess of Prosperity".

The Right of Succession

Distinction is often made in the literary works between the kings' children, born of a mother of equal birth as the king and those of lower status. Of the two children of Mahanama it is stated that the son, Sotthisena was born by a Damila consort and the daughter, Samgha by the queen.¹ Dhatusena and Silatassabodhi born to Dathanama of the Moriyavamsa are designated as having been of of the same caste (*Samajatika*),² while Dhatusena had Kassapa by a mother of unequal birth ("bhinnamatuko") and Moggallana by a mother of equal birth ("samanamatuko.")³

These and other instances show that the kings were polygamous, there being a queen who had to be of equal birth and one or more consorts of lower status who very likely formed the harem.

Most probably, the children born from other than the queen had no claim to the throne. During the period discussed herein there were two instances where sons born from other than the queen succeeded to the throne—the succession of Sotthisena born of a Damila consort and that of Kassapa I born of a mother of lower birth. Both of them made their way to the throne under unusual circumstances and they appear to have been usurpers rather than rightful successors.⁴

Unfortunately for us, we have no epigraphic records of the period where matrilineal descent is traced, but from the emphasis given to the mother's birth as revealed by the instances discussed above and as the two successions to the throne, that we know, of sons born from other than the queen did not take place under normal circumstances, we may suggest that though the right of succession rested exclusively on patriarchy that at this time descent from a mother of royal blood was considered necessary to be an heir to the throne. In fact the "mother right" became a recognised institution in medieval Ceylon.⁵

In ancient Ceylon the general right of succession to the throne does not appear to have been the law of primogeniture. Instead, the crown appears to have passed, as a rule, from the reigning king to his younger brothers in succession. Only in the absence of a brother did the crown pass to the next generation and here again

1. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 1.

2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 15.

3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 80.

4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 1-3; 39, v. 1f.

5. "Matrilineal descent in the Sinhales^e Royal Family". Dr. S. Paranavitana, *Ceylon Journal of Science* II, pp. 135-240.

to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This sequence was fairly frequent throughout in normal times.¹

In the period under discussion the same rule was adhered to. There is no recorded instance of a king's son succeeding to the throne over the king's brother.² Only when there were no brothers did the sons come to the throne—the eldest son being followed by the younger sons in succession. The succession of Dathapabhuti, the second son of Silakala over the first son, Moggallana was definitely regarded as unlawful as that was not his turn.³

In the normal course of events this procedure was adhered to but things were not normal always. Usurpations, murders, rebellions and wars over the crown were not uncommon and were in fact, the order of the day towards the end of the period.

Officials of the Administration

In the administration the king was assisted by a number of officials. Several such officials have been mentioned in both literary as well as epigraphic records. Only a few of them however, do we come across in the sources utilised for the present work, and most of these also are only casual and incidental references and as such very little light is shed by these on their positions, functions and powers. Therefore, for the most part we are left to draw inferences from the contexts in which these notices occur or at times to depend mainly on the names given to such offices. As a result, our knowledge of these officials, remains meagre and inadequate to form any definite conclusions.

Ameti, Amacca (Minister ?)

The *Culavamsa* contains several references to Amacca (Ministers ?) in the period covered by the present survey. It is said that a minister of Upatissa I, finding that the king had (as he did not want to cause trouble to anybody) spent a rainy night under a leaky roof, took him into the garden and meanwhile had the house covered in.⁴ A reference is also made to a crafty minister who placed one of his own-men on the throne after the death of the king and wielded the

1. Vide *Culavamsa Translation* I, p. xxf. It may be of interest to note here that the same law of succession continued with the contemporary Western Kshatrapas of India (New History of the Indian People, VI, p. 50).
2. Dhatusena had a brother of equal birth, Silatassabodhi (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 15). We are also told that a brother of Dhatusena helped him in the warfare against the Damilas (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 35), this was probably the same brother. We do not hear anything of him later. We may also recall here that the throne was usurped by Kassapa I from Dhatusena.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 43-44.
4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 188; Cf. *Mahavamsa Translation*, Turnour and Wijesinghe, p. 166.

sceptre himself,¹ and in another we are told that the ministers (?) resorted to bribery and corruption during a period of unstable government.² Dhatuseña is said to have supported the ministers who stood by him during the period of Damila rule and punished the nobles who joined the invader,³ while the ministers who were charged for treason were subjected to severe punishment by Moggallāna I.⁴

From these and other references to ministers (?) in other parts of the chronicle, it appears that they exercised a considerable amount of power, there being occasions at the same time, when the ministers (?) were severely treated by kings.⁵

The word "amacca" has been used in such a general sense in the *Mahavamsa* and the *Culavamsa* that it does not appear to be appropriate to render it always in the restricted meaning of a minister.⁶ "Amacca" were high dignitaries who acted probably both in an advisory and an executive capacity having possibly no strictly defined sphere of action.

That the ministers (?) acted in an advisory body and that their counsel was sought by kings is clear from several earlier instances⁷ that can be cited from the *Mahavamsa*. The occurrence of terms

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1. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 4-6.
 2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 67-68.
 3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 39.
 4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 34-35.
 5. King and Ministers take part in foundation laying ceremony (*Mahavamsa* Ch. 29, p. 23, 62), Ministers in league with the monks place the younger son on the throne in preference to the elder but, of course, the elder establishes himself on the throne (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 33, v. 17). Ministers protest over punishment given to one of them by the king (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 33, v. 70-77) a Minister prepares for war against the king over his religious persecutions (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 17) while another Minister supports the king in his action (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 10). A Minister decides a dispute of monks and carries out his decision against the wishes of the king (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 37, v. 39). Another rebels against the king and occupies the throne (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 36, v. 91). Ministers ruthlessly murdered by the king (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 36, v. 118-121). Of the necessity of Amatya, Kautilya asserts, "sovereignty (rajatva) is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence he shall employ ministers and hear their opinion". (*Arthashastra Translation*, p. 12).
 6. "Bhandagarika" (treasurer) referred to as "amacca" (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 36, v. 91). Officers of the army referred to as "amacca" (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 70, v. 19, Ch. 135, v. 72, 96, 123), etc., See also *Culavamsa Translation I*, p. xxvf.
 7. Vijaya took counsel with his ministers over the question of his successor (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 8, v. 3). Ministers ruled the country during interregnum (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 8, v. 4). Devanampiyatissa conferred with his ministers to send envoys to India for the bringing of the Bodhi Tree (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 3). Elara sought the advice of his ministers in the warfare against Dutthagamani (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 25, v. 32).

like "amati-pahaja" in inscriptions of this period,¹ seems to suggest that there was a council of ministers at this time. "Ameti", (Sanskrit) "Amatya" and (Pali) "Amacca" stands for minister (?) "Paheja" is probably a corruption of (Skt.) "parsadya" and (Pali) "parisajja" through a Prakrit form "pasajja", thus meaning a councillor.² May be that a Council of Ministers similar to perhaps the "Mantri-parisad" referred to in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* existed at this time.³ We have however, no conclusive evidence either literary or epigraphic, in support of the existence of a council during this period although we know that a council did exist in later times.⁴

Senapati (Commander of the Army)

It is said that Dhatusena bestowed the office of "senapati" (senapaccam) on his sister's son and gave him his daughter in marriage,⁵ and that Upatissa made Silakala his "dhajinipati" and married him to his daughter.⁶ We also know of the Senapati Migara, who fell out with Kassapa over the performance of a religious ceremony and who performed the same ceremony in the reign of Moggallana I,⁷ while a senapati Uttara also figures in the reign of the latter.⁸

The "senapati", as the title itself suggests (literally lord of the army) was the commander of the army. The term "dhajinipati" which also literally means lord of the army,⁹ may well be taken as synonymous with "senapati" and not as one which denotes a separate office.¹⁰

"Senapati" is the highest military rank that we know of in ancient Ceylon and the position of the "senapati" as the head of

1. Tonigala Rock Inscriptions, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 177.
2. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Ch. LI, p. 182.
3. *Arthashastra Translations*, p. 14.
4. *Journal of the Greater India Society* Vol. V, pp. 16-17.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 81.
6. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 6-7.
7. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 40.
8. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 58. *Patisambhidamagga* written in the third year after the death of Moggallana by a thera Mahanama mentions Uttaramanti as the name of the builder of the monastery in which the thera was living at the time of writing. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 9.
9. Dhajini — "bearing a standard", i.e., an army; pati — lord.
10. Cf. "Camupati" (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 19, v. 65, 71, etc. See also *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Ch. Vol. V, p. 10.)

the army, as suggested by the title, must have given him a considerable amount of power and influence, although we cannot be certain as to what exactly his position was or what his duties were.¹ The "senapati" of Dhatusena was instrumental in imprisoning the king and placing on the throne Kassapa who probably had no claim to it,² while Silakala defeated Upatissā in battle and made himself king.³ It is also possible that the Senapati Migara who fell out with Kassapa, helped Moggallana to win over the throne.⁴ Several earlier instances are also available where "senapatis" succeeded in becoming kings,⁵ and all these reveal the power and influence that was attached to this office.

We have also noted that the "senapatis" of both Dhatusena and Upatissā were their respective sons-in-law. From the other instances also where the relationship of the king and the "senapati" is given it appears that this office was normally given to a close relation of the king,⁶ and this fact discloses further the importance in which the office of "senapati" was held.

The Chattagahaka (Parasol-bearer) and Asiggahaka (Sword-bearer)

We have one reference each to the "Chattagahaka" and "Asiggāhaka" respectively in the period discussed herein.

1. Pandukabhaya's uncles posted a commander (Camupati) in charge of the fortifications they erected but at the onslaught of the soldiers of Pandukabhaya, he (senapati) fled for safety (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 10, v. 65, 71). A "camupati" of Elara seems to have been connected with the administration of a village (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 23, v. 4). In later times we note that one of the senapatis of Sena V, was once an "amacca" (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 54, p. 60).
2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 80f.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 7f.
4. Migara was awaiting the arrival of Moggallana (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 6-7).
5. The first recorded attempt of a senapati to the throne was that of Kammaharattaka in the reign of Khallatanaga (109-104 B.C.) younger brother. (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 33, v. 38). In case of the five Damilas who captured Anuradhapura from Vattagamani, the crown in succession passed from the king to the "senapati", the latter always killing the former (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 32, v. 56-59). Kuncanaga's senapati who was his brother-in-law rebelled against the king and placed himself upon the throne (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 36, v. 21).
6. Kuncanaga's senapati was his brother-in-law (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 36, v. 21). In later times we find that Aggabodhi VI, made his valorous son Mahinda the senapati (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 48, v. 78), while Mahinda himself when he became king appointed his brave son to the same office (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 48, v. 151). In the 13th century Parakramabahu II, entrusted the command of the army to his sister's son (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 83, v. 41) at the same time the chronicles mention a series of senapatis without giving their relationship to the king (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 10, v. 65, 71; Ch. 15, v. 212; Ch. 33, 56-59; *Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 6, 58; Ch. 49, v. 80; Ch. 50, v. 82; Ch. 51, v. 88; Ch. 53, v. 11; Ch. 54, v. 13, 5; Ch. 63, v. 82; Ch. 64, v. 22).

The "Chattagāhaka" (parasol-bearer) of Mahanama was his son-in-law who later became king.¹ Silakala before he became the son-in-law and "senapati" of Upatissa was the brother-in-law and "Asiggāhaka" (sword-bearer) of Moggallana I.²

Both parasol (chatta) and sword (asi) were important items of royal insignia, the parasol being regarded as the emblem of sovereignty. From the importance attached to these objects with which the ranks were connected and from the fact that most of the known holders of these ranks were close relations of kings, some of whom themselves succeeded to the throne,³ it appears that the two offices were of high rank.

It may also be suggested from some of the earlier and later references to them that "Chattagāhaka" and "Asiggāhaka" were officials who were in personal attendance on the king.⁴

Adipada

The title "Adipāda" is first come across in the chronicles in the reign of Silākala (526-539 A.D.). It is stated that he gave over the Pūttathimadesa (East Province) to his eldest son and conferred on him the office of Adipada—"thānantaram c' ādipadasannam".⁵ The use of the word "sannam" along with "adipada" seems to suggest that the title was not well known before. But this was very likely not so, for terms like "Mahaya" corresponding to "Mahadipada" used later in the chronicles occur in some of the earlier inscriptions.⁶ Dr. Paranavitana points out that the Pali form "adipada" is a mistranslation of the Sinhalese title "apa"

1. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v.3.

2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 54 ; 41, v. 7f.

3. In addition to the instances quoted from the present period we find that Aggabodhi II's sword-bearer was a kinsman of the queen (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 42, v. 42) and that he probably became king (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 44, v. 1. *Culavamsa Translation I*, p. 74 fn. 1) Moggallana III's sword-bearer was the senapati's son who defeated the king in battle and became king (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 44, v. 43, 54, 64).

4. Along with each of the 32 figures of the king that Dutthagamani placed in the battle field, he placed a "Chattadhara" (*Mahavamsa*, Ch. 25, v. 55) parasol-bearer, most probably synonymous with Chattagāhaka. In the 12th century when Parakkamabahu I, was deserted by his soldiers, only the parasol-bearer and the sword-bearer stood by him. (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 66, v. 39). In the terms "Chattagāhakanatha" and "Chattagāhakanayaka", (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 59, v. 16 ; Ch. 70, v. 60 ; Ch. 72, v. 68) may be traced a further evolution of the rank "Chattagāhaka". Vide *Culavamsa Translation I*, p. xxviii.

