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# THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

VOL. II

JANUARY & APRIL 1953

Nos. 3 & 4

## CONTENTS

- Additional Notes on the General Election of 1952 SIR IVOR JENNINGS
- Sociological Background of Early Sinhalese Paintings NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA
- Texts of the Cave Inscriptions at Haṇḍagala Vihāra C. W. NICHOLAS
- Some Aspects of Early Sinhalese Architecture K. V. SOUNDARARAJAN
- The Royal Lineage in the Prasastis of the 8th-10th Century Inscriptions LAKSHMAN S. PERERA
- Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA
- Some Observations on the Study of Sinhalese Place Names B. J. PERERA
- The Catholic Church in Ceylon from 1658 to 1687 REV. ROBRECHT BOUDENS
- Some Trees and Plants mentioned in the Mahavamsa ANDREAS NELL
- The Treaty of 1766 between the King of Kandy and the Dutch (2) E. REIMERS
- The Events leading to the Capitulation of 1796, a Re-statement R. L. BROHIER

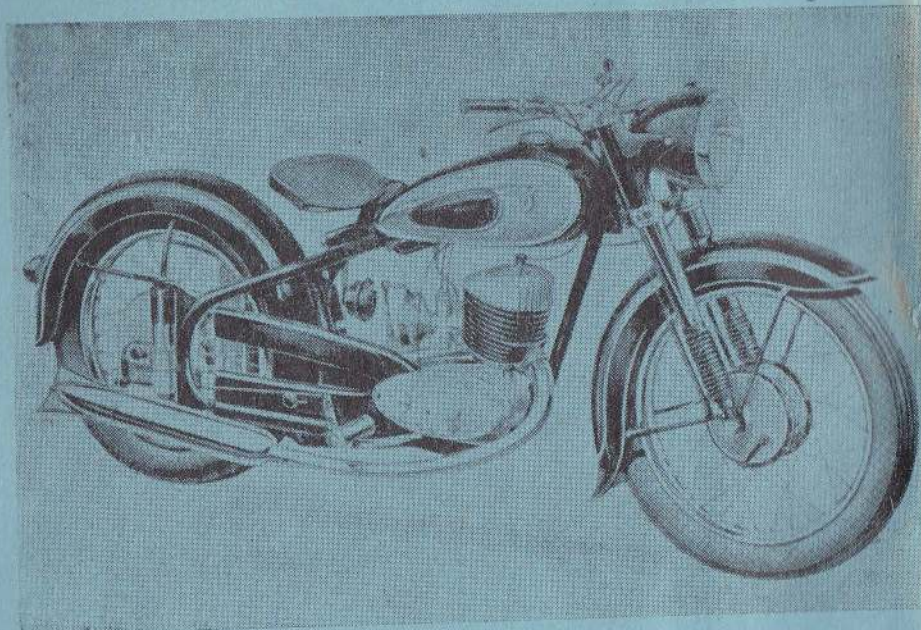
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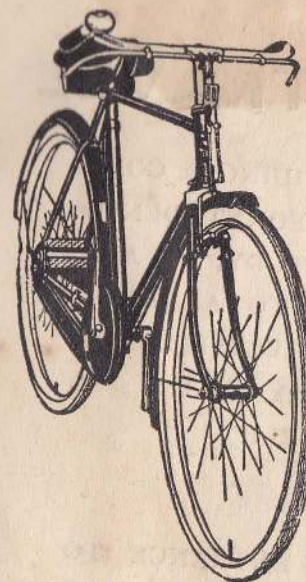
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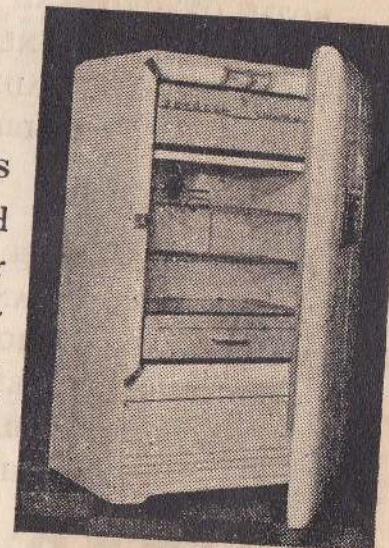
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We take pleasure therefore in presenting our readers in the next issue, of the complete texts of several hitherto unpublished references to Ceylon. The article specially written for *The Ceylon Historical Journal* by Dr. Luciano Petech of Rome, one of the foremost Sino-logists in Europe, comes through the courtesy of Professor Giuseppe Tucci from materials collected by the Italiano Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

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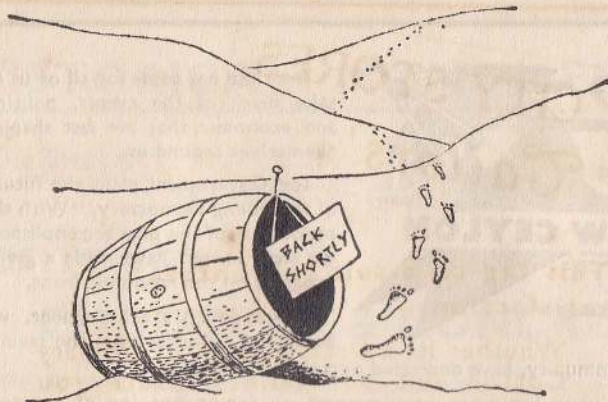


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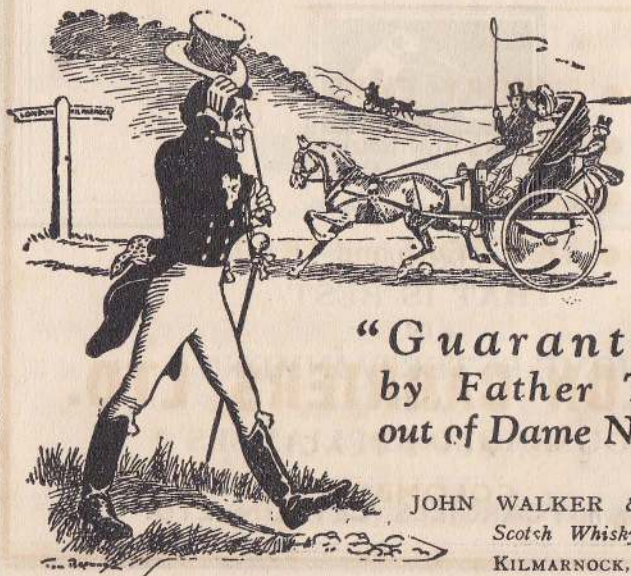


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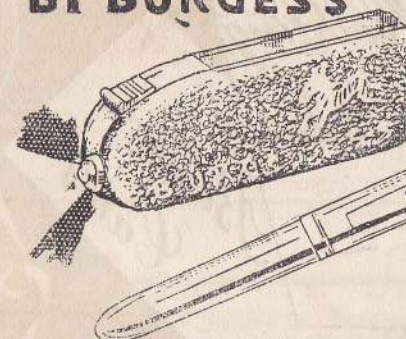


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*The Ceylon Historical Journal* is a non-political review founded with the design of encouraging and facilitating the scientific study of the economic, social, political and religious history, as well as of the literature, arts and sciences, of the past and present peoples of the Island of Ceylon. The Journal offers a broad hospitality for divergent views and does not identify itself with any one school. Responsibility for opinions expressed in articles published, and for accuracy of statements contained in them, rests solely with the individual authors. The editor and members of the committee assume no responsibility regarding them, except the responsibility of publishing those contributions which are most helpful to the furtherance of the afore-mentioned aims.

The Journal is published quarterly in January, April, July and October of each year. Editor : S. D. Saparamadu, Assistant Editor : B. J. Perera, Advertisement Manager : C. L. Emmanuel, Editorial Committee : N. Balasubramaniam, P. Wijesinghe, S. M. Haniffa. Manuscripts and books for review should be addressed to : The Ceylon Historical Journal, 129, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwala.

No further annual subscriptions will be accepted for the present.

JANUARY & APRIL 1953



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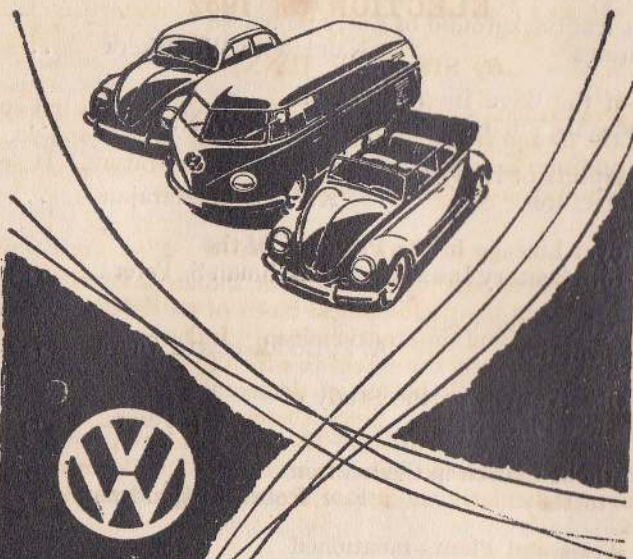
## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Additional Notes on the General Election of 1952	Sir Ivor Jennings .. 193
Sociological Background of Early Sinhalese Paintings	Nandadeva Wijesekera .. 209
Texts of the Cave Inscriptions at Haṇḍagala Vihāra	C. W. Nicholas .. 221
Some Aspects of Early Sinhalese Architecture	K. V. Soundararajan .. 225
The Royal Lineage in the Prasastis of the 8th-10th Century Inscriptions	Lakshman S. Perera .. 230
Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator	A. P. Buddhadatta Thera .. 237
Some Observations on the Study of Sinhalese Place Names	B. J. Perera .. 243
The Catholic Church in Ceylon from 1658 to 1687	Rev. Robrecht Boudens .. 251
Some Trees and Plants mentioned in the Mahavamsa	Andreas Nell .. 258
The Treaty of 1766 between the King of Kandy and the Dutch (2)	E. Reimers .. 265
The Events leading to the Capitulation of 1796, a Re-statement	R. L. Brohier .. 275
<b>Special Supplement</b>	
The Sinhalese Caste-system of Central and Southern Ceylon	William H. Gilbert, Jr. .. 295
<b>Reviews</b>	
<i>Aspects of Sinhalese Culture</i> by Martin Wickramasinghe, (Mount Press, Mt. Lavinia)	367
<i>Britain and the Dominions</i> by W. R. Brock, (Cambridge University Press)	.. 369
<i>The Great Adventure</i> by Donald Dickie, (J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd.)	371
<i>Hiouen Thsang in India</i> by J. B. Saint-Hilaire, (Susil Gupta (India) Ltd.)	.. 372



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## ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1952

By SIR IVOR JENNINGS

Dr. Weerawardena's article on 'The General Elections in Ceylon, 1952' in the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, volume II, pp. 109-78, is a valuable addition to our rather scanty political literature. It seems to need, however, a few additions and corrections.

### I. THE INDIAN VOTE

It is impossible to pass judgment on the Indian problem in Ceylon without discussing the philosophical bases of nationalism, communalism, racialism and internationalism. Indeed, it raises other issues too—for instance, the extent to which the law in a democratic State should encourage the use of democratic machinery for the suppression of democracy. Since these are highly controversial subjects, I should prefer to state the facts and avoid judgments, and accordingly to reserve opinion on some of Dr. Weerawardena's statements, particularly the use of the term 'gerrymandering' on page 144.

The history of the franchise between 1928 and 1943 is stated, so far as I can tell quite fairly, in paragraphs 203 to 222 of the Soulbury Report. The Donoughmore Constitution was accepted by the Legislative Council, by 19 to 17 votes, on the understanding that either domicile or a certificate of permanent settlement would be insisted upon for the franchise. Dr. Weerawardena mentions (page 113) that the procedure for the ascertainment of domicile 'tended to be a little lax'. This is, at best, an understatement. Every lawyer knows that the establishment of a domicile of choice is a most difficult operation, and yet the number of Indians who secured the franchise on the basis of domicile rose from 100,000 in 1931 to 225,000 in 1939. Then the weeding-out process began and the number fell to 168,000 in 1943. The number enfranchised under the pre-Donoughmore Constitution was 12,438.<sup>1</sup>

In September 1941, delegations representing India and Ceylon reached agreement on all points, including the franchise, but subject to ratification (S.P. XXVIII of 1941). In February 1943 the Government of India informed the Government of Ceylon that they refused to ratify the agreement. India had therefore rejected

1. Dr. Weerawardena mentions that the number fell from 225,000 to 168,000, but not that it rose from 100,000.



an agreement which the Ceylon Ministers thought to be a fair compromise. In the preliminary discussions over the Ministers' Draft Constitution later in 1943 it was suggested nevertheless that the agreement of 1941 be put into operation. One point left open was whether those who were already on the register should not be allowed to remain there. There was, however, no decision on this point because the Representative of the Government of India, apparently learning that the franchise was under discussion, called on the Governor to inform him that, in the opinion of his Government, the agreement of 1941 did not provide a basis for a franchise law. The Ministers took this to be a threat that, if their proposed scheme contained franchise clauses acceptable to the State Council, the influence of the Government of India would be used in London to secure its rejection. It was therefore decided not to put the franchise into the Constitution, to have the first general election on the 1931 franchise, but to empower the new Parliament to change the franchise law. The Soulbury Commission agreed.

Though Ceylon did what the Indians wanted, they were not satisfied. Mr. D. S. Senanayake was very anxious to have a unanimous vote in favour of the White Paper of 1945 because he believed that it would enable him to secure Dominion Status within a very short space of time. He therefore undertook to discuss the franchise afresh with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. The two Indian members of the State Council made speeches in the debate which seemed favourable to the motion, but at the end they joined with Mr. Dahanayake in opposing the motion.

In accordance with the Ministers' proposals, the Constitution of 1946 contained no provisions relating to the franchise, but the Ceylon (Parliamentary Elections) Orders in Council, 1946, reproduced the franchise law of 1931. The Delimitation Commission did its best to carve out constituencies in the Central Province, Uva and Sabaragamuwa which could be represented by Indians. I have seen no accurate figures of the number of Indians on the electoral registers of 1946, on which the General Elections of 1947 was fought. The figure of 200,000 commonly given is obviously a mere guess, but it can hardly have been much less than 150,000. Nor is it possible with any accuracy to ascertain how the Indian vote was cast at the election. The Ceylon Indian Congress won six seats and a fellow-traveller won a seventh. The impression which prevailed in 1947, and it was supported by stories of estate labourers being marched down to the poll, marshalled by communist polling agents, was that the Indian vote was cast almost solidly for the communist candidates. Inferences may perhaps be drawn by examining the constituencies in which the electorate was reduced in 1950.

	Electorate		Representation	
	1947	1950	1951	1952
<i>Western Province</i>				
Moratuwa	57,723	55,090	L.S.S.P.	L.S.S.P.
Matugama	48,407	46,219	Rep.	Rep.
<i>Central Province</i>				
Matale	37,847	29,272	U.N.P.	S.L.F.P.
Minipe	28,295	22,932	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Wattegame	32,008	31,840	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Kandy	32,119	27,707	Rep.	U.N.P.
Galaha	37,874	32,774	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Gampola	32,734	25,598	Ind.	U.N.P.
Maturata	28,708	26,740	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Nuwara Eliya	24,295	9,279	C.I.C.	U.N.P.
Talawakelle	19,299	2,912	C.I.C.	U.N.P.
Kotagala	17,092	7,749	C.I.C.	U.N.P.
Nawalapitiya	22,580	10,082	C.I.C.	Lab.
Maskeliya	24,427	8,703	C.I.C.	U.N.P.
<i>Southern Province</i>				
Ambalangoda-Balapitiya	101,843	92,398	Rep.	U.N.P.
Galle	48,340	43,765	L.S.S.P.	L.S.S.P.
Weligama	41,174	40,727	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Akuressa	45,886	43,234	C.P.	C.P.
Hakmana	44,414	42,077	C.P.	U.N.P.
<i>Northern Province</i>				
Kayts	33,045	30,138	T.C.	T.C.
Kankasanturai	38,871	38,439	Fed.	U.N.P.
Jaffna	42,546	29,489	T.C.	T.C.
Kopay	32,999	32,903	Fed.	Fed.
<i>Eastern Province</i>				
Trincomalee	18,421	14,272	U.N.P.	Fed.
Batticaloa	27,409	24,947	U.N.P.	Ind.
Kalmunai	22,743	22,120	U.N.P.	Ind.
<i>Uva</i>				
Alutnuwara	16,487	16,190	C.I.C.	U.N.P.
Badulla	43,396	28,151	C.I.C.	L.S.S.P.
			L.S.S.P.	U.N.P.
Haputale	11,063	7,051	U.N.P.	U.N.P.



	Electorate		Representation	
	1947	1950	1951	1952
<i>Sabaragamuwa</i>				
Kegalle	41,791	35,428	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Ruwanwella	29,177	25,930	L.S.S.P.	L.S.S.P.
Dehiowita	28,932	26,577	L.S.S.P.	L.S.S.P.
Kiriella	30,307	29,037	L.S.S.P.	U.N.P.
Balangoda	63,438	56,296	U.N.P.	U.N.P.

It does not follow that in all these constituencies the reduction of the electorate was due to the disfranchisement of the Indians. Nor does it follow that a change in the representation had the same cause. Obviously the seven C.I.C. seats were due to the Indian vote, but it may be a coincidence that 7 of the 14 L.S.S.P. seats (in 1951) and two of the four C.P. seats are in the list. Moreover, in other constituencies the rise in the Ceylonese vote may have offset the loss of the Indian vote. Among them may be:—

	Representation	
	1951	1952
Colombo Central	Lab.	C.P.
	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
	C.P.	Ind.
Kalutara	L.S.S.P.	U.N.P.
Agalawatte	L.S.S.P.	U.N.P.
Baddegama	U.N.P.	L.S.S.P.
Udugama	S.L.F.P.	L.S.S.P.
Matara	C.P.	C.P.
Beliatta	U.N.P.	S.L.F.P.
Vadukoddai	T.C.	Ind.
Point Pedro	T.C.	T.C.
Kalkudah	U.N.P.	Ind.
Welimade	U.N.P.	Ind.
Mawanella	U.N.P.	S.L.F.P.
Ratnapura	U.N.P.	U.N.P.
Nivitigala	L.S.S.P.	U.N.P.

We have now listed 14 of the 21 seats held by the L.S.S.P. and the C.P. in 1951. Five of them became Government seats in 1952. Though the figures are by no means conclusive, it seems not unlikely that the Indian vote was mainly communist in 1947. I must again emphasise that I am trying to establish the facts and not to draw conclusions favourable or unfavourable to the enfranchisement of the Indians.

After Mr. D. S. Senanayake became Prime Minister, one of his first steps was to start negotiations with the Prime Minister of India. The basis of the discussions was the abortive agreement of 1941. Mr. Senanayake made further concessions, but failed to secure agreement. So far as can be ascertained without a detailed comparison of the correspondence and the Act, the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, No. 3 of 1949, was based on the agreement of 1941 modified by the concessions made by Mr. Senanayake in 1948. Since an Indian or Pakistani resident had to apply for citizenship under the Act and establish his right to it, and since the investigation was in nearly every case a lengthy process, few Indians (other than those entitled to citizenship by descent) became citizens in time to have their names on the 1950 register. According to figures which Dr. Weerawardena quotes from the Madras *Hindu*, over 237,000 applications, covering over 650,000 persons were made, but as late as June 1952 only about 2,300 applications had been considered (? decided) and about 7,500 Ceylon Indians had become citizens.

Dr. Weerawardena goes on to say that there was 'a very reasonable prospect of a large number of these applications being accepted'. The statement is no doubt correct, but it is equally evident that a very large number of applications will be rejected and that the Department concerned must sort them out. Most of the applications, too, were not received until the months of June and July, 1949, so that the task was made more difficult by the sudden descent of an avalanche of applications. Dr. Weerawardena refers to 'administrative delays'. If this phrase is used without tendentious implication it is correct; but the delays were implicit in the legislation itself and in the manner in which the Administration was deluged with applications at the last moment. The law is extremely complicated, and it cannot be made less complicated by administrative action. Some of the principles of that legislation, too, had been accepted by the Government of India, though the details had not been accepted.

Nor does Dr. Weerawardena refer to the reason for using the registers of 1950 instead of those of 1951. It should first be noted, though Dr. Weerawardena does not note it,<sup>2</sup> that the user was authorized by law. The reason for amending the law was that so many objections had been lodged to the registers of 1951 that they could not be finalised. These objections were no doubt made *bona fide*, for a revising officer in Kegalle declared both the Citizenship Act and the Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Act to be *ultra vires*—it is interesting to note that neither side challenged the

2. Indeed, by quoting the original provision and not the amendment on page 111 he suggests that the Government was acting illegally.



validity of the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act. On a *certiorari* to the Supreme Court the decision was quashed, but an appeal was taken to the Privy Council, and this was pending at the time of the election.

Dr. Weerawardena (p. 125) considers that the Indian question won the U.N.P. a considerable number of votes. My impression is less valuable than his, but I agree. I do not, however, like the statement that 'The U.N.P. raised the communal cry in a virulent form' because it raises a fundamental issue on which I should prefer not to pronounce. If one starts with the assumption that the Indians are interlopers, brought in by the British, the correct description is not 'communalism' but 'nationalism'. If one starts from the assumption that the Indians (and of course the so-called Europeans) are part of the 'nation', then 'communalism' is the correct term. Dr. Weerawardena's statement of the points of view of the main parties seems to me from its very impartiality to give a false impression. The U.N.P. 'played up' the Indian issue; the other parties played it down. The U.N.P. brought the Indian question prominently before the electorate; the Opposition tried to keep away from it. The Ceylon Indian Congress helped by trying a mild form of satyagraha and the Indian Press gave much assistance by virulent attacks on Ceylonese politicians. Evidently the Government was taking the popular line.

## II. THE ISSUES

Dr. Weerawardena (pp. 122-25) gives a careful analysis of the policies of the respective parties. As in the case of the Indian question this analysis, by giving equal weight to an issue which caught on and one which did not, gives a less balanced picture than a more impressionistic survey. I made a contemporary note, the substance of which is set out below for purposes of comparison. The defects of its origin should first be noted. It was written in Colombo on the material provided by the English newspapers. As Dr. Weerawardena emphasises, and indeed overemphasises,<sup>3</sup> the English Press was on the side of those whom its proprietors (and incidentally its readers) regarded as angels. Whether in consequence I obtained a biased view of the issues I do not know, but I should think it unlikely. The newspapers certainly gave more space to the Government than to the Opposition, but the Government not the Opposition made the running from the start. The views of the Opposition leaders were made plain, but it was equally plain that the Government had more to say because the Opposition, oddly enough, had been placed on the defensive. It is important

3. e.g. 'Speeches of the Government party were reported in full'. A single speech of one hour's duration, in English, would occupy approximately twenty columns.

to remember, too, that if the Press was wrong to put all the angels on the Government side, it is equally wrong to put all the angels on the Opposition side. In this election, as in all elections, both sides consisted of politicians, and politicians are not angels. On the other hand, there is still a gulf fixed between the English-educated section of the population and the mass of the electorate: the fact that I knew something of the former and very little of the latter is probably important, because the two groups may have had different scales of values. Nevertheless, for what they are worth, my contemporary impressions are set out below.

The fundamental issue of the election was whether the Government should remain in power. The U.N.P. began with great advantages which it never lost. In 1947 it had merely been able to promise that independence was round the corner, a promise which was met by the communist assertion that it was a 'fake independence'. By 1952 that allegation had lost its charms, because independence had seemed genuine enough for four years. It was possible to urge that 'political independence' should be followed by 'economic independence' and (as usual in politics) it was unnecessary to define that curious phrase. It had passed into the currency of student politics, but did it affect the ordinary voter? What he seemed to want from economics was that the selling price of rice be high and the buying price low. This had been achieved by a heavy subsidy of rationed rice. Since the prices for tea, rubber and coconuts had been high and the demand large, money was plentiful; and probably the average voter felt that he was better off under the 'Soulbury Constitution', for which Mr. D. S. Senanayake had been responsible, than he had been under the Donoughmore Constitution. That this prosperity was fortuitous and could be changed by a slight change in import and export prices was not apparent.

In any case, what was the alternative to the U.N.P.? The L.S.S.P. had borne the main burden of opposition in the first Parliament and, considering its limited human resources, it had done very well. It had, too, a fund of goodwill represented by the large vote that it had obtained in 1947. On the other hand, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike had stolen the limelight. His defection had barely weakened the Government in Parliament and may have strengthened it outside. So long as he was a discontented member of the Government an impression of divided counsel was conveyed. His removal to the other side split the Opposition by giving it two leaders. The strong party man in the L.S.S.P. may have thought it his duty to vote S.L.F.P. where they were not in conflict, and the strong party man in the S.L.F.P. to vote L.S.S.P.: but even in Britain there are few strong party men and in Ceylon they are rare. Neither party was capable of forming a Government alone, and the



prospect of a successful coalition seemed remote. On the other hand, this is an intellectualist reaction to the position, and probably would not apply to the ordinary voter.

The fourteen-point programme of the L.S.S.P. got completely lost. The policy of the S.L.F.P., as a policy, failed to 'get over', but votes are swayed less by policies than by emotions, and the emotions which the party sought to stimulate were connected with religion, ayurveda and swabasha. Whether the ayurvedic physician has the influence in the village which he is assumed to possess ought to be examined by an expert in rural politics. Swabasha is, I suspect, most attractive not to the ordinary elector—who stimulates the demand for English schools—but to the growing swabasha-speaking lower middle class. The assumption seems to be that the swabasha teacher, like the ayurvedic physician, has strong political influence: but this is another question which needs investigation. In any case, the Government tried to spike the Opposition guns on this occasion by accepting the principle. Whether it gained votes by doing so is very arguable. It is always dangerous to assume that the vocal elements are representative and influential.

The appeal to religious emotion was more significant, but it was in fact the main point of the Government's policy—if an appeal to emotion can be called a policy. An appeal to religion almost always favours the more conservative elements, in this country as in others. The work which Mr. D. S. Senanayake had done for Buddhism was well known; that of Mr. Bandaranaike had not been so well publicised. Above all, the U.N.P. argument that Marxism was inconsistent with Buddhism was not only logical but satisfying emotionally. There are 'leftist' bhikkhus, but it can hardly be said that Buddhist sentiment is 'leftist'.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. N. M. Perera, as leader of the L.S.S.P., tried to emphasise that his party was tolerant to all religions, and an assurance from him would probably carry weight. On the other hand Dr. Colvin R. de Silva found it less easy to accept this deviation from Marxist

4. I hesitate to differ from a Buddhist on an issue of this character, but Dr. Weerawardena's statement (p. 129) that 'the Buddhists were divided and so were the Buddhist priests, who were some of the keenest campaigners against the Government' seems to convey a false impression. The 'leftist' bhikkhu is a familiar figure among the intellectuals and he may have some influence in Kelaniya or Kolonnawa: but the 'rightist' politicians who know the villages, like the late D. S. Senanayake, believe that Buddhist sentiment is anti-Marxist. It is not a question of 'pressure groups', as Dr. Weerawardena makes it. The question is whether the ordinary Buddhist, whether in the town or in the country, has or has not an intuitive conservatism which tends to make him vote against Marxists and their allies. Among the Hindus of the north there would seem to be no doubt about the conservatism of religion: but there the communists had no influence, except among the depressed castes, and the S.L.F.P. had no *locus standi* whatsoever.

ideology, and after his own defeat on the 28th May he is reported to have bracketed the capitalists and the priests. It is said that he was mis-reported, but the statement as published may have influenced the poll on the last day which was the most difficult day for the Government. In any case, Christian sentiment was mobilised against Marxism, and that sentiment is important on the west coast, where communism is strongest.

Dr. Weerawardena does not mention the story of the bricks from the Mahayangana Cetiya, said to have been used for a latrine. This story, which was produced by Dr. N. M. Perera on the 20th May, was election propaganda because the late Prime Minister was President of the Restoration Society and had taken an active part in its work. Among sophisticated electors this attempt by a Marxist to blacken the reputation of a devout Buddhist would probably do more good than harm to the Government; but it was evidently thought that the story would influence the less sophisticated electors. Experience in Britain suggests that if such 'stunts' are to succeed, they must be executed so late in the campaign that an effective response is impracticable. In this instance not only was a response produced with a speed which bore witness to the efficiency of the U.N.P. machine but also the story was used as U.N.P. propaganda, since it was alleged to show the insincerity of the L.S.S.P. claims to be friendly to all religions.

The Indian problem became an election issue through the activities of the Ceylon Indian Congress. It was so obviously favourable to the Government that the Opposition parties tried to 'kill' it by ignoring it. I saw only one reference to it in the reported speeches of Opposition leaders. The Ceylon Indian Congress would not, however, let the story be 'killed'. It kept up a mild form of satyagraha and thus stimulated the Indian Press to keep the subject going. It was suggested, somewhat surprisingly from one democratic country to another, that the Governor-General should change the law by Ordinance. When it was discovered that Ceylon had a democratic Constitution it was suggested that Parliament should be recalled in the middle of the election to reverse legislation which it had quite deliberately passed. Even the Government of India sent a note, carefully phrased to avoid the appearance of intervening in an election issue. All this supplied material for U.N.P. speeches. 'Ceylonization' can hardly be described as an unpopular doctrine and, for most people, 'Ceylonese' means Non-European and Non-Indian. The 'Europeans', who had also been disfranchised, kept a discreet silence, while the Indians kept emphasising that the Government's policy was 'Ceylon for the Ceylonese'. Though I did not see the phrase used, the effect of Government propaganda was to suggest that the Opposition policy, or at least the L.S.S.P. policy, was 'Ceylon for the Indians'.



There is no doubt that these party issues played a much greater part in the election of 1952 than the party issues played in the election of 1947. The poll was heavy throughout the Island, and it must be remembered that the election was fought on stale registers. The only possible explanation is that the electors became interested in the party conflict. Nevertheless, great emphasis was placed on purely personal questions. It was still true that in most constituencies the conflict was a personal one between Judas de Silva and Barabbas Perera, each of whom had some local 'influence' and belonged to the right 'race', caste and religion. The pork-barrel, too, was so much in evidence that it was treated not as a perversion of democracy but as a convention of the Constitution. It was not used only by the U.N.P., for even Opposition members gave lists of the valuable services which they had rendered to their constituencies or pointed out how the U.N.P. member had neglected the constituency while elsewhere active and enthusiastic members had secured schools, hospitals, clinics, milk-feeding centres, community centres, roads and bridges which (apparently) it is the duty of an importunate member to obtain.

### III. THE ELECTION

The simplest explanation of the victory of a party is that the electors preferred it. That explanation is seldom accepted by the losing parties because, having persuaded themselves that they are right, they find it difficult to understand why the electors went wrong. Experience in Britain suggests that tactics are not important, save that the election can be affected by the political climate: i.e. it is important for the Government to choose a suitable moment for the dissolution because the votes of a small but (given the balance of parties) influential section of the voters can be affected. Usually this contemporary factor causes potential non-voters to vote and potential voters to abstain. Actual floating voters are very few.

Conclusions drawn from Britain are not necessarily applicable to Ceylon. Politics being so much more personal in Ceylon, there are even among people like the academic staff of the University genuine floating voters. The constituency of Wellawatte-Galkissa would repay detailed study, because in that comparatively educated electorate many electors seem to have been torn between their anxiety not to have a communist Government and their belief that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva was an able, if wayward, candidate. An English electorate is quite ruthless. If an archangel took to politics (*quod absurdum est*, as our school books used to put it) he

would not get elected unless he stood for the right party in the right constituency. That is not so in Ceylon, where the archangel would get elected at the first election but rejected at the second because, by definition, he was such a bad politician.

It follows that tactics, both national and individual, are important in Ceylon. Even so, there is the same tendency—indeed, an even greater tendency—as in England to assume that the free and independent electors have been bullied, threatened, cajoled or bribed into voting for a party with whose policies or personalities they did not agree. It is therefore necessary for the student of institutions to remember that sometimes electors vote for a party because they prefer that party, and that while tactics may have affected the result they could not affect all the voters.

The climate in May 1952 was certainly favourable to the United National Party. Having held office for nearly five years during a boom, it was able to claim credit for all the improvements which had been effected. It is true that electors have short memories and that they never study the record, but there was a general impression that the Government had done well. The Colombo Plan Exhibition helped to round off this impression: the best exhibits, and even some of the most popular, were the Ceylon exhibits. The death of Mr. D. S. Senanayake drew attention to the fact that the leader of the U.N.P. had been a statesman of international reputation. The succession of his son gave opportunity for the display of that peculiar Ceylon characteristic, that the newcomer to any post is given an enthusiastic welcome and has at least a year before the ants begin swarming over him. These factors offset the great disadvantage that, for all practical purposes, the U.N.P. had held office since 1931 and had therefore accumulated a good deal of personal opposition and even some venom.

The sudden dissolution on the 14th April, just before a public holiday when Easter coincided with the Sinhalese and Hindu New Year, was probably good tactics. In Britain a public holiday would help the parties to get their organizations at work, because the voluntary workers would be more readily available. In Ceylon a holiday is a holiday. Besides, party machinery is much less valuable in Ceylon, where it is the personal canvass that matters.

One factor of importance, which Dr. Weerawardena strangely ignores, was the arrangement of the elections on four days. It is necessary only to list the dates on which the leading protagonists had to fight to see that it was not accidental:—



	Dates of Election in May			
	24	26	28	30
<i>Government</i>				
Prime Minister		x		
Minister of Transport and Works	x			
Minister of Finance				x
Minister of Posts and Telecommunications	x			
Minister of Industries			x	
Minister of Food		x		
Minister of Agriculture		x		
Minister of Labour		x		
Minister of Commerce		x		
Minister of Education	x			
Minister of State	x			
Total	4	5	1	1
<i>Opposition</i>				
Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (S.L.F.P.)				x
Mr. B. H. Aluwihare (S.L.F.P.)	x			
Dr. N. M. Perera (L.S.S.P.)				x
Dr. Colvin R. de Silva (L.S.S.P.)			x	
Mr. R. Gunawardena (L.S.S.P.)				x
Mr. C. Dahanayake (L.S.S.P.)				x
Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe (C.P.)				x
Mr. P. G. Keuneman (C.P.)	x			
Mr. Wilmot Perera (Rep.)			x	
Mr. W. A. de Silva (Rep.)				x
Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam (Fed.)				x
Mr. C. Suntharalingam (Ind.)				x
Total	2	0	2	8

The effect of this arrangement was that during election week most of the Opposition leaders were tied to their own constituencies while the Ministers, having won or lost on the first two days, were free to devote their attention to their opponents. What is more, the U.N.P. workers and vehicles, which were numerous, could be used to elect the Ministers on the first two days and to defeat the Opposition leaders on the last two days. If a rough classification of seats into 'Government' and 'Opposition' (before the dissolution) be made, the result is—

Election Date	Government	Opposition	Independent
May 24	20	3	0
May 26	20	5	0
May 28	9	11	1
May 30	6	18	2

Thus the Government stood a reasonable chance of getting near a majority (for which 47 seats were required) on the first two days.

The effect of such an arrangement on the electors may be arguable. On the one hand there is a temptation to jump on the band-waggon. On the other hand, if one's party is certain of winning or certain of losing it is unnecessary to vote for it. If, however, there is a danger of one party becoming too strong, there may be a tendency to vote for others in order to strengthen the Opposition. What is more, an elector who is torn between his duty to his party and his dislike of its candidate or his approval of his opponent can follow his personal preference.

In 1947, clearly, the early defeats of the U.N.P. induced its more lukewarm supporters to rally round. In 1952 it was evidently decided to give the U.N.P. an early lead. On the first two days 40 Government seats and 8 Opposition seats were contested, on the last two days there were contests in 15 Government seats and 32 Opposition seats. Actually the first day's polling did not give such overwhelming Government support as some had anticipated. The progress of the poll was as follows:—

Date of Election	Government	Independent	Opposition
May 24	12	5	6
May 26	23	1	1
May 28	14	1	6
May 30	11	3	12

Superficially the first day went badly for the U.N.P., and the press agencies so reported. The five Independents were, however, pro-Government and, for all practical purposes, rival U.N.P. candidates who had failed to get the ticket. The Government's net loss was three seats. The loss of Polonnaruwa, Matale, Mawanela and one of the Kadugannawa seats to the S.L.F.P. might have been significant of a swing to that party, but the S.L.F.P. candidates had strong local influence. The loss of Trincomalee to the Federalists was probably of no importance for the same reason. The capture of Kandy and Kalutara, on the other hand, was significant. Everywhere, too, the U.N.P. had increased its poll. The experts thought that the U.N.P. had done very well, but some of the electors may have been deceived.

On the 26th May, however, the Government gained three seats or, with an Independent, four seats. It now held 35 seats or, with the Independents, 41. Only 6 seats were needed to make a majority with the nominated members. Though the worst battles were to come, the superficial impression given by the second day was that of a vast Government sweep. On the 28th May the result of the



election was clear and doubts were expressed whether the Opposition would be strong enough.

The reading of the figures is not easy because of extrinsic factors. The weather was bad on the 24th and good on the 26th. The complete figures of the 24th were not known to all those who voted on the 26th, nor were the complete figures of the 26th known to all those who voted on the 28th. Apart from delays in counting, newspapers took time to deliver in the rural areas and Radio Ceylon failed to rise to its opportunity. Analysis of the size of the poll, compared with the polls in the same constituencies in 1947, is not very conclusive, but is as follows :—

Percentage Poll in 1952					
	Below 65	65-70	70-75	75-80	Above 80
24th May	4	3	8	4	1
26th May	2	5	8	7	2
28th May	4	6	7	2	1
30th May	3	4	8	8	0

Percentage Poll in 1947					
	Below 55	55-60	60-65	65-70	Above 70
24th May	4	5	6	2	2
26th May	11	5	4	2	2
28th May	10	4	3	0	3
30th May	14	6	3	1	0

These figures suggest that the rise in the poll on the 26th May was due to extrinsic factors, including better weather and the loss of U.N.P. seats on the 24th May. The poll on the 28th may have been due to the U.N.P. victories on the 26th. On the morning of the 30th people feared that there might be no Opposition worthy of the name, and so there was a tendency to swing to the left. Dr. N. M. Perera may owe his seat at Ruwanwella to the defeat of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva at Wellawatte. It may tentatively be suggested that the effect of spreading the election over several days is to counteract the swing, whatever it be.

The general rise in the poll was impressive, particularly when it is appreciated that stale registers were being used. The suggestion that it was due to tampering with ballot papers and ballot boxes may be discounted. The system of the Ballot Act, which is applied in Ceylon almost as strictly as in Britain, renders it impossible without such a wholesale subornation of officials that it could not be kept secret. Whether there were more cases of personation and other corrupt and illegal practices in 1952 than in 1947 we shall know when the election petitions have been disposed of. So far

there is no evidence of greater corruption, though no doubt there was some. There can be no doubt of the real cause of the rise in the poll. Five years of party government had stimulated interest in party politics. Personal politics necessarily implies a low poll, exceptions apart, because the personalities of candidates cannot be widely known. Clearly there was much emphasis upon personalities, but equally clear the party contest had aroused interest. One feature which is seldom mentioned in this connection is the rapid rise in the circulation of Sinhalese newspapers.

Dr. Weerawardena concludes his essay (p. 146) by saying that the success of the U.N.P. 'was in no small measure due to the pattern of the electoral system, the disfranchisement of the Ceylon-Indian, and the disunity of the Opposition'. This, of course, ignores the major factor. The success of the U.N.P. was due primarily to the fact that a great many electors thought that the Government had done well and wished it to be re-elected. The pattern of the electoral system is relevant only because in most areas the rural voters have not been convinced by the communists. It was not, however, the pattern of the electoral system which enabled the U.N.P. to capture Wellawatte-Galkissa, Panadura, Kalutara, Agalawatte, Hakmana and Hambantota.

The idea of 'Opposition disunity' is an interesting one because it clearly implies an ideology. It assumes that the main purpose of all the Opposition groups should be to defeat the Government. Is that so? Surely the main purpose of the United National Party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Republican Party, the Tamil Congress, the Labour Party and the Federalist Party should be to defeat the communists, while the main purpose of the Communist parties should be to defeat all the democratic (or 'Capitalist') parties? Tactically, of course, it was quite correct for the communist parties to seek to split the democratic parties. They had no hope of getting a majority, but the device of the 'common front' is a well-known means of working into a convenient position for a *coup d'état*. 'Opposition unity' is, of course, another term for 'common front', and Dr. Weerawardena seems to assume that if there had been a 'common front' the U.N.P. would not have done so well. Whether that is correct depends upon the extent to which the electorate has accepted the principles of liberal democracy. In Britain, for instance, the mere hint of an alliance between the Labour Party and the Communists would put the Conservative Party into office for a generation. It may not be so in Ceylon, but one would like some evidence for the assumption that the electors who supported the democratic parties in Opposition would have supported an Opposition 'common front'. It may be—there is



not much evidence either way—that the partial electoral alliance between the S.L.F.P. and the L.S.S.P. was in large measure responsible for the heavy defeat of the S.L.F.P. outside the areas in which its candidates had strong local influence. If that is so, an Opposition 'common front' would have given the U.N.P. an even more spectacular victory. I do not say that it was so. I merely say that I see no evidence for the assertion that 'Opposition disunity' strengthened the U.N.P. It may have weakened it.

The strength of the U.N.P. lay not only in its record but also in the fact that it was the only party which could form a Government. Emphasis was laid upon this point in election propaganda. The propaganda might indeed have gone further. It seems to have been assumed that when the result of the election was known the Governor-General would send for somebody to form a Government. That happened in Ceylon in 1947 and in India in 1952, but it would not, and did not, happen in Ceylon in 1952, any more than it happened in Britain in 1949 or 1951. Mr. Dudley Senanayake was already Prime Minister and he was bound to be Prime Minister after the election, because no party other than the U.N.P. could possibly obtain a majority. He would therefore advise the Governor-General about the filling of the nominated seats. If, however, the U.N.P. lost its majority and the Opposition parties, or some of them, coalesced, they would no doubt defeat the Government on the Queen's Speech. Until that stage any private arrangement between the S.L.F.P. and the L.S.S.P. (for instance) would not affect the issue. It is of course possible that the Prime Minister might resign if he lost his majority, in order to encourage the Opposition parties to quarrel about the distribution of portfolios: but this could not be assumed. What happened in fact was that the Prime Minister increased his majority, remained in office, and made changes in a few of the Ministries.

## SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF EARLY SINHALESE PAINTINGS

By NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA

The artist attempts to portray through the medium of material form abstract conceptions or fusion of ideas contributing to an ideal. How far such ideal forms reflect the shape of physical forms immediately known to him and within his knowable circle—its men and women, vegetable and animal life—remains a debatable point. It is true there is no escape for him from his environment. His ideals must be developed and modelled in accordance with shapes and forms around him. These must be the best, the highest and the most perfect conceivable in mundane life. He cannot escape his environment however much he may attempt to soar towards the ideals. He must necessarily, therefore, portray his ideals in physical form from the world around him.

If this be the case then the paintings have preserved details of the life prevailing during the painter's time. On the other hand whether the figures are mere ideals previously drawn from classical literary works, which later became stereotyped into standards of art perpetuated in pupillary succession remains another problem. Assuming then that the artist consciously or unconsciously presented as his models the best types belonging to the time and period of his own existence we may then look for hitherto unknown information to be gained by their study, more so since the many obvious differences of detail strike forcibly as not ideal but real. Even to the most superficial observer, much more to the trained specialist, a difference is readily noticeable between one figure and another. Such a difference is not due solely to the external embellishments of dress and ornaments, of colour and function. It is also an intrinsic quality apparent in the innate human characteristic of form and shape, look and feature. This difference in fact may be called ethnological.

Many writers on Sigiriya have made passing reference to the ethnological types discernible at Sigiriya as 'Aryan', Dravidian, Mongolian and dusky though not one has described the details for studying their racial elements. It then behoves us to examine the paintings in greater detail. Had the types been drawn actually from the living forms of the society how can their presence be explained. These types must have then been easy to distinguish. Were the ladies court personalities or did they belong to any other class or grade? How can these four types be reconciled with the later Sinhalese population which has been thought to be unmixed.



To those who have studied the racial types of the Island it becomes obvious that the figures of Sigiriya represent persons belonging to a high level of society. The delicacy of the skin and suppleness of limb combined with the refinement of look bring out the nobility of the ladies. That these were court ladies may also be assumed from their physical setting in general. In all cases rugged and coarse features are wanting but a few display a slight coarseness.

Let us review the early times again. The numerous contacts generally referred to occurred between North, West and South-East India and Ceylon. In all these early references the people from the Gangetic plains arrived here in smaller and at times larger numbers. The people of the Sakya kingdom were of the Aryan type and belonged to that race. It seems to have been in this case a very fine and fair type. On various occasions batches of men and women reached Ceylon and settled down. These families came by invitation or as immigrants to intermarry with their erstwhile relatives and to found new homes. The cultural connection helped greatly in the racial admixture since the people coming from the north found no strangers but their own kinsmen. This may be the type frequently portrayed in the frescoes.

This is the 'aristocratic' type which has persisted into modern times and may be called the fair brachycephalic Sinhalese. The frescoes portray this type with round head, long face, light eye, straight nose, delicate features and golden yellow coloured body. The stature was medium to tall, and body athletic. Greater racial purity was possible in the early days as the differences between north and south kept the two races apart. Further, political conflicts bred a racial aversion which the religious antipathies helped to foster. The Aryan communities considered themselves to be exclusive units. They intermarried and associated only with their own class. Fresh blood was introduced from time to time whenever the old stocks were getting depleted. Strong racial prejudices prevailed against the dark coloured Dravidian races of the south. But the cultural and religious associations, social and commercial activities continually kept the stream of Aryan blood supplied with fresh influxes from time to time. At this time the original type may yet have suffered change but the main Aryan blood stream continued maintaining its identity amidst changing phases of political and social life to regenerate persons who bore similar physical traits.

In spite of such strong conservative ideas of racial purity, there was a parallel movement of migrations from South India into Ceylon. It was the perennial stream of Dravidian racial elements that

flowed into the main racial stream of the Island from ancient times. The continuity of this stream was maintained thus in unbroken succession. The process of inflow and amalgamation tended to be easier even amidst psychological prejudices in this case owing to the propinquity to the mainland. The political conquest helped to eliminate the early aversion. Domicile engendered community of feeling. Closer contacts bred dearer friendships. Necessity led to understanding.

The kings and even nobles intermarried with the Dravidian element since South Indian princes at times ruled the Island. Therefore such an element also may be expected to constitute a component part of the Island population. The Dravidian type may be distinguished by a largeness of frame, straight pointed nose, thick lips, medium stature, dark eyes and pointed chin and a matronly appearance. Another more robust, round faced, finer featured, beautiful type may also be attributed to South India. Such types may be detected in the present day population of the Island.

The dusky type described also as lily-coloured or olive-coloured attendants may be an ancient element persisting in the Sinhalese population. It is primitive in appearance, of small structure, with short nose and thick lips. Could this represent a type belonging to the aboriginal stock? If that were so here we have a dusky belle perpetuating the lost race of Nagas and Yakkhas of ancient legend. At that time a large element may have been living on an equal status although only a few could have advanced to court rank in social scale. Nevertheless as attendants, not of inferior menial class but almost equal companionate status, such ladies may have obtained entry into court. Further, being the conquered population they may have found special favour.