5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 33-34.

6. Rock Inscription from Vessagiriya (2nd Century A.D.), *Epigraphia Zeylanica I*, p. 21. Kandegamakanda Inscription (pre-Christian) *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. II I, p. 202.

meaning a prince and not the Sinhalese form a corruption of the Pali one as generally believed.¹

The title "adipada" became fairly frequently used in later times.²

Malayaraja

Like "ādipāda" the title "Malayarāja" is also first met with in the chronicles in the reign of Silakala. He conferred the office of "Malayaraja"—"thānam Malayarājaggaṃ"—on his second son and entrusted him with the Dakkhinadesa (South Province) along with the care of the sea coast.³ The title "Malayaraja" suggests some kind of dominion over the Malay country, its later association however, appears to be mostly with military men.⁴

Andhasenapati

The title "andhasenapati" is mentioned only once in the *Culavamsa*. Mahanaga who entered the services of Silakala was made the "Rohanakammika" and later being pleased with his work was given the rank of "andhasenāpati".⁵ It is difficult to suggest whether it was only an honorary title or whether it had any office attached to it. Geiger says of it :

"Difficult of explanation is the term andhasenapati which occurs but once. I am inclined to think that And here is the (Skr.) 'Andhra', the name of a people which occurs along with such as 'pulinda' and 'sabara'. Like these two names 'Andha' might have reference to the Vaddas and andhasenapati would be a title with its counterpart in 'damiladikarin'".⁶

Here may also be suggested the possibility of the title "Andhasenapati" having had its origin arising from the close connections

1. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, pp. 82-83.
2. *Culavamsa Translation*, Ch. I, pp. xix-xx; *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. II, pp. 105-109.
3. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 35.
4. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 69, v. 6; Ch. 76, v. 62, 155.
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 86-87: "Passitva tam upatthasi, raja Rohapakamnikam tam akasi, tadutthanam bhandam ahari so bahum. Raja tasmim pasiditva andhasenapativahayam datva thanantaram tassa gantum taththa eva yojavi."
6. *Culavamsa Translation*, Vol. I, pp. xxviii.

the Andhra country and Ceylon appear to have had at this time.¹

Rohanakammika

We have already referred to that Mahanaga, who entered the services of Silakala was made the "Rohanakammika". It is told that he brought many goods produced there (to the king) and that when there was confusion in Anuradhapura, he raised a rebellion and "made of Rohana a territory whose products fell exclusively to himself".²

It is most likely that these products formed the king's revenue from Rohana and that the "Rohanakammika" was responsible for their collection. The refusal to pay the revenues to the king was obviously an act of assertion of independence on the part of the official.

The term "Rohanakammika" means "the door of Rohana". From the meaning of the term and from what we have discussed

There was a considerable amount of contact between the Andhra country and Ceylon due to the common religious affinities. The similarity between the characters of the two alphabets was so close in the later 3rd or early 4th century that one who was familiar with one alphabet could read the other without much difficulty (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 274). Buddhaghosa, the famous commentarian of the 5th century Ceylon made use of the Andhakathakatha (The Andhaka Commentaries) in his Pali translations (*EHBC*, p. 12). Dr. Paranavitana suggests the possibility of a stone on which an inscription is indited being brought to Ceylon from the Andhra country (a fragmentary inscription from Jetavanarama now in Colombo Museum, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 272-273). At the same time it may be repeated here that Moggallana had a long stay of 17 years in India from where he collected forces to win over his throne here. It is not impossible that some of his soldiers were from the Andhra region and some of the 12 distinguished friends—"dvadasaggasahaya"—were Andhra generals. Silakala, the only one known to have given the title of "Andhasenapati", himself had a long sojourn in India. South India adventurers had political connections, with Ceylon from very early times and the Sinhalese kings, in difficulty were in the habit of raising armies in India to fight their rivals here. It is natural that in such difficulties, they sought the help of their co-religionists in the Andhra country and that the Andhra soldiers and their generals came to Ceylon. Geiger however, is not inclined to believe that this title could have had any connection with the Andhra country. See *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. V, p. 12.

2. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 41, v. 86, 89.

above it may be suggested that the "Rohanakammika" was the administrator of Rohana.¹

Ratiya

The term "Ratiya" occurs in one of the published inscriptions of this period,² and "Ratika" is found in a record of the second century A.D.³ Both these terms are derived from the Pali "Ratthika" and Sanskrit "Rastrika". As "Rata" or "rattha" was a territorial unit of ancient Ceylon, it is most likely that, "Ratiya" was an officer connected with the administration of that unit, and was perhaps same as the Ratladda (literally, one who has obtained the "rata") of medieval inscriptions.⁴

Dvaranayaka (Chief of the King's Gate)

It is said that Moggallana I, when he became king, placed as "dvaranayaka" (chief of the gate) the faithful charioteer (rathika) whom his father had recommended for that post.⁵ His position may have been as the chief of the gate-watchmen of the palace. A "jetthadovarika" (the chief of the gate watchmen) is mentioned in the *Mahavamsa* as one of the paramours of the infamous queen Anula,⁶ and the same work relates an interesting episode in which King Yasalalakatissa lost his kingdom to the gate watchman.⁷

Magistrates and Custom-house Officials

In an episode related by Cosmas, the two merchants (the Persian and the Roman) who came to Ceylon were, in accordance with the

1. The expression "kammika" meaning literally "the doer" has a counterpart even today in terms like "karavanatana" (lit. the one who is getting done) or "paminitana" (lit. the one who has come) found in ordinary usage for petty provincial officers. (Cf. expressions like Koralya-karavanatana for the Korala). A "Rohanabhojaka" is mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd century from Tissamaharama (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. II p. 24, No. 391). In the 9th century an adipada Dathasiva was the "chief of the revenues of Rohana"—"Rohanadesamhi bhogadipatino" (*Culavamsa*, Ch. 49, v. 10).
2. Labuatabandigala Rock Inscriptions, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 251 " . . . Ra(ti)ya Sumanayaha puta Naitalavitiya."
3. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. II, p. 126, No. 528, "Ratika Naka".
4. Vide *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 252. The terms "Ratamahatmaya", "Raterala", that are used even today to denote minor provincial officers in the Kandyan Districts are obviously connected with the older terms. The Rastrike in the Pallava inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 5, Hirahadagalli Plates) is analogous to "Ratiya" in our inscriptions but it must be remembered that the "rastra" of the Pallavas, was, the highest provincial unit (*New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 284).
5. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 39. See also *Culavamsa*, Ch. 38, v. 96.
6. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 34, v. 18.
7. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. 35, v. 51-56.

custom of the place, received and brought before the king by the magistrates and the custom-house officials.¹

No further details appear to be available of these officials either from Cosmas or from any other source. It is rather difficult to suggest who these magistrates were, their duties or the titles by which they were known locally. The custom-house officials may possibly have been connected with the collection of custom-house dues, which appear to have formed part of the revenue.²

In addition to these officials to whom incidental reference has been made in our sources, several others are referred to in the chronicles as well as in the inscriptions in connection with both earlier and later periods and it is doubtless that most of them functioned in the present period also.

1. *Christian Topography*, p. 368.

2. *Ibid*, 363f. 372.

KING CHANDRABHANU AND A MIRACULOUS IMAGE

By A. P. BUDDHADATTA MAHATHERA

THE *Mahavamsa* states that "a king of the Javakas known by the name of Candabhanu landed with a terrible Javaka army under the treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha."¹ This invasion has taken place during the reign of Parakramabahu II (A.D. 1236-1271). The king sent his nephew, Prince Virabahu, with an army to fight the Javakas; and after many combats the invaders were driven away by the Prince.

Later on the king laid the burden of ruling upon the shoulders of his eldest son, Vijayabahu, and he himself engaged in literary works. While he was still living, Chandrabhanu once again invaded Ceylon in A.D. 1256. Chapter eighty-eight of the *Mahavamsa* relates this event as follows: "At that time Candabhanu, formerly beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pandus and Colas and elsewhere many Dāmila soldiers, representing a great force, landed with his Javaka army in Mahattitha. After the king had brought over to his side the Sihalas dwelling in Padi, Kurundi and other districts, he marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tisihala. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bowl Relic and the royal domination . . ." King Vijayabahu IV and Prince Virabahu surrounded the hostile army and defeated the Javakas in a great battle. Chandrabhanu, however, escaped and fled to his own country, leaving here many of his treasures. The *Mahavamsa* states that Vijayabahu IV sent to his father "the loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses, the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure . . ."

By this account one has to understand that the loss suffered by Chandrabhanu was very great. The *Mahavamsa* nowhere mentions the name of the country from where Chandrabhanu came. The only clue it gives on this point is that he was a *Javaka*. Now we have to find out who these Javakas were. Dr. Reginald le May states in his work on the *Buddhist Art in Siam*: "At first the name, Zabag, only referred to the Ligor region, but finally included the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago, and was referred to as either Javabhumi or Suvarnavipa by the Indians, and as San-fo-chi by the Chinese . . . It may also be added that in later times, up to the thirteenth century, this realm, at least that part in the Malay

1. Ed. W. Geiger: *Culavamsa II*, Ch. 83, v. 36 (P.T.S. Edition).

Peninsula, was referred to as Javaka, whose king, Chandrabhanu, twice invaded Ceylon, in 1236 and 1256, but was defeated on both occasions."¹

Thus we are able to identify the place from where Chandrabhanu hailed. From a statement by the same author (on p. 41 of his book) we learn that Ligor was formerly called "Nakon Sritamarat". Dr. Paranavitana, in his article on "Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam"² states: "Siridhammanagara or Nagara Sri Dharmaraja is called Nakhon Si Tammarat in the Malay language and the shortened form of this name occurs in Pali writings as Tambarattha. The monarch who ruled Siridhammanagara at this period, has left a Sanskrit inscription at a place named Jaiya, in which the epithet of Candrabhanu is given him In Sinhalese writings he is also called the king of Tambalinga or Tarabalingamu, and in the inscription referred to above, Sri Dharmaraja is given the epithet of Tamralingesvara."

Now it is clear that Chandrabhanu was the king of present Ligor, in the Malay Peninsula, which was formerly called Tammarat or Tambarattha. This Tambarattha was the place from where Parakrama Bahu II invited a learned Elder to come here. The account of this Elder's arrival is related as follows: "Then the ruler learned that among the many high-principled Bhikkhus dwelling permanently in Tambarattha there was a Grand Thera, Dhammakitti by name; . . . he was filled with admiration and sent religious gifts . . . to Tambarattha. He made the Grand Thera come to the Island of Lanka . . . and provided him . . . with an offering of the four necessities"³ According to this statement it is evident that the name of Chandrabhanu's kingdom was well known here although the *Mahavamsa* is silent on this point.

Professor Geiger in a note on Tambarattha states: "Probably a province in Southern India. Pujavaliya has instead Tambalingum"⁴ Previous to this statement in the *Mahavamsa* there is a passage referring to South India which related how the same king brought over to Ceylon many Cola Bhikkhus who were well versed in the *Three Pitakas*. Therefore this Tambarattha must be a country other than that of South India.

With reference to the invasions of Chandrabhanu, Dr. le May says: "It has been suggested with some plausibility that these

1. *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam* by Reginald le May, Ph.D., Cambridge University Press, 1938.
2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, Vol. XXXII, No. 85, p. 19.
3. *Culavamsa*, II, p. 155.
4. *Ibid.*, II, p. 154.

attacks were primarily made to gain possession of a miraculous image of the Buddha, the famous Pra Sihing, whose renown has reached Siam".¹ Now it is time to relate the story of this miraculous image. Here in Ceylon we have no record whatever of such an image; therefore we have to rely on foreign records. The history of this wonderful image is given in a Pali work, named *Jinakalamalini*, written in A.D. 1516 by Ratanapanna who lived in Mahabodharama at Zieng Mai.² Dr. Paranavitana says that this work has been published in Siamese characters by Prince Damrong at Bangkok in 1908;³ and he has given a full translation of the story of the image, not from the original Pali text, but from a French version by Monsieur M. Coedes, in his above-mentioned article. As this translation is somewhat lengthy I here follow Dr. le May's description. On p. 116 of his work he states:

"History of the Pra Sihing⁴ is important, as it is closely bound up with the new style of image which appeared in Siam, and was the cause of many struggles for its possession in that country. According to the *Jinakalamalini* this image was fashioned in the second century A.D. at the command of a king of Ceylon in the style of a likeness of the Buddha created miraculously by a king of Nagas. When polished the image appeared bright and resplendent as the living Buddha himself. In the middle of the 13th century (it is said, in the year A.D. 1256) Rocaraja, the Tai king of Sakotai, was paying a visit to the King of Nakon Sritammarat (presumably Chandrabhanu) and heard glowing accounts from the latter of the wonderful Sinhalese image of the Buddha. He at once desired its possession, but was dissuaded from going himself to secure it by Chandrabhanu, who told him that Ceylon was protected by four powerful divinities.⁵ Thereupon the two kings sent an envoy to the king of Ceylon earnestly entreating that the image might be presented to them, and the Sinhalese king, after worshipping the image for seven days and nights, was pleased to accede to this request and solemnly handed it over to the envoy for safe conveyance to Nakon Sritammarat. On the way back the envoy's ship was unfortunately wrecked on a reef and the image went floating away to sea resting on a ship's plank. Through the power of the Naga

1. *Buddhist Art in Siam*, p. 115.
2. Dr. le May writes this name as *Chiengmai*, and Dr. Paranavitana as *X'ieung Mai*. But I prefer *Zieng Mai* as I have heard the Shans and Talaings pronouncing it in that way, when I was staying at Moulmein. This is situated on the land route to Siam from South-Eastern Burma.
3. See Note 1 on page 192, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*. Vol. XXXII, No. 85.
4. "Sihing" is a corrupt form of Sihala, and "Pra Sihing" simply means the Sinhalese Buddha. (Note by the Author).
5. According to *Jinakalamalini* these four are: Sumanadeva-rajā, Rama, Lakkhana, and Kataragi mā. See p. 193 of Dr. Paranavitana's article.

king, however, it was borne in the direction of Nakhon Sritammarat, and the king of this city having been apprised of its arrival in a dream, recovered it from the sea and brought it home in triumph and paid due homage to it. But it was not to remain with him for long, for, as soon as Rōcaraja heard of its arrival, he came south post-haste, and, claiming it as his own, carried it off to Sakotai, where it was set up and duly worshipped with appropriate rites and ceremonies. To provide it with a suitable setting, Rōcaraja built at Cri Sachanali (Sawankalok) a magnificent stupa in brick and stone, covered with stucco, and a *mandapa* of gilded copper."

"The image remained at Sawankalok for a hundred years, but it would take too much space to recount its adventures during the succeeding fifty years, between 1350 and 1400, when it became the sport of all local chiefs and kings to try and gain its possession. Suffice it to say that it was taken successively to Chainat, Ayudhya, Kanpengpet, then to Tak (Raheng), thence to Chiengmai, Chienggrai, Chiengsen, back to Chiengmai, and finally came to rest at the end of the fourteenth century at Chiengmai in the temple named after it, Wat Pra Sihing (or Sing) where it remained in peace until the capture of the town in 1662 by King Naraiyana, who carried it off to Ayudhya. When Ayudhya fell and was sacked by the Burmese in 1767, the image was restored to Chiengmai, but in 1795 was brought to Bangkok where it has been ever since. It is now in the chapel of the erstwhile Second King's Palace, which forms part of the National Museum."

This image is 26 inches high and seated on a lotus throne. Dr. le May, who has seen it, describes its features as follows: "The head is lifted more off the shoulders, the hair is formed of more pointed and sharply-defined spirals, and the lyre-like emblem on the top of the head has taken on a more flame-like form, but the position of the hands and legs, the wide-spreading knees, and the whole conception of the body are so akin in both images that there can be no doubt whence the Pra Sihing derived its inspiration."

THE REVIVAL OF ORIENTAL LEARNING IN CEYLON AND THE INDOLOGISTS

By T. VIMALANANDA

AFTER THREE hundred years of continuous struggle with the various European powers who successively occupied the country, Ceylon ultimately succumbed to the British in the year 1815. The Sinhalese people, who had retained their freedom through 2,358 years of recorded history, now at last lost their independence and became wholly subject to a foreign power. However, the feeling of insecurity, helplessness and mutual suspicion, which was the keynote of the preceding epoch, gave way to peace and tranquility. The new regime took quick measures for the development of the material wealth of the country, as well as the promotion of the education of the people. At this stage, we suggest that three forces disputed the nature of the culture and education, which the new regime was to confer on the people.

These three distinct forces were :—

(1) The Governor, for the British Government, was bound by treaty to preserve " The religion of Boodho, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces, is declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected The rights, privileges and powers of the respective officers . . . with their civil rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions and customs established and in force amongst them ".¹

The new Government was obliged to protect Buddhism, to maintain existing viharas, and to honour the rights and privileges of the chiefs of the country. Consequently, successive Governors had no freedom of choice with regard to these weighty, important questions. Thus the Buddhist Sangha and the titular and powerless chiefs continued to enjoy their rights and privileges without having any moral and legal responsibilities to discharge.

(2) Educationists, missionaries, and early writers on Ceylon expressed their views clearly on the question as to what sort of educational policy the British Government should adopt in Ceylon. These educationists were mostly drawn from the clergy of the Church of England. They have done good service to the country by compiling dictionaries, but they have done a great deal of harm

1. Kandy Convention, 2nd March 1815.

to the native literature and the culture of the people in their premature and usually ignorant attempts to expound it to the people of the West. The teaching of Pali, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit was discouraged and discontinued. English virtually took the place of Sinhalese. Greek, Hebrew, and Latin were taught to the Sinhalese children.

At this stage another great factor facilitated the campaign against the indigenous culture by the Christian missionaries, for, a little knowledge of English gave a comfortable livelihood to clerks and the lower grades of officers not only in the administration of the country, but also to those in commercial firms, and other planting interests of the Island. The audacious ignorance of this period created an impression in England that the people of Ceylon possessed no literature worth mentioning except disputation in grammar. They had no science, no poetry, no art and no culture ! Turnour has very rightly pointed out in his Introduction to the *Mahavamsa* the colossal ignorance of the Rev. Mr. Fox, for Fox translated in his work—*The Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon* the simple word *Devanampiya Tissa* as *Petissa the Second* and *Pachcheka Buddha* as *subsequent Buddha* ! Fox, in his day, was known to the West as “the best European Pali and Sinhalese scholar at present in Europe”.¹ So Governor Gordon was not surprised when he visited the School at Kotte in 1891 and the Sinhalese students were examined in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Theology, the knowledge of which was so remote from the day to day experiences in their life and culture !

The following quotations are representative of the opinions these missionary groups expressed :—

- (a) “The Buddhists believe in the existence of one Supreme God, and in a future state of reward and punishment . . . a hog is sometimes sacrificed by certain sects”.²
- (b) “The Sinhalese possess no accurate records of events, are ignorant of genuine history, and are not sufficiently advanced to relish it”.³
- (c) “The wildest stories current amongst the natives, throw no light whatever on the ancient history of the Island. The earliest period at which we can look for any authentic information is the arrival of the Portuguese under Almeida in 1505.”⁴

1. George Turnour : *Mahavamsa*, Introduction, p. 9.
 2. J. Cordinar : *The Description of Ceylon*, p. 149.
 3. Davy : *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, p. 293.
 4. R. Percival : *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, p. 5.

(3) Government cannot be carried on except on a foundation of accurate facts. • It was the early British officials in Ceylon, Civil Servants and Judges on whose shoulders the administrative responsibility of the country fell. • In order to get these facts, they studied the writings, the social institutions and religious customs of the people. George Turnour was the first to study Pali, and he laid the foundation for systematic investigation into the historical works for which Ceylon is justly famous. The task was by no means easy. Turnour brought out for the first time a critical edition of the *Mahavamsa*, together with a translation. In his masterly introduction to this pioneer Pali work, he refers to the wholly groundless disparagement by earlier writers of the historical works of Ceylon, as follows : “ To publish now, in the face of these hitherto undisputed authorities a statement containing an uninterrupted historical record of nearly twenty four centuries without the fullest evidence of its authenticities or at least acknowledging the sources from which the data are obtained, would be to require the public to place a degree of faith in the accuracy of an unsupported document, which would be most unreasonable in me to expect.”¹

The years between 1815 and 1840 in Ceylon, as in Bengal, were a period of the study of manuscripts. George Turnour was the link connecting Ceylon and Bengal in both the study of manuscripts and epigraphy, for he was in close correspondence with the great Prinsep.

The general literature of Ceylon is altogether silent on matters of epigraphy. Inscriptions, whether on caves, rocks, slabs or rock-cut steps are never mentioned. This taciturn attitude to inscriptions is not confined to the earlier epigraphs in the Brahmi Lipi, but also applies to the inscriptions written in the fully developed Sinhalese alphabet. Robert Knox refers to the inscriptions at Gadaladeniya Vihara, which are of the 15th-16th centuries, and says that nobody could read them. In India, we can say conclusively on the evidence of the Rudradaman inscription and the plastering over and burying of many of Asoka's inscriptions that no knowledge of the Brahmi Lipi survived in the 2nd century A.D. But in Ceylon, the paleographic evidence shows that the stonecutter knew the Brahmi Lipi upto the end of the 8th century. It appears, therefore, that the Brahmi Lipi was used in Ceylon over a period of eleven centuries. Wherever early inscriptions were found, local legends sprang up, which often attributed them to the two kings, Dutugemunu and Parakramabahu, who, because of their resistance to the Tamil invader, rank as national heroes of Ceylon. The script is even today referred to as Nagara. When this term came to be used, it is not possible to say.

1. George Turnour : *An Epitome of the History of Ceylon*, p. 11.

The first European who noted the existence of the lithic records in Ceylon was Robert Knox, a sea-captain, who was interned by Rajasingha II (1635-1687). He writes : " Here are some ancient writings engraven upon rocks which poseth all that see them. There are divers great rocks in divers parts in Cande Uda and in Northern parts. Those rocks are cut deep with great letters for the space of some yards, so deep that they may last to the world's end. Nobody can read them or make anything of them. I have asked Malabars, Gentuses as well as Chingulays and Moors, but none of them understand them. You walk over some of them. There is an ancient temple, Goddiladeni in Yattanour, stands by one where there are these letters. They are probably in memorial of something, but of which we must leave to learned men to spend their conjectures."¹

The decipherment of the Brahmi Lipi in India by James Prinsep had far reaching repercussions on the study of the historical works of Ceylon, as well as initiating the study of Sinhalese epigraphy. Even the reading and translations of the Delhi pillar edicts—the mystery attached to the name Devanampiyadasi, the named author of the edicts, remained. For none of the existing historical works of India or the Puranic list of kings record a king named Devanampiyadasi. This enigma was no less perplexing than the Brahmi Lipi itself. Prinsep had a short while before identified him with Devanampiya Tissa of Ceylon and as the author of the edicts of the Delhi pillar. He writes : " We have thus strong *prima facie* argument in favour of the hypothesis that Devanampiya Tissa, the royal convert, caused, in his zeal, the dogmas of his newly adopted faith to be promulgated far and wide at his expense."²

However, this tentative identification of the Devanampiyadasi of the Indian inscriptions with the king of Ceylon of the same name could not be sustained. Prinsep himself discovered the inscription of Dasaratha, Asoka's grandson at Gaya. He writes : " With the identical pronomem of Devanampiya to Dasaratha, the grandson of the above monarch, I certainly felt more strongly the impression of the Indian origin of the former."³

Simultaneous to this discovery of the inscriptions of Dasaratha at Gaya, it should be noted that George Turnour had already removed a good deal of the obscurity attached to the name Devanampiyadasi. Turnour immediately communicated the result of his work in a letter to Prinsep. He wrote : " . . . I have made a most important discovery, connected with the Pali Buddhistical

1. *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon, in the East Indies*, London, 1681.
2. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p 734.
3. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, pp. 790-91.

literature We find Asoka surnamed Piyadasi ; and if you will turn to the 5th chapter of the *Mahavamsa*, especially pp. 28, 29, you will see the circumstances under which Buddhistical edifices were simultaneously erected all over India. I proceed now to give my authority for pronouncing Piyadasi to be Dharmasoka."¹

Turnour made a comparative study from the point of view of chronology of the list of Indian kings given in various Puranas, the data collected from the edicts of Asoka, the Greek classical records and historical works of Ceylon, and then pointed out his views about the discrepancy on the commencement of the Buddhist era as recorded in the *Mahavamsa* as follows : "I am necessarily compelled to acknowledge that there is a discrepancy of about 68 years between the Western and the Buddhistical chronologies."²

Further, he was of the opinion that this chronological fault must have crept into the historical works about 150 B.C. Indeed, he admits the genuineness of the reckoning of the Buddhist chronicles after 161 B.C. of the Buddha era on which years are recorded, and he says : "There is a chain of uninterrupted evidence in the historical annals of Ceylon from 161 B.C. to the present day, all tending to the confirmation of the authenticity of the date assigned to that era."³

Turnour, in his critical examination of the Buddhist historical manuscripts of Ceylon, had, of course, to scrutinize the Buddhist era of the *Mahavamsa* ; he warned critics of this and asked them to restrict themselves to the matters of chronology. He says : ". . . . it is the chronology and not the general narrative of the history (the *Mahavamsa*) that requires correction."⁴

The chronological discrepancy which Turnour pointed out in 1837 has been a bone of contention amongst all Indologists ever since. Apart from this, it will be acknowledged that the historical works and general literature of the country, formerly rejected as "wild stories", have served to illuminate the earliest chapters of Indian history, in its minutest detail. It is no less a triumph for Turnour, who alone defended the validity of the chronicles, than for Prinsep, who immediately, acknowledged the value of Turnour's evidence.

As soon as Turnour received the copy of the Brahmi Lipi alphabet from Prinsep, he applied it to the inscriptions of Ceylon, and he found that the early inscriptions were all written in the normal

1. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, pp. 790-91, 1054.
2. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 716.
3. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 722.
4. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 721.