The Mongolian element in the Sinhalese population cannot be so easily accounted for. At no time in the ancient history was there any reference to any Mongoloid element entering the Island. The South Indian population has been completely free from Mongoloid racial elements. It is asserted that a Mongolian element prevails along the sub-Himalayan territories. We must look for indirect sources or secondary racial thrusts. Whatever it may be one can observe in the Sinhalese population a slight Mongoloid feature. Whether this is a physical condition induced by a pathological state one cannot be certain. But this type has a dreamy look, sleepy eyes with heavy eyelids and a general feeling of Mongolian looks about the figure.

1. Census Report of India, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. 3—Ethnological Introduction, p. lxiii.



The sources for this element may be looked for in the recently suspected Indonesian migrations which could have bestowed a Mongolian strain.<sup>2</sup> To what extent this new element would have affected the local population<sup>3</sup> the evidence at our disposal will not permit us to know. An equally possible but more likely source is the distant mainland itself. North Indian contacts, mostly the Sakyan or Chinese influences and the Bengal immigrations, cannot be left out. More certain origins ought to be Bengal and the Sakyan<sup>4</sup> kingdoms from where the hosts of early colonists arrived in the island. The Sakyans are reputed to possess a certain Mongoloid feature and even some of the Bengalis of today are not altogether free from Mongolian looks. Very probably the slight Mongolian feature discernible in the Sinhalese race was introduced from the eastern kingdom of North India through the early Aryans inhabiting the sub-Himalayan plains. This may have persisted into later times and was noticeable during the Sigiriya period.

Ceylon was on the trade route to Burma, Java and China in the Far East. Ships sailed regularly to and from these lands. Royal missions went up and down. Gifts of Chinese painted cloths could have been received by the Sinhalese kings. Also Chinese residents may have lived in Ceylon. It is not strange under these circumstances if the artists portrayed certain court ladies with strangely Chinese looks or attempted to reproduce a few of the more famous figures painted on silk and exhibited at the royal apartments. One has only these sources to look for in seeking an explanation for the presence of Mongolian features in some of the Sigiriya figures.

Arguing from the known information to the unknown it may be possible to infer the period during which a vigorous movement of painting could have been possible. Painting matures at least a century before sculpture does, and necessarily follows a development in other arts and sciences, especially a great literature. The literary efflorescence remains the foremost requisite for the background of painting. If such a prosperous period in Sinhalese literary historical record could be postulated then a rise in the

2. Census of India, Vol. 1, Pt. 1. Report, p. 444.

3. The Sinhalese can scarcely be described as Mongoloid, yet there is visible an undoubted Mongoloid strain among the Sinhalese. This is absent among the Tamils whose admixture has helped to reduce this feature as they are not Mongoloid. See Hocart in *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, 1925, pp. 82-83.

4. At one time in North India a powerful Mongoloid element which has partly been swamped by the dark aborigines, partly pushed back into the Himalayas and into the east by the constant pressure of western invaders. The annihilation of the Sakyans was but an episode in their decline. See *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, 1925, pp. 82-83.

school of painting may be posited. A survey of the historical past brings into relief two such periods. One of them was in VI A.D. and the other in XII A.D. But this should not omit from the picture the continuation of the popular tradition which continues, being influenced and influencing any revivals of art. Such an artistic substratum stretches through the whole course of Sinhalese art and may have from time to time supplied the germs and basis for the growth and revival of fresh movements.

The maturity<sup>5</sup> of sculpture among the Sinhalese was undoubtedly attained in the sixth century A.D. This period witnessed also an epoch of building activity, tank construction, and monastic establishments. The existence of poets has been recorded.<sup>6</sup> Ceylon was well known for her richness in Buddhist literature which drew scholars even from India and China. The author of the *Mahavamsa* may have lived at this time. Some of the early graffiti at Sigiriya also belong to the same period. The literary movement was so advanced as even to induce Kasyapa to have books copied. It was a remarkable era of literary activity—the sixth century.

The second period dawned after a series of victorious campaigns against hostile invaders and cruel usurpers from South India. Strife and struggle, civil wars and invasion ended the ushering of the light of arts. Great patrons of art and learning sat on the royal throne. The patronage came from the king himself. It was again a flourishing epoch when art and architecture, drama and literature flourished. This was the XIIth century Ceylon.

The art that flourished from an early Christian era had the patronage of the king, his entourage as well as that of exceedingly powerful, influential and rich personalities. All constructive undertakings initiated with the monarch who spent lavishly in the cause of Buddhism. It is mentioned that painting formed a part of the work as without it the religious edifices seemed incomplete. Buddhism acted as the motive force of this urge for the erection of monuments resplendent with paintings for the worship of the relics and the image of the Buddha. Even before Buddhism art definitely existed in Ceylon, that tradition was continued and maintained in the land. The new religion inspired nobler expression and attracted more persons. The king did not remain a mere figurehead but he actively encouraged and directly participated in the promotion of art by the erection of dagobas, temples and monasteries. Almost every king from the time of Devanampiya

5. The noblest expressions in stone sculpture like the Toluva Buddha figure and other stone work belongs to Anuradhapura of 6th century A.D.

6. *Culavamsa*, Ch. 42, v. 13, f.n. 2.



Tissa up to Nissanka Malla subscribed to the purpose of art, either by erecting, repairing, renovating or restoring such works, thereby promoting both art and religion.

This alliance between art and religion continued throughout the whole course of its history. Actually, therefore, the furtherance of painting could not have been of such absorbing interest but for this inseparable alliance and the commanding position of the king. Every painting that has survived to this day had been found at a site that was also once associated with royalty. But how many similar sites of even greater beauty have been destroyed only the memory of the past can know. The king bestowed wealth, honour position and rank on those whose duty was the care of these beautiful monuments. He stimulated the populace and gave an impetus in the proper direction not only by order but also by example.

The impressive record of the *Mahavamsa* bears testimony to the proud achievement of the Sinhalese kings whose contribution to artistic work remains unrivalled by any other performance from the ancient world. It seems obvious that the king was more than a patron. He was an active participant whose example compelled the rest to emulate. In this sense the king was supremely responsible for all painting and was indirectly its author.

There were also queens who sat on the throne. They fulfilled the expectations of the people in a way similar to that of the male successors of the line of kings. By position and rank the queen also became the patron of art. That patronage she extended with no less success befitting that office than her predecessors. Or as even the consort of the ruler the queen's influence in the sphere of art was considerable. Not only indirectly but also directly she participated, inducing her royal husband as well. We are told of the queen of Mahanama who instigated the presentation of a temple to the monks at Dimbulagala. We have on record the renovations effected at the same site by queen Sundari. These are but a few examples of the benefits received by art through the good offices of queens. Others remain unknown.

The example set by the king and queen shaped the course of action of the courtiers as well. They too may have become patrons in their turn. The shining examples set by the court affected other men and women. The active interest of the king enthused the ministers and men. No one in fact could have remained inactive and complacent. Such co-ordinated effort stood in good stead for the unflinching success of the art movement. Instances have been recorded where certain temples became specially endowed by ministers of state. As a matter of fact they were also

responsible for carrying out the orders of the king. This intelligent and influential band of courtiers—men and women—with their dependents constituted the learned circle in which prevailed an atmosphere conducive to art, of course as also a means to religious ends. These men possessed the power of accepting or rejecting new movements. Never has art in its new waves of influence overstepped the shores of patronage. The patrons keenly awaited fresh movements worthy of introduction or emulation. To men at court, art, therefore owed a debt incalculable and unrepayable by the present inheritors of that tradition.

Another class of patrons were the monks whose share of patronage was no less important for the cause of art. The cave temples, dagobas and monastic establishments remained under their charge. The new movements depended also on their predispositions. The Sinhalese Buddhist monk appreciated art and painting as much as any other lay enthusiast. This fact needs emphasis as it is difficult to believe the preservation of art unless their active participation is admitted. The monks acted as patrons providing also opportunities and material for artistic expression.

When it is considered that almost all the paintings belonged to the viharas it must be conceded that but for the generous attitude of Bhikkhus and liberal views painting could not have attained such progress in the Island. The incumbent monks showed no disfavour nor did they evince a lukewarm interest. But as evidenced by the relics of painted surfaces the monks also expressed no disinclination to have the surface of dagobas, cave walls, images and pillars of buildings painted and covered with designs and religious scenes. Perhaps it may have been to their advantage to advertise the temples by attracting hosts of visitors and devotees. Naturally men came from all parts of the Island to gaze and wonder at the drawings in such vivid colours. The visitor brought with him precious offerings. There was also a regular income accruing to the temple by this means. In another way paintings enhanced the reputation since nothing impressed the devotee more than a visual observation of the stories he had heard and learnt. The monks, one may even add, exploited the psychological weakness of the votaries who gathered to pay homage.

So, obviously the monks fostered painting and obtained the services of the cleverest painters to portray religious pictures on the walls of the viharas for the sake of religion. These beautiful sites formed regular spots at which great festivals were organised. Many came to see them and large numbers from far and near congregated to participate. During all such occasions special



paintings may have been exhibited and the occasions themselves would have created opportunities for artists to display exceptional ability.

It is quite clear that the patrons of art were many. Widely scattered were the residences of the majority of them. Perhaps all of them had no opportunity to meet and direct the art movement. Naturally certain temples undertook painting on their own initiative within the general framework of Sinhalese painting. The residents living close to the vihara shouldered the actual responsibility whilst the rich and wealthy both far and near subscribed towards the enterprise. This least suspected source of patronage from among the members of the commercial community was the most profitable. As already remarked the flourishing state of religious development in the Kistna plain was due entirely to the generosity of rich merchants. In Ceylon too such a possibility can be expected since the commercial wealth of the Island equalled any of the other kingdoms. Trade flourished up to VI A.D. when the Roman trade was prospering. The position of Sinhalese merchants did not alter with the fall of the Roman trade. It in fact improved. Mention is made of fixed deposits with merchants in IV A.D. and of endowments to temples in X A.D. Trade relations with Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java and China brought in added wealth. Indian merchants came as before even in XI and XII A.D. The prosperous merchants who amassed wealth by trade lived in palatial mansions in large cities where special quarters were allotted to them.

It is known that fixed deposits in cash and kind for the use of temples were made with merchants from IV A.D. and that even temple moneys were invested with the merchants who regularly paid interest on them. On the proper payment of interest depended the repairs and maintenance of temples. This practice was not unlike that prevailing in South India. If that be the case, in Ceylon liberal donations from merchants can be expected without doubt; since such a course would have helped their business, won them fame and publicity and also merit in the other world.

In the merchant quarter lived men from Greece, Italy, Egypt, Persia, India, Burma and China. They were always on the move. When they met discussion on art probably ensued. The then famous Egyptian, Italian and Indian paintings could not have escaped discussion at such meetings. The Chinese painted silks and copies of other paintings may have been exhibited in such circles. The methods and technique of one country would have been compared with that of another. The Sinhalese may have benefited immensely through such an exchange of views. Therefore it is not unlikely that the Sinhalese were aware of the special

techniques, and methods and material used by the Egyptians, Italians and Indian painters. If we are to believe numismatic finds Sigiriya was the foremost trading outpost of the Roman Agents.

Naturally the merchants knew the views and saw the best in all lands where they travelled and lived. These merchants helped Sinhalese painting and even may have promoted their creation. Personal help came in the way of the Sinhalese painters when such facilities of shipping prevailed between India and Ceylon. Indian painting of both east and west was not beyond easy reach since ports were connected with the chief sites. Furthermore, the great influence of big merchants wielded in India would have been used to great advantage for contacting Sinhalese painters with those of East and West and specially of India.

Undoubtedly the paintings attracted a wide circle of admirers among whom the pre-eminent place goes to the king, his consorts and his court. Then followed the courtiers and ministers. Being Buddhists every official had a dual purpose to serve; public duty on the one hand and religious devotion on the other. Personal delectation interested some who may have appreciated the development of artistic trends for the sake of art. The Sinhalese king and his court being fully conversant with the literature and possessing more than an ordinary understanding of painting in the various temples possessed the required ability to appreciate good art. There were connoisseurs whose standard of judgment was apparently of a high order as evidenced by the frescoes at Sigiriya and Polonnaruwa. Not all of them viewed the paintings from merely a religious point of view. Aesthetic sensibility and considerations of beauty determined some of the paintings at least. Such a combination of tempered appreciation rendered possible the evolution of mature schools of both religious and secular painting.

The king visited the centres of art at temples to pay homage. Seldom did he go alone. Attended by his courtiers, accompanied by the ladies of court and in the company of his consorts the king visited the viharas and thus set the fashion for the rest of the land to follow.

The monks who were the guardians of temples and patrons of art were themselves admirers. Being daily observers of the paintings around them they must naturally be expected to cultivate an attitude of appreciation since the very buildings in which they lived and worked had the wall surfaces covered with manifestations of artistic expression in colour. Possibly the monks also studied the paintings in detail as they, at times were expected to explain certain points which eluded understanding of the lay visitor.



An added factor contributed to their admiration. The spiritual outlook dominated the mind and religious devotion enhanced the appeal. The frescoes were religious pictures illustrating the incidents associated with the life of the Buddha. The necessity arose for veneration and religious devotion which earned for the paintings further respect in their own estimation. The protection and preservation was thus doubly ensured as they were not only beautiful to look at but too sacred to profane and neglect.

The merchants and the rich commercial classes were no less admirers and devotees than patrons and benefactors. The general interest evinced by the richer classes combined with the deep spiritual outlook compelled admiration immeasurably. The women-folk of the rich, as they were naturally more religiously inclined, persuaded even the disinclined men to accompany them on their pilgrimages. The men also found great pleasure in these religious tours which helped to acquire merit and relaxation from work. They also would have desired to see the works of art about which so much had been heard from the previous visitors.

From the time of the Buddha up to the present day both in India and Ceylon the rich merchants have befriended the religion of the Buddha whether as patrons, admirers or as enlightened devotees. The tradition could not have been different in the period under review. Perhaps art gave them a peace of mind and a pleasure from worries of business. Hence the merchants admired the paintings *per se* than many others of different professions. Above all the rich commercial classes had the means to travel and the wealth to spend. Being masters of their own affairs they had the freedom and the leisure to undertake journeys lasting many days.

The foreign population engaged in business, state affairs and other missions and consisting of a variety of nationals from the then flourishing kingdoms constituted an intelligent class of individual naturally interested in painting. Any large foreign element is a great influencing factor in a society. Though not necessarily Buddhists, they were favourably disposed towards the religion of the land. Buddhism also, being such a tolerant faith precluded none from embracing it or entering the sacred temples for viewing the paintings. Some foreigners came as devotees, others as sight-seers and may be others as students of art, and religion. Painters may have come in turn. These men and women took back with them their impressions of the paintings thereby acting as advertising agents.

There came to these painted temples another class, the great mass of the Sinhalese Buddhist population. They came daily,

periodically and annually. Any festival was an occasion for their visits. Crowds flocked at the inauguration of new movements and completion of new works. One special ceremony connected with painting was the 'eye portraying festival'. The solemnity of the occasion from its magical aspect surpassed the religious importance as well. That was to the painter. To the lay Buddhist the ceremony was immensely interesting and attractively colourful. The changing phases of the moon marked the occasion of a festival, the full moon being the chosen one. Other special religious events signified other ceremonies. Whatever was the subject the object of the devotee was spiritual.

To the Buddhist, therefore, the paintings had more than an ordinary interest. He had a different appeal from that of the connoisseur and otherwise admirer. To him the actual merit of a painting as a piece of art did not matter. The technique or the draughtsmanship was of little concern. He was primarily concerned with the subject. Any Buddha figure however portrayed and in whatever medium, was to him the same Buddha. Any scene or incident from the life of the Master was as dramatic as any other. Any Jataka, whatever its artistic merit may be was a Buddhist birth story moving in its appeal and didactic in its theme. Hence was maintained the popular tradition of art in direct response to the needs of the people. Once it arose it was bound to survive. This art appealed to them more than the other since it was in the language of their own and easily intelligible to them.

The popular mind looked at art from the abstract point of view. He was after the ideal and this he easily saw conjured before his mind's eye by the mere suggestion given by the lines of the brush and the patches of colour conveying an outline of formal resemblance. No art achieved this better than the people's art. Paintings served the ordinary people in the inculcation of religious tenets, the visualisation of the Buddha's life in an easily intelligible form and in a manner unrivalled by any other branch of art since the story telling effect of the paintings is more impressive and the attractiveness of colour more fascinating to his imagination.

There was yet another class who saw in the frescoes other points of interest different from the purely religious. That has not been too well known. Fortunately the graffiti at Sigiriya record for our information the inward thoughts of such a class. These looked at the paintings from the abstract as well as the concrete. Here the outlook was secular as beauty and emotion entranced



them. There came to some sites—Sigiriya was such an one—romanticists and lovers, poets and scholars, princes and princesses, men and women. At least all of them did not come to worship. Whatever motives may have inspired visits to other sites and these were many, at least those from North and South that came to Sigiriya came to admire the beauty of the golden coloured and lily coloured damsels, to drink at the fountain of beauty, find romance, seek inspiration and win love.

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## TEXTS OF THE CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT HAṆDAGALA VIHĀRA

By C. W. NICHOLAS

Haṇdagala Vihāra, 22 miles north-east of Anurādhapura, is approached from Ratmalēgahēvāva junction where the Kahātagasdigiliya-Kābittigollāva and Maḍavacciya-Horovopotāna roads intersect: from the junction the route is, first, about 2 miles along the Kābittigollāva road and, then, west (left) along a rough village road, past Appuvāva, for 2 more miles to the foot of Haṇdagalakanda which appears now and again above the trees as one approaches it.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell visited the site in 1892 and described it as follows:—‘Spent two full days at Haṇdagalakanda. This rocky ridge lies  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Vattāva. It is depressed about the centre, with bare boulders crowning the wooded activity left and right. There are at least a score of caves with inscriptions on this comparatively insignificant hill. The old incumbent, who has been here thirty years, is of the *Rāmañña Nikāya*, the strictest fraternity of Buddhist monks. He and his pupils were most friendly, personally pointing out the many caves.

‘The several tiers of steps mounting the hill, the *paṇsala* half-way up, the ruined *dāgaba* mound on the summit, and the numerous caves, forcibly recall the Mihintalē hills to which Haṇdagalakanda yields only in picturesqueness. Epigraphically, in profusion of cave inscriptions of distinctly different ages, found side by side in a very perfect state of preservation, it equals Mihintalē. The library of the temple is said to be one of the richest in the district in *ola* manuscripts, mainly religious works’.

To this brief but lucid description, containing a very apt comparison with Mihintalē, of which Haṇdagala is a miniature, a few details may be added. The summit of the hill is 648 feet above sea-level and about 300 feet above the surrounding ground-level. There are about 40 drip-ledged caves in all, situated on the summit, on the slopes and around the foot of the hill, and they bear 30 inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. and the 1st century A.C. I had the same pleasant experience as Mr. Bell when I first visited the Vihāra in 1942. The incumbent of this isolated hermitage, whose only companion was a pupil of tender years, personally guided me to every cave, the exploration occupying that whole day. The hill lies approximately north-west by

1. A.S.C.A.R. 1892, 7.



south-east and is about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from end to end. Much alternate climbing and descending has to be done, forcing one's way through jungle and scrub and making detours to avoid precipices, in order to reach the various caves. From one cave high up which faces south-west, Mihintalē could be clearly seen 18 miles away. This ancient site remains in much the same condition as that in which Mr. Bell found it sixty years ago. There are no ola books in the temple library: the present incumbent presumed that they had been removed before his time to the headquarters of the Nikāya.

Strangely, not a single rock inscription (as distinct from a cave inscription) has yet been found at Haṇḍagalakanda. Excavation may reveal buried rock inscriptions, particularly in the area where the main and subsidiary thūpas, built upon rock, lie in almost complete ruin: and the ancient name of the Vihāra, now unknown, may then come to light.

Transliterations of the 30 cave inscriptions, made from eye-copies, are given below. Some of the eye-copies have, by the kindness of Dr. S. Paranavitana, been checked with the estampages in his Department.

- (1) 1st B.C. PARUMAKA BAKINIYA VELAHA LEÑE  
AHALI PUTA PARUMAKA DATAHA LEÑE ŚAGAŚA<sup>2</sup>
- (2) 1st B.C. PARUMAKA UGAPIYIKA TISAHA LEÑE  
CATUDISIKA SAGAYE NIYATE
- (3) 2nd B.C. Symbol. PARUMAKA NAGA PUTA TIŚAHA  
LEÑE ŚAGAŚA
- (4) 1st B.C. PARUMAKA GOḌAHA MARUMAKANAKA  
UTALIYA MATAYA UPASIKA HUMANAYA LEÑE
- (5) 2nd B.C. ŚAGAŚA LEÑE BATA CITAGUTAŚA.....  
VELAŚA L(ĒÑE)<sup>3</sup> (PA)RUMAKA.. ŚAMAŚA LEÑE
- (6) 1st B.C. SIDDHA(M) PAṆADIKA CUDAHANĒYAHA  
PUTE MADUKA<sup>4</sup> ABAHA LEÑE SAGA NIYATE
- (7) 2nd B.C. GAPATI VELU PUTANA TIṆI BATIKANA  
ŚAGAŚA BATA DATAHA LEÑE
- (8) 1st B.C. NAKA NAKARAKA<sup>5</sup> VAPI HAMIKA UPA-  
SAKA DATAHA<sup>7</sup> LEÑE UPASAKA HUMA CA LEÑE  
ŚAGAŚA

2. U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 121.

3. Partly obliterated.

4. Restored, letter obliterated.

5. A bard?

6. Naka-nakara (P. Nāga-nagara) is also mentioned in an unpublished 1st century inscription at Tammanagala, about 25 miles south of Haṇḍagala. Nāga-nagara does not occur in the Pāli Chronicles.

7. Probably identical with P. Data of No. (1).

- (9) (a) 2nd B.C. This inscription has been partly obliterated by a later inscription incised over a portion of it. What remains of it reads:—BATA DATAHA<sup>8</sup>.....
- (b) 1st B.C. Partly over the above:—ANULAPI VAPI  
HAMIKA PARUMAKA MAHAVETILIYA LEÑE  
ŚAGAŚA<sup>9</sup>
- (10) 1st B.C. NA . RAHA MATAYA UPASIKA SAMANAYA  
LEÑE CATUDISA SAGHA PATI BAPITA
- (11) 1st B.C. NAKOḌAPIKE VAPI HAMIKA PARUMAKA  
MAHADATAHA PUTA PARUMAKA DIGADATAHA  
LEÑE SAGAŚA<sup>10</sup>
- (12) (a) 2nd B.C. The greater part of this inscription can be read, although a later inscription has been incised over it:—BAMAṆA ŚUGA PUTA PUŚADEVAŚA . . .  
LEÑE<sup>11</sup>
- (b) 1st B.C. Incised over the preceding epigraph:—  
MITA TERAHA BAKINIYA UPASIKA RUVALAYA  
LEÑE CATUDISIKA ŚAGAŚA
- (c) 2nd B.C. Below the above:—PARUMAKA ABIJIYA  
LEÑE CUḌATIŚAHA LEÑE ŚAGAYE NIYATE
- (13) 1st B.C. DATA TERAHA MATAYA UPASIKA TISAYA  
LEÑE JEṬA PUTA TISAHA EKA MACATANA PARU-  
MAKA PAḌITAHĀ PUTAHĀ CATUDISIKA ŚAGAŚA<sup>12</sup>
- (14) 1st B.C. UPATIŚA TERAHA BAGINIYA LEÑE AGATA  
ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGHAYE NIYATE
- (15) 1st B.C. PARUMAKA BAMAṆAHA PUTA DANUKAYA  
GUTAHĀ LEÑE ŚAGAŚA<sup>13</sup>
- (16) 2nd B.C. AGATA ANAGATA CATUDIŚA ŚAGAŚA  
BATA ŚATAHA LEÑE. Vertical line PARUMAKA ABAHA  
LEÑE ŚAGAŚA
- (17) 1st B.C. UPASIKA RUGAYA LEÑE UPASIKA TISAYA  
LEÑE UPASIKA SIVAYA MACATAṆA AGATA ANAGA-  
TA CATUDIŚA ŚAGHAŚA

8. Probably identical with B. Data of No. (7).

9. U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 122.

10. U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 122.

11. U.C.R. VIII, No. 4, 261.

12. The father of Tisa was P. Paḍita.

13. U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 123 and VIII, No. 4, 261, in both of which 'Data-kayagutaha' should be corrected to read 'Danukaya Gutaha'. Danukaya means a bowman or leader of bowmen.



- (18) 2nd B.C. PARUMAKA CANIŚATA ŚUMANA PUTA  
PARUMAKA PAṬAKAṆA ŚATAŚA ŚAGAŚA
- (19) 1st B.C. CATUDISIKA SAGAYE NIYATE PARUMAKA  
GUḌAHA ABAKA UVASIKA HĪJATAYA LEṆE
- (20) 2nd B.C. PARUMAKA BAMA PUTA PARUMAKA  
TIŚAHA LEṆE
- (21) 2nd B.C. BATA NAGAHA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA
- (22) 2nd B.C. BATA NAGAHA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA MATA LA  
GAMIKA PUTA GAMIKA TIŚAHA LEṆE<sup>14</sup>
- (23) 1st A.C. SI(DDHAM)UPASAKA ABAHA MALI UVA-  
SAKA SAGAHA CA UVASIKA LĪYA CA SAGA NIYATE  
DASA PARIKARE UVASIKA
- (24) 2nd B.C. PARUMAKA TISA PUTAHA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA  
DUTAKAHA<sup>15</sup>
- (25) 2nd B.C. BATA NAGAHA LEṆE<sup>16</sup>
- (26) 1st B.C. PARUMAKA ABAHA PUTAHA PARUMAKA  
GUḌAHA LEṆE CATUDISIKA SAGAYA<sup>17</sup>
- (27) 2nd B.C. GAHA LEṆE ŚAGAŚA

Fourteen of the inscriptions belong to the 2nd century B.C., 14 to the 1st century B.C. and two to the 1st century A.C. No Royal personage appears as the donor of a cave, nor is any epigraph dated regnally. Women occur as donors of caves in 10 inscriptions. Some caves were donated jointly by two or more persons, others singly. The various donors may be classified, according to rank or designation, as follows:—chieftains (parumaka), 11; sons of parumakas, 3; wife of a parumaka, 1; mother of a parumaka's grandson, 1; sisters of theas, 2; mother of a thea, 1; monks (bata), 7; owners of tanks (vapi hamika), 3; leader of bowmen (danukaya), 1; village headman (gamika), 1; son of a householder (gapati), 1; sons of Brāhmanas (Bamaṇa), 2; unspecified men, 3; unspecified women, 6.

The place-names which are mentioned in the inscriptions are Paṇadika, Naka-nakara, Anuḷapi, Nakodapika and Matalagama: all, presumably, were in the vicinity of the Vihāra.<sup>18</sup>

14. U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 126. Matalagama may be Mahātālitaḡāma of Cūl. 50.14.

15. Dutaka was the donor, the son of P. Tiśa.

16. B. Naga occurs also in Nos. (21) and (22).

17. P. Guḍa is also mentioned in No. (19).

18. Dr. E. Müller visited Haṇḍagala in 1880 and his account of what he found there is as follows:—'96. Haṇḍagala pansala, near Wewelkaetiya, 11 miles from Madawachi, on the Horowapotana road. Three cave inscriptions:—1. Parumaka bakiniyawesaha leṇe. 2. Ahala puta parumaka dataha leṇe sagasa. 3. Parumaka Digapujika Tisaha leṇe, etc.' (A.I.C. 96).

## SOME ASPECTS OF EARLY SINHALESE ARCHITECTURE

By K. V. SOUNDARARAJAN

Ceylon is regarded with special veneration by all the Buddhists of Burma, Siam, Annam and the Indian archipelago as the source from which the Sacred Law emanated. For, it was in Ceylon that the Buddhist canonical scriptures were first committed to the text in the sacred Pali script as a result of the convocation of the Monkish order at the Mahāvihāra of Anuradhapura, and Buddhaghosa the famous author wrote his commentaries here. Among the kings of Ceylon mentioned by Buddhaghosa there are Muṭasīva, Devānampiya Tissa, Duṭṭagāmini Abhaya and Vaṭṭagāmini all reigning in pre-Christian eras and among the Indians in his writings there are, among others, Śātavāhanas but none belonging to Gupta or later periods. Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon most probably during the time of Siri Meghavanna (362-380 A.D.) contemporary of Rudradaman and Samudragupta.<sup>1</sup> Anuradhapura which was the scene of Buddha's visit and of the teaching of Mahinda—the son of Asoka who brought the sacred religion to Lanka from Magadha, and Mihintale, which was the first place wherein Mahinda arrived from India and met Devanampiya Tissa, are all hallowed spots for every Buddhist. Thus there had been close cultural connections between India and Lanka. At the same time the insular position of Ceylon had been responsible for bestowing upon its cultures a stamp of individuality and an inherent strength which is amply reflected in its religious edifices. While in peace as well as in conflict the Indians and Ceylonese came into close contact, Indian modes and motifs of architecture were assimilated without reluctance but modified in such a manner as to typify the local genius and their distinctive individuality.

The basic components of an early Indian stupa such as the great stupa at Sānchi or Amaravati, namely the basal platform or vedika, the drum and dome, the harmika and topmost chattra or parasol are doubtless found in the Ceylonese dagabas also. But the chief features about the stupas of Ceylon are the severe and disciplined simplicity of outline, the emphasis of the horizontal lines in the lower members of the chaitya, and the general attempt at bestowing upon the monument a certain supreme stature by its solidity and tremendous height. In physical ponderosity, none of the Indian stupas can compare favourably with their counterparts in Ceylon. For instance, both the Abhayagiri dāgaba built

1. B. C. Law—D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1940, pp. 373-74.



by king Gajabāhu (113-135 A.D.) and the Jetavana dāgaba are taller in gross height than the third pyramid at Gizeh, Egypt and the diameter of the lowest of the three basal cylindrical platforms is 360' and equalises that of the pyramid also.

The Ceylonese dāgabas are usually solid throughout and mostly made of brick as in India, with the exception of one or more such cubical chambers hidden deep into their bodies wherein relics had been deposited by pious founders. Till the overthrow and final desertion of Anuradhapura in 993 A.D., the countless dāgabas there were the constant targets of depredation owing to the political vicissitudes of the local rulers. The dāgabas rise on three short basal cylindrical platforms, themselves built on a ground platform and the solid dome is surmounted by a cubical block corresponding to the 'harmika' and the stupa finial itself was a miniature dāgaba with a basic drum and a rolling conical spire. This member resembles the votive stupa forms available from the Gandharan regions. Even though the general shape of the dome of the stupa is hemispherical, it may have various other shapes as well such as the bell-shape, pot-shape or heaped-paddy shape or the āmalaka shape as the canon called Waiddyanta-pota belonging perhaps to a date not later than 5th century A.D. lays down. The Abhayagiri dāgaba and the Jetavana dāgaba are of hemispherical dome; the Kelaniya dāgaba (built by Yaṭṭhāla Tissa 3rd century B.C.) and the Ambatthala dāgaba on Mihintale hill (built by Mahādāthika Mahānāga 1st century A.D.) and the Ottappuva dāgaba of the time of Devānampiya Tissa (3rd century B.C.) represent the heaped-paddy shape; and the Idikaṭu dāgaba (1st century B.C.) and the miniature Ruwanvāli dāgaba of the bell shape. The pot-shape is suggested only by the shape of one of the relic articles Tissa Karaṇḍuwa. The āmalaka type is not met with at all. According to the canonical tradition mentioned above, the dāgaba is divided in height into 24 parts of which 10 are given to the three sections of the 'tee' (the harmika and the spire) i.e.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  parts to the 'hatares kotuva' or square fort, 2 to the devatā koṭuva or the stage of gods (the drum of the spire) and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  parts to the kot kerela or the ringed spire.

While the Indian stupas were closely surrounded by a railing creating a circumambulatory passage—which became a veritable symbolic motif for the sanctified presence of Buddha in Hinayāna sculpture. the Ceylon stupa perhaps did not, as a rule, have the close-girding railing—even though the fact that originally some of the dāgabas might have had the railings is shown by the intact railing pieces that had been observed at Anuradhapura; and while Torana gateways to stupas are absent these are occasionally depicted in sculpture above yaksha figures as in the balustrades of Anuradhapura and other places. The railing is, however, found

in false-relief always, on the sides of the cubical harmika and sometimes on the lowest platform coping of the base. In the place of the surrounding railings, on the other hand, we have the three rows of free standing pillars around the dāgaba in many cases, and even though their exact purpose or function is not apparent, it need not be doubted that they might have had something to do with affording processional pathways during festivals when suitably canopied. In the case of the Idikaṭu dāgaba at the base of the Mihintale hill, there is actually a built up circumambulatory enclosure wall. But although the dāgaba was built in the 1st century B.C. by Kalakanni Tissa, the bold mouldings of the enclosure, which suggest Dravidian architectural influences coupled with the inscribed fact that in the 10th century, certain repairs to this monument were ordered by Mahinda IV would indicate that this enclosure wall might have been built at that time. The cardinal points of the dāgabas had the thupadvaras or high rectangular projecting vāhalkaḍas in the place of the Torana gateways of Sanchi, or the Ayaka platforms of Amarāvati and Nagārjuni Koṇḍa and these vāhalkaḍas were developed into a distinctive architectural member by being carved in some detail, forming a series of cornices or deep mouldings separated by bands of plain stone work. The lowest band has a frieze of elephants and the upper ones have a series of geese or other animals, sacred to Buddhism like the lion, bull and horse as well as elephant heads, makara brackets, lotus petaræ, geese, bhutaganas or floral designs.

The vāhalkaḍas are flanked on either end by tall monolithic jambs or stele, which are surmounted either by lions or elephants, and the faces of the jambs themselves are minutely carved in low relief with the purna-ghata cum plant cum animal pattern, ending in dharma chakra, in which again the sacred Buddhist animals feature. There is an outer and shorter pillar also close to this stele jamb and that is usually carved with yaksha and naga figures crowned by parasols. These thupadvaras are false porches, similar to the blind porches and dormer windows in the Indian architectural style. Originally, of course, these porches would have led into vaulted passage and then on to the relic chamber so that people may offer worship at the relics on sacred occasions; but later on, when spoliation and plundering became common, most of the dāgaba builders must have resorted to these false gates or vāhalkaḍas. In many cases the sacred relics were deposited within the cubical 'tee' or harmika as well. The numerous references to the restoration of the chattras or parasols on the top of the dāgabas in the *Mahāvamsa* and other inscriptional records would certainly prove that the topmost member of the spire always did have an umbrella. But the reason for their assuming a shape so diminutive compared to the prominent and occasionally multiple parasols that adorn the top of the Indian stupas is mostly due to the fact that at that



great height, the parasol would have been the constant target for storm and gusts and so to avoid constant calamities of this kind, the size of the chattrā was so much reduced that it was finally more or less a symbol rather than a concrete and objective member of the spire. The influence of Indian motifs both from Āryavarta as well as the southern Andhra Buddhist centres is quite apparent in the animals, birds, foliage, bhutaganas, etc. on the one hand, and purnaghaṭas, yakshas, nagas found in the stele sculptures on the other respectively. Gupta influences can be observed in the panel with the amorous couple from Anuradhapura or the Puravasankulum Buddha in Padmasana pose from the same place. In a slightly later period, Pallava impacts in art also seem to be reflected in the Bodhisattva image from Situlpavuva monastery site (Cittalappabata of the chronicles).

In the Polonnaruva period we see indeed a great change taking place over the shape and features of the Buddhist religious edifices in Ceylon and what is basically the Dravidian style of architecture creeps in and develops in its own way in the local set up. That the original dāgaba style had not been forgotten, or had not disappeared is shown by the miniature limestone dāgaba of the time of Nissanka-Malla (12th century A.D.) on the pavement at the side of the Ruwanvāli dāgaba at Anuradhapura. This has a chambered square basal platform borne by rows of elephants all around with lions in the corners, above which is the series of three low cylinders of decreasing diameter with a bell-shaped dome and square 'tee' with pillar and rail in false-relief and a spire above it. This reminds one of the basal flat platform of the Arjuna Ratha at Mamallapuram, also borne by a row of elephants. But in Polonnaruva, the work of the great Parakramabahu (1153-1187 A.D.) such as the Damila stupa, Thupārāma and Jetavanārāma and Northern temples very clearly show the complete assimilation of the Draviḍa architectural style in Ceylonese Buddhist temples thus only proving that in architecture no Hindu or Buddhist compartmentalisation is feasible. Among the extant versions of the then prevalent architectural modes, the 'mutragala' or privy slabs near the Ruwanvāli Sāya at Anuradhapura, the miniature buildings carved on the stair walls at Anuradhapura and the number of pilaster reliefs<sup>2</sup> of the Thuparama and other temples at Polonnaruva would bear mention. The vertical component<sup>3</sup> of the 'mutragala' found in the Tapovana group (H) of Anuradhapura has a makara panjara, enclosing a bas-relief of a single-celled temple which is more or less like the Draupadi Ratha at Mamallapuram but with a sharp peak or finial. The relief carved on the

horizontal slab<sup>4</sup> has the depiction of two dwarapālas with one hand on hip and the other resting on their maces, roughly similar to the early Pallava doorkeepers of Southern India. The characteristic pyramidal shape of the superstructure achieved by the duplication in diminishing tiers of the miniature temple form, in which the alternating members are both of chaturaśra and āyatāśra (of 'śāla' type) forms ending finally in a single big cupola—not to mention the typical and prominent plinth mouldings and pillars and cornices of these structural designs—clearly shows that by this (early mediaeval) time, Dravidian architectural style from the mainland had come to stay in Ceylon, in the wake of invasions alternating with friendly liaison. It is very unlikely that these could have been the structural forms prevalent in the early Dāgaba period at Anuradhapura, immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian epoch. Even though the 'mutragalas' of the Tapovana group are said to have their basis on the legend occurring in the 33rd chapter of *Mahavamsa*,<sup>5</sup> wherein, Vaṭṭagāmini is said to have set up a monastery at the site where a Buddhist monk was observed by one of his queens, using the 'mutragala', this legend is so puerile that we may easily discredit its authenticity. Since the reason why these privy stones came to be embellished with the architectural style could not be made out, and owing to the fact that architecturally these 'mutragala' relief specimens of Anuradhapura and those at Thuparama temple walls at Polonnaruva (which is the work of Parakramabahu—12th century) are almost of the same form, they may both be taken as roughly contemporary with a difference of one or two centuries at best, if need be. These early mediaeval times involving a very close contact between the Tamil and the Sinhalese kings is also shown by the practice of covering with gold and silver sheets or tiles, the dāgabas in Ceylon on the one hand and the 'natana sabhās' in some of the Shiva temples in the Tamil country on the other at this period. At the same time, one indeed sees in the Hindu temples (devāle) of this mediaeval period in Ceylon, their identical counterparts in the imperial Chola country in India and in the Buddhist shrines a slightly modified version of the same, though basically of the same style.

4. Mitton, *The Lost Cities of Ceylon*—1916—p. 130.

5. A. M. Hocart—*Mem. Archl. Sur. Ceylon*, Vol. I, 1924—p. 56.

2. *Mem. Archl. Sur. Ceylon*, Vol. I, 1924—Plate A—facing p. 224.

3. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1926—pl. 37 (pp. 100-01).



## THE ROYAL LINEAGE IN THE PRASASTIS OF THE 8TH-10TH CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS

By LAKSHMAN S. PERERA

Up to the reign of Kassapa IV the inscriptions have but a bare introduction. The main elements in it were the name of the king with that of the father and grandfather sometimes added on, the titles and virudas of the monarch, and the regnal year indicating the date of the inscription. Though the titles and virudas changed in course of time and though the genealogy was sometimes dropped, up to the eighth century, this introductory formula remained unchanged.

With the reign of Sena I began a spate of inscriptions recording grants of immunities. But it was not till the reign of Kassapa IV that the simple introduction gradually becomes transformed into the laudatory and eulogistic prasastis of the later inscriptions. From this time onwards with very rare exceptions<sup>1</sup> all the inscriptions adopt this new style in prasastis till in the time of Nissanka Malla they become highly pompous and ornate.

These prasastis were in all probability copied from Indian practice. This imitation extends perhaps not only to the custom but even to the contents and phraseology. The charters and grants of the South Indian kings of this period usually began with long and effusive compositions praising the deeds of valour of the king, his prowess in battle and wisdom in administration, his personal qualities and his works of charity, and his royal descent and lineage. Much of this information has been found extremely useful for the re-construction of Indian history. The practice began too late in Ceylon and deteriorated too quickly so that long before they reached anything like the fulness of an Indian prasasti, they become too much divorced from the truth to be of value for history.

One fact emerges from the study of the prasastis. By their very nature and purpose they are not true to reality and fact. But they are related to fact in that they represent the ideals of kingship which were current at this time. When kings are represented in set stereotyped phrases as having achieved the ideal, this could only be interpreted in terms of empty boast or fulsome praise. When ancient lineages are traced for the kings of this time this

1. Of the published inscriptions only the Buddhannahela Pillar Inscription (EZ. I, pp. 194-200, No. 16), the Council Chamber Pillar Inscription (EZ. IV, pp. 39-46, No. 5) and the Ayitigevāva Pillar Inscription (EZ. II, pp. 35-38, No. 7) are without this form of prasasti.

may be a belief current during this time and drawn from literary works or it may be a deliberate attempt to raise kingship in the estimation of the people and so buttress it with power drawn from hoary tradition or by association with religious beliefs. Thus in utilising the material of the prasastis for history one has to be rather circumspect so as to separate fact from fiction and the real from the ideal.

The prasastis in their fullest contain many types of data. These include the royal lineage and descent, the relations of the king with the people, his personal religious achievements, the majesty surrounding him, the succession to the throne and rites and ceremonies connected with his accession to power. The motive in all this is to emphasise his fitness to be king. Of these many aspects we shall deal with in this article only the ideas current at this time about the lineage and descent of the kings.

There is little difficulty in judging the truth of these statements and beliefs. Very likely most of it was not just mere invention during this period but were taken over from literature and current beliefs with many centuries of growth behind the legends. Their interest lies therefore not in the truth they embody, for most of it is fiction, but in that they were the common beliefs about kingship and hence profoundly influenced the attitude of the common people towards kings who could claim such descent.

The royal lineage in this context does not deal with the immediate genealogy of the kings but with the origin of the whole dynasty. The royal dynastic line at this time was fairly stable and had a history that went back a number of centuries to Silāmeghavanna. To the people in the eighth century there was only one undisputed royal line.

It is difficult to say when exactly these particular beliefs about this dynasty were introduced or gained currency. It was certainly long before their introduction into the inscriptions. They appear in the inscriptions for the first time in this period. This was done partly to emulate their Indian counterparts and partly to enhance and emphasise their claims to the throne. They also sought to connect the dynasty with Buddhist beliefs. These claims were framed in set formulae which were repeatedly used with very little change.

The most popular of these traditions and round which some of the others centered was that which connected the Sinhalese kings with the Okkāka dynasty. Okkāka was a mythical king to whom most of the kings of early India traced their descent in the Puranic genealogies. The phrase commonly used to signify this descent is



OKAVAS RAD PARAPUREN BAṬ (descended from the Okkāka dynasty). There are numerous such references<sup>2</sup>. This phrase sometimes occurred alone but sometimes one or more of three qualifying phrases were added to it. The first of these is SIRIBAR KĀT KULA KOT (pinnacle of the illustrious Kshatriya race<sup>3</sup>). It signified that this dynasty descended from Okkāka was not only of the Kshatriya race (varṇa) but also foremost of them all. The next was a different phrase but conveyed the same meaning. It reads SIRIBAR KĀT KULAṬ TALĀ TIK BANDU (like a tilaka mark to the illustrious Kshatriya race<sup>4</sup>). The last of these was DAMBDIVHI AN KĀT KULA PĀMILI KAḶA (which has caused other Kshatriya dynasties of the whole of Jambudvīpa to render it homage<sup>5</sup>). Generally only one of these phrases was used.

Kassapa V went further than claiming mere descent when he was described as OKA RAJ KULAṬ TALĀ TIK (like unto a tilaka mark of the Okkāka dynasty<sup>6</sup>). This same king in another flight of fancy makes 'the island of Lankā the chief queen as it were unto the royal chiefs descended from the line of the Okkāka dynasty'. (OKAVAS PARAPUREN BAṬ RAD PURUMUVANAṬ AG MEHESUN VŪ LAK DIV POḶOYONO PARAPUREN HIMI<sup>7</sup>).

10

The tradition which linked the Sinhalese dynasty to Kshatriya origin has already been touched upon because the Okkāka dynasty from which the Sinhalese kings claimed descent belonged to the

2. EZ. II, pp. 40-43 (No. 8).  
EZ. IV, pp. 182-186 (No. 22).  
EZ. II, pp. 45-49 (No. 9).  
EZ. III, pp. 139-141 (No. 10).  
EZ. III, pp. 264-269 (No. 27B).  
EZ. I, pp. 232-241 (No. 20).  
EZ. I, pp. 115-120 (No. 8).  
EZ. III, pp. 227-229 (No. 22).
3. EZ. III, pp. 127-128 (No. 8).  
EZ. I, pp. 185-190 (No. 15).  
EZ. III, pp. 74-81 (No. 4).  
EZ. I, pp. 85-113 (No. 7A).  
EZ. IV, pp. 62-67 (No. 8).  
EZ. I, pp. 245-251 (No. 21).
4. EZ. III, pp. 297-302 (No. 32)  
(may qualify the king).
5. EZ. II, pp. 60-63 (No. 11).  
EZ. II, pp. 51-57 (No. 10).  
EZ. II, pp. 66-70 (No. 12).  
EZ. I, pp. 218-229 (No. 19).  
EZ. III, pp. 139-141 (No. 10).  
EZ. I, pp. 232-241 (No. 20).
6. EZ. I, pp. 43-57 (No. 4).
7. EZ. II, pp. 60-63 (No. 11).

Kshatriya race (VARṆA<sup>8</sup>). But sometimes the Sinhalese kings claimed this origin more directly as when they adopted the phrase KĀT USAB to describe themselves. This has been translated as 'Kshatriya lord' and was placed just before the name as a sort of title. It was used in this manner only by Mahinda IV and Mahinda V.<sup>9</sup> One interesting example is an inscription of Mahinda V.<sup>10</sup> goes much further again when it states: SIRIBAR KĀT KULA KOT OKĀVAS RAJ PARAPUREN BAṬ KĀT USABNAṬ AG MEHESUN VŪ LAKDIV POḶOYONA PARAPUREN HIMI VŪ... ('lord by lineal succession of the lords of the soil of the island of Lankā which has become as it were the chief queen unto the Kshatriya princes descended from the royal line of the Okkāka dynasty, the pinnacle of the very illustrious Kshatriya race')<sup>11</sup>.

The descent through the Kshatriya race and through the Okkāka dynasty was further narrowed in the claim they made that the Sinhalese kings were descended from the Sākya princes. The Sākya race or clan was that into which the Buddha was born and it is not surprising that at a time when the kings adopted Buddhist names and entertained the Bodhisatva ideal they would desire also to claim kinship with the Buddha.

The phrase SĀHĀ KULA KOT or SIRIBAR SĀHĀ KULA KOT (pinnacle of the illustrious Sākya race<sup>12</sup>) occurs thrice in the inscriptions among those which describe the lineage of the king. Once it appears alongside OKAVAS PARAPUREN BAṬ but the phrase qualifies the king and not the Okkāka dynasty<sup>13</sup>. The Kataragama pillar inscription of Dappula V<sup>14</sup> however has the form SĀHĀ KULAṬ EK TALĀ TIK VĀ SIṬI (he who was the incomparable ornament of the Sākya race). This claim was made independent of the descent from the Okkāka dynasty though included in and alongside of it.

8. The second of the four VARṆA'S which according to Hindu tradition had the right to exercise rule, the other three being BRAMANAS, VAICYAS and SUDRAS.

9. EZ. I, p. 85-113 (No. 7A, 1. 1).  
EZ. I, pp. 218-229 (No. 19, 1. 1).  
EZ. I, p. 232-241 (No. 20, 1. 1 and 55).  
EZ. II, pp. 66-70 (No. 12).

10. EZ. I, pp. 245-251 (No. 21, 1. 2).

11. EZ. I, p. 248, n. 7 for Dr. Paranavitana's explanation and discussion of this sentence.

12. EZ. III, pp. 227-229 (No. 22).  
EZ. I, pp. 43-57 (No. 4, 1. 12).  
EZ. I, pp. 4-22 (No. 21, 2a).

13. EZ. III, pp. 227-229 (No. 22).

14. EZ. III, pp. 222-225 (No. 21 c).



This is clear from two inscriptions in which the kings go so far as to claim kinship with the Buddha's father, Suddhōdana (SUDONĀ). One of these in poetical language states that the king was in direct line of succession from Suddhōdana the banner of the SĀHĀ race<sup>15</sup>: 'who has come in succession from Sudonā the banner of the SĀHĀ race in which was born the chief of the sages, the refuge of the world, who is adorned with (a pair of) lotuses which are his two feet made beauteous by swarms of bees which are the jewels on the diadems of nāgās, gandharvas, gods and brahmas'. (NĀ GADEVU DEVI BAMBUN VUTUNU MĀNA ME BAMARA VĀLĀN HEBI SARANA PĪMEN LAKULU LO PILISARANA MUNINDUN IPAT SĀHĀ KULA KEVLU SUDONĀ PARAPUREN Ā LAK NIRIND...).

The other makes the claim much clearer<sup>16</sup> by stating that the king claims succession from king Suddhōdana (SUDODUN MAHARAJ HU ANVAYAN Ā) and immediately after claims descent from PAḌU-VASDEV ABHĀ (Paṇḍu vāsudeva Abhaya) who according to the *Mahāvamsa*<sup>17</sup> was related to the Sākya by marriage.

There is next the tradition that through the Sākya race, the Okkāka dynasty and the Kshatriya varṇa, they were descended from the sun. There are a few references to this ancient myth. The phrase RIVI ANVAYEN BAṬ (descended from the Solar line) was not one of a series of phrases such as already dealt with which were used of the king<sup>18</sup>. The phrase DIVAYUR PARAPUREN appears in a fragmentary inscription at Kaludiyapokuna<sup>19</sup> and means 'in the lineage of the sun'. It probably applies to the king. The last reference is from the Kataragama inscription of LĀMĀNI MIHIND<sup>20</sup>, in which the phrase HIR GOT KULEN BAṬ appears among others. It has been translated 'descended from the family of the Solar race' and may refer directly to UDĀ MAHAYĀ or to him through PAḌU ABHĀ. The kings of Ceylon therefore claimed descent from the sun and kinship with the Solar dynasty.

At the other end of the lineage they claimed an unbroken line of descent from the earliest Sinhalese kings and cite especially the name of Paṇḍuvāsudeva: PAḌU ABHĀ NARANIND HU PARAPUREN Ā (descended from the line of king Paṇḍu Abhaya<sup>21</sup>).

15. EZ. IV, pp. 62-67 (No. 8).

16. EZ. III, pp. 227-229 (No. 22).

17. Mhv. VIII, vv. 18-28.

18. EZ. I, pp. 43-57 (No. 14, l. 12).

19. EZ. III, pp. 264-269 (No. 27 B).

20. EZ. III, pp. 222-225 (No. 21 c).

21. EZ. III, pp. 222-225 (No. 21 c).

and PAḌUVAS DEV ABHĀ MAHARAJ HU PARAPUREN BAṬ (descended from the line of king Paṇḍuvāsudeva Abhaya<sup>22</sup>). This is because the kinship with the Sākya clan was claimed through him and not through Vijaya who died without leaving an heir. The last link in the chain was therefore the claim that the kings of this period were direct lineal descendants from Paṇḍuvāsudeva with this we come into a period where tradition can be checked from sources at our disposal, especially the *Mahāvamsa*.

The picturesque phrase commonly employed to indicate both the unbroken line of succession and the right of this dynasty to rule over Ceylon was LAK DIV POLOYON PARAPUREN HIMI VŪ (who is by right of descent lord of the young damsel, the land of LAK DIV...)<sup>23</sup>. Another similar phrase was LAK DIV POLO MEHESANA PARAPUREN HIMI... (Lord by right of lineal descent from the great lords of the soil of the island of Lankā<sup>24</sup>). This seems to have been a popular figure of speech and one that was widely used. It is however more than a figure of speech for it seems to convey the idea that according to the traditions of this age this particular dynasty of kings, coming as they believed, from the sun, through the Okkāka dynasty, the Sākya race and Paṇḍuvāsudeva, had an inherent and inalienable right to the throne of Lankā.

Mahinda IV and Mahinda V in the prasastis of two of their inscriptions<sup>25</sup> make the whole line of Sinhalese kings and the island of Lankā, the chief queen unto the Kshatriya princes. (KĀT USA-BNAṬ AGMEHESUN VŪ LAK DIV POLO NAVA YONA PARAPUREN HIMI) while Mahinda IV in another inscription compared himself to 'a tilaka mark (of adornment) of the great lords of the soil of Lankā' (LAK POLO MEHESANAṬ TALĀTIK BANDŪ<sup>26</sup>).

22. EZ. III, pp. 227-229 (No. 22).

23. EZ. I, pp. 245-251 (No. 21, l. 2).

EZ. I, pp. 85-113 (No. 7 A, l. 3).

EZ. II, pp. 40-43 (No. 8).

EZ. II, pp. 232-235 (No. 37).

EZ. IV, pp. 182-186 (No. 22).

EZ. II, pp. 44-49 (No. 9).

EZ. III, pp. 74-81 (No. 4).

EZ. I, pp. 115-120 (No. 8).

EZ. IV, pp. 62-67 (No. 8, l. A4).

24. EZ. I, pp. 43-57 (No. 4, l. 2).

EZ. I, pp. 23-29 (No. 2, iii. i).

See Wickremesinghe's explanation of this phrase in EZ. I, p. 26, n. 10, p. 248, n. 7 and Paranavitana's correction in EZ. III, p. 81. Also see Codrington's comment *JRAS*, CB. XXIX, p. 308 f.

25. EZ. II, pp. 51-57 (No. 10).

EZ. I, pp. 245-251 (No. 21).

26. EZ. I, p. 29-38 (No. 2 iii. 2A).



There is very strong inscriptional evidence against the supposition that the kings of Ceylon were connected or were derived from an Indian Royal line or that they were of Kshatriya descent in the traditional manner. It is sufficient to mention that the title GAMANI used by the early kings is normally associated with Vaiśyas and that the mode of succession to the throne has affinity with the succession to the joint-family property and clan chieftainship than with succession to a royal throne. Nor is there any strong evidence that even at a later date the dynasty originated from India, except that they were connected by marriage with Indian royal houses. This belief however seems to have gained credence from literature for by this time both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa* were in existence as well as very probably the sources from which they drew their material. Therefore the Vijaya story and that of Paṇḍuvāsudeva were part of their heritage and according to it the royal dynasty of Ceylon was indeed connected with the royal dynasties of North India.

It is this source again which led them on in the belief that the Sinhalese royal line was connected with the Śākya clan for according to the *Mahāvamsa* Paṇḍuvāsudeva had for his queen Bhaddakaccānā a princess of the Śākya clan<sup>27</sup>. This was made use of at this time to draw the connection between the royal line and the clan of the Buddha so that thereby the dynasty gained in prestige.

It will thus be seen that these eighth century beliefs about the lineage of the royal family were in effect second-hand theories drawn from the literature current during this time. Their appearance in the inscriptional records are no indication of their authenticity. But they provide a framework of belief about kingship which is of value for the understanding of the place of the monarch held in the polity of that time.

27. *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. VIII, vv. 18-28.

## BUDDHAGHOSA, THE GREAT COMMENTATOR<sup>1</sup>

By A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA

The reticence of former Pali scholars about their personal life-histories has often placed the students of research at serious disadvantage. The only sources for a reconstruction of the life-history of the Venerable Buddhaghosa are the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Buddhaghosupatti* and the stray references to himself or to his works scattered through his commentaries. Although the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* and the *Sāsanavaṃsa*<sup>2</sup> contain accounts of him they evidently follow the narrative in the two works referred to above.

The authorship of the *Buddhaghosupatti* is ascribed to an Elder Mahāmaṅgala though the time and place of writing are undetermined. I believe, Burmese Elders ascribe it to a Sinhalese Elder. It is true that there were two famous Elders bearing that name in Ceylon. But a foreign trait in language and style seems to be a characteristic of the work itself. Evidence is also not wanting for the fact that the author was not conversant with the customs and conditions prevailing in Ceylon. Such evidence leads me to believe that it is the work of a Burmese or a Siamese monk.

The accounts in the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosupatti* state that Buddhaghosa was born in a Brahman family in the vicinity of the Mahābodhi in the district of Gayā; the latter work adds that his village was called 'Ghosa', as it was a settlement of cowherds. In the *Vaṃsadīpanī*,<sup>3</sup> a work composed by the Elder Jinālaṅkāradhaja of Burma, we are told that, according to the Talaing chronicles, Buddhaghosa was born in the city of Goḷa, near Thaton in Lower Burma. James Gray, in his preface to the *Buddhaghosupatti*, argues in support of the authenticity of this chronicle and quotes the conclusions of Dr. Forchhammer, who spent a considerable time at Thaton doing research into Talaing history. This city of Goḷa is also recorded as the place to which the Elders Soṇa and Uttara came with their retinue at the time of the Emperor Asoka to spread Buddhism in Suvannabhūmi.<sup>4</sup>

1. Another article on Buddhaghosa was contributed by me to the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. II, Nos. 1 and 2, in 1944. Since then I have altered several views expressed in that essay, particularly in the light of the research done by Mr. S. P. Nainar.

2. P.T.S. Edition 1897. It was translated from Burmese into Pali by the Elder Paññāsāmi, 1861 A.D. and translated into English by Dr. B. C. Law of Calcutta in 1952.

3. See Gray's introduction to the *Buddhaghosupatti*.

4. It includes the coast line of Burma and the Malay Peninsula.



It is stated in the Talaing chronicles that Buddhaghosa entered the Order and resided in Kelāsa-monastery, which formed part of the city of Goḷa. There is reason to believe that like the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon this was the first Buddhist establishment in Suvannabhūmi. The present shrine on the Kelāsa hill, which lies twenty-two miles to the north-east of Thaton, is considered to have been built by King Dhammacetiya who came to the throne of Rāmañña in 1458 A.D. and the site of the Kelāsa-monastery is located by archaeologists on the level ground as one comes down the flight of steps leading up to the courtyard of the shrine.

The *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosupṭatti* state that he became a monk under the tutorship of an Elder named Revata, at the monastery situated near the Mahābodhi in Central India, and he was a learned Brahmin and was wandering from place to place in order to show his erudition before he entered the Order. Some Indian Pandits state that there is no evidence to show that he was of Northern India but there are many evidences to prove that he was of the Āndhra country of South India. I will discuss this point later.

In the colophon of the *Visuddhimagga* occurs the statement: *Buddhaghoso ti garūhi gahitanāmadheyena therena Moraṇḍacetaka-vatthabbena kato Visuddhimaggo nāma*. It is strange that both, the author of the *Buddhaghosupṭatti* and Dr. B. C. Law, who composed *The Life and Works of Buddhaghosa*, should have overlooked this statement, which seems to give a clue to his place of birth, and which is the only statement of its kind in all his works. The elucidation of the key-term 'Moraṇḍacetaka' is, however, rendered difficult as there are various readings. Burmese MSS. have it as *Mudantakhedaka*. Some Sinhalese MSS. have *khataka* instead of *ceṭaka* or *khedaka*. Here some Indian scholars come forward to help us. An article on Buddhaghosa was recently published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras (1952), by Dr. R. Subramaniam, M.A., Ph.D. and Mr. S. P. Nainar, B.A., A.M.R.S.T. There they state: 'Professor Kosambi believes that he (Buddhaghosa) was a Telanga from the Telugu country of South India and not a Burmese Talaing, that Talaing was only a corruption of the original name, that Buddhaghosa was a Telugu by birth and came from Telugu country (Āndhra, in South India) and that an archaeologist familiar with Telugu country should be able to identify his place of birth. In support of the above surmise, he adduced much internal evidence, from *Visuddhimagga* and other books of Buddhaghosa. His pointed reference to Thera Viśākha's story and his absolute silence about the North Indian tradition of Patañjali, observes Professor Kosambi, 'give evidence to my belief that Buddhaghosa was a South Indian by birth'.

'The geographical knowledge displayed by Buddhaghosa, specially his definition of Dakṣiṇāpatha, his elaborate description of the island in the middle of the river Godāvarī, which only an eyewitness familiar with the land could give, and the details regarding the Āndhra kingdom given by him lend support to his South Indian origin'.

'His colophon in *Visuddhimagga* informs us that he was a native of Moraṇḍakhetaka and that he lived at Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana or Mayūrārūpapaṭṭana for some time . . . This village Moraṇḍakhetaka, which he says was his native place, appears to be the Prākṛit form of the name of some local village. During our recent study tour in the Guntur District, we had occasion to visit a number of Buddhist sites like Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakonda, etc., and in our itinerary we happened to touch two places in close proximity called Kōtanemalipuri and Gundlapalli in the Palnad Taluk of Guntur District . . . *Nemali* is the present Telugu equivalent of the original "Mora", and means a peacock, and "Gundlu" or "Gudlu" means eggs. Moraṇḍakhetaka appears to have been the original name of the modern Kōtanemalipuri and Gundlapalli. These places are full of antiquarian remains and their proximity to the powerful centres of Āndhra-Buddhism tempts us to identify it as the birthplace of Buddhaghosa'.

So these Indian scholars have actualized Professor Kosambi's vision. Another evidence to this effect is that Buddhaghosa, while translating Sinhalese commentaries into Pali, has very often referred to the *Andhakatṭhakathā*, which was undoubtedly written in Āndhra language, and which he could understand without any help from outside. He could not manage the Sinhalese commentaries in the same way and he has clearly stated that he learnt them from Sinhalese Elders.

With reference to Professor Kosambi's argument about Talaing and Telanga or Telugu I like to point out that Talaings of Lower Burma are of the same stock with the South Indian Telugus. Some historians have proved that they have come from South India in order to settle in the coast line of Burma. It may be that Talaings brought these traditions about Buddhaghosa from their original country.

The tradition in the *Mahāvamsa* which says that Buddhaghosa was so called because his voice was as deep and commanding as that of the Buddha hardly deserves credence. The author of the *Buddhaghosupṭatti* himself appears to be uncertain, because he offers two or three theories in an attempt to explain the name. I would rather identify his name with the Ghoshes of India, who belong to the Kāyastha clan, proceeding from a Kshatriya father and a



Sūdra mother. These people are said to possess exceptional skill in the art of writing. That Buddhaghosa had a knack of writing in addition to being learned, is attested by the legend which says that he wrote out three copies of the *Visuddhimagga* in one night.

Both, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosupphatti*, record that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon at the instance of his teacher, the Elder Revata, who was residing at the Mahābodhi-ārāma in Mid-India. The Sinhalese commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*, written by King Parākramabāhu II, and the *Ṭikā* on the Vinayavinicchaya, composed by Mahāsāmi Vācissara, in the 12th century A.D. state that he came here at the general request of the Elders of India for the task of translating Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. I am inclined to accept this latter view as the more plausible especially because Buddhaghosa makes no mention whatsoever of this Elder Revata in any of his works. But the above-mentioned Indian scholars point out that a Prakrit inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa refers to one Revata and the building of a Chaityagriha with all the necessities for the acceptance of the *theras* of Tambapaṇṇī (Ceylon). This was dated in the 14th regnal year of Mahārāja Virapuruṣhadatta who ruled in the Krishna and Guntur districts during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. This evidence too shows that Buddhaghosa did not come from Northern India.

There are some other traditions about Buddhaghosa in the *Mahāvamsa* which are not reliable and do not tally with the internal evidence in the texts themselves. For instance it says that Buddhaghosa translated the Sinhalese commentaries in the library of the Dūrasankara Vihāra; but in the Vinaya commentary Buddhaghosa himself says that he did his work in the building erected by Mahānigamasāmi close to the *padhānaghara* (house for meditation) of the Mahāvihāra. Again, it is stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that Buddhaghosa learned Sinhalese commentaries under the Elder Saṅghapāla, who resided in the same *padhānaghara*, while Buddhaghosa himself admits in the Vinaya commentary that he learnt them from the Elder Buddhāmitta, and mentions the name of the Venerable Saṅghapāla as the person at whose instigation he wrote the *Visuddhimagga*. The *Buddhaghosupphatti* says that the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon invited him to write the latter work, and he made his translations while staying at Lohapāsāda. At that time the office of a Saṅgharāja was unknown in Ceylon. We hear about such an office only in and after the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great.

In determining his date, too, it would not be very prudent on our part to attach much credence to the account in the *Mahāvamsa* where it is said that he came to Ceylon during the reign of King Mahānāma who ruled for 22 years from B.E. 954. This king is not mentioned in any of Buddhaghosa's works while on the other hand

in the Vinaya commentary we read that he started that work in the 20th year after the accession of King Sirinivāsa and completed it in the following year. According to *Mahārājavamsa*<sup>5</sup> Buddhaghosa should have arrived in Ceylon in B.E. 930, for it says that he came in the 42nd year after the accession of King Dhammapāla (=Thinligyaung) who ruled from B.E. 888. The ruling sovereign in Ceylon at that time would have been Upatissa, Mahānāma's elder brother, and it would be necessary to investigate from inscriptions whether this king was also called Sirinivāsa. The Kalyāṇī Inscription, however, fix the date at B.E. 903; this would correspond to the reign of King Buddhādāsa in Ceylon.

There is evidence from his own works that Buddhaghosa had at different times lived in different parts of India. In the colophon of the *Manorathapūraṇī* he has stated that he once stayed with the Venerable Jotipāla at Kañcipura (modern Conjeevaram) and other places before he came to Ceylon. Similarly, in the colophon of the *Majjhimaṭṭhakathā* we read that he had lived with the Venerable Buddhāmitta in the port of Mayūrarūpa. If we connect these statements with the Burmese tradition, which says that he returned after his mission with a retinue of persons who filled two ships,<sup>6</sup> we may surmise that he came here not alone but with a band of learned monks such as the two mentioned above.

Although numerous works have been attributed to Buddhaghosa, the evidence of the texts would lead us to conclude that he composed the commentary on the Vinaya, on the first four Nikāyas, and the *Visuddhimagga* and not the commentaries on the Abhidhamma and on the books of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*. In all the four Nikāya-commentaries there occurs the statement:

‘Silakathā dhutadhammā  
kammaṭṭhānāni c’eva sabbāni  
iti pana sabbam yasmā  
Visuddhimagge mayā suparisuddham  
vuttaṃ, tasmā bhīyo  
na taṃ idha vicārayissāmi’.

On the other hand in the Abhidhamma commentary we find:—

‘Kammaṭṭhānāni sabbāni  
cariyābhinnā vipassanā  
Visuddhimagge pan’ idaṃ  
yasmā sabbam pakāsitaṃ’.

While in the former passage he speaks of what he himself (=mayā) wrote in the *Visuddhimagga*, it is significant that in the latter

5. Mentioned in the Introduction to *Buddhaghosupphatti*.

6. Gray's Introduction to *Buddhaghosupphatti*.



passage there is no such implication. Dr. P. V. Bapat, too, who has recently brought out a new edition of the *Atthasālinī*, argues against the possibility of it being a work of Buddhaghosa, in view of the divergencies of the comments on textual terms in it as compared with the *Visuddhimagga*. The commentaries to the Abhidhamma were rather composed by some anonymous Elder at the request of Buddhaghosa. The *Atthasālinī* says :

‘ Visuddhācārasīlena, nipuṇāmalabuddhinā  
Bhikkhunā Buddhaghosena, sakkaccaṃ abhiyācito ’;

and in the *Sammohavinodanī* :

‘ Atthappakāsanattham  
tassāhaṃ yācito thitaguṇena  
yatinā adandhagatinā  
subuddhinā Buddhaghosena ’.

The assertion that the Buddhaghosa mentioned in these commentaries is not the commentator Buddhaghosa but another person becomes unnecessary if we do not regard Buddhaghosa as their author; yet, Dr. Bapat is hesitant to regard the Buddhaghosa referred to as the scholastic as he has been called a *bhikkhu*. This scepticism, however, would not appear to be justified when we examine the epithets *visuddhācārasīlena*, *nipuṇāmalabuddhinā*, etc. which seem to describe an outstanding personality even though he happened to be a *bhikkhu*, as a result of not completing his ten years' standing after his ordination. He was already a learned person when he entered the Order. As Buddhaghosa could not be the author of these commentaries they were composed at his request; they were most probably the work of a learned monk of Mahāvihāra, such as Saṅghapāla.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE STUDY OF SINHALESE PLACE NAMES<sup>1</sup>

By B. J. PERERA

The place names of a country provide both a fascinating and a fruitful subject of study. If studied from every possible aspect they could be made to yield much valuable data on the history of the land. It is a pity that the place names of the island, though a valuable source for the student has still remained unexamined. Perhaps the vast amount of more handy material, in the form of literary works and inscriptions which are yet not utilized is responsible for this neglect.

Almost eighty per cent of our place names consist of elements which are the name of some tree or plant associated with the name of some topographical feature, e.g. Polvatta (coconut garden), Botale (the plain of the Bo-tree), Puvakpitiya, Ilukvāva, etc. Such names are of little value except in that they reflect the rural and agricultural nature of society in Ancient Ceylon. The rest of the place names are connected with the political, economic, social and religious life of the country in by-gone years.

Most place names do not present any problems as the elements of which they are composed of are still current in the language or are found in classical literature. In some, however the meaning and the etymology has been obscured either because their constituent elements have disappeared from the present-day vocabulary or because they have developed phonetically beyond all recognition.

Most of the Sinhalese place names appear to have assumed their present form by about the 10th century. The more frequent place names like *vītiya*, *vatta*, *deṇiya*, *pītiya* appear in their Pali form in the Pali chronicles and in their Sinhalese form in medieval inscriptions. Some elements like *vītiya*, *gama*, *yāna* goes back to at least the 5th century A.D. *Gama* which appear in at least sixty per cent. of our place names and *tota* appear in pre-Christian Era inscriptions.

Various problems arise even from a superficial study of the subject. For example place names with *mahara* are abundant in the Colombo district while they are comparatively rare in other parts of the island. The element *pe* which is so common in the Western, Southern and

1. In writing this article I am much indebted to the help given by Mr. C. W. Nicholas, Head of the Department of Wild Life.



Sabaragamuva Provinces is almost absent in the Uva Province. In the Central Province, this element can be said to be confined more or less to Uda Hēvahāta.<sup>2</sup> An explanation for these peculiarities in the provenance of the place names may be found only by a detailed study of the history of each district in relation to other parts of the island. A district may possess elements of place names peculiar to it, for several reasons. Districts which have been continually inhabited for the greatest length of time may have elements which have since disappeared from the language and are not found in other districts which have been more recently occupied. Some elements would have developed phonetically in different ways in different districts according to the racial origins of their inhabitants. For example we know that as a rule the letter 'j' develops into 'd' or 't' in the Sinhalese language. This development which is an almost invariable rule in the literary language must be more so in the colloquial language. Nevertheless we have a comparatively large number of place names with the letter 'j' in the Hambantota district. I believe that the explanation for this is to be found in the racial composition of the people of this district.

If the elements of place names are classified linguistically and their provenance marked on the map we can get a rough idea of the geographical distribution of the various races which have combined to form the Sinhalese. For example although there are no Vāddhas now outside the Uva and Eastern Provinces there are several place names with non-Aryan and non-Dravidian elements in many parts of the island. In fact there is a Vāddagala in the Ratnapura district and Habarane may quite possibly be derived from Sabara. Sabaragamuva itself means the village of the Sabaras, another name for the pre-historic inhabitants of the island.

Tamil place names are found mostly along the sea-coast and in the Anuradhapura, Chilaw and Puttalam districts. Though there are no native Tamils living along the sea-coast south of Colombo, the Tamil origin of most of the present inhabitants there is seen from the fairly large number of Tamil place names. The 'ge' names of these people too attest to their Tamil origin. The word *malai* meaning in Tamil 'a mountain or hill' is found in even the central parts of the island. They are come across in literature produced many centuries before the opening up of plantations and show that the Tamil element in the composition of the Sinhalese is far greater than is usually conceded. Ranmalaya, Kotmale and Gilimale are some of the examples.

2. For the modern place names I have used the 1921 Census list of towns and villages, supplemented by the place names occurring in the Archaeological Survey's Annual Reports.

Almost all the races with which Ceylon came into contact in ancient times are represented in our place names, e.g. Ja-āla, Javatta, Javaka Kōtte, Cina Koṭuva, Cina Koratuva, Marakkalaha Vatta, Marakkala Mulla, Parangiyā Vāḍiya, Lansigama, Olandavatta, etc.

It would be very useful if we could date the elements of place names. That is to determine the period in which they first came into use. Of course this is not possible in the case of words which are names of plants or topographical features. This is only possible where the element is connected with, for example some system of administration, religious cult or a system of measurement. To do this we must collect all the place names in inscriptions and literature and arrange them according to the chronology of the source in which they occur. Yet the results have to be tentative as they are based on negative evidence. Yet since what we seek is the period and not the exact date in which an element came into use there is little possibility of the dating on such a method being wrong. Once the elements are dated their accuracy could be checked by the provenance of each element. *Kanniya* for example was a term connoting a territorial unit in the pre-Christian Era. Therefore one cannot expect it to appear in the Pasyodun Korale which was occupied very much later. *Pattuwa* and *Korale* came into use in late mediaeval times and therefore it is not found in the Anuradhapura district which was re-inhabited in recent times.

Survivals of terms used in the administrative systems belonging to almost every period of Ceylon history can be found. The *kannika* of the *Mahavamsa*, e.g. Huvāca Kannika and Kalyana Kannika can be probably equated with the *Kanniya* of Iluppe Kanniya, Panā Kanniya and Ponnā Kanniya. This word could also be from some Tamil word as three of the examples occur in the Anuradhapura and Chilaw districts. Panā Kanniya however is from the Badulla districts where the older names have survived to some extent. Other examples of administrative terms in Sinhalese place names are *vaka*, *raṭa*, *kūḷiya*, *divela*, *bāge*, etc. In the *Culavamsa* there is a reference to the Pancayojana Rata and in the Galapāta rock inscription to Pasyodun Vaga which in modern usage is known as Pasdun Korale. If we can find further examples of *raṭa*, *vaga* and *korale* being used in the above manner we can be certain that they were synonymous though relating to different periods.

Place names occurring in inscriptions being usually intermediate forms, help us to determine the etymology of words whose meanings have been obscured by the passage of time. For example *ovita* has been considered to be a combination of *oya* and *vīṭiya*. But in the Badulla Pillar Inscription we get Hopitagama which could



have given *oviṭa*. This appears to be the more probable derivation since there are also place names like Valpiṭa and Galpiṭa. If this derivation is correct *Oviṭa* is then the opposite of *Opāta*, a fairly common place name.

Place names also give an indication of the age of a district as a populated area. The ancient Rajarata bears in its place names the tragic details of her history. The place names of Rajarata mentioned in the chronicles and the numerous inscriptions are for the most part forgotten indicating an almost complete break with the past. The rather unimaginative and primitive form of place names which usually consist of the name of some tree associated with the word *gama* or *vāva* indicates recent occupation for in ancient times the tanks, being named after the village and not the village after the tank, had few names connected with trees. The substitution of *kulama* for tank and other Tamil elements show that the Tamils occupied these areas. But the survival of such place names like Kusava and Kāleva apparently very old in the midst of the Tamil place names shows that there continued to be small groups of Sinhalese families inhabiting Rajarata, hiding in the jungle in times of invasion and returning to the villages in time of peace to eke out a meagre and precarious living from what little water the breached tanks could hold. The gradual absorption of the Tamil invaders by the Sinhalese is evident from the Sinhalized Tamil names like *kulama* and *kuliya*.

It should be noted that Ruhuna contains the oldest of our place names. Together with Rajarata, it was one of the areas to be first occupied and developed by the Aryans. But unlike Rajarata it was never occupied by Tamil invaders for any length of time. A cursory glance at the Census list of the towns and villages in the Hambantota and Badulla districts will show a large number of unusual names. The phonetical development of the words as well as their archaic nature is responsible for this. Ranna, Julamulla, Udavavva, Unana are a few of these unusual place names. Tihava (Tissa Vāva) the local name for Tissamaharama illustrates how phonetical development could so change the form of a place name as to render it quite unrecognizable. In the hilly districts too where the Tamil invaders found it difficult to penetrate, the ancient names have survived. Most of the place names mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* in connection with the campaigns of Vijayabahu I and Parakrama Bahu I in Ruhuna and Dakkhinādesa have now been identified. Nilagama occurring in the 6th century slab inscription of Dala Mugalan, in the Matale District has survived to this day.

There are sometimes elements which though identical in spelling are altogether different in meaning, and special care has to be taken in determining the correct etymology. The term *kuliya* is an

example. *Kuliya* appearing in inscriptions connotes a territorial division in the ancient system of administration. The *kuliya* which is frequently met with in the Chilaw district is from the Tamil word 'kuli' meaning a marsh, depression or hole.

Much of the research into place names has to be devoted to finding the etymology of the constituent elements. Many of these elements have not found their way into literature and when such words drop out from the spoken language, their meaning in the place names are lost completely. Some words in the mouths of the illiterate peasants have changed beyond all recognition. Besides the phonetical development of place names do not appear to have followed any known philological rules. The Pali *nagara* is represented in Sinhalese place names as, *nēriya*, *noruwa*, *naruwa*, *nariya* and *nuvara*. None of these forms except *nuvara* appear in literature, except as a part of a place name. We also have forms like *baṭuwa*, *butuwa*, (*boṭuwa*) and perhaps *buluwa*, all apparently derived from the same word.

One method of finding the etymology of words of obscure meaning is to discover from inscriptions, earlier forms of the word. The earlier form being closer to the original, may sometimes be recognizable. Sometimes by collecting all the possible examples of a word and comparing it with the other words with which it is associated it is possible to get a fairly accurate estimate of the meaning of a word. Thus although the word 'pe' which occurs in place names like Bope, Nikape and Madampe does not appear in literature, we may surmise that it means a grove as it invariably is associated with the name of some tree.

Sometimes by knowing how a word is translated from Pali to Sinhalese it is possible to find the present names of the places mentioned in the Pali chronicles. Codrington surmised that the Punkagāma mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* may be the present Dādigama. The discovery of the word *puṅka* being equated with Dādi has proved that his surmise was correct.<sup>3</sup> Land deeds too are repositories of ancient forms of modern place names. As a rule in these deeds the writers preserve the names which appeared in the earlier deeds, even though the form of the name may have changed in current usage. For example Nāvutu Kanda is the name of a hill in Maggona. In land deeds the place is called Nāgamuttu Kanda, evidently the earlier name from which the present name is derived. It is significant that the present name hardly suggests its Dravidian origin.

The Pali chronicles too are often useful in finding the etymology of place names. Some place names whose meanings are now

3. A.S.C., A.R., 1951, p. 33.



obscured by phonetical development may not have been so far developed in the time when the chronicles were compiled. Consequently the authors were able to translate into Pali the meanings of these place names. Perhaps it would have been difficult to equate 'naruva' with 'nagara' had it not been so equated in the *Cūlavamsa*, e.g. Vāpinagara for Vānaru, Pulatthinagara for Polonnaruva.

It is to the lexicographer that the study of place names hold the greatest interest. Place names if they are very old may contain words which, although they have undergone changes in the colloquial usage still retain their original meaning when they form part of a place name. For instance the word *vatura* means water in the modern language. In the classical literature the words *diya* and *pān* is used. In an adjectival form *diya* is almost invariably used, e.g. *diyaballa*, *diya kāva*, *diya habarala*, etc. The word *vatura* must therefore be a word which has undergone semantic changes before it came to mean what it does today. Geiger surmised that it may be from the Pali *Vitthāra* meaning 'spread, extension or flood'. A study of the available examples of the word as a place name seems to support Geiger's surmise, e.g. Vaturugama, Ovatura, Devatura.

Dr. Paranavitane in a note to the word Vāva sara occurring in the Nagarikanda Inscription (*E.Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 125) has suggested that *sara* which is a synonym of *vila* may be from the Sanskrit *saras* 'applied to marshy land capable of being sown with paddy'. But we have other examples of the word in such place names as Ālahāra (translated in the *Cūlavamsa* as Ālisāra) and Vilhāra, Ebbehāra and Vatuhāra. It is quite probable that the *hāra* of the place names is the same as the *sara* of Vāvasara for we also have Vāhāra which is a phonetical development of Vāvasara. If as Dr. Paranavitane suggests, *sara* and *vila* are synonymous, *hāra* in Vilhāra would be superfluous. Moreover the author of the *Cūlavamsa* translates the present Ālahāra as Ālisāra and not Ālisāra. *Sara* and not *sāra* is the Pali word for the Sanskrit *saras*.

Another word of semantic interest is the word *naruva* derived from the Pali *nagara*. In Pali the word means a fortress, strong hold, a town or city. In Sinhalese literature the word *nagara* is used only in the sense of a city or town. But the *naruva* of our place names which is derived from *nagara* does not appear to mean a city or town. *Naruva* appears too frequently in our place names to have meant a city or town. Nor do we come across ancient ruins in places bearing this element in their names to suggest that they had the status of a town or city in some remote period. The study of the place names in which this word occurs gives us a clue to its meaning. The Sennaru in an inscription of Kasyapa IV (*E.Z.*, Vol. IV, No. 32) could mean Sēnānagara. Muhunnaru is mentioned

in the *Cūlavamsa* as a stronghold. So is Vāpinagara the modern Vānaru. Kaṭunnaru of the *Cūlavamsa* may have been so called because of the thorn-bearing plants grown round it as a defence. Most of the villages with this element as a part of their names are situated on the ancient roads or at strategic places. Remains of two brick fortresses have been discovered at a site which has been identified as Muhundnaruva (*E.Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 182).

Another intriguing element is the word *oluva*. In the colloquial vocabulary it means a 'head' and appears to be one of the few survivals from the vocabulary of the pre-historic man in Ceylon. This word as it appears in place names certainly cannot have the same connotation it bears in the colloquial language. Perhaps the fact that it is chiefly associated with the name of some tree could give a clue to its meaning.

Place names help us to determine the districts in which some cult was practiced. The folk game 'amkeḷiya' now almost dead in Ceylon is connected with the Pattini cult. Judging from the provenance of place names with the element *ampiti*, which is found chiefly in the Kandyan districts we can surmise that the cult was practiced mostly in these districts. Since the Kandyan kingdom came into prominence only about the 12th century, this game may be dated from that period.

Place names can give us information on the social conditions as well as the social services of the government in ancient Ceylon. There is a Kānagāma mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa*. This means the village of the blind. There is also a village called Andagantota in the Bentota Vāllaviti Korale. Kānagāma had according to the *Cūlavamsa* a hospital for the blind. Andagama too may have had a similar hospital or its revenues may have been set apart for the maintenance of the blind.

Sometimes the original meaning of an element is forgotten and another word having the same meaning is added to it. Ranmalaya was the original name of the present Ranmalakanda. When the word *male* (meaning a mountain in Tamil) dropped out of the spoken language its meaning was forgotten, and *kanda* with the same meaning was added to it. But more interesting is the form Polonnaru Nuvara appearing in the *Pūjavaliya*, for *naruva* and *nuvara* are derived from the same word *nagara*. This also indicates that by the time the *Pūjavaliya* was written the meaning of *naruva* was forgotten and that the element would not have been used in the naming of villages at least after the 14th century. Therefore all the place names with *naruva* as an element may have come into existence before the 14th century. When the meaning of an element is obscured, a word which is similar in sound to it, though



of different meaning is substituted. For example *kuliya* has been changed to *juliya* in some place names.

The study of the place names of a country cannot be undertaken by a single scholar or even a single society. If a comprehensive study of the subject is to be carried out it has to be undertaken by a few hundred societies, each working in a limited geographical area. This is necessary because the study of the subject entails a good amount of field work. Of all the place names, only a mere fraction ever come into the lists compiled for administrative purposes. The name of a hill, a stream or field may be of use in identifying the scene of some famous battle or some place mentioned in the chronicles or inscriptions. For example *Diya nā āla* is the name of a stream near Panākaduva, the village in which the copper plate inscription of Vijayabahu I was discovered. The name *Diya-nā-āla* which is mentioned in the Charter has survived 800 years although the details of how King Vijayabahu I took shelter here, is now long forgotten. *Vidiye Yaya*, *Māliga Godālla* and *Mura pola* are the names of fields near the ancient *Handa giriya* temple and suggests that the area, long abandoned to the jungle and the beast is rich in historical associations. Place names like this could give some clue to the history of the place which the historian could keep in mind as being possibly one of the unidentified places mentioned in the literary sources or the inscriptions. There are a large number of place names with *māliga* as an element and such places undoubtedly do have historical associations. Any place with ruins has a tendency to be called *māliga tānna*, *māliga vila*, etc. by the peasants.

Local societies are also necessary because a good local knowledge is essential for the study of Sinhalese place names. Generally every unusual place name has a folk explanation. Folk explanations may at times be fanciful and even misleading, but at times they are genuine.

The placing on record of all the place names of the island is imperative if we are to preserve a valuable source of information for posterity. Many old names of villages, fields, etc. are being lost with the passing away of each generation and this would be an irreparable loss. In 1951 the older villagers of Galebādda were able to inform the Archaeological Commission that the earlier name of the village was *Udundora*. *Udundora* is the name of a historical place mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* as *Uddhānadvara*. One wonders whether this information would be forthcoming to a student visiting the place a few decades hence.

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CEYLON FROM 1658 TO 1687

By REV. ROBRECHT BOUDENS

It was in the line of the general religious policy of the Dutch conquerors to give the exclusive right of existence to the Dutch Reformed Church in their territories. The application might have been more or less indulgent according to the different countries and circumstances, the principle however was strict, and could not lead to misinterpretation. In the Batavian Code for the Dutch East India Company, issued in 1642, it was stated that 'no other religion will be exercised, much less taught or propagated, either secretly or publicly, than the Reformed Christian Religion as it is taught in the public Churches of the Netherlands'<sup>1</sup>. And the Statutes added that those who were found not to obey the law would not only have their possessions confiscated, but, according to circumstances 'put in chains, expelled from the country, or receive a punishment involving limb or life'.

In the beginning of the Dutch times in Ceylon the Batavian Code was observed both according to letter and to spirit. A few weeks after the surrender of Jaffna in 1658—year that definitely ended the Portuguese Rule—something happened that forced the Dutch to take severe measures against the Roman Catholics. A number of natives, whom the Hollanders had enlisted as soldiers, had plotted a conspiracy: they intended to attack the fort by surprise and hand it over to the Portuguese. However the plot was discovered and the conspirators were put to death. Amongst them was a Jesuit Father named J. Caldeiro. 'This unfortunate person being prevented by sickness from going along with the rest of the Portuguese clergymen, had not been concerned in this treacherous design, much less given his consent to it. But some of the traitors having given notice thereof to him by letters, wherein they styled him the "Father of their souls", he was unwilling to betray his countrymen, for which he paid now with his head'.

The quotation is from Baldaeus<sup>2</sup> and shows that this Dutch pastor who was living contemporaneously with the event did not believe in the real political culpability of the old priest.

1. Ceyl. Govt. Arch., Dutch Records 2387, ff. 4-5.

2. P. 160. In the English translation, pp. 798-799. About the author and his work see D. W. Ferguson, *Philippus Baldaeus and his book on Ceylon*, in Ceyl. Ant. IV (1936) No. 7, pp. 304-310; *ibid.* No. 8, pp. 337-345; No. 9, pp. 386-394; No. 10, pp. 435-445.



Whatever might have been the part of the Jesuit in the plot, in the eyes of the conquerors he seemed a political criminal and it made the Dutch mistrust the Catholic priests more.

It is in direct connection with that case that on the 19th of September 1658 the Dutch issued a *placcaat* that may be considered as the severest they ever issued in Ceylon<sup>3</sup>. Anyone who harboured a Roman Catholic priest, or even did not denounce him if he happened to know his whereabouts would receive the death penalty.

Was this measure purely a manifestation of religious hostility? I do not think so. We should not forget that in the eyes of the Dutch 'Portuguese' and 'Catholic' were, at that time, almost identical notions. It happened that the national enemies of the Dutch were of the Roman religion from which they (the Dutch) had separated themselves, one century before, in very painful circumstances. Moreover the context of the proclamation clearly shows that it was promulgated at a time when the Dutch needed severe measures to affirm their authority and to nip in the bud all attempts at revolution. It was forbidden to keep weapons; all of which had to be handed over to the chief of the place. At five o'clock in the afternoon a curfew was rung. It was a kind of 'state of emergency' that was declared, and the severe prescriptions against the Catholics were a part of the general measures taken by the Dutch. They had to act against everything that was Portuguese, and just as—in a first reaction—the Portuguese language was proscribed and the Portuguese inhabitants subjected to all kinds of restrictions, so they also took severe measures against what in the documents is very often called the 'Portuguese' religion. Of course, and this should not be forgotten, the inveterate hatred they had for Catholicism helped not less to push them in that direction.

It is difficult to say if the death penalty for harbouring priests was ever applied, because neither criminal rolls, nor documents in criminal cases of those years have come down to us. The processes which actually are preserved in the Ceylon Government Archives all date from the 18th century. But taking into consideration the circumstances of the promulgation, and the fact that from no other source we have a notice of a death penalty, we may say that certainly the proclamation was not applied very often.

On the other hand we are quite certain that the Catholics had to suffer a lot from other measures. They had to send their children to Protestant schools. Their churches were either destroyed or taken over by the Dutch Reformed Clergy. No registration of

3. Ceyl. Govt. Arch., D.R. 2438, ff. 46-48.

birth was valid in law except by baptism in the Dutch Church, and no marriage was recognized if it was not contracted according to the rites of this Church. There is no doubt that both for political and religious motives the Dutch tried to put all possible obstacles to a further propagation of Catholicism.

From that point of view the practical religious situation in Ceylon seems to have been worse than in other territories submitted to the Dutch. Thus for example we know that after the capture of Cochin in 1663 five Franciscan Friars could take charge of the 8,000 people who remained in the town. They also could have their religious services, provided they were held without public manifestations, and on the condition the priests signed a declaration of allegiance to the Dutch government<sup>4</sup>. This last condition was repeated the following year in the treaty between the Dutch East India Company and Mootadaville, king of Cochin<sup>5</sup>. In Negapatam the Roman Catholics had, in 1680, a priest who was allowed to say Mass at a determined place<sup>6</sup>.

We cannot call this complete freedom because of the many restrictions. Anyhow all those priests were officially recognized. There were some other places where priests were *practically* tolerated although no official arrangement was made. Some of them are cited in a report of a journey from Tuticorin to Quilon, made by Philips de Hase in 1663<sup>7</sup>.

In comparison with all this, the position of the Catholics in Ceylon was very deplorable. In the Kandyan Kingdom they had, in a certain way, a greater freedom than in the territories submitted to the Dutch. We know from Robert Knox<sup>8</sup>, who was a prisoner of Raja Sinha II from 1660 to 1679, that during his time a Jesuit

4. Van Dam, P. *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, 2 de Boek, Dl. 2 ('s Gravenhage 1927), p. 305: '... na gissinge waren wel over de agt duysent toepassen en andere Portugesen aenhanck in de stadt gebleven, aen dewelcke vijff Franciscaner papen sijn ingewilligt, om met besloote deuren haer godsdienst te plegen, sonder kloekgeluy off andere publicque exercitiën mits doende den eed van getrouwigheyt...'

5. *Dagh-Register gehouden int casteel Batavia*, ed., J. A. van der Chijs a.o., 's Gravenhage 1887-1919. Anno 1663, 15 Mei.—The situation of the Catholics in Cochin mostly depended on the personal attitude of the governors. Some of them were very tolerant. H. A. van Rheede (1669-1677) was a friend of Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph, O.C.D.; Isaak van Dielen (1687-1694) favoured the Carmelites; Gelmer Vosburg (1684-1687) was opposed to the Catholics.

6. Van Dam, P., *o.c.*, p. 110: 'En hebben de Roomsche Christenen in die buytenstad een plaats tot hunnen godsdienst en een priester daartoe'.

7. *Dagh-Register*, Anno, 1663, 27 nov. There, e.g. it is said that the 39 villages between Quilon and the Cape of Comorin have their churches and that all of them are served by eight European Jesuits.

8. R. Knox, *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, London, 1681, pp. 188-189.



Father called Vergonse (really Bergonco) was staying at the Court. Notwithstanding the fact that the Father was—since 1648—a prisoner of the king, he seems to have been highly esteemed by him. One day Raja Sinha asked him to lay aside his old coat and cap and to receive honours from him, but the Jesuit replied 'that he boasted more in that old habit and in the name of Jesus, than in all the honours that he could do him'. And Knox adds that the king valued him for his saying.

From the same author we get some information about the state of Christianity in Kandy<sup>9</sup>. Having no churches and no priests the religious life of the faithful could not be very well organized. There was no religious service on Sunday but they sanctified the day by refraining from work and praying, each one in his own house. They baptized their children themselves with water and using the words: in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and they gave them Christian names. Most of them were wearing 'beads and crosses' about their neck. There might have been an influence from the traditional religion of the country on their religious attitude; it is on the other hand quite certain that they wished to be considered as a distinct group, a Christian community.

In the territories of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon the Catholics were not even allowed to form a distinct community. We stated already that although the death penalty for harbouring priests was probably not very often applied, the Catholics were nevertheless submitted to a lot of restrictions and could not present themselves as Catholics.

Information concerning the state of the Roman Catholics before 1687—year in which Fr. Joseph Vaz secretly came to Jaffna and started organizing the Catholic missionary activity—is extremely scarce. The Vatican Archives do not contain very much, nor do the archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. A reason why so little is found in the central organizations of the Church in Rome, is the fact that the Portuguese missions since the 16th century had the privilege of the Padroado. Consequently, almost the whole of the correspondence was sent to Lisbon. But even in Lisbon there is not very much about those years, and it may be a proof that in fact no special Catholic activity took place.