Indian Brahmi Lipi. Further, he noted the striking similarity of the language. The honour of being the first man to read Ceylon's earliest rock epigraphs is therefore Turnour's, so Robert Knox's words were fulfilled. He had written about two centuries earlier of the then unknown characters : " We must leave them to the learned to spend their conjectures ".¹

When Prinsep came to discover that the scripts and language of the Delhi pillar edicts bore a striking resemblance to the scripts and language of the early inscriptions of Ceylon, he lost no time in forwarding a complete set of faithful reproductions of the Delhi pillar edicts to Turnour. Turnour, on receipt of these reproductions, wrote : " The alphabet thus deciphered (by Prinsep) bore a close affinity to that in which some of the ancient inscriptions in Ceylon are inscribed ; and at once, perceiving that the language, in which the hitherto undeciphered inscriptions on the columns above mentioned were composed, was Magadhi or Pali, Mr. Prinsep lost no time in imparting his discovery to me ; coupled with the request that I would furnish him with a translation of the inscriptions on the Delhi lat."²

In the translation of the inscriptions, Turnour and Prinsep were assisted by one Ratna Pauia.³ Ratna Paula may have been a Sinhalese Bhikkhu. The discerning eye of Prinsep observed immediately certain resemblances of the cerebral—N. of the Girnar rock edicts, to that of the inscriptions of Ceylon. He adds : " I think the Girnar and Ceylon inscriptions will be found to have the other nasals made by modification of the primary dental N. There are other letters in these texts not found in the lats of this side of India."⁴

These epigraphical discoveries in India and Ceylon led to the invention of new technical terms, many of them unfortunately based on superficial criteria, though these disappeared from use at an early stage of the development of the study. Turnour writes : " You (Prinsep) have analysed these inscriptions through a Brahmanized Sanskrit medium, while I have adopted a Buddhistical Pali medium. With all my unfeigned predisposition to defer from your practised judgment and reputation in Oriental research, it would be uncandid in me if I did not avow that I retain the opinion that the medium of analysis employed by me has been (imperfect as that analysis is) the more appropriate and legitimate one."⁵

1. *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies*, 1681.
2. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 836
3. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 472.
4. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 475.
5. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, pp. 1049-50.

Turnour, though not the equal of Prinsep in his power of immediately perceiving cogent facts, was a scholar of vision, with a profound knowledge of Pali and the Prakrits. The widespread distribution of Pali Buddhist texts in the countries of South-East Asia, and the striking similarity of the language of the Asokan edicts to Pali, forced him to realise that here was evidence of a widespread and ancient culture founded upon a common language. He writes : "The inscription found on various other monuments of antiquity scattered over different parts of India are now recorded. When on the one hand the multiplicity of those ancient monuments, still extant in Asia, is continued ; and on the other, it is found that the age in which, and the object for which those inscriptions were engraven, have been shrouded under an impenetrable veil, for centuries past, some idea may be formed . . ."¹

During the first half of the 19th century, the first English translation of the *Mahavamsa* by George Turnour was published. It was consulted by Indologists as a guide to the investigation of Indian scripts and Buddhist antiquities. Sir Alexander Cunningham kept a copy of Turnour's *Mahavamsa* at his side while working on the stupas at Bhilsa. He checked the details of the lay-out of the stupas, against the account in the *Mahavamsa*, and was very much struck by the agreement of the buildings with that of the *Mahavamsa* account. Cunningham's comment was "This account agrees so closely with the present state of the Sanchi Chaitya that it might be taken as an actual description of that building. The hemispherical form, the square crown, the chatta above chatta, are all the same; there are also the same statues of the four Buddhas, and the same emblems of the sun over the four gateways."²

Prof. Max Muller, the greatest Orientalist of the last century who made a comparative study of the Jain, Brahmanic and Buddhist contemporary historical texts, was profoundly impressed by the validity of the chronicles of this island, and paid a glowing tribute to the authors of the *Mahavamsa* and says "But who was to contradict the Ceylonese historians? They possessed what the Buddhists of Magadha did not possess, a history of their own island, and their Sovereigns. They valued historical chronology for its own sake, forming an exception in this respect to all other nations in India. They were a colony, and like most colonies they valued the tradition of the past. . . . The Buddhists of Ceylon did not borrow the outlines of their history either from the Brahmins or from the Buddhists of Magadha ; and this is a point which has never been sufficiently considered."³

1. *J. R. A. S. (Bengal)* Vol. VI, p. 856.

2. Alexander Cunningham : *The Bhi'sa Topes*, p. 176.

3. Max Muller : *The History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 139-140.

A HISTORY OF THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN CEYLON

II.—THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN IMMIGRANT LABOUR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By P. NAGULESWARAN

THE PROBLEM of immigrant labour in Ceylon, as well as in the other countries into which Indian labour was introduced, has an importance for two reasons. Throughout the nineteenth century, when the commercial plantations of the island were being extended, Indian labour was an important factor. Even in the present day, and as long as the economy of the island is based on the cultivation of crops of commercial importance, Indian labour will be an essential element.

Apart from the economic importance of this problem however, what is more significant is that, as a result of this immigration, a totally new community was created. The political status of the inhabitants of this country, including that of those who belong to the Indian community has been defined by the Citizenship Act No. 18 of 1948. There can be no doubt that our legislature has the right to formulate its own citizenship laws. As the Supreme Court stated in a recent case : " It is a perfectly natural and legitimate function of a sovereign country to determine the composition of its nationals ".¹ The documents in the Government Archives came to be searched to collect information in an attempt to define the Citizenship Act in relation to the Constitution of Ceylon. This article is based on the material gathered from that search.

The various Despatches, sent by the Governors of Ceylon and those sent in reply to them by the Colonial Secretaries, give most original information on almost every topic that came to be considered in the administration of the island, leave alone the question of Indian immigrant labour. Unfortunately contemporary documents are not available to the reader, and it is for this reason that the article has been limited to the nineteenth century.

If we were to make a survey of the island in the early forties of the last century, one significant factor will loom large in the political and economic set-up of that time. The proposals and recommendations of Colebrooke and Cameron had been adopted in 1832,

1. *Mudannayake et al vs. Sivagnanasunderam et al* 53 N.L.R. p. 44.

and were now being increasingly applied. This policy gave rise to two factors pertinent to the question of Indian immigrant labour.

Firstly, the Government of the Island, and the spirit in which it was governed, were modelled largely on the basis of the ideas underlying the British system. The ideas that motivated the passage of the Reform Act of 1832, and the social philosophies of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill were becoming apparent in the administration of the Island. The Government felt that it must accede to the wishes of the people. Government was to be in the interests of those governed and not of those governing.

Secondly, the Colebrooke report removed the shackles that were placed on the economic progress of the Island. Their liberalizing policy in the economic field gave free rein to private enterprise, and turned the country in the direction of a plantation economy, since its climate was so conducive to the growth of leaf, bark and sap. In the late thirties of the nineteenth century, coffee plantations were started in the Central Province of the Island, purely by private enterprise. The planters were however faced with one difficulty, and that was the insufficiency of an adequate and regular source of labour to work the plantations. The problem of a labour supply became acute in the late forties of the nineteenth century, when the area of coffee cultivation increased rapidly.

In 1846, the coffee planters found "to their alarm that the number of immigrants arriving have not only been discovered to be insufficient but actually less by some thousands than that of the preceding year".¹ As a result, a conference of the coffee planters was held in Kandy and the memorandum that they submitted moved the Government to a consideration of this question. The Despatch of Sir Emerson Tennent in 1847² was the first attempt at a consideration of the problem in the light of the conditions prevailing at that time.

There is no doubt that there had been an uninterrupted intercourse for centuries between the natives of India and those of this Island, chiefly on account of the sanctity attached to places of worship.³ But a new form of intercourse began to take place from about 1839, because of the opening up of coffee estates in the Central Province of the Island by European planters, and the demand created for labour, thereby. The planters were never able to command a satisfactory and regular supply of labour within

1. Memorandum to Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State.
2. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State.
3. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 203.

the Island, and had therefore to tap sources of supply in South India.

Sir Emerson Tennent explained the necessity for seeking a labour supply from without the Island, by the fact that : " The natives of the Island are themselves habitually averse from labour ; their wants are so few that nature supplies them almost without the exertion of cultivation and even when this is resorted to, the merest strip of irrigated land yields sufficiency of rice to raise the tiller above the necessity of toiling for hire under a master ". He further stated that the indigenous labour supply cannot be depended upon " as even when not deterred by other causes, the cultivation of their own patches of land renders their services uncertain, and always irregular and unsatisfactory ".¹

For about 8 or 9 years previous to the writing of this report there had been a steady influx of immigrant labour, with an increase from year to year in proportion to the demand created by the extension of coffee cultivation. The report pointed to three places of landing of these labourers—Talaimannar, Adam's Bridge and Colombo. The numbers of those arriving at Colombo however, were very small in comparison to those arriving at the northern parts of the Island. Those immigrants who came by way of Adam's Bridge, and those who sailed to Talaimannar " arrive by way of Aripo at Puttalam, whence they strike inland by Kurunegala to their ultimate destination in the Kandyan Province, throughout which lie the coffee districts, where the coolies are certain to find instant employment. A large proportion however leave the coast road at Aripo and travelling East to Anuradhapura traverse the centre of the Island on their way to Kandy by a road more direct but inferior in many ways to that by Puttalam and Kurunegala ; but better supplied with shade and water and less exposed to danger from elephants."² The labourers usually came in gangs of 25 to 100 under the leadership of one of their own men, who conducted their journeys, negotiated their engagements and superintended their labour. The Kanganies were a different class altogether, for they made their livelihood by intercepting the coolies on their arrival from the opposite coast and undertaking to conduct them to estates, in whose pay they were.³

As can be seen in the table⁴ given below there was a sudden decrease in the number arriving in 1846, and with the extension of coffee cultivation it was found that the labour supply was totally inadequate to work the plantations.

1. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 213.
2. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 214.
3. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 208.
4. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 205.

Those arriving at the Northern parts of the Island :

	Men	Women	Children
1839	1,471 ..	182 ..	90
1840	2,487 ..	303 ..	173
1841	3,461 ..	362 ..	162
1842	7,487 ..	262 ..	152
1843	3,149 ..	81 ..	119
1844	69,702 ..	1,026 ..	437
1845	66,557 ..	642 ..	79
1846	34,683 ..	287 ..	31
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Departures ..	189,497	3,115 ..	1,243
	95,887	2,466	1,338

Those arriving at Colombo :

	Men	Women	Children
1839	461 ..	6 ..	9
1840	839 ..	4 ..	8
1841	1,062 ..	1 ..	2
1842	1,538 ..	17 ..	14
1843	3,149 ..	81 ..	129
1844	5,138 ..	155 ..	287
1845	5,969 ..	56 ..	98
1846	7,197 ..	73 ..	94
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Departures ..	25,335	393	641
	20,243	282	321

The planters at a meeting in Kandy blamed the Government for its indifference regarding the procurement and protection of labourers from India. Governor Stuart Mackenzie established rest-houses along the "labour routes". Hospitals were built, and attendants and peons were appointed to help the immigrants on their journey inland. Measures were also provided for the preservation of law and order amongst the labour force. The Government had also taken upon itself to provide medical facilities, and distinct payments were made from the Treasury¹ for such purposes. Sir Emerson Tennent having pointed these out, in turn sought to prove that, it was the ill-treatment of the labourer by the planters, that "makes him go back to his own country, resolved himself and prepared to warn his companions to return no more to Ceylon".

His recommendations² in regard to the alleviation of the sufferings of the labourers can be classed under four heads. Measures were

1. Despatch No. 6 of April 2nd st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 212 & p. 220.
2. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 228.

to be taken to inform the cooly as to his rights. In furtherance of this, the appointment of an officer or officers as protectors of coolies was advocated. Secondly, he wanted an increase in the number of local magistrates in and around the planting districts to facilitate the administration of justice, and the attestation of contracts entered into between employer and labourer.¹ An extension in the period of contract from a year to three years, as had been done by the Public Works Department, was also recommended.

He finally stated that, since the planters were not assured of a continuous and regular supply of labour, and since the planting community was so directly dependent on a labour force, a more generous allotment of gardens and patches of land must be made, so that the itinerant habits of the cooly may be broken in order that he might be wedded to the soil and its prosperity.² It had to be the chief object of the Colonial Government to create a permanent and indigenous supply of labour within the Island.

A proposal was brought forward to enact an Ordinance³ in the Legislative Council, "for the protection and encouragement of Indian labourers in Ceylon". Though the Ordinance was not promulgated the Secretary to the Government of India expressed his willingness to the Ceylon Government, to adopt a system to encourage the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon.

Governor Torrington in his Despatches makes mention of the correspondence he was having with the Indian Government. There was a suggestion, in regard to the question of immigration that the Ceylon Government should pass an Act to facilitate the hiring of labourers.⁴ Again the Bengal Government promised to withdraw the prohibition on emigration to Ceylon on condition that there was no re-emigration from Ceylon.⁵ The Governor had also been troubled by the fact that large numbers of immigrant labourers came at slack periods, when there was no demand for their labour.⁶ Measures were now taken, with the concurrence of the Madras Government, to issue proper notices in the Indian villages, requiring the labourers to come in the busy periods of the year.

Sir Emerson Tennent had however, in a later Despatch,⁷ cautioned the Secretary of State in regard to what extent the

1. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 231.
2. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 236.
3. Despatch No. 6 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State, p. 224.
4. Despatch No. 4 of June 3rd, 1847, to the Secretary of State.
5. Despatch No. 126 of October 11th, 1847, to the Secretary of State.
6. Despatch No. 3 of January 5th, 1848, to the Secretary of State.
7. Despatch No. 7 of April 21st, 1847, to the Secretary of State.

Government should engage in immigration activities. He said : "The duty of the Government will I presume have been fully discharged by the adoption of every precaution to facilitate the arrival of the coolies in the colony ; to expedite their journeys by safe and healthy roads, to protect them from violence or ill-treatment by the way, to provide them with shelter when weary and with medical care and attention and every requisite comfort when overtaken by illness ; to insist on their humane and becoming treatment when employed on the estates and to ensure to them every security in returning to their own country with the earnings of their labour.

These are the duties which are obligatory on the Colonial Government towards them as temporary residents under its protection, in common with the permanent inhabitants of the Island, for whom similar facilities and security are provided from the Public Purse—but beyond a reasonable expenditure for these purposes, I consider that the charge of their immigration and maintenance are the proper concern of those at whose special request and for whose special advantage they resort to the Island". Earl Grey, the Secretary of State, in his Despatches¹ too, wrote in a similar vein.

Though it was asserted² that the Government would be trespassing in a forbidden field, if it actually entered into the active promotion and encouragement of labour, it cannot be doubted that Government interference was in the nature of placating the planting interests. It must be remembered that the only opposition to the Government at this time was the planting community, and the Government was forced to accede to their demands to a certain extent. Again, an increased production of coffee was always certain to lead to an increased export of coffee, which would ultimately mean that the Government's revenue would be enhanced, and this must have been a very important factor, especially at a time when the Government was making every attempt to balance its budget. Also the fact that the Government, with the concurrence of the Madras Government, had issued notices in the Indian villages, go to show that the Government was willing to reap the benefits that would accrue to the Island from the toil of these labourers, but not to share in the burdens and obligations that they would inevitably create. Hence the back seat which the Government took in the promotion of immigration.

Boom conditions began to prevail in the coffee industry at the turn of the half-century. Further, with the inauguration of public works and the proposed construction of a railway, Governor Ward³

1. Despatch No. 67 of August 7th, 1847, from the Secretary of State.
2. Despatch No. 83 of September 16th, 1847, from the Secretary of State.
3. Despatch No. 161 of December 9th, 1858, to the Secretary of State.

was apprehensive of an even greater demand for labour and a consequent competition among the planters, the Government and the Railway Company, in a limited field of supply.

It appeared to him that the only remedy for such a situation would be the passage of an Ordinance—No. 15 of 1858,¹—in the Legislative Council for the “Regulation and promotion of Immigrant labour”. A fund was to be launched to provide for an agency in India, and for the employment of steamers to transport the labourers. This Government agency was to supersede all other private agencies, and was to be given a grant of £20,000.

Governor Ward was aware “that this contemplated Ordinance will be received in England and sanctioned with a great deal of hesitation and caution, because a novel application of the Colony’s funds was being made”. He concluded “that the necessity of the case will be considered as a justification for the novelty of the remedies proposed. New wants must be met by new means”.

The Bill was received in England with a great deal of apprehension because the Home Government knew that it would be sanctioning Government intervention in a field, which had been earlier stated to be “the proper concern of those at whose special instance and for whose special advantage the labourers resort to the Island”. The Bill² was sanctioned with the addition of a rider requiring quarterly statements of the financial position of the commission set up by the Ordinance.

An early opportunity was taken to repeal³ this Ordinance however. When sanctioning its repeal the Secretary of State cautioned Governor MacCarthy, “that every attempt must be made to secure protection to the Immigrant, not only as a matter of humanity but also as one of public interest”.⁴ The Governor set out the various measures that had been taken, in the absence of the Ordinance, to protect the Indian labourer. These measures⁵ included the establishment of a permanent ferry at Mannar, the provision of Government vessels for transport, a project to improve the central road, and the instruction to officers of the Government stationed in districts through which the immigrants traversed, to do all they could regarding their comforts.

1. Despatch No. 131 of November 15th, 1858, to the Secretary of State.

2. Despatch No. 83 of June 9th, 1859, from the Secretary of State.

3. Despatch No. 212 of October, 1861, to the Secretary of State.

4. Despatch No. 10 of January 12th, 1862, from the Secretary of State.

5. Despatch No. 43 of February 27th, 1862, to the Secretary of State.

Finally Ordinance No. 20 of 1861¹ was passed by the Legislative Council, which, on the communication of the Governor-General in Council in India that "he is pleased to express his entire concurrence in the view taken by me as to the existing legislation in Ceylon on the subject of cooly immigration, and that the legislative measures already taken by the Ceylon Government seem to be ample to secure the liberty and fair treatment of Indian labourers who migrate to the Island",² was sanctioned by the Secretary of State.³ Ordinance No. 11 of 1865⁴ relating to "servants, labourers and journeyman artificers under contracts for hire and service" was also sanctioned after the Governor-General in India had acquiesced in it.

From 1866 onwards the Home Government sought to obtain information on various aspects of immigrant labour, mainly in regard to their numbers, wages, mortality and the profit they gained from education.⁵ Half-yearly reports were called for.⁶ What worried the Home Government at this time was the fact, that the report of the Principal Civil Medical Officer, Dr. VanDort, seemed to indicate that all was not well with the conditions of the immigrant labourers, especially in regard to the medical facilities provided for them. Governor Robinson in reply sought to disprove the statements of Dr. VanDort. He also enumerated the various facilities provided along the roads traversed by the immigrant labourers. Also, the Indian Government had stated in the press that the medical facilities provided for the labourers was a model for imitation by other governments.⁷

Proposals to curb the abuses of the Kangany system form the basis of the communications between the Governor of Ceylon and the Secretary of State from the years 1870 to 1875. The Secretary of State, the Earl of Kimberley, advocated a policy of the Government licensing these Kanganies,⁸ with the provision that these licences could be cancelled on proof of misconduct. Governor Gregory in his reply⁹ stated that "under the present system the immigration of Indian labourers is regulated by the demand in

1. Despatch No. 44 of March 20th, 1862, from the Secretary of State.
2. Despatch No. 87 of April 26th, 1862, to the Secretary of State.
3. Despatch No. 110 of July 19th, 1862, from the Secretary of State.
4. Despatch No. 86 of March 6th, 1866, from the Secretary of State.
5. Despatch No. 101 of March 23rd, 1866, from the Secretary of State.
6. Despatch No. 115 of June 26th, 1869, from the Secretary of State.
Despatch No. 130 of July 24th, 1869, from the Secretary of State.
Despatch No. 49 of September 16th, 1870, from the Secretary of State.
7. Despatch No. 60 of February 28th, 1871, to the Secretary of State.
8. Despatch No. 38 of February 15th, 1872, from the Secretary of State.
9. Despatch No. 99 of July 9th, 1872, to the Secretary of State.

Ceylon. Advances are given to the kangany by the planters to bring over the number of coolies they require, and each cooly receives a small sum which is sufficient, unless illness overtakes him, to provide him with sustenance to his journey's end. The kangany has a direct interest in bringing his men in their complement, and in good condition to the plantation, as his gains, a percentage on their employment, commence from their employment.

The kangany system is no doubt a bad one. There is hardly a planter in the Island who would not abolish it if he could. But it is now impossible to do so. It is the custom; and anyone acquainted with the East knows what a barrier that word is to any innovation, however palpably beneficial. The cooly will have his kangani ”.

A pass system¹ was introduced however, even though the Governor feared that this legislative measure might be taken to imply a vexatious interference with the kanganies, and the coolies might betake themselves, consequently, to the railway works in South India. It is also interesting to note that it was only at this time that there was a fear of a surplus population of Indian labour in the Island. The country had progressed rapidly in the economic sphere and, with the better conditions prevailing among the labourers on the estates, there was a fear that any system of further helping the immigrants, by the issue to them of rice and other provisions² might tend to make the Island a pauper asylum for South India.³

In the period from 1860 to 1875, then, the Government withdrew from a policy of active interference in immigration. The country's revenue had increased rapidly and more funds could therefore be expended to facilitate immigration by indirect means. Experience in the other colonies, like the West Indian Islands and Mauritius, had taught the Home Government that a policy of active encouragement to immigration was dangerous as the Government would be legally obliged to the immigrants.⁴ The Government's only interest was to secure protection to the immigrants in relation to their importance to the country's economy. As the Secretary of State remarked in 1872,⁵ “Ceylon is singularly fortunate in its supply of labour when compared with the other colonies and it is a clear obligation on such a wealthy colony to do its utmost for the

1. Despatch No. 237 of November 14th, 1872, to the Secretary of State.
2. Despatch No. 138 of June 17th, 1871, from the Secretary of State.
3. Despatch No. 289 of November 26th, 1871, to the Secretary of State.
4. Circular of November 16th, 1871, from the Secretary of State.
Circular of December 6th, 1871, from the Secretary of State.
5. Despatch No. 30 of April 10th, 1872, from the Secretary of State.

welfare of a population on whose industry its wealth so much depends”.

A succession of famines in India led to an excessive influx of Indian immigrants into Ceylon in 1877 and 1878. Because of this Governor Gregory sought the sanction of the Home Government for the extension of the railway to Matale and Kalutara,¹ so that employment could be found for the excess number of immigrants. He urged on the Secretary of State “a policy of providing an additional outlet by sanctioning the railway extensions which I have submitted for approval and which I may add will gain largely by the cheapness of the super-abundant labour in the colony”.

He again stated² that “in order to enable them to earn a subsistence the construction of additional roads has been undertaken at once which under ordinary circumstances would not have been proceeded with at present”. Strict measures were however taken to prevent the spread of infectious diseases that the immigrants brought with them.³

The following table gives the returns for the respective years :—⁴

	No. of Immigrants landed	No. of those who returned to India
1866	108,462	29,706
1867	51,807	47,846
1868	72,480	55,898
1869	72,962	55,989
1870	88,529	68,600
1871	95,289	74,955
1872	92,151	65,942
1873	102,164	82,731
1874	129,750	94,326
1875	93,796	102,939
1876	174,216	95,398
1877	190,093	96,078
1878	101,715	91,188

1. Despatch No. 78 of March 15th, 1872, to the Secretary of State.
2. Despatch No. 50 of November 8th, 1877, to the Secretary of State.
3. Despatch No. 131 of August 10th, 1877, to the Secretary of State.
Despatch No. 266 of November 10th, 1877, from the Secretary of State.
4. Despatch No. 314 of August 13th, 1879, to the Secretary of State.

In the 1880's, apart from the immigrant labourers, there was another class of people who came over to Ceylon from India. They consisted mainly of small merchants and traders and others, who found employment in the Railway, Police and other Departments.¹

The prevailing system of paying wages to the immigrant labourers, had not worked satisfactorily owing to the depression in the coffee industry in 1881 and 1882. The Government found that the labourers were not being paid their wages in time. Cases were cited, where wages had not been paid for 25 months. Various amendments to the existing law were suggested, and finally Ordinance No. 16 of 1884 was passed. It enabled the Government to interfere on behalf of the labourers, and also secured for the labourers the right to sue jointly.³ Two judgments of the Supreme Court in 1888 however, rendered the Ordinance obsolete. In the first judgment the court, in the absence of express contracts, regarded the labourer as a daily and not a monthly servant. And the provisions in regard to the right to sue jointly, and three months wages being a first charge on an estate, were overruled in the second case. Ordinance No. 13 of 1888 remedied these defects.⁴ This Ordinance was further amended by No. 7 of 1890.⁵

In the period from 1880 to 1890 amendments were also made to the Ordinances relating to medical facilities on estates. District Medical Officers were appointed in place of the Superintending Medical Officers.⁶ In 1888 however, the Governor felt that though the medical facilities provided for the immigrant labourers "has grown into an assumption by Government of the entire control of the Medical Attendance on estate coolies and has led to the creation of an organized branch of the public service under the head of the Medical Department",⁷ it had now become necessary to provide medical facilities throughout the Island as, hitherto nothing had been done for the rural population of the country.

It can be seen therefore, that the attitude of the Government to the question of immigrant labour has changed according to the peculiar circumstances of the times. In the first half of the century there was always a lack in the supply of labour. The Government

1. Despatch No. 503 of November 28th, 1882, to the Secretary of State.
2. Despatch No. 118 of March 27th, 1884 to the Secretary of State.
Despatch No. 195 of May 21st, 1884, to the Secretary of State.
3. Despatch No. 125 of March 14th, 1888, to the Secretary of State.
4. Despatch No. 481 of November 25th, 1889, to the Secretary of State.
5. Despatch No. 184 of May 27th, 1890, to the Secretary of State.
6. Despatch No. 375 of September 6th, 1887, to the Secretary of State.
7. Despatch No. 125 of March 14th, 1888, to the Secretary of State.

was forced to take a hand in promoting immigration because of the demands made on it by the planting community. In the sixties the Government itself found that it needed labour to embark on its public works programme. With the planters and the railway company already making a demand on the small supply of labour, it was feared that wage rates would rise, which in turn would be detrimental to the interest of all three parties. The only way out for the Government, in order to ensure a regular supply of labour for itself, was to take an active interest in immigration. As a result an Ordinance was passed, by which a Government agency was created for the special purpose of facilitating this Immigration. But as soon as conditions permitted, and these were mainly financial, the Government reverted back to indirect means of promoting immigration. Measures were also taken to protect the immigrant labourer in regard to the provision of employment, the payment of wages and medical facilities. This was possible because the financial resources of the Government were sufficient to foot these bills.

THE MINORITIES AND THE CITIZENSHIP ACT

By I. D. S. WEERAWARDENA

FROM THE point of view of the minorities, the new Constitution of Ceylon was the point of balance among the various conflicting communal claims. Communal representation was first introduced into Ceylon by the British Colonial Government in 1833. But the communal problem developed into serious proportions only with the increasing liberalisation of the Constitution. From 1909 to 1923, the minorities asked for weightage as a practical expediency although the principle of it was considered inimical to political progress by the minority leaders themselves. From 1923-31, they demanded weightage as by right. From 1931-1946, they insisted on balanced representation¹ (50% of the seats for minorities including Ceylon Indians).