9. Sometimes it is not easy to see whether R. Knox is speaking about Protestants or Catholics since he generally calls them all Christians. 'Although here be Protestants and Papists, yet here are no differences kept up among them, but they are as good friends, as if there were no such parties. And there is no other distinction of religion there, but only heathen and christians'.

The Dutch Reformed Church, which had exclusive rights, started organizing. Pastors were appointed in all the important centres. In the *Dagh-Register* their names were regularly registered. In the reports which actually are preserved in the archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam, Holland, we find more extensive notes about their activities: the baptisms, the visits of the schools, etc. . . . In one of those reports, dated March 14th 1668, Ds Scherius writes from Galle to Amsterdam to express his joy at the arrival of a number of new pastors and he gives their names and appointments<sup>10</sup>.

However, the Dutch government was not always very pleased with the work of the pastors. On September 14th 1665 the *Dagh-Register* states that their lack of zeal is a regrettable thing<sup>11</sup>, and several times it is doubted whether they will be able to keep the Catholic priests out of the island<sup>12</sup>. In fact, Mr. Emerson Tennent, who studied the records of the Consistory (which have now for a great deal disappeared), states that about the year 1670 these begin to exhibit evidence of uneasiness on the part of the labouring clergy, and that they contain complaints of the hostile interference of the Roman Catholics and their priests<sup>13</sup>.

However, the activity of Catholic priests at that time should not be exaggerated. We know that Ceylon was still considered as being under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cochin<sup>14</sup>, but that was a pure theoretical power. No organization of Catholic life was possible. A report from the provincial of the Jesuits from Goa, dated November 19th 1670, to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, gives a list of all the Jesuits working in the East. Some of them are in Madura, on the Fishery Coast, but Ceylon is not mentioned<sup>15</sup>. Another report from the same year, made at the request of the above-mentioned Congregation and dealing with the conditions of the Church in different countries occupied by the Dutch, states that no freedom of religion is found in Ceylon<sup>16</sup>. As a matter of fact we know, for example that

10. Cl. Arch. Dutch Ref. Church, Amsterdam 60 (Ceylon I).

11. *Dagh-Register*, 1665, 14 Sept.: '... dat de yverloosheyt van onse predicanten een beclaegelijcke saeck is'.

12. E.g. *Dagh-Register*, 1661, 16 Mei: 'Den predicant, Joan Fereire, is met het jacht, de Katt, op den 15 den Maert . . . derwaerts gegaen om aldaer te resideren; 't zal veel zijn, zoo men de Portugesen papen daer uyt zal kunnen houden'. See also *ibid.* 1663, 21 Juni.

13. Tennent, E., *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 47.

14. Arch. of the S.C. for the Prop. of the Faith, Rome, Scrittura riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali, 1675-1680, ff. 334-337v: 'La Giurisdizione de Cochino corre tutta la costa verso sud sino a Ceilam inclusive'.

15. S.R.C., Ind. Or. 1623-1674, f. 597.

16. Arch. Prop., S.R.C., Ind. Or. 1625-1674, ff. 654-655: '... nullum est relictum religionis catholicae liberum exercitium'.



in 1677 when the Dutch called the Catholic inhabitants from Madura to Mannar for the pearl fishery they were not allowed to have a priest accompany them<sup>17</sup>.

Soon afterwards the control seems to have become somewhat less severe. We know that in 1678 or 1679 an Augustinian Friar, named P. Maestro Fra Giovanni di Gesu Maria, came ashore to Colombo in the habit of a monk. He heard the confessions of numerous Catholics and three times distributed communion. He also preached and converted five heretics to the obedience of the Roman Church and about 800 children and adults were baptized<sup>18</sup>. We do not hear of any difficulty from the part of the Dutch.

In the very beginning of 1682, the Theatines, a religious order which never before had been established in Ceylon, was thinking seriously of the possibility of going there. Fr. Salvator Gallo wrote, in a report dated January 13th 1682 to the General of the order, that the island of Ceylon was the centre of his hope because a great number of Catholics were living there—even among the soldiers and among the Dutch!—without having a priest at their disposal to administer the sacraments. The priests who had tried to enter the island had been expelled very soon in one way or another. In the Kandyan Kingdom some had been kept prisoners. Fr. Gallo did not know if actually they were still alive. For what concerns the Dutch territories he thought it would be possible to make an arrangement with the Dutch East India Company. He seemed to be convinced that some missionaries would be accepted and allowed to build some churches, for instance in Colombo and Galle, provided they were not Portuguese, but Italians or Flemish<sup>19</sup>. This may be too optimistic an idea. At least it reveals that at that time they did not fear for a bloody persecution, and the proposal of not sending *Portuguese* missionaries in order to avoid hurting the susceptibility of the Dutch, shows that the latter refused to accept the missionaries *also* on account of political motives.

In the same year 1682 however, some severe measures were taken against the Catholics. Valentyn mentions a proclamation of August 12th, by which the Dutch authority forbade all propagation of the Roman Faith<sup>20</sup>.

17. Besse, L., *La Mission du Maduré*, p. 463.

18. Arch. of the Augustinians, Rome, Codex Aa 42, ff. 264-326v : 'Breve Relazione delli Conventi e Missioni delli Religiosi di Sant' Agostino dell' India Orientale, quali li detti Religiosi mandano in questo presente anno 1682 a presentare al Seren. mo Principe di Portogallo loro Governatore Don Pietor che Dio guardi'.

19. Ferro, *Istoria delle Missioni de' Chierici Teatini*, vol. II, Roma, 1705, p. 465.

20. Valentijn, V 412. No reference to that proclamation is found in the Ceylon Government Archives.

This was the situation when in 1687 Fr. Joseph Vaz, from the Oratory of Goa, secretly came to the island, disguised as a beggar. He was the first of an uninterrupted series of missionaries, and from that time the sources about the activity of the Catholic Church are abundant.

The period 1658-1687 was indeed a dark and sombre one for the Catholic Church in Ceylon. The faithful were abandoned without priests and the public exercise of the cult was forbidden. The persecution of the Faith was more severe in the territories of the Dutch East India Company than in the Kingdom of Kandy where, according to Knox, some degree of tolerance was maintained. But even in the Dutch area we should not think of a *bloody* persecution (except for sudden repressive measures in the earlier part of the period); and we must not fail to remember that the motives of Dutch intolerance appear to have been political as well as religious. During the latter part of the period conditions seemed to have eased off, enabling passing missionaries to put ashore at Colombo and exercise ministry; Protestant records too indicate increasing Catholic resistance. However it is completely out of the question to speak of 'a traditional and proverbial Dutch spirit of tolerance' as some writers do.



## SOME TREES AND PLANTS MENTIONED IN THE MAHĀVAMSA

By ANDREAS NELL

It may be that many of the sites and places mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* may remain unidentified, but every plant mentioned has been identified with some certainty. Several scholars have worked on this subject, and revisions have not been uncommon; their example has encouraged me to make some corrections, mainly based on a knowledge of the country itself. These identifications are not presented however as being final or as the last word on the subject.

The first tree that one would think of is the historic and ancient *Bo*-tree (*Ficus Religiosa*), brought from Gaya about 246 B.C. Other trees descended from it are also mentioned on many occasions, and an allusion is made to the original parent tree at Gaya very early in the opening chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* in the account of the Enlightenment of Gautama Buddha. The *Bo*-tree constitutes such an important and so frequently mentioned a plant however, that a proper study of the different contexts in which it appears would take up a separate study. I propose therefore to confine my paper to the other plants and trees mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The trees underneath which the three preceding Buddhas are said to have reached Enlightenment are named in the 15th Chapter; for Kassapa Buddha, the *nigrodha*, i.e. the *Nuga* or *Maha-nuga* (*Ficus Bengalensis*); for Konāgammana Buddha, the *udumbara*, i.e. the *Attikka* (*Ficus Glomerata*); for Kakusandha Buddha, the *sirissa*, i.e. the *Maha-andara* (*Acacia leucophloea*); the last mentioned is in the Natural Order Leguminosae, the other two in N.O. Urticaceae. The *Bo*-tree which grows wild in the sub-Himalayan forest, is known in Indian song and story as the 'pipal'.

Many an identification has to be sought by considering the tree named in the *Mahāvamsa* as an indigenous tree unless importation is expressly mentioned; for that reason I would amend Clough's rendering in the case of the *rajāyatana* as the variety *latifolia* of *Buchanania* is not indigenous, while *angustifolia* is indigenous, it is the latter variety of this member of the N.O. Anacardiaceae that probably was the *rajāyatana*.

The *sāla* or *sal* was connected with Buddha's birth and death; this *hal* or *halu* (*Shorea robusta*, N.O. Dipterocarpeae) is again mentioned as the tree under which stood the eighteen nobles

appointed to watch the *Bo*-tree at Anuradhapura when received from India. In some districts it is also called the *talura* and sometimes confused with its allies the *dūn* and the *malmora*.

Allied to the notorious snakeroot, (*Ophiorrhiza Mungos*, N.O. Rubaceae) is the Ceylon creeper mentioned in the 5th Chapter, the *nāgawalli* or *naga*-creeper.

The Mirisavāṭi Dagaba at Anuradhapura is recorded as having been built by King Duṭṭha-Gāmini in atonement for inadvertently eating a 'pepper in the pod' in contravention of the vow made by him and his brother as youths. This may have been our common pepper (*Piper nigrum*, N.O. Piperaceae) but it was a curious thing to eat, even forgetting the vow to eat nothing but what had had a portion of it previously offered to the monks; the Sinhalese text of Sumangala and Batuvantudawe also gives 'gammiris' as the thing eaten.

There is frequent mention of palms in festal decorations, in gardens and in parks; the areca, *puwak* (*Areca catechu*); the coconut, *pol* (*Cocos nucifera*); the *tal* (*Borassus flaberifer*) or palmyra; in the account of the improvements near the west gate of Anuradhapura by King Pandukābhaya (B.C. 377 to 307), special mention is made of 'the palmyra palm of the God of the huntsmen', and of the nuga or 'banyan-tree of Kubera' the God of wealth, mentioned by the name Vessavana. *Banyan* leaves turn into gold plates in the legend of Suvannapali when she feeds the soldiers of Pandukābhaya. A palm-frond floating down a stream turns into a sword in the hand of Pandukābhaya.

The *pātali* (*Bignonia suaveolens*) is mentioned as giving its name to Asoka's capital, Pāṭaliputta, where modern Patna stands.

Tamarisks (*Tamarix gallica* or *Tamarix indica*) mentioned as the *picula*-tree are said to have existed in Anuradhapura in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa.

The *kadamba*, the name in those days for the present *Malvatu-Oya*, was also the name of a tree frequently mentioned; the place where Devānampiya Tissa built the Thupārama was the site of 'the *kadamba*-flower-thicket'; the Manisomārāma vihara was also built in the north area of Anuradhapura where a *kadamba* thicket had been; the future bride of Vaṅkanāsika-Tissa, the princess secreted in a brick-maker's household, gained merit by her daily feeding of an ascetic in a *kadamba* grove; the tree was the common *Anthocephalus* *Cadamba* (the *Nauclea Orientalis* of Moon, the *Nauclea* *Cadamba* of Roxburg, N.O. Rubiaceae) now known as the *embulbakmi*, but also called *helamba* in modern Anuradhapura, with



fragrant orange-yellow flowers, straight tall erect trunk and spreading boughs.

Fragrant flowers mentioned are the *champak* of Indian religious romances, the *sapu* (*Michelia champaca*, N.O. Magnoliaceae) the *pichcha* or *geta-pichcha*, i.e. the Jasmine of which there are three varieties, and the *Mahavamsa* may refer to any one of these three members of the Natural Order. Oleaceae; the Jasmine flexile with white flowers, the Jasmine Sambac with white and strongly scented flowers and the Jasmine revolutum with yellow flowers and its religious associations in India.

The religious flower, the lotus, is often mentioned as decorative, as used in offerings, and grown in ponds in the royal cities. 'Lotus-flowers of the five colours' are said to have bloomed around the ship conveying the *Bo*-tree to Ceylon; lotus ponds are mentioned in the very early years of Anuradhapura and in the mediaeval time of the glories of Polonnaruwa. The plant would be the true lotus, the sacred plant of old Egypt, the *nelun*, (*Nelumbium speciosum*, N.O. Nymphaeaceae) of which we know the white and red flowers; but there may be included the *olu*, the water-lily of which we have flowers of white, crimson, yellow, violet and blue.

It is difficult to identify to certainty the three kinds of Bamboo, mentioned in the 11th chapter; the 'creeper-stem' shining like silver, on which were creepers gleaming golden, the 'flower-stem' upon which bloomed many kinds of flowers of manifold colours, and the strange 'bird-stem' whereon were many birds and beasts of many colours 'as if living'.

Flowers, perfumes and fragrant blooms are frequently named as in use on festal occasions from the years before Christ, but in the time of Parakkamabāhu the decorative uses of *areca* flowers and coconut flowers are noted; while the lotus blooms were in gold and silver bowls, the gold and silver jars probably held the palm flowers.

References to arches and rows of plantain trunks with their broad leaves curling over, and offerings of the fruit, planting of the banana or plantain also occur in the 12th century, the Parakkamabāhu period.

The ambrosial herbs used in the coronation are not named; the myrobalans, beleric and emblic, are differentiated, the chebulic, aralu (*Terminalia chebula*, N.O. Combretaceae) is not specially defined, the *asana* wood is said to have been the wood of this tree; the *bulu* (*Terminalia bellerica*) has wood of no value; the reason for the *Mahāvamsa* separating embelic myrobalan is that it is of

a different N.O. Euphorbiaceae; it is the *nelli*. The fruit figures in ancient designs for pillar-capitals, and in jewellery; its wood is of no value.

Another differentiation is of the royal coconut or king's coconut, the tembili, distinctly named separately as *sannira*; in the last chapter but one, coconuts are called green and yellow.

Single mentions of sandalwood, camphor, sugarcane, aloes, beans, melons, garlic and betel, ginger, sesame-oil, are not of much significance.

The *labu*, gave its name to a place where Pandukābhaya saw piled a heap of heads of his defeated enemies; this Labugamaka or Labunagaraka, survives to this day as Labunoruwa; the resemblance to a heap of *labu* suggests that the *labu* meant was the common pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*) or may have been the *alu-puhul* (*Benincasa cerifera*).

Fruits are mentioned often in general terms, the common *amba*, mango (*Mangifera indica*, N.O. Anacardiaceae) comes in for honourable and also one sinister mention. The first mention about the middle of the third century B.C.; in the fabulous account of devas bringing from the Himalaya gifts to Asoka are 'healthful fruits, myrobalan, terminalia and mango fruits from the same place, perfect in colour, smell and taste'. When the missionary-prince Mahinda catechizes King Devānampiya Tissa, he makes the mango tree his illustration. Before Mahinda selected the site for the hall of refectory for monks, the king had seated him on a fine carpet to enable him to eat the king's gift of 'a ripe mango-fruit, excellent in colour, fragrance and taste and of large size'. The king plants the kernel of the same fruit. Devānampiya's queen tries to poison the king's younger brother, lest he claim the throne, by sending him a basket of mangoes with a poisoned fruit on top, to the tank where he was working; the consequent tragedy was that her own son ate the poisoned fruit and died.

Another fruit that must have been esteemed and frequently used was the *jak*, *kos*, (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) indigenous to Ceylon from the earliest times; the tree is mentioned in the reigns of Duṭṭha-Gāmini, Parakkamabāhu and Kirtisri; the fruit is mentioned in the reign of Parakkamabāhu and the term for it is translated by Suman-gala and Batuwantudawa as *Panā*; they translate the name of the tree in the passages above-mentioned by the Sinhalese *kos*; in Wijesinha's translation into English he always uses the word *jak*; this is confusing when one reads Geiger's translation 'breadfruit' but the confusion is cleared up by the text in the earliest mention of the tree in chapter twenty-eight. The merchant sees a fruit as large as a water-pot resting on a stone because dragged down



by its own weight; he cuts away the stalk and the rind around it and removes it; the juice feeds one company of four monks, and the drupes feed another company of four; one monk stays behind and eats the kernel as does the merchant, whose piety is then rewarded by the revelation of the Ambaṭṭhakola cave full of silver. The description of the large fruit dragged down to the ground by its own weight and the manner in which it was cut indicate the jak and not the breadfruit, also of the N.O. Urticaceae, which was not found in Ceylon till many centuries later. Therefore we should accept Wijesinha's 'jak' as correct.

Similar considerations of habitat and characteristics help to identify the Clerodendron mentioned as the 'tilaka' plant since four kinds of this plant of the N.O. verbenaceae are found in Ceylon. The *wal gurenda*, (Clerodendron inerme) is peculiar to the seashore, the *gas-pinna* (Clerodendron infortunatum) and the *kenhenḍa*. (Clerodendron serratum) thrive in moist regions, and Polonnaruwa cannot be considered to be anything but in the dry-zone; therefore the Clerodendron phlomidis must be the plant meant by tilaka; that it is not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* strengthens this preference.

Occasionally the parks and gardens made by the kings are described in the *Mahāvamsa*; the earliest mention of extensive planting is that of the planting by Pandukābhaya (B.C. 377) at his newly chosen capital Anuradhapura; his successor makes the famed Mahameghavana garden rich in fruit trees and flowering trees; this garden was in later years given to the Mahāvihāra by Devānampiya Tissa. The chronicle gives more information about the gardens of Parakkamabāhu; besides these special ones twenty-six other public gardens are named. Of these, three are specially mentioned, one for the monks, a second for the public, and a third in the palace precincts expressly stated to have been a private garden. The site of the one for the monks cannot be determined as yet; it was 'known generally as the Lakkhuyyāna'; in it the king 'planted coconut trees, mango and jak trees, areca and palmyra palms and other trees' in large numbers.

The garden for the people 'resplendent in beauty, glorified by his own continual presence during the day' was called the 'island-park' Dipuyyana; its site would be the area west of the palace enclosure, bordering the Topāvāva, including the rest house area; there were in it a palace, many pavilions, bathing ponds and trees; some of which are mentioned; the *hintāla*, a palm of the phoenix group, not paludosa a non-indigenous variety, but perhaps the wild sugar-palm (Phoenix sylvestris or Phoenix pusilla) the variety most appropriate for the dry zone; the *tal*, the palmyra, the *nā*, ironwood tree (Mesuaferrea, N.O. Guttiferae) the *hamparila* (Mil-

lotus philippinensis, N.O. Scitamineae) the *welanga* (Pterospermum suberifolium, N.O. Sterculiaceae) and the *midi* (Premna serratafolia, N.O. Verbenaceae).

The seventy-third chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* mentions the king's private garden 'called Nandana which was adorned with hundreds of trees bearing fruit and blossom'. An earlier chapter gives more details. This 'private garden laid down in a region close to the king's house' should be located in the area east of the huge brick palace, where recent restoration exposes a bathing pond called the 'kumārāpokuna'! The *Mahāvamsa* enumerates several bathing ponds, a royally decorative, richly adorned bathing-room, a palace, an octagonal pavilion, and other ponds with red and blue lotus, a pond with perfumed water, and other claims to resemble the heaven-garden of Indra in Svarga, the Elysium of the Gods. The trees were twined with jasmine creepers, and the garden was filled with the murmur of bees drunk on the juice of the many blossoms.

Best of all, the seventy-third chapter mentions not only the peacocks and the twittering birds, but also twenty of the trees in this park called Nandana after Indra's garden in heaven:—

1. the *sapu* or *hapu*, the *champac* already identified;
2. the *diyaratmal* or *diyaratambalā* (Saraca indica, N.O. Caesalpiniaceae) the Asoka tree of the chandala girl Devi, whom prince Sali saw on the tree and took as bride, hence called Asokamala;
3. the *tilaka*, the Clerodendron phlomidis (not phlomoidis);
4. the *Na* (Mesua ferrea) the ironwood tree;
5. the *hamparila* (Millotus philippinensis, once Rottlera tinctoria);
6. the *sal* (Shorea robusta);
7. the *rumpi* or *mudukeyiya* (Pandanus odoratissimus), screw-pine;
8. the *totila* or *diyadanga* (Bignonia suaveolens) called the *pātali*;
9. the *kolon* (Adina cordifolia also named Nauclea cordifolia, N.O. Rubiaceae);
10. the *amba* the mango (N.O. Anacardiaceae);
11. the *mahadan* (Eugenia jambolana, N.O. Myrtaceae);
12. *embul-bakmi* or *kadamba* (Anthocephalus cadamba, Nauclea orientalis);
13. either the small *munamal* (Mimusops elengi) or the big tree peculiar to the district the *palu* (Mimusops hexandra);



14. the *pol*, coconut (and the *sannira* or *tembili* probably included);
15. the *idda* 'wal' or 'sudu' (*Wrightia Zeylanica*, N.O. Apocynaceae at one time) listed as *W. antidysenterica* or *Nerium antidysentericum*;
16. the *karawila*, one of the *Momordica* (N.O. Cucurbitaceae) perhaps the *M. Charantia* with orange, yellow or white fruit, but for the dry zone it may be *M. Zeylanica* or the tumba *karawila* (*M. Dioica*);
- 17, 18, and 20. three varieties jasmine;
19. the *elagokatu* or *gonapana*, (*Garcinia spicata* also named *xanthochymus ovalifolius*, N.O. Guttiferae) a gamboge that does not yield gamboge from the bark.

In conclusion there is one plant which must have been very widely grown in the old Rajarata, the cotton, *pulun*, (*Gossypium*, N.O. Malvaceae) to account for the frequent mention of *kathina* offerings of robes to monks; the cotton had to be plucked off the bush, ginned and spun into yarn; the yarn had to be woven into the cloth; the cloth had to be dyed, dried, cut into seven pieces and sewn into a monk's robe, all in the short period of a day and night; a number of skilled workers used to all the processes must have existed; it is reasonable to infer that cotton was widely grown, also that spinning and weaving were customary and habitual occupations with a large section of the common people; nothing else could explain the facility with which multiple *kathina* offerings were made by some of the kings; at least six notable occasions can be quoted:—

1. King Dalla Moggallana (A.D. 608 Anuradhapura) orders *kathina* robes for all the monks in the country; perhaps districts took up the task in rotation, but even so it was a task that could be fulfilled only under the conditions mentioned.
2. King Parakkamabāhu II (A.D. 1234, Dambadeniya) presented eighty robes in emulation of past kings.
3. His minister Devapatirāja gave 26 robes on one occasion and 66 robes on another occasion.
4. King Parakkamabāhu VI (A.D. 1412, Kotte) gave yearly to all the monks in all the three provinces.
5. King Kirtisri (1747, Kandy) repeated such giving of *kathina* robes.
6. His younger brother and successor, Rājādhirājasinha (1780, Kandy), yearly 'presented *kathina* robes to the monks'.

## THE TREATY OF 1766 BETWEEN THE KING OF KANDY AND THE DUTCH (2)

By E. REIMERS

(Continued from Vol. II, Nos. 1 & 2)

We now proceeded to the third article which was read slowly and appears in Dutch as follows:

His Majesty shall cede to the Company in full and sovereign ownership the coasts of this Island from Jaffnapatnam to the Waluwe, as Tammelgam, Kotjaer, Tammenkaraway, Galare, the district of Battikaloa, the Disawany of Panoa and its dependencies, as well as, on this side, Silauw and the Disawany of Putulang, and, further, the following inland territory, viz. the Seven Korales, the Four Korales and the Disawany of Saffregam. The Wanny of Nogere with its territory shall also be transferred to the Company, and she shall have the liberty of collecting cinnamon in the other territory of His Majesty.

This article, or the claim for territory contained therein, made them completely embarrassed, and after some consultation the first ambassador took upon himself to speak and repeated first the objections which had already been urged in general against the eight articles, ending by saying that the demand for territory was so considerable that the King would retain little if it was agreed to, that it would indeed never be accorded and that we could absolutely not negotiate thereover as that would be against the honour of the King.

We did all that we could to engage them in negotiations over this article, representing to them for that purpose that the King after cession of this territory would still be a great and powerful king of so many extensive provinces, which we at the same time named; that the territories which we now claimed were occupied in former times by the Portuguese and that they were won by us; that in the past century we had occupied for many years the greatest and most important portion of them and thus asked for nothing more than our own property; and that such a cession of territory did not conduce to injury of the King's honour, as in all countries and at all times there were a great number of examples whereby tranquillity and peace were restored and much bloodshed avoided; and we ended with the question: how such a cession of territory could now be regarded as so strange to them, as the Court had



offered us during our advance to Kandia by far the most and the most important portion of the provinces now claimed. They professed ignorance of this last question, and the second signatory therefore presented to them the ola which was brought to His Excellency Van Eck (of lamented memory) in the army on the evening on which we had arrived at Giriagamme at the top of Balane, of which the translation would not appear out of place here:

The Disawanies of the Three Korales, Seven Korales, some provinces of Saffregam and some seignories of the sea-coast are offered to the Company. You must announce this to the Governor and then turn back. A Sannas (certificate) to that effect will be sent as soon as possible. Till such time it is requested to tarry there without advancing further.

The second ambassador read and re-read the ola aloud, and, together with his colleagues, was not a little bewildered, although they sought to conceal it; and as the ola was not signed (wherefore it had already been considered suspect by us as a Kandyan trick), they intended to extricate themselves by asking us how we had come by the ola. 'It was brought to us (we said) at Giriagamme in the name of the King and his ministers'. 'By whom?' 'By two messengers'. 'How were they named?' This we could not say from memory, but possibly could trace it from our notes.

These questions and answers made then so embarrassed as to declare that the Court knew nothing of that ola which was not signed by anyone of the ministers and also was not sent with the previous knowledge, still less by order of the Court.

We replied that although we did not know the names of the messengers, it was however sufficiently demonstrable that they were sent on behalf of the Court, as they at the same time announced the embassy to His Excellency the Governor and received his reply, whereupon the embassy had actually appeared; and we at the same time asked the second ambassador whether at the time when he was the King's Maha Mohottiyar, or First Secretary, he had no knowledge of that ola, and when he said No, we showed him the original of the letter written by the late Disawa Bauert dated the 11th December, 1763, to the Disawa of the Three and Four Korales containing our claims, which letter as well as the said ola was handed to us by the said messengers with the verbal message that all that we had requested was granted; and we questioned him as to whether this letter had not been in his hands (which was clearly indicated by the tag of an ola attached to it showing the date of receipt and from whom and to whom written), and whether the said messengers

who were only Vidanas could have obtained and brought that ola without the previous knowledge of the Court. They were now confounded, and seeing no way out, they had recourse to that impudence which distinguishes them from all civilised nations by saying: 'It is true that the Court had sent that ola at the time, but why did you not at that time make better use of it?'

And when we replied that the Most Blessed Lord Governor at the Mahawile had granted an audience to the ministers of the Court and declared that he would negotiate regarding the preferred claims provided that His Majesty sent accredited ambassadors, which was not done, we could not be held to blame for not making use of their offer, their reply was: 'You should on the receipt of the ola not have advanced further but remained where you were, as requested'.

And when we satisfied them, and indeed made them acknowledge, that it was an utter impossibility to remain halted with an army such as ours on the summit of Balana, or at Giriagamme, and we were therefore absolutely forced to seek a more suitable camping-ground, and that we in hopes of concluding peace at the first camping-ground had remained idle for three full days on this side of the river, their bald excuse was: 'You should have returned to Wewedde or another suitable halting-place in the Seven Korales'.

And as it clearly appeared that there was no doing anything with them in this manner, and that the most convincing arguments could not bring them over to declare in favour of this article, we tried another course to induce them to enter into further negotiations regarding it, and with that object in view put it to them that in order to know which were the territories which they considered the King could not cede, we would discuss it item by item, to which they were at last brought over with great trouble and evident reluctance.

We began with the Eastern coasts; and in order not to make the report too lengthy by recording without useful purpose all the arguments regarding this subject, we shall in the hopes of Your Excellency's approval note down only the most important. Their principal arguments for evading this claim consisted herein:

1: The Company has so many and at the same time the best provinces of Ceylon, and besides that so many territories in the East Indies that the Eastern coasts of Ceylon would be a trifle to them, whereas, on the other hand, the King has nothing besides Ceylon, and the cession of any territory by His Majesty must therefore be a matter of consequence, still more of such considerable Disawanies and seignories as Panoa, Sjampanture, Erewile, Erauwre, Tammenkarraway, Koetjaer, etc.



2 : that those districts were of little use to the Company but of great benefit to the Court, as they yielded nothing else than paddy and garden produce, and that we therefore could allow the King to possess them without prejudice to ourselves.

Our reply was as follows :

The Company assuredly possesses many important territories outside Ceylon, and also by its voluntary surrender of a number of provinces of this Island had given clear proof that the possession of land was not its object, but that the King himself had brought about the absolute necessity of demanding the coasts of the Island which we had not already occupied, as he in the year 1762 had invited the English from Madras into his country and had received ambassadors in order to negotiate thereover with them, who had come in a great ship somewhere on the East coast, as we had heard on good authority at Koetjaer, and that a great quantity of powder and ball had been discharged there.

That the English for a long time past have had their eyes on this Island, and now were encouraged by His Majesty, and, the way being indicated to them, that they would make every effort to obtain a footing here as soon as we had concluded peace with the Court, if perchance there was even a foot of land by the sea which did not belong to us.

That for those reasons the coasts were of the most supreme importance to us and that in such a degree that without the same we neither would nor could conclude peace with them.

That it was also absolutely necessary in His Majesty's true interests and those of his land and people that we were masters of all the coasts in the present circumstances, as that was the only means of keeping foreign Europeans from this Island and preserving His Majesty and ourselves from molestation by them : and in order to impress this on them, we pointed out that it was not other than to the King's prejudice should any other nation obtain a footing here, and how difficult it would be, once they were settled in the Island, to get rid of them.

Further, that the territory on the East coast was not of that importance, as they averred, as we could judge with good reason because we had occupied it in the past century from Trinkonomale to the Waluwe, and that this could prove that the King was as favourably placed, without those lands, as the great Raja Singa himself, etc.

They acknowledged the mischievous consequences of the presence of a third nation here, but no one, said they, could indeed be in a position to make themselves masters of this Island if the mighty Company and the great King lived in friendship with each other, and, besides, that, this was no reason to cede all that territory to us, for one reason because the coasts were so hemmed in by many cliffs and mountains that no vessel whatever could arrive there, which, following that, they illustrated in respect of the Disawany of Panoa ; and if, said they, we considered it necessary to guard against the intrusion of strangers into the accessible or navigable places of the coasts, we had only to name them and request His Majesty's permission to erect forts there, which they had no doubt His Majesty would allow although indeed it was not necessary as we had already provided the most important places as Trinkonomale and Battikalooa with fortresses : and that what we now had to consider was the settling of the disorders, for should friendship be restored, the Supreme Court would raise no difficulties to granting permission for the erection of the necessary forts.

As regards the importance of those districts to them, that it was indeed great : they had been all over them and could judge better than ourselves, and as there were many seignories there from which the King and the ministers of the Court derived profit. We refuted this, point by point, by making them understand further that if we were not possessors of the coasts, we had no right to prevent the English from bringing them under their control, and that the friendship between us and the King would only be of service to us if our State was at war with the English and that country would undertake anything against Ceylon, and that it therefore followed not who was in possession of the coasts but who had the greater power : so that we had no fear of the English in this respect in case of war but indeed of peace.

That their statement that most of the coast, and particularly of Panoa, was not navigable was not borne out by what it seemed to be, and that Jaliput and Aroekgamme were two very well known inlets where landing could be effected by sloops, in addition to a great number of other creeke, the names of which we could not remember.

That the disorders could not be disposed of before the coasts were ceded to the Company, and although that might be of greater or minor importance to them, we were forced once and for all previously to stipulate for the inclusion of that article, so that we found it necessary to announce to them that no peace could be obtained without that cession. We could only give them hopes that in determining the breadth, the Company would practice all



moderation and be satisfied with the extreme strip of the breadth of two or three miles, as a proof that it was not the land that mattered but only her security. We would clearly see that this made their hearts somewhat lighter although they demurred to some extent by pretending that that territory was alone fertile and the hinterland mostly jungle and waste land, for after repeating over and over again the arguments stated before for and against, they said at last that they would undertake to propose this article to His Majesty but that they could not promise that they would succeed, and, on our insisting further, they took upon themselves to do their best to bring over His Majesty and the other ministers of the Court to that article.

And now we began to discuss the cession of the inland territory, the Three and Four Korales, the Seven Korales and the Wanny of Nogere, but we found that they were absolutely unwilling to listen to us, their principal arguments being based on their statement that the King could make no surrender of those provinces, an argument that could not be refuted by mere reasoning.

If we represented to them that in former times we had acquired that territory for the greater part and had occupied it for more than twenty years; that the heavy expenses which we had to incur during the war should in all justice be refunded by the Court, the only cause of the same; and as His Majesty's ambassadors at the Mahawilegange had acknowledged that the Court was not able to do so, it was at least equitable that the Company obtained some satisfaction therefor, all the more as she had again to spend such stupendous sums for recruiting (Sepoys) in Coromandel and Malabar; that His Excellency the Governor's letter to the ministers of the Court on the 10th August last had so far remained unanswered; and that those provinces were a very poor equivalent: all this was of no avail, they remained inflexible maintaining that their king would not consent to it; and their principal arguments in order to evade this claim were as follows:

According to the explanation of the word 'sovereign' we had promised that His Majesty would continue to possess all his territory, and we now demanded the most important districts for ourselves. It is true that we had occupied some inland provinces in former times, which had been granted to the Company by their great king Raja Singa for the great services performed for the Supreme Court by driving away the wicked Portuguese, but the faithful Governor and favourite Pyl several years ago had restored them to that king as a proof of friendship and faithfulness, and accordingly that they must remain in possession of the Great Store (so the king's domains are named in Ceylon).

There were also the Lords Ministers who were greatly affected thereby, as they administered those districts and had considerable holdings there, and the inhabitants of those districts, too, for many years past were accustomed to the government of those districts; wherefore the Court could never consent to their surrender. As regards their first argument, we replied that the King's sovereignty was referred to only as an example of that independence which he claimed, without our having any intention of relinquishing the Company's claim on the inland districts; that it must be due to a misapprehension or the rendering of our interpreters that the Lords Ambassadors had understood it in that sense; but if our interpreters had expressed it badly, that they should not misapply it; and that we now categorically declared, whatever the cause of the misapprehension might be, that we never said, nor intended to say, that the lands which the King now possessed should be retained by him in sovereignty, while the contrary also appeared from the chief articles which were read to them at the beginning of the conference by Ilangakoon.

As regards their second argument, which at the same time is a good proof of their ignorance of ancient history and the defectiveness of their archives in so far as they say that Raja Singa had granted those inland provinces to the Company in thankfulness, etc. we replied that it was true that those lands were restored to His Majesty during the government of His Excellency the Governor Pyl, but that this was done with the view of convincing the Court of our generosity and of attaching it in true friendship to the Company, but that this expectation was never fulfilled, but, on the contrary, that since then we had been wronged and ill-used in all manner of ways; that we out of love for peace had borne all this till finally our wrongs had far exceeded all limits and the Company was indeed forced to decide to have recourse to the power which God had abundantly given her: and that since then we were obliged to incur such enormous expenses that those inland provinces could not in the least degree be compared with them.

Against their third argument: that the Disawas and lesser headmen of the territories which might be ceded to us would continue in their offices of honour, their possessions and privileges, and their inhabitants allowed to observe their customs, and that no change would be made in the form of government.

They had little more to say in reply that it was true that now and then some differences had arisen, but that the Lords Governors through their wisdom had always cleared them away, as, among others, that some 30 years ago, at Attengalle, when some difference had arisen about the building of a dam, that was settled through



the wisdom of the Gentlemen Hollanders, without embarking on such a great war of desiring such important territories from the King, and that Your Excellency is a wise and fortunate lord and should therefore follow the example of the faithful Governor and favourite Pyl, when friendship would be restored and Your Excellency would receive great honour and gifts from the Supreme Court.

That they had full confidence that we would make no change in the form of government because the inhabitants of the low-country had been permitted to continue in their old customs and obligations, but that those territories could not be surrendered but must remain in possession of the Great Store (the Crown) to which they had been assigned for so many years, etc.

As we clearly saw that this time we could not progress further on this point, we considered it best to allow the matter to rest on this occasion and then said that we would discuss it again tomorrow and now proceed to an article which would certainly be very agreeable to them and had the 7th article read as follows:

A firm friendship shall be maintained between both powers, and the Mighty Company undertakes to protect His Imperial Majesty and the whole kingdom against all force from without, and His Imperial Majesty promises to assist to the Company where that may be necessary in such an event.

This article was very much to their taste, and, said the Disawa of Matale, should have been the first of all, whereupon he as well as the Disawa of Oedepallate began to vie with each other in lengthily enlarging upon the advantages which could be expected from a renewed friendship, in which they mingled a good deal of the Kandyan boastfulness, saying, among other things, that if the Company and their king were united, they had no fear of any enemy from without, as no power would have the temerity to undertake anything against Ceylon.

That and many other compliments and exclamations which are omitted as serving no purpose, gave us an opportunity to make an attempt to see whether by giving them hopes of a commercial treaty we could win them over in any way with regard to the cession of the inland territories. We proposed to them that the security to be gained by the proposed peace was not the only advantage, but that the Company was disposed considerably to benefit His Majesty and his subjects by taking the products of the country against reasonable prices, and that we therefore hoped that our claim again to obtain the inland provinces would meet with less opposition from the Court, but that seemed to make little

impression on them. 'The inland provinces which the Company claimed', said they, 'are the most productive: and if the King must lose them, then this promise, which was good in other respects, would be ineffectual for His Majesty, and therefore the Court would never consent to their surrender'.

Accordingly gaining nothing by changing our tack, we began to give them hopes that the Company would give back, as an equivalent for the Three and Four Korales and the Disawany of Saffregam, the already acquired Disawany of the Seven Korales and the hinterland of Silauw and Putulang, and that we promised to do our best, if the Court consented to the surrender of those provinces, to induce Your Excellency to give back those territories with the exception of the Pittigal Korale and the coasts of Silauw and Putulang. But although we did our best to demonstrate to them that the lands which we would restore to them were much more productive for the King than those which we desired, as the former were rich in cattle and grain and the other only yielded cinnamon, we could make no progress whatever. They remained unmoved, only saying that the Court could not surrender those lands.

Therefore seeing that this time we could prevail no further, and as the evening bell had already struck seven, we said that we would now take our leave as it was so late and we could be sure that they would gladly rest, and as the matters we had discussed were of great importance and required deliberation and reflection, we could continue our conference on the morrow.

This was agreed to with the usual compliments, and they now added various protestations of gladness over the prospect of a happy peace, of which they were in no doubt whatever, now that Your Excellency was such a wise and lucky lord and the two wisest and most sensible gentlemen in the whole Island had been selected to negotiate with them over the peace, and more Kandyan flattery, of which we would have made no mention had it not been that Your Excellency had explicitly ordered us, when we had the honour of making a verbal report of this conference, to record everything in writing for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the character of this nation. We replied that there would be no difficulty on our part, and that we hoped that they too were in earnest, but that we had been ordered at the same time to inform them that no time should be wasted as our troops must take the field in our New Year, and that therefore it would be very good if the Lords Ambassadors agreed with us and could decide for one or two of them to leave as soon as possible to bring credentials and then conclude a



treaty with us. If we were agreed on the subjects, said they, they left it to Your Excellency's approval whether all three of them or one or two should go up.

Whereupon, after the usual compliments, we took our leave and were conducted by them as far as the stoop.

If we may be permitted we should like to add to our modest considerations that it appeared to us that they raised so much objection to the surrender of the Eastern coast more on account of the salt-pans than any other advantage although they had taken good care not to let this appear.

We trust that these transactions will meet with Your Excellency's approval, and have the honour respectfully to sign below, Right Honourable Sir, Your Excellency's humble and faithful Servants, (signed) Godfd. L. de Coste, J. G. van Angelbeek. (In the margin) Colombo, the 16th December, 1765.

*(To be concluded in the next issue).*

## THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE CAPITULATION OF 1796

### A STATEMENT BASED ON DOCUMENTS IN THE MADRAS RECORD OFFICE

By R. L. BROHIER

There are several versions of the events which led to the surrender of the Dutch Settlement in the Island of Ceylon to the British, and more especially of those events concerning the capture of the Town of Colombo in which the Chief Fort was situated. Of these several versions, Captain Percival, an English officer of His Majesty's 19th Regiment of Foot, endeavours to lead the readers of his 'Account of the Island of Ceylon' to believe: 'that the fire of patriotism which had once animated the Dutch in Europe was completely extinguished in this Colony at the time'. He goes further to say, that: 'Rapacious exactions, the want of any regular plan or policy, and a total neglect of military defence were other causes which deprived the Dutch of their hold over the maritime regions of Ceylon'. On the other hand, M. de La Tombe, a contemporary French observer, has also left 'A Collection of Notes on the attack and defence of Colombo' and its surrender to the English. He has otherwise to say, and declares that 'Mr. Percival, an English Officer, like a good Englishman is far from allowing that treachery alone procured to his country the capture and occupation of this beautiful Colony'.

Which of these versions is correct? I shall let the reader judge for himself by venturing to build a picture of the intricate political developments which preceded the surrender of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon to the British, and by using for this purpose records which I have examined at the Government of India Record Office, at Egmore, Madras.

This seems to call for a few words in explanation. It occurred to me at a time I was engaged in writing a history of Ceylon maps and surveys, that the Madras Record Office may have some material on the organisation and technicalities of this subject. This idea hinged on the fact that the Government of the territory acquired in Ceylon by the British was administered by the East India Company in Madras, from 1796 to 1800. It seemed clear to me when I began investigations that apart from material which was the object of my quest, there were other records relating to the history of Ceylon shortly before and after the Dutch cession some of which at least,



to the best of my knowledge, has never before been quoted or published. It is this material I propose to use in both comprehensive and brief summary to throw light on the intricate political developments which influenced both men and administrative methods of those times.

There is naturally much in this century and a half old material which in the more favourable light and vantage of the present would be judged, base and ignoble. Consequently in reviewing these old-time happenings it is as well to remember that a good deal was done and said in the heat and burden of building Empires which must if we are to get a sense of proportion, be sized up in historical perspective.

To begin with let us provide ourselves with a background by briefly considering the events which led to the final act of surrender of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon to the British. In 1793 France declared war against England and the Netherlands, and sent an army into Holland. The Stadtholder, William V, Prince of Orange abandoned his country and sought the protection of England. Meanwhile, the Netherlands was overrun by France, the Stadtholderate was abolished, the constitution of Holland was altered, and the States General was replaced by the Batavian Republic in close alliance with France. The Prince of Orange in exile, nevertheless still claimed to be the States General. England constituting herself the protector of the Prince emphasised this claim.

There are two factors arising from these stirring events in Europe which at this stage merit notice. The French were known to be using their vantage at this juncture to fulfil their well cherished scheme for taking over the Dutch colonies of the Cape, Java and Ceylon. On the other hand it is barely possible to entirely ignore the fact that England was unaware of the opportunity which had come her way of annexing Ceylon. The advantages the Dutch derived from possession of the harbour of Trincomalee was always much in England's mind. And after all, is it not begging the subject to be unmindful of the efforts the British East India Company had made, beginning with the mission of Pybus undertaken 27 years earlier, to bring about an alliance between the King of Kandy and the Presidential Governments of India on behalf of His Britannic Majesty.

These circumstances were not without various misunderstandings and uncertainty in the minds of the Colonial Dutch authorities, and they apparently were divided in opinion whether they owed allegiance to the Prince of Orange, then an exile in England, who,

notwithstanding still claimed to represent the States General, or whether they came under the new constitution—the Republican Government in alliance with France. Quite obviously van Angelbeek, the 60 year old Dutch governor of Ceylon was one of possibly many other Colonial administrators who was placed in the greatest uncertainty.

The motive underlying the diplomacy which England employed to set all doubts of the Dutch Colonial Governments at rest is debatable. She took action to further emphasize her friendly relations with the exiled Stadtholder by persuading the Prince to empower the authorities in the Dutch colonies to avail themselves of the protection which His Britannic Majesty was desirous of holding out to them. Assurance was given in a formal manner that any vessel, fort or place held in trust by England in these circumstances would be restored to the States General of the United Provinces as soon as peace was made with France, and the Independence of the United Provinces as lawfully constituted, was guaranteed. This undertaking was ratified in the most authentic form possible on the 2nd of February, 1795. Thereafter, the following letter was transmitted to Governor van Angelbeek, through the Council in Madras who in turn added the second letter hereafter appended :—

(I) Noble and Most Honoured Confidante, Our trusty and Well Beloved,

We have deemed it necessary to address you this communication and to require you to admit into Trincomalee and elsewhere in the Colony under your rule the troops of His Majesty the King of Great Britain which will proceed there, and also to admit into the harbours of such other places where ships might safely anchor the warships, frigates and armed vessels which will be despatched on behalf of His Majesty of Great Britain : and you are to consider them as troops and ships belonging to a power that is in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses, and who come to prevent the Colony from being invaded by the French.

Wherefore, Noble and Most Honoured Confidante, our Trusty and Well-beloved, we commit you to God's Holy protection, and remain,

Your Well-wishing friend  
W. Pr. of ORANGE<sup>1</sup>

Kew, 7th February, 1795.

<sup>1</sup> Report on Dutch Records, by R. G. Anthonisz, p. 138. Translated from the original in the Government Archives, Colombo.



(II) To the Honourable J. G. van Angelbeek, Governor of Colombo.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I have received orders to carry into execution such measures as appear necessary to prevent the French extending to this country and for this purpose the Prince Stadtholder who has been obliged to take refuge in Great Britain has transmitted a letter for you which contains the orders of his Serene Highness for putting the Dutch Settlement on the Island of Ceylon under the protection of His Majesty's Forces. . . . ., upon the condition of their being restored to the Republic at the conclusion of the general peace. . . . . Having made this communication it is my duty to inform you that if contrary to His Majesty's expectations resistance should be made to deliver up the several Colonies and Settlements upon the Island of Ceylon disregarding the order of the Prince Stadtholder such action will render you responsible for the consequences. . . . . Major Agnew who have the honour of delivering these despatches is an officer upon whose integrity and discretion you may place the fullest reliance.<sup>2</sup>

*Signed:* Hobart  
Fort, St. George.  
7th July, 1795.

Major Agnew delivered both letters at Colombo on the 25th of July. Nevertheless on the very day Hobart's letter was written, the Madras Government resolved, in consultations with Colonel Brathwaite, Commandant of the Coast Army, and with Commodore Peter Rainier, to despatch an Expeditionary Force under the command of Colonel James Stuart, to Trincomalie. The choice of Ceylon and the selection of Trincomalie, in particular for protection is explained by the fact of Ceylon being geographically vulnerable, and, Trincomalie with its harbour the most likely object for attack by the French. An Expedition was also sent to Malacca. Correlated to this turn of events there are letters in the Madras Record Office, issued on or about this time from Fort St. George, which have an important bearing on subsequent issues. They are referred to in the following summary :

19th July 1795: (Fort St. George Military Corresp., pp. 99, 100):

Letter to the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore, advising them

<sup>2</sup>. Military and Political Proceedings, 1795—Govt. of India Record Office, Madras.

of the political state of affairs with respect to the Dutch in Europe, stating that the French might attempt to get possession of the Dutch settlements in India and particularly Ceylon; intimating the resolution of sending a large armament thither in order to frustrate such design and requesting them to issue orders throughout the country to prevent any kind of supplies being sent to any part of the Island of Ceylon until the issue of the present Expedition be ascertained.