The increasing tempo of the communal problem was one of the most notable features during the period of constitutional reform. Often enough it was the main issue which reform leaders came up against in their attempts to liberalise the Constitution.

It is common knowledge that the Ceylonese leaders were anxious for a change of the Donoughmore Constitution even from the time of its inauguration in 1931. Mr. E. W. Perera was voicing the views of many when he gave notice of his reform motions in the State Council on the second day of its sitting.

From the very beginning the Board of Ministers undertook the process of negotiation for constitutional reform.² But the Sinhalese Ministers were unable to get the agreement of the "minority" members of the Board for their proposals, especially on those relating to representation. The Secretary of State, who was certainly not anxious to give more power into local hands, found a position of defence in the absence of unanimity in the Board of Ministers on such an important question as the reform of the Constitution. That was why the Board of Ministers thought of the strange plan of getting unanimity by dropping those who disagreed. This was the main reason for the Pan-Sinhalese Ministry of 1936. Such unity as the Board could obtain by means of this disingenuous scheme did not satisfy the Secretary of State. In fact, Sir Baron Jayatilleke's Pan-Sinhalese Ministry was a result of the misunderstanding of colonial politics and of naive credulousness which

1. I. D. S. Weerawardena : *Government and Politics in Ceylon*, pp. 14-15.

2. I. D. S. Weerawardena : *Government and Politics in Ceylon*, p. 106.

believed or hoped that even genuine unanimity of the Board would have made the Colonial Secretary grant more powers. The moral of the incident was that the Colonial Secretary was using minority opposition to postpone reforms.

This was the general situation until the nineteen-forties. But the urgency for reforms however, increased with the entry of Japan into World War II and the fall of Singapore. Trincomalee became the chief British base for naval operations in the Indian Ocean. To keep hold of Ceylon was therefore very important. The British Government would have done so whether the people of Ceylon were willing or otherwise. But the co-operation of the indigenous population would have made the task easier. The Ceylon politicians too, aware of the situation, asked for a further liberalisation of the Constitution on the assumption that more power for the country would mean more power for them. Urged by the local men in office to a further loosening of the inhibiting colonial shackles, and seeing the need for the voluntary co-operation of the indigenous peoples, the British Government issued the 1943 declaration¹.

Only two points of this declaration need be noted for the purposes of this article. Firstly that the Constitution, to be framed on the basis of their declaration should fall within the four corners of its terms, and secondly that such a Constitution should obtain a three-fourth majority of the State Council². This is very significant because a $\frac{3}{4}$ majority of the State Council could not have been obtained without the agreement of a good number of the minority members. Thus in accepting the 1943 declaration, the Board of Ministers gave a pledge to look after the interests of the minorities.

On the basis of this declaration and its interpretation³ the Board of Ministers proceeded to frame their constitutional proposals.⁴ Here again the basis of representations embodied therein is significant. The purely population basis of representation was found to give the Sinhalese even more weightage than their population warranted. That at least was the experience of the Donoughmore Constitution. Open communal representation was thought to be against political progress. Hence a scheme was prepared on the basis of weightage for areas which in the special context of Ceylon would give the minority communities a number of seats slightly more than their population warranted. The method was one seat

1. *Sessional Paper 17 of 1944*, p. 3.
2. *Sessional Paper 17 of 1944*, p. 5.
3. *Sessional Paper 17 of 1944*, pp. 4-5.
4. *Sessional Paper 14 of 1944*.

for every 75,000 of population and one seat for every 1,000 square miles of territory in each province.

Since the minorities largely inhabited the sparsely populated provinces, large in extent, the minorities were able to be given a limited weightage without recourse to direct communal electorates.¹ In addition to this, six nominated seats were provided for those other interests and communities which might not obtain representation even on this basis. These were the European interests and the Burgher community. In short the Ministers' draft proposals were prepared to accept the undemocratic means of nomination largely to find representation for European interests.

Before this scheme could be placed before the public, the Colonial Office decided to appoint the Soulbury Commission. It is unnecessary here to delve into the rights and wrongs of this decision. Suffice to note that the Colonial Office decided to consult the people on the spot ; and especially the minorities.

The Ministers however tried to forestall the Commission by obtaining the agreement of the minorities to a scheme of representation without disclosing their proposals in their own draft. Unofficial conferences of the State Councillors were held at which Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike offered a scheme of 60 : 40 as a basis of representation in place of the Ceylon Tamil demand for 50 : 50. The Sinhalese were to have 60 seats and the minorities were to be given 40 seats, which was more than what their population would have given them on a strictly proportional basis.

The Tamils, under Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, were not prepared to accept this scheme and preferred to place their own proposals before the Soulbury Commission.

The essential thing about the minority problem in Ceylon during this period was that the various individual minority communities were demanding a scheme of representation basically benefitting all the minorities and not one particular minority only. The minorities thought of themselves as a body as opposed to the majority community. In the various offers the Sinhalese made as well, the minorities were treated as a body. It is noteworthy that the real problem was to fix a ratio between the majority and the minority and not a proportion among the minority communities.

The point therefore is that when the Ministers drafted their proposals they pledged to give some weightage to all the minorities. When Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike offered 60 : 40 he was offering

1. W. I. Jennings : *Constitution of Ceylon*, p. 7.

40 seats to all the minorities. When Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam demanded 50 : 50 he was demanding 50 seats for all the minorities.

These minorities included Ceylon Tamils, Ceylon Indians, Muslims, Burghers and Europeans.

The Soulbury Commission accepted the Ministers' draft proposals because it was thought that the scheme was reasonable from the point of view of the minority problem. When Mr. D. S. Senanayake as leader of the State Council asked the legislature to accept the Soulbury Constitution he was pledging himself to this scheme of representation. The probabilities in this arrangement compared with the proportional figure was assessed by the Commission as follows :—

	Seats	
	Proportional	Probable
Low-country Sinhalese	.. 41	.. 32
Kandyan Sinhalese 25	.. 36
Ceylon Tamils 12	.. 13 or 14
Ceylon Indians 10	.. 7 or 8
Muslims 6	.. 4

The smaller minorities like Ceylon Indians and Muslims were asked to accept a scheme which would in probability give them less seats than what should obtain on a proportional basis with the possibility of all the minorities including the European nominated members getting some weightage at the expense of the majority community. On the basis of the pledge of the Sinhalese community, the minorities accepted the scheme and voted for it to give the necessary majority for its acceptance.

Almost with the inauguration of the Soulbury Constitution one aspect of the minority problem, viz., the Ceylon Tamil, largely solved itself while the Ceylon Indian question was aggravated.

At first this appears as a contradiction. In fact it is not. It is inherent in the new political developments.

The Ceylon Tamil problem as it developed into the 50 : 50 demand was essentially a middle-class problem.¹ Its history gives the clue to its source. Till about the first decade of the 20th century both the Tamil and Sinhalese middle classes were together in the movement for political reform. At least they found no serious cause for disagreement. From 1909 onwards, however, the Tamil middle-classes who were most prominent in the agitation

1. I. D. S. Weerawardena : *Government and Politics in Ceylon*, pp. 15-17.

for constitutional reform also began to ask for special weightage. At first they were rather apologetic about their demands. Yet about from the nineteen-twenties they demanded weightage as by right. And from 1931 onwards they were demanding 50 : 50. All the evidence points to the conclusion that this demand of the Tamils was an essentially middle-class demand.

What then were the springs of this minority demand ? Firstly there was no development of industries in Ceylon. Private commercial establishments were staffed by Europeans. Hence the chief means of lucrative employment became the public service. In 1948, when comparative figures are available, a public servant of the highest grade drew a salary one hundred times the average national income per head ; a clerk on entering the service drew a salary twelve times the average national income. The figures for U. K. are twelve times and twice respectively.¹ Government jobs therefore featured very much in politics.

An English education was necessary for employment by the Government. Hence the location of the English schools became important. The Missionaries gave the Tamils a good start. Thus the Tamils held Government posts greater in number than their population warranted.

The Buddhist revival at the turn of the century however, led to the establishment of Buddhist schools and large numbers of Sinhalese received English education. These English educated Sinhalese became increasingly severe competitors for Government jobs.

While the Tamils were meeting this competition, two other factors emphasised the urgency of the situation. On the one hand, Government departments were expanding and the army of public servants was keeping in step. The Tamils felt the competition when the Government service was expanding. On the other hand, the competition was felt when the Constitution was being liberalised and the Sinhalese could control the liberalised part of the Constitution in view of their preponderant numbers. The Tamils feared that the Sinhalese would use their numerical superiority to discriminate against the Tamils in the matter of Government posts.

Their fears were given a handle by the provisions in the Donoughmore Constitution which allowed the Executive Committees to make recommendations for Government posts. That political influence would be brought to bear on appointments to the public service was viewed with fear and suspicion by the Tamil community.

1. *Sessional Paper* of 1948, p. 20.

The desire to obtain a share of Government expenditure was also a factor among the Tamil middle-class politicians. This was especially urgent because Government expenditure was expanding. For instance in the year 1914-15 the Government spent 53.5 million rüpees ; in 1920-21, it was 77.3 millions ; in 1927-28, it had reached 125.8 millions. The Donoughmore period also saw no departure from this trend.

The fear that the Sinhalese majority would appropriate an unduly large portion of this "pork-barrel" grew among the Tamils with every step towards the liberalisation of the Constitution.

It is interesting to note several characteristics of this development: Firstly the Tamil communal problem arose with the growth of the Tamil middle-class. Secondly it increased its intensity with the growing competition from the Sinhalese middle-classes for places in its special sphere of influence—the public service. Thirdly that competition gave rise to fear of undue influence and political pressure when the Constitution was gradually liberalised, which enabled the Sinhalese representatives in virtue of their large number to control the transferred powers if they wished. Fourthly, the Tamils realised the significance of Government expenditure when they interpreted 50 : 50 to mean not merely 50% of the representatives in Parliament but also 50% of the Cabinet seats.

The middle-class leaders, apprehensive for their own share of the spoils of power, naturally cloaked their fears in the garb of racial appeal. True to nature they equated their own interests with the interests of the total Tamil population. They were convinced that what they demanded was good for Tamils in general, because it was good for themselves.

But with the inauguration of the Soulbury Constitution what was already brewing during the years 1935 onwards came out into the open. This was the growing importance of the left movement.

It was found the country was becoming divided not into various communal groups led by middle-class interests but into left and right forces. Many factors were responsible for this. The war acted as a catalyst within Ceylon's social and economic structure. Inflation and the consequent rise in the cost of living impinged too closely on the daily lives of the people to escape their attention. The rich became richer and the poor poorer.

Ideas spread faster. Organisations for agitation for improvement of social conditions were developed by leftist parties. Politics became so closely woven into daily life that self-interest evoked political interest.

In all these developments, the ordinary people, in towns and in the country were seen to take part in great numbers. The working classes organised themselves increasingly better. The peasant roused himself from his general apathy. The lower paid public servant (e.g., the clerical class) saw the inflation pulling him down to the working-class level. A good proportion of these groups : workers, peasants, clerical workers, felt disappointed with the *status quo* and showed that resentment by voting left in the general elections of 1947.

The Tamil middle classes who were in the movement for "50 : 50" realised that their interests did not lie in weakening the rightist Government in power by communal bickerings. If there were any doubts as to the middle-class nature of the Tamil Congress movement, they were dispelled by its decision to join hands with the Government rather than with the opposition. It was clear that its class interests were far more important than its communal interests.

The strength of the left movement in the country caused the solving of the Tamil-Sinhalese problem because that problem was on a middle class level. The joining together of the Sinhalese and Tamil middle classes was only one of the symptoms of the growing fear of the rightist Government of the left movement. Its attitude to the Ceylon Indian question was another.

The Ceylon Indian problem is essentially working class. The preponderant majority of Ceylon Indians are workers on estates. They have lived in Ceylon for one or two generations and sometimes even more.¹ They are poor and mostly illiterate. Their interests are on a par with the other working class interests of the Ceylonese. Their sympathies are with the left and not with the right. Their representatives in Parliament tended to vote with the opposition rather than with the Government. Their votes were permanently anti-Government because their interests were those not protected by the Government in power. They tended to vote in blocks not merely because they had a common origin but because they had common interests.

The Citizenship Act of 1948, the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949 and the Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act of 1949 have completely changed the political picture. They have for all practical purposes denied the vote to the preponderant majority of Ceylon Indians. They have had the objective effect of making it most difficult for the working class estate population among them to obtain citizenship rights.

1. *Sessional Papers 9-10 of 1941.*

Their main significance is not merely their discriminatory nature against a minority community. They are pieces of legislation discriminating against a social class. They are, in their effect, more against the working class than against the Indians as such. To that extent the present policy smacks of political discrimination in addition to communal discrimination.

The Acts have taken away the vote from a group of people who already exercised it. In the result, the Ceylon Indians have virtually been denied the parliamentary seats they might have captured. In doing so, the balance of factors on the basis of which these constituencies were arranged has been disturbed. The constituencies at present represented by Ceylon Indians have been changed into "rotten boroughs". Their voters at present are low-country traders, merchants and their employees—a good hunting ground for "carpet baggers". In fact the whole basis of distributing seats on a provincial basis according to *population* and *area* will be misleading if a good portion of the population are denied the right to vote.