\* \* \*

19th July 1795: (Military Correspondence, pp. 100-105):

Letters to the King of Candia detailing particulars respecting the Government of Holland and its alliance with the French nation who were preparing to send a force to Ceylon; drawing his attention to the danger and misfortune he might be subjected to; intimating the detachment of a large force against the Dutch settlements in the island of Ceylon; proposing the speedy conclusion of a treaty between the English and His Majesty for the purpose of effecting a perpetual alliance of friendship between the two nations; intimating the steps taken in consequence and requesting him to issue orders to his people to supply the troops at Trincomalie with provisions on payment of the usual prices.

\* \* \*

21st July 1795: (Fort St. George Military Correspondence, pp. 2002-2121):

(1) Letter to Commodore Rainier on sundry points connected with the Expeditions which had relation to naval details;

(2) Letter to Colonel Stuart, Commanding the Expedition to Ceylon, embodying general instructions relative to the objects of the detachment placed under his command;

(3) Copy of letter to the King of Candia inviting him to enter into a treaty of alliance with the English Company, to be forwarded should the Dutch decline the protection of the English and offer resistance at Trincomalie;

(4) Similar letter to be forwarded to the King of Candia in case the Dutch at Ceylon put themselves under the protection of the British Troops;

(5) Letter to Major Brown, Commanding the Expedition to Malacca embodying instructions of sundry points connected with his command;



(6) Letter to the Governor-General of Batavia conveying through Mr. Macdonald a letter to his address from the Stadtholder requesting him to admit the British Troops into the settlements under his authority to protect them against the invasion of the French;

(7) Letter to Mr. Macdonald appointing him on the Embassy of the Governor-General of Batavia;

(8) Letter to the Governor of Prince of Wales' Island advising him of the Expedition against Malacca and referring him to Major Brown for particulars relative to the political state of affairs regarding the Dutch; submission by the President before the Board of articles of capitulation for the surrender of Pulicat, transmitted to His Lordship by Mr. Macleod;

(9) Board's approval of, or observations on, the various articles, and order thereon;

(a) Letter from the Government at Fort William communicating their opinions as the measures to be adopted in consequence of the late despatches from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors and the Secretary of State for War, relative to the Dutch Settlements in India;

(b) Letter in reply enclosing copies of all material correspondence and papers that had passed relative to the Expeditions to Ceylon and Malacca, Mr. Macdonald's mission to the Supreme Government of Batavia, and Mr. Andrew's Embassy to the King of Candia; abstract of terms on which the several Transports for the two Expeditions had been engaged; and order thereon authorising advances for the expeditions;

(c) Letter from the Government of Colombo adducing further arguments in support of their claim to the exclusive trade in the Tinnevely country and entreating that the Government would not impede the execution of the long standing treaty with the Nabob regarding the Pearl and Chank fisheries; and order thereon.

(d) Submission to the Board by the President of his instructions to Mr. Robert Andrews on the occasion of his Embassy to the King of Candia; and order thereon.

\* \* \*

21st July 1795: (Fort St. George Military Sundries, pp. 1-8):

Letter to Mr. R. Andrews appointing him Ambassador to the King of Candia in the Island of Ceylon for the purpose of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship with him on behalf of the Company.

\* \* \*

22nd July 1795: (Fort St. George, Political Despatches to England 1792-1795, pp. 360, 367).

Copy of Secret General Letter to the Court of Directors relating to the preparations for the Expedition to Trincomalie, Ceylon and Malacca, giving: (1) Details of troops on p. 1766; (2) Expedition against those places resolved on p. 1768.

\* \* \*

At this point, sequence in the matter of dates brings us to a letter from Governor van Angelbeek which was forwarded in reply to the communication from Madras delivered to him by Major Agnew:

To the Officers Commanding the English Naval and Land Forces in the Bay of Trincomalie.

I received through Major Agnew a letter from Lord Hobart the contents of which you are acquainted with and I send you my answer by Major Agnew. I have the honour to declare as well for myself as for the members of the Council that all of us adhere faithfully to the old and lawful Government system of the Republic of the Seven Provinces with the States General and the hereditary Stadtholder, as guaranteed in the year 1787 and we acknowledge the English as our close and intimate allies.

Our principal forces are provided with everything that is necessary for a vigorous defence and we are not so much in want of a supply which has been offered. Nevertheless it will be agreeable to us if the Government of Madras will now return the friendship which we showed it last year with an equal quantity of 800 Europeans of which 300 ought to be placed in the Fort of Ostenburgh 300 near Colombo in the Forts of Negombo and Caliture and 200 near Gale in the Fort of Matura but thereby we ought to inform you we are unable to pay these troops. The recommendation of the Stadtholder to give every help in our harbours to His Britannic Majesty's ships shall be obeyed according to our power but respecting the proposal of Lord Hobart to put our settlements under the protection



of His Britannic Majesty I am obliged to answer that we are in duty and by oath bound to keep them for our superiors and not to resign the least part of them. I trust that this declaration will be approved by you as the letter of the Prince of Orange on which His Lordship grounds his proposition does not make the least mention thereof; as I have no doubt that this declaration will be accepted, the Major and Commandant Fornbauer is ordered by me to take in 300 Europeans and station them in the Fort of Ostenburgh.

*Signed:* J. G. Van Angelbeek  
Colombo. 27th July 1795.

This letter appears to have been drafted after the turn of events had received the serious consideration of the Governor and the Political Council. It was handed to Major Agnew on the 28th of July. In short, the tenor of the letter reflected a policy which took the middle course hoping not to provoke the English to hostilities and at the same time to preserve an independent position over the issue whether the Colony was being held for the Batavian Republic which now represented Holland, or in the name of the Prince of Orange who was under the protection of his cousin, George III, King of England.

The impressions which Major Agnew gained from the various conversations he had with Governor van Angelbeek are reflected in the following letter despatched from Trincomalie which he dated the 18th August 1795:

Agnew to Brathwaite.<sup>3</sup>

Sir,

I have the honour to report to you on the 13th instant my arrival on board His Majesty's ship *Heroine* which sailed from Batticaloa. Contrary winds and calms prevented our arrival at Colombo till the 25th when after announcing the object of my mission I landed and delivered to Mr. Angelbeek the letters entrusted to my charge  
.....

In various conversations with the Governor and Principal Officer of the Troops the constant tenor of their declarations went to impress me with the belief that they were friendly to the British interest as the allies of the Republic. The ancient constitution of which has guaranteed in the year 1787, by which the Prince of Orange is declared hereditary Stadtholder they considered as the

3. Madras Record Office, Volume 197 A, 2542 et seq.

only legal authority by which the Seven Provinces could be governed and that which they had sworn to obey. But on the immediate object of my mission I could obtain no answer till the day before my departure when the Governor informed me in general terms of the measures which he thought the Council would adopt. On this I judged it expedient to communicate to him copy of the proclamation intended to be issued by the Commanders of His Majesty's Forces that he might see clearly the extent of the demands they were instructed to make, expressing at the same time my apprehension that the measures his Council was about to adopt would not be satisfactory. This he said he would consider and communicate to me copy of the letter which I was to be charged in answer to Lord Hobart's despatch. On the morning of the 28th instant the Governor gave me the papers he had promised informing me that in the line of conduct the Government of Ceylon had adopted they had done more than they could justify to their superiors from a desire to mark the sense of what was due to Britain as ally and friend of the Republic that he had not been able to carry through this measure without opposition. That the orders of the Prince Stadtholder on which the demand of Lord Hobart was principally founded did not go to the extent which those demands seem to imply, and that although he had personally no doubt of the authority under which Lord Hobart made those demands a recent communication from the Government of Madras did not permit the Council of Ceylon to receive as an act of that Government any address signed only by the Governor; such an address having been declared in expressed terms not binding on the part of the English Government. This circumstance would in itself had been sufficient to prevent the Government of Ceylon from entering into any decisive arrangement on the subject of Lord Hobart's letter and Mr. Angelbeek requested that in any future communication measures might be taken to obviate this objection. Under these circumstances my instructions relative to the transfer of the European Troops never came into discussion and being assured from Governor Angelbeek of his wish to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain against the common enemy I took my leave accompanied by a gentleman<sup>4</sup> deputed by the Government of Colombo to put the Fort of Ostenburgh in the possession of our Troops should the terms they propose meet with the approval of the British Commander.

The delicacy of my situation prevented me from making those local observations which I might have been able to do had my employment been of a less public nature but *from what I saw in*

4. The merchant Fraucke.



*passing through the Fort of Colombo and part of its environs I conceive it to be strong, in good order and the garrison very respectable.*<sup>5</sup>

\* \* \*

Apropos the concluding paragraph of the letter, correspondence with Mr. G. Powney, Collector of Ramnad, who had communicated intelligence regarding the state of the defences, etc. of the Dutch settlement of Mannar, leaves no doubt an intelligence service was providing information which would be useful if strategy failed. The intention is made clear in a letter to Colonel Stuart to which a copy of Mr. Powney's letter was appended.<sup>6</sup>

Major Agnew, accompanied by the merchant Francken, reached Trincomalie on the 31st of July. The arrival of the Expeditionary Force with Commodore Rainier himself in command of the Naval units, and Colonel Stuart in command of the land forces, is told in the following letter from Major Fornbauer the Commandant of Trincomalie, Anthony Maartensz the Administrateur, and leading citizen Bartholomeusz.

To His Excellency, the Right Hon'ble John Gerald van Angelbeek, Ordinary Counsellor . . . . . Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon. . . . ., and to the Council at Colombo.  
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Yesterday and the day before, eight three-masted ships, and five two-masted ships, came within sight and disappeared towards the evening. This morning they are lying at anchor on the eastern side of Kottiar coast. They appear to be English ships. In case they attack us, we are ready to defend ourselves even in the event of a siege. From information received from Jaffna, we are led to suppose that the English intend to make a hostile invasion against us. We have the honour, with deep reverence to be, Honourable Sir and Sirs.

Your Most Obedient Servants,

J. G. Fornbauer,  
Anthony Maartensz,  
John Bartholomeusz.

Trincomalie, 1st August, 1795.

On the face of this forceful and deliberately worded communication, it should not be difficult to assess the surprise of the Comman-

5. Percival: *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, p. 29, refers to 'a total neglect of military defences', and of a garrison totally demoralised.

6. Military Conversations File, pp. 2126-2135, 28th July, 1795. Madras Record Office.

7. Jnl. D.B.U., Vol. XXXIII, p. 43.

dant when he was confronted with the letter Major Agnew had brought from van Angelbeek directing him to garrison Fort Ostenburgh with 300 English. If nothing else did, the vagueness of the instruction appears in itself sufficient to have caused bewilderment. It therefore seems natural, inasmuch as it might be construed intentional, that Fornbauer played for time by claiming that there was 'an informality in the order on which he needed further instructions'.

While letters were being exchanged, British troops were being landed four miles to the north of Back Bay off Trincomalie. One of their vessels the *Diomedé*, struck a submerged rock and sank with all the stores on board. Subsequent events were not slow in kindling hostilities. The situation had obviously taken a turn in Colombo too, as the following shows:

To the Officers Commanding the British Naval and Military

Formations Trincomalie.

Sirs,

Having received the news that you have thought fit to invade the Company's territory with armed troops and to summons the Forts of Trincomalie and Ostenburgh, we have annulled our Resolution to accept of eight hundred men as auxiliars . . . etc. . . ., and have resolved to defend with the forces we have the Forts and Establishments which have been confided to us against everyone that wishes to make themselves masters thereof, we inform you thereof and have the honour to be

etc. etc. etc.

Signed J. G. Van Angelbeek  
D. C. Van Drieberg  
J. Reintous  
B. L. Van Zitter  
A. Samlant  
J. A. Vollenhove  
D. D. Van Ranzow  
A. Issendorp  
J. G. Hoffland.

Colombo,  
15th August, 1795.

The British assault on Trincomalie is described in Military Corresp. Fort St. George, August 1795—pp. 2502-2603:

On the 26th of August, from the 'Camp before Trincomalie', Rainier and Stuart formally summoned Fornbauer to surrender



the Fort under his command. They claimed motives of humanity alone for this summons 'to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood'. The Summons promised safety of lives and property of the Garrison by immediate surrender. Alternately if they are prepared to stand a storm it was requested that the women and children of the Garrison be sent immediately out—one hour from the time of delivery of the summons was allowed for decision—when all firing would cease unless provoked by acts of hostility.

Fornbauer: Asks for 24 hours armistice to adjust terms of capitulation, the first article of which was to be that the Garrison shall be allowed to march out to Jaffnapatam or Colombo.

Same date: Terms offered to Fornbauer by Rainier and Stuart—'Garrison will be allowed to march out of fort with the honours of War Drums beating and Colours flying to the Glacis when they will ground all arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war'.

'The British troops to be put in possession one hour after capitulation—two officers of the rank of Captain to be delivered immediately as hostages for the performance of the agreement'.

'These are the only terms offered . . . . . Major Fornbauer, if he accepts will sign this paper and return it by two officers he will send as hostages within half an hour . . . . .'

Fornbauer replies:—He must consult his officers—he will send answer by two officers at 6 that evening—26th August, 1795.

The exchange of notes being considered unacceptable by the Officers Commanding the British Naval and Military Forces, their batteries opened fire on Fort Frederick. The attack was brief but severe. Shortly a white flag was displayed on the ramparts. The conditions finally offered were thereupon accepted, signed and brought to the British camp by two officers of the Dutch Garrison.

The terms of the Capitulation of the Fort, followed, and were signed by Fornbauer for the Dutch, and by P. A. Agnew (Deputy Adjutant General) for the British, on the 26th of August.

On the next day (27th of August) Rainier and Stuart demanded the surrender of the Fort of Ostenburgh. The Commandant refused to conform to the summons, but three days later, when Stuart was in readiness to attack the Fort, an officer of the Garrison approached the English camp, stating that the Commandant desired to negotiate. This offer to surrender was ratified by Nine Articles of Capitulation

between Captain G. Hoffman, and Major Agnew, on the 31st of August 1795.<sup>8</sup>

The following Extract from a letter: Brathwaite to Stuart<sup>9</sup> expresses the sense of frustration with which the British authorities viewed the refusal by the Dutch authorities in Ceylon to fall in with their plans.

'Therefore although I should in all probability, have determined just as Commodore Rainier and you did on Mr. Angelbeek's proposition, on the supposition; it was not made in good faith, and considering the advantage which might result from our immediate possession of Fort Ostenburgh, I am not sorry that the development of the business determined you to resort to your original instructions as there is too much reason to believe the proposition was not made in good faith. As Mr. Angelbeek after fully stating, in writing, the objection made to Lord Hobart's letter on account of its wanting the signature of the Council and in full knowledge of the usage of his own Government did nevertheless send his Order of so much importance to the Major Commandant of Trincomalie, over his own signature only which he must have had occasion to believe rendered it null and void. Nor did the order even sent as it was—without stating any particulars as to our Independency in the Command of Fort Ostenburgh—(Major Fornbauer's representation was that the letter allowed for the admission of 300 soldiers into the Fort).

Upon all these considerations—I cannot but highly appreciate your determination to resort to your original instruction and of the measures you have taken—I trust that the measures which the conduct of the Dutch Government whether by design or necessity or accident has compelled you to resort to will be attended with success.

The loss of the *Diamonde* with all stones, etc. upset plans for action against the Dutch and a note to the letter adds that all haste was being made to send further provision and armaments.

\* \* \*

The extension of the operations to cover the full object of the expedition—namely, to put the Dutch Settlement in Ceylon completely under His Britannic Majesty's protection, is covered by the following entry:

8. Articles of Capitulation: See Jnl. R.A.S. (C.B.) Vol. X, 1888, pp. 401, 402.

9. Madras Record Office, Vol. 197 A—August 1795, p. 2548.



The Board having been of opinion that it would be an object of great importance to secure possession of Jaffnapatam and Manar previous to the change of the Monsoon, the following letter was despatched a few days later to Colonel Stuart and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell—

To Colonel Stuart,  
Commanding the British Forces  
at Trincomalie.

Sir,

I think it necessary to acquaint you, without the loss of a moment, that I have this day received despatches from His Majesty's Secretary of State that render it highly advisable to send a second deputation to the Government of Colombo. I shall employ Major Agnew on this service, who will be charged with a letter from this Government containing propositions similar to those communicated in my former letter to the Governor van Angelbeek, in so far as they regard the possession that may be held at the time by the Dutch on the Island of Ceylon. It is therefore of the utmost important that previous to the arrival of Major Agnew at Colombo the British Troops should be in possession of Batticaloa, Jaffnapatam and Manar. With regard to the first of these places I learn from your letter of the 13th instant, that you were then making preparations for sending a force against it—as to the second—I have to desire that you will lose no time in endeavouring to possess yourself of it, and that you may have the means, I now despatch the Company Cruizer Swift and the John Schooner and tomorrow His Majesty's Sloop of War Commanded by Captain Page will follow for the same purpose—The Ordinance and Artillery requisite for this Service can be sent from Trincomalie and such part of His Majesty's 52nd Regiment as may be wanted can be drawn from Negapatam. I conceive that the three abovementioned vessels will be sufficient for their conveyance, but if you should be of a different opinion you have my full authority to exercise your own discretion upon the subject. I rely upon your best exertions to accomplish this desirable object in time to prevent Jaffnapatam from being included in and negotiation between Mr. van Angelbeek and Major Agnew. With respect to Manar I have sent orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Commanding at Palmacota to employ such Force as he may judge necessary for its reduction; and he will be aided by the two Bombay Cruizers, which are stationed at the Gulph of Manar.

If Commodore Rainier should be at Trincomalie, on your receipt of this letter, I desire you will make the contents of it known to

him, whose sanction to the measure as far as it relates to him. I have not the smallest doubt it will be cheerfully afforded.

I have the honour to be,  
etc. etc. etc.

Signed Hobart.

Fort St. George,  
17th September, 1795.

\* \* \*

Letter to van Angelbeek, dated September 22nd, 1795, Fort St. George, signed: Hobart, C. Saunders, E. H. Fallowfield.

'We feel the most sincere concern that the harmony and good understanding which had so long subsisted between the two Governments should have suffered an interruption by your not having conceived yourself called upon by the Stadtholder's letter to acquiesce altogether in the proposition our President had made to you; and that even the limited manner in which your Government had thought proper to comply was frustrated by the Officer Commanding in Trincomalie from a deficiency in point of form, with regard to the signature of the order, not deeming himself warranted to obey it . . . . . We are too well disposed to peace with the representatives of the Stadtholder's Government to forego any opening which may lead to so desirable an object, and therefore renew our former proposition, as far as it regards these Settlements which remain in the possession of your Government. It may at the same time be expedient that you should explicitly understand that our proposition goes to putting the Dutch Settlements in question completely under His Britannic Majesty's protection and control, the troops to be stationed for the purpose to be either British or selected from among those now in your service, according to the disposition we may think it advisable to make, under the impression of existing circumstances'.

The above letter was conveyed by Major Agnew, who had made a second journey on instructions from the Council in Madras.

Van Angelbeek replied:

To the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, Governor, and Council  
at Fort St. George.

My Lord and Sirs—We have had the honour to receive from Major Agnew your letter of September 22 last, and reply to it as follows:—

Our answer to Lord Hobart's letter of July 7, which agreeably to his Lordship's desire was despatched to the Commanding Officers



of the British Naval and Land Forces before Trincomalie, contained all that His Serene Highness the Hereditary Stadtholder demanded from us, and the strongest reasons why we could not agree to the remaining demands of his Lordship which went much further.

Our Governor alone signed that letter because Major Agnew insisted so much on having his despatch immediately on account of the danger to which the frigate was exposed in the bad monsoon, and as part of the Members of Council lived without the fort, hours would have been spent in getting it signed by them. Our Governor signed it without hesitation, as the draft had been approved by everyone of us, and as the Governors of Ceylon have always in matters of the greatest importance given orders to the subordinate officers by letters signed alone by them.

Major Fornbauer should then without hesitation have complied with its contents, and we have therefore left the consequences of his refusal to his account.

We nevertheless expected with much reason that the Commanding Officers would have contented themselves with the aforesaid Major's offer, to ask additional orders, and then to comply, in which case this unfortunate misunderstanding could have been adjusted within a few days.

But as they commenced public hostilities by invading our territory and summoning both our Forts, we were obliged by our letter of August 15 to repeal our peaceable offer.

We will suppose for an instant that the misdemeanour of Major Fornbauer had given the Commanding Officers a right to commence hostilities. But with what reason can the conquest of Batticaloa, Jaffnapatam, and Tuticorin be justified? The chiefs of those places having made liberal offers for the admittance of your troops, what right or argument can you allege, My Lord and Sirs, except your superior force, to summon us to deliver our establishments in the manner you have done by your letter of September 22 last?

Respecting the capitulation which the Count de Meuron has entered into with your Government for the Swiss Regiment, we declare he had no power to do it, because he had consigned his regiment permanently to us, as long as the Company might want it, as appears by the 25th Article of the Capitulation, of which a copy is annexed. He says in his letter to his brother the Colonel Commandant, that the Government with whom he capitulated is dissolved, and that therefore he had resolved to withdraw his regiment from the Dutch Army. But the Government is not yet

dissolved, as will appear at the conclusion of a General Peace in the Netherlands. In the meantime we are here the representatives of the same, and as such you acknowledge us by your letter of September 22 last.

But although we are deprived of that part of the regiment which is here, and which consists of five hundred men; we are, however, not destitute of resources to defend what has been confided to us, and if we are at last crushed by a superior force, we will find sufficient consolation in the reflection that we have done all that could be expected from loyal officers, who prefer their honour and their duty to every other consideration.

We have the honour to be, etc.

J. G. Van Angelbeek  
C. Van Angelbeek  
D. C. Von Driberg  
J. Reintous  
B. L. Van Zitter  
A. Samlant  
J. A. Vollenhove  
D. D. Van Ranzow  
A. Issendorp  
T. G. Hoffland

Colombo, October 13, 1875.

The reference made to the capitulation of the de Meuron Regiment which was at the time serving with the Dutch Army in Ceylon, introduces and yet more perfidious episode in the story of the Capitulation of Ceylon by the Dutch. What material the Madras Record Office has to furnish towards it, and to the story of Hugh Cleghorn—whose very tombstone claims, was 'the Agent by whose instrumentality the Island of Ceylon was annexed to the British Empire, remains to be told.

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**SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT**

THE  
**SINHALESE CASTE-SYSTEM**  
OF  
**CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN**  
**CEYLON**

by

**WILLIAM H. GILBERT, (JR.), M.A., PH.D.**

Advisor to the United States Congress on American-Indian Affairs  
Author of *Syllabus of Introductory Sociology, Peoples of India,*  
*Caste in India, Eastern Cherokee Social Organisation*  
and *Aspects of Indian Policy*

THE CEYLON  
HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Vol. II. Nos. 3 & 4



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## THE SINHALESE CASTE SYSTEM OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN CEYLON<sup>1</sup>

By WILLIAM H. GILBERT, JR.

[Reprinted from the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 35, Nos. 3 and 4 (March and April, 1945). I wish to record my gratitude to Dr. Gilbert for his permission to reproduce the paper, while thanks are also due to the Smithsonian Institution (United States National Museum) through whose agency copyright was procured, and to its associated body the Washington Academy of Sciences in whose journal this paper first appeared in 1945. Being about the only comprehensive study of the Sinhalese Caste System yet published, though till now practically unknown in Ceylon, we think a useful service will be rendered to the reading public by its re-publication.—Ed.]

The caste system of India is a growth of such vast dimensions that it requires an approach by local surveys of a fairly intensive nature before any relevant ideas can be acquired concerning the structure as a whole. Geographically there is a wide range of variation in the development of the caste relations from the more complex groupings of the Ganges Valley to the simpler units of the peripheral areas such as the Laccadives and Ceylon. It seems both logical and easier to commence a series of local surveys with the areas of simpler development and gradually work up to the more complicated relations in areas of central caste specializations.

In Ceylon the number of castes is fewer and the complexity of their relations is much less marked than on the mainland in India proper. European penetration has to a greater degree than in India broken down the indigenous system of social and economic stratification. This process of economic change, if properly studied, should as a clear example be an aid to the understanding of the caste relationships both here and elsewhere in India.

Ceylon is divided primarily between two peoples, the Sinhalese of the south and central areas and the Tamils of the north. The former number over 3,500,000; the latter about 790,000, or 15 per cent. of the total. In addition there are about 325,000 Moors, or Moham-medans, on the coasts of the north-east and north-west. The Sinhalese and the Tamils each possess a caste system peculiar to their

1. The transliterations of Sinhalese words in this paper are presented as they are given in the literature. It will be noticed that some of the caste names have a variety of spellings. Some writers use ch for c, sh for s, c for ś. Coomaraswamy in his work on *Medieval Sinhalese Art* gives a clear and consistent system of transliteration. Appendix IV at the end of this paper gives an official transliteration of the main caste names.



own nationality. The Tamils, being in a minority and sharing the social stratification of their fellow nationals in India, are not considered in this paper except where they show relationships with the Sinhalese. The Moors do not appear to have castes.

The most important items of inquiry to which the present paper is devoted relate to the identity of the Sinhalese castes, the nature of their membership, their location past and present, their origin, and their differences in customs and manner of life. By assembling the known facts concerning Sinhalese social stratification it is possible that a contribution will be made not only to the understanding of caste in India but to the science of human social stratification in general.

### Historical Background

According to Arthur Perera (1917, p. 26)<sup>2</sup> the Sinhalese castes probably had a tribal basis. The lower castes, he says, formed tribes of a pre-historic Dravidian race, the *Rakshas* of tradition, who drove into the interior the still earlier Australoid Veddas, who were the *Yakkas* of tradition. Later the higher castes of northern India entered Ceylon, and the frequent subsequent contacts with the Deccan in historical times led to the formation of the artisan castes.

The original Sinhalese Kingdom comprehended most, if not all, of the present Island of Ceylon and was founded, according to historical tradition, about 504 B.C. by Vijaya, an immigrant chief from either Bengal or Gujarat. Among other elements of culture that he is credited with having introduced into Ceylon the caste system was notable. Vijaya's Sinhalese appear to have colonized the entire southern part of Ceylon, both highland and lowland, displacing the aborigines as they proceeded. Later accounts tell of continued struggles with the Tamils in northern Ceylon, but whether these Dravidian people arrived at a prior date is subject to dispute.

The contests between the apparently Aryan Sinhalese and the Dravidian-speaking Tamils continued until A.D. 1505, when the coming of the Portuguese introduced European influences for the first time. The explorers and colonists from Portugal were able to subdue only the lowland coastal areas. Here they carried on a brisk trade in cinnamon bark and converted about a tenth of the natives to the Roman Catholic faith. In the highlands the independent Sinhalese of Kandy succeeded in maintaining their Buddhistic traditions, caste customs, and economic life in relative independence. The impress of 133 years of Portuguese rule still remains in the culture of lowland Sinhalese today and helps account for their many differences from

2. Complete references are given in the Literature Cited. Appendix VI.

the highlanders or Kandians. The economic life of the lowland castes was affected by the European overseas plantation culture, while the aboriginal economy of the interior castes was largely medieval and self-contained.

The Dutch attacked the Portuguese forts in Ceylon about 1638 and in a series of sanguinary campaigns completely ousted them from their coastal settlements by 1658. They were aided by disgruntled Sinhalese whose caste system had been disrupted by the impressment of men of high caste as coolie labor by the Portuguese. For more than a century the Dutch now monopolized the cinnamon trade and firmly installed the Roman-Dutch law among the lowland Sinhalese. The Cinnamon-peeler caste was greatly augmented by many new recruits during this period, and friendly relations were maintained with the independent Kandian Kingdom of the interior.

In 1795 the English assailed the Dutch colony of Ceylon and added it to their growing domains in British India. Later, Ceylon was separated as a Crown colony. Within a few years continued conflict with the native independent Kandians was terminated by the conquest of the highland area by the British, and the native dynasty was extinguished. The Kingdom of Kandy in 1802 was still organized on the basis of an interchange of goods and services between castes as part of a vast native civil service dependent upon the king and his nobility for its existence and stability. With the introduction of British rule this system rapidly collapsed, and a European plantation economy, marked by the cultivation of coffee, tea, cacao, rubber, and other tropical products, was introduced into the highlands.

The castes that had formerly performed certain functions exclusively were now forced to take up vocations outside of their former sphere, although they still maintained to a large degree their restrictions on intermarriage with other castes.

### Differences from India

According to Denham the Sinhalese caste system differs in the following respects from the system in India proper:<sup>3</sup>

(1) The Sinhalese, being of a homogeneous race and religion, do not have the complexity of Indian castes, with their mingling of tribes, races, and religious orders.

3. Hayley, *Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, pp. 146-147.



(2) The Sinhalese castes are more or less alike in language, dress, and customs, with a few notable exceptions, whereas the Indian castes differ greatly in these items.

(3) Buddhist tolerance in matters of caste has eliminated the technical religious sanctions and complicated rules prevailing in India.

(4) There are no Brahmans in the Sinhalese caste system, and their place is taken by the comparatively autocratic central government in the native kingdom.

(5) The native Kandian Kingdom, by organizing the people under state departments each under the control of a crown officer, supplied the economic needs of the realm. Thus a system of state socialism was effected by hereditary occupations under official direction.

(6) Sinhalese caste emphasizes duties, while Indian caste is concerned with customs and habits.

(7) In the Sinhalese system no distinct order of precedence of castes seems ever to have been agreed upon.

(8) The religious sanction is lacking in the Sinhalese system, but popular psychology and government control operate through the *ninda* overlords and the authority of the native courts to enforce the caste rules.

(9) In Sinhalese society such matters as legal rights and liabilities, distinctions of name, salutation, comfort of living, liability to degradation to slavery, and penal restrictions all help to maintain caste. In India proper slavery is rare, legal rights are interpreted by the Brahmans rather than by royal officers, and other bases of caste distinction are imposed.

### Sources

The literature describing caste as it has developed among the Sinhalese is not extensive. From 1665 until the present time about 30 writers have listed, with varying degrees of completeness, the names of the Sinhalese caste groups. The number listed runs from 7 to 63. Most of these writers content themselves with merely itemizing the castes and furnishing a few characterizations of major groups. Some list the castes in their order of strength or membership, others in their hierarchical status from highest to lowest; while still others classify the castes in terms of their occupational specialties. Alphabetical lists are not given, possibly because of the mixture of English and native terms used as caste names.

### Occupation and Status

The titles or names of the castes are primarily occupational, but there exists a rich synonymy of terms, especially euphemistic titles, which are inspired by the native politeness and well-bred manners of the Sinhalese. The Cultivators rank highest, followed by the Fishermen, Toddy-drawers, Cinnamon-peelers, etc.<sup>4</sup> At the base of

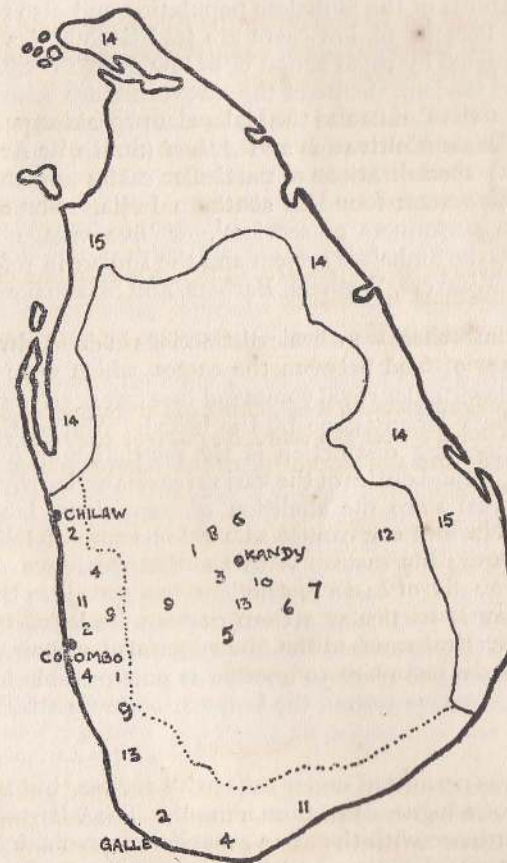


FIG. 1.—Map of Ceylon, showing in schematic fashion the general location of certain Sinhalese castes, Tamils, and Moors. Solid line: Boundary between Sinhalese and Tamil-Moor areas. Dotted line: Boundary between coastal, or lowland, Sinhalese and Kandian, or highland, Sinhalese. 1, Agriculturists; 2, Cinnamon-peelers; 3, Drummers and Weavers; 4, Fishers; 5, Jaggery makers; 6, Lime-burners; 7, Mat-weavers; 8, Outcastes, or *Rodias*; 9, Potters; 10, Smiths and Artisans; 11, Toddy-drawers; 12, Veddas; 13, Washers; 14, Tamils; 15, Moors, or Mohammedans.

4. Upham, *Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and Raja-vali*, vol. 3, pp. 352-353.



the system are the *Rodias*, or Outcastes, a group of wandering beggars.

Social status, while ostensibly based on occupation, is probably in the main dependent upon numbers and racial background. The most numerous caste, the Cultivators, or *Vellalas*, constitutes about two-thirds of the Sinhalese population and also ranks highest in status. Persons of low-caste are traditionally descended from groups outcasted by royal action or of low degree because imported from beyond Ceylon. Some of the caste terms are synonymous with those used by the Tamils and the Malayalam-speaking peoples. Such terms are *Vellala* (Cultivator) and *Achari* (Smith, or Artisan). The occupational specializations of particular castes and their grouping resemble the system found in southern India. For example, the phrase 'five performers of services', or 'five village servants', is used in both the Sinhalese system and the Indian in referring to the Carpenters, Weavers, Washers, Barbers, and Shoemakers.<sup>5</sup>

In older times there were basic distinctions in dress, dwelling types, and character of food between the castes, which were imposed by sumptuary laws under royal command (see *infra*). Nowadays these differences have largely gone by the board. Almost the only outstanding remaining distinction is the restriction on intermarriage. The land rights and duties of the various castes under royal command have all lapsed since the abolition of compulsory labor or *Rajakariya* in 1832, and one cannot as a rule be sure of telling a man's occupation from his caste. With the disappearance of the occupational character of caste restrictions has gone also the ecological linkage whereby particular artisan castes were located in the special localities that furnished the raw materials for their work. Free movement from one place to another is now possible for all, while under the old native system the lower castes were attached to their estates.<sup>6</sup>

Slavery was permitted under the native regime, but no one could hold slaves of a higher caste than himself. The villages were classified in accordance with the caste groups that predominated among their inhabitants. Thus we find Outcaste villages, Cinnamon-peeler villages, etc. In southern India the larger cities or towns had special streets for individual caste groups. Each person was identified by his 'ge', or house, name, which referred both to his caste and to his caste village.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to distinct traditions of origin some of the castes formerly possessed badges or ensigns peculiar to their own group and symbolical of traditional events or objects connected with their history or occupation. Thus the Fisherman caste, or *Karawe*, had a fish on their flag, while the Artisans, or Smiths, had an ape, the symbol of Hanuman, king of the monkeys and prominent in their legends.<sup>8</sup>

#### Buddhism and Caste ; Roman Catholics

The Buddhist religious functionaries have in the past been selected entirely from the *Goigama*, or Cultivator, caste since the respect required for the religious office could be consistent only with one of high caste. The higher grades of castes that rank immediately after the *Goigama*, however, are not professedly excluded from the religious worship of the Buddhist faith by any formal ordinances. Lay brothers of low-caste called *Silvat* frequently led a life similar to that of the *Goigama* functionaries and performed minor religious duties. These low-caste officials were not, however, formally ordained, nor were they treated with any distinction.<sup>9</sup>

The Siamese sect of Buddhists was founded about 1750 and had its stronghold in Kandy. It admitted only *Goigama* to its membership, which constituted about half of all Sinhalese Buddhists. The *Amarapura* and *Ramanya* Buddhist sects were both founded later than the Siamese sect and under Burmese influences. They, in contrast with the Siamese sect, profess to admit all castes to their membership but in reality are asserted to admit only *Karawe*, or Fishers, along with Cinnamon-peelers and Toddy-drawers, the three highest-ranking castes next to the Cultivators. The *Amarapura* and *Ramanya* predominate in the low-country and now constitute about 34 and 16 per cent., respectively, of the Sinhalese Buddhists. In the highland area these two sects together constitute less than 10 per cent. of the Buddhist Sinhalese. Although in the lowlands the Siamese sect numbers only about 20 per cent. of the Buddhists, they own all the temples.<sup>10</sup>

Sinhalese Buddhism is not alone in its tolerance of caste, since we find that the Buddhists of Kashmir, Nepal, and ancient Hindustan also maintained caste differences. As in orthodox Hinduism, persons engaged in occupations requiring the killing of and contact with dead animals or human beings, such groups, for example, as gravediggers, butchers, executioners, fishermen, and leather-workers, are all outcasted.

8. E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, pp. 20-23.

9. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 313.

10. Copleston, *Buddhism, Past and Present in Ceylon*, pp. 250-252.

5. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 178-179.

6. Ferguson, *Ceylon in 1903*, p. 135.

7. Denham, *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*, pp. 178-179.



About 10 per cent. (300,000) of the Sinhalese are Roman Catholics. This group is mainly located in the lowlands and consists of converted Fishers, Cinnamon-peelers, Toddy-drawers, Washers, and Cultivators. The Ceylon police records under the title of 'Hue and Cry' in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* showed during the period 1905-1907 the following numbers of Roman Catholics among Sinhalese castemen: *Goigama*, 935 persons, 68 R.C., or 7 per cent.; *Karawe*, or Fishers, 158 persons, 60 R.C., or 38 per cent.; *Halagama*, or Cinnamon-peelers, 98 persons, 21 R.C., or 20 per cent.; *Wahumpura*, or Jaggery-maker cooks, 94 persons, no R.C., because this is primarily a highland caste; *Durawe*, or Toddy-drawers, 69 persons, 12 R.C., or 17 per cent.; and *Radaw*, or Washers, 34 persons, 4 R.C., or 11 per cent.

### Relations to the Maldivians and to the Tamils

The Maldivian Islands to the south-west of Ceylon are inhabited by a Moslem people whose speech is related to Sinhalese. It is generally believed that the culture of the archipelago stems historically from Ceylon. The various writers who first reported on the Maldives detailed four major caste groups—(1) the *Bandara*, or royal caste, which was composed of the sovereign and his relatives, (2) the *Didus*, or persons of high dignity who might intermarry with royalty if specially permitted and carried hereditary titles of nobility, (3) the *Manike* or *Maniku*, who were the gentry, and (4) the *Kalo*, or *Kamulo*, the common people, made up of artisans, tradesmen, and persons engaged in ordinary occupations. Apparently the nobility was more of a class than a caste, especially in relation to the first rank and since some were given titles from the gentry.<sup>11</sup>

The *Maniku* would seem to correspond closely with the *Goigama*, or Cultivator, caste, while the lower Sinhalese castes would correspond with the *Kalo*. It is noticeable that the Moslems or Moors of Ceylon itself are divided into four classes: merchants, weavers, fishermen, and barbers. The Maldivian occupational equivalents to the lower Sinhalese castes occur in the following examples: Fishers, Lac-workers, Mat-weavers, Carpenters, Goldsmiths and Silversmiths, Blacksmiths, Tailors, Barbers, Masons, Weavers, and Toddy-drawers. The available literature does not indicate, however, that these occupations were hereditary and characterized by in-marrying restrictions.

Among the Tamils of the north and east of Ceylon the occupational-caste equivalents to many of the Sinhalese castes are to be found. The following are the most important of these<sup>12</sup>: Cultivators

11. Bell, *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. 3, 1917; Hockly, *Two Thousand Isles*, p. 111.

12. Based on Chitty, *The Ceylon Gazetteer*, pp. 231-234.

(Tamil *Vellala* are divided into four groups, which are the equivalents of the *Goigama*); Herdsmen (Tamil *Idayer* are equivalent to the *Pattiwala Aya* subdivision of the *Goigama*); Fishers (the Tamils have six castes in this category as the equivalents to the *Karawe*); Toddy-drawers (Tamil *Nalawers* and *Shanavars* are equivalent to the *Durawe*); Lime-burners (Tamil *Kadeyers* equivalent to *Hunno*); Palanquin-bearers (Tamil *Chiviyars* equivalent to *Paduwo*); Weavers (Tamil *Seniyers* equivalent to *Chalias* and *Berawayo*); Tomtom-beaters (Tamil *Parrevar* equivalent to *Berawayo*); Barbers (Tamil *Navider* equivalent to *Embattayo*); Blacksmiths (Tamil *Kaller* equivalent to *Camburo*); Goldsmiths (Tamil *Tattar* equivalent to *Navandanno*); Brass-founders (Tamil *Kannar* equivalent to *Lokuruwo*); Carpenters (Tamil *Tatcher* equivalent to *Vaduwo*); Masons (Tamil *Sitper* equivalent to *Galvaduwo*); Tailors (Tamil *Paver* equivalent to *Hannali*); Potters (Tamil *Kusaver* equivalent to *Badahelayo*); and Washers (Tamil *Wanna* equivalent to *Radaw*).

### Ecological Factors

The principal varieties of environment in the Sinhalese area of Ceylon are: (1) the forests of the uplands, (2) grassy areas of both upland and lowland, (3) cultivated area of upland and lowland, and (4) the coastal areas. Each of these environmental types requires a definite mode of life, and the castes that fit one type may not be well adapted to life in another. In the forested uplands dwell the Veddas, the nearest equivalents to the hill tribes of the south Indian mainland. The Veddas are divided into settled and wandering groups. The economy of the wandering Veddas involves a competition with bears for the fruits and wild honey of the forests and with the leopards for the deer and wild boar, which they hunt in both pasture and forest.

Under the native regime the *patena*, or grassy areas, of the western part of the Island were used for pasturage rather than for cultivation. The *talamas*, or grassy meadows, on the eastern side of the Island were scarcely utilized at all. In the north-west coastal semi-desert areas population was also sparse. The Sinhalese part of the Island was divided from the Tamil by a forest band running from the north-west to the south-east and including much of the highland areas.

The cultivated areas were mainly inhabited by the *Goigamas* and their allies. The upland areas included terrace cultivation of rice, while the lowland cultivation was in the river basins near the sea. In the upland the *Goigamas* cultivated cocoa, tea, rubber and coffee in modern times. The occasional broad and marshy plains of grass were



not much used in cultivation. In the upland the kitul palm furnished the jaggery or palm sugar extracted by the *Hakuru* caste, the grasslands material for the Grass-cutter caste and for the Mat-weavers, while the clayey river beds and fields furnished material for the Potter caste. The cinnamon tree flourished in the lowlands and furnished a basis for subsistence to the *Chalia*, or Cinnamon-peeler caste. In this area also occurred the coconut palm, the basis of toddy and the subsistence of the Toddy-drawer caste. Finally, on the coastal or maritime area proper were the *Karawe* caste—fishermen, carpenters, and handymen of the castes. In addition to the above mentioned crops the lowlands permitted the growth of rubber, citronella grass, and the areca palm. The last was the basis of betel chewing.

For each of the occupational castes, then, can be plotted an area of distribution in terms of the location of minerals, plants, animals, topographic features, and climatic characters most intimately related to the caste activities. These caste areas of distribution tend to cluster around highland and lowland and thus reinforce the basic distinction in mode of life between Kandians and lowlanders.

The castes were linked together in the production and servicing of items of material culture. For example, the *Achari*, or Blacksmith caste, constructed the chunam boxes to hold the betel-nut and the arecanut cutters, the Lime-burner caste produced the lime that must be chewed with the betel, while the areca palm was cultivated by *Goigamas*. As another example the building and operation of Buddhist temples required the services of carpenters in the Artisan caste, of stone workers also in that caste, of Cultivators, Painters, Tomtom-beaters, Washers for temple linen, of Potters for sacred vessels and of Ivory, Lac-, and Wood-workers. Thus a fine degree of co-operation was required, involving the products of several different types of environment. Since the most of the castes lived by the material goods produced or services rendered, they appear to have been definitely linked with the ecological areas of the Island.

Not only were the castes localized in terms of environmental materials but they also had their own streets and quarters in the towns, as we have already intimated. Thus Pridham in his account of Ceylon,<sup>13</sup> mentions that the site of Madoola still had in his time straight fields bearing the names of streets, such as Tomtom-beaters' Street, Potters' Street, etc.

Localization of Sinhalese castes can be determined specifically by their classified sources of livelihood. The latter may be roughly divided into four categories, animal, vegetable, mineral, and special

13. 1849, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 2, p. 682.

services. The castes exploiting animal resources are: (1) the non-settled Veddas, who subsist on honey and on deer and wild boar and consequently live mainly in the hill forests; (2) the Elephant-catchers, who must also haunt the hill forests; (3) the Fishers, who subsist on edible marine fish on the coasts and coastal rivers in the mangrove and palm areas; (4) Scavengers and Leather workers, who, along with the Pastors, inhabit the sections in which stock abounds, i.e., primarily the cultivated lowlands; (5) the Lac-collectors and workers who are dependent on the hill forests where the trees inhabited by lac insects are found.

The castes exploiting vegetable resources are (1) the *Goigama*, who depend primarily on rice and vegetables and who are found in the areas of coastal and upland rice cultivation; (2) the Cinnamon-peelers, who are definitely limited to the western and southern coasts where the cinnamon tree abounds; (3) the Jaggery-makers, who are situated mainly in the highland areas of the kitul palm and other sugar-bearing trees; (4) Toddy-drawers, who tap mainly the coconut palm, a tree found in the long settled coastal areas of the south and west; (5) Grass-cutters, who are mainly in the grassy uplands; (6) Tree-fellers, who were timber cutters in the hill forests; (7) Weavers, who were located in the areas that produced cotton, namely, the highlands; (8) Mat-weavers, who wove materials such as rattan and reeds found in the upland grassy and swampy areas; (9) Basket-makers, who were similarly employed and lived in similar areas; (10) Gardeners, who cultivated flowers in the upland areas; and (11) Carpenters, who subsisted by their labor on economic woods from the hill forests.

The castes whose major source of livelihood lies in mineral resources are (1) Potters, who were wont to collect their clay from cultivated areas (ricefields) and riversides in the uplands; (2) Smiths, who were located in the uplands near the sources of iron ore, which latter was extracted for them by the *Yamannu*; (3) Gem-collectors, a division of the *Goigama* who haunted the river beds and earth deposits of the Ratnapura region in the highlands; and (4) Lime-burners, who burned coral rock, wood, and other materials for lime and charcoal in both upland and seacoast.

The service castes, whose major duties were ceremonial and sump-tuary, were (1) Barbers, located at the royal court; (2) Palanquin-bearers, who were mainly in demand at the royal court or the towns of the overlords; (3) Tomtom-beaters, who were most important in services connected with planet and devil worship and with temple rites; (4) the Dancers, who were similarly employed and located; (5)



Washers, who served all the castes in rites of ceremonial purification and whose location was consequently the same as the other groups; (6) Tailors, who were located at the royal court in Kandy, as were also (7) the Silversmiths and Goldsmiths.