The scheme of representation which was accepted by the various minority communities will now appear unfair from two points of view. Firstly the scheme of representation whereby weightage was given to *area* as against population has the decided effect of favouring rural in contrast to urban area districts. In effect that has weighted the relatively passive and conservative elements against the more progressive urban elements. The earlier mentioned Acts will have the effect of further emphasising this disparity. The number of voters in a rural constituency on the average will now be even less than what it was in 1947. The Acts will, to repeat, increase the number of "pocket boroughs" like Buttala.

Apart from that, in denying the seven seats to representatives of the Indian community by political means, the balance of communal claims that was struck by the Ministers' Draft and the Soulbury Constitution has been radically altered.

It is not necessary to canvass the constitutionality or otherwise of these Acts. It is possible to find very cogent reasons to urge that the Acts are unconstitutional as Mr. N. Sivagnanasundaram, D.J. did. It may be that some would be with the Supreme Court in its decision of 28-9-51 that it is otherwise.¹ Even if they were constitutional, on which honest men can disagree, the basic question has not been answered. Is it right that a moral undertaking given to the minority communities be broken soon after constitutional power to break it has been obtained?

1. Times of Ceylon of 29-9-51.

The Soulbury Constitution received minority support (without which it could not have been implemented) because it arranged to enable the minorities to win a certain number of seats. The Ceylon Indians were among these minorities. To deny them the vote is to deny them the seats. One moral undertaking has been done away with. To deny the vote to the Ceylon Indian is also to reduce the total number of seats available to all the minorities. That is a broken pledge to all the minorities.

The moral basis of the Soulbury Constitution has been wiped away. To attempt to prove the constitutionality of the position is not to attempt to prove its justice. What happened to the entrenched clauses in the South African Constitution guaranteeing voting rights to the Cape coloureds is too well known to need repetition. Is the shadow of Malanism confined only to South Africa ?

BOOK REVIEWS

Buddhism—By Edward Conze (Bruno Cassirer and Faber & Faber, 1951—18 Shs.)

In this extremely readable book, Edward Conze has made a bold attempt to cover the whole field of Buddhism in nine chapters. He deals with Buddhism in all its phases, from the sixth century B.C. down to modern times : and describes, as his sub-title implies, the essence of Buddhism and its development. The early chapters have the ring of the spoken word and the reader feels that the words are addressed to a particular type of audience. This exclusive audience would consist of Europeans who have no knowledge of Buddhism at all. An average Buddhist of Ceylon, therefore, may find it difficult to adapt himself to Conze's method of treating the subject, because he is bound to have a pre-conceived notion of what Buddhism is or what it should be. The author's point of view is expressed clearly in the following passage : "The creative impulse of Buddhist thought came to a halt about 1,500 years after the Buddha's Nirvana. During the last 1,000 years no new school of any importance has sprung up, and the Buddhists have merely preserved as best they could, the great heritage of the past. It is possible to believe that the doctrine has, after 1,500 years, fully unfolded itself. Perhaps there is no more to come. The conditions of our industrial civilisation, however, offer a challenge which may lead to a new synthesis. Unless our present civilisation perishes soon from its own violence, Buddhism will have to seek some accommodation with it. The Dharma cannot be heard in a world dominated by modern science and technical progress. A great deal of adaptation is needed, and a great change is bound to take place in the exposition of the doctrine. So far the vague beginnings of such a change are discernible in various parts of the world, but they are not yet sufficiently definite to merit inclusion in this historical treatise." (p. 68).

The introduction and the first four chapters give the reader a comprehensive view of Buddhism as it is generally known in Ceylon. In the short compass of 118 pages Dr. Conze has given an extremely good account of the subject. There have been a large number of writers in this field and the author himself gives a good account of them. "The scholarly investigation of Buddhist writings and art has continued now for 120 years without interruption. The history of Buddhism, has, in each generation, attracted a considerable number of scholars of great ability. Many of them, especially at first, studied Buddhism as one watches an enemy, intent on proving

the superiority of Christianity. A few were convinced that they had to deal with a faith of supreme purity from which Europe could learn a great deal. The majority investigated the documents with the detachment with which one solves crossword puzzles." (p. 210).

Edward Conze has been successful in keeping out the purely detached frame of mind referred to above. A mere dry as dust analysis of Buddhism will not help the reader to obtain a proper understanding of the subject. Neither has he the emotional bias of a person who is tied down to one particular phase of its teachings. He has, on the other hand, a sympathetic attitude and a willingness to probe further than what words normally convey at first sight. How guarded he is when he uses English words to interpret Buddhism is evident from the following extract: "Philosophy as we understand it in Europe, is a creation of the Greeks. It is unknown to Buddhist tradition, which would regard the enquiry into reality, for the mere purpose of knowing more about it, as a valuable waste of time. The Buddha's teaching is exclusively concerned with showing the way to salvation. Any 'philosophy' there may be in the works of Buddhist authors is quite incidental. In the ample vocabulary of Buddhism we find no word to correspond to our term 'philosophy'. An analogy may clarify the position. The Chinese language as the Chinese understood it, did not contain any grammar, and it was taught in China without any grammatical instruction. Some European philologist, on the model of our Latin grammatical categories, have constructed a 'grammar' for the Chinese language. It does not fit particularly well, and the Chinese continue to dispense with it. The Latin style grammar, with its familiar categories, may, however, help some Europeans to learn the Chinese language more easily. In a similar way, an attempt to define Buddhist thought in the philosophical terminology current in Europe may facilitate the approach to it. Buddhism, as a 'philosophy' could then be described as a 'dialectical pragmatism' with a 'psychological' turn." (p. 15).

The Chapters V-VIII give a survey of the development of Buddhism into what is broadly classified as the Mahayana and the Tantra. An orthodox Buddhist will find this portion extremely useful and instructive. It will reveal much of Buddhism, which he is not normally familiar with. A thorough understanding of this portion will be useful in solving the question that will confront him when he reads the doctrine of later schools. The question is this: "During the course of twenty-four centuries did Buddhism undergo a process of gradual degeneration?" A careful reading of the whole of Conze's book will provide enough material for a lively discussion on this subject.

The writer does not burden the reader with philological explanations of words which are used in a technical sense. Here he deviates from the practice of certain scholars who used to stress, far more than it was necessary, the importance of the derivation and the function of words. The dissection of each term was supposed to lay bare the mystic significance it was employed to convey. It is only in this instance that the writer has made a philological discussion, and it is quoted here : " Two things, the Sutra tells us, are most needful to the Bodhisattva, and to his practice of wisdom : ' Never to abandon all beings and to see into the truth that all things are empty '. We must now make an effort to understand this all-important idea of *Emptiness*. Here again the Sanskrit root helps. It shows how easily the word empty could become a synonym for *Not-self*. What we call *emptiness* in English is *sunyata* in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit word *sunya* is derived from the root SVI, to swell. *Sunya* means literally : *Relating to the swollen*. In the remote past, our ancestors, with a fine instinct for the dialectical nature of reality, frequently used the same verbal root to denote the two opposite aspects of a situation. They were as distinctly aware of the unity of opposites, as of their opposition. Thus the root SVI, Greek KY seems to have expressed the idea that something which looks ' swollen ' from the outside is ' hollow ' inside. This is easily shown by the facts of comparative philology. You have the meaning *swollen* in such words as Latin *cumulus* (pile, heap) and *caulis* (stalk). You have the meaning *hollow*, from the same root, in Greek *koilos*, Latin *cavus*. Thus our personality is *swollen* in so far as constituted by the five *Skandhas*, but it is also *hollow* inside, because devoid of a central self." (p. 130).

The trend of Buddhist views regarding *atta* or self is discussed in much detail. Out of the triad of *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta*, Conze has selected *anatta* as the important, and has paid very little attention to the other two. To him an exposition of *anatta* would automatically explain away the first two terms of this essentially unified and complex doctrine. In certain portions he has treated the subject in a way that would appeal to the average Englishman rather than to a serious student of Buddhism. " Now suppose that Mr. John Smith is fed up with this state of affairs in which everything is just produced for a short time in order to be destroyed again. Suppose he wishes to become immortal. Then he has no choice but to deny himself throughout the whole length and breadth of his being. Anything impermanent in himself he has to get rid of. Just try to think of what is left of Mr. Smith after he has become immortal. His body would obviously be gone. With the body his instincts would have disappeared—since they are bound up with his glands, with the needs of his tissues, in short with the body. His mind also, as he knows it would have to be sacrificed. Because this mind of ours is bound up with bodily processes, its operations

are based on the data provided by the bodily organs or sense, and it reveals its impermanence by incessantly and restlessly jumping from one thing to another. With the mind would go his logical consistency. As a matter of fact, Mr. John Smith, turned immortal would not recognize himself at all", (p. 24). But later on he has given a brief resume of this doctrine as it was viewed by various Schools of Buddhism. Here the method of treatment is not so jarring to the ears of a student of Buddhism as the passage quoted above. The author had tried to understand the doctrine to the best of his ability, but whether he is correct in every way it is difficult to judge. This is what he says with regard to the doctrine of the *self*: "Among all controversial issues, this one was considered as the most critical of all. Throughout the centuries the orthodox never wearied of piling argument upon argument to defeat this admission of a *self* by the *pudgalavadins*. But the more tenaciously and persistently one tries to keep something out of one's mind, or out of a system of thought, the more surely it will come in. The orthodox in the end were forced to admit the notion of a permanent ego, not openly, but in various disguises, hidden in particularly obscure and abstruse concepts, like the *subconscious life—continuum (bhavanga)* of the *Theravadins*, the *continued existence of a very subtle consciousness of the Santrantikas*, the *root-consciousness of the Mahasanghikas*, etc. The *stone-consciousness of the Yogacarins* is conceived in the same spirit. As soon as the advice to disregard the individual self had hardened into the proposition that 'there is no self', such concessions to commonsense became quite inevitable". (p. 170).

The diagrams and charts found in the book are extremely useful to a student of Buddhism. The author has made every effort to give a coherent sequence by fixing the important landmarks in the history of Buddhism clearly in the mind of the reader. The final chapter gives a survey of the non-Indian developments of Buddhism and the state of Buddhism in Europe as the author had found it. The sub-title, "European Buddhism" is rather misleading, because it might make the reader feel that it is quite a new form of Buddhism. He has, on the other hand, given a brief account of the interest shown in Buddhism by Europeans and the caption: "Buddhism in Europe" would have been appropriate. It is far too early to call it "European Buddhism". Perhaps there would be the need for it sometime in the future, and faint traces of such a vision are found in these concluding remarks: "As the bankruptcy of our civilisation becomes ever more patent, many more people will be drawn to the wisdom of the past, and some of them to its Buddhist form. It remains to be seen when and where Europeans garbed in the saffron robe will make their first appearance."

W. S. KARUNARATNE.

Government and Politics in Ceylon, 1931-1946—By I. D. S. Weerawardana. (Ceylon Printers—Rs. 8).

To translate an erudite and fact-laden thesis, written with a view to winning professional favour, into a readable book which would prove instructive to the student and interesting to the general reader is quite a difficult task. It is in the context of this observation that we must approach a review of Dr. Weerawardana's scholarly work "*Government and Politics in Ceylon, 1931-46*". And the task of reviewing a work based on a thesis which has won the highest professional applause and reward, make us not only cautious but also uncertain of ourselves. But we shall look at it not with the tutor's critical eye but as it interests the general reader.

The author starts his work with a historical introduction which serves as a background, and leads us to the subject proper—the period of the Donoughmore Constitution. It takes us on through developments of a constitutional nature from the beginning of the British period upto the inauguration of the Donoughmore Constitution. However we feel that the author at times does not really see into the full historical significance of the developments he discusses. Thus for instance, he does not emphasise the prominent place the Colebrooke reforms should occupy in our constitutional history, for after all, recent developments were but the culmination of forces set in motion by the Colebrooke Commissioners. However, he makes a very intelligent analysis of the Reform Movement and traces the development of the legislature till the Manning Reforms, which gave the Ceylonese power without responsibility.

The author starts his thesis with a discussion on the Governor's place in the Constitution. This is as it should be, for as the author himself points out : "The Governor was the barometer of political autonomy". When the sphere of autonomy was enlarged the Governor's reserve powers had to be increased, since the Commissioners had decided not to recommend full responsible government for Ceylon. Moreover, the area of his authority, being considerable, it was necessary to "buttress his responsibility with power". This explains the relative increase in the Governor's powers. His is a very difficult and even ambiguous position. "Not only must he know his powers; when and where to exercise them, the mood of the governments at home and in the Colony, all have to be weighed carefully before he takes any action". The author goes on to make a very scholarly analysis of how the Governor stood up to the difficult task entrusted him, and comes to the conclusion that the story of the Governor's government is a story of how he governed less and less. It is a story of how his actions came more and more to be circumscribed by ministerial wishes.

In the next chapter the author analyses the relations that existed between the Governor and the "autonomous half". He shows how though in the constitution the "autonomous half" was circumscribed by many safeguards, the reserve powers of the Governor, "the convention became to lead them to obsolescence by disuse". More and more the Governor began to listen to and be guided by the advice tendered by the "autonomous half". Explanation for this the author finds in the fact, that, both sides were prepared to meet each other half-way and finds that the "infrequency of the use of safeguards is largely the result of moderate counsel on the part of the ministers".