### Caste Numbers

No available census records exist of Sinhalese caste numbers. Evidently the European administrators of Ceylon thought that it was possible to make this social phenomenon disappear by ignoring it. According to Coomaraswamy the most important caste groups in the Kandian population are: *Goviyo* (*Goigama*); *Kamburu* (*Navandanna* and *Galladdo* artificers); *Vaduwo* (Carpenters and Blacksmiths); *Radaw* (Washers and Dhobies); *Durawo* (Toddy-drawers); *Kumbakarayo* (Potters); *Beravayo* (Musicians, Weavers, Astrologers); and *Paduwo* (servile Cultivators, Palanquin-bearers).<sup>14</sup>

An examination of the caste data reported in the 'Hue and Cry', or Ceylon police records, for 1905-1907 shows the following (1) numbers, (2) percentages, (3) estimated number in the gross population, and (4) (where available) the number shown by the 1901 census of occupations: *Goigama*, 935, or 60 per cent., est. 1,400,000; *Karawe*, 158, or 10 per cent., est. 237,000. Fishers by occupation 38,504; caste not recorded, 104, or 7 per cent.; *Halagama*, 98, or 6 per cent., est. 147,000; Cinnamon-peelers by occupation 15,222; *Wahumpura*, 94, or 6 per cent., est. 141,000 (Cooks of Jaggery-maker caste); *Durawo*, 69, or 3 per cent., est. 103,000; Toddy-drawers by occupation 11,836; *Radaw*, 34, or 2 per cent., est. 51,000, Washers by occupation 29,749; *Navandanna*, 26, or 1.5 per cent., est. 39,000, Goldsmiths and Silversmiths by trade 14,361; *Hunno*, 23, or 1.5 per cent., est. 34,000, Lime-burners by occupation 870; *Salagama*, 16, or 1 per cent., est. 24,000 (Weavers); *Batgama*, 13, est. 18,000 (Laborers); *Duraya*, 13, est. 18,000 (Laborers); *Paduwa*, 13, est. 18,000 (Laborers); *Hakuru*, 7, est. 10,000, Jaggery-makers by occupation 803; *Berawa*, 5, est. 8,000, Tomtom-beaters by occupation 1,649; *Oliya*, 5, est. 8,000, Dancers by occupation 5,423; *Badahela*, 5, est. 8,000, Potters by occupation 9,678; *Pannaya*, 3, est. 4,500 (Grass-cutters); *Badala*, 2, est. 3,000 (Silversmiths); *Rodiya*, 2, est. 3,000 (Beggars); *Hedidemala*, 2, est. 3,000 (*Tamils*); *Vedda*, 1, est. 1,500 (Primitive Hunter); *Parava*, 1, est. 1,500 (*Tamil*); *Pannaderia*, 1, est. 1,500 (Grass-cutters); *Demalagattera*, 1, est. 1,500 (Tamil Slaves); and *Porokara*, 1, est. 1,500 (Axmen).

It can be safely assumed that the traditional caste occupation is generally disregarded today. A very small minority of the *Karawe* are fishermen; of the *Halagama* cinnamon-peelers; of the *Durawo* toddy-drawers, etc. On the other hand, the great majority of the

14. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 22.

*Goigama* are still rice-cultivators; of the *Radaw* washermen and of the *Navadanna* goldsmiths. Pieris<sup>15</sup> asserts that the Portuguese first violated traditional occupations by forcing large numbers of the *Goigama* to do coolie labor, and other sources assert that the Dutch were likewise guilty of violations of caste regulations in regard to occupation.<sup>16</sup>

### Caste Services, Village Types, and Sumptuary Laws

In the native Kingdom of Kandy there existed a system of forced labor, the so-called *rajakariya*, in which royal authority was employed to allocate the different occupations of the realm among the available labor supply. Families performed the tenant services by turns, i.e., alternating in giving their services under public officers in return for their land holdings. At a late date the labor services might be commuted by a money payment.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the more important lines of special service performed in the native Kandy Government included messenger or guard duty (*Atapattu vasama*); husbandman (*Ganwasama*); military duty (*Hewa vasama*); artificer work (*Badal panguwa*); potter work (*Badahela panguwa*); musician (*Davul panguwa*); washermen service (*Rada vasama*); servant (*Nila vasama* or *Uhiyam vasama*); iron-smelting (*Yamanna*); and outcaste services (*Rodiya*).<sup>18</sup>

There are six departments in the Kandian Government, as follows: *Kottalbadde*, or Artificer's Department; *Badahelabadde*, or Potters' Department; *Radabadde*, or Washers' Department; *Handabadde*, or Mat-makers' Department; *Kurruwe*, or Elephant Department; and *Madige*, or Carriage Bullock Department.<sup>19</sup> Each department was organized with a hierarchy of officials responsible for the performance of duties by the particular castes concerned with work in that department.

The work of the departmental officials was made easier by the caste segregation in specific villages. In fact, each village was classified according to the type of caste or service to which it belonged. The following were the more important types of village: (1) *Gabada-gama*, a royal village or manor that was the private estate of the king and consisted of crown lands cultivated under the half-share system; (2) *Bat-gama* villages inhabited by the *Paduwo* caste of low status (their services included carrying the hinder parts of palanquins,

15. Ceylon and the Portuguese, vol. 2, pp. 256-258.

16. Tennent, *Ceylon*, 1889, vol. 2, pp. 123-124.

17. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, 1908, pp. 22-24.

18. Ibid.

19. D'Oyly, *Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom*, pp. 7-18.



watching the house or fields, and other menial work), who could never acquire any permanent rights to the land; (3) *Biso-gama*, or royal villages set apart for the *Pallervahala* or queen's palace or for the royal household on the same terms as the *Gabada-gama* (this type of village, along with the first and second, was inhabited by degraded castes who as tenants could be ejected at any time in favor of some other caste at the will of the king); (4) *Vihara-gama* type villages belonged to some Buddhist temple and services were performed for the priesthood; (5) *Devala-gama* were villages belonging to some Hindu temple or deity with services as in (4); (6) *Nindagama* was a village under the entire protection of a local chief or landlord, and tenure of land was conditioned by service to him; (7) *Vidanegam* was a village of low-caste people liable to public services under *Vidanes*, or headmen; (8) *Wedi-gama* were villages inhabited by Veddahs; (9) *Gattaru-gama* were inhabited by persons who had been outcasted by the king; (10) *Gahala-gama* were inhabited by executioners, scavengers, and persons of extremely low caste; and *Kuppayama* were villages of *Rodiyas*, the hereditary out-caste beggars.<sup>20</sup>

Not only were the castes segregated in terms of departmental services and village residence, but they were strictly regulated as to the goods they might use for clothing and the kinds of houses they might inhabit. Barbers wore doublets and could not sit on stools. Potters wore no doublets but could not sit on stools. Only the king could wear certain types of gold or silver jewelry, an eight-cornered hat, shoes, stockings, or trousers, be served with an umbrella, or live in plastered walls under tiled roofs and in two-story dwellings.<sup>21</sup>

According to Pridham,<sup>22</sup> at one time there was a thriving trade in carved figures portraying the native castes at the town of Matura. Between the low and high castes there were many invidious distinctions of dress. No low-caste woman was allowed a neck ornament except one of the Potter or Smith caste. She could not wear clothing above the waist except in cold weather. Low-caste men were not allowed to wear colored cloth or cloth embroidered with colored thread in Kandy or in the presence of higher castes.<sup>23</sup>

### Names and Castes

The *ge* name is a surname used before the personal name—a praenomen—and is so called because of the ending *ge* or *geyi* generally

20. Denham, *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*, pp. 191-193; Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 27.

21. Knox, in *Philalethes, Ceylon*, p. 138.

22. *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, 1849, p. 597.

23. Pamatella, *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc. (C.B.)*, vol. 21, p. 119 ff.

affixed to such surnames. The word *varige* and *vasagana* are used to express these surnames. The *ge* name is the most important part of a Sinhalese proper name as it usually reveals the rank, occupation, residence, caste, native place, or some characteristic or achievement of the original ancestor of the family bearing the *ge* name. Thus *Benjarahunuge* indicates a Lime-burner caste (*Hunu*) and the type of village (*ge*) whence the person came. Persons of Washerman or Barber caste often drop the part of the name showing occupation and assume the family name of the person they serve. In some instances names are changed where they furnish impediments to securing suitable marriages for sons and daughters. The *Goigama* formerly named their children about 16 days after birth, while the other castes allowed 32 days to elapse. The wife keeps the *ge* name of her father after marriage.<sup>24</sup>

In former times personal names were restricted to the particular castes, and this is still the practice in some parts of the Kandian area. Although today it cannot be said that a particular name belongs to a certain caste, the termination usually indicates whether the bearer of the name is of high or low caste. Modes of salutation vary greatly with the caste and rank of the addressee. Terms of affection and endearment are often applied to persons of low caste, such as 'uncle' and 'aunt' when addressing members of the Washerman caste or 'boss' in addressing a Carpenter caste member.<sup>25</sup>

In the earlier days a caste consisted of a group of clans, each clan claiming descent from a common ancestor from whom it took its name. Its name might also be taken from the office he held or from the village whence he came. Hereditary surnames were given to chiefs and the clan name dropped. During the Portuguese ascendancy European surnames were adopted by converts to Roman Catholicism.<sup>26</sup>

### Agriculturists, or Cultivators

The *Goigama*, or *Vellala*, the great cultivating caste of the Sinhalese, is given the following synonyms by Upham<sup>27</sup>: *Khetta* or *Kettau* *Jiewakayo*, livers by the field; *Kassakayo*, plowers of the land; *Goyan-karanno*, sowers or cultivators of rice; *Goiyo* or *Goigama Etto*, cultivators (or rice village people); *Goi Bamuno* or cultivating Brahmans; *Goikulayo* or of the cultivating caste; and *Handuruwo* or *Sanduruwo*, sons of peace. The plowshare was their flag symbol.<sup>28</sup>

24. Denham, *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*, pp. 178-179.

25. Denham, *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*; Alwis, 1856-58; Hocart, 1938.

26. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, p. 26.

27. *Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and Raja-vali*, 1883, pp. 338-339.

28. See E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, p. 23.



This caste was subdivided into a considerable number of sub-groups in terms of occupations and hereditary or ceremonial rank and the upper divisions did not formerly intermarry freely with the lower. The upper rank of *Goigama* could marry a *Pattea* (Shepherd) woman, but no man of the latter could dare present openly a claim to a bride in the upper ranks.<sup>29</sup>

The *Hondrews* (*Hamaduruwo*), or Gentlemen, were distinguished by their names and their clothing. The men wore the cloth halfway down the legs and the women to the heels with one end flung over the shoulder. The *Hondrew* head-covering consisted of two flaps tied over the top of the crown. Their caps were always white or blue and those of inferiors of different colors.<sup>30</sup> The *Hondrew* chiefs and nobles performed various honorary services for the king and paid homage on New Year's Day, presenting a roll of betel leaves.<sup>31</sup>

*Goigama* tenants carried messages, supplied betel and areca, kept guard, provided for strangers or visitors, attended during domestic ceremonies, and when necessary cooked provisions or provided buffalo for plowing.<sup>32</sup>

The duties of the various classes of *Goigama* tenant were highly specialized and carefully delineated. For example, the *Atapattuwasama*, or messenger class, carried messages, kept guard over treasures, temples, and chiefs' houses, carried state umbrellas in procession, watched threshing floors, and accompanied proprietors on journeys.<sup>33</sup>

The *Dunukarawasama*, or military class of archers, held land in return for services in carrying letters and messages, keeping guard at the house of the proprietors, watching the threshing floor, and accompanying the proprietor on journeys of state bearing the lance.<sup>34</sup>

The *Dalumura Panguwa* performed the service of supplying weekly or fortnightly and at festivals a certain quantity of betel leaves for consumption by the officers and priests. This service was of great importance at the royal court, and the king had plantations of betel in different parts of the country complete with staffs of officers, gardeners, and carriers. Later under British rule the tenants of this

29. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, 1849, vol. 1, p. 235.

30. Pridham, loc. cit.

31. A. A. Perera, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 32, 1903, pp. 336-337.

32. Ibid.

33. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 24.

34. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App. p. vi.

class supplied betel to proprietors for consumption at home and while on journeys. In some instances a quantity of areca-nuts also was furnished.<sup>35</sup>

The *Ganwasama* were a superior class of tenants in the village who supplied the proprietor with subordinate village officials such as *vidanes* (headmen), *lekamas* (writers) and *kankanamas* (overseers). This class was often of the same social standing as the proprietor and sometimes related to him. They were often the wealthiest people in the village, holding the most fertile lands. They had to make heavy contributions to the proprietors and their retainers. This class also provided sustenance and shelter for visitors and strangers. The superintendence of building work at the proprietor's house and the function of presiding at festivals also devolved upon them. The *Ganwasama* accompanied the proprietor on journeys and took the lead in the annual presentation of the tenants before the proprietor.<sup>36</sup>

The *Hewawasama* was a military class whose services included carrying messages and umbrellas, keeping guard, and attending at funerals. They also furnished subordinate officials. This class had charge of proprietors' houses, of cleaning and repairing the premises, and of supplying flowers to the temples.<sup>37</sup>

The *Lekam Panguwa* tenants did duty as writers to the proprietors, superintended working parties and harvesting operations, and appeared before the proprietor at the annual presentation of the tenants. They also attended the proprietor on journeys, cared for him when he was sick, and helped guard his house. They also occasionally assumed the duty of headmen, but their regular duty was to keep accounts of things received and issued and of arranging and supervising services of tenants.<sup>38</sup>

The *Nilawasama* class supplied temples with vegetables for festivals and performed a vast array of domestic duties of outdoor type. They supplied fuel and water to the kitchen and bath, pounded paddy, extracted oil from nuts, repaired walls and floors, transported timber, prepared clay, supplied firewood for brick and tile kilns, blew bellows for the smith and supplied him with charcoal for the forge, broke up limestone, cut banks and ditches, put up fences, cleared gardens, swept out courtyards and compounds, joined in all agricultural operations in gardens and fields such as planting and harvesting, tied straw and assisted in thatching, carried palanquins

35. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. iv.

36. Ibid., p. vii; Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 24.

37. Perera, p. xii; Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 25.

38. Perera, p. xii.



or baggage on journeys, bore objects in processions, and served in the ceremonies at weddings, funerals, *Yak* (Devil Worship) and *Bali* (Planet Worship) rites.<sup>39</sup>

*Nilawasama* tenants were of low status for the most part, and their yearly dues consisted of vegetables and contributions of uncooked food. Beside working for the proprietor they also performed services for headmen and for other classes working in the fields for a few days and carrying their baggage on journeys. Some were placed in charge of temple cattle and provided fresh milk at ceremonies and at New Year's.<sup>40</sup>

The *Manana* tenants measured out paddy given to be pounded as well as paddy brought in from the fields. This office came to be held by a low class of *Goigamas* and has been equated with those who put up privies, put mud on walls, or carry palanquins, baggage, and torches. They served as messengers for the headmen of the village, watched at the threshing floor, took care of buffalo brought in for plowing or threshing and assisted in the collection of dues.<sup>41</sup>

The *Nillemakareyee* or *Pattee* people were not very numerous since their occupation was stock-keeping and large pasture areas were few in old Ceylon. They were also cultivators and paid taxes in rice, milk, and ghee. They were of inferior status.<sup>42</sup>

The *Veddas* (*Dodda veddās*) are of *Goigama* caste. They were called *Wanacharakayo*, wild men or men of the desert, and *Weddo* or tormentors because although they fled to the jungle to escape oppression or being tormented they killed animals for a living there. They lived in *Wedigama* villages and were held in low status because of their taking animal life. Under the Kandian regime they were required to furnish the king with wild game.<sup>43</sup>

There were several minor groups of *Goigamas* such as the *Gauray-kawallu* or village watchmen and the *Kappuwo* or temple watchmen, the *Hunu gambadu* or coolie peasants who foddered and took care of cattle, and the *Malcaruwo* or flower gardeners. The last were sometimes called *Mawlacawrayo*, or chain makers, because they made garlands or chains of flowers.<sup>44</sup>

39. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Love Notes*, pp. xv-xvi.

40. Perera, pp. xv-xvi.

41. Perera, p. xiii.

42. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 236.

43. Upham, vol. 3, p. 346; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 240.

44. Upham, vol. 3, pp. 349-350; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 241.

The dress of the *Goigama* men consisted of a *topetti*, a long cloth of two breadths about the loins and extending as far down as the ankle. A cloth about the head was folded like a turban leaving the top of the head exposed. On state occasions a short jacket was worn except in temples.<sup>45</sup>

The dress of the *Goigama* women was a long cloth of a single breadth called a *hala* wrapped around the loins and cast over the left shoulder. On state occasions a jacket was worn with a kind of ruff hanging from the neck over the shoulders. Rings, silver or crystal bangles, and ear ornaments also were worn.<sup>46</sup>

Rank with the *goigamas* was indicated by the rich quality and quantity of apparel rather than by fashion. The highest rank wore the finest embroidered muslin set off by a succession of *topetties*, often six or eight in number, with the shoulders unnaturally widened by a jacket stuffed and padded to correspond with the girth of the hips.<sup>47</sup>

According to Coomaraswamy (p. 22) the *Goigama* constitute about 90 per cent. of the Sinhalese population. This seems to be too high when other evidence is taken into account. The minor groups such as the *Veddās* have always been small in modern times. The *Veddās* numbered 2,030 in 1871, 5,332 in 1911, and 4,510 in 1921 (Census of Ceylon).

In the 'Hue and Cry' statistics 780 *Goigama* were found in the following occupations: cultivators (317), coolies (266), carters (49), miners (43), domestic servants (27), traders (21), masons (12), carpenters (10), cooks (10), clerks (9), boatmen (6), breadsellers (5), and peons (5). According to the same source the chief crimes charged to 401 *Goigama* castemen were theft (especially of cattle) and housebreaking (234), causing hurt (55), robbery (34), criminal breach of trust (27), habitual criminal (18), assault (9), criminal misappropriation (8), forgery (6), arson (5), and cheating (5).

There are almost a score of divisions recorded for the *Goigama*. They are as follows: (1) Axmen and *Porakara* or *Porawakkarayo* and *Kunammaduwegamayo* (Niti Nighanduwa); (2) Bali ceremonialists, *Balibatgamayo* (Niti Nighanduwa); (3) Betel-furnishers, *Dalac-murecarao* (Valentyn); (4) Bridge-builders, *Waddewassam Karayo* (De Saram); (5) Cattle-tenders, *Pattiwalayao* (Armour) or *Pattiwala aya* (Niti Nighanduwa); (6) Cultivators, *Rattle etto* or *Wellales* (Armour) and *Gombaducarao* (Valentyn); (7) Elephant-keepers,

45. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 235.

46. Pridham, *ibid.*; Bennett, *Ceylon and its Capabilities*, pp. 98-99.

47. *Ibid.*



*Etwalapannikkayo* (Niti Nighanduwa); (8) Flower-growers, *Mal-karuwo*, Garland-makers (Niti Nighanduwa) or *Mallaccarao* (Valentyn); (9) Gem-collectors, *Diegaranno* collected from stream beds and *Goddegarranno* collected from the soil (Valentyn); (10) Hunters, *Weddo* (Armour) or *Weddiwanse* (Niti Nighanduwa) or divided into *Wanneweddas* and *Dadaweddass* (Valentyn); (11) Milk-suppliers, *Hunkicarao* (Armour), *Bandaarawaliya* (Armour) or *Bandares* or *Adassing* (Dukes, Princes, etc., of Royal Family—Upham), *Appuhamies* (De Saram), *Safframadoo Appuhamies* (De Saram), *Mantrunnu* (Privy councillors—Upham), *Mandelliperu* (Military officials and modelars, *adiyars*, *des-saves*—Upham), *Radalakamperuwa* and *Mudelliperuwa* (Armour and Niti Nighanduwa), *Paindi Peruwa* or *Rate Etto* (Niti Nighanduwa); (13) Outcastes from *Goigama*, *Gattaroo* (Armour) or *Gattaru* (Niti Nighanduwa); (14) Seeders, *Batgamwella etto* (Valentyn); (15) Shepherds, *Nilemakareyo* (Armour) or *Nillamakkaray* (Niti Nighanduwa); (16) Soldiers, *Hewapannay* (Soldiers and lascarrens—De Saram) or *Gowiperu* (Military and agricultural laborers—Upham); (17) Soothsayers and Jugglers, *Wiramestaragolla* (Niti Nighanduwa); (18) Tamil Fishermen, *Timbillo* (Armour) or *Tibblo* (Niti Nighanduwa); (19) miscellaneous groups such as *Cariawassin* or *Mayorals* (De Saram), *Kuttanwala etto* (Niti Nighanduwa), *Weeramesseroo* or *Goorooroo* (Armour) and *Kammalhandooroo* or *Wagayo* (Armour).

### Barbers

The Barber caste was always a small one, since the Sinhalese usually shaved themselves. However, the royal court at Kandy required some barbers. The following synonyms are given for this caste by Upham:<sup>48</sup> *Cappakayo*, or cutters; *Nahapikayo*, or comforters; *Karranawiyo*, or razor users; *Pannikkiyo*, which means leaf or foliage cutters; *Ambetteo* or *Embettayo*, i.e., near approachers or liver near in reference to their position as ministers of the royal cabinet and proximity to the king's person.

As a rule barbers shaved only the higher castes. The Barber paid a tax in money for his land and was liable to service as a baggage porter. The annual ceremony of feigned shaving of an image of the Buddha in the Temple at Kandy was performed by a member of this caste with the aid of a looking glass so that he might not desecrate the image by looking at it directly. The manorial lord was always attended by his barber. Barbers had the privilege of wearing white linen under the Kandian monarchy. Both men and women of this caste could wear doublets but could not sit on stools. Upper-caste Washermen washed for them but would not dine with

48. *Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and Rajavali*, vol. 3, p. 343.

them.<sup>49</sup> Virchow says that the Barbers and *Hanomoreyo* (betel box-makers of Uva) were even lower in status than *Rodiyas*.

The *vidahn mohandiram*, or caste headman, wore a cloth or linen coat with silk buttons and loops; a sword hilt and scabbard of silver, the latter with two plates of tortoise shell on it; and a belt of colored ribbon embroidered with flowers of silver thread.<sup>50</sup>

Sinhalese Barbers numbered 260 in 1881; 1,287 in 1891; and 1,327 in 1901, according to the Census Report.

### Basket-Makers

The Basket-maker caste was apparently a small one. Upham<sup>51</sup> gives the following names for this group: *Sinnawo*, or cutters, referring to their cutting and bringing home of their materials; *Hadayo*, or plaiters, because of their weaving or plaiting of materials; *Welwaduwo*, or rod-carpenters in reference to their use of rods to manufacture articles; and *Cooloopotto*, or peeling winnowers makers, because they made winnowers by peeling bamboo cane and reeds. More commonly this group was called *Handee*, or *Handi*. They were required to furnish the stores of the Kandian monarch with baskets and winnows, and were thought to be a beggar caste by some writers.<sup>52</sup>

### Brahmans and other Varnas

There are apparently no Brahmans among the Sinhalese of today. Traditionally this caste, however, was present among them and constituted the next to the highest, if not the highest, of all the castes. The Kings, or Rajahs, were members of the *Kshatria Varna* and were the landlords of Ceylon. Regarding the third major division, the *Wysya* (Vaishya) *Varna*, there is some confusion. Buyers and sellers as well as makers of merchandise were once classed as *Wysyayo* and were divided into three categories: (1) dealers or merchandisers, (2) cattle tenders, and (3) tillers of the soil. The merchants, or *Welindo*, seem to have disappeared from the Sinhalese system and their place was taken by the Tamil Chittys and Moslems.

The *Goigama* claimed descent from the *Vaishyas* and held themselves aloof from all the lower groups who were called *Sudras*. Members of other castes assert that the *Goigamas* were originally *Sudras*

49. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 238; Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, p. 125.

50. Bennett, *Ceylon and its Capabilities*, p. 100.

51. *Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and Rajavali*, vol. 3, pp. 348-349.

52. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 348-349; Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, p. 129.



rather than *Vaishyas*. *Karawe* caste members have laid claim to *Kshatriya* status.

The different divisions of the *Kshoodra Wanse*, or *Sudras*, were organized by the government for its own use and for the benefit of the ruling caste of the *Goigama*. Under the Kandian monarchy each caste had specific duties to pay and certain services to perform and were responsible to officers appointed by the king. Armour lists 18 *Wanam*, or occupations, that in their names were reminiscent of the 18 guilds of the Buddhist Period and the 18 servants of the Tamils. Bennett speaks of the five performers of service, namely, carpenters, weavers, washermen, barbers, and sandal-makers. This recalls the fivefold division of servants into smiths, tailors, washers, barbers, and leather-workers given in the *Janavamsa*. Arthur Perera<sup>53</sup> divides the groups below *Goigamas* into *Naides* (smiths and allied groups), *Durayaṣ* (servants), and professional or service groups including barbers and washers. The *Pancha-chandalo*, or five men of degraded caste, were among the Sinhalese traditionally the washermen, potters, barbers, silversmiths, and tailors. In addition there is the tradition of the *Pas kula* or five tribes (five handicraft castes or traders), viz.: carpenters, weavers, washers, barbers, and shoemakers.

### Cinnamon-Peelers

The following synonyms are given by Upham<sup>54</sup> for this caste: *Paisakara Brahmanayo*, or gold and silver thread weaving Brahmans; *Tantavayo*, or yard-stretching weavers (because they stretched and ordered their warp and wove it with weft); *Paisacawrayo*, or *Pai-hairo*, i.e., weavers of gold and silver thread; *Salagamayo*, or *Halamayo*, i.e., people who inhabit the large hall village (referring to Chilaw on the west coast whose older name was *Salawa*); and *Mahabadda*, the great rent, referring to cinnamon as the principal source of revenue (they were also called Chalias, or people of Chilaw, sometimes abbreviated to Hali); and *Pesa karayan*, or makers of cloth strainers to filter water.

According to tradition the king of Dambadeniya in the Seven Corles, called Walthimi Buwanaika Rajah, six or seven hundred years ago caused a colony of Paisekara weavers to be brought from India to establish a cloth manufactory at Chilaw. Special apartments or large halls were reserved for their use.<sup>55</sup>

53. *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, pp. 26-27.

54. Vol. 3, pp. 339-340.

55. Upham, *loc. cit.*; Johnston, pp. 44-84; E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, pp. 20-21.

In later times, with the coming of the Portuguese, these weavers took up cinnamon-peeling as a major occupation. Their numbers were always small and insignificant in the highland area of Kandy, but in the maritime provinces they were numerous. Many have become wealthy and ambitious under European rule. A small branch called the *Velledurai* weavers were described as living chiefly in the barren districts of Neurakalalawa in the north. On the coast the Chalias of today are chiefly clustered about Galle and Chilaw.<sup>56</sup>

The Washermen for the Chalias were called *Hinnevo*. Under the older regime the Cinnamon-peeler caste was not allowed to wear white linen. For their lands they were required to pay a money tax and were liable to be employed in the royal kitchens to fetch firewood, clean *chatties* or pots, and carry provisions. They also served as the bodyguards of the lords, especially on journeys. De Saram<sup>57</sup> divided the Chalias into four occupational subcastes—*Paniwidacaraya*, headmen or messengers; *Hewapanne*, or lascorreen warriors; *Cooroondo Caraya*, or cinnamon-peelers; and *Oliyakaraya*, or palanquin-bearers.

The services required of the Chalias of the Seven Corles, a total of about 500 families, included the furnishing of the king's stores with an annual quota of salt fish. They could not wear caps or cloths reaching much below the knees, and the dress of the women was similar to that of the Potter caste.

According to the 'Hue and Cry' data the chief occupations of 60 Cinnamon-peelers, in 1905-07 were—cooks 27, cinnamon-peelers 10, carters 8, traders 6, cultivators 5, and carpenters 4. The occupations of 14 Salagama Cinnamon-peelers were—cultivators 7, cooks 4, and cinnamon-peelers 3.

Under the European rule in the maritime provinces the Cinnamon-peelers came under a special jurisdiction and ultimately felt powerful enough to dispute precedence with the Fisherman caste. In 1733 they went on a strike against the Dutch Government because of the poor working conditions and income derived for their labors. Their disabilities and the degraded state of the caste generally caused many of them to flee into the highlands. The remainder were able to obtain much more favorable terms with the Dutch cinnamon traders. Although the women were forbidden to do so, the men might marry into the caste next below them.<sup>58</sup>

56. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 239; Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, p. 126.

57. in Hayley, *Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese*, p. 101.

58. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 239, footnote; Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. 2, pp. 123-124, footnote, 157.



There were, according to the Census, 1,773 Sinhalese cinnamon-peelers by occupation in 1881, 7,899 in 1891, and 15,222 in 1901.

### Dancers

The masked Dancers were a small caste. Their principal designation was *Oliyo*, which is interpreted to mean disguised actor or comedian. According to Upham<sup>59</sup> the term *Uhuliyo* was also applied to this group because they appeared with masked faces and made gestures. To exorcise the Spirits of Poverty, the *Gara Yakku*, the *Oli* performed a special all-day dance called *Gara Yakuma*, wearing special masks. One of the major functions of this group was to carry the large effigies of the *Assooriah* demons in processions at the annual festivals. They are thought to have manufactured these effigies.<sup>60</sup> Denham (p. 190) gives the honorific term *Bali-eduro*, a teacher of Bali ceremonies and *Balitiyanna*, one who moulds *bali* images, to members of this group. Davy (p. 129) terms them *Olee*.

In older days the *Oli* provided the lords of the manors with oil for burning at night and swept out the premises by day. They also assisted in the care of the elephants. They were not allowed the honor of white linen and the *Gangavo* Caste washed for them.<sup>61</sup>

According to the census, there were 1,520 Sinhalese Devil-dancers in 1881, 3,278 in 1891, and 5,423 in 1901. Devil-dancers might also include Tomtom-beaters.

### Drummers and Weavers

The chief synonyms for the Tomtom-beater caste or Weavers were, according to Upham:<sup>62</sup> *Atodyawasakayo*, after *Atodya* a royal minister who first appointed them to this duty and who himself made and played on the first timbrel or drum with one head, which was later called by his name; *Berawayo*, because they beat the *baira*, or tomtom; *Ganilayo*, or counters (calculators), because they were astrologers and calculators of the motions of the planets. Denham (p. 190) asserts that the term *Panikkiya*, which referred to a headman of this caste, was frequently employed as an honorific title to ordinary members as was *Nekatiya*, astrologer, because of the knowledge possessed by this caste on the subject of the stars. Other terms employed were *Tablinjenos* and *Wajjankarayo*, the latter meaning

59. Vol. 3, p. 350.

60. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 241.

61. A. A. Perera, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 32, 1903, p. 337.

62. Vol. 3, pp. 346-347.

'tomtom beaters'. In general a considerable variety of names were applied to this *Berawayo* caste in terms of the various functions it performed.

According to Valentyn<sup>63</sup> the *Berawayo* had lime-burner, dancer, grass-mower, and deccum-carao (annual poll tax payers) divisions, each of which had its own superintendents or *manquedams* whom they especially designated as *ulewalia*.

The *Berawayo* did not eat with low castes but could not use white linen, and the *Pally* caste washed for them. On the whole *Berawayo* were numerous and well distributed through the villages. Their major employment was as weavers of coarse native cloth, but they were noted also as musicians and as participants in festivals or rites, beating the drum and giving notice of such events.<sup>64</sup> They were experts at rhythm and melody and were devoted also to duties as watchers at temples, sweeping and cleaning temple premises, gathering flowers for temple offerings, and fetching water for the temple. Their services were necessary at weddings, funerals, Yak (Devil-worship) and Bali (Planet-worship) ceremonies, and on state occasions. They paid a tax in money to the Kandian king. In addition they supplied the royal store monthly with vegetables and provided the wooden gutters of the *Ketoolga* tree. In some districts an annual quantity of cloth was provided by them to the manorial lord.

Particular families among the *Berawayo* had lands for their services as pipers, dancers, and players at the great festivals. Temple lands were cultivated by them on the same terms. They were allowed to eat and carry away all victuals offered to the gods and were also reputed to eat beef. The members of the caste who beat the tomtom were called *Tammattankarayo*, while those who wove cloth primarily were called *Dawulkararayo*. Another group was the *Bali-eduro*, who made the clay images for and danced at Bali ceremonies to propitiate the planets. A performer of devil ceremonies in this caste was called *Yakdessa*.<sup>65</sup>

The census enumerated 823 Sinhalese Tomtom-beaters in 1881, 2,318 in 1891, and 1,649 in 1901.

63. in Philaethes, *Ceylon*, p. 330.

64. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 232; Parker, *Village Folk Tales of Ceylon*, 1917, pp. 28-29.

65. A. A. Perera, 1917, App.; Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 148; Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 128-129; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, pp. 240-241.



### Elephant-Catchers

The *Weenawo* were a caste devoted to the function of elephant-snaring. They followed the track of elephants and drove them into snares or put them to death in cases of peril or emergency. Special washermen washed for them but would not eat with them. They did not have the privilege of wearing white linen.<sup>66</sup>

### Fishers

Upham<sup>67</sup> gives the following synonyms for the *Carawo*, or Fisher, caste: *Wagurikayo*, i.e., workers or dealers in the water, referring to their habit of wading and working in the water; *Jawlikayo*, or workers with nets; *Kay-wattayo*, or surrounders of water, because in fishing they surround a spot in the water; *Kaywulo* or *Kaywattayo*, which means those who dwell near the shore; and *Carawo*, which means 'shore people' or dwellers near the shore.

The Fisher caste was evidently divided into a considerable number of sub-groups, and, according to Valentyn<sup>68</sup> the lower ranks were kept separate from the rest. The higher ranks of Fishers participated in the privileges of the *Vellalas* or *Goigama*, and higher washermen were under obligation to wash their clothes. On the great festive occasions the higher Fishers could spread a white cloth on which they could dine and could cover their stools with white cloth also. Their dwelling could be decorated likewise, and they could carry a torch in their processions. They displayed a white flag with the device of a fish or elephant in the center.<sup>69</sup> In addition they could carry an umbrella of the *tallipot* palm and in their own lands could have a white calico cloth spread beneath their feet. They possessed military offices and some were appointed to the office of *adigar* by the king. They might be carried in palanquins with drums beat before them on the road in ceremonial parades.<sup>70</sup>

The Fishers were members of the *Madage* Department in the government along with the Moors, or Moslems, whose reputation and status they shared.<sup>71</sup> The *Modeliar* and *Mahavidahn Modeliars* of this caste wore a silk or cloth coat with silver buttons and loops; sword hilt and

66. Valentyn, in Philalethes, *Ceylon*, p. 329.

67. Vol. 3, pp. 345-346.

68. in Philalethes, *Ceylon*, pp. 325-327.

69. Fonseka, *The Karawe Flag*, pp. 1-11; E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, pp. 21-22.

70. Valentyn, *op. cit.*; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 236-237.

71. Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 122-123; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 237.

scabbard of silver and with eyes and tongue of the lion's head made of gold, the belt of gold or silver lace but not spangled. The headmen of the *Chandoos*, or Toddy-drawers, shared this costume.<sup>72</sup>

The duties of the *Karawe* tenants included the transportation of the paddy from the fields to the granary and attendance to the carriage department already noted. They also provided fish for the kitchen of the landlord.<sup>73</sup>

Dharmaratne (pp. 27, 40, etc.) divides the Sinhalese castes into two geographical groups, namely (1) Coastal or Lowland *Karawe*, together with their ancient allies the 'poetic' *Durawe*, and the 'witty' *Chalias*, and (2) Kandyans who comprised *Goigamas*, *Navandannas*, *Badahelas*, and *Wahumpuras*. Further, he would add the Tamil-speaking 'Karawe' of the north and east coasts to the Sinhalese *Karawe* caste. Three-fourths of the *Karawe*, he asserts, are today the owners of extensive lands, planters, traders, merchants, etc., and the remaining one-fourth are carpenters, coopers, builders, boatmen, carters, and coolies, with only a scant one-sixteenth engaged in fishing.

In the recent period the *Karawe* have engaged in a vigorous rivalry with the *Goigama* for social position. The period of Portuguese rule was marked by extensive conversion of the *Karawe* to the Roman Catholic faith. For this reason the Protestant Dutch favored the *Goigama* over the *Karawe*, it has been asserted.<sup>74</sup>

Under English rule the *Karawe* prospered once more, and their acquisition of new wealth led to the demand early in the twentieth century for better representation in the Legislative Council of Ceylon. Hitherto the *Goigama* had monopolized the position of representing Sinhalese interests on the council. From this situation it can be seen that the caste spirit is still very much alive among the Sinhalese even at the present time, in spite of the decline of the old occupational sanctions.<sup>75</sup>

The 'Hue and Cry' gives the following occupations for 112 *Karawe* members listed: coolies 51, cultivators 18, carpenters 16, traders 9, fishermen 9, and carters 9. According to the census the Sinhalese fishermen numbered 10,414 in 1881, 35,367 in 1891, and 38,504 in 1901. In the 'Hue and Cry' records of crimes charged to 149 *Karawe*, we find the following figures: theft and housebreaking 67, causing hurt 32, criminal breach of trust 15, robbery 14, murder 9, assault 6, and escaping custody 6.

72. Bennett, *Ceylon and its Capabilities*, p. 99.

73. A. A. Perera, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 32, p. 336.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.



The Fisher caste is subdivided into about 17 groups, as follows: (1) Animal-trap-makers, *Ugubwadi* (Bennett and Pridham); (2) Archers, *Dunuwaayeli* (Bennett and Pridham); (3) Ax fishers or Timber-fellers, *Porawakkara Karaway* (De Saram); (4) Bird-catchers, *Paksi* or *Pakai wadi* (Bennett and Pridham); (5) Bird-snarers, *Williya* (Bennett and Pridham); (6) Boat-fishers or Skate fishers, *Oru Karaway* (De Saram) or *Moru-karawo* (Valentyn); (7) Crocodile-fishers, *Kayman wadi* (Bennett and Pridham); (8) Date-flower fishers, *Indimal Kewulu* (De Saram) or *Indimal-keulo* (line-makers and net-makers—Valentyn); (9) Executioners, *Wadekayo* (Bennett and Pridham); (10) Fishmongers, *Maswikunanno* (Bennett and Pridham); (11) Hook-and-line anglers, *Kaywulo* (Bennett and Pridham); (12) Madel-net fishers or red-sail fishers, *Madel Karaway* (De Saram) or *Kadul-karawo* (Valentyn); (13) Net fishers in the sea, *Muhududaye* or *Meehududaye wadi* (Bennett and Pridham) and *Baroodel Karaway* (De Saram) or *Barudel-karawo* (Fishers who do not use casting nets—Valentyn); (14) Rivermouth fishers, *Gode kewuloo* (Fishers from land—De Saram) or *Godo-keulo* (Valentyn); (15) Rod fishers with bamboo, *Dandoo Karaway* (De Saram) or *Dandukarawo* (Valentyn); (16) Tok fishers, *Tok Kewuloo* (De Saram) or *Tock-keulo* (Fishers in fresh water—Valentyn); and (17) Turtle- or Tortoise-fishers, *Kesbakaraway* (De Saram) or *Kespe-karawo* (Valentyn). According to De Saram numbers (3), (14), (16), and (8) were low in status and did not intermarry with the rest. Similarly, Valentyn lists (16), (14), and (8) as of low status and not intermarriageable with the others. There are some indications that (11) and (16) may be identical groups. There are also evidences of two distinct classifications, with Valentyn and De Saram agreeing fairly closely as against Bennett and Pridham.

### Grass-Cutters

The term *Pannayo* is generally applied to the Grass-cutter caste and is derived from the word *pan*, a name for a species of high grass that they cut. This caste is also called *Jana Capanno*, or grass-cutters, because they cut fodder for horses and gathered leaves and branches for elephants.<sup>76</sup>

This was a numerous group, and the services they rendered in return for their land tenures included the care of the royal cattle, and elephants, and the horses, as well as the furnishing of vegetables for the king's stores every fortnight.<sup>77</sup>

They also wove grass mats (*peduru*) out of various grasses and palm leaves and manufactured baskets and betel pouches. They

76. Upham, vol. 3, pp. 347-348.

77. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 240; Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, p. 127.

employed a grass knife making their baskets of cane or rattan (*Calamus roxburghi*) and dyeing them red. Mats were provided for royal use when required.<sup>78</sup>

In 1881 the census recorded 104 grass-cutters and in 1891 listed 918.

### Jaggery-Makers

The manufacturers of sugar from palm juices were quite a distinctive caste. According to Upham (vol. 3, p. 347) they are called *Kandey Etto*, or Kandians, because of their residence in the Kandian highlands; *Sangarammu*, or defender of the priests' gardens (also interpreted as cohabitators with sisters or with own blood); and *Sakuro* or *Pakuro*, stone-makers because of the hard cakes of sugar or jaggery they produced. Frequently heard in modern times are the terms *Hakuru* and *Wahumpura*, or cook. According to Denham (p. 189) the honorific terms *Devayo* and *Vahum purayo* applied to this caste means workers in the kitchen. They were also called by the euphemistic name of *Kande-minissa*, or hillmen, because they were located primarily in the highlands.

In general the duties of this caste included sugar-making, cookery, palanquin-bearing, domestic service of various kinds, baggage-carrying, and agricultural activities. They were required to attend the manorial lords on journeys and to carry the palanquins of female members of the proprietor's family. When not engaged in domestic duties they supplied jaggery and vegetables, attended agricultural duties, or carried baggage. One-half share of the toddy (*Kitulanda-Mure*) of all kitul palms tapped was due to the proprietor. The toddy was converted into sugar by the *Hakuru*. This caste furnished the *Goigama* with cooks and were a fairly numerous group. The *Hinnevo* washed for them and they were excluded from the use of white linen.<sup>79</sup>

The Sinhalese jaggery-workers numbered 303 in 1881, 1,990 in 1891, and 12,413 in 1901. The chief *Hakuru* occupation in the 'Hue and Cry' records was agriculture, while the chief *Wahumpura* pursuits were coolie labor and agriculture, with small numbers serving as carters and masons.

78. Coomaraswamy, p. 240; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 240.

79. A. A. Perera, App., p. xxii, uses the name *Wahumpuraya* for them; see also Upham, vol. 3, p. 347; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 239-240; Davy, *The Interior of Ceylon*, p. 127.



### Leather-Workers

The Leather-workers (Tanners) and the Shoemakers appear to have been one and the same caste. Following Upham's account (vol. 3, p. 344), the principal terms employed for this group were *Chammakarayo* (Chamars?), i.e., skin dressers; *Rattakarayo*, i.e., carriage makers in reference to the manufacture of harness for chariots and carriages; *Samwaduwo*, or skin carpenters; and *Sammahanno*, or shoemakers. The common terms *Sommaru* and *Hommaru* were employed to designate leather-workers. According to Bennett (p. 365) this caste was one of the *Pass mehe Karayo* or five performers of services along with carpenters, weavers, washermen, and barbers. The standing of Leather-workers is fairly good among Sudra groups. The *Janavamsa* includes them as one of the five servants along with smiths, tailors, washers, and barbers.

### Lime-Burners

The caste of Lime-burners has been designated by a variety of names. According to Upham's account (vol. 3, p. 347) the principal ones were *Chunna-karayo* (reducers to powder, i.e., by burning stones, shells, and trees), *Sunno*, and *Hunno*. Denham (p. 190) asserts that the *Hunno*, or Lime-burners, may be addressed as *Pani-vidakaraya* or *Payunda*, literally a messenger. He believes that persons of this caste may have been formerly employed as messengers or that perhaps the term arose from a designation for a minor headman. The terms *Chunam* burner and *Chinambero* were also used for them. According to Bennett (p. 566) the *Hunno* or *Chunam* makers were of the *Tolil Karayo* or particular services, along with the Tailors, Cooks, Tomtom-beaters, and Palanquin-bearers. In general, the Lime-burners were given a low status among the Sudra castes, and according to Davy they were rather few in numbers.<sup>80</sup>

The headmen of the Lime-burners were called *Hunudewa* and usually were engaged in plastering walls or superintending others of their caste. In olden times these persons whitewashed the house of the manorial lord once or twice a week. They also furnished purified lime for chewing with the areca nut and betel leaf. The *Deccum carao* of this caste paid an annual poll tax to the Kandian king and were required to keep up the lime furnace, to supply fuel, and to attend until the process was finished. They did not have the privilege of wearing white linen, and the *Pallys* washed for them. The *Huno kattanno* were employed in felling trees in the woods and in providing fuel for the lime kilns.<sup>81</sup>

80. See also Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 240.

81. Upham, vol. 3, p. 347.

According to the Ceylon census of occupations in 1881, there were 785 Sinhalese Lime-burners, in 1891 some 2,092, and in 1901 about 870. The Lime-burners in the 'Hue and Cry' records were primarily coolies and masons.

### Mat-Weavers

The following terms are used for Mat-weavers, according to Upham (vol. 3, pp. 350-351): *Pannakarayo*, i.e., leaf-workers, referring to the weaving of various kinds of leaves; *Cattakarayo*, i.e., workers in hard matter or wood, because they pound on tree fibers until these are reduced to a pulp or wooly substance, which they use to make mats; *Tinakarayo*, i.e., workers in grass, because they make some kinds of grass into mats, and this by a transposition of consonants becomes *Kinnaru*, grass-workers; and *Hainawalaya*, i.e., fringe-makers because some mats are made with fringed selvages. According to Denham (p. 190) the honorific term *Karmantakaraya*, or workmen, was applied to this caste.

Under the Kandian regime the *Kinnaru* were not allowed to wear any head covering or handkerchief. They were required to pay a *deccum* or poll tax and in virtue of this were called *Hiene Jaty*. They were regarded as a very low caste and were rather small in numbers. Their function was to furnish the royal stores with ropes and rush mats. They also wove cane baskets, made fans for fanning corn, and manufactured lace bedsteads and stools. The Dumbara mats were made of *niyanda* fibers (bowstring hemp or *Sanseveria zeylanica*).<sup>82</sup>

The *Kinnaru* were considered semi-outcastes of slightly higher position than the *Rodias*. The men were forbidden to grow hair beyond their necks, and the females from wearing anything more than a narrow strip of cloth above the waist to cover their breasts. Mat-weavers were absolutely forbidden to enter temples or sacred enclosures. Like the *Rodias*, they had their own doctors, astrologers, soothsayers, and officials for demon ceremonies.<sup>83</sup>

According to the census, Sinhalese cane-workers numbered 40 in 1881, 363 in 1891, and 438 in 1901.

82. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 241; Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 243, gives examples of their work songs; Valentyn, in Philaethes, *Ceylon*, p. 331, gives the term *Hiene Jaty*; Parker, 1917, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 30; Parker, pp. 44-45, 563-566.