The third chapter takes us into an analysis of the position of the Officers of State, the "Watch-dogs of the Constitution". The author shows how though the Constitution expected their functions to be mainly advisory, in the first two years of the Constitution "their duties and their authority veered them to a contrary position". The departments under them were large and powerful, and their authority and influence increased even more when during the early years of the Constitution the Governor tended to depend on their advice in general than on the ministers. However, the author takes pains to show that Government was not just Governor and Officers of State acting in disregard of all others. "They were careful not to antagonize the elected members by openly espousing causes to which the members were opposed". He also shows how during the stress of the war years when co-operation was essential and forthcoming, the Officers of State really began to be advisory. But they were beginning to outlive their usefulness and the *raison d'être* of their existence, and being moreover considered an affront to nationalism and a hindrance to the progress of the people, they came in for criticism from all sides.

The three following chapters deal more or less with the "autonomous half" of the Constitution. The author by a well documented and rational analysis shows how the original intentions of the Donoughmore Commissioners regarding this "autonomous half", were side-tracked and due to the force of circumstances many important developments began to make their presence felt. The Constitution had created a body with executive and legislative functions. However from the beginning the State Council began to shed its executive functions. Practise began for the "Executive Committees to deal with executive policy without reference to the State Council". And a body consisting of 61 members was too large for taking executive functions and the "gradual erosion of executive functions of the house" was to be but expected.

With regard to the Executive Committees though the whole field of transferred subjects had been divided among them since

the Commissioners had considered "the Committee System is fundamental to the whole scheme of Government presented in the Report and is its distinctive feature", during the whole period under review what was noticeable was that all Executive Committees were losing their executive functions to the Ministers". The Constitution had intended the Ministers to be, only the Chairmen of the Committees, "mere creatures of the Committees". But this was not to be. "There was a tendency to leave more and more in the hands of the Minister". This tendency was helped by the fact that members did not have sufficient information, and was accelerated by the circumstances created by the emergency situation. And as the author says : "Ministers in name became Ministers in fact."

The Donoughmore Constitution never intended the Board of Ministers to be a sort of Cabinet acting on the principle of collective responsibility. But the author in the chapter on "Cabinet without responsibility", tries to show how the Board, inspite of obstacles in the way of such a development, gradually began to approximate to what a Cabinet should be, though in a limited way. As the author states : "the heterogenous company of the Board of Ministers developed into a *quasi* Cabinet".

From a very detailed analysis of the machinery of Government, which is important for the study of our constitutional development, because in a country which is not fully responsible the administrative machinery has a big hand, the author takes us on to a discussion of the composition of the State Council. In Ceylon, due to the lack of developed party politics many considerations influenced the elections to the State Council. As the author says : "Community, religion, and even caste questions entered the decisions of the voters". For this state of affairs the author finds fault with the lack of a party system, which according to him, did not develop because "persons of divergent views, get together in their unanimous opposition to foreign rule". This is true, but not wholly. Ponnambalam, on his visit to Whitehall showed no inclination to join with the others in clamouring for independence.

In what could be termed the epilogue to the main thesis, the chapter on : "The lessons of an experiment", the author once again takes a look at his conclusions which helps him to arrive at the idea that "the Constitution proved surprisingly more flexible than it was thought to be". Then he goes on to discuss criticisms levelled against this aberration from normal parliamentary government from all sides, even by the Governor himself. He ultimately comes to the more to startling conclusion that all its shortcomings were due to the lack of a party system. However, he goes on to name some of the benefits the Constitution was

responsible for and concludes that it was in a sense "a stage in the development of the country towards Dominion Status".

At this stage it would be quite pertinent to pose the question whether the book lives up to the claim that it covers the Government and Politics of Ceylon from 1931-46? This is a rather pretentious claim which is not fully justified. A book which pretends to deal with the politics of this country should provide a full picture of her politics and political set-up. But what we get in the work are vague, incoherent, and sometimes even superficial glimpses into the country's political life. What the author really deals with is the Donoughmore Constitution at work. And we would have had no cause to complain if the author had been content to give his work a more modest title, in keeping with the scope of the book, such as "A Constitutional Development of Ceylon, 1931-1946".

This work would have been much more interesting if it had not been burdened with excessive documentation. Perhaps the author could not forget the fact that he had been originally writing a thesis, not a book of general interest. He burdens, and sometimes even bores us, with pages and pages of facts and figures he had gathered to illustrate and support his arguments, that one gets the feeling that the author, in the manner of a historian-cum-archæologist is editing inscriptions and not giving us an analysis of constitutional development.

And not all would agree with some at least of the conclusions he arrives at in the work. This of course is really a compliment to the author, who has not hesitated to go against accepted notions and ideas. But when he deals with problems of importance rather superficially then it calls for comment. For example, the communal problem which looms large in the politics of this period, should have been the subject of greater study and analysis. He remains contented by merely saying that "it is true a communal problem developed with the increasing liberalization of the Constitution". But he has not tried to find out how and why this developed. To a minority complex had been added the fear that the Sinhalese would oust the Tamils from the Government services which had been till recently practically a Tamil preserve. This was the "domination" the Tamils feared and which gave rise to a communal problem.

The Donoughmore Constitution was another of those experiments which the Imperial authorities tried out to serve a transitional period, the transition from representative to full responsible government. And they have not yet been successful in their experiments, which have always generally led to what Dodwell calls "a familiar constitutional impasse". And when we attempt

to find an explanation for the shortcomings and the failure of the Donoughmore Constitution, we must view it in the light of this observation and consider it as one of those experiments which did not work.

In spite of all what has been said before, the author can be proud of one thing—that his work has truly lived up to the claim of the publicity blurb that it is a “very provocative” work. He has chosen to study and analyse for himself, and that exhaustively, the constitutional development of the period, and has not been unduly worried, if at times he has formed his own conclusions, to be novel and not follow the normal line of argument. But then that is the quality of the scholar. In spite of the criticisms that have been made, we do not hesitate to say that this book should not only prove of interest to the student but also be of some use to the general reader.

V. T. NAVARATNE.

Aids to Pali Conversation and Translation — By A. P. Buddhadatta Mahathera, (Printed by the Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd. Rs. 4/-)

Thera Buddhadatta is known to the student of Pali firstly through his *New Pali Course* series and secondly through his learned articles on Pali studies in various research journals. He also deserves the credit for introducing a graded series of Pali books into Ceylon schools, through the medium of English. They have been widely used in most of the leading schools where Pali is taught, and the present work, I believe, is a new “modus operandi” to this subject, which should be welcomed warmly.

This book consists of three main parts; the first deals with “Words in Groups”; the second with conversation on various topics and the third with ‘Aids to Translation’. The first group consists of words such as for human beings, relatives, victims etc. that are familiar to the students a very helpful in everyday life. Immediately after the, human beings’ group, list of common adjectives is given pertaining to them. The collection of words has been done in the alphabetical order, which helps the students to get at the required word without much difficulty. The gender of certain nouns given with them, is again a happy feature, to ease the difficulty of the beginner. This process has not been followed in the *New Pali Course* books. At the end of this part come a group of adjectives, common to most of the words given earlier, nipatas, adverbs, and lastly verbs, all in alphabetical order. The PPs and Absolutives from verbs are most useful to the novice.

The Part Two of the book is written, I feel, in the understanding that a language is learnt quicker in conversation, though Pali is almost a dead one. Here also the process he has adopted is praiseworthy, in my opinion, for from the easy thing, the student is gradually introduced to the difficult one.

The Pali passages in the last portion show how translations should be done from one language to another, retaining the true spirit of the original, maintaining at the same time the idiom of the language. This would be useful to the student who writes a kind of "patcīs" but not Pali in his translation, as most students do even at the University.

Though there is hardly anybody who is interested in writing letters in Pali, the few letters at the end of this part show what a Pali composition should be.

The vocabulary at the end of the book is a collection of all the words found in the body of the work arranged in two parts, Pali-English and *vice versa*. This again helps the student to find out the required word at a mere glance. On the whole, I believe, this is a well written book and it will undoubtedly serve a very useful purpose, if it is used as a companion to the *New Pali Course*.

D. GARUSINGHE

Jataka Nidanakatha—Edited and Translated by N. A. Jayawickrama B.A., PH.D., (Sri Lanka Publishing Co.—Rs. 4/-.)

Editions of Pali texts are not readily available. Dr. Jayawickrama's edition of the Nidanakatha will therefore be welcomed by the general reader as well as the students of Pali, especially the students reading for the Preliminary Examination of the Ceylon University.

Dr. Jayawickrama's Introduction to the book, though brief, sums up the opinions of previous scholars regarding the authorship of the Jatakāthakatha, and also gives a brief survey of Pali literature dealing with the life of the Buddha, as well as of modern works on the same subject—useful bibliography for the student. Only the verses in the text are numbered, leaving the prose unnumbered by paragraphs or by lines, an omission which does not facilitate easy reference for students, even though headings have been given to each paragraph.

A translation of the introductory verses of the Nidanakatha is admittedly difficult "owing to the extreme involution of the style,"

and Rhys Davids had to begin his translation from the fourth verse in order to make it a sensible piece of prose. Dr. Jayawickrama, in his attempt to keep to the order of the verses, presumably to help the students, has produced a translation difficult of understanding. The rest of the text has been very well rendered. There are, however, instances where the translation is not supported by the text. In verse 14 "possessing the seven precious things, thronged with diverse peoples," is not supported by the text, nor are lines 14 & 15 of page 23, "but not of a woman, an eunuch or of a hermaphrodite".

Almost all the words requiring explanations have been annotated, but a note on මහිසාසන has been left out, perhaps by an oversight.

These trifling faults do not at all detract the value and usefulness of the book. Dr. Jayawickrama has done an excellent piece of work in editing and translating this book which can unreservedly be recommended for the use of the student and the general reader interested in Buddhism.

F.

The New Society—By E. H. Carr (Macmillan—7s. 6a.).

The conditions of our time has made it possible for the "political intellectual" to evolve a theory to justify his every action, it is I believe, to Professor Carr's advantage that he is more an observer than a theorist. He at least is no Burnham, an intellectual dwarf magnified to the stature of a giant by a middle-class, bewildered, and willing to accept any refuge in the storm. The reference to Burnham is not entirely superfluous here, as in this series of lectures Carr seems to shift from his position of Stalinist fellow-traveller to a bourgeois liberal one. It must be realised however, that as the six lectures that comprise this book were first delivered over the programme of the B.B.C., Carr might have been called upon to modify his views for the occasion. There is also a definite, though unexplicit plea for peaceful co-existence, and as it were an attempt to search out a *modus vivendi* for the two camps. This when considered in relation to the newest trend in Stalinist policies may indicate that there has been no substantial change in the politics of Professor Carr. Yet his action is all along a defensive one and he concedes so much that one may legitimately wonder whether he is any longer a fellow-traveller, of the Stalinists at least.

But whatever interest there is in this book does not lie in the political views of the author, either way they are too commonplace to be of much interest. It is the manner in which Carr draws a

connecting thread through various aspects of the historical development of society since the French Revolution, that forms the main interest. It is an idealistic sketch of the capitalist period, idealistic for no reason other than the fact that the author is all along more concerned with the ideas the historian can draw from this evolution than with the material acts of the evolution itself. This may seem an unfair statement to make, and it probably is. Yet the argument is all along conducted in generalities and interpretations which may be valid but are not convincing.

The first lecture on the Historical Approach is a discussion of the two mutually contradictory theories of progress and retrogression in the history of human, more particularly western, society. In this background, Carr discusses the position of the historian and how far interpretations are governed by objective facts or by the beliefs of the historian. This lecture is I think the only creative piece of work in the entire book. The conclusion the writer draws is worth quoting if not for any value of his own, as representative of a climate in which optimism and sanity are being frantically sought by a section of the population as a panacea for a disintegrating world. "A historically-minded generation is one which looks back, not indeed for solutions which cannot be found in the past, but for those critical insights which are necessary to the understanding of its existing situation and to the realisation of the values which it holds". There is sanity here but also a complete ineffectiveness. Critical insights cannot stem the tide of modern history, and it is precisely this that Carr believes possible. To quote from the lecture again : "In history the drama cannot repeat itself because the *dramatis personae* at the second performance are already conscious of the prospective denouement ; the essential condition of the first performance can never be reconstituted Before the middle of the nineteenth century so-called bourgeois revolutions had put the middle class into power in most countries of Western Europe. One result of this was a rapid expansion of the ruling middle class, and as a result, an equally rapid expansion of the proletariat, so that Marx was emboldened to predict a proletarian revolution as the natural corollary of the bourgeois revolution. But, once this sequence of events had penetrated human consciousness, history could not repeat itself. The German middle class was by this time so frightened of the potential denouement that it refused to perform the drama of the bourgeois revolution in Germany and preferred to come to terms with Bismark". To dispute historical facts with a historian is a dangerous matter and I will not attempt to do so, but it seems as if Carr is making the elementary mistake of confusing *post hoc* with *propter hoc*. What is more, can one concede, as Carr maintains, that : "Human consciousness of the past prevented history from repeating itself?" Such theories are dangerous and so is idealism in a historian.

The rest of the book is a discussion of the development of various aspects of capitalist society. There is little that is historically new or that is important as theory, thus making the book of little value as a historical document. Whatever value or appeal there is in the book is to that class of layman that is completely cut off from the academic side of history. It is a type of pre-digested food for those who do not have the time or capability to perform their own digestive functions. The fault is not of the historian but of the form. Professor E. H. Carr has shown himself as no mediocre performer in his own field—his *Bolshevik Revolution* is proof of at least his ambition. Radio lectures, however, are meant for a different audience and who can blame anyone for doing a little pot-boiling.

G. WIJEWARDENE.

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