83. Parker, *Village Folk Tales of Ceylon*, 1917, p. 30; A. A. Perera, p. 337.



### Outcastes

The *Rodiyas*, or Outcastes, had the following names, according to Upham (vol. 3, p. 351): *Rogadikayo*, i.e., incurably sick men because they were originally lepers; *Adarmishtayo*, i.e., unrighteous men because they were addicted to bestiality; and *Wasalo*, or *Wasalayo*, i.e., subject to all because they were below all other castes in status. The term *Rodia* is stated to be a corruption of *Rogadikayo*. They were also called *Antere Jaty*. The euphemistic terms employed for *Rodia* were *Hulawaliya* (title of a headman of this caste) and *Madukaraya*, or rope man because they made ropes.<sup>84</sup>

The *Rodiyas* have engaged the attention of writers on Ceylon out of all proportion to their numbers and comparative importance. They were always a small group and found in but few areas. Their primary duty in the Kandian Kingdom was to supply prepared leather for drums and ropes of hide, halters, thongs, and cords for cattle, as well as to bury carcasses of dead animals found on the estate to which they belonged.<sup>85</sup> They were occasionally called *Gasmundo* as a euphemism based on the fact that they used a rope by this name for catching and fastening elephants to trees. They were of a wandering, gypsy-like character and given to begging, but they are not to be confused with the true gypsies in Ceylon, the *Ahligunthikayo*. The *Rodiyas* were not exempted from taxation, and their services to the king were supplied supposedly because of the land allotted for their village or camp sites and the alms they were given.<sup>86</sup>

Only the village charcoal burner or the King's gaoler communicated with *Rodias* and then generally at a distance. *Rodiya* dwellings were the merest sheds open completely on one side. Their hamlets, or *cupayas*, were miserable collections of these hovels temporarily erected until the band moved on elsewhere. In carrying a *pingo* load they were required to load it at one end only. If a *Rodia* met a *Goigama* he was required to salute with uplifted hands and move out of the way or, if the way was too narrow, to retreat to a distance until the higher casteman passed by. *Rodias* were barred from temples and were in general absolutely untouchable. They were not allowed the use of white linen and were required to tie the hair in a knot on the top of the head.<sup>87</sup>

84. Valentyn, in *Philalethes*, *Ceylon*, p. 351.

85. A. A. Perera, *Glimpses of Sinhalese Social Life*, p. 337; Knox, in *Philalethes*, *Ceylon*, pp. 139-142; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1917, pp. 29-30.

86. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 241-243. For the true Ceylon gypsies see Spittel, *Wild Ceylon*, pp. 229-244, and Bell, *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. 2, pp. 108-114.

87. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 241-243. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. 2, pp. 187-191, compares the *Rodias* with the *Cagots* of the French Pyrenees, the latter group being also of reputed leper origin and engaged in occupations similar to *Rodias* with corresponding out-caste position.

*Rodia* women were often given the euphemistic designation of *Nettukkaraya*, or dancers, and were skilled in that art and in fortune-telling. They were prohibited from wearing clothing above the waist but were attractive and often found favour in the eyes of men of the higher castes. It has been asserted that not only the women but also the men were in general robust and physically well developed.<sup>88</sup>

Traditionally the *Rodiyas* were degraded by a king because they ate human flesh and beef. They were not reputed to be trustworthy and much of the thefts or other damage to property was attributed to them. When displeased with the alms given it was claimed that they were especially prone to vandalism. The census of 1901 gave their number as 1,464, of 1911 as 1,573, and of 1921 as 1,619.

The patron goddess of *Rodiyas* was Navaratna Valli, who was born from the Telembu Tree.<sup>89</sup>

### Palanquin-Bearers

The Palanquin-bearers were called by the following terms, according to Upham (vol. 3, p. 349): *Baddo*, or *Paddo*, a derivative of *Padiwo* and meaning rice-makers; *Batgammu*, *Batgamayo*, or *Batgama Etto*, i.e., rice-village people, because they cultivated the rice in villages for the Kandian king.

The Palanquin-bearers lived in *Batgama* villages. According to Davy the *Paduwo*, or Palanquin-bearers, were divided into three sections: (1) the *Paduwo* proper, who were fairly numerous and paid a pecuniary tax, built walls for houses, thatched roofs, carried loads, fetched wood and ornaments for archways, and carried objects in processions; (2) the *Yamanoo*, or ironworkers, who smelted iron for the Kandian king; and (3) the *Gahalagambadayo*, or *Gahalayo* a very degraded section who were not allowed to eat or intermarry with the other divisions and who served as executioners, street sweepers, and removers of carcasses. Of the latter group one subsection ate beef and were held to be lower than the rest. The washermen for *Gahalayo* were called *Hinawo*.<sup>90</sup>

In general the Palanquin-bearers were a lowly caste. They were not permitted to wear a cloth that reached below the knees, and the women were not allowed to wear one over their shoulders or to con-

88. Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 129-131. See list of illustrations of castes in Appendix V herein.

89. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, p. 19.

90. Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 127-128; Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 240.



ceal the upper parts of their bodies. When carrying palanquins the *Paduwo* were allowed to carry only males, the Jaggery-makers (*Wahumpura*) carrying the palanquins of females.<sup>91</sup> According to one account the *Paduwo* could carry only the hinder part of the palanquin of a *dissawa*, or high official. They served also as watchmen and performed a variety of menial duties.

Although some *Paduwo* paid a poll tax and served as *lascorrens* (soldiers), they were not allowed to acquire any permanent rights in land and were always at the disposal of the king.<sup>92</sup> According to Arthur Perera (1903, p. 337) the *Paduwo* tenants were required to furnish onions and garlic (*lunubadda* duties).

Upham (vol. 3, p. 348) gives the following synonyms for the *Gahalayo*, or Scavengers; *Pookoosayo*, i.e., removers of city dirt; *Pupphachaddakayo*, i.e., casters away of flowers because they removed the faded flowers from temples; *Kasalayo*, or throwers away of dirt; and *Gahalagambadayoo*, i.e., elephant or other carcass removers. They inhabited the *Gahala-gama* villages.<sup>93</sup> The census of 1891 listed 99 Sinhalese scavengers and that of 1901 some 120.

The position of the *Paduwo* in relation to ironworking is not clear. According to A. A. Perera (1903, p. 337) the *Paduwo* tenants brought charcoal for the smith and worked at the bellows as *yamanu*. Pridham (vol. 1, p. 240) says that the *Yamanoo* were ironsmelting *Paduwo* and were required to furnish the king's store and the district headman with a certain quantity of iron for their land tenures. This does not clarify their exact relation to the ironworking smiths.

The term *Duraya* appears to have been employed in recent years for the laboring castes that performed Palanquin-bearing duties. Perera lists five classes of *Durayas*: (1) *Kande duraya*, or molasses-makers (*Wahumpura*); (2) *Batgam duraya*, or palanquin-bearers; (3) *hunu duraya*, or lime-burners; (4) *Valli duraya*, or cloth-weavers; and (5) *panna duraya*, or bringers of fodder for elephants and cattle.<sup>94</sup>

The *Duraya* caste were required to provide the manorial lord with uncooked provisions, such as vegetables and raw rice, as part of their services.<sup>95</sup> Parker (1917, p. 29) asserts that *Duraya* women could

91. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 240.

92. Ibid.

93. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 2, p. 491.

94. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. xxiv, *Yamanna*.

95. Ibid.

not wear above the waist more than a strip of calico about a hand's breadth across the breasts and that later a colored handkerchief took the place of this article.

Pridham (vol. 2, p. 491) tells us that *Paduwo* were numerous in the Moderagam Valley of Northern Province, where they drew sound from earthen pots with the breath and kept admirable time in the dance.

### Potters

The terms for Potters, according to Upham (vol. 3, p. 345), were: *Cumbakarayo* and *Culawlayo* after Coombeya and Culala, eponymous ancestors who were the reputed first Potters; *Pandittayo*, or wise men, because they made their wares according to their own fancy without any previous pattern; *Bada Sellaya*, i.e., possessors of near halls because they burned their wares in halls or places close to their dwellings; and *Cumballu*, another name derived from *Cumbakarayo*. According to another version<sup>96</sup> the name *Pandittayo* derives from the name for scholars because a tradition tells of a scholar who once disguised himself as a potter in order to escape a king's wrath. Other terms in common use were *Baddaballaya*, *Badahela*, *Cubello*, and *Kumballa*.

The Potters were fairly numerous and paid a small tax in money for their lands in addition to furnishing the kitchens of the king and nobles with earthenware. Because all earthenware vessels used at a feast were destroyed immediately thereafter through fear of pollution or disgrace by lower caste contamination, the demand for new pottery was fairly high. Thus the fear of caste contamination or disgrace aided the Potter's trade.<sup>97</sup>

In addition to pottery this caste also made tiles and helped repair roofs of this material, made bricks for walls, and manufactured clay lamps and other pottery objects for temples and for festivals or rites. Some Potters were attached to temple properties and were required to service these institutions. Potters had *Dureas* or overseers and were required to pay a poll tax or deccum. Coomaraswamy (pp. 25, 218 ff.) gives examples of Potters' work songs. Potters did not have the privilege of wearing white linen, nor could they wear any doublets or any cloth much below the knees. They might not sit on stools, and *Goigama* would only give them drink by pouring the water.<sup>98</sup>

96. Denham, *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*, p. 189.

97. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 238.

98. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. ii, *Badahela-Panguwa*; Valentyn, in *Philalethes, Ceylon*, p. 327 ff.



The flag of the Potters bore a wheel as the symbol of the caste.<sup>99</sup> According to Parker<sup>100</sup> some of the Potters undertook service as priests for the ceremonies of propitiating planets or other evil bodies and served as astrologers. The census lists 5,255 Sinhalese potters in 1881, 11,248 in 1891, and 9,678 in 1901.

### Slaves and Minor Castes

Slaves were in general deemed to belong to the *Wallu*, one of the low castes, but these again were sub-divided into at least three groups, namely, *Covias*, *Nalluas*, and *Pallas*. The *Covias* were domestic servants.<sup>101</sup>

In the management of slaves the restrictions of caste could not be neglected by the owners, and no one might hold as a slave a member of a caste higher than his own.<sup>102</sup>

The origin of the slave groups was largely through war with the Tamils. One of the groups is actually called *Demalagattaru* or Tamil captives. This body was found chiefly in a few villages of the western and southern provinces.<sup>103</sup>

In addition to the slave castes there were several groups of obscure origin, such as the *Palleru* or *Pallaroo*, bandits and freebooters living in woods and caverns; the *Raadayo*, or Comb-makers; the *Hirawas*, or Sieve-makers; and the *Indrajaliko*, or Conjurers. Pridham<sup>104</sup> names certain obscure castes concerning which little is known, such as the *Yaka Daru*, or Devil-worshippers; *Kontayo*, or those who carried the frame upon which the king's palanquin was placed when he travelled; the *Pidaynidanno*, or Offering-makers to devils; the *Gau-raykawallu*, or Village-watchmen; and the *Kappuwo*, or Temple watchmen.

### Smiths and Artificers

The workers in metals are called by the following terms, according to Upham<sup>105</sup> *Cammakarayo*, or workers in copper, brass, and

99. E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, p. 5.

100. *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1917, p. 28.

101. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 241.

102. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 22.

103. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 241.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *The Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and the Raja-vali*, vol. 3, pp. 340-342.

silver (i.e., workers in metal); *Suwannakarayo*, workers in gold; *Ayokarayo*, workers in iron; *Achariyo* (*Guruwarayo*), masters; *Nawan-karanno*, makers of new things; *Nawandanno*, knowers of the art of making new things out of old; *Lokuruwo*, founders or makers of vessels with melted lead; and *Cammaro* (*Camburo*), a term of reproach because they took employment from high and low (*Kamburanawa* meaning subject or slave). Upham goes on to differentiate the carpenters who, he thinks, are possibly a distinct group as *Waduwo*, enhancers of value, and *Tachakayo*, i.e., smoothers or planers.

According to Coomaraswamy's account (p. 54) the artificers were split into a higher division called *Gallado* and a lower division called *Vaduwo*, between which there could be no interdining or inter-marriage. The *Gallado* included architects, painters, goldsmiths and silversmiths, brass-repoussers, ivory-carvers and wood carvers, while the *Vaduwo* included carpenters, wood and ivory turners, blacksmiths, damasceners, stone-carvers, and lac-workers.<sup>106</sup>

*Achari* was a general term meaning masters or teachers of the arts, and this was frequently applied to the Smiths. Occasionally the term *Gurunnehela*, or teacher, was used for them because of their claimed descent from Brahmans who are teachers, according to Coomaraswamy.

One interesting group discussed by Coomaraswamy (p. 215) were the *Iwaduwo*, or lac-workers, formerly arrow-makers. The two lac-producing insects in Ceylon are both different from those occurring in India. The Ceylonese species are *Tachardia albizzae* (Green), occurring on the acacia, and *Tachardia conchiferata* (Green), occurring on euphorbiaceous plants. Some Indian lac has been imported into Ceylon for a long period. The native work in this substance was carried on at South Matura and in the lowlands near Tangalla in recent years.

The blacksmiths, or *Achari*, supplied nails for roofing houses, for hinges, locks, keys, kitchen utensils, agricultural implements, tools for felling and working timber, areca nut cutters, chunam or lime boxes, and for ear and tooth picks. The last four items were *penum*, *deccum*, or presents for chiefs. The braziers, or *Lokuruwo*, mended all brass and copper vessels of the temples and took part in the services of the other Smiths.<sup>107</sup>

106. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 237, also gives sub-divisions.

107. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. iii, Badal-Pangu.



Silversmiths and goldsmiths worked for the proprietors in their special craft when required and in temples. They mended and polished sacred vessels, did engraving and carving, decorated the car of the *deviyo* or god, remained on guard during the *Perahera* ceremony, attended at the *Kaphitawima*, and supplied the silver rim of the *Ehala-gaha*. Their *penum* or dues consisted of silver rings, betel boxes, and ornamental arrowheads.<sup>108</sup>

The *Sittaru* was a tenant of the Smith caste who mended and kept in repair the images and paintings in the temples. He also supplied ornamental sticks as handles for lances, flags, walking sticks and betel trays.<sup>109</sup>

The *Navandanna* artificers carried a flag with a device of an ape on it, which was called *anumanta* after Hanuman the Monkey god. At festivities they had hangings of white calico. In general practice the Smiths were permitted to sit on stools, which none of the inferior castes might do. In consideration of the value of the services of the Smith he was often allocated a large expanse of fertile land. Men of the caste were entitled to wear the cloth below the knees and the women the *ohoriya* cloth thrown over one shoulder but separate from the regular cloth.<sup>110</sup>

Certain names were peculiar to the Smith caste, and some of their lore bore witness to Tamil families of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The men were frequently called *Jiwan* and *Vijendra*, while the women were styled *Nachchire* or *Nachchilli*, and by inferiors *Etana*. The goldsmiths, alone of the Kandians other than the Vellalas, held slaves.<sup>111</sup>

The *Kottal-Badda*, or Artificer Department, was organized for Smiths in each district of the Kandian Kingdom. The royal goldsmiths and silversmiths formed a close corporation known as the *Pat-tal-hatare*, or the Four Workshops, all others being village Smiths.<sup>112</sup>

The costumes of the headmen of the Smith and Washermen castes were much alike. The *Mahavidahns* and *Mahavidahn Mohandirams* wore a cloth or linen coat, with silver buttons and loops, sword with hilt and scabbard of silver, and a plate of tortoise shell on the

108. Perera, *ibid.*

109. Perera, *ibid.*, 1917, *Sittara*.

110. Perera, *ibid.*, see E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, pp. 21-22.

111. Codrington, *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., Ceylon Branch*, vol. 21, p. 222.

112. *Ibid.*

scabbard, a belt or ribbon embroidered with flowers and gold and silver thread. The *Arruchies* wore a linen coat with silver buttons and silk loops; sword hilt of horn, embellished with silver, the scabbard of horn or wood and with silver bands; and the belt of plain colored ribbon. The *Canganies* wore a linen coat with horn or covered linen buttons, a sword hilt of horn, the scabbard of horn or wood; three copper bands; and a plain ribbon belt.<sup>113</sup>

The *Yamanna* iron-smelters were required to give a certain number of lumps yearly as part of their services and also to burn charcoal for the forge, to carry baggage, and assist in field work and at Yak and Bali ceremonies. They put up the *Talimana* or pair of bellows for the Smith, but they were of *Paduwo* origin and not members of the Smith caste.<sup>114</sup>

Less than 4 per cent. of the Kandian population now appear to belong to the Smith caste if present occupations are any guide. The number of persons belonging to this caste, however, undoubtedly is greatly in excess of the number of those still practicing the ancient craft. It is conjectured that perhaps 10 per cent. of the population of Kandy during the eighteenth century were Smiths and their dependents and that perhaps one-half of these were *Navandanno*.<sup>115</sup>

The following occupations were pursued by 20 members of the *Navandanno* group in the 'Hue and Cry' records: goldsmith 8, cultivator 5, cooly 3, carpenter 2, silversmith 1, and blacksmith 1. The census figures for Sinhalese carpenters are: 1881, 12,648; 1891, 39,179; 1901, 56,143. The corresponding figures for masons were: 1881, 1,765; 1891, 6,850; 1901, 13,088. The figures given for blacksmiths were in 1881, 3,185 and in 1891, 10,298. Finally, the figures for goldsmiths and silversmiths were in 1881, 3,764; 1891, 11,469; and 1901, 14,361.

It is notable that the goldsmiths had particular quarters in the large cities and certain streets were reserved to them.

The subdivisions of the Smith caste are as follows: (1) Architects, *Galladdo* (Coomaraswamy); (2) Arrowmakers and Lac-workers, *Ee waduwo* (Bennett) or *Vaduwo* (Coomaraswamy) and *Iwaduwo* (Valentyn); (3) Artificers, *Navandanno* (Armour), *Nawaymiyo* or 9 services (Bennett), *Nayide* (Parker) and *Naides* (Perera); (4) Blacksmiths, *Kamburo* or *Achari* (Armour, Perera, Pridham), *Achiary* (Valentyn); (5) Brass-founders, Repoussers, or Braziers, *Lokooroowo*

113. Bennett, *Ceylon and its Capabilities*, pp. 99-100.

114. A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. xxiv, *Yamanna*.

115. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 54.



(Armour), Braziers or *Lokoruwo* (Perera), Brass-founders (Pridham), Brass-repoussers (Coomaraswamy), *Lacuruwo* or Smelters (Valentyn); (6) Carpenters, *Waduwo* (Armour, Valentyn); (7) Damasceners, part of *Vaduwo* (Coomaraswamy); (8) Goldsmiths, *Tarahallo* (Armour), *Ranhallo* (Bennett, Pridham), part of *Gallado* (Coomaraswamy), *Ridiceto Ancarao* or Gold and Silver inlayers (Valentyn); (9) Lapidaries, *Galwaduwo* (Bennett, Pridham); (10) Masons, *Galwadoowo* (Armour); (11) Painters, *Hittaroo* (Armour); *Sittaru* (Bennett, Perera, Pridham), *Sittereo* (Valentyn), part of *Galado* (Coomaraswamy); (12) Sculptors, *Galwaduwo* (Pridham, Valentyn); Stone-carvers or *Vaduwo* (Coomaraswamy), (13) Silver-smiths, *Badaalo* (Armour), *Badallu* (Perera); *Baddallo* (Valentyn); (14) Solderers of metal, *Yamanu* (Bennett); (15) Turners, ivory and wood cabinetmakers, *Liyana waduwo* (Bennett, Pridham), *Adatketearancarao* (Valentyn); miscellaneous, *Hommaru* or Carcass-removers and Skin-dressers (Bennett, Pridham), *Ratneenderecarao* or Jewellers (Valentyn).

### Tailors

The Tailors, like the Barbers, were a luxury caste for the Sinhalese. There were several terms for this group, as noted by Upham,<sup>116</sup> namely: *Tunnawayo*, or weavers (sewers) of pieces; *Sochikayo*, or workers with the needle; *Sannawliyo*, makers of cloth armor; *Mahanno* (*Mananno*), or sewers; and *Hannalio* (*Hannaweli*).

Washermen washed for them but would not eat with them, and they did not enjoy the privilege of white linen unless by special permission of the Kandian king. The caste was a small one and was employed principally by the royal palace for embroidery work and by the large Hindu *Dewalas* or temples and Buddhist *Wiharas* where as tenants they sewed and stitched the sacred vestments, curtains, and flags. They assisted in decorating these establishments and were responsible for the manufacture of the gorgeous costumes worn by the king and court in return for which land was allowed them.<sup>117</sup>

According to the census there were 3,465 Sinhalese tailors in 1881, 1,716 in 1891, and in 1901 approximately 6,803.

### Toddy-Drawers

The Toddy-drawers, or *Chandos*, have the following synonyms, according to Upham: *Sondikayo*, or producers of lust (from Sonda-

116. *The Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and the Raja-vali*, vol. 3, p. 348.

117. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 238; A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. viii, *Hannaliya*; Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 237 ff.

makaya, who first discovered toddy); *Maggawikayo*, or vendors of intoxication; *Surawbeejayo*, i.e., toddy-makers or producers of good taste (referring to their sale of toddy to bakers); *Madinno*; i.e., pruners of trees; *Surawo*, gives of pleasant taste; and *Durawo*, producers or givers of the evil-producing taste.<sup>118</sup>

This caste was employed in collecting the sweet juice or toddy from the decapitated flower stalk of the coconut palm, kitul palm, and other trees for the purpose of fermentation. Since use of intoxicants is contrary to Buddhist precept, the Toddy-drawers' calling is confined to a very few families of the interior.<sup>119</sup>

There were a number of sub-divisions of the Toddy-drawer caste, according to Bennett, Pridham, and Valentyn (see data below). The highest grades of this caste, according to Valentyn<sup>120</sup> were the elephant-tamers, who had the right of using white linen or calico and possessed a flag with a red lion on the middle of a white background, along with other distinctions from which inferior sections were barred. Dress of the headmen is described by Bennett (p. 99).<sup>121</sup>

The 'Hue and Cry' data show the following occupations as pursued by 47 Toddy-drawer people: coolies 23, cultivators 13, toddy-drawers 6, and servants 5. The census of Sinhalese Toddy-drawers listed 2,604 in 1881, 9,857 in 1891, and 11,836 in 1901.

The principal sub-divisions of the Toddy-drawers are: (1) Blacksmith helpers, *Ackerammo* (Valentyn); (2) Carriage-makers, *Rata Karayo* (Pridham); (3) Cowherds, *Pati Karayo* (Bennett, Pridham); (4) Dancers, *Kuttadi* (Bennett, Pridham), *Cutany Wolle-etto* or *Arambeo* (Valentyn); (5) Drummers, *Agunmady* (Valentyn); (6) Elephant-feeders, *Pannayo* (Bennett); (7) Knife-carriers, *Niello* (Valentyn); (8) Laborers, *Durawo* or *Chando* (Bennett, Pridham, Valentyn); (9) Rice-sacrificers, *Balibattu* (Bennett, Pridham); (10) Riders of elephants, *Magul Durawo* (Pridham, Valentyn); (11) Servants, *Aynadi* (Bennett, Pridham), *Usanno* (Valentyn); (12) Timber-fellers, *Porawa Karayo* (Bennett, Pridham); (13) Toddy-drawers, *Hari durawo* or *Nattambu* (Bennett), *Hari Durawo* or *Nallambu* (Pridham), *Nattambovo* (Valentyn); (14) Washermen, *Hiwattayo* (Bennett, Pridham); miscellaneous, *Solil Karayo* or particular services (Pridham), *Weedy* and *Cottu* (Valentyn).

118. Upham, vol. 3, pp. 344-345.

119. Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, p. 237.

120. in Philalethes, *Ceylon*, p. 327 ff.

121. See also E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, p. 21.



### Tree-Cutters

The *Heeri*, or pioneers, were a small caste. They had a vidane, or chief, and their office was to fell all kinds of trees, to carry ammunition in war, and to act as pioneers in clearing the way for troops. They did not enjoy the privilege of wearing white linen, and a particular caste called the *Gangavos* washed for them.<sup>122</sup> The census enumerated 309 Timber-fellers in 1881 and 258 in 1891.

### Washers

The following are the names given by Upham<sup>123</sup> for the Washer caste; *Ninney Jakaya*, restorers; *Rajakayo* or *Radau*, removers of dirt; *Paihara Haliyo*, cloth cleaners; *Paidiyo* or takers of payment; and *Hainayo* or *Snaihayo*, beloved persons (referring to their washing the foul linen of little children and thereby obtaining their affection).

The accounts concerning the Washer caste are rather confusing inasmuch as the identity of the different washermen groups and their status relation to each other is not indicated. Apparently the *Radaw* (*Henaya* or *Henawlaya*) were the washers for the *Goi-gama* and other castes of high status such as sections of the Fishers, Toddy-drawers, etc. Below the *Radaw* were at least three other washer castes, namely: (1) *Hinniwo* or *Hinawa*, who washed for Cinnamon-peelers primarily and also for Smiths, Toddy-drawers, Potters, Tailors, Fishers and Scavengers; (2) *Gangavo*, primarily washers for Tree-cutters and Dancers; and (3) *Pali*, *Paliyo*, or *Apullanna*, washers primarily for low castes such as Lime-burners, Palanquin-bearers, Barbers, Drummers, and Jaggery-makers. In addition, there appears to have been still another group of washers, the *Tarumpar*, who worked for outcastes. Thus it seems evident that the caste status of their clients was reflected in the status of the different Washer groups.

The Washers were a fairly large caste and paid for their land in one-twentieth of its produce in rice. They were said to possess great powers as arbiters in cases of violation of social etiquette or custom, and their refusal to wash the clothes of objectionable persons constituted a form of social ostracism. Washers were occasionally officials at Yak or demon ceremonies, and Parker has recorded some of their songs sung while at work. Paddy was often used to pay them for their services. The term *Henaya* was used in polite address and means a cleaner.<sup>124</sup>

122. Valentyn, in *Philalethes, Ceylon*, p. 331.

123. *The Mahavamsa, Raja-ratnacari and Raja-vali*, vol. 3, pp. 342-343.

124. Pridham, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 238-239; Knox, in *Philalethes, Ceylon*, pp. 136-137; A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. xix *Rada-Baddara-Rajakariya*.

The dress of the females of this caste consisted of two short cloths, one wrapped around the loins and the other thrown over the shoulder. None of the Washers was allowed to wear white linen.<sup>125</sup> The *Radaw* could eat with Fishers and Toddy-drawers but could not eat with Tailors, Potters, and Barbers, nor could they go to their festivals even though they might wash for them. They washed also for themselves.

They were said to use lye in their washing. They set a pot containing seven to eight gallons of water over the fire and then laid the dirty clothes on top. The steam of the water went through the clothes and scalded them. Afterwards they were taken to the river and flapped against the rocks until clean.<sup>126</sup> A square representing the stone on which the linen was bleached served as a symbol on their flag.<sup>127</sup>

The duties of the Washers consisted in furnishing of white cloth to spread on the ground at ceremonies; to line rooms and cover chairs whenever the Kandian king or his chiefs were expected; to wash at periodic intervals clothes, curtains, flags, and temple vestments; to decorate temples and homes at weddings and ceremonies; to supply carpets and bathing costumes; and to attend the manorial lords on journeys carrying torches; of wick and tow.<sup>128</sup> The families who washed for the court had their land free for that service. They were not required to wash for any of the superior castes without payment or to degrade themselves by washing for those beneath themselves. At the New Year ceremonies the Washer received in addition to sweetmeats and rice a coin from every member of the family. The coin was tied up in a cloth delivered for washing. At funerals and puberty ceremonies the Washer is entitled to certain of the clothing used, the clothes not being burnt on the funeral pyre. For details of the dress of the caste headmen see Bennett (pp. 99-100).

The 'Hue and Cry' data indicate that out of 36 persons of Washer caste 14 were following that occupation, 6 were cultivators, and 16 were unrecorded or miscellaneous. According to the census there were 12,601 Sinhalese washermen in 1881, 27,466 in 1891, and 29,749 in 1901.

125. Knox, *ibid.*

126. Knox, *ibid.*

127. E. W. Perera, *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, p. 37.

128. Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 26; A. A. Perera, *Sinhalese Folk-Lore Notes*, 1917, App., p. xix, *Rada-Baddara-Rajakariya*.



### Conclusion

The picture herein presented of Sinhalese castes may seem to be somewhat confusing in detail, yet there are certain integrating factors in the system that call for notice.

First, there was the formerly existing system of *rajkariya* or fixed economic services, which were required of each caste in return for its land tenure. These services, each of which was peculiar to the single caste, were rendered to the king, the landlord, or the proprietary temple. The local village or caste headman and the village council were responsible for the performance and maintenance of these duties as royal or local officials. The departmentalization of the government of the native Kandians assigned to each caste specific duties within a section of the political hierarchy. When new services were required new castes were often imported from India to perform them. The disposition of duties and assignment of caste functions constituted a royal prerogative but were limited by customs and traditions of the castes themselves. Thus there existed a complete system of economic exchange between villages, each of which specialized in its particular caste occupations.

Second, a pattern of exploitation of the natural environment becomes apparent in the various caste divisions. The majority caste was the Agriculturist, or *Vellala*, who specialized in the exploitation of the rice-fields of the Island. Other castes such as the Potters and Iron-miners specialized in the extraction and use of inanimate mineral substances, while still others such as the Fishers and Lac-collectors exploited the animal resources. As a result of this specialization there occurred a geographical segregation of caste villages and of urban caste quarters by means of which specialization could be maintained in exclusiveness and without interference from the outside. The manner and the matter of exploitation elevated or debased the social station of the various castes, the Farmer being of high status, the Scavenger of low.

Third, as Hocart (1935, 1936) has shown so ably in his writings on the subject, a group of ritualistic functions assigned to each caste made the services of that caste indispensable to the community generally and to each of the other related castes individually. Thus the Washer was necessary in the purification of clothing from the pollution of menstrual blood and for the performance of rites of marriage; the Barber was necessary for funeral services; the Tomtom-beaters were needed for Devil exorcism; and the Jaggery-maker cook for temple feasts. The various washer castes reflected the standing of their respective clients and furnished a parallel hierarchy of ceremonial ministrants who buttressed and reinforced the hierarchy of castes proper. A similar situation

exists in India where the various Brahman groups are correlated with the social status of their clients and parallel the caste ladder of ranks. The annual processions and seasonal ceremonies in which the Tomtom-beaters and Dancers participated likewise reinforced and reiterated the social priorities of specific caste groups. The repetition of the great ceremonies at specific times of the year helped to perpetuate the social order and peculiar functions of some of the castes and also affected the other groups. The marriage rites, perhaps more important in some respects than any of the others, required the participation of special-service castes even though the rite itself was generally within the single caste group.

Fourth, for each of the castes there was always a certain degree of occupational latitude or elasticity of function. The tasks involved in cultivation were performed by almost all the non-cultivator castes as well as being a major function of the latter. Each of the non-cultivator groups, however, was regarded as lower in status and more restricted in occupational choices than the cultivators. At the bottom of the social scale there was also a latitude of occupational choice, since the *Rodiyas* and *Kinneras* were forced to supply their own barbers, doctors, soothsayers, and officials for demon ceremonies. Each caste, in fact, tended to develop a hierarchy of occupations within its own ranks, and we hear of higher and lower degrees of Cultivators, Fishers, Smiths, Toddy-drawers, Weavers, and Cinnamon-peelers.

Fifth, in explaining the threads underlying Sinhalese caste it is necessary to call attention to certain psychological tendencies apparently shared with the people of India proper. These tendencies include (a) a feeling for classification and arrangement in neat logical sequences of all the facts and objects of existence, including human social groupings; (b) a craving for order and established precedence expressing itself in a priority system for allocating goods and services to those castes whose functional value is held higher than others; and (c) a fear of pollution or contamination shared by Hindu and Buddhist alike, which is evidenced in the avoidance of low-caste impurity by frequent use of new pottery or by use of clothes cleaned by the Washer. The Potter, Washer, and Scavenger, since they removed the impurities of life, seemed to acquire thereby a certain impurity themselves. The caste having to do with life processes and growing, the Cultivators, ranked highest, while the Scavengers and Executioners, concerned with death, were at the bottom of the social scale.

Hocart maintains that each of the Sinhalese castes, as well as those of India proper and other parts of the world, constituted a priesthood with a peculiar ritualistic function of its own. His



comparisons of other systems with the Sinhalese, extending from ancient times to the present, from Europe to Polynesia, have brought the caste system of Ceylon into focus with reference to the rest of the world. One does not have to accept unreservedly his generalizations, but it is worth while to read him for his fertility of ideas and helpful logic in untangling the mass of apparently chaotic and confusing practices associated with caste.

The foregoing summary represents the gist of the material at present available in libraries and bibliographies on the subject of Sinhalese castes. It is evident that there is a considerable need for field work and further investigation of this subject. The deficiencies can be summed up in the following order.

(1) There is practically a complete lack of censuses of Sinhalese castes, and although such censuses may have been taken at some time in the nineteenth century no record seems to have been made of it. The occupational census is of very little value in this regard.

(2) There are very few illustrations of Sinhalese caste types in the literature, and these suffer from lack of identifying captions as to whether they are Sinhalese or Tamil and do not show physical types. Pictures of Jaggery-makers, Palanquin-bearers, and Lime-burners in particular seem difficult to find. In Appendix V of this paper a list of illustrated material on the castes is given. Anthropometric data on the different castes are needed in addition to good photographic records.

(3) There seems to be dearth of material on the internal structure of the Sinhalese castes. Though we are told in a general way that each village had a council and a caste headman, little is really gathered regarding the actual operation of the system. Can we say that there are caste panchayats or other institutions similar to those of India proper?

(4) There are no records of community surveys including caste data along with other relevant social facts concerning residence, segregation, present occupational activities, incomes, endogamy, and tendencies toward disregard of caste rules. Even a single instance of such a survey would go far toward throwing light on the present social conditions of the Sinhalese castes.

(5) There are no facts relevant to the effects of the European system on the native economy, especially as regard the caste obligations and how the transition was made from one to another. If this story were ever unfolded a fascinating and instructive example of social processes might be obtained.

(6) Finally, data on the specific location of caste villages in Ceylon and the districts of major concentration for each of the groups would be helpful in relating the castes to their physical and social environments.

The physical typology of the Sinhalese castes is in special need of study. The various accretions of Tamil, Mukhuvar, Gypsy, Weaver, Ironworker, Moorish, Afghan, Chinese, Portuguese, English, Boer, Dutch, Malay, and Kaffir Negro blood have not simplified the problem. It is to be hoped that the physical anthropologists, sociologists, and social anthropologists will take up the challenge of these problems in a key area of the Middle East.



## APPENDIX I

### Variants in Sinhalese Caste Names

#### I. Agriculturists

Agricultural caste (Clark); Chiefs, Nobles, and Goigama Servants (Perera); Cultivators (Armour, Parker); Husbandmen (Ballou, Barrow); *Gowi Wansaya* or *Vellale* (Bennett); *Gowiyo* (Chitty, Niti Nighanduwa); *Goewanse* (Davy, Pridham, Jancigny, De Saram); *Goiwansa* (Schmidt); *Goi-vansa* (Encycl. Brit.); *Goigama* (Dharmaratne); *Goi-wansa* (Encycl. Metrop., Guenther); *Govy Wansaya* (Gauttier); *Vellal* or *Goi Vansa* (Joinville); *Vellala* (Upham); *Bellali* (Wouter, Schouten); *Honderoos* or *Vellalas* (Cordiner); *Hondrews* or *Hondura* (Knox); *Hondrews* (Percival); *Handuruwa Velalas* (Selkirk); *Rateetto* (Perera); *Machuas* (Queyroz).

#### 2. Barbers

Barbers (Ballou, Barrow, Bertolacci, Clark, Knox, Percival, Schouten); *Embetteyo* (Armour); *Ambattayo* (Bennett); *Aymbay-thayo* (Bennett); *Ambatteyo* (Chitty); *Ambattea* (Davy); *Embettayo* (de Saram, Ribeiro, Schmidt, Guenther, Janavamsa, Niti Nighanduwa); *Ambattia* (Jancigny); *Embetta* (Perera); *Ambetteo* (Valentyn); *Pannikias* (Cordiner); *Panikias* (Nordhoff); *Panikky* (Upham); *Panikkiyo* (Selkirk).

#### 3. Basket-makers

Basket-makers (Upham); *Hendayo* (Armour); *Handee* (Davy, Pridham, Jancigny); *Handi* (Guenther, Schmidt); *Kiddeas* or *Kidawaru* (Knox).

#### 4. Brahmins

*Bramines* or *Bragmanes* (Schouten).

#### 5. Cinnamon-peelers

Cinnamon-peelers (Ballou, Barrow, Perera); Weavers (Clark Encycl. Brit.); *Wiyanno* or *Wiyanna Haali* (Armour); *Wiyamuo* and *Wiyanno* (Bennett); *Chalias* (Chitty, Cordiner, Encycl. Metrop., Guenther, Joinville, Nordhoff, Percival, Pridham Queyroz, Ribeiro, de Saram, Schmidt, Upham, Valentyn); *Hali* (Davy, Jancigny, Niti Nighanduwa, Perera, Pridham, Valentyn); *Haliyo* (Selkirk); *Halagama* (Hue and Cry, De Saram, Upham); *Salas* (Encycl. Metrop.); *Salagama* (Hue and Cry, Joinville); *Mahabadde* (Pridham, Selkirk); *Pesakarayo* (Janavamsa, Upham); *Kurunda-karayo* (Schmidt).

## THE SINHALESE CASTE SYSTEM

#### 6. Comb-makers

*Raadayo* (Armour, Cordiner).

#### 7. Dancers

Dancers (Valentyn); Mask-makers (Bennett); Charcoal-makers (Cordiner, Nordhoff); Cleaners and Fuel-suppliers (Perera); Coal-procurers and Washers to Dancers (Upham); Oil-burners, and Elephant-tenders (Valentyn); *Oliyo* (Armour, Janavamsa, Niti Nighanduwa); *Oli* (Bennett, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Jancigny, Perera, Schmidt); *Olias* (Chitty, Cordiner, Nordhoff, Valentyn); *Ollias* (Joinville); *Olee* (Davy, Pridham); *Olli* (Dharmaratne); *Olie* (de Saram); *Ollie* (Upham).

#### 8. Drummers and Weavers

Drummers (Perera); Tomtom-beaters (Ballou, Barrow, Bennett; Clark, Ribeiro); Weavers (Knox, Percival); Musicians (Schmidt); Astrologers (Barrow, Knox); *Berawayo* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Cordiner, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Nordhoff, Parker, Perera, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Bereveras* (Joinville); *Barra badde* (Davy, Pridham, Jancigny); *Neketto* (Perera); *Nekatayo* (Schmidt).

#### 9. Elephant-men

Elephant-catchers (Chitty, Valentyn); Elephant-tamers (Ribeiro), *Weenawo* (Chitty, Valentyn); *Cornacas* (Ribeiro); *Couratto* (Knox).

#### 10. Fishers

Fishermen (Ballou, Barrow, Bertolacci, Clark, Ency. Brit.), Fish-curers (Perera) *Karawo* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Cordiner, Davy, Encycl. Metrop., Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Joinville, Niti Nighanduwa, Nordhoff, Parker, Perera, Pridham, Queyroz, de Saram, Schmidt, Schouten, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Keulhi* (Dharmaratne); *Ouagouri kayo* (Gauttier).

#### 11. Grass-cutters

Grass-cutters (Barrow, Upham); Fodderers or Fodder-providers (Perera); *Pannayo* (Armour, Davy, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Selkirk, Schmidt, Perera, Pridham); *Pannadurass* (Bertolacci); *Panna duraya* (Perera); *Hinnawo* (Niti Nighanduwa).

#### 12. Hunters

*Dodda weddahs* (Davy, Jancigny, Pridham); *Vedda* (Gauttier, Janavamsa, Hue and Cry, Joinville, Queyroz).



13. *Jaggery-makers*

Jaggery-makers (Barrow, Bertolacci, Encycl. Metrop., Knox); Cooks (Bennett); Cooks or porters (Cordiner, Nordhoff); Molasses-makers (Perera); *Jagberos* (Armour, Cordiner, Encycl. Metrop., Joinville, Nordhoff, Ribeiro, de Saram); *Hangarammo* (Armour, Knox, Niti Nighanduwa, Valentyn); *Hakuro* (Bennett, Chitty, Davy, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Perera; Pridham, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham); *Wahumpura* (Hue and Cry); *Kande duraya* (Perera).

14. *Leather-workers*

Sandal-makers (Bennett, Pridham); Shoe-makers (Chitty, Ribeiro, Upham, Valentyn); Tanners (Cordiner); *Homaru* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Ribeiro, Valentyn); *Somaru* (Bennett, Cordiner, Janavamsa, Nordhoff, Pridham, Upham); *Nagaran Karas* (Bertolacci); *Jawammu?* (Guenther).

15. *Lime-burners*

Lime-burners (Barrow); *Chunam-burners* (Bennett, de Saram, Upham); Lime-and mortar-makers (Bertolacci); *Hunno* (Armour, Chitty, Cordiner, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Joinville, Nordhoff, Perera, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Hurma* (Bennett, Jancigny); *Hunu durayo* (Niti Nighanduwa, Perera); *Hunu badde* (Davy, Jancigny, Pridham); *Chinambero* (Valentyn).

16. *Mat-weavers*

Mat-weavers (Barrow); *Kinnaru* (Armour, Cordiner, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Knox, Niti Nighanduwa, Nordhoff, Parker, Perera, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham); *Hinnarayo* (Bennett); *Hinawo* (Bennett); *Kinnera badde* (Davy); *Kinnaya* (Encycl. Metrop.); *Kinnarayo* (Janavamsa); *Kinneru badde* (Jancigny, Pridham); *Kinnava* (Joinville); *Kirinerahs* (Knox); *Hiene Jaty* (Valentyn).

17. *Outcastes*

Outcastes (Barrow, Clark, Percival); Skinners (Bennett); Beggars (Knox); Leather-and rope-makers (Upham); *Rodiya* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Cordiner, Davy, Dharmaratne, Encycl. Metrop., Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Joinville, Knox, Niti Nighanduwa, Nordhoff, Parker, Perera, Pridham, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham); *Roriz* (Queyroz); *Gasmundo* (Jancigny, Schmidt); *Antere Jaty* (Valentyn); *Gattaru* (Cordiner, Encycl. Metrop., Jancigny, Pridham, Schmidt); *Shenders* (Cordiner, Nordhoff).

18. *Palanquin-bearers*

A. Palanquin-bearers (Barrow); *Paduwo* (Armour, Bennett, Bertolacci, Chitty, Cordiner, Davy, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Jancigny, Joinville, Knox, Nordhoff, Perera, Pridham, Queyroz, Ribeiro, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); Porters (Chitty); Baggage carriers (Encycl. Brit.); Carriers (Guenther).

B. Executioners (Barrow, Nordhoff, Niti Nighanduwa, Selkirk, Pridham, Cordiner); Hangmen (Guenther, Schmidt); Scavengers (Bennett, Encycl. Brit.); House-wall builders (Bennett, Upham); House-builders (Guenther); Carcass-removers (Guenther, Upham, Schmidt); *Batgama* (Dharmaratne, Hue and Cry, Schmidt); *Batgam duraya* (Perera); *Batgam Paduwo* (Niti Nighanduwa); *Galahayo* (Armour, Guenther, Bennett, Janavamsa, Gauttier Schmidt, Selkirk); *Gahalega* or *Bedea* (Cordiner, Nordhoff, Upham) *Duraya* (Parker).

C. Iron-smelters (Armour, Pridham, Schmidt); *Yamannu* (Armour, Ribeiro, Schmidt).

19. *Potters*

Potters (Ballou, Barrow, Clark, Dharmaratne, Ency. Brit., Knox, Percival, Perera, Ribeiro); Tile-makers (Perera); *Badahelayo* (Armour, Davy, Guenther, Hue and Cry, Niti Nighanduwa, Parker, Perera, Pridham, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham); *Kumbalu* (Bennett, Chitty, Cordiner, Janavamsa, Nordhoff, Selkirk, Valentyn).

20. *Sieve-makers*

*Hirawa* (Armour, Cordiner).

21. *Slaves*

*Wallu* (Bennett); *Daasayo* (Bennett, Gauttier); *Nallovas* (Schouten).

22. *Smiths*

Smiths (Ballou, Barrow, Bertolacci, Encycl. Brit., Knox, Parker, Percival, Perera, Ribeiro, Upham); Mechanics (Cordiner); Artificers (Valentyn); *Nawandanno* (Armour, Chitty, Hue and Cry, Joinville, Niti Nighanduwa, Perera, Upham, Valentyn); *Nawaymiyo* (Bennett); *Kamburu* (Cordiner, Janavamsa, Nordhoff); *Achari* (Davy, Gauttier, Guenther, Jancigny, Parker, Pridham, Schmidt, Selkirk); *Vaduwo* (Janavamsa); *Kottal badde* (de Saram); *Badalo* (Selkirk, Hue and Cry).



23. *Tailors*

Tailors (Perera, Upham); *Hanali* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Davy, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Niti Nighanduwa, Pridham, de Saram, Schmidt).

24. *Toddy-drawers*

Toddy-drawers (Barrow, Bertolacci, Perera), Coconut-climbers (Clark); Elephant-tamers (Upham); *Durawo* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Cordiner, Ency. Metrop., Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Joinville, Niti Nighanduwa, Nordhoff, Perera, Pridham, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Chando* (Armour, Bennett, Cordiner, Davy, Encycl. Metrop., Guenther, Jancigny, Pridham, Queyroz, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Madinno* (Davy, Parker, de Saram); *Sourave* (Joinville).

25. *Tree-cutters*

Wood-cutters (Chitty); Woodsmen (Chitty); Pioneers (Chitty); Shooters (Upham); *Palleru* (Cordiner, Chitty, Jancigny, Niti Nighanduwa, Pridham, Queyroz, de Saram, Upham, Valentyn); *Heeri* (Chitty, Valentyn); *Porokara* (Hue and Cry); *Hunna kotanno* (Chitty).

26. *Washers*

A. Washermen (Armour, Ballou, Barrow, Bennett, Bertolacci, Clark); Washers (Encycl. Brit., Guenther, Joinville, Percival, Perera, Ribeiro, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Radav* (Armour, Bennett, Chitty, Cordiner, Davy, Ency. Metrop., Guenther, Hue and Cry, Janavamsa, Jancigny, Joinville, Knox, Niti Nighanduwa, Nordhoff, Parker, Perera, Pridham, de Saram, Schmidt, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); *Dhobies* (Dharmaratne, Guenther); *Henayo* (Parker).

B. *Hinawa* or *Hinnevo* (Bennett, de Saram, Perera, Chitty, Upham, Valentyn, Selkirk, Guenther); Washers to Cinnamon peelers (Barrow, Guenther, Perera, de Saram, Selkirk, Upham, Valentyn); Washers for *Naiides* (Perera).

C. *Gangavo* (Chitty, Perera, Valentyn); Washers for *Heeri* (Chitty, Valentyn); Washers for *Oli* (Perera, Valentyn).

D. *Pali* or *Apullano* (Armour, Niti Nighanduwa, Jancigny, Chitty, Guenther, Schmidt, Upham, Perera); Washers to *Hunno* (Chitty, Valentyn); Washers to low castes (Barrow, Guenther, Upham); Washers to Scavengers (Bennett); Washers for *Duraya*, Barbers, *Neketto* (Perera); Washers for Jaggery-makers, Lime-burners, Tomtom-beaters, and Palanquin-bearers (de Saram).

27. *Weavers*

*Villedurai* (Davy, Guenther, Jancigny, Perera, Pridham).

28. *Miscellaneous*

Cattle-keepers (Chitty, Cordiner); Pack-bullock-drivers (Perera); *Hunugambadu* (Chitty); *Gopaliya* (Cordiner); *Gopeloas* (Nordhoff).



## APPENDIX II

### Glossary of Sinhalese Caste Names

**ABORIGINALS:** Veddas.  
**ACHARI or ACHARIYO:** Blacksmiths, sing. Achariya, a blacksmith.  
**ACHIARY:** Achari.  
**ACKERANNO:** Coconut-bark rope-makers and Smiths' assistants; Chando.  
**ADARMISHTAYO:** Unrighteous men or bestial men; Rodias.  
**ADASSING:** Nobility of the Goigama.  
**ADATKETEANCARAO:** Workers in ivory and Cabinet-makers; Smiths.  
**AGRICULTURISTS:** Goigama.  
**AGUNMADY:** Drummers; Chando.  
**AHLIGUNTHIKAYO:** Ceylon gypsies.  
**AIMADUWO:** Arrow-makers.  
**AMBETTAYO or EMBETTO:** Those who live nearby. As ministers of the king's cabinet they were near the royal personage; Panikkayo or Barbers.  
**ANDI:** Beggars (Tamils).  
**ANGLERS:** Kaywalo or Karawe; Dandu-karawo.  
**ANTERE JATY:** Rodias or Outcaste Ropemakers.  
**APPUHAMY:** Descendants of chiefs and headmen, a branch of the Goigama.  
**APULLANO:** Washers to Lime-burners and low castes, Pali or Paliyo.  
**ARAMBEO:** Pagoda-dancers; Chando.  
**ARCHERS:** Dunuwaagely or Karawe.  
**ARROW-MAKERS:** Iwaduwo.  
**ARTIFICERS:** Nawandanno.  
**ASTROLOGERS:** Weavers or Berawayo.  
**ATODYA-WADAKAYA:** Berawayo. Name derived from Atodya, a minister who first appointed them to the duty of Tomtom-beating and who himself made and played on the first timbrel or drum with one head which is called by his name.  
**AYMBAYTHAYO:** Ambettayo or Barbers.  
**AYNADI:** Servants to Duravos; a branch of Duravos.  
**AYOKARAYO:** Workers in iron.  
**AYTTALAYO:** Feeders of elephants.  
  
**BAAK-KAYO:** Purveyors of food.  
**BADAHELA or BADAHELAYO:** Coombakarayo or Potters, sing. Badahelaya, a potter.  
**BADALU:** Baddallo, Silversmiths, sing. Badala, a silversmith.  
**BADA SELLAYO:** Possessors of near halls, so-called because they burnt their wares in large huts near their dwellings. Potters.  
**BADDAHALLAYA:** Coombakarayo or Potters.

## THE SINHALESE CASTE SYSTEM

**BADDALLO:** Silversmiths; Achari.  
**BADDEMINIHA:** Tomtom-beaters (respectful).  
**BADDO:** Rice-makers; Paduwa or Palanquin-bearers.  
**BADGAMA:** Batgammi.  
**BALIBATGAMAYO:** Bali or planet propitiatory ceremonialists; Goigama.  
**BALI-EDURA:** Teachers of Bali ceremonies; Oliya.  
**BALI TIYANA:** One who makes bali images; Oliya.  
**BALLI BATTU:** Rice-sacrificers; Duravos.  
**BAMMANU:** Brahman, sing. Bamuna.  
**BANDARA WALIYA:** Goigama.  
**BARBARIANS:** Rodias.  
**BARBERS:** Panikkayo; Ambettayo, Embettayo.  
**BARI KAYO:** Carriers.  
**BARRAWABADDE MAHABADDE:** Weavers or Tomtom-beaters; Berawayo.  
**BARUDEL-KARAWO:** Fishers who do not use casting nets; Carawo.  
**BASKET-MAKERS:** Sinnawo; Handi.  
**BATGAMMI, BATGAMAYO or BATGAMA ETTO:** Rice village people; Paduwo or Palanquin-bearers.  
**BATGAMWELLA:** Seeders of royal domain; Goigama.  
**BEDA or BEDDA:** Vedda.  
**BERAKARAYA:** Tomtom-beater, Drummer.  
**BERAWA, BERAWAYO, BEREVERAS:** Beaters of the baira or tomtom, sing. Berawayo, a weaver.  
**BERBAYAS:** Berawayas.  
**BETEL-GROWERS:** Dalae-Murecarao; Goigama.  
**BIRD-CATCHERS:** Pakai wadi; Karawe or Fishers.  
**BIRD-SNARERS:** Williya; Karawe.  
**BLACKSMITHS:** Ranhallo; Achari.  
**BRAGHMAN:** Brahman.  
**BRAHMANAYO:** Brahman.  
**BRAHMAN WANSAYA, BRAMIN, BRACHMAN:** Brahman.  
**BRASS-FOUNDERS:** Lokuruwo; Achari.  
**BRAZIERS:** Brass-founders; Lokuruwo.  
  
**CAMBOOAS:** Mechanics, carpenters, goldsmiths; Smiths.  
**CAMBURO, CAMMARO:** Derived from Kamburanawa, slaves; Smiths.  
**CAMMAKARAYO:** Workers in copper, brass, and silver; Nawandanno.  
**CANDALAYO:** Scavengers, eaters of unclean food.  
**CANDEY ETTO or KANDIANS:** Livers in the mountains; Pakuro or Jaggery-makers.  
**CAPPAKAYO:** Cutters; Barbers.  
**CARAWO or KARAWE:** Shore people or dwellers by the shore; Fishers.  
**CARIAWASSIN or MAYORALS:** Goigama.  
**CARPENTERS:** Waduwo, Danduwaaduwo; Karawe or Fishers.  
**CARREAS:** Karawe or Fishers.  
**CARRIAGE-MAKERS:** Rata Karayo; Karawe or Fishers.



CATTAKARAYO: Workers in hard matter or wood. So called because they beat up pieces of wood into pulpy matter, which they used to manufacture mats; Kinnaru.

CHALIAS: People of Chilaw; Cinnamon-peelers and weavers by trade; Halagama.

CHAMMAKARAYO: Skin-dressers; Sanmahanno or Shoe-makers.

CHANDALAYO: Skin-dressers; Candalayo.

CHANDO: Toddy-drawers who extract toddy from Coconut and kitul palm.

CHINAMBERS: Lime-burners or Hunno; Chunna-karayo.

CHIVIAS: Chalias.

CHUNNA-KARAYO: Lime-burners or reducers to powder by burning stones and trees.

CHUNAM-BURNERS: Hunno or Lime-burners.

CINNAMON-PEELERS: Originally imported to Ceylon as weavers, they became peelers of cinnamon bark; Chalias.

CONJURERS: Indrajalikayo.

COOKS: Wahunpurayo or Pakuro, Jaggery-makers.

COOLOOPOTTO: Peeling winnowers-makers. This refers to their manufacture of winnowers from peelings of bamboo cane and reed. Sinnawo or Handi (Basket-makers).

COOMBAKARAYO: Potters, named after Coobers, a first potter.

COOMBLOOAS: Potters.

COOROONDO CARAYA: Cinnamon-peelers; Chalias.

CORNACAS: Elephant-tenders; Couratto.

COURATTO: Elephant-tenders.

COTTU: Chando or Toddy-drawers.

COWHERDS: Pati Karayo; Duravos. Also Gombaducarao division of Goigama.

CROCODILE-TRAPPERS: Kayman wadi; Karawe.

CUBELLO: Coombakarayo or Potters.

CULAWLAYO: Potters or Coombakarayo. So called after Culala, first potter.

CULTIVATORS: Goigama or Vellala agriculturists.

CUMBALLU: Coombakarayo or Potters.

CUTARY WOLLE-ETTO: Dancers in pagodas, etc.; Chando or Toddy-drawers.

DADEWEDDA: Hunters or game procurers; Goigama.

DANCERS: Oliya.

DANDU-KARAWO: Fish only with angling rod of bamboo, anglers; Karawe.

DANDUWADUWO DANDOUADOUYO: Carpenters; Karawe.

DARAWO: Elephant-tamers; Duravo.

DECCUM CARAO: Lime-burners or Hunno who paid a poll tax.

DEMALAGATTERA or DEMALA GATTARU: Tamil slave caste, captives of Sinhalese in war.

DEVAYO: Workers in the kitchen or Hakuru.

DHOBY: Washerman, Radaw.

DIEGARANNO: Collectors of gems from stream beds; Goigama.

DIYALUWO: Water-carriers.

DODDA VEDDAS: Veddas or hunters.

DRUMMERS: Berawayas or Tomtom-beaters and weavers.

DUNUWAAAYELI: Archers; Karawe or Fishers.

DURAVE or DURAWE: Producers of evil-producing taste; Chando or Toddy drawers, sing. Durawa.

DURAYA: Palanquin bearers, Paduwas.

ELEPHANT-CATCHERS: Weenawo; Magul Duravo.

EMBETTAYO: Barbers.

EMBETTEO: Barbers.

ETTWALAPANNIKKAYO: Elephant-keepers; Goigama.

EXECUTIONERS: Gahalagambadayo or Paduwa. Also Wadekayo or Karawe.

FAMALE: Workers in iron, miners.

FISHMONGERS: Matwikunanno or Karawe.

FISHERMEN, FISHERS: Karawe or Carawo.

FLOWER GARDENERS: Malcaruwo or Goigama.

GADI: Rodiya (respectful).

GAHALAGAMBADAYO, GAHALAYA, GAHALA PAM: Removers and buriers of corpses and elephant carcasses. Executioners and scavengers; Paduwas.

GALLADO: Artificers of upper division.

GALWADUWO: Lapidaries, stonecutters and sculptors; Achari.

GANGAVO: Washers for Heeri and Olias.

GANITAYO: Counters or calculators. So called because they are astrologers and predictors of the motions of the planets; Berawayas.

GARDENERS: Malcaruwo; Goigama.

GASMANDO: Outcastes or Rodias. Named from a kind of rope made by them for catching elephants. Sing. Gasmanda.

GATTARU: Outcasted members of upper castes by royal action. Descendants of captives, condemned thieves, etc.

GAURAYKAWALLU: Village watchmen.

GEM COLLECTORS: Diegaranno, Goddegarranno; Goigama.

GODDEGARRANNO: Searchers of gems in the soil.

GODE KEWULOO: Fishermen or inlets of the sea or at river mouths. They possessed a peculiar fishing tackle. Karawe.

GOEWANSE: Goigama.

GOI BAMUNO: Cultivating Brahmans; Goigama.

GOIGAMA or GOYIGAMA: Cultivators or Vellala.

GOIGAMA ETTO: Goiyo or Cultivators, rice-village people.



GOIKULAYO: Of the cultivating caste; Goigama.  
 GOIYO, GOWIYA, GOIGAMA ETTO: Cultivators.  
 GOLDSMITHS: Nawandanno, Badalo.  
 GOMBADUCARAO: Peasants who attended cows and supplied king with grain; Goigama.  
 GONY WAMSAYA: Goigama.  
 GOPELOOAS, GOPALAYES: Cattle-keepers.  
 GOYANKARANNO: Dowry or cultivators of rice; Goigama.  
 GRASS CUTTERS: Pannayo.  
 GURUNNEHE: Tomtom-beaters (respectful).  
 GURUNNEHELA: Teachers; Achari.  
 GURUWARAYO: Masters; Achari.  
 GURUWO: A mixed caste of Sinhalese and Moors, Moslem in religion.

HADAYO: Plaiters; Sinnawo or Handi.  
 HAINAWALAYO: Fringe makers; Kinnaru.  
 HAINAYO: Beloved persons; Radaw or Washers.  
 HAKURO, HAKKUROO: Jaggery-makers, sing. Hakura.  
 HALIYO or HALI: Chalias or Cinnamon peelers, sing. Haliya.  
 HALLAGAMA or HALAGAMA: Chalias or Cinnamon-peelers.  
 HALUGE: People of the Washer caste.  
 HANDEE, HANDI, or HENDAYO: Basket-makers. Furnished the royal stores with baskets and winnows. Were thought to be beggars or Rodias by some.  
 HANDURUWO: Sanduruwo or Hondrews, Gentlemen; Goigama.  
 HANGAREMA or HANGAREMMU: Sugar-makers from palm sap; Wahunpurayo or Jaggery-makers (respectful).  
 HANNALI or HANNAWLI: Tailors or Mananno.  
 HARI DURAVO: Duravos proper.  
 HAYWAYO: Soldiers; Paduwa.  
 HEDIDEMALA: Tamil caste name.  
 HEERI: Pioneers or Tree fellers in war.  
 HENAWALAYO: Mat-makers; Kinnaru.  
 HENAYO: Washermen, sing. Henaya.  
 HENDAYO: Handi or Basket-makers.  
 HEWAPANNAY: Soldiers or lascareens; Goigama.  
 HIENE JATY: Weavers of mats with which they pay poll tax; Kinnaru.  
 HINAWAH: Washers to Gahalaya or Scavengers.  
 HINNAWO: Pannayo or Grass cutters.  
 HINNEVO or HINNIVO, HINNAWO: Washers for Chalias, Jaggery-makers, and Feeders of elephants.  
 HIRAWA: Sieve-makers.  
 HIWATTAYO: Washers for Duravos; Duravos.  
 HOMMARU: Skin-dressers and Scavengers.  
 HONDREWS HONDURU: Gentlemen; Goigama.  
 HORU: Thieves.

HULAWALIYA: Rodia headmen.  
 HUNGARAMMU: Hangarema or Jaggery-makers.  
 HUNGRAMS: Jaggery-makers.  
 HUNKIRICARAO: Suppliers of milk; Goigama.  
 HUNNO: Lime-burners or manufacturers, sing. Hunna.  
 HUNTERS: Veddass.  
 HUNU GAMBADU: Peasants who fodder and take care of cattle.  
 HUNU KATTANNO: Fellers of trees for lime kilns.

INDIMAL-KEULO or KEWULU: Manufacturers of lines and nets from the bark of the coconut tree, which they sell to the Fishers. They use baskets and little nets to catch fish in rivers. They employ the date-tree flower in their festivals, which they call Indimal. They are Karawe.

INDRAJALIKAYO: Conjurors.  
 INLAYERS OF GOLD AND SILVER: Ridiceto Ancarao.  
 IRON-FOUNDERS: Yamanayo.  
 IVORY-WORKERS AND CABINET-MAKERS: Adatketeancarao; Smiths.  
 IWADUWO: Arrow-makers and Workers in lac; Achari.

JAGGERY-MAKERS: Manufacturers of Jaggery sugar from the sap of trees, Wahunpurayo.

JAGHERERS: Coolies or common porters.  
 JAGREROS: Jaggery-makers.  
 JANA CAPANNO: Grass-cutters; Pannayo.  
 JAWLIKAYO: Workers with nets; Karawe.  
 JEWELERS: Ratneenderecarao.

KADUL-KARAWO: Sails of the fishing boats of these Fishers are of dark red color and this color is made from a dye extracted from the bark of the cajou tree.

KANDE-MINISSA: Hillmen or Jaggery-makers; Hakuru.  
 KAPPUWO: Temple watchmen.  
 KARAWE or KARAWO: Fishermen, sing. Karawa.  
 KARMANTAKAKARAYA: Workmen; Kinnaru.  
 KARRANAWIYO: Razor-users; Barbers.  
 KASALAYO: Throwers-away of dirt; Gahalayo or Scavengers.  
 KASSAKAYO: Plowers; Goigama.  
 KAYMAN WADI: Crocodile-catcher; Karawe.  
 KAY-WATTAYO: Surrounders of water; Karawe.  
 KAYWULO: Anglers who catch fish only with hook and line; Karawe.  
 KESBA KARAWAY, KESPE-KARAWO: Subsisters by turtles and tortoises which they catch in a large net; Karawe.  
 KETTAU JIEWAKAYO, KHETTA JIEWAKAYO: Livers by the field; Goigama.  
 KIDAWARU, KIDDEAS: Makers of fans to fan corn and cane baskets, lace bedsteads, and stools; Kinnaru.



KINNARU, KINNARAYA: Workers in grass or Mat-weavers, sing. Kinnara.

KINNERA BADDE, KIRINERAHS: Rope- and mat-makers; Kinnaru.

KONTAYO: Carriers of the frame of the king's palanquin.

KOOSTAROGIYO: Lepers and devil dancers.

KSHATRIA: Royal Race.

KSHUDRA: Sudra.

KUMBALLU: Potters, sing. Kumbala.

KURUNDAKARAYO: Chalia, Cinnamon-peelers.

KURUNKA: Elephant-attendants, Cornacas.

KUNAMMADUVEGAMAYO: Palanquin-bearer, headmen; Goigama.

KUTTADI: Dancers; Durawo.

LACURUWO, LOKURUWO: Smelters; Achari.

LAC-WORKERS: Iwaduwo, workers in lac and Arrow-makers.

LAPIDARIES: Galwaduwo; Smiths.

LEAD-FOUNDERS: Lokuruwo.

LEATHER-WORKERS: Sanmahanno, shoemakers.

LIANE or LIYANA WADUWO: Turners; Achari.

LIME-BURNERS: Hunno, those who burn wood, shells, or stones for lime.

LOKURUWO: Brass-founders or Lead-makers, Lacuruwo; Smiths, sing. Lokuruwa.

MADAMEMINIHA: Guruwo (respectful).

MADAN: Madinno.

MADEL KARAWAY: Madel net fishers; Karawe.

MADINNO: Tree-pruners; Chando.

MADUKARAYA: Ropemen; Rodias.

MAGAL (MAGUL) DURAVO: Riders or tamers of the royal elephants; Duravo.

MAGGAWIKAYO: Vendors of intoxication; Chando, also deer-killers.

MAHABADDE or MAHABADDEY-ETTO: People of the Cinnamon caste.

From Mahabadde, the great rent, referring to cinnamon as the principal source of revenue; Chalias.

MAHANNO: Sewers; Mananno or Tailors.

MALCARUWO: Derived from Mawlacawrayo; flower-chain makers or garland-makers; flower gardeners; Goigama.

MANANNO: Tailors.

MANDUKARAYA: Rodiya (respectful).

MASKED DANCERS: Oliyo.

MAT-WEAVERS: Kinnaru.

MATWIKUNANNO: Fishmongers; Karawe.

MEEHUDUDAYE WADI: Fishers with nets in the sea only; Karawe.

MILKMEN: Hunkiricirao; Goigama.

MORU-KARAWO: These Fishers use hemp nets to catch skates and extract oil from the latter; Karawe.

MUDALIPERUMA: Goigama.

MUSICIANS: Berewayas or Tomtom-beaters.

NAGARAM KARAS: Leather-workers.

NAHAPIKAYO: Comforters; Barbers.

NAIDE or NYÁIDÉ: A group of inferior artisan castes, namely, Smiths, Potters, Fishers, Toddy-drawers (respectful).

NALAKARAYO: Players upon wood instruments.

NALLAMBU: Toddy-drawers.

NALLOVAS: Unclean slaves and servants of cultivators.

NATTAMBOVO: Chando.

NAWANDANNO, NAWANKARANNO, NAWANDANNAJO: Makers of new things, or goldsmiths, silversmiths, and other metal workers.

NEKATAYO: Astrologers; Berawayas, sing. Nekatiya.

NET AND LINE-MAKERS: Indimal-keulo; Karawe.

NIELLO: Chando.

NETTUKKARAYA: Dancer, a term applied to Rodia women.

NILLEMAKAREYEA or PATTEA: Shepherds; Goigama.

NINNEY JAKAYA: Restorers; Radawa or Washers.

OLIAS: Providers of oil for illumination at night and tenders of elephants.

OLIYO or OLI: Masked dancers; also washers to low castes.

OLLEE or OLI: Carriers of effigies of demons called 'Assooriahs' in annual festivals.

OLLIE: Procurers of coal.

OUAGOURI KAYO: Fishers.

ORU KARAWAY: Boat-fishers; Karawe.

OUTCASTES: Rodias.

OUTLAWS: Palleru.

PACHAS: Paduwa.

PADDO, PADDAS, PADIWO: Rice-makers; Paduwo.

PADDUWOO: Erectors of house walls; Paduwo.

PADUWO: Palanquin-bearers, hereditary royal serfs, carriers, sing. Paduwa.

PAIHARA HELIYO: Cloth-cleaners; Radaw.

PAIDIYO: Takers of payment; Radaw.

PAINDA PERUMU: Goigama.

PAINTERS: Sittaru; Smiths.

PAISACAWRAYO, PAIHARO: Weavers of gold and silver thread from Paisecarawa in India. Chalias.

PAISAKARA BRAHMANAYO: Gold and silver-thread-weaving Brahmins; Chalias.

PAKAI WADI: Bird-catchers; Karawe.

PAKURO: Stonemakers, so called by reason of the hard cakes of sugar that they manufacture; Jaggery-makers.



PALANQUIN-BEARERS: Paduwa or Duraya.  
 PALHORUPADUVO: Robber, Paduwo.  
 PALI: Washers for low castes.  
 PALLAROO, PALLARU or PALLERU: Banditti or freebooters in the woods liable to any service; also Washermen to low castes, sub-division of Pali.  
 PALLY: Washers for Lime-burners, Tomtom-beaters, Jaggery-makers, Paduwo.  
 PANDITTAYO: Wise men; Potters.  
 PANIKKAYO: Leaf or foliage cutters; Barbers.  
 PANIKKILA: Tomtom-beater.  
 PANIKKIYA: Barber (in lowlands).  
 PANIVIDAKARAYA: Messenger; Lime-burner.  
 PANNADERIA: Grass-cutter.  
 PANNAKARAYO: Leaf-workers or leaf-weavers; Kinnaru.  
 PANNAYO: Named from Pan, a species of high grass which they cut. These are Grass-cutters, leaf-cutters, or leaf-strippers for elephant fodder.  
 PARAVA: Bard (Tamil caste).  
 PAS KULU: Five tribes; carpenter, weaver, washer, barber, and shoemaker.  
 PASS MEHE KARAYO: Five performers of services; Karawe.  
 PATI KARAYO: Cowherds; Durawe.  
 PATTEAS: Nillemakereyia or Shepherds.  
 PATTIWALA AGA: Cowherds; Goigama.  
 PAWTGES: Paduwa.  
 PAYINDA: Messenger; Hunno or Lime-burner.  
 PEASANTS: Goigama.  
 PEESAKARAYE: Carriers of Palanquins.  
 PESAKARAYO: Chalia.  
 PIDAYNIDANNO: Sacrificers to devils.  
 PIONEERS: Heeri.  
 PODDAH: Husbandmen and soldiers.  
 POOKOOSAYO: Removers of city dirt; Gahalayo.  
 PORAWAKKARA KARAWAY, PORAWAWA KARAYO: Timber-fellers or Woodsmen; Durawo; also Karawe.  
 POROKARA: Axmen; Goigama.  
 PORTERS: Paduwo.  
 POTTERS: Coombakarayo, Badahelayo.  
 PRIESTS: Pidaynidanno.  
 PUPAWELENDU: Cake-sellers.  
 PUPPHACHADDOKAYO: Casters away of flowers; Gahalayo.  
 RAAWELENDU: Toddy-drawers.  
 RADALAKAMPERUWA: Goigama.  
 RADAU, RADAW: Washers for superior castes and for Karawe, Chandos, Tailors, Potters, and Barbers, sing. Radawa.

RADAYO: Skinners.  
 RADEAS, RADUDA: Washermen.  
 RAGIA: Kingly caste, Raja wansaya.  
 RAJAKAYO: Removers of dust; Radaw.  
 RANHALLU: Silversmiths and blacksmiths; brassfounders; Achari.  
 RAT KARAYO: Carriage-makers; Durawo.  
 RATEETTO: Field-cultivators; Goigama.  
 RATNEENDERECARAO: Jewelers; Achari.  
 RATTAKARAYO: Carriage-makers and manufacturers of harness for chariots or carriages; Sanmahanno.  
 REAL CHITTY: Wysya or Vaishya (Merchant) Caste.  
 RICE-VILLAGE PEOPLE: Batgamma Etto or Paduwo.  
 RIDICETO ANCARAO: Inlayers of gold and silver; Achari.  
 RODAWA: Radawa or Washers.  
 RODI: Rhodias, Barbarians or Outcastes, sing. Rodiya.  
 ROGADIKAYO: Incurably sick men or lepers; Rodias.  
 ROPE-MAKERS: Ackeranno: Chando.  
 RORIZ: Rodias.  
 RUDDAUGH: Radaw or Washers.  
 SAFFRAMADOO APPUHAMY: Hereditary titled persons; Goigama.  
 SAKANI KAYO: Bird-killers.  
 SAKURO: Stonemakers. So called because they make hard cakes of sugar; Jaggery-makers.  
 SALAGAMA or SALAGAMAYO: People who inhabit the village of large halls. The old name of Chilaw was Salawa. The King of Dambadema of the Seven Corles caused a colony of weavers to be brought from India to Chilaw where spacious halls or apartments were reserved for their use. Chalias.  
 SAMWADUWO: Skin-carpenters; Shoemakers.  
 SANDAL-MAKERS: Sommaru; Karawe.  
 SANDURUWO or HANDURUWO: Sons of peace, the pacific; Goigama.  
 SANGARAMMU: Defenders of the priesthood's gardens; Cohabiters with own blood or with sisters; Jaggery-makers.  
 SANMAHANNO: Shoemakers or leather-workers.  
 SANNAWLIYO: Cloth-armourers; Mananno or Tailors.  
 SCAVENGERS: Gahalayo or Candalayo; Paduwo.  
 SCULPTORS: Galwaduwo.  
 SEEDERS: Batgamwella Etto; Goigama.  
 SEPPIDIWIJJU KARAYO: Wizards.  
 SHANDOS, SHENDERS: Chandos.  
 SHEPHERDS: Nillemakareyia or Pattea; Goigama.  
 SHOEMAKERS: Sommaru.  
 SHOOTERS: Veddas.  
 SILVERSMITHS: Baddallo; Smiths.  
 SINNAWO: Cutters. So called because they cut and bring home materials; Basket-makers.



SITTARU or SITTEREO: Painters; Achari.  
 SKATE-FISHERS: Moru-karawo.  
 SKIN-DRESSERS: Chammakarayo or Hommaru.  
 SLAVES: Wallu (Tamil).  
 SMITHS: Achari, Ranhhallo, Nawandanna.  
 SNAIHAYO: Hainayo; Radaw or Washers.  
 SOCKIKAYO: Needleworkers; Tailors.  
 SOLIL KARAYO: Particular services; Durawo.  
 SOMMARAYO: Leather-workmen; Sammahanno.  
 SOMMARU: Sandal-makers; Karawe.  
 SOUDIKAYO: Producers of lust. Named after Soudamakaya who first discovered toddy. Chandos.  
 SOURAVE: Toddy-drawers.  
 STONE CUTTERS: Galwaduwo.  
 SUNNO: Chunam or Lime burners.  
 SURAWBEEJAYO, SURAWO: Producers of good taste (for bakers); Chando or Toddy-drawers.  
 SUWANNAKARAYO: Workers in gold; Nawandanno.

TABLIN JENOS: Berrawayo of Tomtom-beaters.  
 TACHAKAYO: Smoothers or planers; Waduwo.  
 TAILORS: Mananno, Hannali.  
 TANTAVAYO: Yarn-stretching weavers. So called because they stretched and ordered their warp and wove it with a weft. Chalias.  
 TARAHALLU: Smiths, sing. Tarahala.  
 TARUMPAR: Washers of clothes for outcastes.  
 TATAR: Slaves, itinerant beggars.  
 TCHOUDERES: Sudras.  
 TIMBILLO or TIBIBLO: Tamil Fishers.  
 TINAKARAYO: Workers in grass; Kinnaru.  
 TOCK-KEULO, TOK KEWULU: Fresh-water Fishers with a peculiar sort of net. Karawe. Tok Fishers.  
 TODDY-DRAWERS: Chando, Durawo.  
 TOMTOM-BEATERS: Berawayo or Weavers.  
 TORTOISE FISHERS: Kespe-karawo.  
 TRAP-MAKERS: Ugulwadi; Karawe.  
 TREE-FELLERS, TIMBER-FELLERS: Heeri, Hunu kattanno or Chunna-karayo, Porawa Karayo.  
 TUNNAWAYO: Weavers or sewers of pieces; Mananno or Tailors.  
 TURNERS: Liane Waduwo.

UGULWADI: Trap-makers for animals; Karawe.  
 UHULIYO: Oliyos or Dancers.  
 USANNO: Chandos.

VELENDES or VELENDE VANSE: Merchant caste.  
 VEDDAS: Hunters. The pre-Sinhalese aborigines of Ceylon.  
 VELLALA or WELLALE: Goigama.

VELLEDURAI or WELLEDURAI, VELLEDURAYI: Weavers and descendants of Chalias.

VEL-VADUVO: Rattan-workers, Rod-carpenters. So called because they work with or make articles with rods. Sinnawo or Basket-makers.

VINAKARAYO: Players on the Vina.

WADDEWASSAM KARAYO: Builders of bridges.

WADUWO, WADDUWO: Carpenters and Smiths, Achari.

WADEKAYO: Executioners; Karawe.

WADIGHE VANSE, TEHETIS: Merchants or Velendes.

WAGURIKAYO: Fishers who use nets only. Workers or dealers in the water; Karawe.

WAHUNPURAYO: Cooks for Goigama; Jaggery-makers, sing. Wahunpuraya.

WAJJANKARAYO: Tomtom-beaters, sing. Wajjankaraya.

WALLU: Slaves.

WANACHARAKAYO: Wild men or men of the desert; Veddass.

WANIJA WANSAYA: Merchant caste.

WANNEWEDDA: Hunters or Veddass.

WASALO or WASALAYO: Inferior to all; Rodias.

WASHERS, WASHERMEN: Radaw, Pally, Hinnivo, Gangavo, Hiwat-tayo, Tarumpar.

WATCHMEN: Gauraykawallu, Kappuwo.

WEAVERS: Chalias, Wiyamao or Karawe.

WEDDO: Tormentors, so called because they live by killing animals. Veddass.

WEDDIWANSE: Veddass.

WEEDY: Chando.

WEENAWO: Elephant-catchers.

WELINDO WELLANDU, WYSYA, WIESSIA WANSE: Merchant caste.

WILLIYA: Bird-snarers; Karawe.

WIRAMESTARAGOLLA: Soothsayers or jugglers; Goigama.

WIYAMOO: Weavers; Karawe.

WIYANNO: Weavers.

WOOD CUTTERS: Hunu kottanno.

WOODMEN: Palleru, Pallaru.

WYSYAS, WYSYAYA: Vaisyas, buyers and sellers.

YAKDESSA: A Berawayo who performs Devil Ceremonies.

YAMANOO, YAMAMMU: Iron-smelters; Paduwo, sing. Yamanna.



## APPENDIX III

Data Derived from Hue and Cry Reports  
(Jan. 1905-Dec. 1907)

Data are presented on 1,646 persons charged with crimes in the Ceylon Government Police Records. In each case data include name, caste, crime charged, religion, ethnic group, and occupation. In addition the place of birth, haunts, location of family and of relatives and acquaintances, marital status and children, if any, are generally noted. Physical features are also noticed such as complexion (fair or dark), eyes and their defects, hair, nose, age, height, body build, teeth, presence or absence of beard or mustache, and deformities or peculiarities. In the present study data on occupation, crimes charged, religion, and relative numbers in relation to the different castes are summarized.

## APPENDIX IV

## Sinhalese Caste Names

From Glossary of Native and Foreign Words occurring in Official Correspondence and other Documents. Colombo, 1893.

Āchāri: Blacksmiths

Baḍaheḷayō: Potters

Baḍallu: Goldsmiths and Silversmiths

Baddeminihā: Tomtom-beater (respectful)

Batgamayō: Paduwō

Berawāyō: Tomtom-beater

Chandāla: An outcaste

Durāwe: Chandus, Toddy-drawers

Demaḷa Gattaru (from Demaḷa, Tamil and gattaru, captives)

Embetṭayō: Barbers

Gāḍi: Roḍiyā (respectful)

Gaḥalayo, Gaḥalagambaḍayo: Executioners, Scavengers

Gal-addo: Lapidaries, workers in precious stones

Gasmandā: A Roḍiyā

Gattaru: A low caste

## THE SINHALESE CASTE SYSTEM

Goyigama: Vellālas, Cultivators

Gurunnehe: Tomtom-beater (respectful)

Guruwo: Sinhalese caste mixed with Moors

Hakurō: Jaggery-makers

Halāgama: Corruptly Chālias, Cinnamon-peelers

Hāli: Chālias

Handuruwō: Vellālas

Haṅgarammu: Wahunpurayō (respectful)

Hannāli: Tailors

Hēnayā: A washer

Hinnāwō: Washers for Chālias

Hunnō: Lime-burners

Karāwō: Fishers

Kinnaru: Mat-weavers

Kumballu: Potters

Kurundukārayō: Cinnamon-peelers

Lōkuruwō: Brass-founders

Maḍamēminihā: Guruwo (respectful)

Mahabaddē: Halāgama or Chālias

Nekatiyā: Tomtom-beater; astrologer

Olī: Dancers

Paduwō: Palanquin-bearers

Palī: Washers for low castes

Pallaru: Subdivision of Palī

Pannayō: Grass-cutters

Radaw: Washers

Raṭēminihā: A Vellāla

Roḍiyā: An Outcaste

Salāgama: Chālias

Wahunpurayō: A Cook or Jaggery-maker

Yamāna, Yapammu: Smelters of Iron



## APPENDIX V

## Illustrations of Sinhalese Castes in the Literature

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*Potter*, facing p. 202.  
*Rodiya at Udugalpitiya*, facing p. 245.  
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*Potters*, pl. 5, figs. 1-4.  
*Horn-combmaker (Rodiya)*, pl. 5, fig. 9.  
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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Aspects of Sinhalese Culture**, by Martin Wickramasinghe, (Mount Press, Mt. Lavinia. Rs. 6.50).

This is a collection of twenty-five essays on a few topics of topical interest such as Sinhalese culture, Sinhalese literature, the revival of ayurveda and Sinhalese sculpture. Some of these essays have already appeared in the *Ceylon Daily News* and the *Ceylon Observer*, while a few are based on the author's *Sinhalese Lakuna*.

Most of the essays are based on and full of quotations from some book or essay Wickramasinghe has read. For instance the first is based on an essay by Malinowski, Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* has been the model for 'Patterns of Sinhalese Culture', an essay by Felix Keesing on the use of applied anthropology has suggested 'Cultural Conflict in Ceylon', while passages in Anatole France's *Life and Letters* has suggested 'Folk Poetry of the Sinhalese', and 'Masks of the Sinhalese' owes much to Dr. Pertold's *Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese*. In these essays or books Wickramasinghe has seen parallels and problems allied to those in the social scene in Ceylon, and he is keen to show them to others. But that is all he does. He neither goes deep into the problem nor does he discuss. Instead of making a statement such as,

'What were divination and punishment for theft amongst the Pacific Islanders have become the games of the boys of Ceylon, which fact suggests that these elements have been borrowed', (p. 173)

it would have been more profitable to the general reader if he had discussed further mentioning some of the processes at work in cultural diffusion. As the statement stands it is vague and unconvincing. The facts mentioned are no proof of cultural diffusion from this source. Had he explained further that the history of culture traits shows that items of religious significance degenerate or lose their significance in the course of their diffusion as for instance a myth becoming a folk-tale related for popular entertainment or a ritual becoming a form of sport or recreation, then his statement (quoted above) would have been more convincing.

The essays are full of such generalizations without either explanation or supporting evidence; and his statements have such a



tone of finality and authority that the unwary reader is likely to accept them as conclusions reached after much research. (However we are told in the Preface that this 'serious tone' has crept in accidentally and unconsciously).

In spite of the publisher's assurance that the author has a deep knowledge of anthropology, some of his statements reveal that he has not followed anthropological writings in recent years, and that he has only a superficial knowledge of the subject he is handling. 'Hindu Culture' he says, 'is Dionysian with a mixture of Apollonian elements . . . Sinhalese Culture is purely Apollonian with its suppression of individuality and its emphasis on traditional elements' (p. 153). Anthropologists long ago found that Benedict's theory of the configuration of cultures and the classification into the two types Apollonian and Dionysian were neither valid nor useful as tools in analysing cultures.

One of Wickramasinghe's pet theories which he puts forward again and again is that Sinhalese Culture is gifted with a quality which other cultures do not possess. 'Sinhalese Culture is elastic'. This has given the Sinhalese, 'a measure of freedom and adaptability which are different to those of many other Eastern people'. Now this is not a quality peculiar to the Sinhalese or their culture. If we examine any culture, be it that of the peoples of Asia in Europe or of the South Seas, we see the process of adaptation and reinterpretation of alien traits going on. The Fiji policeman's uniform—the cloth and coat, is as much 'a proof of the elasticity of their culture and the plasticity of their mind' as the coat and cloth or sarong of the Sinhalese.

His essays on Sinhalese literature and language contain more sound observations and more helpful suggestions. He criticizes and quite rightly the misguided nationalists and Oriental scholars who 'are arguing about the colour and scent of a heavenly flower' or 'the anatomy of devils' and education officers who by continuing to prescribe 'thirteenth century Sinhalese books for S.S.C. students are creating an aversion in the minds of the students for that language'.

Wickramasinghe points out that Tagore's best work is his short-stories. 'But our nationalists ignoring them sought to derive inspiration from his more popular and sentimental poetry. Two young Sinhalese writers translated his short-stories from the original

Bengali but they could not sell fifty copies of the book in spite of the hosts of Tagore worshippers. But many of our young writers still vie with each other in translating passages from his 'Gardener and Fruit Gathering' (p. 78).

Many of Wickramasinghe's shortcomings as an essayist in Sinhalese are repeated here, such as the lack of coherence in his thinking and presentation, the tendency to introduce irrelevant matter, his verbosity and his inclination to repeat himself. We read in two essays that the coffin is a foreign element we have assimilated into our culture. We are repeatedly reminded that Sinhalese culture is elastic and can adapt itself to change and that every culture is made up of traits borrowed from various cultures. If sufficient thought had been given to the subject some of the essays could have been combined and repetition avoided. However these essays contain many suggestions for further discussion and raise questions which could be profitably pursued. For instance, he points out similarities and affinities in the cultures of Ceylon and the Pacific Islands. The problem of cultural diffusion from this source is worth investigating.

S.

**Britain and the Dominions**, by W. R. Brock (Cambridge University Press. 17sh. 6d.).

*Britain and the Dominions*, by W. R. Brock is the first book in a series on the British Commonwealth brought out by the Cambridge University Press. The book is intended to tell 'the experiences of the different nations of the Commonwealth and to explain how past events have led them into this unprecedented form of association', as such, the main emphasis is on the self-governing members of the Commonwealth, but attention is given also to the dependent Colonial Empire, particularly to those countries already within sight of full Dominion Status. Thus in a concise and well written form, the book presents the whole history of the British overseas from the beginnings of expansion in the early 17th Century to the Modern Commonwealth of today.

Emphasising as it does, the Commonwealth Idea, the histories of the Dominions are traced fully from their origins to their achievement of self-government, while chapters are also included stating their economic and political condition today. Each of the four parts into which the work is divided has chapters on the political



and economic conditions in the mother-country, without which a proper understanding of development in the Colonies is not possible.

A major defect in this work, and indeed in most other works written today on the Modern British Empire is an insufficient treatment of the Commonwealth in Asia. The progress of the three Asian Dominions to self-governing Status is no less interesting than the development of the other Dominions and constitute in the opinion of many the greater achievement of the British overseas. It is a history not of colonisation solely but of the transformation of an entire sub-continent of people alien to the mother country in every respect, and of their acceptance of Western political and economic institutions. As such, the British achievement in India is of far greater significance than say, the colonisation of New Zealand, to which subject Mr. Brock gives a more complete treatment than that of India.

Ceylon too gets scarce mention, but perhaps this is as it should be, yet the factual mistakes in the sections on Ceylon, such as the importance given to the 1848 rebellion or the explanation of the communal problem, or the omission of important events like the Colebrooke Reforms of 1832 are somewhat surprising and is hardly in keeping with the academic tone of the rest of the book. As a Dominion with five times the population of New Zealand, as well as of absolute strategic importance both regards bases and raw materials, and as the symbol of the latest development in Commonwealth history—the peaceful transition from Crown Colony to Dominion—Ceylon should have received more than this cursory glance, in a book professing to deal with Britain and her Dominions.

These defects however are of local significance and should not detract from the value of Mr. Brock's study, which provides a handy and complete history of the White Dominions of the British overseas.

S. D.

**The Great Adventure**, by Donald Dickie (J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd. 16s.).

Dr. Dickie conceives the history of Canada as a series of great adventures beginning with the birth of Canada in the far geological past and ending with the sixth and greatest adventure in which she

steps out into the world at the beginning of the second World War and takes her place among the United Nations at the close of the war. Hence the title of her illustrated history of Canada for young Canadians. Her idea is to furnish young Canadians of junior high school level with a connected knowledge of Canadian history and so fill a gap in their social studies. But *The Great Adventure* is not an orthodox history text. A naturally gifted story-teller, Dr. Dickie has turned historical data into one continuous narrative that is graphic and dramatic, interesting and instructive. The narrative moves forward without halting once and holds the readers' interest right to the end. The illustrations by Lloyd Scott not only depict the facts being described but they skilfully express the spirit of the story as well.

The success of the book is due not to the author's gift for story-telling alone. Dr. Dickie has not been content to rely only on her natural talents and her discretion in the choice of details and events for emphasis. Writing a history for young students, she has been in touch with students while the work was progressing. As the chapters were drafted they were read and discussed by students in the classroom and by individual students, who commented and reported on various aspects of the material; these students helped 'to keep the writer's feet on the ground of their world and to avoid as far as possible "dry stuff" about governments and "unnecessary information"'. The vocabulary was tested and made to suit the level of the students for whom the book is written. Nor are the concepts used beyond the comprehension of students in junior high school, for they too have been tested in discussion and in comprehension tests.

When, with the emphasis on education in *swabhasa*, so many books are being written for children in Ceylon, writers and would-be writers of books for young students would do well to keep in mind Dr. Dickie's methods and study her presentation of history for young students.

S. H.

**Hiouen Thsang in India**, by J. B. Saint-Hilaire (Susil Gupta (India) Ltd. Rs. 3.00).

*Hiouen Thsang in India* is an extract from J. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire's larger work on *Buddhism in India*, translated from the French by Laura Ensor. The volume is another in the admirable



series brought out by Susil Gupta, which provides both the common reader and the student, at a nominal cost, the classics of Indian historical research, which have for quite some years been either out of print or available only at exorbitant prices.

With the entry and propagation of Buddhism into China two centuries before Christ, a desire to learn the doctrine in its purest forms and at its birthplace made numerous Chinese pilgrims come to Buddhist India. Many of these pilgrims left accounts, but the account left by Hiouen Tsang who visited all the Buddhist kingdoms in India in the 7th century A.D., is the most interesting and the most valuable. Running into over 600 pages quarto in the Chinese text, it was ten or twelve times as lengthy as the celebrated account of Fa-Hian, his predecessor by sixty years.

Hiouen Tsang spent over sixteen years in his travels in India collecting sacred texts and studying the Dhamma, and on his return to China spent his time in recording his experiences. The account therefore contains valuable historical evidence about the areas visited (the portion on Ceylon is unfortunately excluded in this work) and even more important about the state of Buddhism of the time, an important period since it saw Mahayanism on the ascendent as well as the beginnings of the Brahmanical revival which was ultimately to eclipse it.

The present volume is divided into three chapters. The first chapter dealing with Hiouen Tsang the individual, serves more or less as an introduction, it gives all the relevant details of the monks life including his travels, and relies heavily on the *History* of Hiouen Tsang compiled by his two disciples. Chapters two and three gives Hiouen Tsang's account of the state of Buddhism in India. The observances of Buddhist worship in 7th century India are mentioned together with the organisation of the Sangha, the division of the doctrine into Mahayana and Hinayana, the relation between the two sects and the attitude of Brahmanism to both. A summary of Indian Buddhism concludes the final chapter.

It is a pity indeed that Susil Gupta has not been able to reprint the whole of M. Saint-Hillaire's work. Those who are further interested could with profit supplement the present work with reading the translation of Hiouen Tsang's memoir in Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

P. W.

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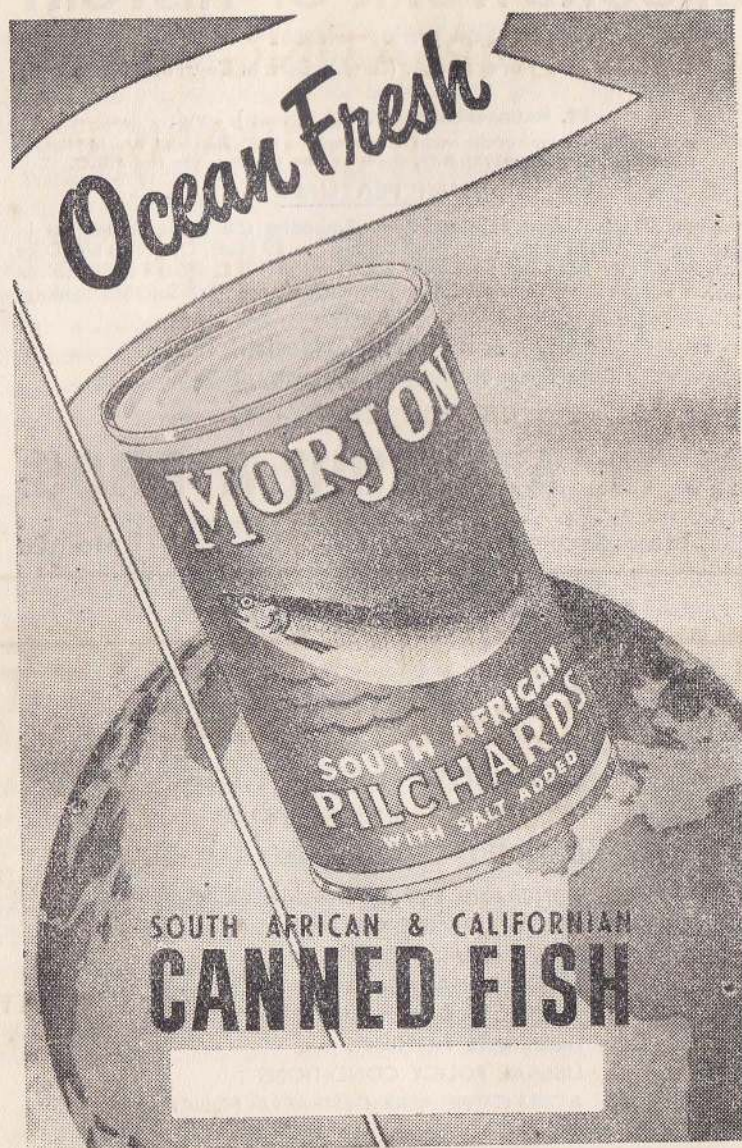
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